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AND ITS NATIONAL CHURCH IN KENYA BETWEEN  
1895 AND 1971.

New York University, Ph.D., 1974  
Religion

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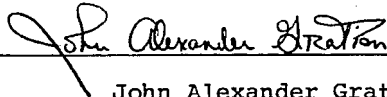
JOHN ALEXANDER GRATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in the School of Education of  
New York University

1973

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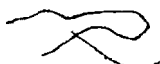
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*Lee A. Belford*



The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship that has existed between the Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.) and its national Church in Kenya from the years 1895 to 1971. A further purpose was to assess the tensions which may have been produced in this developing relationship.

The investigator followed the basic principles of the historical method in his examination of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included missionary letters and diaries, Mission and Church records, documents, and publications, and minutes of Mission and Church Councils. In addition a limited number of personal interviews were conducted with missionaries and leaders of the Africa Inland Church. The data derived from these sources were presented in the form of an historical narrative, the material being arranged chronologically within each chapter.

Four major factors were selected and investigated with a view to evaluating their significance in the relationship of the A.I.M. to its African Church. The influence of British colonialism was examined, recognizing that for seven decades it was in this historical context that the Mission carried on its work. The relationship between the Mission and the colonial Government ranged from an alliance to confrontation and included both subservience and representation. Each stance had its unique effect on Church/Mission relationships.

The A.I.M.'s approach toward African culture was next examined, especially the issue of female circumcision. The frontal attack of the Mission, along with other Protestant mission societies, on this entrenched custom that had political implications produced the first rupture with an element of the Church and left scars on the Church/Mission relationship for many years.

The third factor in the Church/Mission relationship was the Mission's educational program, a program that spans its 75 year history. It was seen as both a positive and negative factor: positive, as a source of converts and Church growth; negative, because of the A.I.M.'s unwillingness and inability to provide the educational program desired by the Church. The negative factor was especially operative from 1920-1945 when the Mission took a very ambivalent attitude toward education and especially the acceptance of Government grants.

Nationalism was seen as the fourth significant factor in Church/Mission relationships. The rise of nationalism in Kenya was traced, and it was noted that developments in the political realm found their counterpart in the ecclesiastical realm. While the Mission sought a partnership relationship with the Church, the Church itself demanded ultimate supremacy in an independent Kenya. After a decade of negotiation this was realized when the Africa Inland Mission became a department of the Church.

This historical study should have value for missionaries working in situations that parallel the relationships of the Africa Inland Mission and its national Church in its various stages. It also could be of value to anyone seeking to assess missionary work in an anthropological, educational, and political context.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although this dissertation bears the name of one writer, who alone must accept final responsibility for it, in a more true sense it represents the work of many. To attempt to name them almost inevitably means omissions; to fail to make the attempt, however, would be an even greater sin of omission. The writer has greatly benefitted from the good judgment and wise counsel of his sponsoring committee: Professor Lee Belford, chairman, and Professors Elsie Hug and Roger Phelps. Their constructive criticisms have been appreciated as much as their encouraging words, their professional excellence as much as their human warmth.

Much encouragement has come to the writer from within the Mission family. Special appreciation is expressed to the Rev. Sidney Langford, Home Director of the Africa Inland Mission, for his continued interest in this project. The writer was able to complete this dissertation without a leave of absence from the Mission because of the willingness of his administrative assistant, Miss Geraldine Vincent, to carry an extra load of office responsibilities from time to time. For her efficient services in the field of personnel the writer is deeply grateful. And what can adequately be said of the writer's typist who transformed a seemingly endless handwritten manuscript into beautifully typed pages, only to have them often returned to their previous state through repeated

revisions? A sincere thank you, Mrs. Paul Dancker, for a difficult task cheerfully accomplished with excellence.

Appreciation should also be expressed to the writer's hosts in Kenya, Rev. and Mrs. Frank Frew, who made his period of research there a most pleasant experience. Other friends come to mind: librarians, professors at the Universities of London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, missionary colleagues, all of whom were most helpful at particular points along the way.

In a sense this dissertation embodies a segment of the writer's life. The sacrifices cheerfully accepted by his family during its preparation and their continual enthusiasm bore eloquent testimony to the fact that this was a family project. May its successful completion be an adequate reward to the "home team" and especially to friend wife, Dorothy.

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## INTRODUCTION

### The Problem

The purpose of this investigation was to determine the relationship that has existed between the Africa Inland Mission<sup>1</sup> and its national Church in Kenya from the year 1895 to the year 1971. A further purpose was to assess the tensions which may have been produced in this developing relationship.

It was recognized that a number of factors have been involved in the relationship of the Mission and the African Church. Four main factors have been selected and investigated with a view to evaluating their significance in Mission/Church relationships across the years. These factors were British colonialism, the Mission's approach toward African culture, the Mission's educational program, and the rise of African nationalism. It was within the historical matrix of these factors that the Mission/Church relationship developed.

A survey of the Mission's founding in 1895 and its early years in Africa is presented in Chapter One. Also considered are the Mission's objectives, the key personalities in its pioneer stage, and the strategy that

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<sup>1</sup>The Africa Inland Mission is also referred to in this dissertation as the A.I.M. and the Mission.

was employed in developing a meaningful relationship with the people among whom the missionaries settled. This strategy included providing medical services, conducting a simple educational program, and involvement in famine relief work.

Working in a colonial context for most of its history brought the Mission into a variety of relationships with the Government. In certain situations, such as in the field of education, the Mission found itself in alliance with the colonial ~~power~~. At other times the stance of the Mission was one of opposition to Government policy and practice. This gamut of relationships inevitably affected the Mission's relationship with the emerging national Church. The mosaic of these contrasting and conflicting attitudes of the Mission toward the colonial Government is presented in Chapter Two, with special note being taken of their effect on the Mission's relationship with the African population.

The encounter of a Western missionary society with African culture produced more conflict than accommodation, especially when certain cultural questions took on political overtones. This encounter is examined in Chapter Three, with special emphasis being given to the issue of female circumcision. The trauma of this conflict for both Church and Mission is reviewed and the lasting results of this "cultural invasion" are noted. Consideration is also given

to the creation of mission stations that in turn gave rise to Kenya's "new élite." The missionaries' theological responses to questions of anthropology were a crucial factor in their relationship with a Church that though Christian still wanted to remain African.

The Mission's educational endeavors, spanning its entire history, probably more than any other single factor affected its relationship to the Church. For many years "Church" and "School" were practically synonymous. The Mission's ambivalent attitude toward education and its failure to meet the Africans' increasing educational demands in more than one situation almost spelled the demise of the Mission's work. Chapter Four provides an examination of this aspect of the Mission's relationship with the Church.

Missionary work is not carried on in a political vacuum. The rise of nationalism, culminating in the independent nation of Kenya in 1963, provided a new and dynamic factor that had a direct influence on Church/Mission relationships. Because of its importance and the need for understanding its historical roots in Kenya, Chapter Five is devoted to a study of this relatively new African phenomenon: nationalism.

The decade of the sixties witnessed a new consciousness of the Church on the part of the Mission. The Church's own search for self-identity and autonomy, carried



out in a context of dynamic nationalism, forced the Mission to consider a more formal relationship with its spiritual progeny. Over a period of years the basic policy determining the nature and structure of this relationship was forged in the Mission's top Councils. Chapter Six examines this policy that was expressed in the Mission's quest for partnership with the African Church, a partnership that both assumed and demanded the Mission's continued existence as an organization.

Chapter Seven examines the decade of conflict between the Church and the Mission in Kenya over the form their relationship was to take. The Church ultimately overtly rejected the Mission's policy of dichotomy that was built on the premise of the continued existence of both organizations. In place of dichotomy the Church sought a merger of the two. In place of partnership it wanted supremacy. The parallels between events in the political and ecclesiastical arenas are noted. Eight years after the close of the colonial period the Mission experienced its own "euthanasia" in a ceremony that marked the end of an era, and in a sense, the end of the Mission.

Chapter Eight summarizes the significant factors in the relationship of the Mission and the Church. Out of this developing relationship three areas of tension emerged. Common to each of these tension areas was the element of timing, the element that in reality produced the tensions.

The Chapter concludes with recommendations for further study and guidelines for other missionary societies in their relationship with national Churches.

### Methodology

The primary sources of data examined by the investigator were letters, documents, records, diaries, Mission and Church publications, and minutes of Mission and Church Councils. In addition a limited number of personal interviews were conducted with missionaries and leaders of the Africa Inland Church.<sup>2</sup> These data are located at the Mission's Headquarters in Pearl River, New York and Nairobi, Kenya.

Secondary sources for this study were periodicals, books, and dissertations related to the following areas of study: the political history of Kenya, the history of other missionary societies working in Kenya, anthropology and its application to a missionary context, especially cultural; the activities of both Government and Missions in the field of education; and the general topic of Church/Mission relationships.

Since this study is essentially of an historical nature, the investigator has followed the procedures for the

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<sup>2</sup>This is the official name of the national Church that grew out of the Mission's work. It will hereinafter often be designated as the A.I.C.

collection and treatment of data as presented by Gottschalk<sup>3</sup> and Barzun and Graff<sup>4</sup> in their discussion of the historical method. The data derived from those various sources have been presented in the form of an historical narrative with appropriate section headings. Within these sections the material has been arranged chronologically.

### Significance

The Africa Inland Mission is one of the oldest missionary societies working in Kenya. Not only is the Mission the largest voluntary religious agency in that country, but it has established the largest national Church, a Church composed of over 1,400 local Congregations with a total membership of about 150,000.

Being present in the country from the beginning of the colonial era, the life and history of the Mission are inextricably bound up with the political, social, and religious history of Kenya. With its deep educational involvement throughout the years, the Mission has had a vital part in shaping the development of this nation. Almost all of Kenya's present leaders are the product of

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<sup>3</sup>Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

<sup>4</sup>Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, The Modern Researcher (rev. ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1957).

mission schools, including the Vice-President, the Honorable Daniel arap Moi, who is an active member of the Africa Inland Church.

The need for increased research on the planting of Christianity in Africa was frequently expressed at the Seventh International African Seminar held at the University of Ghana in April 1965.<sup>5</sup> One of the lecturers at this seminar, Dr. Richard Gray of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, expressed the fear that

if the diaries, letters, and minute-books of the first generation of African Christians and their successors continue to lie exposed to destruction, and if the oral sources remain unrecorded, the essential evidence will soon be lost, and the possibility of a balanced understanding of the African, European, and American contributions to the development of Christianity in Africa will disappear.<sup>6</sup>

The present research into the relationship of the A.I.M. to its national Church presents in more permanent form the content of some of these documents that reveal the dynamic factors of politics, culture, and education that helped to create this relationship.

Gray also points up the need for the kind of

<sup>5</sup>C. G. Baëta (ed.), Christianity in Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Richard Gray, "Problems of Historical Perspective: the Planting of Christianity in Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 27.

research exemplified in this dissertation when he states:

We would like to examine far more closely the missionary approach to African thought and institutions, or the role of missions in shaping the European image of Africa and their influence on metropolitan policy, or the varying degrees of influence exerted by the home-based officials of the societies on missionaries in the field.<sup>7</sup>

Affirming that mere histories of missionary societies cannot provide by themselves an understanding of the "background forces" that have been at work, he then states: "Decisive advances in this study await increased attempts to investigate the relationships between the missionary societies and the Churches and nations of which they were a part . . . ."<sup>8</sup> In this regard he expresses the hope that "the more conservative, fundamentalist wing . . . including international bodies such as the Africa Inland Mission . . . will not be neglected . . . ."<sup>9</sup> It is this researcher's belief that he has contributed to the realization of this hope.

This study is of significance from another viewpoint, however. The inevitable tensions that have arisen out of the relationship of the Mission and Church in Kenya are a microcosm of a world-wide situation. This is the chief unresolved problem of missionary organizations around the world, both Protestant and Catholic. Within Protestantism

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

it affects denominational and interdenominational boards alike.

In the area of Catholic missions, Adrian Hastings emphatically states the need for creative thinking and changes in the search for a meaningful relationship between foreign missionary groups and national Churches. He affirms that there remains "a wide gap between the mission thinking and Church structures we need today and the actual pattern that still exists."<sup>10</sup> That this is true of many Protestant Church/Mission structures and relationships is painfully obvious to all who are acquainted with the contemporary scene.

Dr. Arthur F. Glasser, Associate Dean of the School of World Missions, Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, has expressed the keen interest of his institution in this topic. He pinpoints the problem in these words:

Now that the emergent National Churches are growing rapidly and are assuming increasing responsibility in all dimensions of their mission, the possibility of the continuing presence of Western missions has precipitated sharp debate as to the manner in which both can cooperate in the ongoing task of nation-building.<sup>11</sup>

That the problem of Mission/Church relationships represents a most pressing unresolved issue is seen in the

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<sup>10</sup>Adrian Hastings, Church and Mission in Modern Africa (New York: Fordham University Press, 1967), p. 33.

<sup>11</sup>Personal letter from Arthur F. Glasser, May 17, 1971.

prominence given to it by mission executives and associations of Mission Societies. In the 1971 Board Retreat of the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association (I.F.M.A.) held at Pearl River, N. Y., May 24-27th, this problem in its varied aspects was chosen as the topic for consideration. The I.F.M.A. is composed of 47 mission agencies representing over 8,000 Protestant missionaries around the world.

In September, 1971, the annual convention of this same organization was held at Green Lake, Wisconsin in conjunction with the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, an organization that represents 62 agencies and another 7,000 missionaries. Four hundred participants composed of mission executives, pastors, professors, and outstanding national churchmen from overseas were present at this historic Conference. One single subject occupied their attention; namely, the relationship of the foreign mission society to the indigenous national churches of the world that these mission agencies have established.

Rev. E. L. Frizen, Executive Secretary of the I.F.M.A. has stated that

there is no subject pertaining to missions in this decade in greater need of an in-depth study. While there is some literature on the subject, there is none to my knowledge which presents the magnitude and diversity of the tensions which are facing missions and churches today.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Personal letter from Edward L. Frizen, July 6, 1971.

Dr. H. Wilbert Norton, Dean of Wheaton College Graduate School and Professor of Missions in that institution, has expressed his gratitude for this "investigation of the historical relationship and tensions between A.I.M. and the indigenous churches," adding that these tensions are "the issue of the day in evangelical missions today."<sup>13</sup>

That the relationship of mission societies to national churches is also significant to denominational missions within the ecumenical movement is seen in this statement from Mr. Jan S. F. van Hoogstraten, Director for Service of the Africa Department of the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.:

I for one, on behalf of the Africa Department of the National Council of Churches, welcome such a study and eagerly await seeing a copy of it . . . . Such a historical study which would no doubt go into the present day existing tensions is both timely and no doubt contributing to the resolutions of these problems.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, this present study is significant because it investigates the cross-cultural aspects of religious education in a context of international relationships.

#### Related Literature

The rather broad scope of this dissertation is

<sup>13</sup>Personal letter from H. Wilbert Norton, June 3, 1971.

<sup>14</sup>Personal letter from Jan J. F. van Hoogstraten, July 2, 1971.



reflected in the breadth of the literature related to it. J. Lewis Krapf's intriguing book that records his early explorations into the interior of Kenya, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors,<sup>15</sup> provides a good background for the pioneering efforts of the founder of the Africa Inland Mission and gives a possible source for the inspiration of his passion to reach into the heart of Africa with the Christian message. Catherine Miller has provided the most complete biography of Peter Cameron Scott, the founder of the Africa Inland Mission.<sup>16</sup> Together with a brief sketch of Scott's life, Mabel Grimes traces the development of the Mission's work and outreach from its inception until 1917.<sup>17</sup> The picture is completed by Kenneth Richardson's historical survey, Garden of Miracles.<sup>18</sup>

In his book, Colonialism and Christian Missions, Bishop Stephen Neil explores the relationship that has existed historically between missionary societies and the colonial powers.<sup>19</sup> The concepts and insights of this book

<sup>15</sup>J. Lewis Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, During and Eighteen Years' Residence in East Africa (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860).

<sup>16</sup>Catherine Miller, The Life of Peter Camerson Scott: The Unlocked Door (London: Parry Jackman, 1955).

<sup>17</sup>Mabel Grimes, Life Out of Death: The Story of the Africa Inland Mission (London: Africa Inland Mission, 1917).

<sup>18</sup>Kenneth Richardson, Garden of Miracles: A History of the Africa Inland Mission (London: Victory Press, 1968).

<sup>19</sup>Stephen Neil, Colonialism and Christian Missions (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966).

provide the general setting in which the particular drama of the Africa Inland Mission's relationship with the British colonial power unfolded during almost seven decades. Of equal value in putting Missions in their historical perspective is the book Christianity in Tropical Africa.<sup>20</sup> Oliver's The Missionary Factor in East Africa provides probably the best one volume overview of the historical context in which the Africa Inland Mission has worked, containing an excellent chapter on the inter-relationship of Missions, the African Church, and the State.<sup>21</sup>

Of special value in helping to assess the educational role of the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya is John Anderson's The Struggle for the School.<sup>22</sup> In a similar way Kenneth King's Pan-Africanism and Education,<sup>23</sup> with its specific reference to the Africa Inland Mission's educational policies, puts the Mission's educational program in both historical and international perspective.

The Africa Inland Mission's approach to certain

<sup>20</sup>Baëta, Christianity in Tropical Africa.

<sup>21</sup>Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, 1966), pp. 231-292.

<sup>22</sup>John Anderson, The Struggle for the School: The Interaction of Missionary, Colonial Government and Nationalist Enterprise in the Development of Formal Education in Kenya (London: Longmans, 1970).

<sup>23</sup>Kenneth King, Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

anthropological questions, such as polygamy and female circumcision, can only be adequately evaluated in the light of the Mission's basic view of human culture. The various viewpoints taken by Christians toward culture are succinctly summarized by Niebuhr,<sup>24</sup> and it is in the light of these varied perspectives that the attitude of the Africa Inland Mission toward African culture is examined. Louis Luzbetak likewise provides some perceptive insights in this regard from a Roman Catholic viewpoint.<sup>25</sup>

Rosberg and Nottingham's volume, The Myth of "Mau Mau" presents an excellent study of the rise of nationalism in Kenya.<sup>26</sup> It specifically deals with the interaction between the Africa Inland Mission and developing nationalism, especially in its cultural ramifications.

Several books and articles ably treat the general subject of Church/Mission relationships from a Biblical, historical, and practical viewpoint. The basic concepts of the leading missiologists of the 19th and 20th centuries relative to Church/Mission relationships and their practical outworkings in the mission fields of the world are summarized

<sup>24</sup>H. R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper and Row, 1951).

<sup>25</sup>Louis Luzbetak, The Church and Cultures (Techny, Ill.: Divine Word Publications, 1970).

<sup>26</sup>Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham; The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966).

by Beyerhaus and Lefever.<sup>27</sup> Contemporary evangelical Mission leaders present their cases for divergent views on this topic in Missions in Creative Tension.<sup>28</sup> Dr. George Peters elucidates four patterns of relationship between the Mission and the receiving Church currently being advocated.<sup>29</sup> The concept of partnership which is examined in Chapter 6 of this dissertation is advocated by him.<sup>30</sup> Adrian Hastings creatively examines the relationship of Church and Mission from a Roman Catholic perspective.<sup>31</sup> His book has provided this writer with a number of stimulating thoughts while underlining the similarity of situation in many respects between Catholic and Protestant Missions working in sub-Saharan Africa.

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<sup>27</sup>Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964).

<sup>28</sup>Vergil Gerber (ed.), Missions in Creative Tension: The Green Lake Compendium (South Pasadena, Cal.: The William Carey Library, 1971).

<sup>29</sup>George W. Peters, "Mission Church Relationship I," Bibliotheca Sacra, CXXV, 499 (1968), 205-215.

<sup>30</sup>Peters, "Mission Church Relationship II," Ibid., CXXV, 500 (1968), 302-303.

<sup>31</sup>Hastings, Church and Mission in Modern Africa.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE BEGINNING OF THE WORK

#### The Founder: Peter Scott

If every organization is the lengthened shadow of a man, for the Africa Inland Mission Peter Cameron Scott was that man. Before examining the organization that he brought into being, note must be taken of the salient facts of his life and missionary activities.

Scott was born near Glasgow, Scotland on March 7, 1867. At the age of twelve his family emigrated to Philadelphia. While still in his teens his singing ability brought him offers to perform on the concert stage, but because of their religious convictions his parents forced him to refuse them. He served for two years as a clerk in a printer's office, and then for health reasons spent a year in Scotland before returning to Philadelphia. An inner struggle about this time regarding his musical career resulted in a complete dedication of himself to God.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this spiritual crisis experience he sailed for West Africa under the International Missionary Alliance in November of 1890. He labored in the Congo for

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<sup>1</sup>Catherine Miller, The Life of Peter Cameron Scott: The Unlocked Door (London: Parry Jackman, 1955), pp. 15-19.

two years together with his brother, John. During this time he buried his brother with his own hands. Broken in health from repeated attacks of fever, he returned to America and then went on to the British Isles. While in England Scott had his second spiritual crisis. Kneeling beside the tomb of David Livingstone in Westminster Abbey, he was gripped by the inscription, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, them also I must bring."<sup>2</sup> In that moment his plans for East Africa became crystallized. Previous study on his part had led to the conclusion that there was a thickly populated region in what was then British East Africa which was largely unreached with the Christian message. In that same moment by Livingstone's tomb Scott envisioned a chain of mission stations stretching westward from Mombasa on the east coast to Lake Chad in the very heart of Africa. The Africa Inland Mission was thus conceived.<sup>3</sup>

Without detracting from the depth of Scott's spiritual experience or the breadth of his vision, it should be pointed out that he was not the first missionary leader to propose such a chain of stations across Africa. J. Lewis Krapf, a German who began his missionary career in 1837 under the Church Missionary Society, makes repeated

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<sup>2</sup>John 10:16.

<sup>3</sup>Miller, op. cit., pp. 20-25.

reference to such a plan: ". . . in my zeal for the conversion of Africa I used to calculate how many missionaries and how much money would be required to connect Eastern and Western Africa by a chain of missionary stations."<sup>4</sup> In 1850 Krapf went to London "to advocate in person . . . [his] scheme of an African chain of missions, to be established through the whole breadth of the land, from east to west, in the direction of the Equator . . . ." <sup>5</sup>

In an article written in July, 1889 Alexander Mackay, one of the great missionary pioneers of Uganda also under the Church Missionary Society, envisioned a similar chain of stations. He proposed a few well-manned stations, sufficiently far apart, that would become educational centers from which the students would go forth "to labour among their countrymen, thus filling the gap . . . ." <sup>6</sup>

It would be interesting to know if Scott had been influenced by either of these men. LaTourette, without being able to answer this question, does state that Scott "revived Krapf's dream of a chain of stations from the east coast

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<sup>4</sup>J. Lewis Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, During an Eighteen Years' Residence in East Africa (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), p. 109 cf. pp. 124, 167, Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 170. To this plan the Church Missionary Society agreed, p. 171 cf. p. 244. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>A. M. Mackay: Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda, by his Sister (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1895), p. 462.

across the continent."<sup>7</sup>

The Philadelphia Missionary Council

When Scott returned to America, he met with members of the recently formed Philadelphia Missionary Council, a non-denominational group organized to assist in world-wide evangelization. This group agreed to represent the interests of the proposed Africa Inland Mission<sup>8</sup> by "forwarding to the field workers and means as God might furnish them."<sup>9</sup>

The declared purpose of this new Mission was not ". . . to supplant existing organizations, but to join heart and hand with them in a work of such stupendous difficulty," namely, "evangelizing the darkest spot in

<sup>7</sup>Kenneth LaTourette, The Great Century: In the Americas, Australia, and Africa, 1800 A.D. to 1941 A.D., Vol. V, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), p. 405.

<sup>8</sup>Known originally as the African Inland Mission, the name was officially changed in a diary notation of Scott on October 12, 1896. Hearing and Doing, II, 1 (1897), 8.

<sup>9</sup>"A Yielded Life: Its Story," Hearing and Doing, II, 3 (1897), 3. This is in contrast with the present structure where all Home Council members are also members of the Mission. The original Committee was not "any organic part of it [the Mission]," nor did it exercise any control over it. Ibid., I, 1 (1896), 5.



Africa's continent of darkness."<sup>10</sup> This single and unequivocal goal stands in contrast to Livingstone's stress on the benefit of British commercial enterprises coupled with missionary activity.<sup>11</sup> Livingstone saw the former as a means of combatting the slave trade by providing a substitute for it.<sup>12</sup> This question of the relationship of evangelistic work to other activities, a question that still plagues missionary agencies, was soon to be faced by these pioneers. Thomas Allen, a member of Scott's first party, concurred with the statement of a missionary in another field that "the effort to combine industrial with evangelistic work in the climate of Central Africa appears

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<sup>10</sup>Hearing and Doing, I, 1 (1896), 3-4. This purpose was early incorporated into the Mission's Constitution: "The object shall be evangelization in Inland Africa, as God shall direct." Constitution and Rules of Government of the A.I.M. 1902, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>"I do hope to find . . . a pathway . . . to lead to highlands where Europeans may form a settlement, and where by opening up communication and establishing commercial intercourse with the natives of Africa, they may . . . impart to the people of that country the knowledge and the inestimable blessings of Christianity." W. Monk (ed.), Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1860), p. 21.

<sup>12</sup>"I feel convinced that if we can establish a system of free labour in Africa, it will have a most decided influence upon slavery throughout the world." Ibid., p. 22. For a good summary of anti-slavery efforts during this period, especially the ill-fated Niger expedition, see C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, II (London: Lutterworth Press, 1954), 1-13.

to be a mistake."<sup>13</sup>

Recruitment of Workers

It was recognized from the outset that it would be difficult if not impossible to staff the Mission with men who had received a full theological education of the kind that would qualify them for the ordained ministry. Furthermore, there was almost an implicit spurning of workers with these qualifications. It was thought that Africa provided conditions that were "utterly different from those that call for the learning and culture of a Paul or an Apollos."<sup>14</sup> To these early leaders Africa was "no Ephesus with its learning; but only sin, darkness, ignorance, barbarism."<sup>15</sup> To meet these needs it was felt that men did not need "so much specific scholastic and theological knowledge as that wisdom, energy, zeal, devotion, and close walk with God that make great a man that is no scholar . . . ."<sup>16</sup> Consequently great emphasis was put on recruiting dedicated laymen for overseas service,

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<sup>13</sup>Letter of Thomas Allen, August 14, 1897 in Hearing and Doing, II, 10 (1897), 3. In this same letter, however, he did plead for the need of a vegetable garden. That the Mission found itself committed to much more than this in terms of non-evangelistic endeavors will be seen in subsequent chapters.

<sup>14</sup>Hearing and Doing, I, 1 (1896), 4.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

and from this source it was envisaged that the Mission would fill its ranks.<sup>17</sup>

The need for well-trained workers, however, soon became apparent. Will Hotchkiss, after less than three years in Africa with the initial party, wrote back to America: "Africa needs hundreds of the very finest scholars to grapple with her hundreds of still unwritten dialects."<sup>18</sup>

Almost concurrent with the launching of the Africa Inland Mission was the founding of the Philadelphia Bible Institute, a school that was to play an important role in the life of the new Mission.<sup>19</sup> Its purpose was to give young people a thorough knowledge of the Bible and its use together with a knowledge of the world's mission fields. It was envisaged that they would in turn become "effective workers in either the home or foreign field."<sup>20</sup> Accounts of the two fledgling organizations, the Institute and the Mission, appeared side by side in the official magazine

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., III, 1 (1899), 7. For a full, autobiographical account of Hotchkiss' missionary career see Willis R. Hotchkiss, Then and Now in Kenya Colony: Forty Adventurous Years in East Africa (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1937).

<sup>19</sup>Hearing and Doing, I, 1 (1896), 7. The Institute was dedicated as the headquarters of the Mission in August, 1895 on the occasion of the farewell service for the first party of A.I.M. missionaries. Kenneth Richardson, Garden of Miracles (London: Victory Press, 1968), p. 27.

<sup>20</sup>Hearing and Doing, Ibid.

Hearing and Doing that both shared. Several men were officers of both the Institute and the Philadelphia Council of the Mission, and one of the leaders of the Institute was soon to become the Mission's first General Director.<sup>21</sup> He was to be the first of a number who would come into the Mission from the halls of this institution dedicated to the training of laymen for Christian service.<sup>22</sup>

### Financial Policy

The financial policy of the Mission was to be one of dependence on God, although recognition was made of the various means through which the needs of the missionary might be met; namely, "either through honest labor of his own, or by gift direct from others."<sup>23</sup> The policy was spelled out in this double statement: "As to needs, full

<sup>21</sup>See p. 30 of this dissertation.

<sup>22</sup>For most of its history the Mission, like other interdenominational missions of its kind, has been staffed with Bible Institute graduates, including 75 from this school and its successor. Many have also come from the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago.

<sup>23</sup>Hearing and Doing, I, 1 (1896), 5. It was also the conviction of the Home Council that "every missionary should have such provision in advance as will secure, as far as possible, a comfortable home, ample and wholesome food, and comfortable clothing [*italics not in the original*]." Hearing and Doing, I, 3 (1896), 5-6. The "faith policy" adopted as a modus operandi was thus not fanatical but practical.

information; as to funds, non-solicitation."<sup>24</sup> The Council assumed therefore no financial responsibility for the Mission, emphasizing that it was "a field mission, self-regulating and self-perpetuating, responsible to God alone for its work, and having no organic unity with any board at home."<sup>25</sup> Apparently there was the feeling that if the Mission was responsible to God alone for its work, then He alone was responsible for supplying its needs!

#### The First Missionary Party

In August of 1895 Peter Cameron Scott sailed with a party of seven to be joined by another missionary in Scotland.<sup>26</sup> They arrived at Mombasa the last of October. The researcher is left with a rather full account of these early days in the day-by-day diary entries of Scott that were reprinted in the Mission's official magazine together with letters to the Home Council from others of the early

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., I, 1(1896), 5. That this policy was followed is seen in a letter from Lester Severn, one of the first party of missionaries, giving a breakdown of the cost of an iron house (total \$310) to replace the mud huts being currently used. Hearing and Doing, III, 7 (1899), 5.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., I, 1 (1896), 5.

<sup>26</sup>The party was composed of Peter C. Scott, Lester Severn, Margaret Scott (Peter's sister), Walter M. C. Wilson, Minnie Lindberg, Bertha Reckling, Willis Hotchkiss, F. W. Krieger, Hearing and Doing, I, 3 (1896), 4. Miss Reckling, for reasons not given, was sent back to the U.S.A. on February 2, 1896 by Scott, having never left Mombasa. Ibid., I, 4, (1896), 6, cf. II, 1 (1897), 9.

missionaries.<sup>27</sup> It may be noted here that Scott was joined in August of 1896 by another party of eight missionaries including his father, mother and sister, Ina.<sup>28</sup>

### Pioneer Strategy

Within ten months after arriving at Nzawi, the site of the first station, three other stations had been opened and manned: Sakai, Kilungu, and Kangundu.<sup>29</sup> During the

<sup>27</sup>The first letter from Scott, written from Mombasa, is dated November 8, 1895. Hearing and Doing, I, 2 (1896), 4-5. His diary entries, beginning with November 12, 1895, are printed in a supplementary issue of Hearing and Doing, (I, 4 (1896), 1-12) and continue together with his letters to the Philadelphia Council and others until the memorial issue following his death. Ibid., II, 6 (1897), 1-6.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., I, 10 (1896), 10-12. Scott considered the coming of his parents "something quite new in the annals of missionary history . . . those classed as the wazee [a Swahili word] (aged) selling out all that they have, and coming to such a land as Africa to lift up Jesus without any thought of ever returning to the mother country again." Ibid., II, 1 (1897), 5-6. It is interesting to note that the A.I.M. has continued to be a "family Mission" so that at the time of writing there are now 67 children of A.I.M. workers serving with their parents as missionaries in their own right.

<sup>29</sup>The latter was a former Government post, used as a base in subduing a rebellion in the district. It was offered to the Mission by the Sub-Commissioner of Ukamba, John Ainsworth, for the rental fee of \$1.50 per year. According to Scott, "this was simply giving it away." Hearing and Doing, II, 1 (1897), 10. Ainsworth later married Scott's sister, Ina. In spite of the evidence of a favorable attitude toward European settlement, Dr. Ogot, a Kenyan historian, speaks of Ainsworth as one of the few administrators who ". . . maintained that the first duty of the administration was to safeguard African interests, and that settlement must take second place to this." B. A. Ogot, "Kenya Under the British, 1895 to 1963," Zamani: A Survey of East African History, eds. B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (Nairobi, Kenya: Longmans, 1968), p. 264.

first year Scott walked 2,600 miles and saw the beginnings of his vision in Westminster Abbey realized.<sup>30</sup> It is interesting, if not significant, that Scott should begin his missionary work among the Kamba tribe whom Krapf had described as "the commercial medium between the coast and the interior."<sup>31</sup> Even more significant is Krapf's statement that he "regarded this people as an important element in relation to future missionary designs in Eastern Africa."<sup>32</sup> Again it would be interesting to know if Scott had been influenced by Krapf, or did two great men simply have the same insight and vision? History at the moment leaves us without an answer to this tantalizing question.

Scott soon came to realize that foreign missionaries alone would never accomplish the task of evangelism and thus wrote in his diary on March 22, 1896 that "the work must be done by native evangelists."<sup>33</sup> It is not surprising therefore that one finds early reference to the beginnings

<sup>30</sup>Hearing and Doing, II, 1 (1897), 12.

<sup>31</sup>Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, p. 118.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Hearing and Doing, I, 7 (1896), 5. For an excellent description of how MacKay envisaged these men would be trained and employed throughout East Africa, see "The Solution of the African Problem," A. M. MacKay: Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, pp. 446-463. This article, written from Victoria Nyanza in July 1889, delineates an educational program that one observes in embryonic form a decade later in the A.I.M. sphere of work.

of an educational program.<sup>34</sup>

### Educational Work

That the Kamba tribe was resistant to the first offers of education is seen in a letter from Thomas Allen written two years after Nzawi, the first station, was opened:

We have been praying for some Wakamba children to teach. One bright lad of eleven or twelve years of age, who would like to come to us, I tried hard to get, even offering his father an amount of cloth per month equal to the wages of a Wakamba porter, but he refused to let his boy come.<sup>35</sup>

An effort to reach the children and young people was basic to the strategy of these early pioneers. Allen writes: "We firmly believe that if we can win the children to Christ, they will become the best propagators of the Gospel among their own people."<sup>36</sup> Because Allen believed there was no home life among the Wakamba, he advocated bringing the young people on to the station, first for several hours daily and then to live on the station while they were being prepared to teach.<sup>37</sup> When ready to be sent out to evangelize, they "would have to be supported from the homeland."<sup>38</sup> Reference

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., I, 8 (1896), 3. For an account of the development of A.I.M.'s educational program, see Ch. 4 of this dissertation.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., III, 5 (1898), 5.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., II, 7 (1897), 7.

<sup>37</sup>For a discussion of the role of the mission station and its various functions, see pp.122-25 of this dissertation.

<sup>38</sup>Hearing and Doing, II, 7 (1897), 7.



to the support of native workers by foreign funds appears quite frequently in the correspondence of these early days.

Allen wrote from Kilungu Station on December 4, 1896:

We hope to get hold of some of the native young people to teach. The yearly support of a boy is \$35 to \$40, a young man \$50, and we trust that this need may be laid upon your hearts at home, and some be led to volunteer to support a boy or girl.<sup>39</sup>

On November 6 of that same year he could write that two such students were being supported by some of his friends in Montreal.<sup>40</sup>

#### Medical Work

The approach to the heart of the Wakamba was not only through the mind in the very elementary educational program that was begun. It also involved a ministry to the body through a simple but needed medical work. Although a qualified staff was not available, certain missionaries undertook the duties of a doctor. Scott himself refers to his growing reputation as a dentist while his sister handled all the dispensary work.<sup>41</sup>

Actually within a month of arriving on the first mission station, Wilson could write: "Bro. Hotchkiss plays

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., II, 5 (1897), 5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., III, 1 (1898), 8. That this early practice had far-reaching implications for the work in the distant future will be seen when the matter of Church/Mission relationships is discussed. See p. 234 of this dissertation.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., I, 8 (1896), 4.

the part of a doctor, visiting quite a lot . . . . Of 17 who came here today to Hotchkiss for treatment, 13 had sores broken out on the legs . . . ."42 In 1899 Bangert writes:

It is through healing the sores and sicknesses of the natives that you most easily gain their confidence and are thus enabled to present the gospel medicine for their deeper disease . . . . Often I have given nearly the whole forenoon to treating the sores and ulcers.<sup>43</sup>

The following month he refers to the "many horrible cases at the hospital here" and what help his recently acquired knowledge of medicine has been.<sup>44</sup>

#### New Leadership

Though Scott's contribution to the young Mission was great, it was brief. On December 4, 1896 at Nzawi station, he passed away after a brief illness.<sup>45</sup> The last entry of his diary read, "Here I am, Lord, use me in life or death."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., I, 6 (1896), 6-7.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., III, 6 (1899), 6.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., III, 7 (1899), 4. The Africa Inland Mission now has twelve hospitals and over fifty dispensaries in its various fields.

<sup>45</sup>Writing to the Philadelphia Committee on Dec. 10, his sister reminded them that in his last letter Scott had referred to the fact that the great Nzawi Peak had been called the gateway to Central Africa, adding that "now the first stepping stone has been laid inside the gateway, and God has seen fit to bestow that honor upon our head and director [*italics in the original*]." Hearing and Doing, II, 3 (1897), 5.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

Though a blow to the fledgling Mission, it was not a fatal one. The Philadelphia Council experienced considerable questioning as to the future of the work, however, even to the point of considering asking another Missionary Society<sup>47</sup> to assume responsibility for the A.I.M.'s stations.<sup>48</sup> Thus in March of the following year it was announced that the President of the Philadelphia Missionary Council, Rev. Charles Hurlburt,<sup>49</sup> had been elected Director of the Africa Inland Mission, a post he was to fill with distinction for over a quarter of a century.<sup>50</sup> By October of 1898 Hurlburt was on his way for a six month's survey visit to East Africa, accompanied by a new missionary, William Bangert.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>There is no record available to indicate which Society was considered.

<sup>48</sup>In the midst of the debate the Chairman of the Council, Dr. A. T. Pierson declared, "Gentlemen, the hall-mark of God on any life is death! God has given us that hall-mark. Now is the time to go forward." The challenge was accepted, and the crisis point was safely passed from the viewpoint of the home supporters. Miller, Peter Cameron Scott, pp. 50-51.

<sup>49</sup>Dr. Gavin White, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow University, who in connection with his Ph. D. thesis had occasion to encounter Hurlburt's missionary statesmanship, urged the writer to prepare a biography of Hurlburt. Personal interview, May 18, 1972.

<sup>50</sup>Hearing and Doing, II, 3 (1897), 12.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., III, 8 (1898), 12; Ibid., III, 11 (1898), 8.

Darkness before Dawn

While the Philadelphia Missionary Council debated the fate of the Mission officially,<sup>52</sup> conditions on the field following Scott's death almost made its demise a reality. Two other missionaries died, and several others left the Mission.<sup>53</sup> The first three stations had to be closed because of famine conditions. In addition to the famine, the country was also struck at this time by a cattle plague that killed thousands of cattle and by a small-pox epidemic.<sup>54</sup> On two successive occasions only one worker remained. The first missionary left alone was Willis Hotchkiss, one of Scott's original party. Then after four years on the field Hotchkiss resigned to start a mission for the Friends Church of which he was a member.<sup>55</sup> William Bangert, who had only joined him about nine months before, was thus left to carry on the work alone.<sup>56</sup> He was soon at

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<sup>52</sup>See fn. 48.

<sup>53</sup>Following Peter Scott's death, Ainsworth offered Scott's father a job which he accepted to become "engaged in a work of bringing the people into a more reasonable and civilized state of living . . . ." Ibid., II, 5 (1897), 5.

<sup>54</sup>D. Miller, Toward the Goal: A Story of the Unfolding of God's Purposes for the Evangelization of Central Africa (London: Africa Inland Mission, n.d.), p. 16.

<sup>55</sup>Hearing and Doing, III, 8,9 (1899), 6.

<sup>56</sup>Understandably Bangert writes: "I cannot bear the thought of being here alone, the only one on the field . . . ." Ibid., p. 7.

the point of desperation.<sup>57</sup>

### Reinforcements

The generally desolate picture changed dramatically, however, when the new General Director, Charles Hurlburt, arrived in December, 1901 to take up his permanent residence in Africa and to secure the beachhead established by Scott.<sup>58</sup> The party of twelve, including a medical doctor and Hurlburt's five children, brought comfort to the three lonely bachelors<sup>59</sup> who were now occupying Kangundo station.

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<sup>57</sup>Mabel Grimes, Life Out of Death (London: Africa Inland Mission, 1917), p. 21. On July 17, 1899 Bangert wrote from Kangundo station: ". . . the natives seem to try to take advantage of the fact that I am here alone and not too well acquainted with their language and customs, and besides you know they have been made desperate by long fasting and hunger and are bound to have what they can lay their hands on at any cost: thieving is an added plague of the country at the present time, and I have been convinced several times of the fact that the natives would fill me with arrows for the sake of the little rice which I have in the house, if they got the chance . . . . It is really as much as one's life is worth to be here alone under present conditions . . . ." Hearing and Doing, III, 8,9 (1899), 7. Relief came to him in October, 1899 with the arrival of C. F. Johnston and Elmer Bartholomew, but he was forced by broken health to return to the States where he remained permanently. Hearing and Doing, III, 11 (1899) 7. Cf. Grimes, Life Out of Death, p. 29.

<sup>58</sup>For a brief review of his life see Kenneth Richardson, Garden of Miracles, pp. 42-49. For an overview of his contribution to the A.I.M. during this period of consolidation see D. M. Miller, Whither Africa? (London, Africa Inland Mission, n.d.), pp. 15-20.

<sup>59</sup>Severn, one of the original party, had by this time returned from furlough, joining Johnston and Bartholomew. Cf. supra, fn. 57.

The new recruits and leadership also brought a veritable renaissance to the almost moribund Mission.<sup>60</sup>

The influence of the dynamic Hurlburt was soon to be felt. Within a year three new stations had been opened: two among the Kikuyu and one among the Kamba.<sup>61</sup> By 1901 the Uganda railroad had reached Kisumu on Lake Victoria. In 1903 Hurlburt, wanting the headquarters of the Mission to be on the rail line and thus close to postal and telegraph services, chose Kijabe as the new site.<sup>62</sup>

#### The New Team

Part of Hurlburt's success was due to the caliber of men who gathered around him and whom he was able to form into a homogeneous team, strong and diverse personalities though some of them were. Accompanying Hurlburt to Africa in 1901 was Lee Downing, a staff member of the Pennsylvania Bible Institute whose wife had been one of the students at the Institute. While Hurlburt was often traveling, both in Kenya and overseas to generate new interest in the Mission,

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<sup>60</sup>Richardson, op. cit., p. 53; cf. Grimes, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>61</sup>At this time an agreement was made between the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland Mission and the A.I.M., granting the latter the area between Nairobi and the Maragua River near Fort Hall as its sphere of responsibility. Gladys Stauffacher, "Faster Beats the Drum," (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 39.

<sup>62</sup>Grimes, op. cit., p. 33. Located about 35 miles north-west of Nairobi, Kijabe has become one of the largest mission stations in the world with over 100 missionaries in residence.

Downing carried on the routine business as his deputy.<sup>63</sup>

Accompanying Hurlburt on many pioneering safaris during these early days was John Stauffacher, a Wisconsin dairy farmer who had attended North Central College in Illinois. Stauffacher arrived in 1903 and was largely responsible for developing the work among the Maasai, a fierce, nomadic tribe who followed their cattle over the vast plains below Kijabe. Within a year he was given permission to settle among them, and out of his labors came two Maasai, Mulungit and Tagi,<sup>64</sup> who became the nucleus of the Maasai Church.<sup>65</sup>

Albert Barnett, the third member of the Mission's pioneering triumvirate,<sup>66</sup> also had a vital part in laying the

<sup>63</sup>Richardson, op. cit., pp. 53-54. For many years he was the Kenya Field Director.

<sup>64</sup>Tagi Cloiposioki was a young Maasai warrior who refused a promising Army career to become an evangelist to both the Kikuyu and Maasai tribes. In addition to his native tongue he could read, speak and write in Kikuyu, Swahili, and English with fluency and ease. He translated the whole New Testament into Maasai. His life story is told by Oliver L. Burbidge, Tagi: Soldier-Evangelist-Translator (London: Africa Inland Mission, n.d.).

<sup>65</sup>For a full description of the pioneering work of the Stauffachers in Kenya see Gladys Stauffacher, "Faster Beats the Drum" pp. 41-128 and Josephine Westervelt, On Safari for God (n.p., n.d.), pp. 26-89. They were later to have a vital part in opening up the Congo field. The story of this is also found in the above mentioned literature.

<sup>66</sup>Coming somewhat later (1913), a fourth important pillar in the building of the Church, especially in the Kamba region, was John Guilding. He opened the first Bible School for the training of evangelists and Church leaders in 1929 and continued in this ministry until retirement in 1961.

foundations of the African church. Born in Australia and trained at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, he arrived in Mombasa on December 3, 1907.<sup>67</sup> When Stauffacher was asked to become Extension Director of the Mission in 1908 to penetrate unreached areas,<sup>68</sup> Barnett and his bride replaced the Stauffachers at Rumuruti among the Maasai.<sup>69</sup>

### Extension

During this period the work continued to progress. By 1906, at the end of a decade of pioneering, the missionary force had risen to thirty-one missionaries who were occupying seven stations. These were all among the Kamba and Kikuyu tribes, except for Stauffacher's station among the Maasai. Scouting trips were made during this period to the northeast among the Rendille and Samburu tribes.<sup>70</sup> By 1914 the Mission had penetrated the Nandi tribe and had established a station at Aldai.<sup>71</sup> The beachhead had thus

<sup>67</sup>Richardson, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

<sup>68</sup>The Mission entered Tanganyika Territory (now Tanzania) in 1909; Belgian Congo (now Zaire) in 1911; West Nile District, Uganda in 1918; French Equatorial Africa (now Central Africa Republic) in 1924; and the Sudan in 1949.

<sup>69</sup>Stauffacher, "Faster Beats the Drum," p. 118. All four sons and one daughter of the Barnetts returned to Kenya as missionaries under the A.I.M.

<sup>70</sup>Richardson, op. cit., pp. 61-66. Because of Government restrictions the work was not developed in this area for many years.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 76.



been secured, and the seeds of the Church had been planted over a wide area.<sup>72</sup>

### Missionary Attitudes

Since the purpose of this chapter is to chronicle only briefly the history of the Mission's beginnings, it now remains to note certain pertinent factors in the relationship with the natives who were potentially at least the embryonic Church, a Church to which the Mission was in the process of giving birth. The mold was being formed that would influence relationships for decades to come.

The attitude common to the Western missionary in this period reflects both his ethnocentricity and his feeling of superiority.<sup>73</sup> For example, Allen speaking of how trying his workmen were at times writes: "Of course, we are in Africa and must not expect so much from these dark sons of Ham as we would from those in the homeland."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup>A more detailed survey of the growth of the Church, especially in the period following World War I, will be found on pp. 229-231 of this dissertation.

<sup>73</sup>For a good discussion of missionary racial and cultural prejudice see Louis J. Luzbetak, The Church and Cultures, (Techny, Ill: Divine Word Publications, 1970), pp. 333-335. This topic will be dealt with more fully in Ch. 3 where missionary attitudes toward African culture will be examined.

<sup>74</sup>Hearing and Doing, III, 2 (1898), 5. It would be interesting to know how many of these early missionaries held to the teaching that the black race was related to Ham and under God's curse; cf. Genesis 9:25. The same missionary wrote earlier that "the Wakamba seem to have few

C. F. Johnston, writing in the same vein at the turn of the century, affirmed that

touching the people, it might be said, that they are nearly as intelligent as the people at home, and also that they closely resemble the brute creation. It depends altogether from what period or standpoint they are viewed.<sup>75</sup>

It is obvious that the Africans were being viewed and judged from the perspective of Western civilization and culture. Something of what the missionaries came expecting to find is revealed in this comment of Walter Wilson less than a year after the Mission had entered East Africa: "Intellectually they are above what we are apt to consider the heathen to be, as shown by their handiwork."<sup>76</sup>

It would have been well for all to have followed Margaret Scott's word of caution against formulating hasty judgments. She warned that such judgments could lead astray

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ideas concerning any form of religion," but he went on to admit that he did not yet know their language or customs and thus it was too early to say much. *Ibid.*, II, 5 (1897), 5. The lack of anthropological training or even viewpoint, coupled with a failure to penetrate the Kamba culture through the linguistic avenue, probably accounts for some of the rather extreme, superficial, and even erroneous statements found in some of these early writings.

<sup>75</sup>C. F. Johnston to Mr. Heyhoe in Hearing and Doing, IV, 2 (1900), 5. A short time later Johnston relates that it was discouraging to use natives in building an animal stockade "for they [the natives] are so stupid, and indescribably lazy. If one is set to work, no matter what the work is, he must be watched, or he will either go to sleep, or to picking jiggers out of his feet." *Ibid.*, IV, 6 (1900), 4.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 6 (1896), 7.

not only the constituency at home but also the Africans who might be taught error through an improper knowledge of the language.<sup>77</sup>

A question that was to enter into the relationship of the missionary and the African concerned polygamy.<sup>78</sup> With the particular mind-set of these early missionaries, could the matter be objectively viewed, either in the light of native custom or from a Biblical perspective? Allen's statement that "the system of polygamy--each man having as many wives as he can purchase . . . prevents any idea of a home life" reflects this biased approach.<sup>79</sup>

#### Social Concern

If the early missionary lacked an anthropological awareness, he did not, however, fail to express a deep social concern. This was evidenced in the early beginning of medical work already noted.<sup>80</sup> It was further expressed during the three years of famine in which it was reported

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<sup>77</sup>"I have no doubt that as we become better acquainted with the people many of our ideas may be changed, and perhaps we shall have to correct some of our former statements, therefore, I am careful not to write anything merely from supposition." Hearing and Doing, II, 8,9 (1897), 11.

<sup>78</sup>This will be treated more fully in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., II, 7 (1897), 7.

<sup>80</sup>see page 28 of this study.

that half the people of the district died.<sup>81</sup> Letter after letter tells of using the funds sent out for famine relief for the alleviation of the most pitiable human suffering.<sup>82</sup> The emptiness of evangelism without a concern for the physical needs of the people is captured by Hotchkiss when he writes:

Tell me what is the use of preaching the gospel to people who are gripped with the awful pain of hunger? How can they grasp it? How can the poor deluded minds take it in? They want bread, and a fearful account will be laid to the charge of a self-satisfied church, unless this pitiful cry of heathendom is heeded.<sup>83</sup>

Bangert saw in the famine "the golden opportunity of Christendom" to evangelize "this corner of the heathen world [*italics in the original*]."<sup>84</sup> The opportunity to minister to the temporal needs of the people was seen by the Home Council as giving the missionaries "larger influence over

<sup>81</sup>This figure was "fully corroborated by the English officers with whom I have talked concerning the famine." Letter of L. Severn, May 13, 1900 in Hearing and Doing, IV, 6 (1900), 6.

<sup>82</sup>Hotchkiss to Philadelphia Missionary Council, May 6, 1899 in Hearing and Doing, III, 6 (1899) 5-7. See also Hearing and Doing, III, 8, 9 (1899), 7, 8; Ibid., III, 10 (1899), 4-6; Ibid., III, 11 (1899), 5-7; Ibid., IV, 6 (1900), 6.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., III, 6 (1899), 5.

<sup>84</sup>Letter of Wm. Bangert, Aug. 24, 1899. "Here the natives come, anxious to work for their food, and each morning and evening can be gathered for any purpose, which under any other condition would be impossible." Hearing and Doing, III, 10 (1899), 5.

the people."<sup>85</sup> Another worker in retrospect viewed the famine as a "blessing in one way," for it revealed the true motives of the missionary.<sup>86</sup>

Growing out of the famine was the establishment of an orphanage to care for the many children left homeless.<sup>87</sup> The establishment of a twice weekly market for the whole district was seen as a further service to the community as well as being of advantage to the missionaries.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., III, 6 (1899), 5. Years later the Secretary of the same Council, writing to a missionary in this same area who had engaged in this early famine relief work, stated, "I imagine the Africa Inland Mission will have to reach the place of no social service as such." Speaking for the Home Council, he added that they would not only "question the wisdom of social service and institutions which are primarily for culture, but they have gone on record in opposition." Affirming the responsibility of the Mission to build up its converts in the faith, he did recognize however that "incidentally some service, so-called social, will result, but it will not be the main part of our program." Letter of Henry Campbell to C. F. Johnston, May 14, 1928.

<sup>86</sup>L. Severn to Home Council, May 13, 1900, ". . . the people hereabouts begin to realize that we, who have been in times past objects of some suspicion, are here for nothing but to do good; and what little food was distributed by the missionaries has helped the people to understand that we are not here from any selfish motive." Hearing and Doing, IV, 6 (1900), 6.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., IV, 4 (1900), 5-7; "I have them quartered in the building that last year was used for hospital purposes, and I am doing all I can to make it so comfortable and agreeable, that none of them shall feel like running away." Ibid., IV, 5 (1900), 5.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., IV, 3 (1900), 5.

Mission and Government

It now remains to note the relationship of the Mission to the Government that was just beginning to establish its authority in the territory.<sup>89</sup>

Although Missions and colonialism came to be identified very closely in the years to follow,<sup>90</sup> such does not appear to be the case in the beginning. A war in the vicinity of the A.I.M.'s first station between the British and the natives within two years of its establishment did not seem to affect "the friendly attitude of the natives toward the mission, and its workers."<sup>91</sup> Apart from Ainsworth, the Vice Consul, whose generosity to the Mission was previously noted,<sup>92</sup> the Government seemed to extend no special favors toward the Mission.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup>It was on July 1, 1895, just a few months before Scott and his first party landed at Mombasa, that the East Africa Protectorate was declared. See Ogot, "Kenya Under the British, 1895-1963," p. 255. This topic will receive fuller treatment in Chapter 2.

<sup>90</sup>See pp. 47-76 of this dissertation. See also Stephen Neil, Colonialism and Christian Missions (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 304-305, 322-323.

<sup>91</sup>Hearing and Doing, II, 5 (1897), 8.

<sup>92</sup>See p. 25, fn. 29 of this study.

<sup>93</sup>Allen writing to the Home Council on Aug. 14, 1897 states: "Probably you are aware that the Government authorities here do not hold out any inducements to mission work; in fact, make no allowance for it whatever. If land is taken up, it must be as 'settlers', who must cultivate largely. Thus Nzawi and Sakai can only be held as out-stations, as the land there is unfit for cultivation." Hearing and Doing, II, 10 (1897), 3. Government military operations

That such favor was coveted, however, is seen from the Mission Director's statement as he traveled to Africa for his first visit:

Everything grows brighter from day to day. Major Hatch, commanding all the troops in East Africa Protectorate, with his wife came aboard tonight [Aden]. This may mean much for our work. The Lord give me favor in his eyes [italics not in the original].<sup>94</sup>

The question might be asked: What favors can this man and the Government he represents bestow? What is to be his own situation, like the missionary, an alien in the midst of a land and people that could be hostile to an intruder, especially when he comes as a conqueror? The answer to these and other questions would have tremendous implications for missions in the coming years. The next chapter therefore examines the colonial context, the matrix in which the relationship of the Mission with the emerging Church would develop for the next ten decades.

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and caravans took precedence over mission needs, and the former could commandeer the porters hired by missionaries. See Hearing and Doing, III, 4 (1898), 4-5.

<sup>94</sup>Letter of Charles Hurlburt to Home Council, Nov. 13, 1898. Hearing and Doing, III, 12 (1898), 7.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE COLONIAL CONTEXT

#### Colonialism and Missions

The fact that missionary societies in East Africa during the last seventy years have not worked in a political vacuum but rather have developed within a colonial matrix necessitates an investigative survey of the relationship between colonialism and missions. As Hastings, a Roman Catholic missiologist, observes:

Church-history . . . forms part of the complex rough and tumble of social and political history . . . . The missionary penetration of Africa in the years 1880-1900 at times preceded but at other times depended upon the general European penetration of the conquest. The two only make historical sense when placed together [italics not in the original].<sup>1</sup>

The nature of this dissertation precludes anything but a survey of the interaction of colonialism, indeed "one of the most far reaching and widespread activities of mankind,"<sup>2</sup> and missionary policy and strategy. Primary consideration will be given to this question as it relates to the relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its

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<sup>1</sup>Adrian Hastings, Church and Mission in Modern Africa (Bronx, N. Y.: Fordham University Press, 1967), p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>Barbara Ward, Five Ideas That Change The World (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), p. 79.



national Church in Kenya.

Bishop Stephen Neil properly notes that the subject is highly complex" and that "certain generalizations . . . can be put forward only in rather tentative and uncertain fashion."<sup>3</sup> One of the reasons for this is that all the facts in the case are not currently available, for even of the accessible archives some ". . . have hardly been touched by the finger of research."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Richard Gray of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London University has further affirmed that

while a beginning has thus been made on the question of missions and colonial policy, many major themes of missionary methods and policy, and of their impact in the fields of education, medicine, and social welfare, still await detailed investigation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Stephen Neil, Colonialism and Christian Missions (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 14. Neil sees the term "colonialism" as "taking the place of the older and more familiar 'imperialism,'" while pointing out its almost exclusive negative and perjorative connotations in modern usage, but only as when applied "to the extension of European and American power in the non-western-world . . . ." Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>"Problems of Historical Perspectives: The Planting of Christianity in Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Christianity in Tropical Africa, ed. C. G. Baëta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 25. This researcher gratefully acknowledges the encouragement and counsel given to him by Dr. Gray in an interview at London University on May 19, 1972.

### Colonialism in East Africa

It is not within the scope of this study to trace the history of colonialism in East Africa.<sup>6</sup> It is sufficient to note that although by 1891 Germany and Britain had completed the partition of East Africa, the actual occupation and administration of these territories were in the hands of their respective commercial companies; in the case of Britain, the Imperial British East African Company. By July 1891 this company had become bankrupt. A withdrawal from Uganda seemed inevitable, but lobbying on the part of English missionary leaders as well as a heavy financial involvement by their supporters ultimately caused Uganda to be declared a Protectorate on June 18, 1894.<sup>7</sup>

Almost as a by-product of Britain's involvement in Uganda, whose purpose was to maintain control there and in the Nile Valley, the East Africa Protectorate was established

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<sup>6</sup>See E. A. Alpers, "The Nineteenth Century: Prelude To Colonialism," Zamani: A Survey of East African History, eds. B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kiernan (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1968), pp. 238-254. See also D. A. Low, "British East Africa: The Establishment of British Rule, 1895-1912," History of East Africa, eds. V. Harlow and E. Chilver (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), II, 1-56.

<sup>7</sup>Neil, op. cit. pp. 320-323. See also Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, 1952), pp. 140-162. A more complete account is given by D. A. Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate, 1894-1914," History of East Africa, II, 57-120.

the following year.<sup>8</sup> Oliver points out that "it was in promoting the British part in the scramble for East Africa that the missionary interest exercised its most decisive influence."<sup>9</sup> It is significant that in this case British imperialism did not move inland from the coast along the trade routes, but rather the flag ". . . followed the cross from Uganda to the sea."<sup>10</sup>

Having been at least indirectly responsible for bringing the British Government into what was to become Kenya, what was to be the relationship between the spiritual and temporal powers that between them were to shape the destiny of the land in the coming decades?

<sup>8</sup>Bethwell Ogot, "Kenya Under the British, 1895-1963," Zamani, p. 255 ff. See also Margery Perham, "Introduction," History of East Africa, II, xxii.

Krapf, an early missionary explorer in East Africa makes an interesting comment on the political significance of one area for another: ". . . the possessor of East Africa will have gained a first step towards the dominion of India . . . it may be that the fate of India will some day have to be decided in the burning solitudes of Africa . . ." J. Lewis Krapf, Travels, Researches and Missionary Labors, During an Eighteen Years' Residence in East Africa (Boston: Tichnor and Fields, 1860), p. xxxvi.

<sup>9</sup>Oliver, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 162. The centrality of Uganda, both geographically and in the minds of the British administration, is seen in Low's statement that to the British Foreign Office ". . . the Kenya interior was simply the road to Uganda." Low, "British East Africa: The Establishment of British Rule, 1895-1912," II, 11.

The Inevitable Alliance

It may be noted that throughout the entire colonial period there was an inter-dependence between missionary societies and the Crown. This is not surprising when one views their common cultural heritage and the inevitability of overlap in certain areas of common goals and endeavor. They also shared some mutual problems, such as disputes with Africans over land.<sup>11</sup> Because of this deep mutuality of interests, there developed between missions and their colonial Government an "inevitable alliance."<sup>12</sup> Although the alliance was sometimes strained to the point where in some situations a stance of diametric opposition was taken,<sup>13</sup> yet from the beginning there were Government officials in Kenya who sought to make an alliance with missions that would work for the advancement of the African population.

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<sup>11</sup>Low, "British East Africa," p. 54. See also pp. 96-98 of this dissertation for specific reference to the A.I.M.'s involvement in land disputes with the Kikuyu.

<sup>12</sup>Writing from the context of Nigeria, but expressing a sentiment the researcher has heard in Kenya, Delano calls missionaries "the front troops of the Government" who direct the attention of the people to the Cross while ". . . white men gather the riches of the land." Isaac O. Delano, One Church for Nigeria (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1945), p. 15.

<sup>13</sup>See pp. 89-95, 99-106 of this dissertation for an account of the confrontation of missions with Government regarding land and labor matters. See also pp. 75-76 for the development of the concept of "co-belligerents," a term that implies something less than an ideological partnership.

### The Government's Position

An early example of this desired partnership came in 1910 when the Governor of Kenya, E. P. C. Girourd,<sup>14</sup> called together delegates of the Africa Inland Mission, the Church Missionary Society, and the Church of Scotland Mission (the three Missions working in the Kikuyu Native Reserve)<sup>15</sup> to discuss the formulation of a policy regarding the administration of the Kikuyu tribe. In his Confidential Memorandum he stated:

It is essential for the prosperity of the East African Protectorate and more particularly for the welfare of the natives that the Government and the various Missionary Societies working in the Native Reserves should endeavour to work harmoniously in the great task before them of raising the African races to a higher level.

. . . Succeeding generations are in our hands, and

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<sup>14</sup>Girourd had previously served in Northern Nigeria (as Lugard's successor), Egypt, and South Africa before becoming Governor of Kenya in 1909. According to Low, he "probably had a broader conspectus of African conditions than any other governor of his day." His term was cut short however in 1912 by a disagreement with his superiors in London over some Maasai lands. Low, "British East Africa," pp. 22-23; cf. p. 284, Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Reference is made to "spheres of influence" in a 1919 Government report, though these were apparently established by the time Girourd called this Conference. Kenya Province Annual Report, 1919-1920, Pc/cp 4/1/1, Kenya National Archives. (From the collection of David Sandgren.) For the specific areas allotted to these three Missions see Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1966), pp. 106-108.

it is for us, the government and the missionary, to mould the people as best we can with the educative means at our disposal. As these means are limited, it is wisest to commence with the education of the sons of Chiefs and principal elders, and prepare them for the duties they will in course of time be called upon to perform. The education of these boys will be undertaken by the Missionary Societies with the assistance of the Government, and the fathers will contribute toward their keep . . . . .

It is my earnest wish that the natives not be allowed or be taught, to think that the Government and the Missionaries are not one and all working for their common good; and this can only be brought about by mutual support and at the same time by striving to preserve and not to destroy the African nationalism.<sup>16</sup>

The close relationship existing at this time between missions and the colonial Government is further reflected in an address given at the United Missionary Conference held in Nairobi June 7-11, 1909 by H. R. Tate, the District Commissioner of Kyambu and later Provincial Commissioner of the Kenia Province. Speaking for the Government, he outlined what he considered to be the role of the missionary.

. . . We look to them to strengthen the moral force of this country, to give a true ideal to its development; to counteract the destructive forces which inevitably follow the opening up and development of new regions in Africa and to deepen the unity which should hold this country together . . . . I believe in the work of missions . . . and I regard them in the true sense as an imperial force composed of

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<sup>16</sup>The above is a Confidential Memorandum, PCEA A/6, Enclosure in Secretariat to H. E. Scott, Conf. M. P. 239/10, 3rd March 1910, cited by Brian G. McIntosh in "The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891-1923" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 481-482.

faithful and trusty sons and daughters of the Empire.<sup>17</sup>

These declarations of Girourd and Tate substantiate the statement of C. C. Martindale, S. J., who after the Le Zoute Conference in 1926 observed that even as Protestant missions were seeking to create an environment in which they could carry on their evangelism and thus change hearts, so "concomitantly, Governments see that government is based upon consent; they therefore desire, no less, a change of heart."<sup>18</sup>

From the beginning of the colonial era, therefore, ". . . the white missionaries in East Africa were supported by the authority of the Colonial Government."<sup>19</sup> Idowu concurs with the statement that "about 1904 . . . they enjoyed an almost limitless freedom to make and carry out their own schemes."<sup>20</sup> Although there were exceptions,<sup>21</sup> it cannot be denied that from beginning to end the colonial

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<sup>17</sup>Report of the United Missionary Conference, Nairobi, June 7-11, 1909 (Nairobi, Kenya: Advertisers, Coy, 1909), p. 56.

<sup>18</sup>C. C. Martindale, African Angelus: Episodes and Impressions (London: Shedd & Ward, 1932), p. 338. For an elaboration of this concept see A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), pp. 263-264.

<sup>19</sup>Bolaji Idowu, "The Predicament of the Church in Africa," Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 424.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>For an example of such a situation, see this dissertation, p. 41, fn. 93.

Government gave great support to missions and in effect to the promulgation of Christianity.<sup>22</sup>

### The Mission's Response

Whatever the motivation of the Government, given the problems that missions were facing in getting established during the early days,<sup>23</sup> it is not surprising that pronouncements such as those by Tate and Girourd were on the whole well received and their sentiments reciprocated. At the same 1909 Missionary Conference a resolution was unanimously adopted affirming that "in the work of uplifting native races Christian Missions and a Christian Government are mutually dependent."<sup>24</sup>

The suggestion of Governor Girourd concerning "the education of the sons of Chiefs and principal elders"<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>This support was seen in the controversy over female circumcision (see pp. 144-45 of this dissertation) when a large number left A.I.M.'s Githumu Church. Jonah Kinuthia, one of those who remained, states that "the Government was moreover on our side as it supported the missionaries." Written report of interview with Jonah Kinuthia by David Sandgren, December 4, 1970. (From the collection of David Sandgren.) When in 1948 a dissident group tried to take over Githumu station the Government again intervened in behalf of the Mission. H. Virginia Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), pp. 227-235.

<sup>23</sup>Even after two decades in Kenya an A.I.M. missionary teacher was forced to admit: "The attendance in school was very small this term. Unless they are given a lemon or a little salt the children from the outside villages will not stay in school." Letter of Helen Goosen to O. R. Campbell, October 8, 1916.

<sup>24</sup>Report of the United Missionary Conference, loc.cit.

<sup>25</sup>See p. 49 of this dissertation.



was speedily pursued by the A.I.M. A letter, written seven months after the Governor's Confidential Memorandum had gone out, stated:

Mr. Downing is [sic] in NRB. [Nairobi] since Tuesday attending meeting of Governor with certain native chiefs in regard to sending their sons to the different Missions to be educated.<sup>26</sup>

That the implementation of this program was begun is seen in a reference to a local District Commissioner's asking an A.I.M. missionary to ". . . take in some chiefs' sons and school them."<sup>27</sup> An interesting commentary on this Government official's attitude toward the Mission is seen when these chiefs asked what wages they were to get for sending their sons to the Mission. According to this same letter, the District Commissioner replied, "Wages, you ought to pay the missionary for teaching your children."<sup>28</sup>

Girourd's reference to the need for the Government and the various missionary societies ". . . to work harmoniously together in the great task before them of raising the African races to a higher level"<sup>29</sup> found its

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<sup>26</sup>Letter of H. Stumpf to C. Hurlburt, October 27, 1910.

<sup>27</sup>Letter of L. H. Propst to Charles Hurlburt, October 8, 1916. The Mission did, however, resist Government pressure to have the chiefs' sons excused from Religious Knowledge classes, Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, January 16, 1912.

<sup>28</sup>Propst, *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>See p. 48 of this dissertation.

echo in stated missionary objectives. Andrew Anderson, an early A.I.M. missionary, uses almost the same language when he asserts that "the Government and Missionary must advance with a definite teaching along such lines as clothing, costumes etc."<sup>30</sup> In the same letter he referred to "the need of certain rules and principles which both Government and Missionaries need to have . . . ."<sup>31</sup>

The further support of the colonial Government by missions in the Kikuyu area during the mid 20's, when, at least some of Kenya's "new elite"<sup>32</sup> were becoming its greatest critics,<sup>33</sup> is seen in their ". . . persuading, and enabling certain Chiefs to establish a body called the Loyal Kikuyu Association ostensibly representing the people through traditional authority . . . ."<sup>34</sup> Kenyatta is apparently referring to the formation of the Kikuyu

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<sup>30</sup>Letter of Andrew Anderson to Oliver Fletcher, August 9, 1922.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. In actual fact such "rules and principles" common to Government and missions were not always in evidence, for in this letter Anderson was lamenting the fact that the Governor had encouraged the people of his area to revert to wearing skins and smearing clay and grease on their bodies according to their previous custom.

<sup>32</sup>For a discussion of this group see pp. 122-125 of this dissertation.

<sup>33</sup>Ogot, "Kenya Under the British, 1895-1913," p. 266.

<sup>34</sup>Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), p. 32.

Association<sup>35</sup> whose leaders "accepted the colony's basic political structure . . ." and ". . . their subordinate role in the colonial state."<sup>36</sup>

Ogot affirms that the Missions supported the Government policy of confining African politics to tribal channels.<sup>37</sup> It will be seen that this kind of missionary support of Government continued right up through the Mau Mau movement to the period of independence.<sup>38</sup>

#### Benefits to the A.I.M.

That this alliance of missions and Government

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<sup>35</sup>For a description of this group and its contrast with the Kikuyu Central Association see p.134, fn. 68 of this study. Similar to the Kikuyu Association was the Progressive Kikuyu Party, sponsored by the Church of Scotland Mission. Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," pp. 115-116.

<sup>36</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, pp. 42, 86.

<sup>37</sup>Ogot, op. cit., p. 280.

<sup>38</sup>Kenya's Field Director wrote how greatly encouraged he was by the statement of a Government official that "no mission has supported Government as faithfully as the Africa Inland Mission." Letter of Elwood Davis to Henry Campbell, November 25, 1929. Two years later Davis, speaking for the Mission, affirmed: "We have stood faithful to Government through all the years and have been against the K.C.A. [Kikuyu Central Association] in their fight against the Government . . ." Letter of Elwood Davis to Henry Campbell, November 25, 1931.

For an account of the Mission's cooperation with the Government during the Mau Mau emergency when Mission adherents formed a volunteer security force that was ". . . recognized by Government and given identification insignia," see Wellesley Devitt, "The Courage of Kikuyu Christians," Inland Africa, XXXVII, 5 (1953, 12-13.

issued in much practical support for the missionary cause is evidenced in the correspondence of the colonial period.

Lawson Propst was a pioneer A.I.M. missionary among the Nandi tribe. While opening up this area for missionary work, he worked with a District Commissioner who was of great assistance in getting the local Africans to work on a 17 mile road leading to the mission station.<sup>39</sup> Referring to this Commissioner and his further help in recruiting students for the school, Propst wrote:

You can see how much this means in a place like this and among a people like this, to have a government man who is willing to do so much as this to get the work started.<sup>40</sup>

When Stauffacher was in the early stages of his work among the Maasai,<sup>41</sup> he held a high level meeting with the Maasai chief, Olonana, and the sub-Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate concerning education.<sup>42</sup> It was agreed that a school for the Maasai with forty students initially, would be started by Stauffacher on the banks of the Athi

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39". . . he [the Commissioner] ordered the Chiefs to have the people dig a path from our place to the top of the escarpment, toward Kibegori, and told them to come to us and make it where we laid it out." Letter of Lawson Propst to Charles Hurlburt, October 8, 1916.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> See p. 34 of this dissertation.

<sup>42</sup> Letter of John Stauffacher to Florence Minch, June 13, 1905. King calls this conference "one of the earliest summit meetings on African education in Kenya." Kenneth King "The Kenya Maasai and the Protest Phenomenon, 1900-1960," Journal of African History, XII, 1 (1971), 121.

River. Stauffacher was delighted with the prospect and reveals unreservedly in this same letter the great extent to which he was depending on Government support in this new endeavor:

The boys are all to be under the big chief and must obey him. Before they can come to me they must go to the Sub-Commissioner and be registered, also their fathers. If the agreement is not kept I need simply report to the Sub-Commissioner and he will carry it out. Now you not knowing conditions can hardly realize just what this means. This much however you can see we can hold the boys in perfect discipline having all the powers back of us. [*italics not in the original*].<sup>43</sup>

In the struggle between the older generation of Africans and the missionaries for the allegiance of the young people the Government official more than once took the part of the missionary. Laura Collins, an A.I.M. missionary, tells of trying to help a young girl at the mission station whose father wanted her to return to the village. She tried to persuade him to let the girl remain and become a Christian, adding that

. . . the Gov[ernment] officials greatly help us these days by saying that young girls have a right to choose the Path of God if they wish, and if their heathen owners [sic] won't allow them to attend services from their own homes, they may remain with us.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Letter of John Stauffacher to Florence Minch, June 13, 1905.

<sup>44</sup>Letter of Laura Collins to H. Campbell, August 13, 1927. It is obvious from the correspondence of this period that the Government's intervention in this way was a common occurrence.

According to Rosberg and Nottingham, Protestant missions, from the earliest days ". . . had made constant appeals for Government support and encouragement in stamping out the custom of female circumcision."<sup>45</sup> Although the response of the Government was tempered, in September of 1925 a confidential Circular of the Native Affairs Department declared that the ". . . Government unhesitatingly and emphatically condemn<sup>g</sup> the practice."<sup>46</sup> The Circular further stated that

District Officers, in districts in which it is prevalent in its more aggravated form, will explain its dangers to Local Native Councils, and endeavor to secure their opposition to it.<sup>47</sup>

That this policy was put into practice in the A.I.M. sphere, parts of which eminently qualified for a prevalence of the practice, is seen in missionary correspondence from this period. Describing the critical situation that was developing over the circumcision issue at A.I.M.'s Githumu station, the center of the storm, Hartsock, one of the missionaries stationed there, stated: "The Government

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<sup>45</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 113. For a discussion of this custom and its effect on the relationship of the A.I.M. to its Church, see pp. 130-155 of this dissertation.

<sup>46</sup>KNA: DC/MKS 10B/12/1, Circumcision of Women, Circular No. 36 (September 21, 1925), cited by Rosberg and Nottingham, *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.* It is significant that this Circular does not direct Government officials to stop the practice of female circumcision or to prevent its taking place.

people surely have shown themselves friendly toward us."<sup>48</sup> The following year she referred to a special trip made by the District Commissioner to Githumu where he ". . . stood friendly with Mr. Reynolds [the Station Superintendent] to the discomfort of the chief who had broken up a church service and ordered the school closed and to the trouble-makers of that district."<sup>49</sup>

The support of the Mission by the Government was not limited to specific issues nor "troubled areas."<sup>50</sup> This same Government cooperation was experienced among the Kamba tribe, the tribe where Scott began the work of the A.I.M.<sup>51</sup> Writing from Mulungo station in 1932, the Station Superintendent reported:

Recently when the Government official came to hold court there [Ndatani], three old men got up and said that they wanted a stop put to the preaching of the gospel. It was reported that the official told them he would do no such thing and that if they did not cease their trouble making he would lock them up.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Letter of Margaret Hartsock to H. Campbell, March 3, 1928.

<sup>49</sup>Letter of Hartsock to Campbell, December 1, 1929.

<sup>50</sup>The term is found in A.I.M. correspondence during this period. It obviously reflects the viewpoint of those allied with the colonial power. The Kikuyu did not consider themselves to be causing trouble but were rather defending their rights in challenging Mission and Government authority.

<sup>51</sup>See pp. 25-26 of this dissertation.

<sup>52</sup>Letter of H. Nixon (no addressee, probably general circular letter), December 19, 1932.

### Kingdom Within a Kingdom

It is not surprising therefore, that this special assistance granted to missions, including the A.I.M., should issue in a special status for the missions' adherents before the colonial Government. Macpherson speaks of it as a "quasi-established status."<sup>53</sup> Living physically under the shadow of the missionary on the mission compound or in the district surrounding it,<sup>54</sup> the "Mission Africans" entered into a special relationship not only with the missionaries but with the Government from which these missionaries were often receiving special favors growing out of the de facto alliance.<sup>55</sup>

In some instances there appeared to develop a

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<sup>53</sup>Robert Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya: The Presbyterian Church of East Africa, 1970), p. 99.

<sup>54</sup>See pp.122-125 of this dissertation for further reference to some of the results of the mission compound.

<sup>55</sup>"The Church Missionary Society (Church of England) and the Church of Scotland Mission enjoyed a special relationship with the Government since they were state-established. The A.I.M. was drawn into this vortex unconsciously in order to live and function." Interview with Robert Macpherson, Dunfermline, Scotland, May 17, 1972.



kingdom within a kingdom.<sup>56</sup> This was apparently true of the A.I.M.'s headquarters station of Kijabe. In a lengthy letter written from there less than fifteen years after the Mission's entry into the country, the Station Superintendent describes the agreement that he had reached with the Assistant District Commissioner. He refers to the fact that

the A[ssistant] D[istrict] C[ommissioner], at our request, instructed the native chiefs to always summon any of our people who are wanted for ciras [court cases] through the missionary in charge [italics not in the original].<sup>57</sup>

The Station Superintendent, under authority granted by the colonial Government, thus became a buffer between the African living on the Compound and the colonial-imposed

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<sup>56</sup>This concept developed in the thinking of the writer while he was a missionary in the ex-Belgian Congo. During the colonial era in that country there were special tax benefits to the Africans living on the mission compound. For this and other reasons to reside on the compound was a sought for privilege, and at times it resulted in a large African population surrounding the missionary residences. This researcher remembers a Government official coming to collect taxes on such a station where a single missionary had for many years been working alone. Surveying the large number of Africans claiming residential status and thus preferential treatment, he referred rather disparagingly to "the kingdom of Mr. Litchman [the Station Superintendent]."

<sup>57</sup>Letter of Fred McKenrick to Charles Hurlburt, February 3, 1911. The reference to "our people" reflects the paternalistic approach of the missionary to the African during this period. For examples of it in a later period see pp. 239-241 of this study.

structure and authority.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the native chiefs had to collect all debts involving "Mission Africans" through the missionary in charge.<sup>59</sup> The third item of the agreement had even more far reaching implications. It stated that in the future

. . . no case will be entertained at either Kyambu or Dagoretti [Government posts] against one residing on the mission until it had been tried by a joint kiama [council] of athuri [elders], and in case of appeal the athuri [elders] will be taken as witnesses . . . [*italics not in the original*]<sup>60</sup>

The Director of the A.I.M., Charles Hurlburt, who

<sup>58</sup>It is recognized that this tribal structure and authority were themselves largely imposed by the colonial Government. According to Muriuki, when the British took over Kikuyuland, they found "no visible traditional authority" with which they could work and relatively few administrative personnel. As a result ". . . the administrative officers turned to the motley crowd of mercenaries who had served them as porters, guides or askari, and created them into chiefs." Godfrey Muriuki, "A History of the Kikuyu to 1904" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, University of London, 1969), p. 217.

That this practice continued throughout the colonial era is seen from Teasdale's statement that "due to the outstanding loyalty of Christians in the Mau Mau emergency, many Christian men have been appointed chiefs and rehabilitation officers." Charles Teasdale, "An Evaluation of the Ecclesiology of the Africa Inland Church" (unpublished Master's thesis, Wheaton College Graduate School, 1956), p. 74.

<sup>59</sup>McKenrick, loc. cit.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid. Traditionally the kiama was a court of arbitration and could only inflict punishments with the consent of the community. Under colonial rule the kiama became a court of judgment. Kikuyu District, Provincial Commissioner Record Book, Part II, Pc/cp, 1/4/2, 1912, p.23. Kenya National Archives. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

was temporarily residing in America when these decisions of Government were made, was quick to recognize their significance. In replying to McKenrick's letter, he wrote expressing his great interest in these developments and his rejoicing ". . . in the advanced position which the Government has taken on these matters."<sup>61</sup> Hurlburt's understanding of the implications of these decisions is seen in his statement that this position taken by the Government ". . . will mean much easier work for whoever may succeed you."<sup>62</sup>

The effect of such an agreement in several other directions is also apparent. The native chiefs, who were appointed by the Government, could not help but realize that a portion of their authority over their own tribal people had been transferred by Government decree to the missionary. The requirement that all court cases involving Africans living on the station be first tried in a court involving the local Church elders presented the chiefs with a rival civil power, resident though it may have been in ecclesiastical authorities.

The relationship of mission converts to the traditional structure remained an abrasive issue throughout this period. On occasion there was evidence of African

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<sup>61</sup>Letter of Charles Hurlburt to Fred McKenrick, March 31, 1911.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

Christians being unable to obtain justice in a Native Kiama [Council] because of the opposition of the tribal elders to Christianity and also being prevented from participating in the deliberations when actually a part of the Court as representatives of the Christianity community.<sup>63</sup> As a consequence Archdeacon Binns of the Church Missionary Society proposed the establishment of Christian Native Councils to obviate the ". . . unfairness of asking a baptised Christian native to submit to the jurisdiction of a pagan Council of Elders who . . . would certainly be biased against a convert."<sup>64</sup>

This proposal was objected to by at least one Government official who anticipated that Africans against whom Native Councils had passed decrees would ". . . shelter themselves under the protection of the missions" with considerable friction ensuing.<sup>65</sup> It would seem as if McKenrick's agreement involving a "joint kiama" [council]

<sup>63</sup>Conference of Native Church in South Kikuyuland, 5th and 6th July, 1916, P.C.E.A., G. 2. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

<sup>64</sup>"Christian Native Converts," Memo of Nyanza Provincial Commissioner, Minute Paper 252/A, September 1, 1912. Kenya National Archives. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

<sup>65</sup>He recognized further that "the success or failure of the natives' Councils in a great measure depends upon the loyal cooperation of the missions and [that] less friction is likely to occur by placing their adherents under tribal law than if placed in a class apart." District Commissioner, Machakos, 1/6/1, Kikuyu District Quarterly, September 30, 1910, Kenya National Archives. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

was a mediating position that recognized both tribal authority along with the apparent need for a special Church Council to deal with even civil affairs.

Finally, the lesson could not be lost on these tribal leaders that a partnership between the Mission and the Government existed, for this intrusion on the part of the Mission into extra-mission matters could only have taken place under governmental approval.

A further example of the intermediary role of the Mission vis-à-vis the Government came during World War I when the chiefs were required to produce their quota of porters for the Army. There was naturally a great reluctance on the part of the Africans to enter the Carrier Corps.<sup>66</sup> It was quite natural that refuge from such service would be sought at mission stations. While theoretically those residing on mission stations were under the authority of the chiefs and thus were liable for induction into military service, ". . . in practice they tended to resent, and ignore, the chief's orders."<sup>67</sup>

Although in one instance at least A.I.M. missionaries

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<sup>66</sup>Typical of the comments found in district officers' reports from 1915 to 1917 is the following: "Almost all have an intense fear and hatred of service with the carrier corps." Donald Savage and J. Forbes Munro, "Carrier Corps recruitment in the British East African Protectorate 1914-1918," Journal of African History, VII, 2 (1966), 325, citing Kisumu District, Annual Report, 1916-17.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid. p. 329.

cooperated with the Government by revealing the names of many who were evading military service in the area of one station,<sup>68</sup> they nevertheless sought to retain to a degree the privileged status of bona fide Mission adherents. This was accomplished in the Kikuyu area by obtaining an agreement with the District Commissioner that the chiefs would not draft any boys who had been in school before the beginning of the war.<sup>69</sup> On one occasion there was a court case involving a conflict between the Mission and Chief Njiri over the draft question.<sup>70</sup> The District Commissioner, contrary to usual policy, at the request of the local missionary, came to the mission station to hold court. In beginning the deliberations, which resulted in a decision favorable to the Mission, he emphasized the close relationship of the Government and the Mission:

. . . the Government and the Mission have joined forces to help the Kikuyu tribe learn how to take their place among the enlightened people of the world . . . . the Government and the mission are like two bullocks hitched to a cart. We are pulling together to help your cart go forward.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>"How the Commissioner Solved the Recruiting Problem," Inland Africa, I, 2(1917), 9-10.

<sup>69</sup>Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain, p. 115.

<sup>70</sup>Specifically it involved seizing some of the school boys for service with the Carrier Corps. Such raids on European farms and elsewhere, including one on A.I.M.'s Kijabe station, became common as the pressure for recruits increased in 1917. Savage and Munro, op. cit. pp. 330-332.

<sup>71</sup>Blakeslee, op. cit., p. 120. Dr. Balkeslee, a medical doctor under the A.I.M., recounts this whole incident in which she took the leading part (pp. 114-121).

The Africans living on the station could not help but develop a certain mentality as the beneficiaries of this special relationship between the Government and "their" Mission. The missionary was at once their patron and their protector, their advocate before both the alien colonial regime and their own tribal authorities. The relationship, therefore, between the missionary in charge and the African population on the compound could not help but be extremely paternalistic. While benefiting immediately from this favored position, the African, nevertheless, thereby assumed a subordinate role, a role that carried with it a corresponding mental attitude that he was to retain until the era of independence.

This special relationship with the Government enjoyed by the missionary was reflected in his attitude toward the Africans. It expressed itself in numerous ways, many of them seemingly trivial but nevertheless significant in that they vividly portray the prevailing ethos of the colonial period.

One such incident involved a missionary who, writing from Kijabe in 1916, requested that any dresses sent from America for the African girls be very plain.<sup>72</sup> The previous year missionaries of another society had received clothing ". . . which they considered too good for

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<sup>72</sup>"Omit tucks, ruffles, piping etc." Letter of H. Stumpf to M. Young, June 1, 1916.

natives and [they] sent it to our missionaries' children."<sup>73</sup> Even these dresses, however, were not as fancy as the A.I.M. had been accustomed to giving to the African girls. The A.I.M. missionaries were thus concerned lest their native girls appear "dressed better than white children. . . ."<sup>74</sup>

Paternalism is not only protective; it can also be very authoritarian. Anderson calls it "patriarchal authority."<sup>75</sup> This authority was exercised by the missionaries not only with reference to the colonial Government but also vis-a-vis the home constituency of the Mission. If the missionary served as a buffer between the Africans and their Government, he was even more effective in blocking any communication that they might have had with their American benefactors. From the early days of the work friends of the Mission in the homeland had sponsored native

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Efraim Andersson, Churches at the Grass Roots (New York, Friendship Press, 1968), p. 54.



workers.<sup>76</sup> On occasion a picture of the native evangelist was sent to the sponsoring body. That the Mission, however, was careful to remain the sole link between the two parties is seen in the following assurance:

In regard to correspondence between Mucai and the friendship Bible Class, you need have no fears, as the policy of the Githumu Station workers has been for years to intercept all letters for natives. So anything addressed to Mucai via that station will never reach him . . . ."<sup>77</sup>

The Mission thus enjoyed a most favored position during the colonial era.<sup>78</sup> Though the missionaries were

<sup>76</sup>See pp. 27-28 of this study for an early account of this practice. There is a recurrent reference to it in the correspondence of the first 35 years of the Mission's work; e. g., letter of Hulda Stumpf to M. Young, December 13, 1913. In another letter Warimwe, an outschool teacher in the Kinyona district, is added to the list. "He has been with the mission since a very small boy, is bright and capable of good work . . . ." Letter of H. Stumpf to O. R. Campbell, December 28, 1915. Palmer had previously written expressing the hope that ". . . it may be possible for those who support our natives on the Field to receive letters three or four times a year." Letter of O. R. Palmer to H. Stumpf, Nov. 1, 1915. In a much later letter Stumpf speaks of financial problems and the difficulty of making up the teachers' payroll. She mentions that in the Machakos area the teachers went on strike ". . . and the people refuse to help support them, saying if the A.I.M. is not able to give to their needs they will join a mission who is able." Letter of H. Stumpf to H. Campbell, March 9, 1928. For the A.I.M.'s change of policy regarding the support of native evangelists and teachers, see p. 234 of this dissertation.

<sup>77</sup>H. Stumpf to H. Campbell, February 9, 1929.

<sup>78</sup>It is easy to see why Bildad Kaggia, a prominent Kikuyu labor leader and politician would affirm that missions ". . . found certain advantages in the preservation of colonial rule." Interview: Bildad Kaggia, October 31, 1963, cited by Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 193.

the heralds of the unseen, spiritual kingdom of heaven, they at times found it all too easy (or convenient) to build their own little kingdom on earth.

### Alliance in War

Although an A.I.M. missionary could affirm the Mission's neutrality in the conflict that engulfed British East Africa in World War I,<sup>79</sup> it is obvious where the Mission's sympathies quite naturally lay. When in 1917 the Government's increased demands for recruits for the Carrier Corps made it clear that mission adherents would be liable for service, Dr. J. W. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission, supported among others by Rev. Lee Downing of the A.I.M., proposed the formation of a special carrier unit composed of mission followers and commanded by missionaries. Although the Kikuyu tribe provided the majority of the recruits, there were a few hundred from A.I.M.'s stations among the Kamba tribe.<sup>80</sup> These Africans from the spheres of A.I.M. were led by five A.I.M.

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<sup>79</sup>Letter of Hulda Stumpf to "Sister Martha," November 5, 1914.

<sup>80</sup>Savage and Munro, op. cit., p. 332. Tagi, one of Stauffacher's early converts (see p. 34, fn. 64 of this study) has given a vivid account of his experiences with the Corps in German East Africa. "A Native's Account of Native Christians in the War in Africa," Inland Africa, II, 7 (1918), 12-14. See also "More about God's Presence with the Carrier Corps," Inland Africa, II, 8 (1918), 13-15.

missionaries.<sup>81</sup>

As World War II broke upon the world scene, the sense of identification between the Mission and the British Government only deepened. An expression of this mutuality of feeling and cooperation is seen in the exchange of correspondence between the A.I.M. and the Chief Secretary of Kenya Colony. In a letter from the Kenya Field Council the Field Director expressed the Mission's appreciation of the Government's attitude toward the Mission's work during the critical war days. He added:

You have granted us every reasonable facility for carrying on our work. You have allowed our missionaries to return to Kenya from Home, and to go Home from Kenya, so far as you have considered such movement safe.

While we feel that our particular duty at the present time is to remain at our usual work, we express our sympathy with you in your task of driving invaders from the country, and we desire to be helpful to you.<sup>82</sup>

The Government replied with its own letter of appreciation, stating that it was ". . . not unmindful of

<sup>81</sup>Kenneth Richardson, Garden of Miracles (London: Victory Press, 1968), p. 73. Several A.I.M. missionaries also served as chaplains to the Kenya Army in World War II. One wrote: "Seeing as I do, the vast need and ripe harvests in the Army, I am hoping and praying others will 'join up' too as Padres." Letter of Kenneth Phillips to Ralph Davis, January 11, 1943. One A.I.M. nurse spent eight months in the East African Military Nursing Service. Letter of Hazel Hill to "Dear Friends," March 31, 1941.

<sup>82</sup>Letter to The Honorable Chief Secretary from A.I.M. Field Director, February 24, 1941.

the helpful spirit of cooperation displayed by your Council during this period in the Colony's history . . . ."83

This same "spirit of cooperation" was recognized by the Government over a decade later. In the book Kenya's Progress, which was proposed as the basic textbook for use in the Government's "rehabilitation" program of Mau Mau detainees, missionaries were praised for their many contributions to the Africans.<sup>84</sup> Missionaries were also recognized for teaching among other things ". . . how to behave toward parents and those in authority like chiefs and the Government . . . ."85

Into the growing networks of camps and prisons housing Mau Mau detainees, Missions, both Protestant and Catholic, sent their Chaplains to aid in carrying out the Government's rehabilitation program.<sup>86</sup> The A.I.M. was deeply involved through missionaries as well as African

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<sup>83</sup>Letter from the Chief Secretary to A.I.M. Kenya Field Director, 4th March, 1941, No. S/F. ADM. 29/5/10. 4/119.

<sup>84</sup>Tom G. Askwith, Kenya's Progress (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Literature Bureau, 1958), pp. 80-84.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 82. It is clear that the Government appreciated having the missionaries as authority figures who could inculcate loyalty to the colonial regime.

<sup>86</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 340. The Government's practice of appointing not only Christian rehabilitation officers but Christian chiefs during this period was noted on p. 61, fn. 58 of this study.

Church leaders who were set apart for this ministry.<sup>87</sup> The A.I.M. and its national Church thus found themselves partners working in cooperation with the Government. It was during this time that the Government granted the A.I.M. free time over its radio station for Christian programs in the Kikuyu language. The African Church again provided an important element of this ministry.

#### Alliance in Education

Before delineating other aspects of the relationship between missions and Government, note should be taken of the fact that, apart from war, this alliance found tangible expression in at least three specific areas of missionary activity.

The field of education provides a prime example of this partnership between missions and Government.<sup>88</sup> It was in this phase of their work that missions most closely allied themselves with the colonial regime.

Writing of the relationship of the Bremen Mission to the British Government in Ghana, Schlunk, the Director, makes some observations relative to the Missions's educational work that are equally applicable to Kenya. He

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<sup>87</sup>See Charles Teasdale, "An Evaluation of the Ecclesiology of the Africa Inland Church," p. 76.

<sup>88</sup>This educational partnership and its effect on the African Church of the A.I.M. will be dealt with in Ch. 4.

sees the educational partnership as a ". . . compromise, heavily loaded with difficulties," for it tends "to make the supervising missionary a Government official . . . ."89 He goes even further in stating that "it makes the Mission a tool of colonialism," with the resultant difficulty of disassociating Christianity from European cultural expansion.<sup>90</sup> But without engaging in education, Schlunk admits, the Mission would not have been allowed to work at all.<sup>91</sup> This latter fact must be kept in mind when the A.I.M.'s ambivalent attitude toward education is examined.<sup>92</sup> To educate (in cooperation with the Government) or not to educate: that was the question. It was a question, however, that permitted the A.I.M. little or no choice.<sup>93</sup>

#### Alliance in Medical Work

Medical work was another area in which missions and the Government cooperated, with missions often preceding

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<sup>89</sup>E. Grau, "Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana." Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 71.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>See pp. 160-182 of this dissertation.

<sup>93</sup>In 1936 the A.I.M. wanted to set up a committee composed of African Church elders and a missionary to receive and disperse Government Grants-in-aid given to Mission schools. According to the Field Director, the ". . . Government will not give their money to Africans and wants the missionaries to receive it and dispose of it and account for it." Letter of E. L. Davis to Wadham, October 23, 1936.

the Government's health measures.<sup>94</sup> It was the prior establishment of missions in Kenya that doubtless gave them the lead over Government in providing certain social services. It will be remembered that the Church Missionary Society had established a base near Mombasa in 1844 and by 1877 was as far inland as Uganda.<sup>95</sup> Thus

while the embryo administrations were engaged in the prosaic tasks of establishing law and order, providing communications and wrestling with the most elementary problems of taxation and justice, the missions, already fledged, were directing great popular movements in religion and education, were introducing Western medicine . . . .<sup>96</sup>

In contrast with the Portuguese policy of discouraging and in some cases preventing medical service by qualified missionaries, the British, ". . . recognizing responsible medical services of the missions, encouraged their development and cooperated with [them] . . . ," while at the same time developing their own program to supplement that of the missions.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup>For the A.I.M.'s immediate entrance into medical work, see pp. 28-29 of this study.

<sup>95</sup>Alpers, "The Nineteenth Century: Prelude to Colonialism," Zamani, p. 252. This involved a leap into the interior rather than establishing a chain of mission stations from the coast to Uganda, cf. p. 46, fn. 10 of this study.

<sup>96</sup>Oliver, op. cit., p. 289.

<sup>97</sup>Charles Fuller, "Native and Missionary Religions," The Transformation of East Africa: Studies in Political Anthropology, eds. Stanley Diamond and Fred Burke (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 528.

Alliance in Famine Relief

The A.I.M. served as an agency of the Government in famine relief work from time to time. In 1932 locusts and famine struck the Kamasia tribe in Kenya, and the Kabartonjo Station Superintendent reported that the missionaries spent a large part of their time assisting the Government in their ". . . free distribution of food both at the mission and at the government post."<sup>98</sup> He later reported that the Government officials expressed their appreciation for this assistance by ". . . allowing the Station 1,000 lbs. of posho [flour] for services rendered."<sup>99</sup>

As late as 1963 the A.I.M., in cooperation with the Government, was deeply involved in famine relief work among the Turkana in Kenya's Northern Frontier District.

Co-belligerents

In a sense it might be said that the term "alliance" and "partnership" as they have been used to describe the relationship of the Mission and Government are too strong, suggesting an "official" or formal relationship that did not really exist. Although on occasion definite agreements

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<sup>98</sup>Annual Report, Kabartonjo Station, 1926.

<sup>99</sup>Letter of E. B. Dalziel to H. C. Campbell; June 22, 1933.



were signed by individual Missions with the Government, especially with reference to educational programs, there was not for the most part a de jure relationship. Rather in many situations missions and Government might better be considered as co-belligerents, two forces or agencies brought together by their common fight against ignorance, poverty, and disease.<sup>100</sup>

To use another image, the relationship of missions and Government was only a marriage of convenience brought about by a community of interests, for "neither agency had any idea of deviating from its own natural course in order to form a more powerful combination with the other."<sup>101</sup> This "happy accident,"<sup>102</sup> to use Oliver's apt phrase, continued and developed throughout the entire colonial era, but not without its ebb and flow.

#### Subservience

It needs to be remembered that this partnership of Government and missions was not always, if ever, one of

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<sup>100</sup>It is interesting to note that after almost seventy years of colonial rule leaders of independent Kenya have still been calling their people to fight these three great enemies. See Jomo Kenyatta, The Challenge of Uhuru: The Progress of Kenya 1968-1970 (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1971), pp. 4, 14.

<sup>101</sup>Oliver, pp.cit., p. 179.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

equals.<sup>103</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that one finds situations where missionary societies yielded to the pressures of the colonial Government, even on issues of moral consequence. To be sure, as in the matter of education previously cited, at times there seemed to be little choice or few viable alternatives.<sup>104</sup> In other matters, however, this subservient attitude seemed to be unnecessarily obsequious.

#### Use Of Negro Missionaries

A prime example was the employment of Negro missionaries in Kenya. In 1923 Governor Coryndon ". . . made the proviso that no Negro missionaries should be admitted to Kenya."<sup>105</sup> Naturally this required authorization from the missionary societies. At the same time the

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<sup>103</sup>Within this partnership the A.I.M. did not for the most part enjoy the status of Missions like the British Church Missionary Society in its relationship with the Government. (See p. 59, fn. 55 of this study.) Apparently even within the A.I.M., however, the presence of British missionaries was an asset. As two American missionaries expressed it: "We are considered an American Mission here in this British Colony and should anything happen that the Britishers that are with us in the work, and who have a vote in matters of Government, and who are much needed in matters pertaining to Government, should be recalled, it would reflect back on us very badly." Letter of Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Farnsworth to Henry Campbell, April 9, 1928.

<sup>104</sup>See pp. 72-73 of this study.

<sup>105</sup>Coryndon to Devonshire, February 19, 1923, C. O. 533/293, Public Record Office, cited by Kenneth King, Pan-Africanism and Education (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 87.

British Government wished to avoid the embarrassment of declaring Negro missionaries prohibited immigrants by governmental decree. The Government thus needed the "voluntary cooperation" of the missionary societies. This they found in J. H. Oldham, the Secretary of the British Conference of Missionary Societies. In explaining the matter to his American counterpart, Fennell P. Turner, he wrote:

I said I was certain that the Missionary Societies both in Great Britain and America were fully alive to the difficulties involved and that there would be no disposition to press proposals which the Government would find embarrassing.<sup>106</sup>

A few months later, Turner, who held the influential and powerful position of secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, met with Oldham, Bottomley of the Colonial Office, and Governor Coryndon to discuss the employment of American Negroes missionaries in Kenya. At this meeting, according to King, Turner voluntarily accepted the responsibility of carrying out the apparent wishes of Governor Coryndon by agreeing ". . . to inform all missionary societies that Negro missionaries for Kenya would not be welcome."<sup>107</sup> As for dealing with the unrecognized missionary societies, he agreed to ". . . allow his committee to take the line that they 'could not be regarded as equal to

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<sup>106</sup>Oldham to Turner, March 27, 1923, C. O. 533/305, Public Record Office, cited by King, p. 88.

<sup>107</sup>King, p. 89.

the responsibility of looking after negro missionaries."<sup>108</sup>  
From his position he could therefore collaborate with the New York Passport Office in turning down any such applications. Coryndon, without the embarrassment of discriminatory legislation, had thus achieved his objective.

This submission to Government policy without even an apparent protest on a matter that has moral overtones reveals the stance that missions were ready at times to take vis-à-vis the colonial power under whose aegis they operated. Three years after Oldham's statement of submission and Turner's capitulation to Coryndon concerning the employment of Negro missionaries in Kenya, the matter came up for full discussion at the Le Zoute Conference on the Christian mission in Africa. The .A.I.M. was among the major Protestant missionary societies working in Africa who were represented at this Conference.<sup>109</sup> It was recognized by the committee<sup>110</sup> dealing with this matter that although there were no "legislative restrictions specifically directed against the American Negro," yet most African Governments were either opposed to or placed difficulties in the way of sending American Negroes to Africa as

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>For the A.I.M. representatives at this Conference, see p. 118, fn. 22 of this dissertation.

<sup>110</sup>" . . . a strong committee [composed] of thirty-four leading figures from missionary, government and philanthropist fields . . . ." King, p. 91.

missionaries.<sup>111</sup> The three reasons advanced for this opposition were:

(a) The unrest caused by certain movements believed to be dangerous to order and government and to be encouraged from America.

(b) The antagonism to Government in past years of certain American Negroes in Africa resulting in serious disturbances in some cases.

(c) The failure of certain American Negroes in Africa in past years.<sup>112</sup>

The significant thing about these findings is that no reference was made to the reluctance of white mission boards to accept Negro missionaries. In the light of what had transpired between Oldham, Turner, and Coryndon three years earlier, resulting in a virtual closed door to Negro missionaries, the following resolution passed by the Conference raises legitimate questions as to how seriously it was intended to be taken:

That the Negroes of America should be permitted by Governments, and encouraged by missionary societies, to play an important part in the evangelization, medical service and education of Africa, and that the number of their missionaries should be increased as qualified candidates are available for needed work, and as their representatives already in the field still further succeed in gaining for their people and their societies that public confidence which is essential.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>Edwin W. Smith: The Christian Mission in Africa: A Study Based on the Work of the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14th to 21st, 1926 (London: The International Missionary Council, 1926), p. 122.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-123.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

It was further proposed

. . . that Governments should be supported in requiring that American Negroes wishing to enter Africa for missionary purposes should go out under the auspices of responsible societies of recognized and well-established standing.<sup>114</sup>

The way was blocked for any new Negro missionary society to begin work in Africa by the further resolution that such societies ". . . should work as far as possible through well-established societies already in Africa . . ."<sup>115</sup>

Three years after this Conference W. E. B. DuBois, an outstanding American Negro leader, made known the results of his study relating to the progress of the "responsible societies of recognized and well-established standing"<sup>116</sup> in sending out Negro missionaries. The answers to his questionnaire revealed that of the 793 missionaries sent out by these societies, including the A.I.M., there was not a single American Negro.<sup>117</sup>

There is no indication in the A.I.M. records that the Mission ever initiated any action to implement this resolution. Though several official statements concerning the Mission's non-discriminatory policy with reference to

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>See fn. 114 of this chapter.

<sup>117</sup>W. E. B. DuBois, "Missionaries," The Crisis, XXXVI, 5 (1929), 168, cited by King, p. 92.

the appointment of missionaries have appeared in the latter part of the colonial era,<sup>118</sup> the fact remains that no Negro missionaries were accepted by the A.I.M. during this period. While a number of factors no doubt contributed to this situation, it is hard not to believe that the influence of this particular colonial policy had been an important one.

The failure of the Mission to recruit Negro missionaries for service in Kenya has been the subject of repeated questioning and the cause for a measure of unhappiness on the part of the national Church since independence.<sup>119</sup> In spite of recent determined efforts to attract such missionaries, there are still no American Blacks serving in any of the A.I.M. fields.

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<sup>118</sup>Recognizing that applications were being received from American Negro candidates and that "some of them are serving satisfactorily in other Missions and situations, the Kenya Field agreed that, if, under the guidance of God, American Negroes are accepted by our Home Council as missionaries it is felt that work could be found for them." Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, March 24, 1958. From the Congo came the suggestion that only American Negro ladies or married couples be accepted. Minutes of the Congo Field Council, May 22, 1958. The Sudan Field questioned the advisability of accepting single Negro workers, as did the Council in French Equatorial Africa. Minutes of the Sudan Field Council, July 24, 1958; Minutes of the French Equatorial Africa Field Council, November 13-17, 1958.

<sup>119</sup>Their questioning echoes the question put to Max Yergan, a Negro Y.M.C.A. worker attached to Kenya's Carrier Corps during World War I. After affirming the literal brotherhood between American Negroes and East Africans, an African asked him, "If that is the case, why have so many of you remained in America so long? Why are you alone here?" Max Yergan, speech delivered at Atlantic City, Sept. 1921, copy in the Y.M.C.A. Historical library, cited by King, p. 62.

Judgment in Retrospect

Father Hastings, writing out of his missionary experience in Africa, recognizes the necessarily ambivalent attitude that missionaries were at times forced to take toward an increasingly powerful colonial regime. He, nevertheless, points to the heart of the problem when he laments the failure of missionaries in Kenya, as in other areas where there were many settlers,

. . . to perceive the essential gap which should be maintained between their work and that of government and the ease with which they came to be mixed up in a single white-supremacy image.<sup>120</sup>

A Nigerian churchman, Professor Bolaji Idowu of the University of Ibadan, states categorically that ". . . it was an error of judgment for the Church to identify herself closely with the ruling colonial powers on the Continent [of Africa]."<sup>121</sup>

The involvement of missions as co-belligerents with the Government in the social, economic, and physical problems of Africa was probably inevitable. The degree of cooperation and the willingness to compromise on moral issues, such as discrimination against Negro missionaries, are the points at which missions could have been more fully the masters of their own destiny.

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<sup>120</sup>Hastings, Church and Mission in Modern Africa, p. 75.

<sup>121</sup>Idowu, "The Predicament of the Church in Africa," p. 429.



### Representation

One final aspect of the relationship between missions and Government remains to be examined. An investigation of the role of missions in representing African interests before the Government, sometimes issuing in direct confrontation, reveals the fact that missions could be the master of their own destiny and could in turn profoundly affect the conditions of the Africans.

Oliver points out that as secular European influences, both official and unofficial, increased, ". . . the position of the European missionary as the intermediary between the African Church and the European State became ever more responsible."<sup>122</sup> In this self-appointed role of protecting the interests of the African Church the missionaries on occasion entered the political arena. Their efforts, Oliver further affirms, had ". . . an influence upon the development of a new phase of colonial policy which no historian of East Africa can afford to ignore."<sup>123</sup> For this reason this aspect of missionary activity must be examined in any study of the interaction of missions with colonial policy.

### Concern for African Interests

The situations were numerous in which the missionary

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<sup>122</sup>Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p.246.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

societies, and individual missionaries in particular, found themselves representing the cause of the African before the colonial Government. This was often a source of irritation to the settler community as well as to the colonial Government itself. Macdonald, who saw religion and imperialism inseparably intertwined,<sup>124</sup> expressed this displeasure with missions as follows:

Too long have the great missionary organizations regarded themselves as independent of imperial policy and activity . . . . Not until they and the Church at home realise that the work of administrator and missionary have the same object in view will true imperial action and a true civilisation in tropical and sub-tropical regions be possible.<sup>125</sup>

Mission did, however, on numerous occasions maintain a detached relationship with the colonial regime. It will be seen that through the pressures that missions were thus able to bring to bear on the Government, official policies were sometimes changed. In many of these cases representation issued in a direct confrontation with colonial power and authority. Thus the pressures within the alliance between missions and Government were not all from one side. That this is true was recognized by one of Kenya's earliest and most ardent nationalists, Harry Thuku. In his autobiography he refers to a text of resolutions

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<sup>124</sup>"Imperialism is a matter of religion. The extension of empire is an extension of religion," Allan J. Macdonald, Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916), p. 55.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

relating to African grievances<sup>126</sup> that was cabled to the Colonial Office in London which began with the statement that missionaries were the Africans' best friends.<sup>127</sup> As a matter of fact, this list of grievances had been drawn up by a missionary of the Scottish Mission at the request of certain leading Africans.<sup>128</sup> In the period when these resolutions were formulated, African politicians were dependent on missionary statesmen to serve as their spokesmen in presenting African causes to the British Government. Rosberg and Nottingham refer to influential missionary leaders<sup>129</sup> in Nairobi who during the 1920's and 1930's ". . . tirelessly rallied the humanitarian stream in British

<sup>126</sup>These included such items as forced labor, the alienation of Kikuyu land, and increased taxation. Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 44.

<sup>127</sup>Harry Thuku, An Autobiography (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 23.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 21. See also Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>129</sup>Speaking of the problems faced by squatters on European farms in 1924 and 1925 and the attempt of some settlers to prevent their being Christianized, ex-Pastor Nyenjeri of Kijabe refers to "one outstanding man," Dr. Arthur as the Africans' great friend. He adds, "When he [Dr. Arthur] visited Kijabe, I personally told him about this matter [squatters' problems]. He had a voice. So he would go and take this matter to the ears of the Government. When he spoke in the ears of the Government, the burden of the squatters was made light. That courageous man helped us in that way." He closed by saying how much help Dr. Arthur and Lee Downing of A.I.M. were to each other in this matter. Written report of interview with Pastor Johana Nyenjeri by Peterson Ngata, August 25, 1970. N.C.C.K. Archives, St. Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

politics in their [the Africans'] defense."<sup>130</sup> This forceful representation by missionary statesmen, especially J. H. Oldham, succeeded in keeping African interests paramount, for example, in the issue over forced labor.<sup>131</sup>

#### Concern for Individual Africans

Such representation of African interests by missionaries did not only take place on the level of high Government negotiations. Many times the missionary found himself representing an individual African who was involved in a case with the colonial Government. McKenrick, an early A.I.M. missionary, wrote of going to the Assistant District Commissioner in behalf of an African who was molested by the ". . . 'Makanga' or native spearsmen that the Govt. have [sic] given to different ones of the native

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<sup>130</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 88. See also Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya, p. 73.

The missionaries themselves, according to Bennett, suggested that ". . . they should represent native interests on the Legislative Council . . ." George Bennett, Kenya A Political History: The Colonial Period (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 45. (See Minutes of Meeting of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies in British East Africa, January 15-17, 1919; *ibid.*, April 25-27, 1921.) Dr. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission was actually put on the Legislative Council in 1924 to represent the Africans (Bennett, p. 46). He continued in this position until his deep involvement in the female circumcision controversy (see this dissertation, p. 141) proved an embarrassment to the Government and necessitated his resignation in 1929, Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>131</sup>See pp. 99-107 of this chapter.

sub-chiefs."<sup>132</sup> As a result, McKenrick was instructed ". . . to sieze [sic] any others who may come in this way and enter complaint against them."<sup>133</sup> In the same letter he recounted a complicated case involving bride wealth and an ensuing fight. When McKenrick felt that an unjust judgment had been handed down by a local court, he made a special trip to Nairobi for an interview with a Government official concerning it. The following week he traveled to Dagoretti for a conference with the Assistant District Commissioner. The case was overturned, but according to McKenrick, ". . . it cost us over Rs. 30 together with our time to get justice."<sup>134</sup> McKenrick then added that ". . . out of it has come a better state of affairs than has prevailed since I have had anything to do with the native affairs."<sup>135</sup>

Missionaries were, however, not only concerned with

<sup>132</sup>Letter of Fred McKenrick to Charles Hurlburt, February 3, 1911.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>It must be acknowledged that Mission adherents were the primary but not exclusive recipients of this kind of service by the missionaries. Settlers engaged in similar activities for "their" Africans. Huxley states that Lord Delamere, one of Kenya's outstanding pioneer settlers, "developed a feudal relationship with his own employees"; so much so that "the administration had difficulty in collecting taxes from the men living on his land." Elspeth Huxley, White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p. 303, cf. p. 152. Ibid.

individual Africans and their particular difficulties. During this colonial period they found themselves representing the cause of the African population in general before the Government. This representation involved two specific issues which were of great concern to Africans in the colonial period.

#### Concern for African Land

It is almost impossible to overestimate the significance of land for the African, especially the Kikuyu people.<sup>136</sup> Two quotations illustrating this significance must suffice. The first comes from Koinange, a former Kikuyu Chief:

When someone steals your ox, . . . it is killed and roasted and eaten. One can forget. When someone steals your land, especially if nearby, one can never forget. It is always there, its trees which were dear friends, its little streams. It is a bitter presence.<sup>137</sup>

Kenya's incumbent President, Jomo Kenyatta has pointed out the spiritual significance of land for the tightly-knit unity that binds the tribe together: "The land

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<sup>136</sup>See Muriuki, "A History of the Kikuyu to 1904," pp. 48-51. Ogot properly points out that land legislation most affected Central Kenya, home of the Kikuyu, whereas ". . . the labour laws were felt most keenly in western Kenya." Ogot, "Kenya Under the British," p. 266.

<sup>137</sup>Fenner Brockway, African Journeys (London: Victor Gallancz, 1955), pp. 87-88. This choice of words, personifying nature, shows that Koinange's lament for lost land involves far more than economic considerations.

not only unites the living members of the tribe but also the dead ancestors and the unborn posterity."<sup>138</sup> Kenyatta, however, was never unmindful of the economic aspect of the land, land that from his viewpoint was

. . . stolen from 1902 onwards from Africans, sometimes through ignorance and sometimes by trickery, without compensation and without considering what would become of the Africans so evicted.<sup>139</sup>

As early as 1936 Kenyatta had underlined the difficulties landless Africans faced. Many of them were forced to work on the farms of settlers<sup>140</sup> or in the mines in order to get cash for their taxes. Even those owning land within the Native Reserves were not allowed to cultivate economic crops such as coffee.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>138</sup>Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p. 213. For further discussion of the significance of land to the Kikuyu tribe see this dissertation, pp. 209-210.

<sup>139</sup>Kenyatta, *ibid.*

<sup>140</sup>The landless were not the only Kikuyu to work on European farms; some were there as contract laborers. Leakey contradicts the popular settler view that the Kikuyu preferred to be squatters on European farms than to living in their own Reserve. He affirms that economic pressure forced them to leave the Reserve. Louis S. B. Leakey, Kenya: Contrasts and Problems (London: Methuen, 1936), pp. 106-107.

<sup>141</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 39. This restriction on the kinds of crops that could be grown continued until 1951. As late as 1950 the Director of Agriculture stated that a "barrier between African and European coffee growing is advisable for some time to come." Kenya Ministry of Agriculture Archives: File on "Coffee Growing in African Areas," cited by Rosberg and Nottingham, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

It is not possible nor necessary to review Kenya's land policy during the colonial era.<sup>142</sup> Suffice it to say that all the elemental land rights of the African ". . . have been imperilled at one time or another by the policies of a government controlled by the European community."<sup>143</sup> This was exemplified in a 1921 Supreme Court decision that left no doubt that the prevention of Africans' owning land on the same basis as Europeans was the intended purpose of the Crowns Land Ordinance of 1915 and the Annexation Order of 1920.<sup>144</sup> Africans became ". . . tenants-at-will of the Crown, tenants who would theoretically be removed en masse or individually on the order of the Government of Kenya . . . ."<sup>145</sup> The sense of insecurity that this decision engendered, especially among the Kikuyu, is not hard to understand.

Missions could not be oblivious to this crucial issue. They became involved in it at an early stage; in

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<sup>142</sup>See Report of the Kenya Land Commission, September 1933 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1934); cf. also Lord Hailey, An African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara (rev. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 712-723, 784-786.

<sup>143</sup>Thomas R. Adam, Government and Politics in Africa South of the Sahara (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 47.

<sup>144</sup>Kenya Law Reports, Vol. IX, Part II (1923), pp. 102-105, cited by Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit. p. 62.

<sup>145</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, p. 62.



fact, the Kikuyu Association,<sup>146</sup> which around 1920 came into existence through the stimulation of missionaries, had as its primary concern and goal the securing of rights to land still held by Africans.<sup>147</sup>

The concern of the A.I.M. was not, however, limited to the land problems of the Kikuyu, nor did it begin with the launching of the Kikuyu Association. There is evidence that a full fifteen years before this organization was formed, an A.I.M. pioneer missionary was involved in the issue of land, Maasai land. Soon after John Stauffacher's appointment to begin A.I.M.'s missionary work among the Maasai,<sup>148</sup> the Nakuru and Naivasha Maasai were ordered by the Government to move to a Reserve at Laikipia to make room for the farms of European settlers.<sup>149</sup> According to Professor King of the University of Edinburgh, who has done considerable research among the Maasai, "Stauffacher is remembered today amongst certain educated Maasai for identifying himself strongly with the Maasai cause in the

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<sup>146</sup>See p. 134, fn. 68 of this dissertation for a description of this organization.

<sup>147</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., pp. 40-42. Bennett also recognizes that "some form of protection for the native lands had long been sought by the missionaries . . . ." George Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p.65.

<sup>148</sup>See p. 34 of this study.

<sup>149</sup>For further reference to the dispossession of Maasai land see p. 209, fn. 33 of this dissertation. See also Norman Leys, Kenya, (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf, 1924), pp. 100-114.

first decade of the century.<sup>150</sup>

A number of his letters, written in this period to his fiancée still in America, reveal his strong feeling against the Government for what he considered their unjust action in forcing this migration of the Maasai. The intensity of his feeling, if not righteous indignation, is seen in the following:

I don't care to say much as to what I think about this action on the part of the Government. This much I can say though, that should there be a general uprising, and all the English people killed they would even then get much less than they deserve. The Government officers are intolerably cruel with the natives. They are driving the Masai from the favorite pasture grounds which were always theirs, to a barren little strip of country on which their large numbers of sheep and cattle cannot possibly live, simply that a few wealthy snobbish English Lords may buy up the land for their own selfish interests.<sup>151</sup>

Although no resistance was offered by the Maasai to this move, King affirms that ". . . it seems clear that a major factor in the politicization of a few of the Maasai was Stauffacher himself."<sup>152</sup> With his background of fierce individualism "he was able . . . to communicate to his tiny group a disgust for the Maasai move."<sup>153</sup> One of his key

<sup>150</sup>King, "The Kenya Maasai and the Protest Phenomenon, 1900-1960," p. 121.

<sup>151</sup>Letter of John Stauffacher to Florence Minch, July 15, 1904.

<sup>152</sup>King, "The Kenya Maasai," p. 121.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid.

followers at this time, and himself a leader among the Maasai, was Mulungit. After his trip to America with Stauffacher in 1909, where he spent three years in an all-black Institute in the South,<sup>154</sup> Mulungit became increasingly involved in political activities, especially during the period of the controversy over female circumcision.<sup>155</sup>

When the Government instituted a second Maasai move in 1912, Stauffacher was again actively involved in their behalf trying to encourage them to resist. The Maasai, however, with few exceptions, saw the futility of armed resistance and instead went to court to gain their rights, albeit unsuccessfully.<sup>156</sup>

While it is difficult to assess how much Stauffacher's stand had a direct influence on Mission/Church relationships, it seems probable that the rapport engendered with the tribe in his identification with their distressing land problem was a factor in the extension of A.I.M.'s work

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<sup>154</sup>He thus became not only the first Maasai but also ". . . the first Kenyan African to seek higher education in the United States." Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>155</sup>See p. 149 of this dissertation for a brief account of his part in this controversy among the Maasai.

<sup>156</sup>King, "The Kenya Maasai," pp. 124-125.

and ministry among them.<sup>157</sup> Stauffacher stands therefore as a prime example of missionary confrontation with Government, at least indirectly.

This critical issue was also faced by Missions in a broader context. The 1926 Le Zoute Conference declared:

Missionary experience is unanimous in emphasizing that the question of land holds a central place in the consciousness of the African peoples and that consequently guarantees to the Native peoples that the tenure of their lands is absolutely secure are essential to ensure peace and goodwill among all Native communities and must be the basis of all endeavours to promote Native welfare.<sup>158</sup>

In the light of the above the delimitation of all native lands was urged together with their protection by title deeds that would be as legally valid as those held by non-Africans.<sup>159</sup>

It must not be assumed from Stauffacher's sentiments on the local level nor the noble resolutions of the Le Zoute Missionary Conference on a continent-wide basis that the missionaries were always on the side of the Africans with

<sup>157</sup>That Stauffacher's concern for the Maasai land problem extended beyond the early period is seen in a statement made by him in 1930. Although affirming that the political associations then operating among the Maasai were "more or less anti-Christian," he, nevertheless, acknowledged that ". . . they have a real cause to fight for as they [the Maasai] are being crowded more or less into a corner with so many Europeans all around them." Letter of John Stauffacher to Henry Campbell, June 25, 1930.

<sup>158</sup>Edwin Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa, p. 121.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid.

reference to land and were never in conflict with them over it. The contrary was sometimes true, especially in the Kikuyu areas where the issue became increasingly sensitive.

Barrett's analysis of the position of the missionaries with reference to land, not unlike that of the white settlers in some respects, and some of its resultant problems is worth noting:

The same sense of grievance over alienation of land inevitably rubbed off on missionaries also. They too had settled on tribal land, often of best quality, and their farms were always the best in the area. Africans were quick to notice as well that they offered special ministrations to white farmers and enjoyed their society. Not surprisingly therefore, missionaries were identified with settlers in African eyes, thereby creating one more factor in the growing climate of tension.<sup>160</sup>

A prime example of this situation was A.I.M.'s main station of Kijabe, located among the Kikuyu. A large tract of land was granted to the Mission by the Government when it moved its headquarters there in 1903.<sup>161</sup> Speaking of the

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<sup>160</sup>David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 125. The close association between missionary and settler is seen in the fact that in 1930 there were as many settlers' children as A.I.M.'s missionaries' children attending Rift Valley Academy, the A.I.M.'s boarding school for missionary children. Muriel Perrott, "Rift Valley Attains Its Majority," Inland Africa XIV, 12 (1930), 1-2.

<sup>161</sup>See p. 33 of this dissertation. A total of about 2,500 acres was eventually granted to the Mission for Kijabe station. Of this 183 acres were granted in 1902 or 1904 as freehold land, and a 99 year lease was later given on 1800 acres in the name of the A.I.M. Industrial School. "Information received from Dr. Hurlburt under date of June 29th [1923?], regarding properties held by the Africa Inland Mission." See also report of District Commissioner, Kiambu to Provincial Commissioner, Nyeri, 13th March 1928. PC/cp 9/8/16. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

Government's action in appropriating the land which was in turn given to the Mission, Kijabe's first pastor, Rev.

Johana Nyenjeri describes the reaction of the Kikuyu:

Oh they said much. It could not be that they could keep quiet when they saw this. We [were] the original people of this land, and then they (Europeans) came and took the land. This is just like robbing someone of his own thing. The land was ours.<sup>162</sup>

It is not surprising that just eight years later trouble had developed between the people living in the native Reserve nearby and the missionaries. McKenrick writes of warning the non-Mission natives for three seasons that "they must cease their planting on our land."<sup>163</sup> When a certain Kikuyu failed to live up to his agreement of giving McKenrick half the crop of potatoes being grown on mission land, McKenrick ". . . called a lot of our women . . . and went to the man's village and took all the potatoes here [Kijabe] (about 900 lbs.)."<sup>164</sup>

Over two decades later land was still an issue at another A.I.M. station among the Kikuyu. Hartsock, writing from Githumu, stated that

. . . lately there is one family insisting on getting back their land that had been sold to the mission.

<sup>162</sup>Written report of interview with Rev. Johana Nyenjeri, loc. cit.

<sup>163</sup>Letter of Fred McKenrick to Charles Hurlburt, February 3, 1911.

<sup>164</sup>McKenrick adds in what may have been an understatement: "They were rather sore about it for a time . . . ." Ibid.

They have a right to redeem it if they want to but it cuts down the mission plot & [and] others may follow . . . . The land includes the place where Mrs. Jackson had started work for the girls home.<sup>165</sup>

Looking back on the situation, it would seem that the Mission may have aggravated the situation by accepting a large land grant such as the one at Kijabe. When in 1939 the Government asked the Mission to relinquish 100 acres of Kijabe station as compensation to Africans who had been dispossessed through a realignment of the Kenya and Uganda Railway, the Mission agreed. In writing of this the Field Director stated:

We really do not need this portion of land [italics not in the original]. By relinquishing the one hundred acres, we shall help Government, assist the Africans, and cut down our rent . . . .<sup>166</sup>

The issue of land was a factor therefore in the relationship of the Mission to the developing Church.<sup>167</sup> Perhaps the most significant commentary on this whole issue is the fact that in the big ceremony marking the official transfer of authority from the A.I.M. to the national

<sup>165</sup>Letter of Margaret Hartsock to H. Campbell, March 1, 1932. Two months later she noted that "the Kinyona [former A.I.M. mission station] crowd still want the mission ground [and] say they are going to build on it." Letter of Hartsock to Campbell, May 3, 1932.

<sup>166</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, December 16, 1939. Seldom if ever, did such a propitious land arrangement enable the Mission to accomplish so much in so many directions.

<sup>167</sup>In individual cases (e.g., Stauffacher's involvement in the Maasai land issues) there were positive aspects. In other situations there were adverse reactions.

Church<sup>168</sup> one of the most important events was the handing over of 33 titles of Mission properties to the Church.

#### Concern for African Labor

There was one other area where missionary concern for and representation of African interests evidenced itself. This was the matter of African labor, an issue that was very closely related to that of land. The introduction of a large settler community into Kenya,<sup>169</sup> with the concomitant alienation of African land, committed the Government to providing an adequate labor force.<sup>170</sup> This was accomplished through several means, one of which was a program of taxation that ". . . had the effect of compelling Africans to seek employment from Europeans."<sup>171</sup> A further solution, imported from South Africa according to Ogot, was the passing of a Masters and Servants Ordinance in 1906. The Africans were forced to make payment in kind, and a breaking of the contract meant imprisonment.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup>See p. 341 of this dissertation.

<sup>169</sup>For the economic reason for this see pp. 208-209 of this study.

<sup>170</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham affirm that ". . . from the beginning of settlement the creation of an expanding African labor force was a central feature of the economic history of the country." Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 21.

<sup>171</sup>Ibid.

<sup>172</sup>Ogot, "Kenya Under the British," p. 266.



Rosberg and Nottingham assert that by 1908, however, the Government had ceased from directly assisting the settlers to recruit laborers but was still "encouraging" Africans to seek work.<sup>173</sup>

Judging from the minutes of the Kikuyu Conference of 1913,<sup>174</sup> at which the A.I.M. was represented, forced labor was still a reality. During this period missionaries as part of the Native Labor Commission were making a number of proposals that would provide alternative ways of bringing more Africans into the agricultural labor market.<sup>175</sup>

It was only after World War I that the need for African labor reached a crisis point, and it is here that a prime example of missionary intervention in the political arena is found. This time, it will be seen, the missionaries came down unequivocally on the side of the Africans.

The critical shortage of African labor after World War I<sup>176</sup> was accentuated by the Government's decision to

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<sup>173</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit. p. 22.

<sup>174</sup>See p. 102 of this study for the Conference's views on the labor situation.

<sup>175</sup>Among the recommendations were the limitation of the size of the Reserves, a progressive tax, and a system of registration for the purpose of identification, Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit. p. 45. It may be observed that limiting the size of the Reserves would in actuality have created more squatters and thus would not have been of ultimate benefit to the Africans.

<sup>176</sup>The available labor force had been decreased by a high casualty rate among the Africans as well as the twin consequences of war: famine and disease. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 248.

encourage the settlement of ex-servicemen in Kenya.<sup>177</sup> To meet this need Governor Northey issued in October 1919

the severest of a series of labor circulars, instructing government officials to 'exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able bodied male natives to go into the labour field.'<sup>178</sup>

For years there had been pressure from the settlers for a labor policy that would be more beneficial to their interests. The demands of the war on Kenya's agricultural production increased the pressure, and the Government acceded to these demands to a considerable degree.<sup>179</sup> Thus Northey's labor circulars only tended to give legal sanction to practices that were already being followed. The problem lay in distinguishing between "influencing" the African to work and "forcing" him to do so. This proved difficult, to say the least. It was very easy for encouragement to become compulsion.

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<sup>177</sup>Ibid., p. 247. See also this dissertation, p. 215, fn. 48.

<sup>178</sup>Oliver, loc. cit. Ironically these circulars were drawn up by John Ainsworth, a pioneer administrator who had become the Chief Native Commissioner. His involvement in the field of labor came through his appointment on March 8, 1917 as military commissioner for labor with the rank of colonel. All district and provincial commissioners were made directly responsible to him in meeting the Government's pressing demands for more carriers. Savage and Munro, "Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East Africa Protectorate 1914-1918," p. 331. For Ogot's very positive and commendatory evaluation of his early attitude toward the African population, see p. 25, fn. 29 of this study.

<sup>179</sup>Savage and Munro, "Carrier Corps Recruitment," pp. 319-322.

Missionary opposition to forced labor had been articulated as early as 1913 at the Kikuyu Conference.<sup>180</sup> While it was recognized that no one could stop men from voluntarily leaving the Reserves, it was felt that steps should be taken to control Government coercion of men who desired to remain there.<sup>181</sup> The Conference was concerned about the breakdown in family life that occurred when men worked away from home as well as "boys under the age of puberty [who] were practically drafted in large numbers out of the reserves for work away from their homes."<sup>182</sup>

The Alliance of Protestant Missions, which grew out of the 1918 Kikuyu Conference, became the channel for expressing missionary opposition to Northey's labor policy.<sup>183</sup> A Memorandum issued by prominent Mission leaders in 1920 pointed out the abuses which could ensue when Government

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<sup>180</sup>One of a series of Conferences involving the A.I.M., the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland Mission and others in proposals for Church federation if not Church union. For a comprehensive picture of this whole question and the ultimate failure of the various plans see Gavin White, "Kikuyu 1913: An Ecumenical Controversy" (Unpublished Doctor's thesis, London University, 1970). For an overview of the organizations that ultimately emerged from these conferences see M. G. Capon, Toward Unity in Kenya: The Story of Co-operation between Missions and Churches in Kenya 1913-1947 (Nairobi, Kenya: Christian Council of Kenya, 1962).

<sup>181</sup>Minutes of the Kikuyu Conference, 1913 cited by White, p. 123.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid.

<sup>183</sup>Oliver, op. cit., p. 248.

officers were authorized to recruit laborers for the European farmers. This compulsory recruiting, said the Memorandum, forced the African villager "to leave his house unthatched, his crops unreaped, his wife unguarded . . . in return for cash which he does not want."<sup>184</sup> In 1920 the Alliance made a further protest to the Secretary of State, concluding with the warning that ". . . Missions were finding it increasingly difficult to teach their adherents to be loyal to the Government."<sup>185</sup>

Although the immediate response from the Government was not satisfactory, the matter was pursued by the indefatigable missionary statesman, Dr. J. H. Oldham.<sup>186</sup> Out of his efforts came another Memorandum signed not only

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., p. 249. Behind this so-called Bishops' Memorandum were the proposals of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies, on which the A.I.M. was represented. The Council, while agreeing to the direction of labor by the Government, insisted on the following safeguards: Frank recognition that the labor was compulsory; it was not to be veiled under such terms as "advice," "wishes" or "encouragement." It was to be confined to able-bodied men between the ages of 17 and 27. There would be proper working conditions, subject to Government inspection. The period of employment would be limited (60 days suggested as maximum per year) and paid for at the market rate. Compulsion was to be exerted uniformly and not only to the "willing" tribes, such as the Kikuyu. No compulsion to work for an unsuitable employer; thus the laborer was free to choose his sphere of service. Reasonable exceptions to be allowed; e. g., all in regular employment. As far as possible the labor was to be for Government projects. Minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance, March 3-4, 1920.

<sup>185</sup>Oliver, p. 250.

<sup>186</sup>See p. 78 of this study for his position in missionary circles.

by ecclesiastical leaders but by members of the British Parliament. While recognizing the labor problems faced by the settlers, it stated:

Without a clear, resolute and continuous policy on the part of Government, directed to the fostering of native life and institutions, there is grave danger that the pressing needs of European farms and plantations, together with the requirements of Government, may make such demands on native labour as may lead to the destruction of village life.<sup>187</sup>

Although forced labor, in terms of Northey's 1919 official Government circulars, was ended in 1921,<sup>188</sup> Oldham pressed the matter to its heart. In a confidential Memorandum he reminded the British government of its obligation as Trustee of the East Africa Protectorates, stating that "a policy which leaves the native population no future except as workers on European estates cannot be reconciled with Trusteeship."<sup>189</sup>

Out of this pressure, in which ". . . the missionary interest, operating both in East Africa and in London, exercised a decisive influence,"<sup>190</sup> came the decision by the Government to recognize the paramountcy of native interests.

<sup>187</sup>"Labour in Africa and the Principles of Trusteeship," cited by Oliver, op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>188</sup>Thuku, An Autobiography, p. 32.

<sup>189</sup>J. H. Oldham to Hon. E. F. L. Wood, 17. v. 21, "Memorandum on Native Affairs in East Africa," cited by Oliver, op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>190</sup>Oliver, p. 257. Bennett comments that "missionary influence had been of first importance . . ." in combatting forced labor. Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p. 44..

It came in the form of a White Paper issued by the Duke of Devonshire. Of great significance was the following declaration:

Primarily Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.<sup>191</sup>

In a sense this declaration simply reiterated a statement by a high Government official uttered near the beginning of Britain's rule in East Africa, whose truth had tended to be obscured by the passing of time and the exigencies of the colony: "It is only by a most careful insistence on the protection of native rights that His Majesty's Government can justify their presence in East Africa."<sup>192</sup> To missions was granted the task of reminding Britain of her responsibilities.<sup>193</sup> They did not fail.

Although missionary representation of the Africans in labor issues may have had its cause célèbre in the

<sup>191</sup>Indians in Kenya: Memorandum (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923), p. 10.

<sup>192</sup>Landsdowne to Stewart, 8 July 1904, F.O.C.P. 8357 cited by Low, "British East Africa," II, 55.

<sup>193</sup>This statement is not intended to minimize the results of African pressures that were brought to bear on the Government during this period by Harry Thuku and the proto-Kikuyu Central Association (begun as the Young Kikuyu Association and becoming the East African Association). Thuku states that it was from around 1915 that he began to consider seriously the problem of forced labor. Thuku, op. cit., p. 16.

events just described, this does not mean that their interest and involvement ceased with the triumph that the Devonshire Declaration represented. The 1926 Le Zoute Conference<sup>194</sup> pointed out the various negative effects on tribal life of the absence of adult males from their native areas. The Conference concluded its resolutions on the labor issue by affirming its deep conviction that ". . . compulsory or forced labor for private enterprises is inadmissible in any circumstances."<sup>195</sup>

The following year in a meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council, chaired by the A.I.M.'s Lee Downing,<sup>196</sup> the concern of the delegates turned to child labor practices. The following resolution was, passed unanimously:

That this Council deplores the fact that there is a large and increasing number of boys under Registration age employed in towns in Kenya. The conditions prevailing in the Native quarters of the towns being such as to constitute a menace to the moral and physical well-being of such boys, this Council urges upon Government the desirability of forbidding the employment of juveniles in towns except when such children are under parental control. The Council also recommends to Government that when children under Registration age are employed on farms, special arrangements should be made to conserve their moral and physical well-being.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>194</sup>See p. 79 of this dissertation.

<sup>195</sup>Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa; p. 122.

<sup>196</sup>See pp. 33-34 of this study.

<sup>197</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council, February 15th-17th, 1927, Nairobi.

Missions thus proved a powerful force in representing and promoting the well-being of the African laborer in the face of settler pressure and Government decrees. Of the decision of the Government expressed in the Devonshire White Paper, Bishop Stephen Neil states "there are . . . few examples in modern history of such successful intervention by missionaries and Christians on behalf of Africans . . .".<sup>198</sup> Such intervention and representation could not but affect in a positive way the attitude of the young Church toward its parent body, the Mission.

#### Summary

During the whole colonial period missions found themselves living in creative tension with reference to their various loyalties: to God, to their home constituency, to the colonial Government under which they carried on their work, and to the African population whom they came to serve. Such a demanding role was aptly summarized by Archdeacon Owen, a veteran Church Missionary Society leader in Kenya:

My work lies amongst a "subject race" governed by the best men that our country produces but still fallible, liable to err as we all are . . . . This business of ruling a subject race and teaching them

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<sup>198</sup>Neil, Colonialism and Christian Missions, p. 330.



Christianity at the same time is a most difficult task and I have done my best so to reconcile my loyalties to C.M.S., Africans, Government and the Colony that the weakest of these, the Africans, shall find no occasion of stumbling in me. This has been my main concern.<sup>199</sup>

It seems inevitable that the A.I.M. should find itself in compromising if not contradictory situations as it carried out its task in the colonial context. Various issues brought out both its strengths and weaknesses. Cooperation, capitulation, confrontation--the Mission's relationship with the colonial Government ran the whole gamut. In this chapter an attempt has been made to assess the effects of these various relationships on the Mission's relationship with its maturing Church. It was seen that these effects were naturally as varied as the causes that produced them. The ultimate test of the effect of the Mission's variegated relationship with the colonial Government came, quite logically, however, at the end of the colonial era. The coming of independence to Kenya gave the national Church, now under an independent African Government, the opportunity to react to the position assumed by the Mission vis-a-vis the colonial regime. That the Mission was asked to continue its work and even increase its staff during the new era indicates that it had kept the "occasion[s] of stumbling," using Owen's expression, to a

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<sup>199</sup>W. E. Owen quoted in John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman, 1970), p. 30.

minimum. The inevitable changes that did take place will be investigated in Chapters 6 and 7.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONFLICTING CULTURES

#### Christianity and Culture

The pioneer missionaries of the Africa Inland Mission brought to Kenya a Christianity that had not only a specific theological content but definite ethical norms. That all of the latter were not of the essence of Christianity may be obvious to succeeding generations better trained in anthropology, but to those holding them they were more than just a part of their inherited "cultural baggage" now being transported overseas.

The neat separation, however, of Christianity from Western culture is not easily made in any situation, for Christianity "has always been incarnate within a culture . . . ." <sup>1</sup> Troeltsch carries this concept even further and sees Christianity so hellenised and westernized that it has lost completely its Oriental character and thus has become so ". . . indisolubly bound up with elements of the ancient and modern civilizations of Europe . . . [that] it stands

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<sup>1</sup>For example, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and Western. R. Laroche, "Some Traditional African Religions and Christianity," Christianity in Tropical Africa, ed. C. G. Baëta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 300. Dickson expresses the same concept in his statement ". . . Christianity never travels without a cultural cradle." Kwesi A. Dickson, "African Culture and Christianity" (Chicago: University of Chicago, n. d.) p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

or falls with European civilization . . . ."2 As a consequence, according to Troeltsch, people of a different civilization must virtually embrace Western culture if they are to become Christians.

Hendrik Kraemer, on the other hand, while readily acknowledging that Christianity has become incarnate in Western culture, sees this as both legitimate and crucial.<sup>3</sup> He rejects, however, an ultimate and rigid identification of the two, affirming that the very existence of "Western Christianities, theologies and ecclesiastical forms" attests to the fact that Western Christianity is itself but a relative and adapted expression of Biblical revelation.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, for Western Christianity to hold that its particular historical expression is unique and final and consequently cannot be modified within the context of another culture is, according to Kraemer, "one of the most subtle forms of idolatry."<sup>5</sup>

To many early missionaries, however, the ethical norms they held were often not seen as part of their own cultural heritage but rather as representing the

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<sup>2</sup>Ernst Troeltsch, Christian Thought: Its History and Application, trans. F. von Hügel (London: University of London Press, 1923), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Hendrik Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938) pp. 313-314.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 317.

unequivocal moral standards inculcated by Christianity, standards to which they would seek to elevate their converts. It was inevitable therefore that conflict would ensue from this cultural invasion.<sup>6</sup>

It needs to be remembered that the interaction of Christianity and culture is not a phenomenon restricted to the African scene. It has taken place wherever Christianity has gone, though with differing and at times diametrically opposed results. Niebuhr refers to this encounter of Christ and culture as "the enduring problem" that must issue in "infinite dialogue."<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the debate over the missionaries' encounter with specific alien cultures, mirroring as it does the more broad question

<sup>6</sup>This would have been true even if the early missionaries had not deliberately attempted "to destroy the cultural patterns of the host peoples," as Schuyler asserts was done. J. B. Schuyler, "Conceptions of Christianity in the Context of Tropical Africa: Nigerian Reactions to Its Advent," Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 210. Fuller interprets missions as coming to mean for modern Africans "an authority that has been responsible for the destruction or disappearance of a cultural heritage which the present generation does not know, but now, with a mysterious nostalgia, begins to wish for." Charles E. Fuller, "Native and Missionary Religions," The Transformation of East Africa, Stanley Diamond and Fred Burke, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 529.

<sup>7</sup>H. R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 39. In this analytical work Niebuhr distinguishes five answers that have been given to the question of the relation between Christ and the particular culture in which He may be found.

of the relationship of Christ and civilization,<sup>8</sup> should also be "as confused as it is many sided."<sup>9</sup>

### Definitions of Culture

The definitions of "culture" can be equally as confusing, leading the Catholic missionary scholar Luzbetak to observe that "there seem to be as many definitions as there are anthropologists."<sup>10</sup> An exhaustive list need not be presented; rather the definitions that follow will provide a sufficient frame of reference for the items that will be covered in this chapter.

According to Kluckhohn:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement

<sup>8</sup>Niebuhr uses the terms "culture" and "civilization" interchangeably, viewing them in the context of his book as "that total process of human activity and that total result of such activity." Ibid., p. 32. For a brief semantic history of these two terms, with the conclusion that "in both popular and literary English the tendency has been to treat them as near synonymous," see Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (New York: Vintage Books, n. d.), pp. 19-21. This section is part of a larger discussion on the relation of Civilization and Culture, pp. 19-30. Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Niebuhr, op. cit. p. 1. Niebuhr's reminder that there has emerged ". . . no single Christian answer, but only a series of typical answers which . . . represent phases of the strategy of the militant church in the world" (p. 2) is likewise apropos to the matter of the missionaries' encounter with cultural situations and questions.

<sup>10</sup>Louis Luzbetak, The Church and Cultures (Techny, Ill.: Divine Word Publications, 1970), p. 59. Keesing observes that Kroeber and Kluckhohn uncovered over 160 different definitions of the term "culture." Felix Keesing, Cultural Anthropology: The Science of Custom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 18.

of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i. e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning influences upon further action.<sup>11</sup>

Margaret Mead defines culture as

. . . an abstraction from the body of learned behaviour which a group of people, who share the same tradition, transmit entire to their children, and, in part, to adult immigrants who become members of the society. It covers not only the arts and sciences, religions and philosophies . . . but also the system of technology, the political practices, the small intimate habits of daily life, such as the way of preparing or eating food, or of hushing a child to sleep.<sup>12</sup>

In a definition that is simple without being simplistic Luzbetak, following Kluckhohn, refers to culture as "the total life-way and mentality of a people."<sup>13</sup> Keesing epitomizes culture as "the totality of man's learned, accumulated experience which is socially transmitted, or more briefly, behavior acquired through social learning."<sup>14</sup> It is

<sup>11</sup>Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture and Behavior, ed. Richard Kluckhohn (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 73.

<sup>12</sup>Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (Paris, UNESCO, 1955), pp. 9-10.

<sup>13</sup>Luzbetak, op. cit., p. 4. See Clyde Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949), p. 17. Possibly more important than exhausting the meaning of a term is to note clearly the essential concepts inherent in it. Luzbetak (p. 60) cites the following characteristics of culture: it is a "way of life" as well as being "the total plan for living"; it is "functionally organized into a system" and "acquired through learning," being the life-way of a group and not of an individual.

<sup>14</sup>Keesing, op. cit., p. 18.

interesting that one of the earliest definitions (1871) of culture is the one that Kroeber and Kluckhohn<sup>15</sup> affirm is the basic anthropological meaning of the term. It was formed by E. B. Tylor: "Culture or Civilization . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."<sup>16</sup>

### Missionaries and African Culture

Having defined "culture" and having noted the broader context of this subject and some of the many bypaths that one could profitably follow, it hardly needs to be stated that it is not the purpose of this chapter to study African culture per se.<sup>17</sup> Rather it is the investigator's purpose

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<sup>15</sup>Kroeber and Kluckhohn, op. cit., p. 11 cf. pp. 23, 85, *ibid*.

<sup>16</sup>Edward Tylor, The Origins of Culture (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>It should be recognized that there is much current debate as to whether or not the definable entity, "African culture," even exists. Rather it is suggested that there are many African cultures in which certain broad features are distinguishable. See "Introductory Review: The Engagement of Christianity with African Concepts and Way of Life," Christianity in Tropical Africa, pp. 126-127. Schneider illustrates the diversity and variation of African cultures even within one country by the contrast evidenced in the different tribes' acceptance or rejection of European innovations. For example, in Kenya the Kikuyu largely accepted European ways, while the Masai, Pokot and other Nilotic tribes remained indifferent to the political, economic, and religious changes that the European sought to induce. Schneider sees this resistance to cultural change as characteristic of Nilotic people in contrast to the acceptance of it among the neighboring Bantu. Harold Schneider,



to select several aspects and areas of culture where missionary and African have interacted with a resultant effect on the relationship between Church and Mission.<sup>18</sup>

There is a need however to sketch in broad strokes the general attitude of missionaries toward the various African cultures in which they have worked. This will enable the A.I.M.'s particular issues to be put in their proper historical perspective. Such an examination of missionary attitudes toward African culture in general reveals in more local and concrete terms the broad responses suggested by Niebuhr to the more universal question of the relation of Christ and culture. Could it be that the former is but the microcosm in which lies latent the whole larger question? In at least several of the answers that Niebuhr suggests this seems to be the case. For example, Niebuhr presents both accomodation and transformation as two approaches that have been taken in the

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"Pokot Resistance to Change," Continuity and Change in African Cultures, eds. William Bascom and Melville Herskovits (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 144-167.

<sup>18</sup>The selection of the issues chosen has grown out of a study of the history of the two organizations. While these issues and the conflict that sometimes ensued are common to a number of Church/Mission situations, special attention will of course be given to those directly involving the A.I.M. and its national Church.

encounter of Christianity and culture.<sup>19</sup> Both of these have figured prominently in missionaries' approach to African culture.

#### Accomodation to African Culture

Accomodation is an essential element in all missionary endeavor and has been so since the Apostolic Age.<sup>20</sup> It is an approach common to both Protestant and Catholic missions.<sup>21</sup>

The thinking of the Protestant missionary regarding this matter was expressed at the historic Le Zoute Conference held in 1926, a conference attended by representatives of all Protestant missions working in Africa.

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<sup>19</sup>Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, pp. 83-115, 190-229. In the approach of accomodation there is a harmonizing of Christianity and culture, an interpretation of each through the other. In the second approach there is the affirmation of "the divine possibility of a present renewal" (p. 196), the transformation of human life and culture by God's power (pp. 196-197).

<sup>20</sup>Luzbetak defines "accomodation" as "the respectful, prudent, scientifically and theologically sound adjustment of the Church to the native culture in attitude, outward behavior, and practical apostolic approach." Luzbetak, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>21</sup>Catholics see one of the aims of accomodation as the founding of a visible society that will have catholicity as one of its distinguishing marks. This is only possible where the church refuses to identify itself with any particular culture. As Pope John XXIII further elaborated this theme: "The Church, however, . . . is willing, at all times, to recognize, welcome, and even assimilate anything that redounds to the honor of the human mind and heart, whether or not it originates in parts of the world washed by the Mediterranean Sea, which, from the beginning of time, has been destined by God's providence to be the cradle of the Church." Pope John XXIII, "Principes Pastorum," The Encyclicals and Other Messages of John XXIII. Arranged and Edited by The Staff of The Pope Speaks Magazine (Washington, D.C.: The Pope Speaks Press, 1964), p. 178.

At this Conference the following resolution was passed:

. . . everything that is good in the African's heritage should be conserved, enriched and ennobled by contact with the spirit of Christ. While the Church cannot sanction any custom which is evil, it should not condemn customs which are not incompatible with the Christian life. Customs whose accidents are evil but whose substance is valuable may be purified and used [italics not in the original].<sup>22</sup>

This approach, reflecting an evolution and shift in Protestant thinking, somewhat synthesizes the two approaches previously mentioned; the reference to the purification of customs suggesting the possibility of their transformation in addition to being merely adapted. In this connection, Barrett sees this apparent change of heart as coming too late and believes that this new approach only retarded the movement of independent churches for a decade.<sup>23</sup>

#### Rejection of African Culture

The preponderance of evidence, however, seems to suggest, as will be seen, that Protestant missionaries tended to reject African culture; if not in toto, at least

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<sup>22</sup>Edwin W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa (London: The International Missionary Council, 1926), p. 108. Representing the Africa Inland Mission at this Conference were John G. Buyse, pioneer missionary to the Congo and E. E. Grimwood, General Secretary from Britain. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>23</sup>David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 243. In this book Barrett analyzes 6,000 contemporary religious movements in Africa and presents a penetrating study from within Africa's independent church movement.

large segments of it.<sup>24</sup> Since in fact, if not also by definition, African religions and cultures were inseparably intermingled in one unified Weltanschauung [world view],<sup>25</sup> there had to be, according to the thinking of many missionaries, a complete rejection of African culture in order to have a valid religious experience. This antithesis between African culture and Christianity, stressed by the foreign missionary, only reinforced the identification of Christianity with colonial imperialism.<sup>26</sup>

Barrett sees this approach to African culture as a "failure in sensitivity," a failure to demonstrate the biblical concept of love. He further identifies this lack as "the root cause common to the entire movement" of independent African churches, churches and denominations

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<sup>24</sup>For how this view fits into the larger, more universal context see Niebuhr, op. cit., pp. 45-82. In the chapter, "Christ Against Culture," Niebuhr traces the theological presuppositions and historical development of the position espoused (probably often unconsciously) by many missionaries; namely, the antithesis between Christianity and indigenous culture. Fortes and Dieterlen assert categorically that ". . . until the nineteen-twenties missionaries were often frankly antagonistic to African culture." M. Fortes and G. Dieterlen (eds.), African Systems of Thought (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 31. For a sampling of the views of early A.I.M. missionaries regarding African culture, see this investigator's study, pp. 36-38.

<sup>25</sup>See Laroche, "Some Traditional African Religions and Christianity," p. 289.

<sup>26</sup>See J. B. Schuyler, "Conceptions of Christianity in the Context of Tropical Africa: Nigerian Reactions to Its Advent," Christianity in Tropical Africa, pp. 209-210. For a comparison of the general attitude of missionary societies and the Government toward cultural change, see p. 145, fn. 105 of this study.

that in many cases have broken away from their mission origins.<sup>27</sup> The factor of cultural clash is, therefore, a vital consideration in an analysis of Church/Mission relations. It is the purpose of the remainder of this chapter to examine specific manifestations of this clash, especially within the context of the A.I.M.

### Protestant and Catholic Views

Before moving on to an analysis of these situations, however, it is worth noting more fully the contrast already suggested between the Protestant and Catholic attitude toward African culture. Barrett succinctly states that "in Kenya, Catholic missions allowed almost all traditional customs except ancestral cult; Protestant missions forbade everything traditional, the cult in particular."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Included in this indictment is "the failure to study or understand African society, religion and psychology in any depth . . . ." Barrett, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 120. The Catholic missions were but following the official policy of the Church. As Pius XII expressed it: "The Church from her very beginning down to our own day has followed this wise policy. When the gospel is accepted by diverse races, it does not crush or repress anything good and honorable and beautiful which they have achieved by their native genius and natural endowments. When the Church summons and guides a race to higher refinement and a more cultured way of life, under the inspiration of [C]hristian religion, she does not act like a woodsman who cuts, fells, and dismembers a luxuriant forest indiscriminately. Rather she acts like an orchardist who engrafts a cultivated shoot on a wild tree so that later on fruits of a more tasty and richer quality may issue forth and mature." Pope Pius XII, "Evangelii Praecones," Catholic Missions: Four Great Missionary Encyclicals, ed. Thomas Burke (New York: Fordham University Press, 1957), p. 56.

Catholic missions thus have by and large sought to respect the traditions and customs of the indigenous people among whom they worked.<sup>29</sup>

Protestant missions, on the other hand, have not been lacking in this principle of cultural relevancy. In 1906 the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya issued to its missionaries a booklet of instructions giving among other things guidance regarding attitudes to be adopted toward African customs. While recognizing heathen superstitions as "gropings in the dark," it reminded the missionary that this was "all the native has until you put the Christian faith in their place."<sup>30</sup> Though this sounds like Neibuhr's antithesis, the following statement suggests the possibility of converting the indigenous culture, at least large segments of it:

The Christian faith does not aim at dis-Africanising the native convert. It aims at purifying and elevating his social and national life and customs, and leading himself and his families into the Christian habit of life and thought.<sup>31</sup>

How far the A.I.M., operating just a few miles from the

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<sup>29</sup>For an analysis of the relationship and interaction of Christianity with these traditions and customs see Laroche, "Some Traditional African Religions and Christianity," pp. 299-302.

<sup>30</sup>Alexander Heathwick, "Instructions to New Missionaries," quoted in Brian McIntosh, "The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891-1923" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969), p.197.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 198.

Scottish Mission, followed this policy will be seen in the analysis of its approach to the crucial cultural issues that have been chosen for consideration.<sup>32</sup>

### The Mission Station

Any investigation of the clash of cultures--African and western--must take cognizance of the factor of the mission station. This physical or geographical factor is often taken for granted as a normal and necessary concomitant of missionary activity.<sup>33</sup> Such would be the case if the missionary alone lived on his station. In reality, however, mission stations became the center of the new Christian community, the base of a "New Elite."<sup>34</sup>

Christian adherents came to live on the station apart from the culture of which they had recently been a

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<sup>32</sup>An in-depth comparison of Catholic and Protestant approaches to indigenous culture in Kenya, with special attention being given to possible syncretistic results, would be a profitable study.

<sup>33</sup>T. Price develops a number of interesting reasons why mission stations were founded in "The Missionary Struggle With Complexity," Christianity in Tropical Africa, pp. 104-111. C. F. Johnston, a pioneer A.I.M. missionary, writing in 1928 saw the day of many mission stations as past, made unnecessary by rapid transportation. He also saw the day passing when there would be large stations with many missionaries. (Letter of C. F. Johnston to H. C. Campbell, February 3, 1928). History has proved him wrong on both counts. At the time of this writing 75 miles from where he penned these words the A.I.M. has one station that has more missionaries than the total A.I.M. missionary force in Kenya in 1928.

<sup>34</sup>This term is taken from the subtitle of Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite by J. F. Ade Ajayi (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1965).

part. The station thus became a Christian ghetto, a closed cultural enclave.<sup>35</sup> Not only did it provide "protection" and deliverance from the evils of pagan life, but it gave the missionary tremendous leverage in enforcing his way of life and standards of conduct on his converts. Writing of the granting of five square miles to the A.I.M. for an Industrial Training School, pioneer missionary John Stauffacher observed that "this of course will make it possible for several thousand Kikuyu to locate on Mission [g]rounds, and will give the Mission full control over them [*italics not in the original*]." <sup>36</sup>

Pastor Johana Nyenjeri, an early convert at Kijabe, describes the strict rules that were enforced during his days on the school compound there. He states that

there were regulations never to be broken, and if broken, the missionaries did punish the boys. Every boy was expected to sleep in the dormitory all the time. Checking was often done to see whether this regulation was broken . . . . Rev. McKenrick was very strict on this. No fighting was allowed in the dormitory, and misbehaving was punished.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Baëta calls the mission station a "pocket of this new invading civilization," a "gathered colony." C. G. Baëta (ed.), Christianity in Tropical Africa, pp. 15-16. Dalziel, an A.I.M. missionary stationed at Kabartonjo, speaks of the 30 people living there as "our family." Letter of E. Dalziel to H. Campbell, October 21, 1929.

<sup>36</sup>Letter of John Stauffacher to Florence Minch, March 1, 1905.

<sup>37</sup>Written report of interview with Rev. Johana Nyenjeri by Peterson Ngata, August 8, 1970. N.C.C.K. Archives, St. Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)



Concerning the nature of the punishment, Nyenjeri affirmed that

these boys were treated exactly as children born of the mission station . . . so beating of any boy who did wrong was the punishment applied. Just as a father beats his children when they go wrong.<sup>38</sup>

The mission station, especially in the earlier days, further provided one of the few sources for obtaining a cash income for the Africans in many areas.<sup>39</sup> A failure to conform to a mission's ethical norms by the converts could and often did mean not only social ostracism and return to the village community, where there had been almost total mutual rejection, but also the loss of a job.<sup>40</sup> There was thus both social and financial pressure to adopt the life

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>For a good case study of the economic impact of one particular mission station on the surrounding villages see Oswald C. Fountain, "Religion and Economy in Mission Station-Village Relationships," Practical Anthropology, XIII, 2(1966), 49-58.

<sup>40</sup>Oliver states that, with the exception of Uganda, missions even in the second pioneer period following the European occupation "remained a thing apart from the local population" with those natives who had been adopted into their way of life "regarded by their kinsmen as outcasts." Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 178. He previously cited the testimony of several German missionary societies working in East Africa around the turn of the century to the necessity of providing "'an alternative community' to the heathen tribe." Ibid., p. 175.

style that the missionary was able to impose.<sup>41</sup> This pressure could not have been effectively and permanently applied however without the mission compound phenomenon. It was therefore (and still continues to be in many areas) a dominant factor or agent in effecting social and cultural change and thereby influencing and determining the form of Church/Mission relations. This latter fact is also true because the mission compound, in addition to its other functions, often assumed a Church center role.<sup>42</sup>

### Polygamy

The A.I.M. moved into an area where polygamy<sup>43</sup> was quite widely practiced.<sup>44</sup> Reference to it was noted in the

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<sup>41</sup>It needs to be noted that this rejection of African culture has been adopted by many African converts and church leaders and that they "have often been more radical than foreign missionaries in attacking the old traditions." Barrett, Schism and Renewal, p. 244.

<sup>42</sup>A good summary of the many functions of a mission station together with an informative comparison of "cultural enclave" and "cultural link" mission stations is given by Oswald C. Fountain, "Some Roles of Mission Stations," Practical Anthropology, XVIII, 5(1971), 198-207. See also Efraim Andersson, Churches at the Grass-Roots (New York: Friendship Press, 1968), p. 55.

<sup>43</sup>Though technically the term should be "polygyny" (the marriage system where a man has more than one wife), the blanket term "polygamy" will be used in this section, following popular usage. See Keesing, Cultural Anthropology, p.263.

<sup>44</sup>Barrett states that "polygamy has always been a normal and sanctioned institution in the majority of African societies" and that it has been the traditional norm in 34 percent of all sub-Saharan tribes and common in another 44 percent. Barrett, op. cit., p. 116, cf. p. 241. Ibid.

correspondence of the early pioneers of the Mission.<sup>45</sup> The clash of the A.I.M. with the Africans over this issue is typical of what missions have faced in many parts of Africa.

#### Importance of the Issue

The importance of this question is summarized by Webster of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria: ". . . the monogamy-polygamy issue is vital to the entire role of the church in Africa."<sup>46</sup> There are a number of reasons for this, according to Luzbetak, one of which is the important functions polygamy has fulfilled in many African societies.<sup>47</sup> Another reason is the far reaching implications when the alternative of monogamy is suddenly insisted on in a polygamous societal context.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, according to Barrett, polygamous society will not soon disappear from the African scene, and he sees it as a probable point of continuing conflict with the older, mission-oriented Churches.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>See p. 38 of this study.

<sup>46</sup>J. B. Webster, "Attitudes and Policies of the Yoruba African Churches Toward Polygamy," Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 244.

<sup>47</sup>Luzbetak lists eleven functions, including various forms of prestige, economic and social advantages. Luzbetak, The Church and Cultures, p. 247.

<sup>48</sup>Divorce, fatherless children, destitute women, and prostitution are cited by Webster, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>49</sup>Barrett, op. cit., p. 241.

That it has been a point of conflict from the beginning of missionary penetration into Africa during the modern era of missions--one on which missions have refused to concede to African custom--is seen from the following statement:

On this crucial issue the mission authorities of all denominations have consistently refused to surrender their ground. They have always maintained, and still maintain, that acceptance of polygamy would be fundamentally inconsistent with the teaching of Christianity.<sup>50</sup>

The fact that monogamy has been made almost a touchstone of Christian orthodoxy by missions is further reason why the issue is such a vital one.<sup>51</sup> This has been one vital area where missionaries have felt what seems to be a divine compulsion to perform "cultural surgery," to use Luzbetak's term.<sup>52</sup>

The A.I.M. was certainly no exception to the rule. Written into its Constitution of 1912 was the regulation

<sup>50</sup>Arthur Phillips and Henry F. Morris, Marriage Laws in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 16.

<sup>51</sup>Ajayi states that ". . . the rejection of polygamy became, as it were, the most essential dogma of mid-nineteenth-century Christianity in Africa," Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, p. 107. Over a century later the statement was still essentially valid.

<sup>52</sup>Luzbetak, op. cit., p. 183. Luzbetak lists a few of the disorganizing features which occur when this operation of excising multiple wives is performed: family impoverishment, loss of status, and antagonizing of the wives and their families. He sees all of this as the inevitable interference "with the smooth operation of a non-Christian society and culture" that evangelization causes. Ibid., p. 184.

that no polygamist was to be baptized.<sup>53</sup> This unequivocal stand on this question was later reflected in the statement of the 1918 Conference of Missionary Societies in which the A.I.M. took a prominent part: "No person living in polygamy shall be baptized."<sup>54</sup>

It was also the rule of the Mission that if an African married a second wife, he was excommunicated from the fellowship of the Church, or in the words of an early Church member at Githumu, he was "ordered out of the Mission."<sup>55</sup>

#### African Reaction

What has been the reaction of the Africans to this uncompromising assault on this traditional institution in terms of Church/Mission relationships? A survey of the correspondence and documents of the A.I.M. indicates that the question of polygamy was apparently more of an issue with individuals than with the corporate Church. This observation is confirmed by the numerous substantiating cases Barrett cites when he affirms that the issue of

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<sup>53</sup>Constitution and Policy of the Africa Inland Mission (Philadelphia: Africa Inland Mission, 1912), p. 20.

<sup>54</sup>Report of the United Conference of Missionary Societies in British East Africa, Kikuyu, July 23th [sic]-26th, 1918, Section, IV, B, 4, p. 16.

<sup>55</sup>Written report of interview with Jonah Kinuthia by David Sandgren, December 4, 1970. (From the collection of David Sandgren.) According to Kinuthia "very many" left the Mission over this issue.

polygamy has not been a conscious causative factor in the establishment of independent churches in Africa.<sup>56</sup> He goes on to suggest, however, that there has been profound and invisible interaction between traditional African custom, missionary societies, and the emergence of independent churches. As evidence he cites Bishop Beecher's statement that the African Orthodox Church among the Kikuyu resulted from "deep-seated resentments engendered by attempted missionary control in matters which are concerned with the relationship of Christianity to tribal rites."<sup>57</sup> Barrett thus deduces that the high correlation between polygamy and independency represents an unconscious reaction to missions' attack on polygamy.

To debate Barrett's point is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is the writer's conviction, however, that Barrett's example of the emergence of the African Orthodox Church does not substantiate his assertion. There seems to be more evidence that this Church was established in the Kikuyu tribe because of the need to be able to baptize converts in the Kenya Independent School System that had developed in 1931. The latter grew out of the female

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<sup>56</sup>Barrett, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>57</sup>L. J. Beecher, "African Separatist Churches in Kenya," World Dominion, XXXI, 1 (1953), 8, cited by Barrett, op. cit., p. 118.

circumcision controversy,<sup>58</sup> which was even a more crucial issue in the conflict of cultures that resulted in independent movements, both political and religious.

It seems clear, therefore, that although polygamy was involved in the question of the relationship of Christianity to African culture, it was never the focal point. Instead the magnifying glass of cultural nationalism focused on the issue of female circumcision. Through this glass the converging rays of political attention began to penetrate. The heat generated slowly until the issue burst in flames. The story of its beginning and the results that are still present today are examined in the next section.

### Female Circumcision

#### Its Significance

There was probably no issue raised by missions that so deeply struck at African culture and custom as the question of female circumcision. Though primarily centering in the Kikuyu tribe, the repercussions of the ensuing conflict reached far beyond its boundaries. They likewise went far outside the range of Church/Mission relationships, though the effect in that area was great, as will be seen

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<sup>58</sup>Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966), p. 126, cf. pp. 129-130, 136. Ibid.

in this section. Out of the crisis came the independent school movement.<sup>59</sup>

Rosberg and Nottingham further see this issue as having weakened "an important element in the colonial structure"<sup>60</sup> and its legend as having given "great impetus to the nationalist ideology of the Kikuyu political movement."<sup>61</sup> The battle fought over this question in the arena of cultural nationalism<sup>62</sup> carried with it the dynamic of an incipient political nationalism that was to confront Western colonial domination on a large scale and on a wide range of issues.

Reference is made to a "major" and "minor" operation

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<sup>59</sup>Kenyatta states categorically that these schools were created to provide an education without interference with the group custom [elitoridectomy]." Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p. 131.

<sup>60</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 135. Leakey relates this issue directly to the Mau Mau uprising, for it was out of these Kikuyu independent schools and separatist churches (both groups being closely affiliated with the Kikuyu Central Association) that Mau Mau recruited hundreds of its adherents. L.S.B. Leakey, Mau Mau and the Kikuyu (London: Methuen & Co., 1952), pp. 89-90.

<sup>62</sup>Coleman defines "cultural nationalism" as "a consciousness, on the part of Africans, of the distinctive culture of their own group, or of Africa in general, and activity directed toward developing, glorifying, and generalizing an appreciation of that culture. Conceptually this phenomenon should be distinguished from the predominantly political nationalism . . . , although concretely cultural nationalism and political nationalism are but two aspects of a single phenomenon." James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1963), p. 426.



in the correspondence of the 1920's, but according to Macpherson, this classification was a European invention and the attitude of the circumciser as well as the geographical location determined the extent of the surgery.<sup>63</sup>

The following briefly describes the so-called "major" operation:

It involves the removal of not only the clitoris, the labia minora and half of the labia majora, together with the surrounding tissue, resulting in the permanent mutilation affecting the woman's natural functions . . . .<sup>64</sup>

As already suggested, the significance of the operation did not lie in its physical aspect. It was part of the initiation rites into womanhood, rites that went deep into tribal life and custom.<sup>65</sup> James Ngugi, a

<sup>63</sup>R. Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya (Nairobi: The Presbyterian Church of East Africa, 1970), p. 106. In 1929 the Director of Education was pressing the Africa Inland Mission to agree to the minor operation in order to satisfy African demands. The A.I.M. Field Director referred, however, to the experience of an A.I.M. nurse who after observing the minor operation among the neighboring Kamba tribe for four years stated that "the results are almost as bad as in the major operation." Letter of Lee Downing to H. Campbell, Dec. 17, 1929.

<sup>64</sup>Church of Scotland, "Memorandum Prepared by the Kikuyu Mission Council on Female Circumcision" (Kikuyu, December 1, 1931), p. 1. In contrast it was assumed that the "minor" operation consisted only of clitoridectomy (the removal or excision of the clitoris). Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>65</sup>Kenyatta stresses that the real argument for this rite de passage is that the operation "is still regarded as the very essence of an institution which has enormous educational, social, moral, and religious implications . . . ." Kenyatta, op. cit., p. 133. For the place of circumcision in the Kikuyu system of tribal education see pp. 109-113, *ibid.* See also Leakey, Mau Mau and the Kikuyu, pp. 19-27. For a good discussion of its place in the cultural system

contemporary novelist, captures the feeling of a young Kikuyu girl whose father had become a "man of the Mission": and who rejected all the tribal customs:

. . . I want to be circumcised . . . . Look, please, I--I want to be a woman. I want to be a real girl, a real woman, knowing all the ways of the hills and ridges . . . . Father and Mother are circumcised. Are they not Christians? Circumcision did not prevent them from being Christians. I too have embraced the white man's faith. However, I know it is beautiful, oh so beautiful to be initiated into womanhood. You learn the ways of the tribe. Yes, the white man's God does not quite satisfy me. I want, I need something more.<sup>66</sup>

For the Kikuyu people then this custom was an integral part of their culture, an institution marking the boundary between childhood and adulthood and therefore profoundly significant in the social and educational development of their young people. But beyond even this deep significance the issue to Kikuyu leaders was still more broad and basic. Who ultimately was to determine the future form and pattern of Kikuyu culture? If they gave in on this question, it would be a further if not final capitulation to European psychological domination. In a word, the African would not be controlling his own way of life.<sup>67</sup> In choosing the highly emotional issue of female

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of a Nilotic tribe, the Nandi, see G. S. Snell, Nandi Customary Law (London: Macmillan & Co., 1954), pp. 19-20, 68-69, 99-101, 123-124.

<sup>66</sup>James Ngugi, The River Between (London: Heinemann, 1965), pp. 29-30.

<sup>67</sup>John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman, 1970), p. 117.

circumcision the Kikuyu leaders were determined to retain the right to follow their own path in the process of selective modernization.<sup>68</sup>

That certain missions, including the A.I.M. had chosen an explosive issue is seen in the following statement of Wambuga, a Kikuyu Paramount Chief, made in 1921 at a meeting of the Nyeri District Council:

We cannot abandon the custom of our ancestors in this matter: if a girl is uncircumcised her father can take no dowry for her. You white men came among us and we, seeing that you were good men, welcomed you with both hands. We readily do all that you tell us to do: you tell us to lie down, we lie down; you tell us to stand up, we do so. You impose taxes on us and we obey without a murmur; when your taxes become more than we can pay, we will come as supplicants and tell you so. But in this matter of our girls we cannot see eye to eye with you and we cannot agree to obey you if you attempt to coerce us.<sup>69</sup>

### The Developing Crisis

Although the circumcision issue reached its

<sup>68</sup>That not all Kikuyu leaders were united on this issue is seen in the divergent viewpoints of two distinct groups: the Kikuyu Association (1920) and the Kikuyu Central Association (1924). The former was politically orientated toward the colonial regime and tended to accept the value system of the missionaries and thus rejected female circumcision. The latter was composed of incipient nationalists who refused to accept European dominance and who were more concerned with retaining traditional Kikuyu values. Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., pp. 41-43, 85-87.

<sup>69</sup>Minutes of Nyeri District Council and Education Committee, 9th June 1921 (PCEA/TT), cited by McIntosh, "The Scottish Mission in Kenya, 1891-1923," p. 410.

flashpoint around 1929,<sup>70</sup> there had been a gradual build-up toward this crisis. From as early as 1906 the Church of Scotland Mission (Presbyterian) had systematically instructed its people against this practice.<sup>71</sup> The other missions working among the Kikuyu, including the A.I.M.,<sup>72</sup> all followed a similar pattern, although the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) seems not to have been emphatic in its teaching on this issue nor uniform in its practice.<sup>73</sup> They were, however, actively involved, along

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<sup>70</sup>The year the Church of Scotland Mission pressed their attack on it, followed by the A.I.M. George Bennett, Kenya A Political History: The Colonial Period (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 71.

<sup>71</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 112. Even here, however, there was a gradual break with the custom. In 1914 this Mission permitted the operation to be performed in one of their hospitals, but in 1915 following a similar performance in another Church of Scotland Mission hospital the operation was forbidden by the doctor because of its brutality. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>72</sup>For reference to the A.I.M.'s involvement in this indoctrination see John Middleton, "Kenya: Changes in African Life, 1912-1945," History of East Africa, eds. V. Harlow, E. Chilver (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), II, 363. Welbourn cites 1914 as the date when systematic teaching against the practice began at A.I.M.'s Kijabe hospital. F. B. Welbourn, East Africa Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 136.

<sup>73</sup>Macpherson, loc. cit.; Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 112. For the viewpoint of an A.I.M. doctor who began her work among the Kikuyu in 1911 see H. Virginia Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), pp. 174-193. Blakeslee avers that "there was no attempt on the part of the missionaries to destroy that in Kikuyu tribal life which was not unbecoming to a follower of Christ" (p. 178) and points to the non-interference on the

with the A.I.M., in what is known as the 1918 Kikuyu Conference, a conference that grew out of several preceding ones convened to discuss church unity or at least federation among the various denominations and missions.<sup>74</sup> At this conference the following resolution was passed:

That the Representative Council be asked to consider that the Allied Societies should unite in absolutely forbidding the circumcision of girls in their Missions, and that Government should be approached to legislate for its abolition among the heathen.<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, the opinion of a "Committee of qualified medical men" was to be passed on to the Government without comment, the opinion being

. . . that the native custom of the circumcision of girls practiced among certain tribes in the Protectorate is, in all instances, purposeless and useless, while in some districts it is highly barbarous and dangerous; and that the custom ought to be abolished.<sup>76</sup>

In this resolution lay a time bomb that exploded a decade later.

If for the Kikuyu leaders this was an issue on which

part of the Mission to the dowry system of marriage. On the other hand, she affirms that "the physical disabilities that followed the circumcision of Kikuyu girls became so apparent that a stand had to be taken against this custom" (Ibid.).

<sup>74</sup>For a detailed account of this abortive ecumenical effort see Gavin White, "Kikuyu 1913: An Ecumenical Controversy" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, London University, 1970).

<sup>75</sup>Report of the United Conference of Missionary Societies in British East Africa, Resolution 16, p. 21.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Resolution 20, pp. 21-22.

there could be no compromise, so it was for the leaders of the A.I.M. Since 1914 teaching against the practice had been carried on at Kijabe, largely through the ministry of Dr. and Mrs. Elwood Davis in the hospital and Dr. Virginia Blakeslee who directed a girls' boarding school.<sup>77</sup> It was not until 1921 that the custom was formally forbidden in the Church. The prohibition came from the missionaries as follows:

That the conference of missionaries at Kijabe, 1921 of the Africa Inland Mission, condemn and forbid the circumcision of [C]hristian and all girls under control of [C]hristian adherents, and that all transgressors shall be subject to Church discipline. That any person in class or [C]hurch membership ridiculing one uncircumcised shall be disciplined also by the Church.<sup>78</sup>

At Githumu, which was to become a focal point of the controversy, similar teaching had been given. Here, however, according to the Church of Scotland Memorandum, the missionaries did not legislate its prohibition. Rather this action was taken by the African Christians themselves following an Inter-Mission Conference held at Kambui in 1920.<sup>79</sup>

A.I.M. correspondence during this period of the

<sup>77</sup>"Memorandum on Female Circumcision," op. cit., p.12.

<sup>78</sup>Recommendations of Conference Business Sessions to Kenya Field Council, May 29, 1921.

<sup>79</sup>"Memorandum on Female Circumcision," op. cit., p. 13. In actuality the Church at Githumu would in any case have been under the legislation against the practice enacted by the A.I.M. Field Council.

gathering storm contains repeated reference to the question. Writing from Kijabe, Hulda Stumpf, who was to be a central figure when the storm broke, referred to her school being "cruelly broken" because it was the "season for circumcision":

Nearly all my little village girls were sent off to a district about six miles away to be circumcised. Think of it! And if I could tell you the horribleness of it you would be astonished indeed. The superstition is that a girl will never bear children (a most notorious disgrace) if she is not circumcised.<sup>80</sup>

Somewhat in the same vein the Field Director wrote to the American Home Secretary during the height of the crisis:

Practically all our Christians say it is a bad custom and ought to be abolished, but they are unwilling to take a public stand against it since it means severe persecution from many of their own people.<sup>81</sup>

It is clear that the African Church members were divided on this question. The Superintendent of Githumu Station, where it was affirmed that anti-circumcision legislation

<sup>80</sup>Hulda Stumpf to "Sister Martha," May 11, 1916. In this same letter she refers to the uncle of a girl being circumcised who, begging her (Stumpf) to go to the village elders and headman to try and have it prohibited, said "what an awful thing it was and so useless and silly."

<sup>81</sup>Letter of Lee Downing to H. C. Campbell, December 17, 1929. There is repeated reference to the matter of persecution in the correspondence of this period, beginning with Stumpf's letter to Campbell. June 8, 1927.

was uniquely of African origin,<sup>82</sup> described the situation coming to a head as follows:

Mission adherents divided themselves into two bodies. One body was loyal; the other, otherwise. The second body, which constituted the larger portion of the Church-members boycotted Githumu and all it's [sic] activities . . . . The teachers were likewise divided. Those who belonged to the second body were dismissed . . . . The 1st body constituted the New Church . . . .<sup>83</sup>

Sometime prior to this the A.I.M., along with other Missions, had required its church elders and teachers to sign a petition repudiating the practice of female circumcision.<sup>84</sup> According to Downing, opposition to having their children taught by teachers who had signed this statement came more from "professing Christians" than "raw heathen"<sup>85</sup> The issue was not that neatly drawn, however, for Stumpf reported to the American Home Secretary in 1927 that "last Saturday, the day after Mr. Downing left the station,

<sup>82</sup>See p. 137, fn. 79 of this chapter.

<sup>83</sup>Letter of Reginald Reynolds to H. Campbell, June 18, 1927. Blakeslee spoke approvingly of "men of maturing Christian discernment . . . [who] were one with the missionaries in their opposition to this heathen custom." Blakeslee, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>84</sup>Letter of Lee Downing to H. C. Campbell, November 7, 1929. That the initiative was not altogether on the part of the missionaries is seen from his reference in this letter to a girl who was forced to be circumcised. When the case was tried, a decision was rendered that there was no law to enable a girl to refuse the order of her parents. "This decision led the best native Christians in the various missions to petition government to pass a law prohibiting the circumcision of girls, and in this they have the support of the missionaries" (Ibid.).

<sup>85</sup>Letter of Lee Downing to H. C. Campbell, Dec. 17, 1929.



several daughters of our very best Christian elders were circumcised," adding: "It seems impossible for some of our native Christians to see harm in allowing this ceremony to be held."<sup>86</sup>

Disciplinary action, and that of a severe nature, was taken against those who permitted their daughters to follow this custom. Stumpf, who was the secretary of the Mission's General Director, describes such a situation:

About three years ago Mucai along with many others was prohibited from teaching and was excommunicated forever, the sentence read, unless he was willing to confess his wrong and swear allegiance to the white man and his rulings. The confession was, sorrow for allowing his daughter to be circumcised.<sup>87</sup>

#### Political Aspect

It was inevitable that unrest should be widespread among the Kikuyu tribe as the crisis reached its climax.<sup>88</sup> In November of 1929 the Field Director wrote the following confidential statement to the American Home Office:

There is at present such a spirit of unrest among the Kikuyu tribe as to cause government great anxiety. A European police officer was here last

<sup>86</sup>H. Stumpf to H. Campbell, May 3, 1927.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid. (Italics in the original.)

<sup>88</sup>"We have been having rather a wild month in Kikuyuland--over the heathen practice of the circumcision of girls . . . . Owing greatly to the lies and work of the Native Association [doubtless reference is to the Kikuyu Central Association] that have caused lots of trouble before, wild stories have been circulated." Harstock to Campbell Nov. 3, 1929. In this same letter she refers to the more than 50 church elders and teachers who signed the anti-circumcision document and the persecution they received.

week and frankly told Mrs. Downing and me while in our home, that government has had intimations of a native rising being planned for about Christmas time.<sup>89</sup>

A factor increasing the intensity of feeling was the involvement of the Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.) in this issue. A letter written on August 17, 1929 by Joseph Kang'ethe, President of the K.C.A. entitled, "Lament on [A]bolition of [F]emale [C]ircumcision" was sent to 74 Kikuyu Chiefs. In it he lamented that all the Kikuyu were "prohibited circumcision . . . by the Europeans of Kabete, Kijabe . . . ." <sup>90</sup>

On August 29 Kange'ethe wrote a further letter to the Director of the Church of Scotland Mission, Dr. Arthur, who had carried the battle into the newspapers.<sup>91</sup> The last sentence of his letter summed up the position of the Association:

<sup>89</sup>Letter of Lee Downing to H. Campbell, November 7, 1929. That a wide area was affected is seen from a letter written by Elsie Clarke at Eldama Ravine. She describes a meeting of settlers where Government communications were read, adding, "2 machine guns are coming to Njoro . . . rifles and ammunition are being served out to any settler who has had military training, and all preparations are being made for a place of safety in case of trouble. The last two nights have been like the war days. Instead of bright lights from the various farms etc. around, all is black darkness except for signalling lights--practice has begun now in real earnest." Elsie Clarke, "An Urgent Call for Prayer," no addressee, Dec. 3, 1929.

<sup>90</sup>"Memorandum on Female Circumcision," pp. 39-40.

<sup>91</sup>East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], August 10, 1929.

Missionaries have tried on many occasions to interfere with the tribal customs, and the question is asked whether circumcision being the custom of the Kikuyu Christians, he is to be a heathen simply because he is a Kikuyu.<sup>92</sup>

Downing correctly wrote that it was the determination of K.C.A. to continue the custom of female circumcision and to make it the test of loyalty to their organization.<sup>93</sup> Consequently, according to Downing, it became in many places "a choice between the church and the association."<sup>94</sup> When the choice actually had to be made, there was a split vote on the part of the Church community of the A.I.M.<sup>95</sup> The result was a literal physical separation in a number of places.

#### A House Divided

At Kijabe, the Mission's main station, Church attendance dwindled as did that of the station's outschools.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>"Memorandum on Female Circumcision," p. 42.

<sup>93</sup>Letter of Downing to Campbell, November 7, 1929.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>This was true also of the Church of Scotland Mission. See Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 125; Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya, p. 111.

<sup>96</sup>"So strong was the feeling on these issues that whole outschools pulled away from their parent missions to run their own affairs and establish their own churches in which they used Christian Scriptures and hymns . . . and in which polygamy and the circumcision of girls were strong tenets." Blakeslee, op. cit., p. 183. The precursor of this separation appears as early as 1923, when the Mission's

On the last Sunday in 1929 the Mission's secretary, Hulda Stumpf, sat in the Kijabe church recording the names of those who braved the threats of the independents by taking Communion. The list was not a long one.<sup>97</sup> One A.I.M. missionary described the general situation as follows:

The whole [K]ikuyu church is practically gone! . . . the persecution is great and constant. Schools where the teacher or evangelist have signed are left, not a soul attends. Worse still is that all these who are refusing are singing vile filthy songs cursing those in favor of the Church's firm stand . . . they even do it to me, but not quite so openly. On Sunday last at this outschool we had about half the usual number.<sup>98</sup>

Among the stations hardest hit by the breakaway, independent movement was Githumu. Hartssock, one of the missionaries there, refers to an outdistrict "where they wouldn't go to the A.I.M. school and church [and where] they want to get a shepherd from the C.M.S. [Church Missionary Society (Anglican)]."<sup>99</sup> Reference is also made

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General Director referred to native Christians at Githumu who had gone off with the Harry Thuku movement and to a mutiny of a group of boys at Kijabe. Letter of C. E. Hurlburt to Lee Downing, March 12, 1923.

<sup>97</sup>Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain, p. 191.

<sup>98</sup>Apparently the issue divided even husbands and wives, for in the same letter reference is made to the threat by the school teacher's wife to leave her husband if he "in any way sides with the church's views." Letter of Elsie Clarke, no addressee, December 3, 1929.

In this same letter Clarke confirms the political implications of the issue, referring to the K.C.A. and their secret vows that "they will never be de-tribalized by giving up female circumcision."

<sup>99</sup>Letter of Hartssock to Campbell, May 30, 1930.

to a problem with the Gospel Missionary Society "preaching at a Separatist school" in the area.<sup>100</sup> It will be remembered that "spheres of influence" were still largely acknowledged during this period.<sup>101</sup> Describing the results of the "wave of sedition" that swept the area at this time, McKenrick estimated that "80 percent of the adherents at Githumu left the Church."<sup>102</sup> Downing stated that in general the A.I.M. Kikuyu Churches involved in the circumcision controversy were reduced to about 10 percent of their membership.<sup>103</sup>

#### Government Intervention

There are several references to governmental intervention by the District Commissioner in this area during this time.<sup>104</sup> On a later occasion prison sentences

<sup>100</sup>Hartssock, *ibid.* In this same letter describing the "unsettled condition" of the area, Hartssock confirms the different stand of the C.M.S. who "permit the initiation of girls, and drinking and smoking."

<sup>101</sup>See p. 48, fn. 15 of this study for a reference to "spheres of influence."

<sup>102</sup>Letter of Fred McKenrick to Henry Campbell, March 13, 1930. In the same letter he states that only one outschool of Kijabe remained open.

<sup>103</sup>Letter of Lee Downing, Inland Africa, XV, 3 (1931), 15.

<sup>104</sup>"The Govt. people have remained very friendly and the D.C. made a special trip up here and stood firmly with Mr. Reynolds to the discomforture of the Chief who had broken up a church service and ordered the school closed . . . ." Letter of Hartssock to Campbell, Dec. 1, 1929. "The Govt. seems to have quieted the demonstrations of unrest through the tribe . . . ." Hartssock to Campbell, March 2, 1930, cf. Hartssock to Campbell July 9, 1931.

were handed out to a number who were involved in a disturbance over this issue. By the end of 1931, however, the District Commissioner was urging the missionaries to come to a compromise agreement with the natives from the six or more schools which were refusing teachers who had agreed to the Church law against circumcision.<sup>105</sup>

### Murder of Stumpf

The circumcision crisis left its scars on both Church and Mission. Several days after Miss Stumpf sat in the Kijabe Church recording the pro-Mission adherents she was brutally murdered in her own bedroom.<sup>106</sup> Naturally this incident created a great stir in both the European and African communities and was the object of a thorough investigation by the police. Several suspects were appre-

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<sup>105</sup>Letters of Hartsock to Campbell, August 2, 1931, December 2, 1931. For a good summary of the Government's attitude toward the whole issue of female circumcision during this period see "Memorandum on Female Circumcision" pp. 19-23. It may be noted that the Government in general took a more restrained view of its role as an agent of cultural change than did most missionary societies.

<sup>106</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham refer to her being forcibly circumcised (op. cit., p. 124), but Dr. Blakeslee, an A.I.M. doctor who was the second person to enter her room after her murder, denies this, Blakeslee, op. cit., p. 191. The Kijabe pastor, who was informed of the murder before even the missionaries, affirms, however, that Miss Stumpf "was spoilt." Written report of interview with Rev. Johana Nyenjeri by Peterson Ngata, August 14, 1970. (From the collection of David Sandgren.) This view is confirmed by the Field Director's report of the murder. Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, January 20-26, 1930.

hended, but in the ensuing trial the prime suspect was exonerated, though not without dissenting opinions on the part of many.<sup>107</sup>

There is a certain irony in the death of Hulda Stumpf, ostensibly over the circumcision issue, for she alone seems to have had reservations about the Mission's stand, at least the way it was carried out.<sup>108</sup> Writing to the American Home Secretary, after raising a number of questions about A.I.M.'s philosophy of operation, she quoted with apparent approval the following passages from an article by W. C. Willoughby in the July 1926 issue of The International Review of Missions:

In this as in other phases of church life, rigid rules are to be distrusted, church life must be idealized not standardized . . . (p. 452).

The weak spot in organization of any sort . . . is

<sup>107</sup>According to Nyenjeri many Kikuyu on circumstantial evidence continued to suspect the Kamba man who was tried and released by the Government. Written report of Nyenjeri interview by Ngata, August 25, 1970. (From the collection of David Sandgren.) Questions would remain also as to the motive for the crime. "We are still in the dark as to the motive actuating the murderer or murderers. We do not yet know whether the crime was the work of some vile degenerate man or whether it was instigated by political propagandists who have been under Bolshevistic teaching." H. Campbell to Mrs. J. N. Rankin, March 27, 1930.

<sup>108</sup>Lasch, in discussing the connection between biography and history, gives an interesting reason for choosing people not typical of their times: they articulate experiences that "could only have happened at a particular place at a particular time." Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p. xviii.

oftenest found in the transitions--the bridges by which men pass from one phase of thought to another . . . (p. 455).

To thrust upon African Christians rules of conduct that have not grown out of their own convictions is more likely to breed hypocrites than to unravel perplexities. Each case needs, not the mechanical application of an infallible formula, but the brotherly counsel of some one familiar with local thought and custom and skilled in the cure of souls (p. 466). <sup>109</sup>

Stumpf commented that the Mission seemed to be in the "transition" stage, noting further that the "circumcision ceremony permitted by the fathers . . . seems to be the bridge (p. 455 above) on which the missionary and the native are not able to cross together."<sup>110</sup>

Did Stumpf, maybe alone among the missionaries, recognize that the Mission was on a collision course that was to a degree unnecessary because its action was both precipitate and too inflexible? Was she in this letter calling the Mission to re-think its policy or at least re-apply it? That the latter at least is likely is deduced from her final quote from the article: "They need to be taught why one custom is to be avoided, another utilized and a third purified . . . (p. 453)." Stumpf added, "But the teaching will have to be done in LOVE and not by

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<sup>109</sup>Letter of Hulda Stumpf to H. Campbell, May 3, 1927.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.



legislation."<sup>111</sup> One thousand days later she was dead. The lone voice that seemed to be crying for a wider bridge had been silenced.

### Wider Repercussions

The failure to produce a wider bridge and the bitter confrontation that followed did not affect merely the Church among the Kikuyu tribe,<sup>112</sup> nor were the effects of this failure soon to pass.

A parallel confrontation between Christianity and African culture had been going on among the Masai tribe during this time. For a period of several years, however, there was open dialogue between the missionaries and the tribal elders. An important figure in these meetings was

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 2 (caps in the original). In answering Stumpf's letter the Home Secretary referred the circumcision question back to the Field Council "cooperating with the leaders of the native church." Letter of H. Campbell to H. Stumpf, June 11, 1927.

The thrust of Stumpf's thought is somewhat reminiscent of Kenyatta's account of the judgment of a Parliamentary committee on the circumcision question, to which he gives his apparent assent, namely that: ". . . the best way to tackle the problem was through education and not by force of an enactment, and that the best way was to leave the people concerned free to choose what custom was best suited to their changing conditions." Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, p. 131.

<sup>112</sup>It is natural that most of the references to cultural issues involve Kikuyu sources since they were the most politically active group. In the matrix of this tribe the political and the cultural were joined together with the resultant tensions that have been examined.

Mulungit, one of the first Masai converts.<sup>113</sup> He sought to be a mediator between the old men of the tribe and the missionaries.<sup>114</sup> In spite of special meetings, however, the gap continued to widen. By early January 1930 no one attended either Sunday School or Church, and the threat of an independent, separatist Church being formed was very real.<sup>115</sup>

The demand for such a Church was not long in coming. On February 8, 1930 the elders not only stated their desire to have their own Church but also their desire to take over the Mission's building for this purpose.<sup>116</sup> Government action kept the dissident group from occupying any buildings on Mission property, but it could not keep the people

<sup>113</sup>See p. 34 of this dissertation. Mulungit himself, however, seems to have had an ambivalent attitude toward the whole question. "Now he [Mulungit] thinks he can accomplish more in helping the people see that circumcision is not good, by standing with them but when necessary speaking against it, than to take a definite stand against it." Letter of Florence Stauffacher [wife of John] to "Dear Ones on the other two sides," May 1, 1930. A few months earlier Stauffacher referred to Mulungit as ". . . leading the opposition in spite of having enjoyed exceptional mission privileges for years." John Stauffacher Prayer Letter, March, 1930. By September of the same year Mulungit was involved in forcing a father to have his daughter circumcised. Letter of Florence Stauffacher to "Dear Ones," September 18, 1930.

<sup>114</sup>Gladys Stauffacher, "Faster Beats the Drum," (an unpublished manuscript, n. d.), p. 216. For the beginning of the Stauffachers' work among the Maasai see this investigator's study, p. 34 of this study.

<sup>115</sup>Stauffacher, pp. 217-218.

<sup>116</sup>Diary of Florence Stauffacher, February 8, 1930.

themselves within the A.I.M. Church. Led by Mulungit, almost the whole Church began to hold its own meetings.<sup>117</sup> In a rather unique gesture, the missionaries attended the first Sunday service of the independents.<sup>118</sup>

Only two boys remained with the Mission, and Stauffacher wrote of ". . . having the pleasant experience of carrying on both school and church with only two in attendance."<sup>119</sup> Although the dissidents were forbidden by the Government to conduct a school, they refused to return to the Mission until all Church privileges were restored and the Mission agreed to "stop interfering with their customs."<sup>120</sup>

Like his protégé, Mulungit,<sup>121</sup> Stauffacher himself apparently had mixed feelings concerning the whole issue. Recognizing that at times he evidenced little loyalty to the stand taken by the Mission, he acknowledged that his

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1930.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid. Stauffacher was apparently very concerned about maintaining rapport with his African brethren even when differences of opinion arose between them. In a long letter to Campbell two years earlier he had lamented the real danger of "a complete separation between missionaries and native Christians" on a number of A.I.M. stations. Letter of John Stauffacher to Henry Campbell, February 7, 1928.

<sup>119</sup>Letter of John Stauffacher to Henry Campbell, April 23, 1930.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>See p. 149, fn. 113 of this study.

heart went out "strongly sometimes to the natives," although he knew that from the Mission's viewpoint they were "wholly wrong."<sup>122</sup> Then in a statement of great candor, reminiscent of Stumpf's questionings,<sup>123</sup> he made the following admission:

. . . I can't help but feel sometimes that somewhere we have made a tremendous mistake, when it becomes necessary for us to force out Christians (and I believe most of them are Christians) who have only recently come out of the rankest heathenism. I don't see now how we can do differently, but I doubt if we should [sic] have done much harm if we had agreed that since female circumcision must go, we would be patient and work and pray against it until the natives themselves had cast an overwhelming vote against it, rather than that we should make a rule that severs them from church membership.<sup>124</sup>

The situation was not helped by the fact that the Government at this juncture was not at all in sympathy with the Mission's stand.<sup>125</sup> In the light of developments Mrs. Stauffacher was caused to wonder if the Mission should not have taken a slower pace or even some ". . . other way to have gained [its] point even though it would have been some years later . . . ." <sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Letter of Stauffacher to Campbell, April 23, 1930.

<sup>123</sup>See pp. 146-148 of this chapter.

<sup>124</sup>Stauffacher, loc. cit. In this same letter Stauffacher expressed the fear that "hundreds of them will never return."

<sup>125</sup>Letter of Florence Stauffacher to Cora Brunemeier, May 21, 1930.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

Turnbull commenting on the "forced adaptation" of Africans to a new way of life made virtually the same observation in his statement that

the difficulties experienced in adaptation to the western way of life are not entirely due to the greatness of the difference, nor even to the speed with which the adaptation often has to be made, but rather they are due to the way in which the Europeans themselves have tried to guide or force this adaptation. The African is perfectly capable of taking what he wants and needs . . . to retain of the old to preserve not only continuity but cohesion. This is a process that has to grow from within; any attempt to impose from outside is bound to be disastrous.<sup>127</sup>

The test case for both the Mission and the separatist group came in September of 1930. After circumcising four of the Mission girls, the crowd threatened to take the fifth girl by force. Stauffacher and his wife physically held them off, but while Stauffacher was getting Government help, the girl yielded to the pressure being put on her. The independents had clearly won the day.<sup>128</sup> Again Stauffacher expressed his conviction that the anti-circumcision vow was a "huge mistake," one that ". . . has played terrific havoc with our work," causing it to become a "complete wreck."<sup>129</sup>

The Mission during this period continued to retain

<sup>127</sup>Colin Turnbull, The Lonely African (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), pp. 249-250.

<sup>128</sup>Letter of John Stauffacher to Henry Campbell, September 17, 1930.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid.

its strong opposition to female circumcision "in any form, and particularly to the suggestion to 'Christianize it.'"<sup>130</sup>

In the words of Davis:

Female circumcision is considered a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility and is the very life of native heathen practices. How can we tolerate it in any form [italics in the original] in our Church, realizing its past associations and what it means in the minds of the natives?<sup>131</sup>

The stand of the Maasai was just as strong, however, and their boycott of the Mission's Church and school was equally effective. As a result the Government on several occasions suggested that the Stauffachers (and thus the Mission) temporarily withdraw from their station.<sup>132</sup>

Although the Mission did not leave, neither did the problem. Writing in 1938 the Field Director reported to his home base that "owing to the stand of the Mission on female circumcision, there are at the present time hardly any Masai women in the native church," nor could a girls' school be started until public opinion changed on the

<sup>130</sup>Minutes of Kenya Field Council, July 23, 1931, Min. 8.

<sup>131</sup>Letter of Elwood Davis to Henry Campbell, November 25, 1931. For a reference to the transformation of culture by Christianity see p. 117, fn. 19 of this chapter.

<sup>132</sup>Florence Stauffacher to "Dear Ones," September 18, 1930; Florence Stauffacher Diary, April 21, 1931.

circumcision issue.<sup>133</sup> That it was changed slowly is revealed in correspondence almost ten years later which refers to "quite a bit of unrest and dissatisfaction" over the issue.<sup>134</sup>

### Summary

It now remains to sum up the effect of the Mission's handling of this volatile issue on its relationship with the emerging Church.

As already pointed out, for this particular period there was a drastic deterioration in relationships as the Mission found itself not only fighting a very meaningful custom but the most powerful embryonic political party in the country. The effects and scars of this battle (whether rightly or wrongly, necessarily or needlessly fought) were to continue for years to come. Elements broke away from the Church that never were to return. Furthermore, there was

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<sup>133</sup>Letter of H. Nixon to H. Campbell, May 18, 1938. Writing from the same station a year later, missionary Roy Shaffer stated with reference to the commencement of female education and the expected opposition from one Government official: ". . . we shall have to be prepared to give Government assurance that we will act tactfully and wise concerning the matter of circumcision. I see no reason why it should become an issue for the time being . . . ." Letter of Roy Shaffer to Harmon Nixon, June 18, 1939.

<sup>134</sup>Letters of R. Shaffer to E. Davis, March 24, 1947. The latter refers to the threat of 16 Christians to withdraw from the Church if the anti-circumcision rule is enforced. In it Shaffer comments that "it is lamentable that our Masai Christians (?) cannot see the necessity of a separated life."

engendered, especially in the Githumu area, an anti-Mission spirit that erupted later in a lawsuit and the demand that the Mission abandon its post there.

On the positive side, the element of the Church that sided with the Mission was more than ever united with those who had shared with them the common lot of severe testing and persecution, though doubtless to a lesser degree.





## CHAPTER 4

### THE MISSION'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

#### Relationship of School and Church

There are several reasons for devoting a chapter to this aspect of the Mission's multi-phased program. First, during its entire history in Kenya, education has been a vital part of its endeavors. The A.I.M. was one of the first voluntary agencies to establish schools in Kenya, and it is one of the few organizations which has continued an educational program to the present without interruption. Probably no one phase of work has absorbed more personnel and financial resources across the years.

Secondly, it will be seen that a history of the Mission's educational program is in a real sense a history of the growth of the Church. The Church grew out of the school room; in fact, this is where it was born. For better or worse, Church and school in the early days were practically synonymous.<sup>1</sup> The early school teachers were also the evangelists or catechists. The village outschool

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<sup>1</sup>In the Kikuyu language Githomo was used to designate both "school" and "church." See John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman, 1970), p. 107. By 1924 a missionary at one of the A.I.M.'s main stations (Machakos) speaks of the church building as being "too small and not suitable for services," adding that "it is really the school house and we are simply longing to divide it up into separate classrooms." Letter of C. W. Guilding

was taught by the catechist. Furthermore, both school and Church were in the early days closely indented, if not synonymous with the Mission. The building was located either on the mission station or on land that had been granted to the Mission in the district. The teacher-catechist was often paid by Mission funds and thus was considered by the Field Council in its employ.<sup>2</sup>

The early blending of school and Church and the close identification of both with the Mission<sup>3</sup> makes it obvious that one cannot investigate the historical relationship of Mission and Church without examining the Mission's educational policies and practices. That this investigation must be rigidly restricted to those areas that are germane to the subject at hand is equally obvious. The Mission's educational policies and practices will be examined therefore only as they relate directly to its

to Mrs. Fletcher, March 20, 1924. Even today if one wants to inquire in Swahili where someone attends church, he asks, "Unasoma wapi?" (Where do you read?). See also John Taylor The Primal Vision (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of Central Executive Council to Kenya Field Council, May 31, 1923. In 1927 the Mission was investigating the possibility of entering a joint pension scheme with other Missions for "Superannuated Native Teachers . . . ." Kenya Missionary Council, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 1927, Nairobi, No. 14. The financial relationship of these workers to the Mission is further discussed on pp. 234-236 of this dissertation.

<sup>3</sup>Expressed in the name "Africa Inland Church" adopted by the Church when it became an entity separate from the Mission; see p. 241 of this study.

relationship with the emerging Church.

### Growth of the Educational Program

History does not always cooperate with the historian by falling into clearly identifiable periods, especially of equal length; but such is the story of the A.I.M.'s educational program.<sup>4</sup> The first twenty-five year history found the Mission deeply enmeshed in educational work. Note has already been made of the fact that from the beginning the missionaries saw education as the key to making converts and establishing the Church.<sup>5</sup> That their insight was correct is seen in the following evaluation of the Deputy General Director written in 1924 just after the close of this first era:

Up to the present, fully ninety-five per cent of our church members have passed thru' [sic] our schools. Genuine interest in the gospel has led to thirst for knowledge of reading which will at least enable them to read the Scriptures. Even those interested through the preaching of evangelists in villages, etc. almost inevitably evidence the genuineness of their interest by attending one of our schools where they get fully instructed, and in the services there make their public confession of

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<sup>4</sup>This observation is found in John Glendon Rae, "A Historical Study of the Educational Work of the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1969), pp. 19, 38, 103.

<sup>5</sup>See p. 26, fn. 33; p. 27, fns. 34, 36. Scott himself wrote that during the first year "our schoolwork has not been large, but has been carried on faithfully since March." Catherine Miller, Peter Cameron Scott: The Unlocked Door (London: Parry Jackson, 1955), p. 46.

faith in Christ. If these little chapel schools are closed . . . we know of nothing to take their place as a recruiting agency for the A.I.M. Every plan for evangelistic work apart from ed[ucational] work which had been suggested by members of the A.I.M. is so idealistic and fails so utterly to deal with things as they really are, and so lacking in suggestions as to how we can meet the terribly real difficulties which have been shown to exist, that one wonders if such can be met in any way except by not only keeping on with school work but by increasing our efforts along these lines . . . .<sup>6</sup>

During this period the educational work, in spite of apathy and sometimes opposition,<sup>7</sup> moved steadily if at times slowly forward. By 1920 nineteen mission stations had been established with 149 Evangelists and Teachers<sup>8</sup> working on most of them or in the surrounding districts.<sup>9</sup> Fifteen

<sup>6</sup>Letter from General Deputy Director to C. E. Hurlburt, May 10, 1924. In 1938 it was still asserted that "in almost every case, whoever gets the school also gets the church work." Report from Eldama Ravine, August, 1938.

<sup>7</sup>See Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, September 4, 1912.

<sup>8</sup>In 1914 a special school had been established at Kijabe for the training of these men. Although it is difficult to determine the exact equivalency because of the nomenclature used, it would appear that the entrance requirements were no more than three years of schooling. Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, January 22, 1914.

<sup>9</sup>"It was on the Mission stations [speaking of all Mission Societies], occupied by European staff and surrounded by a few village schools, that were laid the foundations of the present [educational] system." Leonard J. Beecher, "Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Scope, Content, and Methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance, and to Make Recommendations," African Education in Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya: The Government Printer, 1949), p. 1.

hundred and forty-nine students were enrolled in the Mission's schools.<sup>10</sup> According to Oliver, "the decade before the First World War may be said to mark the zenith" of their influence.<sup>11</sup> If this is so, it was only because Africans were beginning to fulfill the vision of the early pioneers by becoming themselves the propagators of the Christian gospel. Essential to the realization of this goal was the mission school with its native teacher.<sup>12</sup>

#### The Mission's Ambivalent Attitude

In the next period, 1920-1945, the Mission found itself the victim of its own success. In the first period it had paid students to attend school as well as the teachers to teach them. Along with other missionary societies it had created a thirst for education that was

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<sup>10</sup>"Statistical Report for Year Ended September 30th, 1920," Inland Africa, V, 8 (1921), 16-17.

<sup>11</sup>Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 229.

<sup>12</sup>"The native catechist, of slender intellectual attainments, presiding over the syllabic chorus and interspersing it with crude denunciations of drunkenness and dancing, of polygamy and witchcraft, from beneath the shelter of a wretched hut, has seemed to many European observers a pitiable reflection of Western bigotry. To the African villager he was the apostle of the new learning, preaching emancipation from the old law, and opening vistas of a more ideal life which was attainable at least by the young and enterprising. No other explanation can account for the phenomenal expansion of these out-stations, both Catholic and Protestant, during the early years of European rule." *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

difficult to quench and still more difficult to refuse. The Mission's attempts to navigate between this Scylla and Charbydis mark the next twenty-five years. Could the Mission meet the demands of the educational market that it had helped to create?<sup>13</sup> Would it even try?

In this period the colonial Government stepped forward as a partner to assist missions more substantially with their educational programs.<sup>14</sup> For example, in 1925 the Government increased its aid to the educational projects of missionary societies because of the financial crisis they were facing.<sup>15</sup> In 1927 the Acting Director of Education, Mr. Biss, met with the Kenya Missionary Council, and although speaking unofficially, assured them that the Government was not "desirous of setting up a system of schools to compete with the Mission Schools," adding that

<sup>13</sup>By this time (1920) there were approximately 558 baptized Christians and 1,224 catechumens in the native Church according to available records, "Statistical Report for Year Ended September 30th, 1920," loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup>Although the Department of Education was not begun until 1911 (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Triennial Survey 1958-60, Nairobi, Kenya: The Government Printer, 1960, p. 2), the Government had spent small amounts for education before this time; see Drunkey's Year Book for East Africa, 1908, pp. 73-74 in Zoë Marsh (ed.), East Africa Through Contemporary Records (Cambridge: The University Press, 1961), p. 174. That the Mission apparently received occasional Government grants in the previous period is seen from a reference to one that was sufficient to retire a Mission debt of \$125. Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, January 20, 1912.

<sup>15</sup>Beecher, op. cit., p. 4.

"no departure was contemplated from the policy of co-operation."<sup>16</sup> In spite of the offers of increased Government help, tokens of which the Mission had been receiving, it will be seen that during this entire period the Mission took an ambivalent attitude toward the Government's educational grants.

### The Place of Education

Two questions occupied and polarized the missionaries. First, should the Mission even continue in the field of education? There were those who believed that the Mission's prime and even sole responsibility was evangelism. The fear that education would lessen the Mission's evangelistic outreach was not entirely unfounded. McIntosh affirms that the increasing cooperation between mission societies and Government in the field of education ". . . had the effect of changing the character of missionary work."<sup>17</sup> As the Government began to subsidize mission schools, there came the inevitable demand for greater efficiency, higher standards, and permanent buildings. These demands, according to McIntosh, "caused a slackening of evangelistic endeavour."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Kenya Missionary Council, op. cit., No. 9.

<sup>17</sup>Brian G. McIntosh, "The Scottish Mission in Kenya 1891-1923" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969), p. 405.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.



One missionary couple, who resigned from the A.I.M. over this issue, doubtless expressed the feeling of others when they stated in their letter of resignation:

We are believers in education, in so far as it will enable Christians to read the Word of God, and [we believe] that further education is the responsibility of the Government.<sup>19</sup>

One wonders, incidentally, how influential the attitude of the American constituency was in creating this anti-education climate on the field. Hilda Stumpf wrote in 1929 that the word "education" to some of the Mission's constituency "is like a red tablecloth to a turkey gobbler!"<sup>20</sup> The Mission's General Secretary in 1935 saw education and industrial work as antithetical to "a real deep work of God."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Letter from W. R. Maxwell to American Home Council, November 17, 1941.

<sup>20</sup>Letter from Hilda Stumpf to Woodley, February 5, 1929. Almost ten years later in writing to the American General Secretary, Kenya's former Field Director recognized that for some time the Mission had been "losing ground in Kenya by not having our youth during early adolescence, but we did not think our constituency at home would approve our going into 'higher' education." Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, July 8, 1948.

<sup>21</sup>Letter from H. Campbell to C. F. Johnston, May 21, 1935. It would be interesting to correlate the educational backgrounds of the missionaries with their views regarding the Mission's involvement in educational work, but such is beyond the province of this study. Of interest also is the much more liberal attitude of the British Home Council toward the Mission's educational work compared with that of their American counterparts. It is quite likely that the educational situation and history in the two countries could account for this difference in approach and philosophy. See Minutes of the Business Conference of the British Home Council, November 4-5, 1937.

The difference between the American and British

### The Acceptance of Government Grants

The second question involved the acceptance of Government grants. Again, missionary opinion was divided and continued to be so during this entire period. In 1922 the missionaries voted not to seek nor accept any Government educational grants which would include supervision or control of these subsidized schools by the Government.<sup>22</sup> Further objection was raised to accepting Government grants on the basis that it was contrary to the financial policy of the Mission.

At the same time the Mission recognized the right of the Africans to receive educational assistance from the Government because of the taxes they paid. In 1936 Davis, the Mission's Field leader, acknowledged that by the Mission's refusal to accept Government funds the Africans were being deprived of their fair share of school facilities. Naturally other Missions that accepted them were able to provide far more than was the A.I.M. The result, according

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approach to educational work, united as they were theologically, seems to undercut John Anderson's broad statement that "by definition many 'conservative evangelicals' lacked the flexibility and imagination to undertake a successful educational role." Anderson, The Struggle for the School, p. 26. Such a statement requires adequate documentation, which is not provided. It is this writer's belief that the opposite viewpoint could be substantiated, but to do so would be outside the scope of this dissertation. Suffice it to note here that within the same Mission, on non-theological grounds, divergent views regarding the Mission's educational role and program were held.

<sup>22</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, August 21, 1922, No. 15.

to Davis, was that "our natives think that we do not love them and are neglecting them . . . ." <sup>23</sup> He then affirmed that the difficulty faced by the Mission was not the handling of this Government money, which the missionaries were willing to do, but it was ". . . the asking for it which seems contrary to our faith basis." <sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Letter of Elwood Davis to Harvey Wadham, October 23, 1936.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid. Reference was being made to the "Faith Basis" in the A.I.M. Constitution that delineated the Mission's financial policy. It read:

Members declare their hearty sympathy with its faith basis as follows; believing

First, that the silver and gold belong to God.

Second, that they can depend on Him to supply every need.

Third, that each individual should be guided by the Holy Spirit regarding what, when and where to give.

Therefore, the Africa Inland Mission trusts in God alone for the necessary funds for the maintenance of the work, and while faithfully teaching the duty of Christian stewardship and the necessity of presenting the general needs of the Mission and of the unreached fields, does not believe in presenting any specific financial needs nor in asking men for money. No solicitation of funds shall be made directly, but the work may be fully presented. Those who give, or who definitely purpose to give, have a right to know for what purposes their money is to be used in order that they may be intelligent stewards of the means which God has put in their charge.

No debts shall be incurred by the Mission or by the missionaries.

Constitution of the Africa Inland Mission, Revised 1936 (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Africa Inland Mission, 1936), Article IV, pp. 5-6. It was felt that preparing a budget and then requesting these funds from Government would be a violation of this section of the Constitution.

Five years later Kenya's new Field Director was of the opinion that the Mission's "faith basis" would limit the Mission more and more to purely evangelistic work.<sup>25</sup>

### The Developing Crisis

This division of opinion on both of the questions previously mentioned almost reached a crisis point in 1939. The Field Director summarized it as follows:

I believe that we have reached a turning point in the work and that we must decide which way we are going to go. Opinion is so divided amongst our missionaries that it is almost impossible to make any progress at the present time. There are some of our missionaries who would have a primary school on every station, if possible, while others think that a primary school in connection with a training institution at some strategic point in each tribe would be sufficient at the present time. There are still others who think that the mission should not have primary schools at all, and there are even some who believe that we should give up our schools entirely. As to receiving Government grants, the whole field is divided on this question. It is most important that we formulate a policy and follow it.<sup>26</sup>

These issues continued to occupy the annual Field Conference of the Kenya missionaries for the next several years. A lengthy Memorandum prepared by the Native Education Committee was presented to all the missionaries at their conference in 1941. It reiterated the serious situation that the Mission was facing. There was not only the possibility of losing its schools but the very opportunity

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<sup>25</sup>Letter from H. Nixon to Ralph Davis, March 16, 1942.

<sup>26</sup>Letter from H. Nixon to R. Reynolds, November 29, 1939.

to continue its work in many areas.

Surely we cannot continue to occupy the land to the exclusion of others, and hold a second and third generation of believers to the educational standard of our first converts, while their fellow-tribesmen across that river, or beyond yonder ridge in the sphere of another mission are being carried forward.<sup>27</sup>

At the root of the crisis within the Mission was the fact that its educational program was becoming increasingly inadequate in the light of rising standards throughout the Colony. There was increasing pressure from both the Government and the natives (by now speaking as members of the Christian community, the Church) for better educational facilities and standards.<sup>28</sup> The Mission's reluctance to move forward in this field coupled with the Africans' more vocal if not militant demands produced inevitable tensions between Church and Mission.

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<sup>27</sup>Memorandum of the Native Education Committee submitted to the Business Meetings of the Annual Field Conference, January 14-17, 1941. A full copy of this Memorandum is found in Appendix A.

<sup>28</sup>That the A.I.M.'s African constituency simply reflected the prevailing sentiment and climate of the day is seen from Fuller's analysis of this period: "From the mid-thirties, change began to be so rapid, however, that neither the missionary nor the African could keep up with the needs of the program. The African became education-conscious, and instead of the Chinese 'rice Christian,' Africa began to produce the 'book Christian'--children and youth clamoring for an education and parents with or without learning seeking to have schools for their children." Charles Fuller, "Native and Missionary Religions," The Transformation of East Africa, eds. Stanley Diamond and Fred Burke (New York, Basic Books, 1966), p. 528.

The Mission and Government Pressure

The above description of the situation needs to be examined and validated. In actuality how inadequate was the Mission's educational program? As early as 1919 one of the early pioneers wrote to the Home Office that "in the matter of education our mission and our converts have practically no standing in the Protectorate."<sup>29</sup>

By 1924 it could be reported that "all over the field murmurings are heard that indicate we have not only lost the confidence of Government but of large sections of the native people also."<sup>30</sup> In this same year the Field Director implored the American Home Council<sup>31</sup> to appreciate the seriousness of the situation, warning that if immediate remedial steps were not taken it could "spell disaster to

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<sup>29</sup>He also acutely observed that "conditions in this country are not at all the same as when the Mission began work here a quarter of a century ago." In view of this fact he expressed the hope that the newly accepted missionary candidates "are of a higher standard than the average has been in the past." Letter of C. F. Johnston to O. R. Palmer, November 4, 1919.

<sup>30</sup>Letter of Mr. Rhoad to Miss Stumph, November 15, 1924.

<sup>31</sup>The American Home Council became the successor to the Philadelphia Missionary Council (see pp. 19-20 of this study) as the body representing the interests of the Mission in the United States. See also Constitution and Policy of the Africa Inland Mission (Philadelphia: Africa Inland Mission, 1912), pp. 7-13.

the work of the A.I.M. in Kenya."<sup>32</sup> Eight years later the inspection of a school in the Githumu area by the Director of the Jeanes School in Nairobi brought a very unfavorable report, a report that apparently characterized the situation in the whole area.<sup>33</sup>

Writing from the Mission's central station of Kijabe in 1938 Lee Downing, the Field Director, acknowledged:

Only recently have I come to realize how far we are behind other missions in teacher training. The pupils in our schools failed to pass the examinations, set by the Government, which hundreds in other missions pass, since they have better native teachers.<sup>34</sup>

This same situation extended to A.I.M.'s work in Nyanza Province in Western Kenya. Kenya's Field Director, Harmon Nixon, quoted the Inspector of Schools for that Province as stating: "The schools are thoroughly bad, and I don't think the local staff is capable of doing much to

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<sup>32</sup>Letter from Field Director to C. E. Hurlburt, May 16, 1924.

<sup>33</sup>". . . the School . . . looks very decrepit and uncared for. Joseph has a poor band of teachers to supervise. Very few have any qualifications." "Staff Safari Report. Kikuyu Safari--August, 1932." See Appendix B for excerpts of the 1933 report of the Government Inspector of Schools on the A.I.M. schools in this area of Githumu.

<sup>34</sup>Lee H. Downing to H. Campbell, January 19, 1938. Four years before however Downing had asked Campbell, the American Home Secretary, for a qualified school worker, stating that "we cannot compete with other missions, or meet Government requirements, or avail ourselves of the biggest opportunities for evangelism which the Colony affords (the schools) without some fully qualified teachers." Letter of Lee H. Downing to H. Campbell, March 9, 1934.

improve things."<sup>35</sup>

A short time later Nixon revealed that the Government was demanding that University-trained teachers supervise the Mission's schools. Because missionary staff with the required professional training was not available, he foresaw the closing of all the A.I.M. schools.<sup>36</sup>

The implications of such a prospect are seen when it is realized that by this time approximately 10,000 boys and girls were enrolled in A.I.M. schools. They were being taught by about 280 teachers, of whom only 10 percent were certified and thus qualified to teach.<sup>37</sup>

During the next months Nixon continued to write of the Government pressure that was being put on him because of the ". . . half-hearted way in which our Mission is

<sup>35</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, May 10, 1939. In this same letter he refers to the fact that in that area the Africans were ". . . 'fed up' with the A.I.M. because we have not provided proper schools for them." Many were consequently joining the Pentecostals. Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Nixon stood with the Government on the position it had taken, stating that "unless we really want to conduct our schools efficiently, I see no justification for having them at all." Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis May 19, 1939. See also his letter to Ralph Davis, May 31, 1939, where the possibility of being forced to close all the schools in Central Kavirondo and Machakos Districts is mentioned.

<sup>37</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, June 20, 1939. Concerning the possibility of the closing of A.I.M.'s schools and the loss of those students to ". . . the Church of Rome, the Seventh Day Adventists, or Pentecostals," Nixon stated, "It must not be!" Ibid.



carrying on its schools."<sup>38</sup> Something of the dilemma Nixon faced is seen in the fact that the Mission in Kenya was against receiving Government aid as well as support from overseas for its educational program. As already noted, receiving Government aid in the eyes of many missionaries contravened the Mission's "faith basis." Receiving overseas aid would, according to Nixon, "work against our indigenous principles."<sup>39</sup>

#### Attitude of the American Home Council

Furthermore, the Mission's situation during this period was not helped by the response of the American Home Council. Nixon was reminded by them that educational work was always secondary to the proclamation of the Gospel. He was encouraged not to be too unduly concerned about the demands of the British Government since they too did not always fulfill their promises. Finally, in almost a note of resignation to the inevitable it was stated:

We will do the best we can, and if we cannot send the workers they demand, then we will just have to let them take over the school work. After all, fundamentally, the education of a people is the work of Government not Missions.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Harvey Wadham, July 15, 1939. In the same letter he referred to being called into the office of the Director of Education and being "severely censored because of the present state of our educational system."

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Letter of Ralph Davis to Harmon Nixon, June 23, 1939.

Soon after this the American Home Council further elaborated on its educational policy, especially with reference to Government grants. On August 9, 1939 it passed the following resolution:

That we restate our position taken in 1924; namely, that we do not agree to taking any Grants-in-Aid which would obligate the Mission to maintain a certain standard in the schools or to furnish a specially qualified staff of teachers, or to erect and maintain better buildings.<sup>41</sup>

It was the opinion of the Council that if the Government were approached in a friendly manner and given the assurance that the Mission would try to meet Government requirements to the best of its ability, ". . . they certainly would allow us to go on and do the best we can."<sup>42</sup>

The Field leaders, however, did not share the Home Council's optimism that the Mission's best would be good enough to meet the demands of both the Government and the Africans. The Field was subsequently forced, therefore, to chart its own course and take unilateral action, trusting that the Home Council "will not consider us rebellious when we seem to be taking a course contrary to long established precedent."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Letter of Henry Campbell to Harmon Nixon, August 11, 1939.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Letter from H. Nixon to R. Davis, December 31, 1942. As late as 1944 the American Home Secretary would concur with the statement of a missionary previously engaged in educational work concerning her attitude toward Government grants: "Personally, I do not see what can be gained by being

The Mission and African Pressure

The force which drove the field authorities to consider this unilateral action was the increasing pressure from the African population, especially the Mission's own constituency. The seriousness of this dissatisfaction is seen from the correspondence and reports of this twenty-five year period. These reveal a pattern of growing discontent and disenchantment with the Mission's educational program.

Writing from Machakos in 1928, in what was a harbinger of things to come in other areas, C. F. Johnston called the Home Office "to seriously face this new attitude" in which

the natives--I am referring to the Christian communities--are no longer satisfied with what we have been and are, doing for them, but are demanding elaborate provision for themselves and their children.<sup>44</sup>

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entangled further with the [G]overnment, and the whole issue seems of secondary importance." Letter of E. G. Rees to R. Davis, February 17, 1944; cf. Davis to Rees, April 5, 1944.

<sup>44</sup>He adds ". . . you have no idea of the bitter, unchristian things our native Christians are saying, not only about us, but to us, [italics in the original] because here in Ukamba there are not these institutions [schools], and because I have been here the longest they blame me the most." Letter of C. F. Johnston to H. Campbell, March 5, 1928. Johnston "questions the wisdom" of moving forward in this area of "better institutions"--a decided shift from his previous stance where he acknowledged that in addition to preaching the Gospel "[we] must also educate the people and direct their spiritual activities." Letter of C. F. Johnston to O. R. Palmer, November 4, 1919; cf. p.168, fn. 29 of this chapter.

It may be noted that already at this date concern for the attitude of the American constituency is evidenced as Johnston seeks the judgment of the Home Secretary "as to how far an awakening people have a claim on our home constituency for the material things they need."<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to observe that the Mission found itself trying to please two constituencies: its African and American. Obviously their interests and aspirations did not always converge; in fact, there were times when they were in conflict. Such conflicts of opinion became vividly personified in the missionary body itself.

By 1938 the Mission was considering the possibility of turning over Githumu station with all its outschools to two other missionary societies who could meet the educational demands of the Church. This action was contemplated because "the natives are pressing us beyond measure for more and better schools."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>That finances were a problem is seen from Johnston's reference to the Africans' strong objection "to bearing any part of the expense." Letter of C. F. Johnston to H. Campbell, March 5, 1928. The following year the teachers at several locations were threatening to strike and even seek other employment "unless assured of their pay." Letter of H. Stumpf to Mr. Woodley, February 5, 1929.

<sup>46</sup>The A.I.M. recognized that it had neither the qualified personnel nor the funds for such an educational program. Letter of Harmon Nixon to Henry Campbell, June 30, 1938. The following year Nixon referred to the pressure being brought on the Mission by the "Independents, a semi-political and religious organization of natives in Kikuyuland . . . ." In the same letter he referred to neighboring missionary societies that were "doing so much in an . . . ."

The problem was made more acute because by this time a number of Africans had received University training, and several were, by Nixon's admission, "better educated than most of our missionaries."<sup>47</sup> It was these educated Africans, occupying places of leadership, who were, according to Nixon, "continually stirring up the people for fresh demands."<sup>48</sup>

Some time later Nixon lamented:

The natives seem to have gone mad on education. From one end of the field to the other they are insisting that the Mission provide trained educationalists to give their full time to educational work.<sup>49</sup>

He then went on to describe a Sunday service in the Western area of Kenya during which nearly the whole congregation got up and walked out. One of the grievances involved the Mission's alleged obstruction of "educational progress by refusing to allow a primary school to be erected."<sup>50</sup> Nixon noted that "demonstrations of this character are frequently

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educational way" while the A.I.M. was ". . . the only major missionary society in Kenya that does not have Primary Schools (Grades IV-VIII)." Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, February 8, 1939.

<sup>47</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, July 17, 1939.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, March 16, 1942.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

arising," adding that "sometimes I regret that we ever went so far as to teach the natives the syllable 'a'"<sup>51</sup>

Nixon aptly summed up the two-fold pressure to which he was subjected during this period: ". . . we are between the hammer and the anvil, for both Government and the natives are trying us to the breaking point."<sup>52</sup>

By the end of 1942 the Mission began to recognize that it really had no choice in the matter of African education. Its hand was being forced to move forward by the very nature of the situation that had developed. As Nixon very properly observed:

Kenya is no longer a pioneer mission field but a civilized country with modern problems. The African [C]hurch is no longer a congregation of naked people but is a company of intelligent people alert to modern ways of living. We cannot turn a deaf ear to our people [italics not in the original].<sup>53</sup>

This increasing demand for higher "secular" education continued unabated through the forties. From the heart of Kikuyu country (Githumu station) Dr. Blakeslee lamented in 1946 that an "all-out demand for education minus Bible" had

<sup>51</sup>Ibid. In this same period the Church people asked the Mission to leave the area of Machakos because of an alleged lack of concern for their welfare, as evidenced by the Mission's failure to send out educational workers as other Missions had done. Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, February 13, 1940.

<sup>52</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, March 16, 1942.

<sup>53</sup>Letter of Harmon Nixon to Ralph Davis, December 31, 1942.

resulted in a "shocking lack of Bible instruction."<sup>54</sup> In seeking to analyze the A.I.M.'s conflict with the Africans over education, Professor King sees a significance in Dr. Blakeslee's extended observation and subsequent emulation of Negro schools in America's Southland. He suggests that ". . . perhaps one factor in the mission's conspicuous lack of sympathy towards student demands for a higher level of education was its conviction that the best model for Kenya's development" lay in a school program of "utter simplicity."<sup>55</sup>

Although by 1945 the Mission had officially begun to change its course with reference to education,<sup>56</sup> the effects of its previous policy and protracted ambivalence were not that easily reversed. Two further examples of Church/Mission tensions related to education illustrate this fact. Although chronologically taking place in the final period (1945-1970), their historical roots ran deep into the past. They vividly epitomize and climax the subject of this section, viz., the growing dissatisfaction of the Church with the Mission's educational efforts.

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<sup>54</sup>Prayer letter of Dr. V. Blakeslee, August 31, 1946.

<sup>55</sup>Kenneth King, Pan Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa. (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 196. See also Inland Africa, IX, 5 (1925), 10.

<sup>56</sup>See pp. 182-185 of this study.

The first confrontation took place in 1948 when the General Secretary of the Mission made a tour of Kenya together with the President of the American Home Council.<sup>57</sup> Meeting in Machakos district with Church leaders they were presented with a special Memorandum entitled "Selected Questions for the President of the Africa Inland Mission."<sup>58</sup> It covered the following items: the foreign support of native workers; outschools that were forced to be self-supporting; the provision of missionary educationalists who could give "our people higher education without mixing Education with preaching business"; the proposal that another mission society should replace the A.I.M. if the Mission did not desire to assist financially; the inability to send an African to "India or to Negeria [sic] to preach the Gospel" because of an educational deficiency.

A lengthy discussion with the Church leaders

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<sup>57</sup>Dr. Howard Ferrin, then President of Barrington College in Rhode Island. Ferrin joined the Home Council of the Mission in 1945 and became its President in 1947. Under his strong influence as an educationalist the Mission began an all-out program of education in order to meet African demands. It was through his leadership that the first Africans of the Mission came to the United States for college training. Writing in 1954 of his burden to accelerate the Mission's educational program, Ferrin typically stated, "I can but feel that there must be a way to break this bottle neck . . . ." Letter of Howard Ferrin to Ralph Davis, July 19, 1954.

<sup>58</sup>See Appendix C for a copy of this important document.



followed the presentation of this Memorandum.<sup>59</sup> With the African's natural flair for analogy, the Church was spoken of as the "child of the Mission."<sup>60</sup> The spokesman for the Church then made the point that although the Mission had been working for 50 years, they had broken one leg of their child by failing to provide education. He closed with the words, "Education must go together with the Church."<sup>61</sup> This philosophy aptly characterized the attitude of the Church during this entire-second period.

In many areas the new attitude of the Mission toward education came in time to obviate a serious and formal break between Church and Mission. In the confrontation at Githumu, however, the situation could not be salvaged. It was noted previously that in 1938 the Mission had considered handing over this station to another missionary society because the Africans' demands for education could not be met.<sup>62</sup> The deteriorating situation

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<sup>59</sup>Recorded by George Weppler, "Meeting with Africans at Mbooni, 19th June, 1948." Some of the points made by the Church leaders in their discussion were a verbatim repetition of criticisms of the A.I.M. contained in a Memorandum prepared by Kamba tribal leaders that was presented to Mr. A. Creech Jones when he visited Machakos as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in August, 1946. The East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], August 23, 1946.

<sup>60</sup>"Meeting with Africans at Mbooni," p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>62</sup>Pg. 174, fn. 46 of this dissertation.

continued on, however, until the following letter was delivered to the missionaries residing there in 1947:

You missionaries have done good work during pioneer days. We are grateful for what you have done, but now we ask you to leave the Githumu district. We wish to carry on. We have sent copies of this letter to the District Commissioner, the Director of Education, the field and home councils of the Africa Inland Mission.<sup>63</sup>

This letter was the beginning of a period of conflict between the Mission and a dissident group at Githumu that took the name of "African Christian Church and Schools." At a meeting on April 29, 1948 between the two groups the Government declared that the station could not be closed nor the missionaries expelled because the lease of tenure had been legally agreed to by all the parties concerned and thus could not be changed. In May, however, the African staff together with the African School Committee took over the station schools as well as the outschools in the district, including all the supplies and fees. A virtual boycott of the Mission's educational and medical work followed.

The Church itself felt the pressure of the separatist movement and only a few of its members continued to stay with the Mission.<sup>64</sup> For a period each group

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<sup>63</sup>Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain, p. 229.

<sup>64</sup>It is worthy of note that many who had stood with the Mission during the crisis over female circumcision (see pp. 130-155 of this study) left two decades later over the educational issue.

occupied the same Church building at a different time each Sunday. The Government again intervened and on June 29, 1948 ordered that all Church and school equipment be left intact and that the direction of the station schools be returned to the Mission. The following day the missionaries re-occupied the station schools and dismissed the rebel teachers.<sup>65</sup>

Although once again a legal victory had been gained through Government intervention, the Mission had not won the battle. Violence against Mission buildings, supposedly instigated by opposition leaders, brought armed African police on to the station near the end of 1948.<sup>66</sup>

No settlement could be reached, and in the latter part of 1950 the African Christian Church and Schools brought a lawsuit against the Mission. They asked for a reimbursement of 60,000 shillings claiming that ". . . the A.I.M. held the property at Githumu and funds contributed by Africans in trust for them, and that this trust had not been fulfilled."<sup>67</sup>

In a sense Githumu epitomized the Mission's problems in the field of education. There they ran their full course.

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<sup>65</sup>Letter of Virginia Blakeslee to "Prayer Partners," September 17, 1948.

<sup>66</sup>Blakeslee, op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>67</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 23-29, 1950, 5/11/50.

In a retrospective glance at the Mission's whole educational endeavors, Ralph Davis, who was to become the Mission's General Director, aptly summed up the situation: "We need to realize that we have arrived with too little too late . . . ."68 Then with a look toward the future he added,

. . . the best hope we have now, I think, is to work for our successors, that they will not be caught as we were, and that we may leave for them a situation that will be healthier than the one we have experienced.<sup>69</sup>

The next section will examine the Mission's determined efforts to achieve this worthy goal.

### The New Partnership in Education

#### Reversal of Policy

It was previously indicated that in 1945 the Mission officially reversed its educational policy.<sup>70</sup> Although this was a decision taken by the American Home Council, its implications for the field were great, for field policies were still largely influenced by the American Council.<sup>71</sup> The field was now able to begin its process of annulling the alienation that had developed between it and segments

<sup>68</sup>Letter of Ralph Davis to Howard Ferrin, July 21, 1954.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>See p. 177 of this study.

<sup>71</sup>For reference to the influence of the American constituency see p. 163, fn. 20 of this study.

of the Church over the education issue. In a word, the Mission could now begin to heal the Church's "broken leg."<sup>72</sup>

The new educational policy of the American Home Council, reversing the one originally formulated in 1924 and reiterated in 1939,<sup>73</sup> stands as an historic landmark in the A.I.M.'s educational program. It came in the form of the following recommendations that were approved on December 21, 1945:

Since literacy is a requisite for Christian growth and development we recommend:

1. That the policy of the Africa Inland Mission be to maintain schools, making Government standards the minimum requirements in the respective territories in which the Mission serves.
2. That in order to carry out a definite policy it becomes necessary to establish teacher training centres.
3. That in order to carry out teacher training, qualified Christian educationalists are necessary to maintain these training schools.
4. That there should be qualified evangelical supervisors to deal with government, and see that government and Mission requirements are maintained.
5. That Bible Schools be maintained in conformity to our educational standards.

Such an educational program as outlined above necessitates the expenditures for buildings, equipment, and salaries of native teachers.

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<sup>72</sup>See p. 179 of this study for the Church's use of this analogy.

<sup>73</sup>See p. 172, fn. 41 of this dissertation.

Inasmuch as it is the policy of the Governments of the various territories to tax natives for education, it becomes the responsibility of the Mission to serve in a capacity of a trustee as regards acceptance and expenditure of funds allocated for educational purposes until such time as the African Christian Constituency gives evidence of being able to take over full responsibility.<sup>74</sup>

The significant item in these recommendations is the principle of trusteeship.<sup>75</sup> In accepting this principle the Mission assumed responsibility for the educational needs of the African Church to the full measure that the colonial Government was able to provide for them. Also inherent in this relationship was the concept of partnership.<sup>76</sup> Although at this stage the Church may have been considered the Junior partner, with even overtones of benign paternalism, the breach was beginning to be healed. The Mission was at least becoming sensitive to and sympathetic with the needs and aspirations of the African Church. The decade of the 50's was marked by an attempt on the part of the Mission to implement its decision and to redeem lost time.

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<sup>74</sup>Letter from Ralph Davis to Members of the Field Councils, December 21, 1945.

<sup>75</sup>For an earlier but similar acceptance of the role of trustee by the Government, see p. 105, fn. 191 of this study. That by this time the term (and the relationship it implied) had to many Africans developed a hollow ring cannot be denied. To these it merely echoed a professed colonial ideal that fell far short of realization.

<sup>76</sup>This concept was to loom large in Church/Mission relationships during the 1960's. See Ch. 6 of this dissertation.

### Transfer of Responsibility

At this juncture the Mission found itself dealing with a Church that had been steadily growing and maturing.<sup>77</sup> It had become a large and increasingly articulate organization,<sup>78</sup> able to voice what it considered legitimate demands to its parent organization, the Mission. Since 1943 it had been operating on its own Constitution and in 1947 was recognized as a legal entity by the Government. It was increasingly assuming new responsibilities.<sup>79</sup> It was thus only natural that the Church sought to shoulder the responsibilities of the educational work in which it had such a vital interest and stake. The Mission began, therefore, the gradual transfer of the responsibility for its school system to the Church.

Both Mission and Church had assumed that the schools created by the Mission belonged inherently to the Church when it became able to manage and supervise them. The school system, however, was not uniquely parochial because Government financial assistance had been received for

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<sup>77</sup>For a survey of the Church's growth to this time see pp. 229-231 of this dissertation.

<sup>78</sup>Estimated at 65,000 baptized believers by 1945. Frank Frew, "The Numerical Increase of Churches of the Africa Inland Church, 1895-1970," Africa Inland Mission, 1970 (Mimeographed.)

<sup>79</sup>It started its own Missionary Board for outreach into unevangelized areas in 1958. Minutes of the Africa Inland Church Missionary Board, April 12, 1958.

capital development as well as current expenses, and consequently it was becoming increasingly under the control of the Government. Nevertheless, this fact did not deter either Mission or Church from proceeding with the transfer of responsibility.<sup>80</sup> By the late 50's it had become the goal of the Mission to replace missionaries by Africans in all key posts of the educational system.<sup>81</sup> This was to be a gradual process, even as it was planned that the transfer of the schools to the management of the Church would be carried out gradually. By 1958, however, the Church, by deep involvement on various school boards, had gained quite a measure of control of these schools,<sup>82</sup> and in 1962 the

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<sup>80</sup>The philosophy behind the relationship of the school system and the Church is contained in Earl J. Anderson, "The Relationship Between School and Church," Africa Inland Mission, 1956 (Mimeographed.)

<sup>81</sup>Memorandum from the Kenya Field to the Central Field Council, June 30, 1958, p. 5. That this was not a new concept is seen from a 1933 Memorandum from the Mission's District Superintendent outlining educational principles for the Ukamba district. Deploring the previous error of a missionary teaching a class that should have been taught by an African, he stated that "the missionary shall not teach a secular subject except to a class of teachers, with the object in view of making them more efficient or able to take a higher class. The great gain will be that the missionary is freed for other work, and when he or she leaves, the school still goes on." C. F. Johnston, "Memorandum to Station Superintendents, Ukamba," 1933.

<sup>82</sup>Memorandum to the Central Field Council, June 30, 1958, p. 1. Something of the extent of the educational system is seen in the fact that the Mission had been operating approximately 600 primary and intermediate schools enrolling 50,000 pupils and employing approximately 2,500 teachers. Ibid., p. 5.



Mission agreed to effect as soon as possible a full transfer of all schools to the Church.<sup>83</sup> The Central Church Council approved this transfer in October of 1964.<sup>84</sup> To further facilitate the harmonious partnership that was developing in the area of education, the Church established a national Educational Committee,<sup>85</sup> and on November 16, 1964 the first joint meeting with the corresponding Mission Committee was held.<sup>86</sup> The responsibilities of this Joint Committee included providing assistance to the Church so that it could assume increasing responsibility for the educational work.<sup>87</sup> This Joint Education Committee was dissolved in November of 1968 when all the Mission schools became registered under the Africa Inland Church.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 26-29, 1962, 13/11/62.

<sup>84</sup>Minutes of the Central Church Council, October 29-30, 1964, 41/10/64.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Minutes of Joint AIC/AIM Education Committee, November 16, 1964. It may be noted that independence had by now come to Kenya, and the influence of this new factor on Mission/Church relationships will be considered in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

<sup>87</sup>Minutes of Joint AIC/AIM Education Committee, January 14, 1966, 3/1/66.

<sup>88</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting of A.I.M. Kenya Field Council and A.I.C. Advisory Committee (hereafter designated Joint Meeting), November 26, 1968, J - 30/11/68. From this date the Mission recognized that these schools were functioning solely under the Education Committee of the Church. Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 25-28, 1968, 26/11/68.

### Increasing Government Control

Unilateral and unchallenged control of the schools, such as the Mission had enjoyed for many years, however, did not remain the right of the Church for long. On January 14, 1967, in a move to give the Central Government greater control of the country's educational program, all teachers were placed under contract with The Teachers' Service Commission.<sup>89</sup> Though the Church was no longer the employer of the teachers and thereby lost considerable control of the schools, yet broad powers were still granted to the Church as the sponsoring body of such schools. During this entire period the Mission sought to aid the Church in its responsibility of providing religious instruction in the Primary Schools in a number of ways. Lesson materials were prepared, and missionaries were provided who assisted in their proper use by conducting special classes for teachers of religion.

### Establishment of High Schools

A further evidence of Mission-Church cooperation during the last decade of this period was the establishment of a number of high schools by the Mission. These came as a result of requests and in many cases pressure from the Church. Erik Barnett, Kenya's Field Director, tells of an

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<sup>89</sup>Republic of Kenya, The Teachers Service Commission Act 1966, No. 2 of 1967 (Nairobi, Kenya: Government Printer, 1967).

eight hour meeting in 1961 with about sixty Church leaders near Kijabe who were concerned with obtaining increased educational assistance for their young people. In a Resolution that recorded their ". . . appreciation for the work done by the Africa Inland Mission in spreading the Word of God in Kenya" they nevertheless expressed their feeling

that the A.I.M. have [sic] not done their share in educating the Kenya African academically so as to equip him both in mind and soul to cope with the changing world.<sup>90</sup>

In the light of this situation they called upon the A.I.M. to do all in its

power to hasten the present educational program because the present inadequacy of education amongst the African Church members is appalling and is detrimental to the immediate future of our Church.<sup>91</sup>

Barnett correctly observed after this meeting that

<sup>90</sup>Resolution of Joint Meeting of the Kijabe District Church Council and Kiambu District Schools Committee, August 8, 1961, cited in letter of Erik Barnett to Ralph Davis, August 11, 1961.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid. This was not, however, the first pressure on the Mission for higher education. As far back as 1956 delegates from the Church met with the Field Council to discuss the establishment of a Christian High School. Even at that date it was referred to as a "repeated request." Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, December 3-6, 1956, 25/12/56g. Reference is made repeatedly in Council and Field Conference minutes to this request. In 1960 Barnett reported "an ever increasing pressure upon us [for high schools], not only at Kijabe, but all over the field". Comments on Confidential Minutes of Meeting of Kenya Field Council, September 6, 1960, ref. 12/9/60.

there would be ". . . no satisfaction until we can get more High Schools started and under way."<sup>92</sup> Immediately after his August 8th meeting with these Church leaders, Barnett proposed to help meet this need by placing one or two qualified teachers in each of the high schools that the Mission envisaged opening as part of the Government's program.<sup>93</sup>

Serving also as the Mission's Education Secretary in addition to his duties as Field Director, Barnett was relentless in his pursuit of missionary high school teachers. In a letter to all Mission officers (overseas and in Africa) he underscored the need for qualified personnel in a way that was reminiscent of the desperate pleadings that went to the homelands in the previous period:

Now, the need for teachers in our present, and proposed, high schools, is not only greater than at the last C.F.C. Meeting, but it is reaching proportions where it is becoming a serious danger to the whole work if it is not met in some suitable way [italics in the original].<sup>94</sup>

In this same letter Barnett revealed plans for opening a minimum of 20 senior high schools on A.I.M. stations during the next four years. He affirmed that this was "just a minimum estimate" and that there doubtless would be more,

<sup>92</sup>Letter of Barnett to Davis, loc. cit.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to the Secretaries of Home Councils and Members of the Central Field Council, February 13, 1963.

with some of them developing into post-high school level schools.<sup>95</sup> Mindful of the pressures that he personally had experienced, he added that "these schools . . . will be opened, whether we say so or not, and that right on our mission stations or in close proximity [*italics in the original*]."<sup>96</sup> To meet these demands Barnett proposed the establishment of overseas recruiting agencies under Christian direction to channel short-term teaching staff to Kenya.<sup>97</sup>

Barnett's vision and determination to satisfy as far as possible the educational demands of the Church began to be realized. By July of 1964 it was reported that ten high schools had been opened with an additional four or five planned for the following year.<sup>98</sup>

The pressure on the Mission, however, did not

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<sup>95</sup>These were to be part of the Government's plan for opening more than 400 high schools during this same period. Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>Barnett opposed bringing these teachers into the Mission "as full members" for he properly saw that "in due course" African teachers would be trained and available to replace them. Ibid. Within the same year the Kenya Field Council recommended that the Mission set aside a man in both the U.S.A. and Canada who would be solely engaged in recruiting teachers. Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 30-December 3, 1964, 13/12/64, 4. The following year Barnett went on furlough and devoted much of his time to the recruitment of teaching staff.

<sup>98</sup>Minutes of Joint Meeting, July 21, 1964, J-12/7/64, b.

lessen as the insatiable desire for higher education swept the country that had recently received its independence. This pressure was readily acknowledged as a problem, but it is important to note the sympathetic response urged upon the Mission by the Field Director in his 1964 Report:

Extreme pressure now is coming in the field of secondary education. Nearly all areas of our field are having this pressure and many are going ahead and starting secondary schools as self-help projects without Government aid. How to meet the pressure is one of the greatest problems facing the Church and the Mission. How to maintain a high academic standard and spiritual quality with a limited number of teachers and finances is difficult. As a mission, we need to be sympathetic to the church under these pressures, we need patience and understanding in counselling, and we need to know when to step forward in faith. Special efforts are being made to recruit suitable teachers to help in this great task. We should not need to point out that teachers of false and harmful doctrines are moving in to fill the vacuum created by these situations.<sup>99</sup>

Once again the Mission could not meet the great demand for increased educational opportunities, but in contrast to the previous era this time there was no hesitation in the attempt. Five years after entering this new field the Mission was operating seventeen high schools.<sup>100</sup> When the missionaries met for their annual Field Conference in 1965 they were told of the need to work even more closely with the Church in educational matters.<sup>101</sup> Reference was

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<sup>99</sup>Erik Barnett, Annual Report for 1964.

<sup>100</sup>Minutes of Joint AIC/AIM Education Committee, May 9, 1966, Appendix.

<sup>101</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 29, 1965-January 1, 1966, 6/66.

again made to the "very heavy" pressure on both the Mission and the Church to open new high schools, pressure that it was almost dangerous to resist "because of political repercussions."<sup>102</sup>

At this same Conference it was recognized that within the Mission family there were differences of opinion concerning the necessity of accepting non-Christian teachers.<sup>103</sup> The proportion of Christian teachers continued to become less as more schools were opened. The burgeoning demand for teachers with the proper academic and spiritual qualifications outstripped the supply. Thus it is not surprising that the tension evident in the earlier period<sup>104</sup> between the spiritual objectives of the Mission and its involvement in educational work were not altogether absent in this third period. Therefore during 1967 the Education Committee was asked to assess the current educational situation as well as future prospects. In the Committee's lengthy Memorandum the Mission was called to recognize realistically its limitations with reference to fully controlling these new high schools and to making them completely "Christian." In effect it had to settle for a

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>See pp. 162-163 of this study.

modus operandi of seeking to maintain the best possible Christian witness in each of many diverse situations. The most significant feature of this document was its last section which declared: "It is recognized that there is a vital need for close consultation and cooperation with the Africa Inland Church in developing and implementing educational policy."<sup>105</sup> A functioning partnership had been achieved. With the Church in control of the primary schools and an active consultant in the secondary school program, it can be said that the Mission had come a long way from both its anti-education stance and its reluctance to acquiesce to the demands of Africans for an increasingly higher level of education. There remained the further step of the Church's assuming complete control of the secondary schools, but this was part of a more complete "take-over" by the Church of all Mission departments. Since this step is more properly a part of that development, it will be referred to in Ch. 7.<sup>106</sup>

### Summary and Conclusion

The foregoing survey, seen in the total context of the Mission's history and development, would seem to indicate

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<sup>105</sup>"Recommendations from the Kenya Education Committee: Policy for the Kenya Educational Work," September, 1967, p. 3. The full document appears in Appendix D.

<sup>106</sup>See pp. 320-321 of this dissertation.



that no other phase of the Mission's activities was more crucial than its educational program. It has been noted that in the early days the Mission's evangelistic objective was carried out largely through the classroom. Certainly the large majority of adherents to the Christian faith came through this channel. It hardly seems too much to say that the Africa Inland Church was born in the school house, as simple and primitive as it was. The midwife was the early missionary, unprepared as he often was for his role as an educationalist. His first converts soon became his assistants in the task of evangelism that in turn gave birth to the Church. If the Church was born in the classroom, it was also nurtured there, for as was seen, the school house became the chapel each Sunday. The leader himself remained unchanged; he simply changed his role. It is not too much to say that the missionaries in Kenya saw in the schools "the nursery of the infant Church."<sup>107</sup> The relationship of the Mission with its embryonic Church was vitally linked therefore with education.

It was shown that in the second period of A.I.M.'s educational history, the school also played a crucial part in its relationship with the developing Church. The adolescent Church became very displeased with its missionary

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<sup>107</sup>F. F. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 134.

father because he failed to provide what the African Church considered an adequate education. The Church leaders at one point even accused the missionaries of delaying education "so that Negroes would be forced to work for the white man on the farms."<sup>108</sup> There was during this period an alienation of Mission and Church, and the school room became the battleground where an aggressive Church and an ambivalent Mission struggled over the educational issue to the detriment and weakening of both. Only a drastic reversal of policy in 1945 probably kept the "father" from being expelled from his own house because of this failure to meet the son's educational demands.

The last epoch saw a rapprochement as Mission and Church sought to move in tandem to meet the growing demands for education, especially on the high school level, that characterized the whole country. Had the Mission failed to respond in this vital area of education it is doubtful if the final Agreement concerning the relationship of Church and Mission in all aspects would have been signed.<sup>109</sup> It

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<sup>108</sup>"Meeting with Africans at Mbooni, 19th June, 1948," p. 2. See pp. 178-179 of this dissertation for the account of this confrontation.

<sup>109</sup>This is also the opinion of the former Kenya Field Director, Rev. Erik Barnett. Personal interview August 15, 1972. This opinion was confirmed by a Church leader, Rev. Simon Kahunya, in an interview granted the writer on August 24, 1972. The Agreement itself, and all that led to it, will be examined in Ch. 7.

hardly seems too much to say that education is the  
cornerstone of the Church/Mission edifice.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE NATIONALIST CONTEXT

#### Missions and Nationalism

The trends and developments evidenced in the Mission's encounter with cultural issues<sup>1</sup> and in its educational efforts<sup>2</sup> indicated among the Africans a growing political consciousness, an embryonic nationalism. The political breezes that began to blow, especially across the ridges of Kikuyuland, became a mighty wind, a "wind of change," to use former British Prime Minister Macmillan's apt expression.<sup>3</sup>

This new context of nationalism was destined to influence Church/Mission relationships even as the preceding colonial context had done,<sup>4</sup> for missions do not operate in a political vacuum.

Missions, however, were not the passive recipients of a dynamic nationalism; still less were they mere observers of this emerging political phenomenon. Rather,

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<sup>1</sup>See Ch. 3 of this dissertation.

<sup>2</sup>See Ch. 4 of this study.

<sup>3</sup>George Bennett, Kenya A Political History (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 147.

<sup>4</sup>See Ch. 2 of this dissertation.

just as they were the agents of cultural change,<sup>5</sup> so did they become ancillary agents and catalysts of political change and developments. Professor Idowu of the University of Ibadan is even stronger in his assertion that

the Church has every right to claim that she is the pioneer, or even the author of African nationalism. Her evangelism inculcated that every person is created free and a child of God; her system of Christian education directly or indirectly liberated people's minds . . . .<sup>6</sup>

Idowu cites Henry Venn, the Anglican missionary statesman, as the father of African nationalism because Venn sought to develop truly indigenous Churches, of which self-government was a planned and vital element.<sup>7</sup>

The role of missions in stimulating the Africans to challenge the imperialist powers as well as to acquiesce to them is well summed up by the statement of Dennis Osadebay, a former Nigerian regional Prime Minister:

. . . the missionary has made the African soil fertile for the growth of imperialism . . . [but] he has equally helped to lay the foundations for the present spirit of nationalism . . . . When African historians come to write their own account

<sup>5</sup>See Ch. 4 of this study.

<sup>6</sup>E. Bolaji Idowu, "The Predicament of the Church in Africa," Christianity in Tropical Africa, ed. C. G. Baëta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 427.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 427-428. Idowu is quick to assert, however, that the Church, (and Missions are inseparably bound with it in this context) did not intend to produce African nationalists. Ironically, the extreme nationalist seeks freedom from the bondage of the Church itself as a part of the general struggle for political independence. Ibid., p. 428.

of the adventure of Africa with imperialism, they will write of the missionaries as the greatest friends the African had.<sup>8</sup>

In emphasizing the role played by missions in the encouragement and development of nationalist feelings and movements in Kenya, Rosberg and Nottingham refer to the strong influence upon and support of the Kikuyu Association by the Directors of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of Scotland Mission during the 1920's.<sup>9</sup> While this influence cannot be denied, Coleman's warning, issued in the context of Nigeria but equally applicable to the situation in Kenya, needs to be heeded:

Propositions regarding causal relationships between Christian missionary activity and the rise of nationalism can be advanced with only the greatest tentativeness and caution, and then only at the highest level of generalization. Certainly they cannot be quantitatively stated.<sup>10</sup>

Thus while missions were certainly not in the

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<sup>8</sup>Dennis Osadebay, "Easter Reflection, the Missionary in West Africa," West Africa, April 5, 1947, p. 280, cited by James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1963), p. 112.

<sup>9</sup>Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau" (Nairobi; Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1966), p. 75. For the political stance of this Association, see p. 134, fn. 68 of this dissertation.

<sup>10</sup>Coleman, op. cit., p. 96. Coleman recognizes, however, that Christian missionary societies were the carriers "of a new ethic, the imperatives of which challenged the ethic of colonialism . . . ." James Coleman, "The Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa," The Politics of the Developing Areas, eds. Gabriel Almond and James Coleman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 278.

vanguard of political movements, neither were they obstructionists of nationalistic pressures. Time alone will probably enable historians to assess properly their actual role in Africa's emerging nationalism.

### Nationalism Defined

Before tracing the rise of nationalism in Kenya, the term itself must be examined. According to Webster, nationalism is:

Loyalty or devotion to a nation; esp: an attitude, feeling, or belief characterized by a sense of national consciousness, an exaltation of one nation above all others, and an emphasis on loyalty to and the promotion of the culture and interests (as political independence) of one nation as opposed to subordinate areas or other nations and supranational groups.<sup>11</sup>

It would be convenient if Webster could give an unequivocal definition of the term, at once both sufficiently broad and restrictive to satisfy all historians, but according to Shafer, a century of study of this term ". . . has produced no precise and acceptable definition."<sup>12</sup>

It may be pointed out that historically the phenomenon of nationalism is of European origin, finding its roots in the French Revolution and the Age of Enlightenment.

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<sup>11</sup>Philip B. Gove (ed.), Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged (Springfield, Mass: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1961), p.1505.

<sup>12</sup>Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism: Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, Brace, World, 1955), p. 3.

Shafer further affirms that any use of the term "to describe historical happenings before the eighteenth century is probably anachronistic."<sup>13</sup> Only in the early twentieth century did nationalism of the European variety spread to Asia, before appearing in full bloom in Africa after World War II.<sup>14</sup>

It is not surprising therefore that various and sometimes contrary opinions have been held regarding the concept of nationalism in Africa. On the one extreme, the concept itself has been denied since in the African context there usually have not been the objective criteria of nationalism.<sup>15</sup> For this reason Lord Hailey prefers the

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 5. Actually in contrast with others, he is not prepared to apply the term in its "fullest modern sense" to any national group until the first half of the twentieth century.

<sup>14</sup>Clark Moore and Ann Dunbar (eds.), Africa Yesterday and Today (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p.203. Hayes concurs that nationalism is a modern, in fact, "almost a recent phenomenon," although he points out that it is actually a fusion of two ancient phenomena: nationality and patriotism. Carlton J. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 6. Kohn, in the same vein, sees the roots of nationalism springing "from the same soil as Western civilization, from the ancient Hebrews and the ancient Greeks," while generally recognizing that its modern manifestation has followed the geographical and chronological pattern indicated above. Hans Kohn, Nationalism: Its Meaning and History (rev. ed.; Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1965), pp. 9, 11. See also his book, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Backgrounds (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham list these as: "a common historical experience, language, and culture, as well as clearly articulated ideologies and myths." Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 348.



term "Africanism" rather than "nationalism," affirming that the latter concept ". . . has associations which make it difficult of application in the conditions of Africa."<sup>16</sup>

Westermann reflects this same viewpoint when he states:

Nationalism has in its application to Africa not the same meaning as when applied to European countries. In Europe it is the desire of a nation to be united and to control all its members. In Africa it simply means independence from European domination. In Africa there are no nations, but only tribal groups.<sup>17</sup>

Hodgkin, on the other hand, views any kind of protest against the rule of aliens as nationalism. In this broad sense of the term then the word "nationalist" describes

. . . any organization or group that explicitly asserts the rights, claims and aspirations of a given African society (from the level of the language-group to that of 'Pan-Africa') in opposition to European authority, whatever its institutional form and objectives.<sup>18</sup>

Hodgkins thus parts company with James Coleman who, according to the former, uses the word in a much more limited sense

<sup>16</sup>Lord Hailey, An African Survey (rev. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 251. Hailey sees most of the new African nations as having been brought together by the "accidents of history" rather than having experienced the "dynamic influence of the concept of territorial nationalism." *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>Diedrich Westermann, "Cultural History of Negro Africa," Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale, No. 4 (1957), p. 1003, cited by Martin Kilson, "The Analysis of African Nationalism," World Politics, X, 3 (1958), p. 485.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 23.

. . . to describe only those types of organization which are essentially political, not religious, economic or educational, in character, and which have as their object the realization of self-government or independence for a recognizable African nation, or nation-to-be ('Ghana', Nigeria, Kamerun, Uganda).<sup>19</sup>

Although Hodgkins's definition by its breadth may superficially seem to obfuscate the political aspects of the term, especially as it relates to the creation of a nation aspiring to self-rule, it does encompass the diverse and complex situations that are found in African political movements as well as giving an essentially meaningful historical term with which to describe the variegated African response to the colonial situation.<sup>20</sup> Moore and Dunbar succinctly capture both the mood and the enlarged breadth of the term as it has been more recently applied to the African scene in their observation that "whatever force makes people feel that they belong together is the basis of their nationalism."<sup>21</sup> Luzbetak, writing from another

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid. Hodgkin is interacting with Coleman's paper, "Nationalism in Tropical Africa," American Political Science Review, XLVIII, 2 (1954), 404-426. For Coleman's formal definition of "nationalism" in its various aspects see Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, p. 425.

<sup>20</sup>See Kilson, "The Analysis of African Nationalism," p. 489.

<sup>21</sup>Thus they speak of "geographic, linguistic, religious, racial and traditional tribal nationalism . . . ." Moore and Dunbar, Africa Yesterday and Today, p. 203. As with Hodgkin, this expansive usage seems to obscure the essential element of achieving autonomous nationhood; at least, it does not seem to require it.

perspective, sees nationalism as a form of nativism, classifying the Mau Mau movement in Kenya under the latter term.<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, Max Warren aptly captures the essence of the term, especially as it relates to Kenya, by defining nationalism as "the self-conscious assertion by a people of its own individuality in relation to other peoples."<sup>23</sup> Nationalism then is a broad term and one that has assumed strong emotive connotations in recent decades.

#### Religion and Nationalism

It was seen in the chapter on the Mission's educational program that the beginning of the second decade of this century was a watershed in the changing attitude of the African toward both education and then in turn the Mission.<sup>24</sup> According to Professor Ogot a parallel phenomenon occurred in this same period in the political field. Kenya's educated elite, formerly devotees of European values and willing agents of Western imperialism, from 1921

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<sup>22</sup>Recognizing the difficulty of a clear definition of "nativism" because of its broad usage, Luzbetak sees it as "usually an attempt to restore group integrity, self-respect and solidarity." Louis J. Luzbetak, The Church and Cultures (Techney, Ill.: Divine Word Publications, 1970), p. 249.

<sup>23</sup>Max A. C. Warren, "Nationalism as an International Asset," The International Review of Missions, XLIV (October, 1955), 387.

<sup>24</sup>See pp. 160-161 of this dissertation.

onward "became the greatest critics of the Government and of Western values."<sup>25</sup>

This parallel development in the political and religious fields should not surprise the acute observer, for the two are not totally discrete. It is this author's opinion that there is almost always an element of the political in religious activities, especially where organizations are involved. For example, it will be seen that in the relationship between the Africa Inland Mission and its Church there has been a vying for power and authority, albeit sometimes (but not always) unconsciously. Certainly in the political realm there is often an element of the religious. As Harr points out, "Even incipient nationalism may claim men's attention to such an extent that it is almost worshiped."<sup>26</sup> Akweke Orizu, a Nigerian Prince, provides an illustration of this tendency. In his book,

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<sup>25</sup>B. A. Ogot, "Kenya Under the British, 1895 to 1963," Zamani: A Survey of East African History eds. B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, (Nairobi, Kenya: Longmans, 1968), p. 266.

<sup>26</sup>Wilber C. Harr, "The Christian Mission Since 1938: Africa South of the Sahara," Frontiers of the Christian World Mission Since 1938, ed. Wilber Harr (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 93.

Hayes states categorically that "since its advent in western Europe, modern nationalism has partaken of the nature of a religion . . . ." Carlton Hayes, Nationalism: a Religion (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), p. 164. This concept is developed in his chapter on "Reflections on the Religion of Nationalism," (pp. 164-182) in which he sees nationalism as offering either "a substitute for, or supplement to, historic supernatural religion," p. 176.

Without Bitterness, he propounds a new contemporary African philosophy that, while not tantamount to nationalism, ". . . may direct the trend of nationalism."<sup>27</sup> This system of philosophy, called Zikism,<sup>28</sup> in which God is a hypothetical assumption, "embraces the economic, social, religious, and political aspects of life [italics in the original]."<sup>29</sup> It is worthy of note in this regard that Toynbee refers to nationalism, together with Communism and Fascism, as all having been ". . . some form of the worship of the collective power of Man in place of the worship of God."<sup>30</sup> It is not surprising then when one finds politics being carried on with evangelistic fervor and religious activities characterized by political strategy and maneuverings.

### The Development of Nationalism in Kenya

#### Apartheid

It is obvious that a detailed analysis of all the

<sup>27</sup>Akweke Orizu, Without Bitterness (New York: Creative Age Press, 1944), p. 298.

<sup>28</sup>So named because it is based on the life and teachings of Nnamdi Azikwe, who while pursuing an education, ". . . precociously acquired a zeal for nationalism." Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>30</sup>Arnold J. Toynbee, Christianity Among the Religions of the World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957), pp. 14-15. This worship of collective human power, according to Toynbee, is the same in essence whether it is of a local community "like Athens or Britain" or a world-wide community like the Roman Empire. Ibid., p. 53.

events, personages, and factors in the developing nationalism of Kenya is impossible. Rather the highlights of this period will be sketched, with special attention being given to those elements that were to prove the most significant in the emergence of Kenya as a nation.

Though Kenya never adopted the term that has emerged from South Africa's racial policy, "apartheid" does, however, accurately describe the political, social, and economic situation of Kenya during the colonial period. During this era, in addition to the colonial Government, there were two developing political bodies: the white settlers and an educated African elite, both of which became increasingly politically conscious. The settlers, kin to the ruling colonial power, operated from a power-base that carried with it certain important and inherent advantages. The advantage of race, for example, in turn issued in numerous economic and social advantages that were to cause an ever widening gap between the two groups. In a very real sense the colonial Government found itself caught between these two bodies, and often striving to please both, ended up by pleasing neither.

As already suggested, one of the most significant factors in the struggle of Kenya to attain nationhood was the presence of a large settler population.<sup>31</sup> These settlers

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<sup>31</sup>Kenya stood therefore in contrast with much of British-dominated West Africa where there were relatively few white settlers. Curtin states that "during the whole of the

were early introduced into the colony to help make the newly constructed railroad into Uganda pay for itself by carrying the farm products that they would grow.<sup>32</sup> Though the area of land taken from the Kikuyu tribe was relatively small in comparison with that taken from the Maasai<sup>33</sup> for example,

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nineteenth century, the most important problem for Europeans in West Africa was simply that of staying alive," adding that ". . . the coastal experiments of the 1790's brought the image of West Africa as the 'white man's grave' into new focus." Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p. 177. Herskovits sees ". . . a close correlation between the presence of a European and Asian settler population in eastern and southern Africa and the disproportionately meager educational funds allocated to the schooling of Africans who live there." He thus sees this as a partial explanation of the fact that in these territories "there were so many fewer Africans who received secondary and higher education than in West Africa." Melville J. Herskovits, The Human Factor in Changing Africa (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 82.

<sup>32</sup>Because there were no discernible mineral deposits that could be exploited, "it was evident that the development of an export trade would have to depend on agricultural production." C. C. Wrigley, "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life, 1902-1945," History of East Africa, V. Harlow and E. Chilvers, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), II, p. 211. The purpose of introducing settlers, however, went even beyond making the railway pay its way, for the Foreign Office was concerned that the Protectorate (as it was known in this early period) itself should not be dependent on grant-in-aids from the Government. To this end both European and Indian settlement was greatly encouraged. George Bennett, "Settlers and Politics in Kenya," History of East Africa, II, pp. 265-266.

<sup>33</sup>Low shows that the main areas occupied by the settlers all formerly belonged to the Maasai. The Maasai had been "sole lords in the past of the region's wide open spaces"; it was for this reason that the settlers who replaced (or sometimes displaced) them took possession of vast, uninterrupted stretches of land. D. A. Low, "British East Africa: The Establishment of British Rule, 1895-1912," History of East Africa, II, p. 31.

yet the implications of it were far greater.<sup>34</sup> Successive Ordinances and finally the Report of the Carter Land Commission in 1934 all combined to partition Kenya "into two racial blocs, African and European . . . . Racialism and tribalism thus became institutionalized."<sup>35</sup> Hopkins affirms that this tension between communities, encouraged by official British policy, served to maintain colonial control. By reinforcing the distinct identity of each

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<sup>34</sup>The Kikuyu social system was vitally related to pioneer land settlement, and this coupled with their rapidly expanding population made the land issue a political rallying point. Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," p. 352. See also John Middleton, "Kenya: Administration and Changes in African Life, 1912-45," History of East Africa, II, pp. 339-341. For a brief overview of the land problem as it related to the Kikuyu see Fred Burke, "Political Evolution in Kenya," The Transformation of East Africa, Stanley Diamond and Fred Burke, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 199-201.

The tension was further heightened by the very nature of the Kikuyu people. They had been quick to adopt many of the ways and values of European culture and were thus more keenly interested in upward mobility than certain other tribes. For a summary comparison of this tribal aspect see p. 115, fn. 17 of this dissertation.

<sup>35</sup>Ogot, "Kenya Under the British," p. 273. Middleton agrees with Ogot's analysis but affirms that the basic aim of the Government was to establish three groups: the white settlers, economically and politically dominant; the Indians "in a subordinate economic capacity"; and the Africans "playing subordinate roles in their own tribal areas." Middleton, "Kenya," II, 336. Discrimination against the Indian community began in 1903 when restrictions were placed on land grants made to Indians. This was the embryonic beginnings of the restricted "White Highlands" that were to figure in future African grievances with reference to land. Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p. 13.



minority group the British encouraged a sensitivity in the Asian and African of their disparate and competitive interests and of their subordinate position in the colonial structure."<sup>36</sup> In addition to being given a large area of most favorable land,<sup>37</sup> European farmers were granted many other economic benefits not available to their African counterparts.<sup>38</sup>

The growing realization of this disparity between

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<sup>36</sup>Elizabeth Hopkins, "Racial Minorities in East Africa," The Transformation of East Africa, p. 152. In this same chapter is a good analysis of the attitude of the white settler toward both the Asian and African communities, cf. pp. 98-106.

<sup>37</sup>Following the recommendation of the Carter Report, 16,700 square miles of good land became the exclusive and permanent domain of European settlers. In 1939 the boundaries of the "White Highlands" were settled, a productive and coveted area from which both Asians and Africans were barred until 1959. Ogot, op. cit., p. 273 cf. p. 287. For a good overview of British policy regarding land, as it affected settler, native, and Indian see M. P. K. Sorensen, "Land Policy in Kenya, 1895-1945," History of East Africa, II, pp. 672-689. Lonsdale is doubtless correct in his assertion that "Kenya's politics have always centred on the land." John Lonsdale, "New Perspectives in Kenya History," African Affairs, LXVI, 265 (1967), 353.

<sup>38</sup>These included training programs, low interest loans and direct grants, subsidies of certain products, marketing schemes and transport facilities sponsored by the government, Ogot, p. 274. In contrast with Uganda it became apparent that the Government intended the settler community to become the economic backbone of the Colony, *ibid.* It is interesting to note that before World War I "the African share in export production was some 70 percent of the total; after it the proportions were more than reversed." Middleton, op. cit., II, 354. For a full development of the reasons for this see Wrigley, op. cit., II, 232-247.

the two communities had already been accentuated by the Africans' participation in World War I, largely as porters in the Carrier Corps.<sup>39</sup> From this experience Africans, mainly from the Kikuyu, Luo, and Kamba tribes, came to a new awareness of themselves as a separate racial entity.<sup>40</sup> Self-consciousness must precede self-assertion which is followed by the demand for self-determination in the evolutionary nationalistic process. Furthermore, the war destroyed the image of homogeneity of the white man that had been previously projected in the Africans' limited colonial context, for now they saw whites fighting whites. Finally, violence and organized resistance were shown as a viable and powerful alternative in the struggle to achieve certain ends.<sup>41</sup>

Returning from the war, the African found not only economic but social discrimination. This was especially

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<sup>39</sup>Nearly 200,000 men were recruited. Burke, "Political Evolution in Kenya," p. 203. For a brief description of the method of their involuntary "recruitment" see R. Macpherson, The Presbyterian Church in Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya: The Presbyterian Church of East Africa, 1970), p. 68.

<sup>40</sup>Burke goes even further in suggesting that "it is not inconceivable that a few seeds of pan-Africanism were sown" during this wartime service. Burke, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>Ogot, *op. cit.*, p. 267-268. For the testimony of Waruhia Itote, known as General China during the Mau Mau uprising, as to what he learned from his military experience in Burma as well as his developed consciousness of himself "as a Kenyan African," see Waruhia Itote "Mau Mau" General (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 27, cf. p. 46.

true in the field of education, where the funds expended by the Government for African education were disproportionately low compared with grants for European and even Asian facilities.<sup>42</sup>

It was inevitable that in the political field the white community, always a strong influential bloc in dealing with the Government, would exert its greatest influence toward maintaining its dominant role. In the period under consideration it was eminently successful. African political development was limited to the local level,<sup>43</sup> but even here they were excluded from involvement in the local Government Councils of areas settled by Europeans as well as those in urban centers.<sup>44</sup> Thus even the administration of local governments was developed along racial lines. Even so the Africans sought to get involved in the Councils to which they were entitled to elect members. The Kikuyu Central Association,<sup>45</sup> for example, sponsored

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<sup>42</sup>Ogot, "Kenya Under the British," pp. 274-276.

<sup>43</sup>Local Native Councils were established in many districts during 1924 and 1925. The majority of the members were elected by popular choice. Middleton, "Kenya," II, 350.

<sup>44</sup>Africans had no direct voice in the administration of the Nairobi Council until 1946. Ogot, op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>45</sup>This organization grew out of the Young Kikuyu Association, founded in 1920 by Harry Thuku, one of Kenya's early nationalists. For the story of his involvement from the very earliest period of Kenya's modern politics see Harry Thuku, An Autobiography (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1970).

its candidates for these bodies, seeing in them a forum for airing their grievances. Disillusionment set in, however, as African political leaders came to realize that they were fighting their battles on the wrong battlefield; the crucial issues were obviously not being dealt with on the local level.<sup>46</sup>

### The Widening Rift

Just as the great Rift Valley runs through the heart of Kenya, so the country politically was experiencing an ever widening rift between the immigrant community and the indigenous population. If the literal Rift had been caused by geophysical upheavals, as evidenced by the extinct volcanoes arising out of the Valley's floor, so was the political rift further increased by the upheaval of World War II. Wartime conditions and circumstances had their effect on both the African and European communities. Unfortunately for any hope of rapprochement between them, the pressures pulled in opposite directions and only heightened already existent tensions. On the one hand, the Europeans strengthened their political power base during the war through involvement in various committees and Statutory

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<sup>46</sup>Ogot, op. cit., pp. 277-281. The deliberations of these councils "were usually limited to consideration of local opinion, without legislative power except for the passing of resolutions. . . . They were not concerned with wider matters of a more 'political' nature nor with modification and changes in traditional law and custom." Middleton, loc. cit.

Boards.<sup>47</sup> Following the War many more ex-soldiers were brought into the country.<sup>48</sup> In addition two influential settlers were granted portfolios in the Executive Committee of the Central Government, on which Europeans had previously served only as unofficial members.<sup>49</sup>

On the African side, there was a new approach to the inequities sanctioned and imposed by the colonial Government. From the widened perspective gained through their overseas' experiences African political leaders began now to strike at the heart of the colonial system itself; they began to question its very legitimacy.<sup>50</sup> Whereas their previous protests had been demands for their civil liberties within

<sup>47</sup>Thirty-one new committees and boards were formed during the first two years of the war, and a number of settlers were most influential in some of them. Thus the influence of settlers in government was increased to a very considerable degree during the war. Bennett, "Settlers and Politics in Kenya," II, 329; cf. p. 230 for an account of the Europeans' attempt to use the war to consolidate their position in the "White Highlands."

<sup>48</sup>This was simply following the pattern set in the period after World War I when about a thousand farms, most of them units of up to 5,000 acres, were demarcated and made available to ex-servicemen on very attractive terms. Wrigley, "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life," II, 233. Burke states that the fear that "the wartime experiences of thousands of Africans would constitute a security problem" dramatically increased the settler population. Burke, "Political Evolution in Kenya," p. 204.

<sup>49</sup>These portfolios were for Agriculture and Local Government, two sensitive areas most intimately related to African life. Ogot, op. cit., p. 282.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid. See also Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," pp. 349-350.

the colonial system, the demand now began to be sounded for direct and exclusive political power and control. Civil liberties became at this stage of the struggle a mere means to an end rather than an end in themselves as previously; their values became "instrumental rather than consummatory."<sup>51</sup>

### Kenya African Union

The founding on October 1, 1944 of the Kenya African Union, composed in its earliest stages of representatives from most of the tribes, was highly significant, for it marked the emergence of an African political force on the national level.<sup>52</sup> That the two groups--settlers and Africans--and in turn the Colony itself, were on a collision course should have been obvious to the Government. That it was not is seen from its continued insensitivity to African demands for political reform. This insensitivity reached a climax in May of 1951 when James Griffiths, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, issued a statement on the

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<sup>51</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, p. 350. The two terms are borrowed from Apter who uses them in a sociological context, one embracing far more than civil liberties. By them he distinguishes between those societal systems that have ". . . consummatory values and those having instrumental values." Inherent in this distinction that describes two basic types of values is the ". . . differences in the relationship of means to ends with which different societies approach their problems." David E. Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 85.

<sup>52</sup>For the next eight years this group led the fight to effect political change by reform within the system. They tackled such issues as land and discrimination.

constitutional situation in Kenya.<sup>53</sup> To the settlers it seemed a virtual guarantee of the status quo. They continued to see themselves as the politically dominant group and not as a minority needing protection. The Labor Government in England failed to recognize the growing storm that was soon to burst upon the land in the form of the Mau Mau uprising.<sup>54</sup>

### Mau Mau Movement

The frustration of the men who had come to believe that political development and reform could never come from within the colonial system is seen in this representative statement of "General China," the Kikuyu nationalist:

I boiled with rage and could not control my indignation for many days. First the Europeans took our land, encircled us and stuffed us into cages they called "Reserves". Then having cut off half our life by robbing us of our land, the Asians came along and stifled us economically. We could not earn the money we so desperately needed . . . either off our land or by trade. I felt so frustrated and furious that I could have done anything to anyone . . . .<sup>55</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to give even a cursory account of the Mau Mau uprising. A survey of the

<sup>53</sup>East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], June 1, 1951.

<sup>54</sup>According to Ingham, even Government officials in Kenya expressed little concern when warnings of the existence of a dangerous secret society were passed on to them. Missionaries were much more aware of the trouble that was threatening. Kenneth Ingham, A History of East Africa (London: Longmans, 1962), pp. 407-408.

<sup>55</sup>Itote, "Mau Mau" General, p. 34 cf. p. 37. Ibid.

literature on the subject reveals a diversity of explanations and viewpoints.<sup>56</sup> Possibly it is still too close to the event to see it in its proper historical perspective.<sup>57</sup> It may simply be noted that missions tended to see the whole movement in very negative terms,

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<sup>56</sup>An eyewitness, personal presentation of the subject, subject to inevitable personal bias, has been given by Leakey, an initiated first-grade elder in the Kikuyu tribe. See L. S. B. Leakey, Mau Mau and the Kikuyu (London: Methuen and Co., 1952). In this book, written from vast personal experience, Leakey presents some of the causes of Mau Mau by tracing the breakdown of tribal customs as well as the rise of political movements within the tribe.

Reference has already been made to Rosberg and Nottingham who, combining the insights of a political scientist and a sympathetic ex-colonial official, have sought to refute the common oversimplification of many Kenyan Europeans that Mau Mau was simply an atavistic aberration, a cult that dipped into the past rather than manifesting a progressive but frustrated nationalism. (Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau.")

<sup>57</sup>Lonsdale correctly observes that European politics in Kenya, being a thing of the relatively distant past, can be viewed with a certain detachment. On the other hand, "African politics continue into the future and their past obtrudes into the controversies of the present; consequently the circumspection of historians may only too easily find an ally in ambivalence." Lonsdale, "New Perspectives in Kenya History," p. 348.

For the official British Government evaluation of this movement see The Corfield Report, Origins and Growth of Mau Mau (Nairobi, Kenya: The Government Printer, 1960). Odinga, a nationalist deeply involved in Kenya's struggle for independence, commenting on what he considered to be this one-sided presentation of Mau Mau by the British Government declared: "We in Kenya have still to write our history of these years. . . . Many streams flowed into the movement . . . till they were joined in the final flood of revolt." Oginga Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru (London: Heinemann, 1967), p. 121; cf. p. 123.



probably because of its use of oaths and violence. Representative of this attitude is the following portion of a call to prayer issued on November 30, 1952 by the Christian Council of Kenya, an organization in which the A.I.M. held membership:

To all we would say: This is no struggle between white and black. It is a struggle between good and evil, between those who seek the way of peaceful growth and those who seek by violence to gain their own ends at the expense of all others. These violent men must be dealt with that in peace the rest of us may by peaceful and constitutional means seek the welfare of all.<sup>58</sup>

During the years of the Mau Mau Emergency, which was declared on October 20, 1952, missions such as the A.I.M. thus inculcated loyalty to the colonial Government and resistance to the Mau Mau movement.

Whatever elements or excesses in the movement one may condemn, it is difficult not to concur with Ogot's summation of it:

The "Mau Mau" movement was thus a desperate attempt by a desperate people to change a system of economic and social injustice which had been a marked feature of Kenya's history.<sup>59</sup>

12. <sup>58</sup>World Dominion and the World Today, XXXI, 1 (1953),

<sup>59</sup>Ogot, "Kenya Under the British," p. 283. Itote makes it clear that Mau Mau was not a homogeneous organization. He distinguishes three groups of people who composed it. There were the loyal, committed fighters, individuals who had voluntarily taken "the Oath of Action." In addition there were those who had been captured and forced to fight with the Mau Mau and who were afraid to return to their villages because of possible reprisals. Lastly, there were the Komerera, actually composed of two groups: opportunists who joined Mau Mau for various reasons, and thugs who robbed in the villages while masquerading as Mau Mau fighters, Itote, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

The struggle was a long and costly one to both sides, involving thousands of people.<sup>60</sup> It is estimated that by mid-1953 there were 15,000 members of the "Land Freedom Army" living in the forest.<sup>61</sup> From their forest hideouts the Mau Mau guerilla forces struck out against "Loyalist" guard posts, police stations, and individuals who were known to be enemies of these "freedom fighters."<sup>62</sup> By mid-1954, however, Government Security forces had established their superiority, and Mau Mau forces were no longer carrying

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<sup>60</sup>Official casualties up to December 1956 included 11,503 Kikuyu killed, while on the Government side (including civilians and military) the casualties were as follows: 95 Europeans, 29 Asians, and 1,920 Africans killed. Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 303.

Between October 1952 and September 1955, when the campaign had entered a less vigorous phase, the total expenditure exceeded £30,000,000. Ingham, op. cit., p. 411.

Obviously it is impossible to measure the cost of the conflict in terms of human suffering. Tens of thousands of Africans were detained in special camps and reserves; thousands of prisoners were taken; numberless individuals lived for years in fear of their very lives, to say nothing of the agony of families divided over this political issue.

<sup>61</sup>Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., p. 297. For a graphic description of their life and military exploits see Itote, op. cit., pp. 37-170.

<sup>62</sup>The most widely published attack came to be known as the "Lari massacre," where in one night at least ninety-seven "Loyalists" or members of their families were killed. Although the Government interpreted it as a general terrorist attack to force everyone to join Mau Mau, Rosberg and Nottingham affirm that it was actually a special situation involving land disputes between two Kikuyu groups, growing out of previous land alienation by Europeans, Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., pp. 287-292.

out large-scale raids.<sup>63</sup> The Mau Mau movement had, however, achieved its prime objective: the setting into motion of radical political reform. By forcing the entrance of British troops into the colony it had demonstrated that the Kenya Government was not able to control the country unilaterally. It also poignantly pointed out the bankruptcy of the policy of separate development.<sup>64</sup> Though the Government had won a military victory, the Africans were now in a position to demand a whole new political order. This was to evolve through a series of constitutions followed by two significant conferences in London. The battles over constitutional reform, however, were to be just as bitter as those fought on the slopes of the Aberdare mountains.

#### Reform Through Negotiation

The initiative for negotiation came from the Colonial Office in London. Three successive Secretaries

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<sup>63</sup>The Emergency was not declared over, however, until early in 1960. Rosberg and Nottingham, *ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>64</sup>Ogot, *op. cit.*, p. 284. Bennett refers to the necessity of the return of the "Imperial factor" to provide the men and money to deal with the Mau Mau emergency. Bennett, Kenya A Political History p. 134. Rosberg and Nottingham see the aim of Mau Mau as not to overthrow the local colonial Government (a virtually impossible task) but rather the reintroduction of direct British intervention and concern in the affairs of Kenya. In this the movement succeeded, "for the sending in of British troops was a reassertion of the British presence in, and responsibility for, Kenya." Rosberg and Nottingham, *op. cit.*, p. 278, cf. p. 270. *Ibid.*

emerged, each with his own proposed constitution for Kenya.<sup>65</sup> Though radical by European standards (and especially so in the eyes of many settlers), they did not ultimately meet African demands. The Lyttleton Constitution, for example, proposed a multi-racial Council of Ministers instead of the Executive Council.<sup>66</sup> The concept of multi-racialism was actually to be present in all three constitutions.<sup>67</sup> To the radical element of the settler population it was rejected for it spelled the end to white domination. To the progressive African political leaders it was still only a half-way house. For this reason even though the Lennox-Boyd constitution gave the Africans six more seats in the Legislative Council and thus a number equal to that of the elected Europeans, the Africans rejected certain

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<sup>65</sup>Known as the Lyttleton (1954), Lennox-Boyd (1957), and Macleod (1960) constitutions. Ogot, op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>66</sup>African elections in March of this year (1957), according to Bennett and Rosberg, "formed a watershed in African politics, and indeed in Kenya's political history. African members could now assert that their views were sanctioned by a substantial electorate." G. Bennett and Carl Rosberg, "Political Parties and Interest Groups," Government and Politics in Kenya: A Nation Building Text, eds. C. Gertzel, M. Goldschmidt, and D. Rothchild (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1969), p. 106.

<sup>67</sup>It will be seen in Ch. 6 how the concept of "Partnership" in its relationship to the Church dominated Mission thinking during the late 50's and early 60's, thus showing once again how the political climate is often reflected on the religious scene.

features of it.<sup>68</sup> In reality it was a rejection of the multi-racial concept.<sup>69</sup> The result was a boycott of the Legislative Council by the African members in 1959 and the demand for a full constitutional conference.<sup>70</sup>

This constitutional conference took place at Lancaster House in London in January 1960 under the guidance of Ian Macleod, the new Colonial Secretary. The basic question of a multi-racial Government was still the burning and unresolved issue. It came down ultimately to the matter of nationalist versus settler. The Government was trying to placate both groups and was succeeding completely with neither. However, a compromise was reached.

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<sup>68</sup>They rejected the two ministerial posts that could have been theirs plus the provision of twelve Specially Elected Members (four European, four Asian, and four African) chosen by the Council itself. Ogot, op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>69</sup>This concept had proved acceptable in Malaya where it had become a stepping-stone to independence. In rejecting the concept of "plural societies" African leadership however stood adamant on its demand of "One man, one vote," Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p. 135. Odinga called "multi-racialism" a "deceptive formula." Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru, p. 137. Barbara Ward, the British economist, wrote in 1959 that ". . . there is nothing inherently impossible in the aim of producing a multi-racial society on the basis of partnership and political equality," yet it became increasingly clear that this was not a viable option for Kenya. Barbara Ward, Five Ideas that Change the World (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), p. 109.

<sup>70</sup>As Adam points out, even the new features still guaranteed indefinite settler domination of the Legislative Council and the council of ministers. Thomas Adam, Government and Politics in Africa South of the Sahara (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 50.

at the first Lancaster House Conference.<sup>71</sup>

During 1960 two political parties, reflecting divergent thinking among the African population, came into existence. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) was formed in March, dominated by the Kikuyu and Luo. A number of smaller tribes, so-called minority tribes, fearing domination by these two large tribes in an independent Kenya united to form the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) with a platform dedicated to giving more authority to regional governments in contrast with the unitary state favored by KANU.<sup>72</sup>

In February 1962 the second Lancaster House Conference was held.<sup>73</sup> Its purpose was two-fold; to attempt a reconciliation of KANU and KADU and to prepare a constitution

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<sup>71</sup>The Africans were assured of a majority on the unofficial side of the Council and a measure of control over the reserved seats. To the settlers it marked the beginning of the end, and many prepared to leave the country. Bennett sees this Conference as marking the breaking of European power but with African power not yet ready to replace it. Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p. 150. For Odinga's account of this Conference see Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru, pp.176-180. To him it was a "new point of departure" (p. 180) from which advance to full independence would be made.

<sup>72</sup>For a good analysis of these two parties and their divergent political philosophies (urban versus rural orientation, among other things) together with a brief account of their precursors see Bennett and Rosberg, Government and Politics in Kenya, pp. 107-109.

<sup>73</sup>By this time Jomo Kenyatta had been released from detention and attended the Conference as the leader of the KANU delegation. Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p. 156.

that would launch Kenya as an independent nation. The Conference was unsuccessful in the first purpose, and finally Mr. Maudling, the Colonial Secretary, had to impose a compromise constitution on the delegates.<sup>74</sup> It provided a strong central Government with provision for regional governments.<sup>75</sup> With this complicated constitution, later revised, Kenya achieved her independence on December 12, 1963. One year later the country was declared a Republic with Jomo Kenyatta the first President. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to chronicle the well known facts of the life and political history of this colorful and brilliant leader. Although away from Kenya from 1931-1946, he nevertheless was a guiding light in Kenya's political movements from the beginning. Imprisoned in 1953 for his alleged part in the Mau Mau uprising,<sup>76</sup> he was released in 1961, becoming President of KANU in October 1962. Beyond doubt he has been the one leader in Kenya politics who could

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<sup>74</sup>Ogot, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Both KANU and KADU returned from London asserting their own victories. KADU claimed that regionalism had been established, whereas Kenyatta denied that the new constitution was federal in nature. Bennett, Kenya A Political History, p. 157. Though obviously a compromise, Burke states that the "interests of KANU in conjunction with the British antipathy toward a federal structure won the day." Burke, "Political Evolution in Kenya," p. 225.

<sup>76</sup>Itote presents Kenyatta as much more deeply committed to the Mau Mau movement than Rosberg and Nottingham would accept. Itote, "Mau Mau" General, pp. 44-47 cf. Rosberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," pp. 274-275.

provide a supratribal approach and thus lead the people in the task of nation building in the decade that has followed independence.<sup>77</sup>

### Summary

The pathway to independence and nationhood was not an easy one nor was it without its natural obstacles and foreign-made barriers. The dynamic spirit of nationalism, however, gained increasing momentum, and rolling like a mighty juggernaut, could not be stopped until it had achieved independence and delivered Kenya into the family of nations. Nor was this dynamic to lessen when this had been achieved. The irresistible force that had created Kenya would now be involved in shaping it. No area of its national life would be left untouched and unchanged. The economy, the immigrant community, voluntary agencies--all would now exist and function with new terms of reference. Indeed, echoing the words of St. Paul, the old had passed away; behold all things had become new.<sup>78</sup>

Not only would foreign mission agencies and national Churches have a new relationship with the Government, they would also have a new relationship between themselves. The

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<sup>77</sup>For a good survey of his recent political life see Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1968).

<sup>78</sup>II Cor. 5:17.



same dynamic that had been active in the political realm would also be producing similar changes in the religious relationships and affiliations of the country. Some of the same bitter struggles would be re-enacted; only the parties involved would change. It will be the purpose of the next two chapters to examine the changing relationship of the A.I.M. to its offspring, the Africa Inland Church, in the context of the dynamic nationalism that has just been studied.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE MISSION'S QUEST FOR PARTNERSHIP

#### Introduction

In the preceding chapter the development of nationalism in Kenya was traced. It was seen that the developing dynamic of the previous four decades reached its climax in the birth of the Kenya nation on December 12, 1963. Paralleling this growth of nationalism, and both contributing to it and drawing from it,<sup>1</sup> was the

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<sup>1</sup>A very profitable study could be made of the contribution to national consciousness by the emerging Church and indirectly by the Mission. For example, by 1945 the top Council of the A.I.M.'s Church (known as the Africa Inland Church) was composed of Church leaders from nine different tribes, stretching from the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro to Lake Victoria. (See Minutes of the Central Church Council of the Africa Inland Church, April 18-19, 1945; [hereinafter this Council will be designated as the C.C.C. and the Church as the A.I.C.].) On even a broader scale the Alliance High School, begun in 1926 with the A.I.M. as a founding member, brought together Protestant young men from all over Kenya. On the fortieth anniversary of this school in March, 1966, President Kenyatta stated that "the great majority of my colleagues in the Cabinet today have attended this school, and many have later contributed by teaching here as well. Many of our senior Civil Servants and officers of the Administration can thank the Alliance, not merely for scholastic training but also for qualities of wisdom and judgment and national pride [*italics not in the original*]." Cited by John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman, 1970), p. 24.

growth of the Mission's national Church.<sup>2</sup> Thus when independence came to Kenya the Church was ready, both numerically and psychologically, to reflect the political climate of the country in interacting with its parent body, the Mission. How the Church achieved this position of strength, from which it was to argue its case for independence in a manner reminiscent of the nationalists' struggle against colonialism, requires a brief survey. It is only when the strength and dynamic of the Church are seen in the context of a full-blown nationalism<sup>3</sup> that its turbulent relationship with the Mission in the decade of the sixties can properly be understood and evaluated.

#### Survey of the Church's Growth

The first decade of the Mission's work in Kenya, 1895-1904, was largely one of pioneering.<sup>4</sup> During this period "there were only a few African professing Christians

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<sup>2</sup>In keeping with the changes that the new era brought, the term "national" will henceforth replace "native." In a general letter to all the missionaries in 1951, A.I.M.'s General Secretary urged this change, explaining that although "technically the word native is correct, it has taken on the connotation that it refers to life on a low level. . . ." Letter of Ralph Davis to co-workers, May 28, 1951.

<sup>3</sup>See Ch. 5 of this study; cf. also pp. 243-245 of this chapter for the attitude of the new African Government toward missions and Churches.

<sup>4</sup>See pp. 25-36 of this dissertation.

and they were very ignorant of Christian truth."<sup>5</sup> During the next two decades ten new stations were added to the list, while the older stations reported considerable growth as African evangelists joined the missionaries in proclaiming the Christian message.

Typical of the correspondence of this period is the following:

Last Sunday we had 10 baptisms--my own boy [personal servant] among the others. He is very anxious to be an Evangelist and I am giving him every afternoon off to spend among the villages; so when it is not possible for me to get [sic] myself, I can send a substitute. It does make ones [sic] heart rejoice to see the growth of these people.<sup>6</sup>

Out of this intensive effort came an embryonic Church.

The period of 1925-1934 has been described as one of "phenomenal growth" during which "mass movements toward Christianity were experienced."<sup>7</sup> The mission stations during this period became the district centers for the many flourishing chapels that surrounded them.<sup>8</sup> A Bible School for the training of African pastors and evangelists had been opened among the Kamba Tribe in 1928 and one among the

<sup>5</sup>D. M. Miller, Whither Africa? (London: Africa Inland Mission, n. d.), p. 22.

<sup>6</sup>Letter of Hulda Stumpf to Miss M. Young, September 10, 1913.

<sup>7</sup>Miller, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>8</sup>H. Virginia Blakeslee, Beyond the Kikuyu Curtain (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), p. 177.

Kikuyu shortly afterward,<sup>9</sup> and its graduates began to baptize and administer holy Communion.

### Ordination of Ministers

There were, however, no ordained pastors for many years, nor was there any formal Church organization. The first ordination of an African pastor did not take place until April 19, 1945, almost fifty years after the Mission's entrance into Kenya.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, as early as 1932 Guilding wrote that there were two Bible School graduates who had been ". . . licensed to the ministry and application has been made by the Mulango church to have a third granted this privilege."<sup>11</sup>

The matter of ordaining African pastors had been discussed at the Annual Conference of missionaries in 1929. At that time, Dalziel linked the question with the Mission's ordination of missionaries. In his words:

I asked the question, "Who gave us the right as members of the A.I.M. to ordain native ministers, [and] who was going to ordain them?" No one could give an answer although it has been taken for granted that we have the right. Then I contended that if the A.I.M. has the right to ordain natives we also

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<sup>9</sup>Plans for the Kamba Bible School were laid in 1918, but sickness and death delayed its opening. 1st Anniversary of the Africa Inland Church, 15th October 1972 (Kijabe, Kenya: Africa Inland Church Publications, [1972]), p. 24.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>11</sup>Letter of Clara Guilding to H. Campbell, June 22, 1932.

have the right to ordain missionaries on the Field [and] moved that all Senior Missionaries in good standing on the Field be ordained. This of course meaning those S[enior] M[issionaries] who desired ordination.

I strongly contend that it is not right or fitting that we should have ordained native ministers administering the Ordinances ect [sic] whilst senior missionaries are not allowed to do so.<sup>12</sup>

It is significant that Dalziel in 1929 could write that "many of us feel that we should have ordained native ministers, [and] I think the majority of unordained senior missionaries feel they should be ordained by the A.I.M."<sup>13</sup> Another fifteen years passed before this desire was realized.

It is even more significant that at this time, almost ahead of his time, Dalziel raised questions that the Mission was forced to grapple with years later. They are so germane to the whole question of the relationship of the Mission to the Church, which was then officially unorganized, that they must be noted here. Recognizing that the Mission was both interdenominational and undenominational, he questioned if this situation could always continue.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Letter of Ernest Dalziel to H. Campbell, March 22, 1929. Dalziel is of course referring to those senior missionaries who for one reason, or another were not ordained prior to arriving in Kenya.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>It is significant that years later appeal would be made to these characteristics of the Mission as a reason why certain relationships with the Church could not be entered into; see p. 262 of this dissertation.

Looking ahead he saw that

to ordain native ministers surely they will have to be recognized as ordained men of something--either A.I.M. or the African Church. And when we ordain native ministers of the A.I.M. does not that make the A.I.M. a denomination with certain Church rules [and] orders ect [sic]?<sup>15</sup>

Dalziel was evidently anticipating a possible union of Mission and Church, and by the Mission's proposed ordination of African pastors, he saw the Mission thereby becoming in the very nature of the case a Church itself; in fact, a denomination. This was the very issue with which the Mission wrestled during the early 60's.<sup>16</sup> As things developed in the intervening years, the A.I.M. did give birth to a denomination<sup>17</sup> while remaining apart from it in certain respects.

Dalziel further saw that the ordaining of African pastors demanded a more formal type of Church organization.<sup>18</sup> Although disclaiming that he was ". . . seeking to form a new denomination or even to make the A.I.M. one of the recognized denominations of the Home lands,"<sup>19</sup> Dalziel,

<sup>15</sup>Dalziel, loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup>See pp. 260-263 of this dissertation.

<sup>17</sup>See p. 241 of this study where the names assumed by the Church give evidence of the close relationship between Mission and Church.

<sup>18</sup>"I cannot see how the A.I.M. can ordain native ministers unless an African Church is formed. . . ."  
Dalziel, loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

nevertheless, realized the implication of his proposal. In essence he was asking if the A.I.M. could function as a denominational Church (by ordaining pastors, for example) and continue to remain simply an undenominational Mission? His concluding comment that "the whole is a problem . . ." <sup>20</sup> was more prophetic than he probably realized. It was a problem that would only be resolved after literally years of agonizing reappraisal and negotiations between the Mission and the Church.

The response of the American headquarters of the Mission to the whole question was a very cautious one. Although agreeing to the ordination of missionaries in Kenya, it was felt that ". . . it would be unwise to ordain natives graduated from a Bible Training Institute before they had years of practical, faithful service."<sup>21</sup> The Mission on the Field carefully and literally heeded this counsel.

#### Self-Support of African Workers

During this period considerable progress was made

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Letter of H. Campbell to E. Dalziel, October 1, 1929. In this same letter Campbell stated that "we should go very slow[ly] in the ordination of native workers." He called for prior "years of faithful service" to prove trustworthiness.



toward establishing a self-supporting Church.<sup>22</sup> Many African Church workers, however, continued to be supported from a "Native Teachers and Evangelists Fund," consisting of money from the homelands, until about 1930.<sup>23</sup> Clara Guilding called it "a big advance step when we forced self-support upon them [the African Church]," acknowledging at the same time that "it was most frightfully hard just at the time."<sup>24</sup> She added:

It looked as if everything was going to pieces but God gave us grace to just hold steady for we were convinced we were in the right. . . . [The native Christians] have never developed the habit of generous giving.<sup>25</sup>

Guilding, however, acknowledged that the Africans were not wholly to blame for this situation, stating that "we were slow in realizing, ourselves, the importance of

<sup>22</sup>Miller, *Whither Africa?* p. 23. This had been one of the goals of the Mission from the early period: "It shall be the policy of the Mission to establish a self-supporting, self-extending, self-governing, native Church." *Constitution and Policy of the Africa Inland Mission* (Philadelphia: Africa Inland Mission, 1912), p. 17.

<sup>23</sup>Kenneth Richardson, "The African Church," A Report Submitted to the International Conference of the Africa Inland Mission, Kijabe, Kenya, June 12-19, 1955, p. 12. (Mimeographed.) See pp. 27-28 of this study for reference to the beginning of foreign support for Africans. Hurlburt in 1911 refers to ". . . a list of all the orphan boys who were supported." Letter of C. Hurlburt to H. Stumpf, April 19, 1911. Cf. also letter of Stumpf to O. R. Palmer, March 20, 1913 and letter of Stumpf to M. N. Young, June 19, 1913.

<sup>24</sup>Letter of Clara Guilding to H. Campbell, June 22, 1932.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

self-support and lacking in our teaching."<sup>26</sup>

### A New Dynamic

It was noted that during this decade a great surge in the desire for education swept through the Church.<sup>27</sup> This accelerated educational thrust of the Mission probably explains to a large measure the rapid expansion of the Church in this period.<sup>28</sup> Not all the A.I.M. missionaries were happy, however, with the influx of converts coming through the schools. Dalziel affirmed that "too many are followers for the education they can get and if we get back to simple necessary education we will have a purer, stronger Church."<sup>29</sup>

During this same period the controversy over female circumcision erupted.<sup>30</sup> While weakening a portion of the Church in certain respects through the breakaway movement that ensued, this conflict, nevertheless, testified to the Church's presence as a dynamic factor in the acculturation process that was taking place during this period of rapid

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>See p. 167, fn. 28 of this dissertation.

<sup>28</sup>See p. 230 of this study.

<sup>29</sup>Letter of E. B. Dalziel to H. Campbell, February 25, 1931. It was Dalziel's conviction [ibid] that the Mission's educational program "should not go beyond the three 'R's'" and that it was "the Government's business to educate the native beyond the above [level]."

<sup>30</sup>See p. 130-155 of this dissertation.

social change and upheaval.

### Church Organization

In the early days of the work the form of Church government had been optional. It was Mission policy that "when converts have been gathered at any given point, and it is deemed wise by the Field Council to organize a Church, the missionary in charge may elect the form of Church government. . . ."31 It is not surprising that when a committee of missionaries met in 194232 to draw up a plan for a uniform Church organization they found differences of Church administration in the various tribal areas.33 These were largely resolved through meetings of missionaries and Africans, in which the latter were in the majority. Out of these deliberations came an organizational structure that resembled both Presbyterian and Congregational forms

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31Constitution and Policy of the Africa Inland Mission (Philadelphia: Africa Inland Mission, 1912), p. 19.

32This was not, of course, the first thought that had been given to Church organization by the A.I.M. Considerable discussion concerning it, for example, had taken place at the Kikuyu Conference in 1918, at which the A.I.M. was represented. See p. 128, fn. 54 of this study.

33Charles Teasdale, "An Evaluation of the Ecclesiology of the Africa Inland Church" (unpublished Master's thesis, Wheaton College Graduate School, 1956), p. 48.

of Church government.<sup>34</sup> In 1943 the Church's Constitution was ratified and its Rules and Regulations were formulated.<sup>35</sup>

The Constitution provided for the creation of local Church Councils where African elders and deacons would meet with the missionary station superintendent. These local Councils were authorized to send delegates to a District Church Council which in turn sent its delegates to a Regional Church Council. The latter body dealt with matters of wider interest. Each Regional Council sent its delegates to the Central Church Council where matters of policy were decided and candidates for ordination examined.<sup>36</sup>

Thus in 1942 the Africa Inland Church was organized by incorporating into one body all the Churches that the Mission had brought into existence throughout Kenya. Teasdale speaks of this Church, which was in reality a new denomination, as being ". . . co-extensive with the Africa

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<sup>34</sup>According to Teasdale ". . . it is perhaps best to say that the Africa Inland Church is presbyterian in type, with a large degree of autonomy in the local districts." Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 47-48. The Constitution covers the Church's doctrinal statement, organization, and care of property. The Rules and Regulations deal with such matters as the Church ordinances, licensing and ordination, discipline, and Christian family life. Africa Inland Church Constitution with Rules and Regulations, 1943. (Mimeographed.)

<sup>36</sup>Africa Inland Church Constitution, pp. 4-7.

Inland Mission in Kenya."<sup>37</sup>

### Mission Control

During the developing or adolescent stage of the Church's growth, the Mission exercised a strong paternalistic control, extending even to the discipline of the Church's members and officers. This was in accord with the Mission's official policy in this period which stated that "the Field Council has supervision of all matters of native church discipline. . . ."<sup>38</sup> An example of this is seen in a visit made by Lee Downing to Githumu station during the female circumcision controversy. Accompanied by some of the Church elders from Kijabe, he met with representatives of the Githumu and Kinyona Churches to discuss a uniform system of discipline regarding this issue. Reynolds, the Station Superintendent, described the encounter:

Mr. Downing and I talked with the Kinyona Elders for some considerable time, but they absolutely refused to accept the Church Laws regarding the circumcision of girls, such as are in force at Kijabe. . . . When Mr. Downing heard that, he felt compelled to immediately dismiss the Kinyona Elders from their official position on the grounds that

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<sup>37</sup>Teasdale, op. cit., p. 6. The question of the extent of the Church's sphere of responsibility and authority in relationship to that of the Mission surfaced in Tanzania (see p. 274 of this study) and later in Kenya.

<sup>38</sup>Africa Inland Mission: Organization of Councils and Certain Policies (Kijabe, British East Africa: n. n., [dated between January, 1916 and December, 1920]), p. 6.

they were not fit for it.<sup>39</sup>

Harry Thuku,<sup>40</sup> a frequent visitor to the Mission's headquarters station of Kijabe in the early years, substantiates this authoritarian approach of A.I.M. missionaries:

. . . people said that the AIM would not discuss any matter or policy with Africans; instead they made their own rules at Kijabe, and then they would call the African Christians and tell them what had been decided.<sup>41</sup>

According to Kenya's former Field Director, this type of control continued until 1936.<sup>42</sup> The paternalistic and authoritarian mentality of this period doubtless continued beyond this point. Thuku again bears witness to the apparent continuation of strong Mission influence if not control in this period. He speaks of advising the elders at Kambui in 1940 not to invite the A.I.M. to take over

<sup>39</sup>Letter of Reginald Reynolds to Henry Campbell, June 18, 1927.

<sup>40</sup>See p. 213, fn. 45 of this dissertation.

<sup>41</sup>Harry Thuku, An Autobiography (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 9. Thuku's statement is somewhat tempered by Ngata's summary of his interview with Kijabe's first pastor, Rev. Johana Nyenjeri, whose contact goes back to the first missionaries there. Ngata states that "it becomes quite clear from Nyenjeri's points on White-Black planning that the missionaries relied very heavily upon the Africans for all their plans: church problems, especially dealing with Kikuyu custom; committees for planning services, open air meetings, conferences." Written report of interview with Johana Nyenjeri by Ngata, August 25, 1970. NCKK archives, St. Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya. (From the collection of David Sandgren.)

<sup>42</sup>Erik Barnett, "Memorandum on Need for Possible Changes in A.I.M. Policies and Operations," May 27, 1964.

their station, since he was not "sure of their policy toward African representation in the church councils."<sup>43</sup>

By 1942, however, the Church had become a body separate and distinct from the Mission, though cooperating with it.<sup>44</sup>

In 1943 the word "Mission" was dropped out of the Church's name, and it became known simply as the Africa Inland Church.<sup>45</sup>

#### The Church and Government

The developed Church found itself in direct relationship with an independent Kenya government. This was a new phenomenon and experience for two reasons. First, the Church had always been represented before Government by the Mission. Although the Church was registered with the Government in 1947 and thus was officially a legal entity and able to hold property etc., even at this period there were always missionaries as joint trustees.<sup>46</sup> The Church never felt that it was its own master. At best it was the Junior Partner in the Mission/Church corporation.

<sup>43</sup>Thuku, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>44</sup>Miller, Whither Africa? p. 24.

<sup>45</sup>1st Anniversary of the Africa Inland Church, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>46</sup>Minutes of the C.C.C. of the A.I.C., April 18, 1946, No. 6 (a), (b), (c). Ibid., June 26-27, 1947, No. 7. See also Minutes of Joint Session of the A.I.C. and A.I.M., February 10-11, 1969.

Furthermore, the Church had never before dealt with a Government that was not foreign and white-dominated. Their own kinsmen were now in power and they found themselves in a situation paralleling the former position of the missionaries' relationship to their racial (and in some cases national) kin who controlled the colonial Government.

The results of this on the Church were two-fold. In the first place, there came a greatly strengthened self-image. National independence, with the control of the country completely in the hands of black leadership, could not but fortify the African Church's own self-esteem and encourage the assertion of its own right to autonomy in the religious realm.<sup>47</sup> Secondly, for the first time they felt the direct pressures of Government decrees. Previously the Mission had served as a buffer between the Church and the State, interpreting Government edicts and at times shielding

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<sup>47</sup>The new power of Church leadership and their ability to influence Government decisions was vividly seen in 1964. A number of A.I.M. missionaries who had been forced to evacuate from the Congo took up residence and work on A.I.M. stations in Kenya. Because of political relationships between the Kenya government and the Congo Government (and in turn the rebel Government in Congo), a number of these missionaries (including the present writer) were officially declared persona non grata in Kenya some time after their arrival there and were ordered to leave the country. The Mission was powerless to reverse this edict. Church leaders, however, went to top Government officials and pleaded their case with the result that the deportation order for a number of these missionaries was rescinded. The lesson of their newly attained power and influence was not to be lost on these Church leaders. How much the Mission recognized its full significance at the time is open to question.



the Church from their full impact or logical consequences.<sup>48</sup> Now the Church found itself in the position of being directly responsible to the Government. Government pressures for change in certain areas, as will be seen, were brought to bear on the Church directly.<sup>49</sup> Whereas in colonial days missionaries could appeal directly to the Colonial Office in London to modify certain rulings that were being promulgated in the colony,<sup>50</sup> in this new era of independence governmental power began and ended in Nairobi. There was no higher court of appeal! The extent and intensity of some of these pressures will be noted as they become germane to the topics being discussed.

#### Government and Religious Organizations

Because of the crucial role of the Government in the life of both the Church and the Mission in the era of independence,<sup>51</sup> it is important to understand the position of the Government toward religion in general as well as its organized bodies.

Speaking as a Cabinet minister to the East African

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<sup>48</sup>See pp. 86-87 of this dissertation.

<sup>49</sup>See pp. 326-327 of this study.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. example of Oldham, p. 103 of this dissertation.

<sup>51</sup>It will be recognized that the era of independence began before the formal granting of independence took place; hence relationships between Church and Mission taking place before that date (December 12, 1963) will still be considered as falling within the era of independence.

Academy at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, the late Tom Mboya declared the following to be the attitude of the Kenya Government:

While separation of Church and State is practiced in East Africa, freedom of religion is guaranteed by the State and positive support to religious institutions is encouraged by the State.<sup>52</sup>

The support of the Government was expressed not only financially in the form of subsidies for Church-sponsored schools, but it was often verbally expressed. Typical is the statement of Dr. J. G. Kiano, the Minister for Education, who affirmed that "the churches had done much for the country's development."<sup>53</sup> This opinion had been earlier expressed by President Kenyatta in a speech to the Christian Council of Kenya on May 4, 1965. On this occasion, he underlined the important role of the churches in the "new Kenya" and in behalf of his Government welcomed their contributions toward the task of "nation building."<sup>54</sup>

The favorable attitude toward religious organizations extended to the foreign missionary society. Speaking

<sup>52</sup>Tom Mboya, "The Impact of Modern Institutions on the East African," The Challenge of Nationhood: A Collection of Speeches and Writings (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1970), p. 171. For the guarantee of freedom of religion as well as freedom to propagate it see Republic of Kenya, The Constitution of Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya: The Government Printer, 1969), Ch. V, Section 78. (1), p. 41.

<sup>53</sup>East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], September 16, 1969, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup>East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], May 5, 1965.

as the Vice President of the country, the Honorable Daniel arap Moi, on one occasion "thanked the missionaries for the good work they did not only in building churches but also schools . . .," and expressed the hope that "they would continue to carry out their good work."<sup>55</sup>

From the moment of independence, however, the Government embarked on a deliberate program of Africanization.<sup>56</sup> Although primary reference was to the economic sector, including the introduction of Africans into all managerial and executive levels, this basic concept extended in practice to foreign religious organizations.<sup>57</sup>

### The Mission's Policy

#### Defining the Relationship

It is obvious, therefore, that the Mission could

<sup>55</sup>East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], September 22, 1969, p. 7. For the anticipated permanent place of mission hospitals in the Government's medical program see the statement of Dr. J. C. Likimani, the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health, East African Standard [Nairobi, Kenya], September 8, 1969, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup>Sometimes heightened to a demand for "blackenization" when resentment was expressed against Asians who, although Kenya citizens, were felt to be occupying positions that should have been filled by Kenya Africans.

<sup>57</sup>For a complete exposition of this concept see Republic of Kenya, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya: The Government Printer, 1965). There are interesting parallels between foreign companies and their Kenya branches and the A.I.M. and its national Church. For further reference to the effect of the Africanization program on Church/Mission relationships see p. 333 of this dissertation.

not be oblivious either to the political developments or to their counterpart in the religious realm, nor was it. In its own Councils, on various levels, it was being forced to clarify its own position relative to its relationship with the national Church. Essential to and inherent in this exercise was a defining of its own identity<sup>58</sup> and role in this context of new relationships.<sup>59</sup>

In the years immediately preceding the independence of Kenya the Mission, therefore, had begun to give serious consideration to its relationship with the national Church in all its fields.<sup>60</sup> It is obvious that matters of general

<sup>58</sup>Donald McGavran, "Crisis of Identity for Some Missionary Societies," Christianity Today, XIV, 16 (1970), 10-14.

<sup>59</sup>In the ecumenical sphere a respected and perceptive missionary statesman was saying during this period: "We have to be ready to see the day of missions, as we have known them, as having already come to an end." Max Warren, "The Christian Mission and the Cross," Missions Under the Cross, ed. Norman Goodall (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1953), p. 40. The same thought was expressed a few years later by a political scientist of the University of Chicago: "Valuable though the missionary contribution to Africa has been, my own feeling is that the missionary effort is no longer appropriate to Africa. . . .they [the missionaries] must go." David Apter, "A Critique of Missions," a Seminar paper delivered at the Center for the study of the Christian World Mission, The Federated Theological Faculty, The University of Chicago, February 15-18, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>The term "field" has a two-fold usage. It sometimes refers in a general sense to the work of the Mission in Africa in contrast to its ministries in the homelands. It is also used in conjunction with the name of a particular country in which the Mission operates; e. g., the Kenya field. For a list of these countries together with the dates when they were entered see p. 35, fn. 68 of this study.

Mission policy relating to Mission/Church relationships had great implications for the Kenya field when they began to be applied there. Consideration must now be given, therefore, to the gradual evolution of this policy as it developed in the top Councils of the Mission.

On the agenda of the first meeting of the International Conference<sup>61</sup> of the Mission was the topic of the African Church. In a policy paper presented to this Conference the African Church, seen as "the edifice of which the whole missionary structure is but the scaffolding," was considered to be "well on the way to becoming fully indigenous."<sup>62</sup> Although the Church was making good progress, under the aegis of the Mission, toward "becoming a separate [sic] entity," according to Richardson, the missionaries would "still have their part to play shoulder to shoulder with the African brethren" in its government and propagation.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>This body, (hereinafter designated as the I.C.), was composed of representatives from Home and Field Councils (see p. 249, fn. 68 of this study for the composition/definition of these bodies) and was brought into being by the adoption of a new Mission constitution in 1955. Its purpose was "to provide close and effective cooperation and spiritual unity" between the various Councils of the Mission. It was responsible for "the formulation and co-ordination of general Mission policy and practice." Constitution of the Africa Inland Mission, Adopted June 1955 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: American Home Council, 1955), Article VII, pp. 9-11.

<sup>62</sup>Richardson, "The African Church," p. 12.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

The following year (1956) the Central Field Council<sup>64</sup> gave considerable attention to the African Church and in particular the missionary's relationship to it. This seems to be the first time an official policy was defined concerning Mission/Church relationships. Within this policy statement were several important concepts that opened the door for much debate as well as advance during the decade of the 60's.

#### Closing the Gap

Accepting the fact that the welfare of the Church should be considered the "paramount responsibility" of the Mission,<sup>65</sup> missionaries were ". . . expected to associate [themselves] as fully as possible with the functions of the African Church," without of course severing membership in their home churches.<sup>66</sup> While no mention was made at this time of joining the African Church, yet recognition was made of the need for a close working relationship between the missionary and the Church. It is interesting that the

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<sup>64</sup>In this period the Central Field Council (hereinafter designated as the C.F.C.) was "the co-ordinating authority for the work of the Mission" throughout its fields. Composed of representatives from all the fields, it had among its responsibilities the formulation of general field policies. Constitution of the Africa Inland Mission, op. cit., Article IX, pp. 16-19.

<sup>65</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, February 2-8, 1956, 5/56, a.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 5/56, d, (1).

issue was placed on the personal level at the beginning, for later the relationship of the Mission itself to the Church became the focus of attention and debate.

A second significant policy adopted at this meeting was the recognition that "African [Church] Leaders should be given the opportunity of having consultation with Mission authorities with regard to the appointment of missionaries" in Church-related assignments.<sup>67</sup> Until this time all missionaries were assigned by the Field Council,<sup>68</sup> even when those assignments involved a position with the Church in which the missionary in charge of a station had the right (not often exercised) to veto any decision of a Local Church Council.<sup>69</sup>

The following minute was passed to implement the above decision with reference to Church involvement in the assigning of missionaries:

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 5/56, d, (2).

<sup>68</sup>The missionaries in each country where the Mission works elect their representatives to the Field Council. This governing body, during the period under consideration, controlled all missionary personnel and work in its area in addition to being responsible for the supervision of all permanent buildings erected on Mission land. Constitution of the Africa Inland Mission, op. cit., Article X, pp. 19-20. The term "Home Council" refers to the "governing body of the Mission" in the various homelands, e. g., the U.S.A. and Great Britain. Ibid., Article VIII, pp. 11-16.

<sup>69</sup>Richardson, loc. cit. Each station had its own local Church, and to its governing Council the members elected their representatives. The missionary in charge of the station was officially not a member of either the Church or the Council but was an ex-officio member of the Council with the power of veto.

Where the African Church is sufficiently advanced, Field Councils should arrange for the establishment of committees of African Church Leaders which may be consulted in such matters.<sup>70</sup>

It needs to be recognized that by this time the Church had its own functioning Councils.<sup>71</sup> The purpose of this special committee was to serve as a liaison between the Mission Council and the corresponding Church Council. Both Church and Mission had developed along parallel lines, each having a top governing Council. This committee was designed to be the bridge between them. It was the thought of the Central Field Council that these Church committees would also be able to "consult with the Field Councils in other decisions concerning the relationship of missionaries to the African Church" [italics not in the original].<sup>72</sup> Lines of communication were being opened that proved vital in the negotiations of the coming years. The C.F.C. seemed to recognize, maybe almost intuitively, that it was treading on new ground and possibly opening up a Pandora's box and so closed this section of its minutes with the warning that "due caution must however, be exercised in all these matters."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, February 2-8, 1956, 5/56, d (3).

<sup>71</sup>See pp. 237-239 of this study for an account of the development and organization of the Church.

<sup>72</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, 5/56/,d, (4).

<sup>73</sup>It is interesting to note in retrospect how much faster things developed than this Council could have possibly envisaged, largely under the pressure of nationalism.



In this same meeting two other items of significance appeared. First, African Church leaders were "encouraged to visit the Councils and Conferences of other Fields for consultation and fellowship."<sup>74</sup> This suggestion found realization in a number of Inter-Field Church Leaders' Conferences that were held. Although there is no way to measure the effect on the Kenya Church of this interaction between Church leaders, some of them coming from areas where a nationalistic spirit was even stronger than in Kenya, it seems most likely that the incipient pressures toward complete autonomy were increased by such interchange.<sup>75</sup>

It should be remembered that at this time (1956) all Church properties were held by the Mission. It was a progressive step therefore when the following minute was passed:

When government regulations permit, responsible Church Councils should be encouraged to establish a Board of Trustees to care for African Church plots and other Church property and equipment.<sup>76</sup>

This meeting of the Council was historic in that steps were taken that set in motion the beginnings of a new relationship

<sup>74</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, 5/56/, g, (1).

<sup>75</sup>In a subsequent section of this Chapter (pp. 272-279) note will be taken of Mission/Church relationships in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) and the effect of these on the Mission and Church in Kenya.

<sup>76</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, 5/56, h, (1).

between Mission and Church.

### The Concept of Partnership

When the Mission's top body, the International Conference, met at Barrington, Rhode Island in September of 1956, it took special note of the C.F.C.'s minutes concerning the missionaries' relationship to the African Church.<sup>77</sup> It was the opinion of the I.C. that "the root of the problem is the partnership [italics not in the original] between the Africa Inland Mission and the Africa Inland Church."<sup>78</sup> The concept of partnership, introduced here for the first time, was to dominate Mission thinking and policy for the next ten years.<sup>79</sup> The I.C. then went on record expressing its confidence in the direction that the C.F.C. was moving "to preserve and strengthen the partnership with the African Church."<sup>80</sup>

The International Conference went on to break new ground in at least anticipating the logical and probably inevitable consequence of the decisions that had already been taken when it passed the following minute:

<sup>77</sup>See p. 248, fn. 66 of this dissertation .

<sup>78</sup>Minutes of the Second International Conference, Barrington, Rhode Island, September 10-14, 1956, XIII/56, 2.

<sup>79</sup>The term, however, was not a new one in mission circles. See Max Warren, Partnership: The Study of an Idea (London: SCM Press, 1956).

<sup>80</sup>Minutes of Second International Conference, loc. cit.

Although no action was taken in regard to the matter of African Church representation in the Conference, it was felt that we should bear in mind constantly the fact that the day is rapidly approaching when it may be necessary to consider this matter.<sup>81</sup>

### The Practice of Partnership

When the C.F.C. met in April of 1957, "considerable progress" could be reported concerning the consultation between Field Councils and African Church leaders.<sup>82</sup> The C.F.C. recommended that these consultations be increased, "both in frequency and types of decisions concerning which consultation is held."<sup>83</sup> The Council thus reaffirmed the broadened area in which Mission and Church should consult.

Meanwhile, however, the Church in certain areas was pressing for more than mere consultation. As early as 1949 the Kenya Field Council Minutes refer to African membership on the Field Council as "a matter which is raised repeatedly from one quarter or another."<sup>84</sup> A warning against rejecting this idea was expressed since this could lead to a separation between the Church and the Mission. An annual joint meeting of the Field Council with the Central Church Council was

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid. IV/56, 4; cf. suggestion of Henman four years later, p. 266, fn. 134 of this study.

<sup>82</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, April 9-13, 1957, 5/57, cf. p. 249, fn. 67 of this study.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Confidential Notes and Instructions on the Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, April 4-8, 1949, No. 11.

viewed by the Council as the best alternative.<sup>85</sup>

The Church in Tanzania, on the other hand, was approaching the matter of a closer relationship between Mission and Church from another angle. There the Church leaders were stating that the missionaries should become members of the African Church. The C.F.C. recognized this question as a "critical issue" and asked all Field Councils to "give immediate attention to the matter, with a view to establishing as uniform a policy as possible during the 1959 meetings of the C.F.C. and the International Conference."<sup>86</sup>In addition a memorandum was prepared delineating the nature of the problem and suggesting possible courses of action.<sup>87</sup> Dr. Ralph Davis, the Mission's General Director, saw in this issue more "than what might appear on the surface. They [the Africans] would want to discipline whites, know their incomes and receive their full tithe."<sup>88</sup> It is not surprising that Kenneth Downing, the General Field

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, April 20-25, 1958, 4/58a.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 4/58/, b.

<sup>88</sup>R. Davis to P. Henman, May 15, 1958. Henman, from whom more will be heard shortly, was a Britisher and Chairman of the International Conference. Though a layman, he exercised a great deal of influence within the Mission because of his honored position in both the business world and Christian organizations.

Secretary,<sup>89</sup> wrote at the end of 1958 that the relationship between Church and Mission "is one of the biggest items with which we are faced as a Mission. . . ."90

It was inevitable that in the 1959 C.F.C. meetings long consideration was given to this matter. Each of the Field Councils was asked "to study the matter of 'partnership' between the Mission and the Church, defining and elaborating on this term. . . ."91 A report was to be given at the next meeting of the C.F.C.

It will be noted that the Council began with the presupposition of partnership and was concerned only with its elaboration. Reference was made in the preceding chapter to the fact that the concept of "partnership" was dominant in the thinking of both Kenya's European community and the British government once serious consideration began to be given to independence for Kenya.<sup>92</sup> That it should emerge as the dominant note in Mission/Church relationships prior to the Church's receiving its "official" independence from the Mission is significant and seems to underline the

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<sup>89</sup>The General Field Secretary was the executive officer of the Central Field Council. Constitution of the Africa Inland Mission (1955), Article IX, pp. 16-17.

<sup>90</sup>Letter of K. Downing to R. Davis, November 19, 1958. He therefore called for a "comprehensive memo on the subject." Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, June 29 - July 1, 1959, 9/59.

<sup>92</sup>See pp. 222-223 of this study.

parallel between developments in the political and religious realms within a country.<sup>93</sup> Mindful of Barzun and Graff's caution with reference to establishing causal relationships in an historical context,<sup>94</sup> this researcher is inclined nevertheless to believe that such a relationship did exist in this situation. Further evidence of such a connection will be seen in an examination of Mission/Church relationships in Tanzania.<sup>95</sup>

At this same meeting the C.F.C. authorized each Field Council "to grant to the Church in its Field complete constitutional autonomy,"<sup>96</sup> at the same time seeking to ensure their adherence to the Mission's doctrinal basis.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup>See p. 206 of this dissertation.

<sup>94</sup>Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff, The Modern Researcher (rev. ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970), pp. 168-173.

<sup>95</sup>See pp. 272-279 of this study.

<sup>96</sup>For an interesting discussion on whether any Mission should ever presume to have the right to grant autonomy to its Church because of that Church's sole subjection to its Lord, see Peter Beyerhaus, "The Three Selves Formula: Is It Built on Biblical Foundations?" The International Review of Missions, October, 1964, pp. 393-407.

<sup>97</sup>C.F.C. Minute, 3/59. In 1954 it had been recommended by the Congo Field Council that "the doctrinal statement in the new Constitution of the Africa Inland Mission be recommended [italics in the original] to our native churches for adoption." Noted in the Minutes of the Inter-field Directorate (precursor of the C.F.C.), June 1-3, 1954, 2/54 b,b. The Mission had always considered the Church exempt from following its "faith basis" with reference to finance. See Richardson, "The African Church," p. 13. For the Mission's financial policy at this time see p. 165, fn. 24 of this study.

The Kenya Field Council accepted the C.F.C.'s decision as "a good guide" with reference to their own Church, stating that they had ". . . already put into operation some of the recommendations."<sup>98</sup>

#### The Concept of Dichotomy

A further significant decision made at this meeting underlined the developing policy of carefully maintaining two separate organizations, viz., the Mission and the Church. In response to the question previously raised, it was voted

that missionaries should not be considered members of the local church in their respective fields, except in the case of the Uganda Field.<sup>99</sup> But as members of the Church Corporate, which is Christ's Body, they are enjoined to enter faithfully into the fellowship of the local church.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, July 21-24, 1959, 15/7/59, b.

<sup>99</sup>The Uganda Field had been an exception to the rule in a number of instances. It may be pointed out that the whole of Uganda had originally been granted to the Church Missionary Society by the British Government as their sphere of labor. By 1918 however they had not been able to penetrate the area west of the Nile River because of the shortage of personnel. While aiding in famine relief work in the West Nile District during an enforced delay in that area, a party of A.I.M. missionaries saw the needs there. The Mission thereupon entered into an arrangement with the Church Missionary Society to assume responsibility for the evangelization of this area, agreeing to develop the work along Anglican lines. The Anglican missionaries who subsequently worked there were thus automatically members of the local Anglican church. See Kenneth Richardson, Garden of Miracles (London: Victory Press, 1968), pp. 188-189.

<sup>100</sup>Minutes of the C.F.C., June 24-27, 1959, 4/59.

Inherent in this Minute was a two-fold dichotomy that was to underlie much of the Mission's thinking and actions in the decade of the sixties. In the first place, a distinction was made between the "local church" and the "Church Corporate." These are sometimes differentiated in theological terms as the visible and invisible Church, the latter referring to ". . . the whole company of regenerate persons in all times and ages, in heaven and on earth."<sup>101</sup> The local church, theologically speaking, is the individual church in a given geographical location ". . . in which the universal church takes local and temporal form, and in which the idea of the church as a whole is concretely exhibited."<sup>102</sup>

The missionary was to recognize his joint membership with his African brethren in the Church Universal, but this spiritual reality was not to find a tangible expression through his membership in a local African congregation. The anomalous position of the missionaries, made official policy by this decision, is seen in the fact that for years they had been actively involved in all phases of the Church's life. They sat on all Church Councils and as late as 1955 the missionary Station Superintendent had the right to veto any decision of the Local Church Council.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>101</sup>Augustus Strong, Systematic Theology (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1907), p. 887.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 889 .

<sup>103</sup>See p. 249, fn. 69 of this dissertation.



they often administered the ordinances of baptism and holy Communion in a Church of which they were not officially allowed to be members.<sup>104</sup>

Related to this dichotomous concept of the Church, seen as both local and universal, was the second dichotomy that made a crucial and inexorable distinction between the Mission and the Church.<sup>105</sup> Not only was this expressed in the Mission's refusal to allow its missionaries to become members of the African Church as just noted, but it was further underlined in the refusal to open the door for African membership on the Mission's Council, as seen in the following minute:

That whereas the purpose has been clearly stated that the Church in Africa eventually be granted complete autonomy, which will result in the governing bodies of the Mission becoming concerned only with control of missionaries and work that is distinctly mission work, the Council considers it undesirable to amend the Constitution to make it possible to include representatives of the Church on Field Councils.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup>African reaction to this paradoxical situation will be noted in p. 292, fn. 30 of this study.

<sup>105</sup>Pierson makes the interesting observation that "theologically a mission is clearly an anomaly once a church has been formed." Paul Pierson, "A Younger Church in Search of Maturity: The History of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil from 1910 to 1959" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1971), p. 456.

<sup>106</sup>Minutes of the C.F.C., June 24-27, 1959, 5/59,b.

Cooperation through joint meetings between Mission Councils and "the senior councils of the Churches" was, on the other hand, encouraged so that consultation could be had "in all matters of mutual concern."<sup>107</sup> In a further step the door to integration on a lower administrative level was opened at this time. Authorization was granted to Mission committees whose functions related to Africans or the development of the Church to involve Church representatives in one or more of the following ways: their inclusion on Mission committees by appointment of either the Mission or the Church; joint meetings of Mission committees with corresponding committees of the Church; the creation of joint committees to which the Mission and the Church would both appoint members.<sup>108</sup> This was a most significant step, for it brought the Mission and Church together in a functional integration. Subsequent developments showed that it was not too great a step to a limited integration on a higher administrative level.

#### The Practice of Dichotomy

It should not be presumed, however, that the Mission was abandoning its dichotomous approach to Mission/Church

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<sup>107</sup>Ibid., 5/59, c.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., 6/59, a, b, c.

relationships.<sup>109</sup> The position taken in 1959 by the C.F.C.<sup>110</sup> was even more forcefully and explicitly delineated the following year (1960) in a memorandum prepared by the C.F.C.<sup>111</sup> Asserting in its introduction that "our attitude of mind and our approach to the problem are . . . more important than even immediate solutions," it affirmed "two basic principles":

1. The Mission is an organization. It is not "per se" a spiritual organism (though it should be a spiritual organization). It is an intermediate agency, not a final goal in itself.<sup>112</sup> The duration of its life does not depend on its inherent nature,

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<sup>109</sup>It may be pointed out that the A.I.M. was by this approach moving against the tide of ecumenical Missions' thinking which were by and large committed to an integration of Church and Mission. In 1952 the following statement was issued by representatives of the conciliar movement meeting in Willingen: "We are convinced that mission work should be done through the Church. We should cease to speak of missions and churches and avoid this dichotomy not only in our thinking but also in our actions [*italics not in the original*]." "A Statement By Delegates From the Younger Churches," Norman Goodall, ed. Missions Under the Cross (Edinburgh: Edinburgh House Press, 1953), p. 234.

The Presbyterian Church (USA) had as early as 1951 committed itself to the integration of Church and Mission. Pierson, "A Younger Church in Search of Maturity," *op. cit.*, p. 455.

<sup>110</sup>Subsequently endorsed by the International Conference, June 29-July 1, 1959, VII/59.

<sup>111</sup>Because of its significance in articulating the foundational thinking of the Mission in this crucial matter, this entire document on "The Relationship of the Mission and the Church" is found in Appendix E.

<sup>112</sup>It was seen that Richardson had earlier expressed this same thought in comparing the Mission with the temporary scaffolding of a building; see p. 247, fn. 62 of this dissertation.

but on the need for its services.

2. The African Church forms part of the Body of Christ which is a spiritual organism. It expresses itself through organized local churches. Called into being by God (Acts 15:14), the Church will cease from its earthly ministry only at the consummation of the age. . . .<sup>113</sup>

In the elaboration of these two principles the Church was presented as ". . . the firstborn of the Mission, the embodiment of the purpose of its existence."<sup>114</sup>

Emphasizing that the Church is African and not a foreign "transplant," it was affirmed, in a change of analogy, that "the missionaries were just the attendant midwives."<sup>115</sup>

The question of "integration" of Church and Mission was faced, a situation in which the Mission would lose its separate identity. The conclusion was reached that such a course of action would be possible only for a denominational mission, but in the case of the A.I.M. it would be inconsistent with the two basic principles indicated above.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, it was stated that a policy of integration, in which the missionary became a member of the African Church, would be inimical to the ultimate goal of the Mission;

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<sup>113</sup>"The Relationship of the Mission and the Church," Central Field Council, April, 1960.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

namely, the establishment of a truly indigenous church.<sup>117</sup>

The memorandum then dealt with spheres of responsibility, recognizing that there are some ". . . which are distinctly Church, and others which are distinctly Mission."<sup>118</sup> It was further recognized that there were matters of common interest where ". . . decisions should only be made after the fullest discussion with the other party in a spirit of mutual Christian confidence."<sup>119</sup>

Partnership was seen as a "midway point" in the development of the work, but one which would "doubtless . . . continue to represent the Mission-Church relationship in certain phases of the work for some time to come."<sup>120</sup> The document was a historic one, for it set the course of the Mission during its delicate and sometimes bitter negotiations with its Churches on several fields (including

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid. Such a goal was seen as having Scriptural validity and historical commendation. The memorandum closed with the reminder that indigenous churches were to be permanently planted rather than foreign missionaries permanently transplanted.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid. Among the "Mission responsibilities which it has no right to ask the Church to assume . . . [or which] in most cases would be too heavy for it at present" were: the professional side of medical work; the technical side of the Presses and building projects; schools for missionaries children; mission property; discipline of missionaries. Ibid.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid. Among these would be educational work; evangelism; Bible Schools and Colleges.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

Kenya) in the years that followed. The principles so strongly presented as absolutes were soon to be tested in Tanzania where the policy of Mission/Church dichotomy was strongly challenged.<sup>121</sup>

#### A Prophetic Voice

The Mission entered the 60's--the decade of independence for all of the countries in which it was working--on a positive note. Progress was reported on all fronts "with regard to relations between Church and Mission, and the growing autonomy of the African Churches."<sup>122</sup> All the Fields were urged "to expedite progress in this direction as rapidly as is practical."<sup>123</sup>

Into this almost euphoric atmosphere came a dissenting voice, like one crying in the wilderness, calling the Mission to a "repentance" of relationships. This voice from the British Isles sounded a message different from the pattern that had emerged from the Minutes of the Mission's top Councils. Speaking as Chairman of the International Conference, Philip Henman<sup>124</sup> struck a new note in his address to the American Home Council on Dec. 14, 1960. He began by

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<sup>121</sup>See p. 274 of this dissertation.

<sup>122</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, April 13-14, 1960, II, 3/60.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>See p. 254, fn. 88 of this dissertation.

referring to the tragic events of the Congo where "the Congolese people were not ready for independence, and the Belgians were not prepared to pay the price."<sup>125</sup> He then pointed out that in the same way the Mission seemed to lack policies that would prepare the way for the future,<sup>126</sup> a future where nationals in independent countries would demand "to be given the number one position and [would] expect the missionary to take the secondary place."<sup>127</sup> In view of the era of independence that was coming to Africa, Henman called for "basic readjustments" in Mission policy.<sup>128</sup>

In delineating the changes he recommended, Henman struck at the very heart of decisions that had been reached by the Field and Home leaders of the Mission. He called not for modification but reversal of basic policies.

In the first instance he stated unequivocally that "our missionaries must become members of the African Church."<sup>129</sup> Then referring to the policy of dichotomy that

<sup>125</sup>"Memorandum on Remarks Made by Mr. Henman," Minutes of the American Home Council, December 14, 1960.

<sup>126</sup>As an illustration he cited the demands of the Tanzania Church for complete autonomy that were presented to the 1959 C.F.C. meeting. Ibid.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid. Henman then added: "The Mission should become the handmaid of the Church."

<sup>128</sup>See pp. 243-245 of this study for a brief discussion of the pressure of nationalism on Missions.

<sup>129</sup>"Memorandum on Henman," loc. cit.; see p. 257 of this study for the Mission's contrary position on this question. Henman saw this move as a means to narrowing the wide gap that he sensed between Church and Mission.

would not permit the Mission to be integrated into the organizational structure of the African Church,<sup>130</sup> Henman observed that subsequent events had proved that "we cannot continue following such a policy."<sup>131</sup> Pointing out that there was no constitutional link between the Church and the Mission, he stated that "crossing [this] barrier that exists is fundamental if we are to continue in partnership with the church."<sup>132</sup> Henman therefore called for a meeting of the International Conference in 1961 that would amend the Mission's Constitution to permit these recommended changes. Specifically Henman urged a merging of the Mission's constitution with that of the Church, thus bringing Africans into the structure of the Mission.<sup>133</sup> He also called for African representation on Mission Councils at all levels, proposing also that "provision should possibly be made for Africans to be present in our International Conference."<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>Adopted by the C.F.C. in 1959; see p. 257 of this study.

<sup>131</sup>"Memorandum on Henman" loc. cit. Henman saw this policy as reflecting the desire of the Mission to continue to dominate in the thinking of certain Africans.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>"The missionary must become as a spouse to the church, serving under it." Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid. The matter of African Church representation at the International Conference was first considered in 1956. Minutes of the International Conference, September 10-14, 1956, IV/56, 4.



Seen against the backdrop of previous policy decisions, Henman's proposals were drastic and not radical. Present at this meeting, as members of the American Home Council, were some of the men who had been instrumental in setting the Mission's basic course in its relationship with the African Church. Confronted with a call to pursue a course diametrically opposed to the one being followed, the Council responded with surprising alacrity and acquiescence. Thus at the end of Henman's address, and as an evidence of his tremendous influence as a missionary statesman, resolutions were passed advocating practically everything that he had suggested--all with the purpose of establishing "a new and closer partnership between the Mission and the Church in Africa."<sup>135</sup>

#### Field Reaction

Response from Field leaders was both quick and clear. The American Home Council was faulted first on a procedural matter; namely, for adopting Henman's proposals without consultation with the Field.<sup>136</sup> In addition "strong

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<sup>135</sup>"Memorandum on Henman," loc. cit. The specific steps agreed to were: missionary membership in the African Church; a Conference in Africa with Church leaders to effect constitutionally "the closest possible partnership between Church and Mission"; the possible moving of the Office of the International Conference to Africa.

<sup>136</sup>Minutes of a Special Joint Meeting of the Kenya Field Council with members of the Congo Field Council, February 14, 1961, 1/2/61, d.

reservations" were quite naturally expressed concerning the proposals themselves, for very correctly they were viewed as being "contrary to those now in force."<sup>137</sup> All the Home Councils were therefore asked to study the Statement issued by the C.F.C. in April 1960 on "The Relationship of the Mission and the Church" in preparation for the forthcoming meetings of the C.F.C. and the I.C.<sup>138</sup>

#### Past Policies Reaffirmed

When the C.F.C. met in June 1961, it recognized "the basic principles laid down by the C.F.C. statement of 1960 to be still valid. . . ." <sup>139</sup> Varying situations in different countries were acknowledged, and each Field Council was given the liberty of working out the details of their individual agreements with the African Church within the limitations of the C.F.C. guidelines. All such agreements had to receive C.F.C. approval before becoming effective.<sup>140</sup> At this same meeting the C.F.C. recognized that "the development of the work and recent events in our fields"<sup>141</sup> made it necessary to define more specifically

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid. See Appendix E for a copy of this document.

<sup>139</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, June 2-6, 1961, II, 7/61.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.

<sup>141</sup>Reference is doubtless being made to the situation in Tanzania (see pp. 272-279 of this study) and the two evacuations of missionaries from the Congo that had already taken place.

"the relationship between Government, Church and Mission."<sup>142</sup> This was done in a new statement of policy, which although allegedly interacting with Home Council suggestions, largely just applied the principles of the 1960 document.<sup>143</sup> The basic assumption of the new document was the recognition of both the Church and the Mission as "fully autonomous bodies."<sup>144</sup> The responsibilities of each body were then outlined along with matters of mutual concern.

It was seen from the C.F.C. Minute previously cited<sup>145</sup> that the Mission recognized the missionaries' membership in only the "spiritual" (contrasted with the local) Church. Dr. Ralph Davis, the Mission's General Director at this time, underlined this concept in his statement that ". . . our [the Mission's] sole relationship of oneness with African believers is in our position in Christ and the body of Christ."<sup>146</sup> He then went on to describe the distinction between the Mission and the national Church as one of organization and organism

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<sup>142</sup>"A Guide to Field Councils in Defining the Relationship of Church and Mission," Appended to the Minutes of the Central Field Council, June 2-6, 1961.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid. This document appears in Appendix F of this dissertation.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>145</sup>See p. 257, fn. 100 of this dissertation.

<sup>146</sup>Letter of Ralph Davis to William Stier, July 11, 1961.

respectively, adding that "oil and water do not mix, though oil may ride on the surface of the water and both are liquids."<sup>147</sup> Stating in another letter that the Mission and the Church were "of varied make-up and cannot be mixed," Davis quite logically declared: "My own heart does not favour at all an integration of Mission and Church."<sup>148</sup>

Several days later Davis reiterated the fact that the difference between the two groups was inherent in their very natures and would therefore always need to be maintained:

I hope we can ever keep in our own thinking the fact that the Mission is an organization whereas the Church is part of an organism. How to get this across to the African leaders, especially in the face of tremendous pressures is another thing [italics not in the original].<sup>149</sup>

The distinction between the Mission and the Church was thus real, inherent, and permanent--or so it seemed at this juncture. In the thinking of the General Field Secretary<sup>150</sup> during this period "the big issue at stake [was] the method

<sup>147</sup>Ibid. It would be interesting to know in this analogy which group, if either, Davis envisaged by the symbol of oil.

<sup>148</sup>Letter of R. Davis to K. Richardson, October 2, 1961. The terms "integration," "fusion," and "parallel development" were to figure largely in discussions related to Mission/Church relationships during the decade of the sixties.

<sup>149</sup>Letter of Ralph Davis to Kenneth Richardson, October 5, 1961.

<sup>150</sup>See p. 255, fn. 89 of this dissertation.

by which the partnership of the Church and Mission [was] to be strengthened [*italics in the original*].<sup>151</sup>

The voice of Henman had been clearly heard but his message rejected.<sup>152</sup> Relationships were apparently so cordial that his proposals appeared unnecessarily radical. Only the Church situation in Tanzania appeared as a dark cloud on the Mission's horizon.<sup>153</sup> This was viewed, however, as an exception to the rule.<sup>154</sup> Because in reality it was just a precursor of things to come in Kenya, it must be briefly reviewed.

<sup>151</sup>Letter of Kenneth Downing to Ralph Davis, February 8, 1961.

<sup>152</sup>Henman clearly recognized the implications of the position adopted by Field leaders and cancelled the provisional arrangements for a 1961 meeting of the I.C. and became personally unavailable for a Field visit in 1961. Letter of Philip Henman to Ralph Davis and Kenneth Downing, February 17, 1961.

<sup>153</sup>Writing in retrospect, missionary Edward Arensen states that the Tanzanian Church was for a number of years viewed as the "black sheep" of the Mission family. Edward Arensen, "The Black Sheep," Inland Africa, LVI, 4(1970), 3.

<sup>154</sup>The Acting Field Secretary, after meeting with the Executive Committee of the Church in Kenya following a similar meeting in Tanzania reported ". . . an entirely different attitude." He further stated that "it is their [Kenya Church leaders] great desire to be an example of full cooperation between Church and Mission." Letter of K. Richardson to R. Davis, September 21, 1961. In a further letter Richardson suggested that the different attitude in Kenya was possibly an outcome of the Mau-Mau trouble in which the missionaries and Africans were bound together very closely, adding that in Kenya ". . . the Church Leaders do not seem to have the slightest desire to work independently of the Mission." Letter of K. Richardson to R. Davis, December 4, 1961.

Tanzania: Pattern of Things To Come

There are several other reasons for surveying briefly MISSION/Church relationships in Tanzania. As previously suggested, Tanzania provided the first "test case" of recently formulated policies. Secondly, besides actually presenting a blueprint of what was to follow in Kenya, it may be stated that developments there actually affected relationships between Church and Mission on other fields.<sup>155</sup>

"Africanization" Demanded

In a word, the situation in Tanzania revolved around the demand for "Africanization," the complete take-over by Africans of all departments of the Mission. Reference was made previously to the fact that Missions and Churches do not act in a political vacuum.<sup>156</sup> Sometimes like a thermometer they reflect the political and social climate, or to make the image more exact, like a barometer they reflect the surrounding "pressures." This was

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<sup>155</sup>This effect was anticipated by the Acting General Field Secretary when, commenting on the resolutions of the Tanzania Field Conference to hand over all departments of the Mission to the Church, he wrote: ". . . if the resolutions of the Tanganyika [the country's name at that time] Conference were followed, Congo would probably demand the same without delay, the hands of the leaders being forced. Kenya leaders would not demand it, . . . but pressure from below might be too much for them." Letter of K. Richardson to Members of the Central Field Council, November 30, 1961.

<sup>156</sup>See p. 198 of this dissertation.

certainly true in Tanzania. Following the granting of independence, the Government pursued a deliberate course of speedily replacing expatriate staff with Africans. Its effect on the thinking of the Church is seen in the following statement: "The policy of 'Africanization' is being so strenuously followed in government circles that the Church Leaders would insist on its being practiced in Mission circles also."<sup>157</sup>

It should be noted here that the Tanzania Church leaders were not concerned only or even primarily with obtaining the autonomy of their own Church. This they felt had already been obtained, as delineated in their own statement regarding the evolutionary development of the Church's autonomy:

. . . responsible administration was given to the Africans on Jan. 22nd, 1938 by a decision of the Field Council alone, no Africans being present. . . They had self-rule but under the authority of the A.I.M. The Africans did not have authority even though they had their constitution which was made for them, still they were ruled by the A.I.M. of Tanganyika. . . . The Church of A.I.C. in Tanganyika was given complete autonomy, not just responsible self-rule, but absolute independence (uhuru ng'hana) on Feb. 12, 1960 by consent of the Field Council and Synod of Tanganyika. . . . The missionaries of the Field Council in Tanganyika agreed that the Church of A.I.C. Tanganyika rule itself absolutely, not to be subordinated again,

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<sup>157</sup>Richardson to Members of the C.F.C., loc. cit.

in any way whatsoever.<sup>158</sup>

Rather than seeking an autonomy already considered theirs, the Church leaders were involved in taking over all the "Church work," a term that conveyed to them a far greater scope of activity than it did to Mission leaders. To the Church it comprised "all the activities of the Mission."<sup>159</sup> To "Africanize" in this frame of reference meant, therefore, the virtual dissolution of the Mission as a corporate entity.<sup>160</sup>

The Field Director in Tanzania realized the implication of the Church's desire "to take over the administration of all Mission work" by recognizing that the issue could not be settled on the Field Council level but would "require a change in the Constitution of the mission."<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup>Minutes of the Synod of the Africa Inland Church, Tanganyika, February, 1961. Richardson was thus correct in his assertion that "the Leaders of the A.I.C. [Africa Inland Church] Tanganyika feel, and do not hesitate to say so publicly, that they . . . were given their autonomy before any others." Richardson to Members of the C.F.C., Ibid.

<sup>159</sup>Richardson to C.F.C., Ibid.

<sup>160</sup>During this period when the Mission was facing these demands of the Church and was in large measure ready to acquiesce to them, the Tanzania missionaries went on record, however, to retain their identity as a Mission body. Minutes of the Tanganyika Field Conference, June 8-15, 1961, 9/AC/61.

<sup>161</sup>Letter of William Stier to Ralph Davis, January 13, 1961.



### The Mission Agrees

By June of 1961 the Annual Conference of the Tanzania Field had agreed to turn over to the national Church the administration of the Education, Medical, Literature, and Evangelistic Departments of the Mission.<sup>162</sup> After approval of this decision by the C.F.C., the Field Council agreed to an immediate transfer to the Church of the Evangelism and Education Departments and the promised transfer of the remaining two departments by April, 1963.<sup>163</sup>

### A New Philosophy

According to the General Field Secretary, the actions of the Tanzania Field indicated a philosophy different from that of the missionaries in Kenya, where the missionaries believed that "they should work with [italics in the original] the Africans as long as possible in those areas which are not church affairs in the strictest sense of the word."<sup>164</sup> The missionaries in Tanzania, on the other hand, believed that "the Church should administer all departments (except those exclusively Mission) as soon as

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<sup>162</sup>Minutes of the Tanganyika Field Conference, op. cit., 11/AC/61.

<sup>163</sup>Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Central Field Council, Dec. 17-21, 1963, 3A. Certain reservations were included (e.g., the Mission Guest House, the School for Missionaries' Children) which were not accepted by the Church.

<sup>164</sup>Richardson to C.F.C., loc. cit.

they can."<sup>165</sup>

### Deadlock

In the working out of an agreement between the Mission and the Church, the Executive Committee of the Church introduced an Application Form which had to be filled in by all missionaries wishing to work in a Department under the administration of the Church.<sup>166</sup> The Church leaders indicated that its purpose was for information only. It proved unacceptable, however, to the various Councils of the Mission.<sup>167</sup> A stalemate in negotiations ensued, and the Executive Committee of the C.F.C. was called to meet at Mwanza, Tanzania in December of 1963 to mediate between Church and Mission leaders.

In meeting with the Field Council and other missionaries it became apparent that the missionaries themselves were very divided over the question of the relationship of the Mission to the Church. Some felt that the Mission was proceeding too slowly in meeting the

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<sup>165</sup>Ibid.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid.

<sup>167</sup>The Executive Committee of the Central Field Council felt that the basic purpose was the desire of the Church for authority over the missionaries. Minutes of the Executive Committee, op. cit., 3, C.

demands of the Church.<sup>168</sup> The Executive Committee of the C.F.C. met also with the Executive Committee of the Church. After listening to both Mission and Church leaders present their case, a number of recommendations were made jointly to both groups by the C.F.C. in order to end the deadlock.<sup>169</sup>

Primary among these recommendations was the establishment of a "Joint Committee of the Field Council and the Executive Committee of the A.I.C. to deal with all matters that jointly affect the Mission and the Church."<sup>170</sup> This Committee was to be responsible for the assignment of missionaries as well as their approval for furlough and return to the field. Any complaints against missionaries by the Church would be adjudicated by it. All missionaries assigned to work under the Church (and this included virtually every position) were to accept its Constitution

<sup>168</sup>These were doubtless aware that two years previously there was the danger of a complete break between the A.I.M. and the A.I.C. It was known at that time that the Church leaders had considered affiliation with another Mission, and feelers had gone out to this end. Richardson to C.F.C., loc. cit. According to the same letter the Tanganyika Field Council considered the A.I.M. to be "following a policy of its own which [was] out of step with all other Missions in Tanganyika and in Africa, which have integrated Church and Mission."

<sup>169</sup>Recognition was made of "mistakes on both sides," but it was pointed out that the "major failure [was] one of liaison or fellowship between the Church and the Mission, both in direct communication and organization." Minutes of the Executive Committee, op. cit., 4.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid., 4/1.)

and Rules and work loyally under its officers. At this meeting the Executive Committee of the C.F.C. approved the transfer of the two remaining departments to the Church.<sup>171</sup> Finally, it requested the withdrawal of the Application Form being required by the Church because it infringed on the autonomy of the Mission.<sup>172</sup>

The philosophy of the A.I.M. was reflected in the Committee's statement that

while maintaining its autonomy, the A.I.M. desires whole heartedly to work with the A.I.C. in the closest harmony, not setting itself up as an alternative head, or interfering in the legitimate authority of the Africa Inland Church.<sup>173</sup>

In spite of past bitterness between Church and Mission,<sup>174</sup> the sessions were characterized by ". . . a

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., 4/9. See p. 275, fn. 163 of this study.

<sup>172</sup>The Mission considered itself the responsible body for the missionaries before both the Home and African Governments as well as the home constituency of the missionaries. Ibid., 4/8.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid.

<sup>174</sup>Interestingly enough, there was only conflict on an official level; i.e., between the Mission Field Council and the Executive Committee of the Church. In November of 1961 the Mission's Acting General Field Secretary wrote as follows: "Outside of that area [the official level], all the people, including the Leaders, are very friendly and cooperative, and as a visitor I was greatly impressed with their cordiality. Whether among schoolboys, teachers, or others there was not the least evidence of anything but the utmost friendliness. I was assured that this is true everywhere in the field." Letter of Acting General Field Secretary to Members of the Central Field Council, November 30, 1961. Near the time of the special C.F.C. Executive Committee meeting just described the Field Director characterized the relationship with the

very evident spirit of moderation and désire for Christian fellowship . . ." and concluded with ". . . all standing and expressing their fellowship by shaking hands and singing the Doxology together."<sup>175</sup>

In the end the Mission, while retaining its legal identity, conceded a great deal to the demands of the African Church.<sup>176</sup> The Mission came increasingly to see its role as a service agency to the Church.<sup>177</sup> Having turned over all departments of the Mission to the Church, the Tanzania Field Secretary<sup>178</sup> stated the Mission's new purpose in these words:

It is now the goal of the A.I.M. to assist the Africa Inland Church in administering these departments in such a way that the National Church will be able to handle them without the assistance of the foreign missionary.<sup>179</sup>

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with the Church on the official level as "deteriorating." Confidential letter of William Stier to all missionaries, October 22, 1963.

<sup>175</sup>Minutes of the Executive Committee, op. cit., 3,G.

<sup>176</sup>The necessity for a missionary to make application to the Church as well as to the Mission for service in Tanzania, so strenuously contested, was finally accepted.

<sup>177</sup>The Mission first presented this concept in a statement issued in response to the Synod Minutes of the Church (see p. 274, fn. 158 of this study): "We shall maintain a service-mission relationship to A.I.C." Statement of the Tanganyika Field Council, February, 1962, Appendix, No.1,a.

<sup>178</sup>This title replaced the former title of "Field Director" in order to minimize the authoritative image of the Mission in the post-independence era.

<sup>179</sup>Letter of Paul Beverly to John Gration, December 2, 1970.

### Significance for Kenya

The encounter of Mission and Church in Tanzania, which was at times a bitter one, has been examined in considerable detail because of its significance for a similar encounter that was to be repeated with modifications in Kenya. It must be remembered that the confrontation in Tanzania involved both Mission and Church leaders from Kenya as these were called on for counsel and at times direct negotiation with the Tanzania Church leaders. Thus during this period Mission policy, which had been articulated theoretically with almost an air of doctrinaire dogmatism by the Mission's top Councils, experienced its first encounter with the nationalistic aspirations of the Church. In the process Mission philosophies and opinions, though sometimes shaken, often became solidified. Rather than seeing a repetition of the Tanzania situation on other fields as inevitable, it was easy to view the problems there as unique and a similar outcome as avoidable.

Given the assumed different attitude on the part of Kenya Church leaders,<sup>180</sup> it can be seen how Mission leaders in Kenya could face their encounter with the Church there still convinced of the validity of the Mission's original policies. This encounter will now be examined in Chapter 7,

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<sup>180</sup>See p. 271, fn. 154 of this dissertation.

taking special note of how the lessons of history learned by the Mission in Tanzania were applied to the Kenya situation. When these were ignored, it will be seen that the Mission was doomed to repeat the course.

## CHAPTER 7

### THE CHURCH'S QUEST FOR SUPREMACY

#### Introduction

Into the latter part of the sixties the A.I.M. in Kenya followed the policies that had been formulated by the Mission's top Councils.<sup>1</sup> Partnership continued to be the watchword. The ultimate failure of such a course in Tanzania, resulting in its final abandonment,<sup>2</sup> did not deter Kenya's Mission leaders from believing that it could be achieved in their context. They were encouraged to believe that they were right in pursuing the course of partnership by the Church's initial acquiescence to Mission policies and its willingness to sign an Agreement that was based on dichotomous concepts. Gradually, however, the continuation of the Mission and the Church as two parallel organizations was rejected. The Church demanded a merger of the two. Mission resistance stiffened, and tensions heightened. Ultimately the Mission capitulated to most of the Church's demands. This existential euthanasia of the Mission, carried out gradually but not without pain, and the resultant emergence of a dominant Church form the subject

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 245-264 of this dissertation.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 279 of this study.



of this chapter.

Agreement on an "Agreement"

When the Kenya missionaries met for their Annual Conference in December of 1960, they were very much aware of the importance of their relationship with the African Church. The questions involved in this relationship, which they had discussed at the previous Conference, were, however, still largely unanswered.<sup>3</sup> Rather than continuing to grapple with them they simply recorded the missionaries' need to realize their "spiritual unity with the African Church" and the necessity of cooperation with it.<sup>4</sup> In what was an understandable understatement they recognized that "with the coming of self-government in Kenya, some changes will undoubtedly need to be made in the Mission organization."<sup>5</sup>

Observing the hasty evacuation of A.I.M. missionaries from the Congo in early 1961, Kenya's Field Director urged upon both Mission and Church leaders the

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<sup>3</sup>E.g., Can missionaries be members of the African Church, and should they be? Can there be A.I.C. membership in the Field Council? Can there be membership in A.I.C. Councils by non-A.I.C. members? Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, March 6-13, 1959, 17/59.

<sup>4</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 30, 1960-January 6, 1961, 7/61.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

need for drawing up an Agreement between the two bodies on "future working methods."<sup>6</sup> Two months later representatives from the Mission and the Church met in Nairobi to begin negotiations on such an Agreement. This Agreement, it was felt, would obviate difficulties in an emergency, forestall much unnecessary criticism of the A.I.M., and "might well point the way for others."<sup>7</sup>

The suggested Agreement was drawn up by the Field Director after his study of the situations in Congo and Tanzania.<sup>8</sup> In what was to appear later as a deceptively auspicious beginning, the whole Agreement was termed "very acceptable" and was therefore approved in principle. The next step was its presentation to the various Church Councils.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting of A.I.M. Kenya Field Council and A.I.C. Advisory Committee (hereafter designated Joint Meeting), July 18, 1961, J-14/7/61.

<sup>7</sup>Minutes of a Special Joint Meeting, September 15, 1961, J-1/9/61.

<sup>8</sup>For a survey of the situation in Tanzania, see pp. 272-279 of this dissertation.

<sup>9</sup>Minutes of a Special Joint Meeting, September 15, 1961, loc. cit. No mention was made of its presentation to the entire missionary body, though in the future the Annual Conference was assured that no Agreement would be signed without its being referred to the Conference. Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meeting, December 30, 1966-January 4, 1967, 17/67.

### Terms of the Agreement

The Agreement itself epitomized the Mission's basic philosophy and modus operandi as elucidated in the Central Field Council's Memorandum on "The Relationship of the Mission and the Church."<sup>10</sup> Its basic premise was the necessary and inherent dichotomy of the two organizations, which

. . . while working together in the closest Christian unity do recognize each other as fully autonomous organizations, each governing itself and its work within the framework of its own Constitution and each being responsible for the acceptance, assignment, conduct, and financial support of its workers.<sup>11</sup>

The Agreement then defined the spheres of responsibility that were uniquely the Church's and those that belonged to the Mission, in addition to those areas of joint responsibility.<sup>12</sup> Even in presenting the Agreement to the Church leaders, the "practice of partnership"<sup>13</sup> was

<sup>10</sup>See Appendix E.

<sup>11</sup>"Agreement Between the Africa Inland Mission and the Africa Inland Church in Kenya," 21st August, 1961, pp. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup>Technical Departments, such as medical, literature, radio, and industrial were to remain the joint responsibility of Mission and Church, as would Bible and Theological Schools. Ibid., pp. 2-4.

<sup>13</sup>See pp. 253-257 of this study.

emphasized by the Mission as the apparent "right lines" along which to work.<sup>14</sup>

Meeting in November of 1961 the full Field Council of the Mission recommended to the Annual Conference the approval of the Agreement, and this approval was given.<sup>15</sup> During 1962 the Agreement was studied by the various Church Councils, and when the missionaries again assembled for their Conference at the end of the year, they were informed that all the Church Councils had accepted the Agreement and that it would be formally signed by Mission and Church leaders in March of 1963.<sup>16</sup> An almost euphoric atmosphere seemed to pervade Mission/Church relationships during 1962. In minutes of a Joint meeting of Mission and Church leaders in July it was recorded that the Field Council took pleasure

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<sup>14</sup>E.g., joint meetings, joint committees, and certain missionaries participating in Church Councils. Minutes of a Special Joint Meeting, September 15, 1961, loc. cit. At this point, however, there were no African representatives present at Field Council meetings, a point that was not lost on Church leaders.

<sup>15</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 29, 1961-January 5, 1962, 6/62; cf. Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 27-30, 1961, 10/11/61, c.

<sup>16</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 29, 1962-January 3, 1963, 4/63, e. See also Minutes of the Central Church Council, October 25-26, 1962, 20/10/62m and May 9-10, 1963, 2/5/63, S. At this same Conference the missionaries gave thought to combining their Annual Field Conference and the Annual Church Conference to which the Mission was invited to send delegates. (Ibid. 21/63, d) This possibility never materialized, however, though a Church leader on occasion was invited to address the Field Conference.

in sharing with the Church leaders the following statement of the International Conference:

We rejoice in this oneness of the Church of Jesus Christ. . . .We in love salute our brethren in the Africa Inland Church, praying for them that . . . the unity of our fellowship may be of mutual encouragement in the days to come.<sup>17</sup>

In November the Field Council recorded its "praise and thanksgiving to the Lord for the real spirit of unity and fellowship that exists between the A.I.M. and the A.I.C. at all levels in Kenya," particularly in the meetings of the top Council of each group.<sup>18</sup>

The Agreement was signed on March 26, 1963 by five Mission leaders and five corresponding Church leaders.<sup>19</sup> Three copies were deposited in a Nairobi bank for safe-keeping, but as would soon be evident, it would take more than a bank to keep the Agreement inviolate. At this same meeting the Church's General Secretary, Rev. Samuel Kioko, requested that all records of the Church, formerly kept by the Mission, be now kept in the Church's new Central Office.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 17, 1962, J-12/7/62.

<sup>18</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 26-29, 1962, 24/11/62.

<sup>19</sup>Minute of a Joint Committee, March 3, 1963, J-2/3/63, g.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., J-10/3/63. Earlier in the year missionaries had been requested to contribute needed equipment to this new office in Nairobi, Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, January 1-3, 1963, 13/1/63.

Even as Kenya itself was during this period finding its identity as an independent nation, so the Church was going through the same process, or possibly more correctly, it was beginning to assert the autonomy it already technically possessed.

In his report to the Central Field Council for 1963 the Kenya Field Director referred to the signing of the Agreement and to the "very good" relations between the Church and the Mission.<sup>21</sup> In a passing remark he noted that "politics, no doubt, have had their effects on the Church . . . ." <sup>22</sup> The extent of this effect was hard to measure and would continue to be so,<sup>23</sup> but there seems to be evidence of it in the new demands that the Church was soon to make on the Mission.

#### The Agreement Rejected

##### Weakness of Dichotomy

Within three months of the rejoicing of the Field Conference over the signing of the Agreement,<sup>24</sup> the Church's General Secretary was urging a closer working relationship

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<sup>21</sup>Erik Barnett, Report to Central Field Council, June 7-11, 1963, I, C.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>See p. 256, fn. 94 of this study for the difficulty of establishing a causal relationship in an historical context.

<sup>24</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 30, 1963-January 5, 1964, 6/64, c.

between Church and Mission. He referred to the tendency of each group ". . . to say of the other that such and such work is the other's responsibility and so tend to stand by."<sup>25</sup> The comment was obviously a pointed reference to a functional weakness of the Agreement that so clearly delineated spheres of responsibility for Mission and Church. Though possibly not recognized as such at the time, this statement was a harbinger of further criticism.

Sensitivity to anything suggesting foreign domination was very keen during this period. An announcement over the Government radio station suggesting the desirability of the Churches of East Africa being independent of foreign control elicited the immediate suggestion that a tractate be produced "setting forth the fact of the autonomous position of the Africa Inland Church."<sup>26</sup> It was imperative for both Church and Mission, albeit for different reasons, to establish the Church's autonomy.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 30, 1964, J-12/3/64.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., J-11/3/64. This response indicates the sensitivity of both Mission and Church to even the suggestions of the newly independent Government of Kenya; cf. pp. 241-245 of this dissertation.

<sup>27</sup>Though hastily affirmed at this moment, the fact was apparently not universally recognized as official. Seven years later the Field Council appointed a special day when ". . . the autonomy of the Church will be officially declared." Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, July 22-23, 1971, 3/7/71A.

### Autonomy and Control

The haunting question in this period was whether the Church could claim complete autonomy and concomitantly, control of its own affairs, as long as it was joined in tandem to a Mission which likewise enjoyed absolute autonomy. Though apparently presenting no problem to the Mission, this question seemed to loom increasingly large in the thinking of the Church. In a word, their own autonomy was circumscribed by the autonomy they granted to the Mission in the Agreement signed on March 8, 1963, or so they apparently reasoned.

### Merger Suggested

The first veiled indication of this uneasiness on the part of the Church is found in a confidential minute of the Field Council Executive Committee headed "Church/Mission Relationships." It referred to "some items raised by the Central Regional Church Council" that would most likely be discussed at the next meeting of the Central Church Council.<sup>28</sup> When the Field Council met with the Church's Advisory Committee in December, those present heard explicitly what the Church Council had in mind. It was nothing less than the suggestion that the A.I.M. ". . . be

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<sup>28</sup>Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Field Council, September 30, 1964, E-8/9/64.



joined into one organization with the A.I.C."<sup>29</sup> By suggesting this merger of the two bodies the Church was repudiating the very essence of their Agreement with the Mission. They were rejecting the basic concept of a partnership between two autonomous organizations. They were calling for the dissolution of the Mission as a separate entity. This was the formal beginning of the Church's quest for supremacy.

Tantalizing questions come to mind as the Church is seen beginning the pursuit of its holy grail. Was the Church's desire for merger present when the Agreement was signed in March of 1963; and if so, was the Agreement in the thinking of the Church a mere steppingstone to total autonomy and supremacy? To what degree was there Mission "pressure," albeit even unconscious, in the signing of the Agreement? Probably no definitive answer can be given to these intriguing questions and others that could be asked.

#### The Church's Alternatives

It is obvious that the Church leaders did not expect from the Mission an immediate acquiescence to this suggested merger, for they came prepared with several alternatives. In effect these called for an experiential, working merger instead of a formal fusion of the two organizations. The

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<sup>29</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, December 1, 1964, J-10/12/64.

Church sought to accomplish this by proposing missionary membership in the African Church<sup>30</sup> and "A.I.C. participation on all Mission departments and committees."<sup>31</sup> The practical effect of such steps would be to destroy the uniqueness of the Mission as a body distinct and separate from the Church. In essence the Church was destined to obtain its ultimate goal by either route. The latter would be somewhat more indirect and gradual, but the ultimate result would be the same. It may well be that for the Church these alternative suggestions were but a half-way house on the path to their ultimate goal of complete merger.

#### The Mission's Response

The Mission responded to this clear confrontation of its basic policy by reviewing its nature and by pointing out that ". . . it would be impossible for the A.I.M. to both disappear into the A.I.C. in Kenya and still continue to exist in the sending countries."<sup>32</sup>

The attitude of the Church in making these suggestions ought in passing to be noted. The Church leaders affirmed that they did not want to bring trouble to the

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<sup>30</sup>See pp. 257-259, 265 of this study.

<sup>31</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, loc. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. Such a combination of events may have seemed logically or practicably impossible at the time, but subsequent developments in Zaire have shown that it can be done. There the A.I.M. has ceased to exist legally by becoming a part of the African Church. There is no question of its continued existence, however, in the sending countries. This objection was thus more apparent than real.

missionaries nor to break the fellowship that existed between the Mission and the Church. In their words, they wanted "only peace and continued helpfulness."<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, there was an apparent dissatisfaction with the measure of experiential closeness existing in the Church's working relationship with the Mission. The Church thus affirmed its desire for a closer cooperation "... between the two organizations on every level of their contacts, especially in the departments, committees and stations."<sup>34</sup>

It is apparent that from the viewpoint of the Church the concept of partnership as outlined in the Agreement left too many areas that were mutually exclusive. It will be remembered that the Church's General Secretary had suggested this problem earlier in the year.<sup>35</sup> These proposals of the Church in 1964 reflected exactly what Henman, as Chairman of the Mission's top Council, had presented as imperatives in 1960.<sup>36</sup> It was seen that Henman's counsel was at that time unheeded if not categorically rejected. The voice of the Church, speaking collectively for over 100,000 members, could not be so easily dismissed. Under the significant

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>See p. 289, fn. 25 of this dissertation.

<sup>36</sup>See pp. 265-266 of this study. Not without reason, therefore, did this writer refer to him as the Mission's "prophetic voice."

heading, "Closer Union or Partnership of A.I.M. with A.I.C." the Mission's Council passed a minute agreeing to discuss the matter in January, 1965.<sup>37</sup>

When all the missionaries gathered for their Annual Conference a month later, they were informed that "the changes leading to the Kenya Republic have possibly caused sections of [the] Agreement [of March 1963] to be in need of revision."<sup>38</sup> The political pressures involved in causing a changed attitude on the part of the Church were not spelled out, but the presence of them was recognized. The dynamic of nationalism was indeed being felt and was itself a vital factor in shaping the relationship of the Mission to the Church.<sup>39</sup>

In the light of the Central Church Council's proposals,<sup>40</sup> the revision of certain sections of the Agreement was more than a possibility. It was a necessity, as subsequent events showed. As a matter of fact, it can be questioned if the term revision is strong enough. During his report on the situation the Field Director referred to

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<sup>37</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 30-December 3, 1964, 18/12/64, 2. That the term "partnership" continued to persist not only in the minutes but in the thinking of the Mission is obvious from this representative reference to it.

<sup>38</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 28, 1964-January 3, 1965, 11/65.

<sup>39</sup>See pp. 226-227 of this dissertation.

<sup>40</sup>See pp. 290-291 of this study.

the ". . . evidence of the [Church's] desire for even closer relationship and participation between the Church and the Mission."<sup>41</sup> It would appear that the relationship sought by the Church was even closer than the Mission was at this time prepared to accept. Finally, it was stated that the matter of missionary membership in the Church was being investigated.<sup>42</sup> Thus just a year after rejoicing over the acceptance of the Agreement, the missionary body found itself facing the need of a revised version at the least. At the most they faced the actual dissolution of their organization.

#### Revised Agreement

In March of 1965 a meeting of Church and Mission leaders approved amendments to the 1963 Agreement, and the revised document was presented to the full Central Church Council.<sup>43</sup> Before any reaction could be received from this body, the A.I.C.'s President, Mr. Andrew Gichuha, expressed in a meeting of Church and Mission leaders his regret at

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<sup>41</sup>Field Conference Minutes, loc. cit. The Conference responded by passing a resolution assuring the Church of the Mission's "earnest desire" to have ". . . an even closer fellowship with them in every aspect of the work of the Lord here in Kenya." Ibid., 20/65.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Minutes of A.I.M. Field Council and A.I.C. Advisory Committee, March 30, 1965, J-3/4/65. The Central Church Council agreed to discuss the Agreement in the District Councils.

the slowness of the Church's receiving more responsibility from the Mission. He also appealed for "continued unity between the Church and Mission."<sup>44</sup> Four months later in a similar gathering Gichuha appealed for the Mission's increased cooperation (both officially and by individual missionaries) with the Church in carrying out its plans and work.<sup>45</sup> At the same meeting the Church's General Secretary referred to the "lack of good health" of the Church and called on the Mission for increased help in training Church people who were not yet able to assume their full responsibilities. Reiterating a previous pronouncement,<sup>46</sup> he affirmed that "missionaries cannot drop their church work and stand aside, saying that the Church is independent and able to direct its own affairs."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 20, 1965, J-3/7/65.

<sup>45</sup>"When the A.I.C. cries to the Mission for help, then the Mission should ask why this is so and see what can be done to help." Minutes of a Joint Meeting, November 30, 1965, J-3/11/65. It should be noted that at this juncture the Field Council was now termed a Committee. At the same time the title of Field Director was changed to Field Secretary. The purpose of these changes was to lower the profile of the Mission and its authoritative image. See Minutes of the Central Field Council, June 23-27, 1965, 35/65. This change of nomenclature was not a meaningless gesture, for the Church's General Secretary in a subsequent report referred to these changes as evidencing a noticeable "spirit of humility" in the A.I.M. Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 19-20, 1966, J-5/7/66.

<sup>46</sup>See p. 289, fn. 25 of this study.

<sup>47</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, op. cit., J-4/11/65a.

It is thus clear that although negotiations were being carried on that would grant the Church more control, the leaders of the Church desired the practical help and fellowship of the missionaries. The Mission's Field Secretary responded to this plea with the assurance that the Mission was trying to help the Church ". . . in every way possible rather than withdraw and watch it get into trouble."<sup>48</sup> He then expressed a desire to counsel missionaries who were failing to help the Church. Beyond this, the Church itself was requested to ". . . help in counselling any missionary who seems to be doing wrongly."<sup>49</sup>

By the time the missionaries met for their Field Conference in December of 1965 no report had been received from the Church concerning the revised Agreement.<sup>50</sup>

#### Joint Staffing Board

One significant change in the Agreement involved the creation of a joint board composed of executive members of the Mission and Church's top Councils to deal with the assignment of missionaries as well as "other relevant matters."<sup>51</sup> This was a distinct forward step in giving the

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., J-4/11/65e.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 29, 1965-January 1, 1966, 6/66b.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

Church greater control over the missionaries, and in turn the Mission.

Withdrawal from the C.C.K.

Although no action was taken directly with reference to the Church at this Conference, a decision was made that proved to be an abrasive if not explosive issue in Church/Mission relationships. Largely because of its ecumenical connections the Conference voted to withdraw the Mission's membership in the Christian Council of Kenya (C.C.K.)<sup>52</sup> and to sever all connections with it. It was hoped that this withdrawal could be effected in unison with the Africa Inland Church.<sup>53</sup>

The Conference apparently assumed that the Church would want to withdraw also, for it prefaced its minute with these words:

The A.I.C. has stated that it feels that the A.I.M. is more informed than itself in these [C.C.K.] matters and therefore it expects the A.I.M. to take the initiative if anything needs to be done.

It should be noted that just the previous month both the Mission and the Church had agreed that their relationship

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<sup>52</sup>For the historical background of this Council and A.I.M.'s participation in it from its formation (and in the Kenya Missionary Council that preceded it) see M. G. Capon, Toward Unity in Kenya: The Story of Cooperation between Missions and Churches in Kenya 1913-1947 (Nairobi, Kenya: Christian Council of Kenya, 1962).

<sup>53</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, op. cit. 17/66.



to the C.C.K. needed to be examined ". . . in the light of recent trends of that Council and people associated with it."<sup>54</sup>

It is obvious from the subsequent reaction of the Church that the Mission had greatly misread the Church's mind. The problem was compounded by the fact that the Church leaders heard indirectly of the Mission's decision to withdraw before the Mission's Committee had had opportunity to discuss it with them.<sup>55</sup> Thus, while on the one hand the Conference assured the Church of its "sincere desire" for the continual increase of "unity and cooperation" between the two bodies,<sup>56</sup> it also appeared to be acting unilaterally in what seemed to the Church a precipitous action.

When Church and Mission leaders met together in March to discuss the question, it was clear that the

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<sup>54</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, November 30, 1965, J-11/11/65. A Committee of missionaries and Africans was appointed to consider the matter and to report to the next meeting.

<sup>55</sup>The Church leaders actually learned of the Mission's decision to withdraw from the C.C.K. through a letter from England that had been brought to their attention by C.C.K. leaders. Seeing the action of their parent body in printed form in the hands of officials of the C.C.K. before they had even heard of it proved understandably embarrassing to the A.I.C. leadership. For a review of this situation see letter of Edward Arensen, (Deputy Field Secretary) to "Fellow Missionaries," December 2, 1966.

<sup>56</sup>Field Conference Minutes, op. cit., 19/66g.

Church did not understand the reason for the Mission's decision. They did not recognize the dangers seen by the Mission in remaining in the C.C.K., and they affirmed the Church's desire to continue its membership.<sup>57</sup> The Mission's Field Committee, meeting simultaneously with the Joint Committee, sought to delay implementing the Conference decision, realizing its implications for Church/Mission relationships.<sup>58</sup>

Church and Mission leaders next met together in July, and during these meetings the autonomy of both groups was recognized, but the Church leaders stressed the importance of working together. Referring to the Mission's precipitous decision to withdraw from the C.C.K., the Church leaders, in a typical and graphic African analogy asked, "If the parents see that the house is on fire, should they run out and save themselves, leaving their children behind?"<sup>59</sup> They also pointed out the misunderstandings and embarrassment which had arisen when the Church had not been kept fully informed concerning the actions of the Mission.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 29-30, 1966 J-4/3/66.

<sup>58</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Committee, March 28-April 1, 1966, 11/3/66.

<sup>59</sup>Quoted in letter of Edward Arensen to "Fellow Missionaries," December 2, 1966. As previously indicated, the Africans insisted that they could not see the fire!

<sup>60</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 19-20, 1966, J-2/7/66g. See p. 299, fn. 55 of this study.

A New Look at Withdrawal

When the missionaries assembled for their annual Field Conference in December of 1966, the approach to the whole C.C.K. question was entirely different. While requesting the Field Committee "to pursue the study of trends and activities of the Council," they were to take action affecting the Mission's relationship to it ". . . only after consultation with the Central Church Council of the A.I.C. [*italics not in the original*]."61

From this point on the Mission worked together with the Church in the matter of their relationship to the C.C.K. Although on several occasions both bodies met with C.C.K. leadership concerning certain issues of mutual concern and on at least one occasion threatened to withdraw,<sup>62</sup> the Mission continued in the C.C.K. with the Church until November, 1970. By then the Mission had become a department of the Church,<sup>63</sup> and it was the Church's decision that membership in other organizations be in the name of the

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<sup>61</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 30, 1966-January 4, 1967, 7/67.

<sup>62</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 26, 1968, J-2/3/68,B; Minutes of Joint Committee, July 16, 1968, J-31/7/68, November 26, 1968, J-27/11/68, B; Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 6-10, 1968, 5/12/68b.

<sup>63</sup>See p. 336 of this dissertation.

Africa Inland Church and not the Mission.<sup>64</sup>

Although remaining in the C.C.K. proved an embarrassment to the Mission with reference to a segment of its anti-ecumenical home constituency, its precipitous and abortive attempt to withdraw unilaterally, without prior consultation with the Church, put a strain on Church/Mission relationships that the Mission could ill afford at this juncture. While the Church was pleading for a closer relationship with the Mission, together with a revised Agreement that would both reflect and effect such a position, the Mission asserted, almost dramatically, its independence of the Church. It needs to be remembered that this was done with reference to an issue on which they had recently agreed to collaborate.<sup>65</sup>

#### Continuing Negotiations

During 1966 the revised Agreement was still under consideration by the Church.<sup>66</sup> Together with the C.C.K. issue the Church and Mission in this period continued to

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<sup>64</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 25-26, 1970, 2/11/70A. It may be noted that the Field Committee began to be called a Council again in 1969 to avoid confusion with the many other committees of the Mission (cf. p. 296, fn. 45 of this study). The term Field Secretary continued to be employed.

<sup>65</sup>See p. 299, fn. 54 of this dissertation.

<sup>66</sup>Minutes of the Central Church Council, March 10-11, 1966, 4/3/66, j and October 6-7, 1966, 10/11/66.

negotiate the form their relationship would take, although there is little evidence of much activity on the part of the Mission during the first seven months. By July the Church's General Secretary could only give thanks that ". . . the A.I.C. and the A.I.M. were not at war with one another."<sup>67</sup> In this same report he emphasized that it was the Church's desire to see the Church, not the Mission, built up and growing, though it was hoped that ". . . all of the missionaries will be in fellowship with the Church."<sup>68</sup>

The return of Kenya's Field Secretary, Rev. Erik Barnett, in September of 1966 brought a renewed emphasis on developing a close relationship with the Church. Speaking to the Central Area Committee, he stressed the need for "open lines of communication," especially with reference to missionary assignments.<sup>69</sup> Several days later he declared: "The missionaries must work with the Church and the Church leaders in close partnership and consultation."<sup>70</sup> These sentiments were echoed by the Church's General Secretary

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<sup>67</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 19-20, 1966, J-5/7/66.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Minutes of the Central Area Committee, October 29, 1966, 3/10/66.

<sup>70</sup>Minutes of the Southern Area Committee, November 1, 1966, 54/11/66. For the same emphasis in other areas see Minutes of the West Central Area Committee, November 4, 1966, 66/66 and Minutes of the Northern Area Committee, November 7, 1966, 7/11/66.

in the following statement issued at a meeting of Church and Mission leaders:

If we want [a] close relationship, we must work together. We want to work with you, for it is the desire of the church to do things right. Let it be known that the church and the Mission are together in all of this work.<sup>71</sup>

At this same meeting a small but significant step was taken to give the Church greater authority over missionary personnel. It was agreed that before missionaries leave for furlough, permission for departure and return to the Field should be discussed with Church leaders. During the meeting all the missionaries who had applied for furlough were examined and approved for return.<sup>72</sup>

In spite of the expressed desire of both Church and Mission leaders to work closely together, it is clear that at this time the Mission did not desire to give up either its autonomy or its existence as a separate organization.<sup>73</sup>

The missionaries gathered for their annual Field Conference in December, 1966 with still no signed Agreement. A full two years of negotiations had taken place. The

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<sup>71</sup>Minutes of the Joint Meeting, November 29-30, 1966, J-4/11/66.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., J-23/11/66.

<sup>73</sup>In a confidential minute the Field Council recorded its feeling that "we must try to continue with a separate Mission organization, for the loss of it would be to the detriment of both Mission and Church." Confidential Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, November 28-December 2, 1966, C-12/11/66.

Conference discussed the various options at length, and the matter was left with the assurance that any proposed Agreement would be brought back to it for final approval.<sup>74</sup>

Church and Mission leaders met on February 28, 1967 to discuss the Agreement that had been amended in March, 1965. Certain changes were made "in the conditions of relationship and wording,"<sup>75</sup> during frank discussions which were carried on, in the words of the Field Secretary, "in a spirit of understanding and cooperation."<sup>76</sup> Following this meeting the Field Secretary revealed the possibility of establishing a Joint A.I.M./A.I.C. Committee with executive powers in some matters.<sup>77</sup>

The Agreement was further discussed jointly in March,<sup>78</sup> and the completed document was to be reviewed in July. Meanwhile the Field Secretary reported to the June meeting of the Mission's Central Field Council that "Church/

<sup>74</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meetings, December 30, 1966-January 4, 1967, 17/67.

<sup>75</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, February 28, 1967, J-1/2/67.

<sup>76</sup>Minutes of the West Central Area Committee, March 9, 1967, 10/67.

<sup>77</sup>Minutes of the Central Area Committee, March 18, 1967, 5/3/67. The creation of a Joint Board was referred to the Field Conference in 1965 (Minute 6/66, b), but at that time there was no reference to its possessing executive powers.

<sup>78</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 27, 1967, J-3/3/67.

Mission relationships continue to be good," while affirming that accord had been reached on all of the main points of the Agreement that was in the process of being re-written.<sup>79</sup>

### Increasing Tension

When the Joint Committee met in July, several topics were discussed that cast doubt on the professed cordial relationship between the Church and the Mission. First, the Church's President asked the Mission to teach the Church ". . . as to its rights, privileges and responsibilities"<sup>80</sup> He then referred to the possibility of some in the Church saying that they did not want the missionaries.<sup>81</sup> Kioko, the Church's General Secretary, then referred to the fact that "human relationships can be broken."<sup>82</sup> He also introduced a new dimension into the negotiations (one that was to figure largely in the coming days) by asking ". . . what the Home Councils think of past progress, present state, and future help for the Church."<sup>83</sup> Was Kioko thinking of turning to outside help to bring about the changes that the Church desired? Subsequent events indicate that this may

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<sup>79</sup>Kenya Field Secretary's Report to Central Field Council, June, 1967.

<sup>80</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 18, 1967, J-6/6/67.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., J-7/7/67.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.



have been the case.

By the end of 1967 copies of the revised Agreement were in the hands of the District Councils for discussion. It likewise came up for discussion at the missionaries' Field Conference in December. Although general approval of the Agreement was expressed, questions were raised concerning missionary membership in the African Church, the statement of which read: "It [the Church] also welcomes the missionaries of the Africa Inland Mission as members with it in all phases of the work of God in Kenya."<sup>84</sup> The Mission accepted this invitation with the understanding that it meant that all who had been accepted by the A.I.C. ". . . without requiring further commital to any possible different standards or conditions . . . ." <sup>85</sup>

It was now up to the Church to approve the Agreement, and this they did.<sup>86</sup> In the first Joint Meeting following the signing, the Church's President, stated that "fellowship in action is now required--real sharing in the work."<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>"Agreement Between the Africa Inland Church and the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya," October 19, 1967. See also Minutes of the Business Meetings of the Field Conference, December 28, 1967-January 3, 1968, 8/68.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Minutes of the Central Church Council, March 7-8, 1968, 3/3/68(j); see also Minutes of Central Area Committee, March 16, 1968, 7/3/68a. At this same Area meeting Barnett spoke of the good fellowship between the Church and the Mission that was "obvious enough to elicit favorable comment by visitors to the field." Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 26, 1968, J-3/3/68,B.

A New DimensionThe Church's Memorandum

A few months after agreement had been reached, the Mission's International Conference (I.C.) met near Nairobi, Kenya. Two Church representatives from each of the Regions together with the Church's top leaders were invited to a luncheon with the overseas delegates of the I.C.<sup>88</sup> Following the luncheon a five point Memorandum was presented by the Church leaders to the International Conference. The first point called for "one President for the whole A.I.C. in Kenya."<sup>89</sup> Since such an office was already in existence and was filled, it seems likely that this request was a veiled reference to the desire for merger that had been unsuccessfully presented to Kenya's Mission leaders earlier.<sup>90</sup> The second point concerned the establishment of a Central Church office. This had already been agreed to several years previously.<sup>91</sup> Their third request also

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<sup>88</sup>Though far from Henman's suggestion concerning African representation at the I.C. (see p. 266, fn. 134 of this study), this was at least a token gesture of partnership on this level of Mission administration.

<sup>89</sup>"Africa Inland Church Memorandum to the A.I.M. Home Council," Limuru, 10th June, 1968. Though actually presented to the International Conference, the Memorandum was probably addressed to the "Home Council" because this gathering gave the Church leaders access to Home Council members who were attending the International Conference.

<sup>90</sup>See pp. 290-291 of this study.

<sup>91</sup>See p. 287, fn. 20 of this dissertation.

reiterated a proposal previously offered to the Mission: "We consider it necessary that the A.I.C. should be adequately represented on all committees and councils, including the Field Council."<sup>92</sup> It will be remembered that in 1964 this was presented as an alternative to complete merger, which was the Church's first choice.<sup>93</sup>

The Church leaders' fourth point again reflected a question that had been previously raised: "We would be grateful to know what you, the elders of the 'Home Councils,' think about us, your grand children [sic]."<sup>94</sup> It would appear that the Church was desirous of establishing a more direct link with the sending Councils of the Mission. In their fifth item the Church stated that the whole purpose of the previous points was that ". . . in the new Kenya it does not appear proper for the A.I.C. to lack adequate and effective leadership by nationals of this country."<sup>95</sup>

#### Significance of the Memorandum

The significance of the Memorandum lay in two areas. Coming soon after the signing of the revised Agreement with

<sup>92</sup>A.I.C. Memorandum, op. cit.

<sup>93</sup>See pp. 290-291 of this study.

<sup>94</sup>A.I.C. Memorandum, op. cit. See p. 306 of this study for Kioko's similar question.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid. The need for the Mission to intensify its training of African leadership had been frequently voiced by the Church.

the Mission, it, nevertheless, bore witness to the apparent dissatisfaction of the Church with this Agreement. The Church in this Memorandum was suggesting, as later evidence clearly indicates, that the fusion of Church and Mission was their objective. This obviously was not the basis of the recently signed Agreement. The Church, therefore, by this Memorandum was showing to the Kenya Mission leaders present at the I.C. that not only had its requests of previous years gone unanswered but that its objectives remained unchanged.

The second significance of this Memorandum lay in the fact that it was the first time a Church delegation had been able to present a formal document to the Mission's top administrative body. The Church in this meeting found access to the body that was administratively over the Field Committee, with which they had been dealing as equals at best. This new entrée into the Mission's top circles, and especially to the Home Councils, added a new dimension to negotiations on the national level.

From the viewpoint of the overseas delegates this personal encounter with Church leaders gave them a new sense of direct involvement with Church/Mission relationships on the local level. The psychological effect of this meeting of overseas representatives with Church leaders is impossible

to measure, but subsequent events<sup>96</sup> indicate that it marked the beginning of a new era of Church/Mission relationships. The young Church was becoming related to its "grandparents" in the homelands, to use its own descriptive term, and it was to learn that grandparents retain quite a measure of influence in many family relationships.<sup>97</sup>

#### Dichotomy Reaffirmed

For the immediate future, however, the International Conference confirmed the correctness of the dichotomous position that the Mission had been following throughout the years. It officially recognized ". . . the need for the Mission to continue as a separate entity distinct from the Church,"<sup>98</sup> with both functioning ". . . as autonomous organizations [and] working together in cooperative fellowship to achieve their common objectives."<sup>99</sup>

Almost ironically, in a missionary's report to the

<sup>96</sup>E.g., the visit of the American and Canadian Home Directors to Kenya in June of 1970 and their deep involvement in Church/Mission negotiations there; see pp. 334-335 of this study.

<sup>97</sup>Though not suggesting that the deadlocked negotiations between Church and Mission in 1970 were re-opened by the intervention of the American and Canadian Home Directors, their presence and mediation were a decisive factor, according to the Church's General Secretary. Address of Samuel Kioko to the American Home Council, December 17, 1970.

<sup>98</sup>Minutes of the International Conference, June 14-16, 1968, 17/68.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 27/68.

same Conference the Church's General Secretary was quoted as stating:

We are thankful for the vision of getting together with the A.I.M. For many years the father and son in one house have been more or less as good friends, but now it is really coming into one house of father and son . . . .We do not want to think of the difference between the Church and the Mission; we go forward as one body . . . .<sup>100</sup>

The Mission was obviously not prepared at this juncture to share "one house" in the relationship that the Church envisaged, but some separating walls were beginning to crumble. The next two years saw the Church pounding hard at those that stubbornly remained standing.

#### Continued Pressure

The signed Agreement apparently did not satisfy all in the ranks of the Church. In July of 1968 Kioko reported to the Joint Meeting that "we in the A.I.C. leadership are being accused of being led by the A.I.M."<sup>101</sup> He stressed the need for the Mission to work together with the Church not only more closely but "more openly."<sup>102</sup> Several months later in a lengthy report to the same group Kioko underlined and illustrated several of his previous points. Recognizing that the A.I.M. and the A.I.C. were

<sup>100</sup>William Beatty, "A.I.C. Kenya Church Statistics," A Report to the International Conference, June 14-16, 1968, p. 14.

<sup>101</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 16, 1968, J-20/7/68.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

"separate entities regarding possessions," he emphasized the need for presenting a "united front to [G]overnment."<sup>103</sup> He then expressed the hope of getting ". . . this matter of the 'stroke', [slash] in A.I.C./A.I.M. straightened out."<sup>104</sup> His apparent desire was to eliminate entirely the "stroke" that symbolized for him and doubtless many in the Church the continued attachment of a supposedly autonomous and independent Church to a foreign missionary society. It is clear that the Church was finding this connection increasingly intolerable. Though authority had been transferred to the Church, Kioko complained that it was "especially difficult to explain this matter to Government officials and large Insurance and business companies . . . [who] cannot see that there has been a change."<sup>105</sup> Kioko asserted that "something drastic must be done to clear up this misunderstanding" and suggested that the new relationship be gazetted for public information.<sup>106</sup>

The tensions building up within the Church concerning the form of their relationship with the Mission should have

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<sup>103</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, November 26, 1968, J-29/11/68.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid. Kioko cited the problem of trying to buy insurance for the Church car. The African clerk tried to force the policy to be taken out in the name of the Mission and only grudgingly put it in the name of the A.I.C., stating, "It is all A.I.M."

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

been obvious to the latter. When the missionaries gathered for their Field Conference in 1968, however, there was no evidence of either their awareness of it nor consequently any interaction with it. They accepted in principle the amended Agreement to which they had given general approval the preceding year.<sup>107</sup> In addition the Conference accepted for study an Organizational Inter-Relationships Chart that showed ". . . divisions of the work which are specifically Mission or Church and those which could be maintained as joint Church/Mission Committees."<sup>108</sup>

Although it could be reported that all schools formerly managed by the Mission were now sponsored by the Church,<sup>109</sup> it is clear that the Mission was still determined to resist merger with the Church. A confrontation over this issue seemed inevitable. "The good relationship between the A.I.M. and A.I.C." for which the missionaries recorded their gratefulness in a Resolution was also to have its anticipated "problems during the days that [lay] ahead."<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>Minutes of the Business Meetings of the Field Conference, December 6-10, 1968, 10/12/68.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., 11/12/68.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., 5/12/68, a.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., 21/12/68, 5.



Call For a New AgreementThe A.I.C.'s Seven Points

The confrontation was not long in coming. On February 10, 1969 the Church presented the Mission with a resolution outlining seven points from which they wished to negotiate a new Agreement. In short the Church demanded the following:

1. There should be only one name in the place of A.I.M./A.I.C.
2. There should be only one leader.
3. There should be only one constitution.
4. There should be only one Trustees body.
5. There should be only one treasury.
6. There should be only one central office.
7. There should be only one set of rules for the work.<sup>111</sup>

It will be noted that these demands contained several items that had been presented to the International Conference the preceding June.<sup>112</sup> Their total thrust was in line with the developing trend that had been observed in the thinking of the Church. The request to have one Constitution serve both Church and Mission reflected the suggestion made by

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<sup>111</sup>Minutes of Joint Session of the A.I.C. and A.I.M., February 10-11, 1969; see also letter of Erik Barnett to "Fellow Missionaries," May 30, 1969.

<sup>112</sup>See pp. 308-309 of this study.

Henman in 1960.<sup>113</sup> Although the Mission once again rejected this proposal, it expressed the belief that a satisfactory solution could be worked out, based on the statement of Church leaders that they had ". . . no desire to destroy or eliminate the Mission."<sup>114</sup> The following month the Church reflected this same optimism.<sup>115</sup>

At a special meeting of the Field Council in early May the Church's demands were further considered, and it was again affirmed that

. . . there must be two organizations, the Mission cannot be dissolved, but that we must do everything we can to assist the Church in solving its problems of organization, finances and personnel.<sup>116</sup>

When the two bodies came together at the end of May, two items occupied the agenda. The Church had presented the Mission with its seven demands. The Mission had asked the

<sup>113</sup>See p. 266, fn. 133 of this dissertation.

<sup>114</sup>Minutes of the A.I.M. Organization and Management Committee, March 10-11, 1969, 3/3/69, A, B. What the Church leaders meant by "destroying" or "eliminating" may have been quite different from the Mission's understanding of the terms. The Church leaders conceived of the organizational dissolution of the Mission (and suggested it) without seeing this mean the "elimination" of the Mission functionally. It would appear that Mission leaders may have taken the Church's statement as an assurance of continued organizational existence.

<sup>115</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 25, 1969, J-10/39/69, B.

<sup>116</sup>Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Field Council, May 7-8, 1969, 9/5/69.

Church to study a document called "Functional Chart of Present Organization."<sup>117</sup> In a word, the Church's document was calling for organizational merger; the Mission's was still suggesting a dichotomous relationship. One change in the Mission's position, in itself ostensibly small but in actuality of great significance, was the Mission's suggestion in February that each group should consider the possibility of the jointly operated departments becoming "Africa Inland Church Departments."<sup>118</sup>

#### A New Agreement

Out of the May 27-29 meetings of Church and Mission leaders came nine proposals that were to be foundational to a working Agreement. Although a number of the resolutions promulgated a modified dichotomy,<sup>119</sup> the concept of some departments being under the Mission and others under the Church was rejected. Basic to these resolutions, therefore, was the proposal that all departments should come under the

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<sup>117</sup>This document contained the same material as the one given to the missionaries at their 1968 Field Conference; see p. 314, fn. 108 of this study.

<sup>118</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to "Fellow Missionaries," May 30, 1969. See also Minutes of Joint Session of the A.I.C. and A.I.M., February 10-11, 1969.

<sup>119</sup>It was agreed, for example, for the name A.I.M. to be used for internal Mission matters, but usage of the name A.I.C./A.I.M. was proscribed. Special Joint Meeting, May 27-29, 1969, 1.

jurisdiction of the Church.<sup>120</sup>

In a Joint Meeting in July it was noted that "progress is being made" in Church/Mission relations.<sup>121</sup> During the coming months, however, both Church and Mission were distracted from a consideration of their relationship by the pressing matter of oathing ceremonies in which many Church members had been forced to take part.<sup>122</sup> By November, however, Kenya's Field Secretary had come to recognize that only two choices faced the Mission: either the full integration of Church and Mission or an agreed separation of the two bodies with all its attendant problems. He acknowledged that "in the end we may be given no choice but to accept the first position or 'gracefully withdraw.'"<sup>123</sup>

When the Field Council convened in January of 1970, it voted to negotiate the new Agreement with the Church on the basis of the following points: the continuance of both the Mission and Church organizations; one Staffing Board

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>121</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, July 22, 1969, 5/7/69A.

<sup>122</sup>For the Church's strong stand against enforced taking of secret oaths see Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Central Church Council (English translation of Swahili Minutes), September 26, 1969, 1/9/69-4/9/69. See Minutes of the Joint Meeting, November, 25, 1969, J-2/11/69, E for a reference to the oathing and the fact of no decision being taken on the matter of Church/Mission relations.

<sup>123</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to All Home Directors and Secretaries, November 4, 1969.

between the Church and Mission for the assignment of missionaries serving in the Church and its Departments; the continuance of both a Mission and a Church constitution; the maintenance of both Church and Mission Boards of Trustees; the establishing of a Central Church Office, the organization of Departments and Department Boards under the Central Church Council; and missionary membership in the African Church.<sup>124</sup> It will be noted that although the Mission made concessions on certain issues, its fundamental position remained unchanged. It insisted on continuing to exist as a parallel organization to the Church. Its quest for organizational partnership had not ended.

#### Tension Points

When Church and Mission leaders met on January 15, 1970, the frustrations of the Church and the consequent tensions that had been building between it and the Mission became very evident. Rather extensive Diary Notes kept by the Mission of this meeting reveal two specific points of tension. The first involved the apparent slowness of the Mission to move forward in its program of "Africanization." In the words of one Church leader:

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<sup>124</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, January 8, 1970, 9/1/70. For an elaboration of these points see "Summary of Discussions and Suggested Agreements Based on the Nine Points," Special Meeting of A.I.C. Church Leaders and A.I.M. Kenya Field Council, May 27-29, 1969.

. . . we have had several meetings, and every time we talk about the getting together of A.I.M. and A.I.C. I am surprised that the A.I.C. has to put pressure on its parent A.I.M. to get something. It amazes the Government people in Kenya. . . . When Uhuru [independence] came, many denominations tried to bring forward the Africans in the Church, even the Roman Catholics. But it appears that A.I.M. is not going forward, but backward. . . . If we speak of bringing the Africans forward, then we are talking of something that A.I.M. is not interested in.<sup>125</sup>

Another leader referred to the problems in Tanzania and asked if the missionaries in Kenya wanted to face the same situation. He further stated that because the Kenya Church had not put the same kind of pressure on the Mission as in Tanzania the Mission was therefore going slowly.<sup>126</sup>

The second point of tension involved the Mission's continued demand for retaining its own separate organization. This was apparently interpreted by the Church leaders as an unwillingness to be identified with the Church. As a Church leader expressed it:

Missionaries need to do something to change to be more like the missionaries of long ago, and identify with the Church. They say, 'I am a missionary, you are the [C]hurch and you must do it.' Are we not one? Why does a missionary not identify with the Church? . . . If the missionaries want to go forward, they must go forward with the Church.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Confidential Notes of Joint Session of A.I.C. and A.I.M. Executive Committees, January 15, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., pp. 2, 4. See pp. 272-279 of this study for a description of the situation in Tanzania.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., pp. 2, 3. The same leader summarized the Church's viewpoint in his statement that "our people [Church people] . . . are not satisfied with the two names (i.e., A.I.M. and A.I.C.)." Ibid., p. 7.

It should be noted that during this meeting several Church leaders revealed the pressure they were feeling from the Government over the matter of the Mission's retaining its separate identity.<sup>128</sup> It is thus probably not surprising that because the Church felt that the Mission was close to losing its opportunity for settling their problem of relationship they suggested turning to the Home Councils for a solution. Several leaders emphasized their desire to deal directly with these overseas bodies of the Mission.<sup>129</sup>

Finally, in order to resolve what was increasingly becoming a deadlock both Church and Mission agreed that as of January 15, 1970 "all departments shall be under the leadership of the Church with the present staffs continuing under this new leadership as members of the Africa Inland Church."<sup>130</sup> It was further agreed that department heads

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<sup>128</sup>Ibid., pp. 1, 2. See also pp. 241-243 of this dissertation.

<sup>129</sup>"We feel that this is the time for us [italics in the original] to speak to the Home Councils . . . ." Ibid., p. 6; cf. p. 306, fn. 83 and p. 309, fn. 94 of this dissertation for previous suggestions concerning a relationship with the Home Councils on the part of the Church.

<sup>130</sup>Minutes of Joint Executive Committees, January 15, 1970, JSE 1/1/70. In addition the Mission supported the Church's desire to create the post of Executive Secretary and agreed to provide the salary of this Church officer for the first year as well as assisting him in finding a suitable office and residence. Minutes of Special Field Council (enlarged Executive), January 15, 1970, SE 1/1/70.

were responsible for training a Kenyan replacement.<sup>131</sup> Four days after this meeting a letter went out instructing all the missionaries who were involved in the turning over of departments to ". . . begin to take the necessary practical steps to do so."<sup>132</sup> Along with urging Department heads to recruit qualified national staff to take over management, Barnett encouraged all who worked in Church-related departments to ". . . work in humility as servants of our Lord."<sup>133</sup> He concluded by acknowledging that he did not know what form the Mission organization would take but recognized that changes would doubtless have to be made.<sup>134</sup>

### The Church's Proposed Agreement

#### Dichotomy Attacked

In spite of the agreement of the Mission to put virtually all of its work under the direction of the Church, the Church was still not satisfied. The meeting of Church and Mission leaders on January 28, 1970 concentrated on the

<sup>131</sup>Minutes of Joint Executive Committees, *ibid.* The departments involved were: Medical, Literature (including Press and Bookshops), Radio and T.V., Christian Education, Bible Training, Evangelistic and Church, and Education. *Ibid.* The events in Tanzania were indeed a "pattern of things to come." See p. 272 and p. 275, fns. 162, 163 of this study.

<sup>132</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to "Fellow Missionaries," January 19, 1970.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*



second point of tension which, from the Church's viewpoint, was not resolved in the previous meeting. Although the Mission had agreed to hand over all its major departments to the Church, the Mission itself continued to exist as a separate entity. This became the focal point of the Church's attack in the meeting under consideration.<sup>135</sup>

While the Mission came expecting to finalize details of an Agreement based on the organizational dichotomy of Church and Mission, the Church presented the Mission with a new document. It came to the heart of the issue in its first section where it stated that since Church and Mission ". . . are working as one body and for the common purpose, both of them should now merge together to form one body to be known as the 'Africa Inland Church' Kenya."<sup>136</sup> The remaining points of the document simply dealt with the ramifications and consequences of this basic organizational premise. It covered such items as the Mission's becoming a

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<sup>135</sup>The term "attack" should not detract from the basically irenic spirit in which the Church leaders presented their proposals. In his report of the meeting to the missionary body Barnett speaks of the Church leaders' presenting their merger proposals "in a good Christian spirit," sincerely believing that the creation of one organization was the solution to Church/Mission relations. Confidential Report by the Kenya Field Secretary to the Missionary Body, February 4, 1970.

<sup>136</sup>"New Organization of the Africa Inland Church in Relation to the Africa Inland Mission-Kenya." Prepared by the A.I.C. Sub-Committee for presentation to the Joint A.I.M./A.I.C. Sub-Committee, January 28, 1970.

department of the Church, one constitution, a central Church treasury, and missionary membership in the Church.<sup>137</sup>

#### The Mission's Response

In the discussion that followed the presentation of this new Agreement (the first to be drawn up unilaterally by the Church) Barnett was quick to recognize the implications of the "fundamental difference," to use his term, of this document. He reiterated several times that it was "new."<sup>138</sup> He also denied the validity of the Church's assumptions by affirming that the Mission had a different function and purpose from that of the Church.<sup>139</sup> Consequently any move to merge the two organizations was a whole new question that would have to be decided by the Kenya missionaries and the Councils of the Mission.

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<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>Confidential Notes on Meeting of Special A.I.C. and A.I.M. Agreement Committee, January 28, 1970, pp. 1, 4. This was denied by a Church leader who stated that the fundamental idea of the Agreement was "not new but the same one we have put forward before." Ibid., p. 2. Coming from the Church in the form of a suggested Agreement it was new, but the Mission had been presented with the proposal of merger as early as 1964 and again in 1968; see pp. 290-291, 293 of this study. Barnett himself in his report to the missionaries later acknowledged that the merger proposals were "not really new and therefore [did] not come to many of us as a real surprise." Report by the Field Secretary to the Missionary Body, February 4, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>139</sup>He stated that the A.I.C. had been organized "to care for local congregations, needs of pastors etc.," whereas "the A.I.M. has functioned for the purpose of helping establish local churches and preaching the Gospel by any means possible." Confidential Notes, p. 1.

Lancaster House: A New Dimension

A spokesman for the Church readily acknowledged that they recognized that this proposition would be considered "different" by the Mission. He then added that it was for this reason they had previously stated, "Let us go to Lancaster House."<sup>140</sup> This last statement is extremely significant for at least two reasons. First, it shows the influence of political developments on Church/Mission relations.<sup>141</sup> It will be remembered that the Lancaster House Conferences were primarily for the purpose of creating a new constitution under which Kenya would be launched as an independent nation.<sup>142</sup> Lancaster House in a very real sense symbolized in African thinking the negotiations that led to the end of the colonial period and the beginning of the era of independence. The Church leaders were thus obviously thinking of their relationship to the Mission in terms of this political frame of reference.<sup>143</sup>

There is, however, even a more specific significance

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.

<sup>141</sup>See p. 198 of this dissertation.

<sup>142</sup>For reference to these Conferences see pp. 223-225 of this dissertation.

<sup>143</sup>A further example of the parallels drawn between relationships in the political and religious realms is seen in the statement of a Church leader that "to have separate but parallel organizations [Church and Mission] might have political implications like separation, or apartheid, in South Africa." Confidential Notes, op. cit., p. 6.

in the reference to Lancaster House. In these Conferences the Africans were negotiating with a Colonial Office that, although related to the colonial power within their country, was also outside and above it. The Africans were no longer merely negotiating with the powerful settler bloc within their borders. Lancaster House brought a new dimension to the negotiations that was commensurate with the new and radically different era into which the country was quickly moving. In the same way the Church leaders made repeated reference to the need for negotiating on a higher level of authority, which in their eyes meant the Home Councils.<sup>144</sup>

It is obvious from the notes of this meeting that the Church leaders were looking for a radical break with the past, although not with the missionaries as such. One Church representative characterized the former Agreement as affording "no basic change from our historic relationships."<sup>145</sup> This the Church found unacceptable if not intolerable.

#### Government Pressure

The influence of Government pressure on the Church was clearly a factor in their increasing pressure on the Mission to merge with the Church. As one Church representative explained it in answering a question about the continued

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<sup>144</sup>For their repeated reference to dealing directly with these bodies see pp. 309, 321 of this study.

<sup>145</sup>Confidential Notes, op. cit., p. 2.

need for a Mission office:

These days no African Government likes to deal with a Church body through an expatriate. Even in matters of Immigration and Work Permits. Even if you have an Office, it should be under the umbrella of the Church. . . . Such an office should always deal with the Government through the Church [*italics not in the original*].<sup>146</sup>

The last statement stands in marked contrast with the colonial era when the Mission served as a buffer between the Church and the Government.<sup>147</sup> In the new era the situation had to be reversed.

In concluding the discussions the Mission's Field Secretary tacitly acknowledged the need for a Lancaster House type of Conference by affirming that the proposed merger would have to be considered by the Field Council, the Central Field Council, and the International Conference. In contrast with political Lancaster House Conferences, however, he made no reference to the Africans' being represented at the meetings of these top Councils.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>147</sup>See pp. 59-66 of this dissertation.

<sup>148</sup>For his opposition to their being present at the International Conference see letter of Erik Barnett to Richard Seume, April 29, 1970. Barnett cited the legal barrier of the A.I.M. constitution and the need for the A.I.M. to meet alone to determine its objectives and the extent of possible associations among other reasons for not having African representation at the I.C. The Kenya Council went on record as concurring with Barnett's views on the matter. Confidential Minutes of Special Field Council Meeting, May 7, 1970, C 3/5/70, A. The Mission's General Field Secretary also concurred with this position, arguing that Church representation at the I.C. level would suggest

The Missionaries' Reaction

The issue was taken first of all to the missionary body.<sup>149</sup> They were sent a ballot setting forth the alternatives of merger or cooperation between two autonomous organizations. In addition they were given the opportunity of suggesting modifications to either of these propositions.

Barnett indicated on February 10th that from his meetings with missionaries the majority favored the continued existence of the Mission organization. He added rather ominously, however, that "the pressure to 'Africanize' every possible 'post' of service does mean in the long run . . . that the A.I.M. will need to withdraw."<sup>150</sup> He concluded that the status quo could not continue and that the Mission was in for changes, "many of them drastic."<sup>151</sup>

It is obvious from an analysis of the preceding deliberations that if the Mission had not abandoned its

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the "possibility of 'fusion,' which we long since held as an impossibility [italics in the original]." Letter of Harold Amstutz to Richard Seume, April 29, 1970.

<sup>149</sup>Taking this step to determine missionary reaction was a Field Council decision, Minutes of Special Field Council Meeting, January 31, 1970, S-1/1/70.

<sup>150</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to All Home Directors and Secretaries, February 10, 1970.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid.

quest for partnership, still less had the Church abandoned its quest for supremacy. Negotiations revolving around these two concepts had continued for almost a decade. The year 1970 was to witness their consummation. Even giants can battle each other for only a limited period before one falls.

### Impasse

The next few months, however, saw the "giants" mutually withdrawing from the arena and from direct confrontation. When they came together in March, the Church announced that it did not want any further meetings of the Committee on Church/Mission Relationships until after the Mission had taken the matter to the Central Field Council in June and the International Conference in September. Because certain Mission representatives lamented the breakdown of communications between the two groups, the Church agreed to be available to answer any questions regarding their "merger" document of January 28th. They made it clear, however, that this document represented their position and desire.<sup>152</sup>

### Mission Resistance and Retreat

During the meeting of the Field Council at this same time it was reported that three-fourths of the

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<sup>152</sup>Minutes of a Joint Meeting, March 24, 1970, J 8/3/70.

missionaries had voted against merger. The Council then articulated a number of basic principles in working out Church/Mission relationships that were to be forwarded to the Central Field Council. First, the Mission affirmed that it could negotiate neither its "absolute loyalty to Jesus Christ and the Scriptures" nor any union that would compromise this loyalty.<sup>153</sup> It is rather difficult to understand the direct relevance of this declaration to the current situation for there is no indication given anywhere how negotiating union with its daughter Church would in any sense compromise the Mission's basic and unequivocal loyalties.

The next three principles related to the Mission's constitution, and from within this bastion the Mission apparently hoped to take its defensive stand against the Church's increasing demands. While acknowledging the need for operational flexibility to meet local situations, the Mission affirmed quite correctly that it must operate within the framework of its constitution, a constitution that was "not negotiable with outside organizations."<sup>154</sup> Finally, the Mission suggested that the constitution should outline "the minimum requirements for a functioning A.I.M. autonomous

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<sup>153</sup>Minutes of Kenya Field Council, March 23-26, 1970, 14/3/70, a, 1.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., 14/3/70, a, 2, 3.



field organization."<sup>155</sup> In essence, the Field Council quite properly wished to stand on the Mission constitution, but it wanted to make that constitution declare that the Mission must continue to exist as a separate organization and thus merger with the Church was legally impossible.

Not only was the Council concerned with constitutionally blocking the proposed merger with the Church, but it also began to question the constitutionality of what it had already done, viz., the handing-over of Church-related departments.<sup>156</sup>

Several other questions were raised at this meeting that demand recognition, for they indicate the mentality and mood of the Council at this juncture. Although in their Joint meeting with Church leaders on January 15, 1970 the Mission had agreed that missionaries working in Church-related departments would continue to do so as members of the Africa Inland Church,<sup>157</sup> the Council now suggested that such missionaries should work "under the jurisdiction of the Church on a 'secondment' basis."<sup>158</sup> The difference was subtle but significant. Whereas under the January arrangement missionaries working in Church departments were at one

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., 14/3/70, a, 4.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., 14/3/70, b, 3.

<sup>157</sup>See p. 321, fn. 130 of this study.

<sup>158</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, op. cit., 14/3/70, b, 4.

and the same time both members of the Mission and the Church, now it was suggested that they be considered as "lent" to the Church without becoming an integral part of it. This is the meaning of "secondment." Such a suggestion reflects a retreat from the close relationship that was envisaged by both Church and Mission leaders in their January meeting.

A further question relating to missionary membership in the African Church was also raised. It was suggested that if the missionaries were to be considered as members of the African Church in either a "corporate" or an "individual" sense then ". . . there must be protection against doctrine and practices that might violate Mission and individual consciences; i.e., Polygamy and Female circumcision. . . ." <sup>159</sup> Again, the cause and relevance of this apparent concern is difficult to discern. The Church had a doctrinal statement that was almost identical to that of the Mission. <sup>160</sup> Concerning conduct it was a recognized fact that the Church was usually more rigid in its ethical standards (even to the point of legalism) than the Mission. <sup>161</sup> There is no evidence that the Church was about to change its

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<sup>159</sup>Ibid., 14/3/70, b, 2.

<sup>160</sup>As a matter of fact the Church had specifically delineated one aspect of its eschatological beliefs where the Mission permitted differences of opinion.

<sup>161</sup>See p. 125, fn. 41 of this dissertation for a further reference to this fact.

stand on either of the ethical questions. (polygamy and female circumcision) raised by the Mission.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that faced with a crisis situation,<sup>162</sup> the position of the Mission hardened. Not only was a conciliatory mood absent, but there seemed to be no evidence of a search for compromise solutions to the problem of the growing impasse with the Church.

In the Kenya Field Secretary's report to the C.F.C. he referred to the effect of the political climate on Church/Mission relationships as well as the effect of the accelerated "Africanization" program in the civil and private sectors of the economy. Speaking of the turn-over of departments to the Church, he stated that although much work had been done in these departments, he could not "report much advance since the beginning of the year."<sup>163</sup> The reasons for this lack of progress or fruitfulness were not given, but the statement was followed by the suggestive assertion that "there are honest doubts both on the part of the missionaries and the Church's leaders as to what will result from the Church's 'merger' document . . . ."<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup>Barnett uses this term to describe the situation at this time. Letter of Erik Barnett to Sidney Langford, February 17, 1970.

<sup>163</sup>Kenya Field Report, Central Field Council, June 1-6, 1970.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid.

Evidence seems to be lacking to substantiate the alleged doubts of Church leaders concerning the feasibility or viability of their proposed Agreement.

The Central Field Council gave to the Kenya Council far less than it requested.<sup>165</sup> On the contrary, it agreed to any Field Council's accepting "a position as a subordinate committee of a Church," provided that provision was made for caring for uniquely missionary affairs and provided that the Mission could negotiate the initiation of new programs for the accomplishment of its stated objectives.<sup>166</sup>

#### Foreign Intervention

Present at this meeting of top Field leaders were also both the American and Canadian Home Directors. Their two Home Councils, recognizing the explosive situation that had been developing in Church/Mission relationships in Kenya, had asked these men<sup>167</sup> to visit the field and to be brought up to date on current situations in preparation for the forthcoming International Conference in September.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup>See p. 331 of this study.

<sup>166</sup>Minutes of the Central Field Council, June 1-6, 1970, 24/70, a, I, II.

<sup>167</sup>Rev. Sidney Langford and Rev. Peter Stam, American and Canadian Home Directors respectively. Both of these leaders had wide field experience before assuming their administrative posts in the homelands.

<sup>168</sup>In their own words, their visit was one of "fact-finding and observation in this time of uncertainty." Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Kenya Field Council, June 26, 1970.

Though officially to the contrary, "Lancaster House" in actuality was coming to the Africans in the person of the two Home Directors.

The timing of their visit was most propitious, for on the very day of their arrival in Africa a very severe letter had gone from the President of the Church to the Mission's Field Secretary. It referred to the Mission's obvious opposition to the Church's merger plan.<sup>169</sup> Because of the Mission's apparent lack of interest in the question of Church/Mission relationships, the Church announced that it was suspending all further Joint meetings with the Mission. Then almost as an ultimatum, the Church declared that unless the C.F.C. meetings then being held produced "a change of directions by the A.I.M.," it would go ahead unilaterally "with plans to find ways and means of effecting the arrangements as contained in the A.I.C. document of 28th January, 1970."<sup>170</sup> The situation could hardly have been more serious or the impasse more complete.

In his reply to Gichuha, Barnett explained that the C.F.C. had made recommendations that he believed would be helpful in coming to a workable solution. He therefore invited the Church leaders to meet with the Field Council

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<sup>169</sup>Presented to the Mission on January 28, 1970; see p. 323, fn. 136 of this study.

<sup>170</sup>Letter of Andrew Gichuha to Erik Barnett, June 2, 1970.

and the two overseas Directors on June 29th to discuss these proposals.<sup>171</sup>

The Field Council met on June 26th together with Langford and Stam and approved a set of Resolutions to be presented to the Church on the 29th. In a virtual reversal of its previous stance the Mission now agreed to become a department of the Church. This immediately resolved the irksome problem of the Mission's retaining its identity as a parallel, autonomous organization. In a word, the "stroke" (slash) would disappear,<sup>172</sup> and the name "Africa Inland Church" would henceforth represent both the Church and the Mission. All Church-related departments were naturally to be placed under the Church and it was given the responsibility of assigning all missionaries within these departments. Furthermore, all Church-related properties (movable and immovable) were to be transferred to the Church; henceforth all stations would be called "Africa Inland Church stations." Finally, all A.I.M. missionaries were to become, by invitation, corporate members of the Church.<sup>173</sup> The Mission, for its part, simply

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<sup>171</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to Andrew Gichuha, June 10, 1970.

<sup>172</sup>See p. 313 of this study for the Church's insistence on its removal.

<sup>173</sup>"Resolutions Agreed to by the A.I.M. Kenya Field Council for Presentation to the Africa Inland Church," June 26, 1970.

asked for the following: a committee of missionaries to represent the missionaries and Home Councils; the right to hold certain properties not related to the Church and the responsibility for those few departments in the same category (e.g., Rift Valley Academy); the freedom to initiate non Church-related work; and its own Government registration for legal purposes.<sup>174</sup> It is clear that the Mission had yielded to the demands of the Church on all major questions.

On June 27th Langford and Stam met privately with one of the top Church leaders with whom they had conferred at length during his recent visit to the U.S.A.<sup>175</sup> Certain fears of the missionaries regarding the merger proposal were frankly discussed, and the assurances given by this leader were most beneficial in preparing the way for the meeting of the 29th.<sup>176</sup>

#### Reconciliation through Union

On June 29th Church leaders met with the Field Council in what Langford described as "a momentous occasion."<sup>177</sup> The Mission's document containing their

<sup>174</sup>Ibid.

<sup>175</sup>The results of this previous conference were a determining factor in the two Home Councils' decisions to send their Directors to the field at this time.

<sup>176</sup>Sidney Langford, "Report on Trip to Africa--May 31-June 30, 1970," pp. 10-11. (Mimeographed.)

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

Resolutions was presented to the Church's representatives. After meeting separately to study it, these leaders returned to the Joint meeting with the announcement that they happily agreed to accept these "sweet words."<sup>178</sup> Barnett understandably referred to this acceptance as "a tremendous moment for us all."<sup>179</sup> Then, according to Barnett, one after another from both Mission and Church ". . . expressed thanksgiving to God that at last a solution had been found and that from now on we could work together as brothers and sisters in the Lord."<sup>180</sup> The meeting was climaxed with the singing of the Doxology as Church and Mission leaders joined hands and was closed with a prayer of thanksgiving.<sup>181</sup>

Little now remained but the implementation of the new Agreement. Within a month Church and Mission leaders met concerning the legal aspects of turning over the deeds.

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<sup>178</sup>Ibid. See also Minutes of the Combined Executives of the Africa Inland Church and Africa Inland Mission, June 29, 1970, 2/6/70.

<sup>179</sup>Letter of Erik Barnett to "Fellow Missionaries," June 30, 1970.

<sup>180</sup>Ibid.

<sup>181</sup>Langford, "Report," loc. cit.



of Mission property to the Church.<sup>182</sup> At a meeting of the Mission's Council at this same time gratitude was expressed to the Church leaders ". . . for their sympathetic understanding of the A.I.M. position."<sup>183</sup> It would appear that the Church leaders only came to understand "the A.I.M. position" when that position became radically changed and conformed to the position demanded by the Church. Since the first Agreement was presented to the Church in 1961, the Church had found it difficult to understand the Mission's insistence on organizational separation from the Church which, humanly speaking, it had brought into existence and which even now bore its name.

When the matter of Church/Mission relationships came up at the missionaries' Field Conference, ". . . thanksgiving and deep gratitude to God were expressed for the cordial relationship that [had] developed over the new agreements."<sup>184</sup> Two resolutions embodied the feelings of

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<sup>182</sup>Minutes of Africa Inland Church (Kenya) Executive Committee Meeting with Africa Inland Mission Field Council, July 21, 1970, 4/7/70. An Interim Staffing Board was also established, composed of the Executive Committees of the Church and Mission (1/7/70). The Church later made Mission representation on this Board permanent; cf. also Minutes of Kenya Field Council, November 25-26, 1970, 2/11/70, B. Note that the meeting was not called a "Joint Meeting," but rather the new designation reflected the new relationship between Church and Mission.

<sup>183</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, July 20-23, 1970, 3/7/70, B.

<sup>184</sup>Minutes of the Field Conference Business Meeting, December 4-11, 1970, 11/70, B.

the assembled missionaries. The first, after expressing gratefulness for the progress in Church/Mission relationships during the past two years, assured the Church of the Mission's prayers as it assumed "new responsibilities and leadership."<sup>185</sup> The second Resolution referred to the past and present Presidents of the Church. Thanks were extended to Andrew Gichuhu for his "gracious spirit and wise leadership" that had contributed so much to the present state of Church/Mission relations. A pledge of loyalty was then given to Rev. Wellington Mulwa, the new A.I.C. President, as he undertook ". . . to lead the Church in a new era of growth and ministry."<sup>186</sup>

During the following months Church and Mission leaders met together to work out the practical details of the new Agreement as well as its final form. In July the Mission's Council accepted a Draft Basis of the Agreement.<sup>187</sup> At the same meeting, after consultation with the Church and overseas Councils, the date of October 16, 1971 was set for a large Church Conference at Machakos when the autonomy of the Church would be officially declared. All missionaries were urged by the Council to be present at this ". . . historic event when the Africa Inland Mission and the

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<sup>185</sup>Ibid., Resolution 7.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., Resolution 8.

<sup>187</sup>Minutes of the Kenya Field Council, July 22-23, 1971, 3/7/71, C.

Africa Inland Church will assume a new relationship and our combined ministries will assume new dimensions."<sup>188</sup>

Machakos, 1971

On the appointed day over 20,000 African Christians gathered at Machakos from all over Kenya together with delegates from four other African countries. They were joined by Mission representatives from the United States, Canada, and England who had come to take part in the historic Conference that marked the beginning of a new era for both the Mission and the Church. During the program the Church's President, Rev. Wellington Mulwa, reviewed the history of the Mission and the Church. Then the Honorable Daniel arap Moi, Kenya's Vice-President and himself a member of the Africa Inland Church charged the Church with reference to its great responsibilities. Following this Mr. Mulwa and Mr. Thomas, leaders of the Church and Mission respectively, read the Agreement in Swahili and English.<sup>189</sup> Mr. Thomas then turned over the file of Mission properties and equipment to the Church representative, and the official documents were signed by both leaders in the presence of their lawyers.<sup>190</sup> In a word,

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<sup>188</sup>Ibid., 3/7/71, A.

<sup>189</sup>See Appendix G for the full text of the Agreement.

<sup>190</sup>Norman Thomas, "Brief Report of Africa Inland Church-Kenya Autonomy Ceremony, 16 October," October 22, 1971. (Mimeographed.)

"the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya had turned itself over to the Africa Inland Church."<sup>191</sup>

### Epilogue

The station of Machakos is located among the Kamba tribe, about 50 miles from where Peter Cameron Scott opened the first station of the Mission after his arrival at Mombasa.<sup>192</sup> Mombasa to Machakos is a journey of 300 miles. It took Scott just a matter of months to reach Machakos the first time in 1895. It took his successors over seventy-five years to reach all that Machakos came to symbolize after October 16, 1971. The foregoing pages of this dissertation are an attempt to record the significant steps of that journey, steps that were often tortuous and reluctantly taken, but steps that ultimately became a confident and joyful march into a new and meaningful relationship with a Church come of age.

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<sup>191</sup>Edward Arensen, "The Day Our Mission Died," Inland Africa, LVI, 1(1972), 7.

<sup>192</sup>See p. 24 of this dissertation.

## CHAPTER 8

### INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY, EVALUATION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Interpretive Summary

##### Significance of the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century witnessed the penetration of Africa south of the Sahara by explorers and merchants and the partition of most of this vast territory among European powers. The century was also significant because "in geographic extent [and] in movements issuing from it . . . Christianity had a far larger place in human history than at any previous time."<sup>1</sup> Characterized by an "abounding vitality" in this period,<sup>2</sup> Christianity moved out on the great wave of political expansion that was a striking phenomenon of the nineteenth century.

The Africa Inland Mission, although not actually formed until 1895, had its roots deep into this century through its founder, Peter Cameron Scott. His spiritual passion was to reach the heart of Africa, both geographically and spiritually. To this end the Africa Inland Mission was

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<sup>1</sup>Kenneth Latourette, The Great Century, Vol. V, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 319.

brought into being. To Scott and his followers there was a divine imperative to share the Gospel with those who for so long had been isolated from permanent and enriching contact with the rest of the world.

### The Mission and Colonialism

Scott arrived in Africa with his small band of missionaries the same year that the East Africa Protectorate was established (1895). It is not surprising, therefore, that Government officials and missionaries should find themselves in an "inevitable alliance," faced as they were with many mutual tasks and responsibilities in addition to sharing a common cultural heritage. For this reason the colonial context of the A.I.M.'s missionary work was investigated in this study, for this context was a significant factor in the Mission's relationship with the African Church that developed out of its labors.

Often closely identified with the colonial Government, at times representing African interests before it, and on occasion acting as a protagonist in protesting its policies, the Mission's variegated role vis-à-vis the colonial regime for ten decades helped to create its image in the minds of the African population. This image of the Mission in turn affected the Africans' attitude toward both the Mission and the Government.

### The Mission's Cultural Encounter

The entrance of the Mission into East Africa represented not only part of the political expansion of this period but in reality was also a cultural invasion. A cultural conflict to some degree was inevitable unless the African population had acceded completely and without struggle to all the forms of Western culture imposed upon it, especially those aspects that found their roots in the Judeo-Christian tradition. The process of acculturation was doubtless accelerated by the establishment of mission stations that became cultural enclaves for Africa's "new elite." This cultural dynamic, however, could not be contained in a geographic location, such as a mission station, nor could its explosive potential be defused when it became joined to the dynamic of nationalism. The Mission learned this, at great price, in the controversy over female circumcision. When the "explosion" came, the Church among both the Kikuyu and the Maasai felt its shattering effect. The Mission's encounter with African culture was therefore a significant factor in Mission/Church relations.

### The Mission's Conflict over Education

John Taylor of the Church Mission Society has stated:

For forty years and more the advance of the Christian Church in tropical Africa has depended more upon her virtual monopoly of Western education than upon any other factor.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>John Taylor, *The Primal Vision* (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 20.

The Africa Inland Mission from its earliest days had a deep involvement in this educational monopoly. As a result Christianity became to a great extent a "classroom religion," to use Taylor's apt expression.<sup>4</sup> It was shown that the Church of the Africa Inland Mission not only came into existence largely through the instrumentality of education but continued to increase through this agency.<sup>5</sup> The increasing thirst for education, while in one sense a boon to the Mission, also proved to be a source of grave trouble in its relationship with the Church. There were two reasons for this: one philosophic and the other pragmatic. First, there was a segment within the Mission who were opposed to a large educational program, especially where this involved the taking of Government funds for its maintenance. To these missionaries such dependence on the Government was contrary to the Mission's "faith policy" that called the missionaries to look to God alone for the supply of all their needs. Secondly, at practically no time in its history could the Mission, even with the limited Government help that was offered, begin to meet all the educational demands that were made on it. The supply of teachers and funds could never match the increasing demands. It was only when the Mission in good faith sought in the

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>See pp. 158-160 of this dissertation.



last twenty-five years to marshall all possible resources for its educational program that its cordial relationship with the African Church was in many places restored and strengthened. In certain areas the remedy came too late. In every situation, however, and in every decade, the Mission's educational program was a significant factor in its relationship with the Church.

#### The Mission and the Dynamic of Nationalism

Both Mission and Church found themselves working within a new frame of reference with the coming of independence to Kenya. Not only was their relationship to the Government changed but also their relationship to each other. The dynamic of nationalism was operative in every area of life, including the nation's religious organizations. Both foreign missionary society and African Church felt its effect in a number of ways. For this reason it was investigated as a factor in Church/Mission relationships.

During the decade of the sixties the Mission sought to retain its own identity and autonomy through a partnership relationship with the African Church. This position was defended on both Biblical and historical grounds, and several formal Agreements were signed by the Mission and the Church with the principle of organizational dichotomy as the basis of their functional relationship. In retrospect it becomes clear that the Church merely acquiesced to this arrangement while all the time it was desirous of bringing

the Mission into a closer organic relationship with itself, even to the point where the Mission would lose its identity.

Apparently reflecting the nationalistic climate in which it existed, the Church pressed for supremacy, not the partnership of autonomous equals. Fusion more than parallelism or ecclesiastical "apartheid" expressed its ultimate goal. This was achieved on October 16, 1971 when the Mission, having handed over all its departments and practically all its property to the Church, itself became a department of the Church. One missionary present at the ceremony accurately referred to it as "the day our Mission died."<sup>6</sup>

The wheel had turned full cycle. In the beginning there was a Mission and no Church. Through the various steps that have been delineated in the foregoing chapters there developed a Church that for all practical purposes finally absorbed the Mission that had brought it into existence. The mosaic of this developing and variegated relationship, represented in this dissertation, was produced by an investigation of its significant factors.

### Evaluation

#### Areas of Tension

Having investigated and delineated the significant

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<sup>6</sup>Edward Arensen, "The Day our Mission Died," Inland Africa, LVI, 1(1972), 3-7.

factors in the relationship of the Mission and the Church, it now remains to pursue the ancillary purpose of this investigation; namely, to assess the tensions that this developing relationship may have produced. That tensions did exist between Church and Mission is obvious from the foregoing study. These must now be briefly evaluated, especially with reference to their nature.

Three main areas of tension present themselves to the investigator as a result of his study. While in one sense they are unrelated, there appears to be a significant element common to all three of them. It is the element of time, or more properly, of timing.

#### Too Much Too Soon

The first area of tension relates to the cultural conflict that developed between Church and Mission over the issue of female circumcision. Though the center of the storm lay among the Kikuyu people, the conflict was not limited to them. A dissident group among the Maasai followed the example of the Kikuyu and broke away from the Mission to form their own Church.<sup>7</sup> To this investigator the time element in this confrontation over a cultural issue (albeit with moral overtones) was most crucial. Granting even the inevitability of the conflict because of the morality issue involved from the missionary viewpoint, it is

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<sup>7</sup>See pp. 148-150 of this study.

the writer's opinion that the conflict became more far reaching in its consequences than would have taken place had the timing been different. In a word, it would appear that the missionaries precipitated and aggravated this crisis by demanding too much too soon. It will be remembered that at least one missionary family involved in the struggle shared this same opinion.<sup>8</sup>

#### Too Little Too Late

The second area of tension relates to the conflict that developed between Church and Mission over the Mission's approach to education. From the earliest days the Mission was committed to an educational program. This position never officially changed, nor did the Mission ever stop functioning as an educational agency, though a minority voice on occasion called for such a step.<sup>9</sup> The question rather was one of how much and for whom education was to be provided.

It was seen that for twenty-five years (1920-1945) the Mission pursued an ambivalent approach regarding the extent of its commitment to education for the Africans.<sup>10</sup> Although in 1945 a new commitment was made to developing a

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<sup>8</sup>See pp. 150-151 of this dissertation.

<sup>9</sup>See p. 166, fn. 26 of this study.

<sup>10</sup>See pp. 160-167 of this dissertation.

program of higher education,<sup>11</sup> the tensions that had developed at Githumu could not be reversed. Consequently the Mission found itself facing a breakaway element of its own Church suing for property and equipment to which it felt a rightful claim.<sup>12</sup>

The time element in this situation, as in the cultural conflict, was a significant factor. Although the Mission had charted a new course, or at least re-confirmed a former one, the tensions among the Kikuyu at Githumu<sup>13</sup> indicated that the Mission was providing too little too late. If in the cultural conflict the Mission pressed for the realization of its ethical ideal too soon, in certain areas of the educational conflict it gave to the Africans the realization of their academic desires too late.

#### Too Much Too Long

These two areas of tension were but a prelude to the tension between Church and Mission that built to a climax in the decade of the 60's. This tension in its nature was organizational, growing out of the structural relationship between the two bodies. Underlying this tension in its various manifestations was a basic question concerning the seat of ultimate authority. Where did it lie? To

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<sup>11</sup>See pp. 182-184 of this study.

<sup>12</sup>See pp. 179-182 of this dissertation.

<sup>13</sup>That it was also found among the Kamba people in this same period is seen on pp. 178-179 of this study.

affirm, as the Mission sought to do in its philosophy of dichotomy,<sup>14</sup> that the final authority lay in both autonomous groups was not an answer that satisfied the Church.

The Church saw itself and the Mission as two parallel organizations with overlapping functions. Both of them, for example, were committed to evangelism and theological education. The Church, however, sensed its inferior position growing out of its historical context, even in the midst of this supposed parallel and equal relationship with the Mission organizationally. European domination came, both directly and indirectly, through the supply of monies and the assignment of personnel. Thus, as was seen, the Church pressed relentlessly for supremacy and did not stop in this pursuit until the Mission itself became a department of the Church.<sup>15</sup>

The organizational conflict, however, was a long and at times a bitter one. Once again the time element was a significant factor. The A.I.M. in Kenya had seen a preview of its own conflict in the Church/Mission encounter in Tanzania. The lesson, however, was not learned. In spite of parallel developments in both the political and ecclesiastical world, the Mission in Kenya held on to too much too long.

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<sup>14</sup> See pp. 257-260, 311 of this dissertation.

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 323-324 of this dissertation.

In evaluating the nature of the tensions that developed between Church and Mission in the area of their different relationships, cultural, educational, and organizational, the matter of timing appears to be a significant factor in each conflict. Too soon, too late, too long: these three time designations can be attached to each of the areas of tension respectively and become a vital key to their interpretation.

### Recommendations

#### Suggestions for Further Study

There are a number of further studies that could be profitably made relating to the topic of Church/Mission relationships. This investigator suggests the following:

1. An investigation of the effect of the educational, theological, social, and cultural backgrounds of certain key pioneer missionaries on the relationship between the Mission and the emerging Church. These factors would doubtless be revealed in a biography written on a leader such as Hurlburt.<sup>16</sup>
2. An investigation of the influence of Home Office decisions and directives on field policies and practices. That these were a factor was seen in

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<sup>16</sup>See p. 30, -fn. 49 of this study.

the educational conflict.<sup>17</sup> It was noted that in the beginning the Mission was completely field-oriented in terms of authority.<sup>18</sup> When, why, and how did the shift occur to the home end and to what extent?

3. An investigation of the diversity of Church organization and government on the various stations of the Mission. The Mission guaranteed the early missionaries the right to organize the Church according to their particular viewpoints.<sup>19</sup> To what degree was this diversity actually practiced and with what effects on developing Church/Mission relations? Were there any significant differences in the areas occupied largely by British missionaries?
4. An investigation of the degree to which the Africa Inland Mission contributed to a developing national consciousness by bringing together in a new denomination Church leaders from the different tribes of Kenya. As members of this supra-tribal organization, the Church,

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<sup>17</sup>See p. 163, fn. 20 and pp. 171-172 of this dissertation.

<sup>18</sup>See p. 19, fn. 9 of this dissertation.

<sup>19</sup>See p. 237 of this study.



it would seem likely that such an association had its ramifications in the political realm as well.

5. An investigation that would compare in depth the Catholic and Protestant approaches to indigenous culture in Kenya. Special attention should be given to any possible syncretistic results.

#### Guidelines for other Missions

The world-wide Church is obviously in different stages of development. In certain areas the Church is now where the Africa Inland Church was many years ago. To Missions working in such areas the following guidelines and practical suggestions growing out of the A.I.M.'s experience are offered:

1. The matter of timing is crucial. Doing the right thing at the wrong time can be as disastrous as doing the wrong thing.<sup>20</sup>

2. There must be a sensitivity to the dynamic forces that are operative within a nation or societal group. For example, the A.I.M. appears to have underestimated in the 60's the dynamic of nationalism and its inevitable and inexorable pressures on Church/Mission relationships. Situations and relationships even between religious

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<sup>20</sup> See pp. 348-353 of this dissertation.

organizations cannot be seen in only a "spiritual" context, but they must also be dealt with pragmatically with due regard for existential realities and tensions.

3. Mission societies need a good theological understanding of ecclesiology or the doctrine of the Church. A clear concept of its nature and functions must undergird all thinking relative to Church/Mission relationships. As a corollary, the Biblical concept of a missionary society should likewise be studied so that its function can properly be appraised in each historical context.

4. When a dichotomous arrangement between Church and Mission is begun and maintained, the Mission needs to recognize the necessity of nurturing a transcending sense of unity between the two organizations and their respective members. The awareness of this true spiritual oneness can easily be lost if it is not consciously recognized and constantly practiced. The outworking of this basic unity should find practical expression in a number of ways and areas. The missionary himself should seek to identify as much as possible with the members of the Church, recognizing, however, that he will in one sense always be a "foreigner." This identification, for example, should influence the missionary's standard of living in his adopted land. It should obviate a paternalistic attitude toward his national brethren and in its place foster an ever deepening fraternal relationship. Finally, it should include the

sharing of common objectives and the means available to the missionary for their attainment.

5. There must be flexibility in determining the exact pattern of Church/Mission relationships. This attitude will grow out of the realization that there are no Biblical absolutes defining the precise form which a Church/Mission relationship must take or retain. An investigation of the relationship of the Sudan Interior Mission to its national Church in West Africa reveals that the pattern of dichotomy is successfully operating there.<sup>21</sup> In that situation the Mission has continued to maintain its identity and its autonomy. The A.I.M. tried to follow this same course in Kenya and the result was disastrous. The problem arises when a certain pattern is tenaciously held to because of its supposed Biblical basis, while at the same time the Biblical and experiential imperatives of love, joy, peace, and unity are being tragically disregarded in the Church/Mission relationship.

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<sup>21</sup> Raymond J. Davis, "The Partner Relationship of Church and Mission" (paper read at IFMA Official Board Retreat, May 24-27, 1971, Pearl River, New York ), p. 7.

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**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

### MEMORANDUM OF THE NATIVE EDUCATION COMMITTEE (JANUARY 1941): THE EDUCATION PROBLEM IN THE AFRICA INLAND MISSION, KENYA FIELD

In January, 1940, the question of an educational policy for our mission was discussed in our Annual Conference Business Meeting. A memorandum was submitted by the Native Education Committee in which a very broad policy was suggested. This memorandum with its recommendations was formally adopted by the Meeting. But there seems to exist an uncertainty in the minds of many. There is a lack of cooperation, of united effort, and consequently a lack of progress or improvement in the schools. There may even be a lack of happiness and wholesome fellowship in the work because of this matter of education.

Let us pause a moment and look about us, laying aside all prejudices and opinions to which we have held. Forty-odd years ago the A.I.M. came into a pioneer field. The problems which exist today were practically unknown then. It was as though that field were a clear plain, devoid of trees or thickets. But without any blame on us--certainly though no desire of ours--problem-trees have sprung up, so that we now find ourselves in a dense forest. Almost imperceptibly, civilization, with its revolutionary modes and ambitions, has crept into the Colony. The young man who twenty or thirty years ago was content to be able to do simple arithmetic and to read a gospel, is now the father of children for whom he demands a better education. Government sees the need, hears the appeals and says, "Give them schools, efficient schools."

We are not to blame; but here we are, lost in the forest. What shall we do? Take things as they are, recognizing that our mode of life, our concepts, can no longer be those of plains-dwellers; and set about to learn the life of the forest? Or should we seek a way out of the forest and go on to another grassy plain?

We have come to a crisis. A decision must be made. Was the A.I.M. wrong in taking up work in these areas of Kenya where the problems and difficulties have come to be so great? Surely the fruit of years cries out "no" in unmistakable terms. If not, can it justly be said that the A.I.M. has pushed native education so rapidly as to cause this wide-spread demand for better schools? In view of general development in the Colony is Government unfair in expecting

us to take sufficient interest in and give sufficient time to schools as to make them efficient in the areas which we call A.I.M. spheres of work? (We guard these spheres jealously, don't we?)

But someone says, not unjustly, "Let Government take over the schools." Yes, let them. But Government replies, "We will not." Shall we, then, put Government to the test? Tell them that we wish to withdraw from all educational work (that is, secular) except, if you like, the "bush school" type? If, then, they order us out of our areas completely, in order that some other mission may take up the work, are we prepared to move out willingly and leave all the work to others?

It may be that it is no longer God's will that we should hold these spheres. Perhaps He would have us move out to pioneer fields in Kenya--northern Kitui, Masai and Kamasai whose response has been so slight. Surely we cannot continue to occupy the land to the exclusion of others, and hold a second and third generation of believers to the educational standard of our first converts, while their fellow-tribesmen across that river, or beyond yonder ridge in the sphere of another mission are being carried forward.

God does have a plan for us to meet the present conditions. He can deal with modern problems, for He never changeth--He ever liveth in the present. Our Home constituency and the Field force must know that plan and follow it if our work is to be fully blest. If that plan is for educational work to be continued, it must have the wholehearted support of every missionary whether actually engaged in school work or not. There must be, too, a full understanding by our Home workers and supporters of the peculiar conditions existing in Kenya today. This understanding by those at Home must result in a setting forth of these peculiar needs along with other needs. We must know that they are backing us in this particular phase of our evangelism as we know they back us in other phases.

In order to determine God's will for us we must be willing to lay all our own ideas on the altar of sacrifice. If they were right, He will give them back to us, adjusted and quickened for a more fruitful service than ever before. If they were wrong, He will give us new ones, and with them peace of heart and soul, better fellowship with one another in Him, and wisdom and strength to perform His service. When we determine His plan in this we will no longer have divergence of outlook with its consequent efforts in opposite directions.

## APPENDIX B

### EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS (NOVEMBER 10, 1933) ON HIS VISIT TO THE OUTSCHOOLS ATTACHED TO THE MISSION SCHOOL AT GITHUMU

1. Ten of the eleven outschools attached to this mission were visited on various dates between October 17th and 26th. . . . The central school at Githumu was not inspected, but two visits were made in order to discuss the work with Mr. Downing who is now in charge of the educational work of the mission.
2. These schools are distributed over the north and west of the area lying south of the Maragwa River. There are now no A.I.M. schools in the south-easterly portion of the district. Three of the schools, Kinyona (formerly a European station), Githuru and Kariara lie in the sparsely populated area towards the Forest Reserve, and are the only schools serving that area. The schools at Como, Kamunyaka, Ngoe, Irera, Githima and, to a lesser extent, Gathera have been affected by the opening of private schools. Ngoe was closed down last year on that account, but has since been re-opened. At Como, I was informed, the numbers have dropped to three as a result of the opening of the new private school at Thare. It is hoped that the difficulties at Muthithi consequent on the relations between the school and the C.S.M. school of the same name will have been solved before this report is published.
3. The positions of two of the schools will shortly be changed. . . . When these changes have been made all the schools will be conveniently situated from the point of view of the people they are intended to serve. With the exception of Githima and Gathera they are easily accessible from motor roads in dry weather.
4. The buildings are in most cases of mud and wattle with roofs of banana bark or grass. Those at Githomora, Gathera, Ngoe, Kinyona and Irera are in a bad state of repair while at the first four there is not enough light. The buildings at Githima and Kamunyaka are good, but the light is poor. At Mathithi the local people have put up a new building of sisal poles, with an iron roof. It is airy and well-lit. The latrine accommodations in many cases are very poor; in some schools there are old, broken-down choes which have not been used for a considerable time. This is a matter which requires early attention. The school compounds are generally neat, but there has been little or no effort

made to brighten them up with flowers. In some cases, of course, the attitude of the githaka owner had not been helpful.

5. (a) The permanent equipment is, generally speaking, very poor, and consists of rough benches on low up-rights, a couple of rather poor blackboards, a small rough cupboard with lock, and some old reading charts. There are no desks except at Kinyona, where they were not being used, and at Githuru and Gathara, which received equipment grants this year from the Local Native Council. At Muthithi, although there are no desks, the people have had some twenty benches made for the new building.

(b) The consumable equipment generally consists of some slates, and a few books, mostly in a dirty and tattered condition.

6. (a) Of the schools seen at work only those at Muthithi and at Githuru possess qualified teachers, and in these cases the teachers, who hold the Elementary B Teachers' Certificate, clearly needed more in the way of refresher courses than they get at present. The teachers of the other schools hold the Vernacular Certificate. In some cases they are not young enough to be worth training, and will have to be superseded in time by trained men, though it may be necessary in particular instances to leave them nominally in charge of their schools as they may have greater influence with the community than young, trained teachers would have.

(b) In general, the academic knowledge of almost all the teachers is of a deplorably low standard. They have few, if any, ideas on the subject of teaching, and have become fixed in a routine from which it will be difficult to move them. On the other hand, it must be remarked that they have had but little assistance from the mission, and Mr. Downing is faced with a long and tedious job, if he is to overcome the effects of past neglect. Apart from their ignorance as teachers, there is one other very general defect. Almost all are lifeless and lack to a marked degree that energy and spirit without which the school will never become attractive to the community. Again, in many cases, the teachers were very untidy.

(c) I understand from Mr. Downing that the question of training teachers for these schools is now receiving serious consideration, and that this work will probably be done at Kijabe. I do not think that any training, apart from refresher courses, should be undertaken at Githumu with the present staff. The state of the schools is such that they will require intensive supervision for a long time to come, and Mr. Downing should not be hampered by such additional work at the station itself.

(d) The Jeanes teacher, Joseph Muthugu, is at present under suspension for adultery. Whether, if restored to his position, he will ever be of any great use, remains problematic. He has always been rather out of sympathy both with his work and with his mission.

7. (a) Mr. Downing has re-classified the pupils in these schools and has given them time-tables based on our curriculum. In order to obviate the difficulties inherent in the one-teacher school system, the Sub-standards and Standard I attend at the first session, while Standard II and higher classes, where these exist, attend at a second session, the drill and religious instruction overlapping.

(b) While the intention is to carry out the Departmental curriculum as far as possible, not much progress has yet been made owing to the ignorance of the teachers, and the fact that Mr. Downing was obligated to devote a great amount of his time at first to language study. He hopes, however, to overcome some of the difficulties by preparing, in the vernacular, a fairly detailed syllabus of studies. He has removed English from the curriculum of these schools, though he expressed some fear of the results, as the private schools were attracting people by the inclusion of this subject. I told him that instructions had been given to the private schools that English must not be taught except to pupils who had passed the Elementary School Examination. No handwork is done at present. Agricultural work is attempted in a rather haphazard fashion at some centres; great difficulty has been encountered owing to the attitude of some of the githaka owners.

(c) The registers are poorly kept, and it is difficult to ascertain the numbers on the roll in each class. In some cases there were more pupils present than were on the roll. Apparently the names of new pupils are not entered in the register until they have been in attendance for some time. At Gathera and Muthithi there were 30 pupils. At the other schools the average roll was about 15, except at Itere where there were only 9.

8. The smallness of the numbers in these schools and the lack of support from the community are not surprising. Except in certain areas, as at Kinyona, there is no marked hostility; the attitude of the people is merely one of indifference. This cannot be accounted for by the circumcision and land questions, which are really dead letters as far as the bulk of the community is concerned. The distressing fact remains that the people have but little faith in the mission as an educational factor, and look to the private schools to meet their needs. How long this situation will continue to exist, it is most difficult to say.

It seems to me that for some years to come the Kikuyu will continue to look upon the Elementary School Certificate as the hall-mark of village schools. In time, however, the people must realize that the private schools are turning out semi-literate youths and adults who are entirely unfitted to obtain employment outside the reserve and have no real ability to make a living on their own holdings, nor any desire to do so.

9. Meanwhile the mission has a very rough road to travel, but the prospects are not entirely without promise. Mr. Downing has already done much to inaugurate a new period in the life of these schools, and if he is successful in establishing an efficient and progressive primary school at Githumu, and in staffing the village schools with trained teachers, there should, in all probability, be a remarkable advance made within a few years. In the meantime, as has been said, intensive supervision of the schools must be continued until a more robust and energetic spirit has been established. The use of games, especially football, as an organized factor and as an attraction, should not be lost sight of.

10. At present Local Native Council grants are being given at Githumu, Gathara and Githuru. . . . This grant is being used well.



## APPENDIX C

### SELECTED QUESTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICA INLAND MISSION FROM ELDERS A.I.M. MBOONI STATION MACHAKOS DISTRICT (JUNE 6, 1948)

#### Part I

##### To Address the President

We are very glad that the white people from America brought the Gospel to us, and for this reason we are very much like your children.

They taught us how to read and write, inder [sic] that we might know Education is a good thing.

#### Part II

What is the fellowship between us, and the white people who were sent here by the Africa Inland Mission in working together, as there is no [sic] any money which is sent here by the other white people from America, so as to support the work?

(b) Preachers who work under this Mission are always paid by their own people, even they use their hands and their money to build the churches they worship in.

(c) Teachers who teach the Akamba children, who are in Africa Inland Mission Schools are paid by the D.E.B. [District Education Board] the very money Akamba pay for their Poll Tax. The School fees which the children pay for their education, if is not enough to pay teachers, only the parents collect their money from their own pockets to pay the Teachers.

(d) Out Station Schools. Parents try very hard to collect their money, as they are not assisted at all either by the D.E.B. or by this Mission.

(e) This work is on their shoulders, and while in their hands like this:[?] Europeans always take report of the above mentioned works.

To whom do they send the report as there is no their money?

In 1927 it was the time when they told us that we should practically support our selves in every thing.

Part III

We should like very much to be told why this Society does not want to co-operate with people as the other Societies do, such as (1) Salvation arm [sic] (2) C.M.S. (3) Scotland (4) Roman Catholic (5) G. F. Fellowship?

These Societies collect (1) School Fees (2) offerings and add to it some from Society and pay all their workers who work under them, while the Africa Inland Mission is not so.

Part IV

(a) If the white men in Africa Inland Mission, want to co-operate and work diligently together with Black people, in preaching the Gospel to our people, and teaching them, as well as the other Missionaries do, they should bring their means from America.

(b) They should separate their work, Preachers to be paid from America, just as well as European Preachers.

(c) There should be some European supervising the churches only, and some other European supervising the School work.

They also should aim in giving our people higher education, without mixing Education with preaching business, simply because if there is no Education nothing of importance can be done, as blind man cannot lead another blind man.

Part V

(a) If they feel that it is not appropriate to send their money to help the black people because this colony does not belong to them, it would be better for them to leave off this work and other Society which does not feel tired in helping Africans from either England or Scotland which can be willing to take both preaching and Educational System may come--to replace your position.

Part VI

(a) When Missionaries are given a plot freely, they seems to be inclined to sell the plot, as they get tired of the place. Why is that?

Part VII

(a) The reason why we are in need for the higher Education in Ukambani is this--e.g. in Ukambani we have many people, who have been trained as pastors.

If we want to send some one to India or to Negeria [sic] to preach the Gospel to the people of Negeria [sic], or of the India, whom can we send there as a Mkamba while he has

no Education?

(b) We are in need of the higher Education because it is one of the greatest instrument in preaching the word of God.

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- (1) I copy to the President.
- (2) a copy to the Elders. A.I.M. Mbooni, Machakos District.

## APPENDIX D

### MEMORANDUM FROM THE A.I.M. KENYA EDUCATION COMMITTEE (SEPTEMBER, 1967): POLICY FOR THE KENYA EDUCATIONAL WORK

PREAMBLE: Over the years God has guided the Africa Inland Mission into various areas of work. One of these has been the ministry through what is sometimes termed "secular education", and this educational work has developed as God has guided in planning and has called missionaries to it. The plan, or policy, of educational work must always be considered in relation to the basic objectives of the A.I.M., namely the proclamation of the Gospel and the building of the Church. With this in mind the following policy had been developed to meet the changing patterns in the educational programmes of Kenya.

#### I. RELATIONSHIP TO THE BASIC AIMS OF THE AFRICA INLAND MISSION.

Such educational work as the members of the Mission are engaged in should be a means of evangelism and should be related to training an educated leadership for the Church, both as pastors and laymen who will play an active part in the various departments of the Church. Special consideration needs to be given to the difficult task of integrating educated people into the life of the Church. Together with this we must be concerned to maintain the highest quality in standard and staffing of our church training institutions.

#### II. PATTERN FOR MINISTRY THROUGH "SECULAR EDUCATION".

The Mission has utilized missionaries for a Christian ministry through schools in four ways, all of which are valid. The first way was the original intention and the others came into being by natural sequence of developments in changing Kenya.

- 1 - To fully staff "Christian schools" (all staff and management being committed Christians.)
- 2 - To contribute staff to "essentially Christian schools" where committed Christians occupy key posts (i.e. Headmaster, Religious Education Instructors) and a majority of staff are Christians.

- 3 - To contribute missionary teachers as individual witnesses in schools which are not "essentially Christian."
- 4 - To promote Religious Education Advisers to guide and assist the teachers of Bible lessons in the schools.

### III. SPECIFIC AIMS FOR THE MISSIONARY EDUCATOR.

A. Missionary teachers will participate and share in the life and activities of the former Mission/Church managed schools or other schools in order to:

- 1 - enable students to be led to a personal faith in Christ as the opportunity occurs in the activities of the school,
- 2 - encourage Christian students to become active members of the Church,
- 3 - assist Christian students to grow in Christian character,
- 4 - teach their subjects from a Christian standpoint,
- 5 - speak for and seek to promote Christian standards of behaviour in the running of the school,
- 6 - organize and participate in Christian activities in the school, such as Christian Union, Bible study groups, etc.,
- 7 - live before the students exemplary Christian lives.

B. Religious Education Advisers will promote good Scripture teaching in schools-at any level and where possible co-ordinate Christian work in the schools with the work of the Church. This will include:

- 1 - visiting the schools to advise in the teaching of R. E.
- 2 - helping the schools to have adequate R. E. teaching equipment.
- 3 - maintaining liaison with Government Education Officers.
- 4 - conducting refresher courses for teachers of R. E.

- 5 - encouraging spiritual growth of teachers by promoting Christian Teachers' Fellowships and meetings, etc. as possible.
- 6 - assisting the pastors in having a pastoral ministry to the pupils and teachers.
- 7 - participating in the development and use of the Christian Education programmes in the churches (Sunday Schools, Christian Youth Fellowship, Battalion, Cadettes, camps, women's fellowship, etc.)

#### IV. CONSIDERATIONS IN ASSIGNMENT OF MISSIONARY TEACHERS.

A. Except for the Rift Valley Academy, the Mission had been unable to maintain "fully Christian schools" as referred to in Section II - 1 above, and is operating "essentially Christian" schools (Section II - 2). In addition a number of missionaries are involved as individual witnesses in both grant-aided and non-aided schools and others serve as Religious Education Advisers.

B. It would seem wise to continue seeking to provide the key staff for any school which can be operated as "essentially Christian" as long as this type of control does not obligate us financially so as to drain the funds needed to operate Church leadership training institutions.

C. At the same time, whenever the "essentially Christian" schools are satisfactorily staffed, or when we are no longer able to maintain their essentially Christian character, or when an experienced missionary teacher makes specific request, the assignment of missionaries should be as individual Christian teachers in schools which are not "essentially Christian". Such assignment should be made with the following considerations:

- 1 - to schools (either grant-aided or community supported) drawing a preponderance of students from A.I.C. constituency,
- 2 - on a basis of providing a Christian witness in as many and widespread schools as possible, rather than attempting to concentrate them in a few schools.

#### V. RECRUITMENT OF NATIONAL CHRISTIAN TEACHERS.

Because of the fact that:

- 1 - Mission personnel will be progressively replaced by National teachers, and

- 2 - the educational development of the country may result in Secondary schools coming more directly under government control as has occurred for Primary Schools,

Therefore every effort should be made:

- 1 - to recruit and guide particular National Christian teachers into posts of leadership as Heads of these schools, and
- 2 - to recruit further National Christian staff so as to form a core of National Christian teachers in each school.

#### VI. CONSULTATION WITH THE CHURCH.

It is recognized that there is a vital need for close consultation and cooperation with the Africa Inland Church in developing and implementing educational policy.

## APPENDIX E

### MEMORANDUM OF THE CENTRAL FIELD COUNCIL (APRIL, 1960): THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MISSION AND THE CHURCH

On the subject of the Relationship of the Mission and the Church we should be governed by principles of operation rather than by rigid rules. Our attitude of mind and our approach to the problem are in the long run more important than even immediate solutions.

It is important to understand two basic principles. These are:

1. The Mission is an organization. It is not "per se" a spiritual organism (though it should be a spiritual organization). It is an intermediate agency, not a final goal in itself. The duration of its life does not depend on its inherent nature, but on the need for its services.
2. The African Church forms part of the Body of Christ which is a spiritual organism. It expresses itself through organized local churches. Called into being by God (Acts 15:14) the Church will cease from its earthly ministry only at the consummation [sic] of the age; until which time it is assured of the abiding presence of its Head, the Lord Jesus Christ...

This Church is the first-born of the Mission, the embodiment of the very purpose of its existence. It is the result of the Seed of the Word planted in Africa; which Seed has produced a truly indigenous product. It has not been transplanted in the sense that a part of a foreign church came over here to form the nucleus of an African Church.

Though foreign missionaries were here in Africa before the existence of an African Church, THEY did not constitute the Church. The missionaries did not form a nucleus of an African Church to which were added in due time African believers.

The African Church was born in Africa. The missionaries were just the attendant midwives. As such they stayed on through the Church's infancy, seeking to lead it on into spiritual maturity. As this process went on, Mission authority became replaced by paternal counsel. (Paul refers to both in I Thessalonians, chapter 2.) Regarding the



missionary's direct relationship to the African Church, it seems that the phase of paternal counsel is being replaced by fraternal fellowship.

"Integration" is the watchword of the hour, and there are areas where it is both possible and desirable. A number of Missions are merging completely into the Church, losing their own separate identity. This would seem to be properly possible only with denominational Missions. As regards the Africa Inland Mission, integration would seem to be inconsistent with its position as indicated above.

There are spheres of responsibility, however, which are distinctly Church, and others which are distinctly Mission. As soon as the Church becomes autonomous, it must assume complete responsibility for all Church affairs. The missionaries stand ready to give counsel and help in other ways, if this is desired.

On the other hand, there are Mission responsibilities which it has no right to ask the Church to assume, and others which in most cases would be too heavy for it at present. Among these would be:

- a. The professional side of medical work.
- b. The technical side of the Presses.
- c. The technical side of building projects.
- d. Schools for missionaries' children.
- e. Mission property as distinct from Church property.
- f. Mission finance for which the Mission is responsible to render account.
- g. Discipline of missionaries.
- h. Responsibility of missionaries before Government.

In these, and possibly other matters, the Mission must retain ultimate authority.

There are, however, certain other matters which are of common interest to both Church and Mission, and while ultimate decisions must be made by the party under whose responsibility it falls, such decisions should only be made after fullest discussion with the other party in a spirit of mutual Christian confidence. Among these would be:

- a. Educational work.
- b. Evangelism.
- c. The assignment of missionaries to Church or related work.
- d. Bible Club and Sunday School work.
- e. Bible Schools and Bible Colleges.

There are areas in which the Mission is seeking and will continue to seek to help meet the needs that cannot at this time be otherwise met, such as the Bible School program, the general education of the Protestant community, etc.

But even partnership between Mission and Church does not and cannot represent our final goal. It is rather a midway point which has been reached in the development of the work; and will doubtless, and with good reason, continue to represent the Mission-Church relationship in certain phases of the work for some time to come.

What, then, is the goal? Nothing more, nothing less, than a completely indigenous Church with Africans carrying the full responsibility for all phases of its work. Until this goal is realized; missionaries, as members of the Church Corporate which is Christ's Body, should enter faithfully into its fellowship in cooperation and to give guidance where needed.

Under the good hand of the Lord a large measure of spiritual maturity has been reached, and it is the conviction of the Central Field Council that the African Church has been built on sound principles. However imperfectly realized at this time, the goal of a truly indigenous Church is validated Scripturally and commended historically. A policy of integration, though, whereby the missionary becomes a member of the African Church is opposed to this.

It needs to be remembered that it is indigenous churches that are to be permanently planted; not foreign missionaries that are to be permanently transplanted.

## APPENDIX F

### MEMORANDUM OF THE CENTRAL FIELD COUNCIL (JUNE, 1961): A GUIDE TO FIELD COUNCILS IN DEFINING THE RELATIONSHIP OF MISSION AND CHURCH

#### PREAMBLE:

The times in which we are living demand that our work be kept under constant review. The development of the work and recent events in our fields have made it necessary to become more specific in the relationships between Government, Church, and Mission and how we are to live and work together.

In adopting the principles herein set forth, the Central Field Council has given consideration to the suggestions of the Home Councils and to the experience of the missionaries in the various fields in discussing Church/Mission Relationships with the Church Councils. It has agreed on these basic principles to guide each Field Council in working out an agreement between the Mission and the Church in each Field.

#### BASIC ASSUMPTIONS:

The principles set forth in this statement are based on the fundamental assumption that:

- A. The Africa Inland Mission recognizes the Church in each Field as a fully autonomous body governing itself and its work.
- B. The Church in each Field recognizes the Africa Inland Mission as a fully autonomous body established for the purpose of fulfilling the great Commission.
- C. There will be no transfer of authority without the assuming of corresponding responsibility.

#### TRANSFER:

##### Land and Buildings

- A. That any properties used by the Church may be transferred to the Church.

- B. Agreement with Government regarding such transfers and subsequent costs will be the Church's responsibility.
- C. When deemed advisable certain Mission Stations should be transferred to the Church for its use.

RELATIONSHIP:

- A. Certain phases of Mission Work will be transferred to the Church.
- B. Matters of mutual concern shall be dealt with on the basis of consultation between the Church Councils and the Field Councils of the Africa Inland Mission.
- C. Collaboration of the Africa Inland Mission missionaries with the Church will be regulated by agreement between the Mission and the Church.
- D. It should be recognized that, apart from designated gifts, there are no Mission Funds for the support of the Church.
- E. The Mission will continue to send personnel as the Lord enables.

I. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHURCH:

In drawing up an agreement or working arrangement between the Mission and the Church, care must needs be exercised not to give the impression of forcing a list of responsibilities on the Church without consultation. Bearing this point in mind the endeavour should be made to obtain acceptance of responsibilities of the Church along the following lines:

- A. Pastoral Care and Work of the Churches.
- B. Evangelism and missionary outreach. All Pastors and Evangelist-teachers shall be considered as employed by the Church and shall be subject to its regulations.
- C. Station Bible Schools.
- D. Ownership and maintenance of Church property.
- E. Supervision of Church finances.
- F. Discipline of Church Members.

- G. Representation of Church affairs before Government.
- H. Care of youth and children of the Protestant community.
- I. The Chairman of the Central Church Council will prepare each year a statistical report of the general activities of the Church.
- J. Arrangements and communication with other Churches and Societies within or outside the country should be dealt with by the Church.
- K. The Central Church Council, or its advisory committee shall meet regularly with the Field Council to consider and act on matters of mutual interest.

At all times the Church shall be free to request counsel and help from the Missionaries if this is desired.

## II. JOINT RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHURCH AND MISSION:

- A. Inasmuch as hospital work is a specialized activity it requires competent direction from the medical point of view.

The technical medical services shall be considered a separate activity from the general administration and shall remain under the control of the Mission doctor in charge.

A local administrative council may be established for each Mission Hospital or Dispensary.

- B. The following activities are subject to technical and administrative arrangements similar to those outlined for medical work: Presses, Central Bookshops, Publication of Literature, and certain stages of Educational Work.
- C. The work of the Bible and Theological Schools is one in which the Mission and the Church should fully collaborate. They should be under the jurisdiction of committees or boards of governors appointed jointly by the Mission and the Church. Missionary and African personnel shall be assigned to this work as needed and committees or boards of governors shall give direction as to courses and further developments.

### III. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MISSION:

The following shall be the responsibilities of the Mission:

- A. The care and upkeep of Mission Property.
- B. The recruitment and support of missionaries of the Africa Inland Mission.
- C. The provision of a School for missionaries' children.
- D. The discipline of missionaries.
- E. The responsibility of missionaries before Government.
- F. The Field Council will be responsible for the assignment of missionaries. Africa Inland Mission missionary personnel requested by the Church to work in the Church may be assigned to the posts offered.

## APPENDIX G

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AFRICA INLAND CHURCH AND THE AFRICA INLAND MISSION-- KENYA OCTOBER 16, 1971

#### PREAMBLE

The Africa Inland Church in Kenya today represents the fruit of many years of sacrificial service, by some even unto death. We rejoice that God has raised up a company of believers who, being organized under the name of the Africa Inland Church, are able to continue with the same faithful service toward the fulfillment of the Divine Commission to go into all the world and make disciples. The Africa Inland Mission wishes to continue sharing in this ministry and these two bodies now enter into this agreement.

The Africa Inland Church Kenya shall govern itself according to its Constitution and be responsible for all its activities.

The Africa Inland Mission Kenya takes the position of a department of the Africa Inland Church in all Church-related matters.

1. Departments--All departmental work being undertaken together shall be administered through committees according to procedures laid down by the Central Church Council (known as Baraza Kuu).
2. Properties--All Church-related properties, movable and immovable, formerly held by the Africa Inland Mission Trustees shall be held by the Africa Inland Church Trustees and used according to the objectives of the Church as stated in the Constitution.
3. Personnel--Available personnel shall be assigned by the Staffing Board according to its terms of reference. Africa Inland Mission personnel, while serving in Kenya shall be recognized as members of the Africa Inland Church and as such shall fully participate in local activities and be eligible for election to Church Councils.
4. Finance--All monies received by either the Church or the Mission for Church work shall be administered by the Central Church Council through its Finance Committee and used according to designation.

In the spirit of Harambee individual missionaries and

overseas Mission offices shall endeavour to make known to their constituencies the needs of the Church.

5. As a Department of Africa Inland Church in Kenya-- recognized functions of the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya are:
- (1) To join with the Africa Inland Church Kenya in fulfilling its objectives as stated in its Constitution, namely:
    - a. To evangelize according to the Divine Commission and to establish local Churches.
    - b. To glorify God in all things.
    - c. To establish believers in the faith.
    - d. To help Christians to stand firm in the Holy Scriptures.
  - (2) The Africa Inland Mission Kenya shall also:
    - a. Be responsible for the practical and spiritual welfare of Africa Inland Mission missionaries in Kenya.
    - b. Provide liaison with Home Councils of the Mission.
    - c. Retain its legal identity in Kenya.
    - d. Sponsor other international organizations and, if possible, to hold property for such bodies as requested.
    - e. Provide the means of secondment to, and from other organizations.

We the officers and Trustees of the Africa Inland Mission Kenya Registered do hereby this sixteenth day of October, one thousand nine hundred and seventy one approve this agreement and place our signature here to.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Field Secretary

\_\_\_\_\_  
Deputy Field Secretary

\_\_\_\_\_  
Assistant to the Field Secretary

\_\_\_\_\_  
Trustee

\_\_\_\_\_  
Trustee

\_\_\_\_\_  
Trustee

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Trustee

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Trustee



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