

Christians and citizenship:

A critical study of the contribution of ecumenical Protestants to the citizenship of Africans in Kenya from 1918 to 1982

Oliver Kisaka Simiyu

OCMS, MPhil./Ph.D.

April, 2016

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a historical study of the joint efforts that ecumenical Protestants made towards the citizenship of Africans in Kenya, between 1918 and 1982. It is based on archival documents including minutes, government and church reports, correspondence, biographies and interviews as primary sources. Though it analysed actual documents of the past, it is written as a narrative history.

While taking note of the origin and development of citizenship as a concept, its theories, and how it came to Kenya under the colonial state, this thesis presents findings from primary sources of how ecumenical Protestants organized themselves and made efforts towards the citizenship of Africans. 'These efforts were aimed at improving Africans' representation in decision making organs of the state concerning labour, taxation and property rights and facilitating them through better race relations and civic empowerment.

Its main argument is that though individual Protestant missions and churches had the primary task of spreading Christianity, their joint efforts in critical moments of Kenya's socio-economic and political history between 1918 and 1982, were important for Africans' citizenship. They did this either directly through advocacy and representation or indirectly through information and civic empowerment. Their efforts contributed to the gains that Africans made from exclusion, to localised representation in 1924, to limited national representation in 1944, and to full representation or full citizenship at independence beginning 1963.

Its main findings were that of the efforts that ecumenical Protestants made towards the rights of Africans, whether by direct or indirect engagement as noted above, or both, only those that got secured in suitable laws and policies, amounted to gains towards their integration to citizenship, because the state could be held accountable to enforce. The efforts that Ecumenical Protestants made revealed important dynamics that underlay how church to state influence happened.

As a result, this researcher recommends that the churches maintain their ecumenical efforts towards justice and good governance through advocating for good laws and policies and improve on their civic education by clarifying their theology of public engagement for Kenya's largely Christian citizenry.

‘Christians and Citizenship:

**A critical study of the contribution of ecumenical Protestants to the
citizenship of Africans in Kenya from 1918 to 1982’**

By

Oliver Kisaka Simiyu
B.Ed. Kenyatta University, Kenya
MABTS Africa International University, Kenya
(Formerly Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In Middlesex University

United Kingdom

April 2016
Oxford Centre for Mission Studies

DECLARATIONS

The author declares that the work of this thesis is the result of his own investigation, other than that duly acknowledged to other authors, and that none of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other awarding institution.

Signed:



Date

20.6.2016

A STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No part of it should be reproduced without his prior consent, and information derived from it should be duly acknowledged.

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if approved, to be available for photocopying by the British Library and for Inter-Library Loan, for open access to the Electronic Theses Online Service (EthoS) linked to the British Library, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations. I further grant permission to the Kenya National Library, the National Council of Churches of Kenya Library, the Africa International University Library and the St Paul's University Library to grant access to a copy of this thesis for reference in the library.

Signed:



Date

20.6.2016

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, the late Eliud Musieni Simiyu and Mama Joan Nabwala Simiyu, who with single minded dedication sacrificed their comforts to pay extra fees so that my siblings and I could study in the best schools they could afford. I remember fondly their blessing when I dedicated my life to serve the Lord Jesus Christ.

I also dedicate this thesis to my one and only dear wife Lynette Gladys Kisaka and our two daughters Rebecca Kisaka and Ruth Kisaka.

They have meant the world to me through the entire journey of my research project

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the following people or organisations for their support in my research project:

1. The Lord God Almighty who called me to Himself and has guided my entire life, undertaking for this entire project through His marvellous grace available in His Son Jesus Christ. There were times when the going was trying beyond measure, when the discouragement was beyond my human capacity. The Lord put together the opportunities, the wonderful people, the funding, the health, the perseverance and the protection I needed to complete it.
2. Dr Ben Knighton and Dr Daniel Branch my Supervisors, who literally encouraged me even when I had gotten mixed up to the point of giving up, and guided me back on track, a special thank you.
3. The NCKK, the two general secretaries under whom I served, the Rev. Mutava Musyimi and the Rev. Can. Peter Karanja, for their gracious love and support.
4. The NCKK Archives, and all colleagues with whom I served in the entire period. In seeking to document its work in the past one hundred years, the Council provided 50 percent of the funding that has seen me through.
5. The Kenya Government through Research Permit No. MOST 13/001/38C 80 of 25.3.2008.
6. My dear wife Lynette Kisaka and daughters Rebecca and Ruth Kisaka, who graciously gave me time, sacrificed their comforts and allowed me to use some of our family resources to pay the rest of my fees and encouraged me when the going became too tough.
7. My dear mother Joan N Simiyu and my dear late father Eliud M Simiyu, and my brothers Edward, Eric, Brian and sisters Mildred and Lilian together with their families for their tireless encouragement.
8. Geoffrey and Marigold Best, who first introduced me to Oxford Quakers that have been a special encouragement.
9. Madam Ellen Basani, my first host from the Oxford Quaker Meeting. Tina Leonard, for her encouragement and help with English grammar and David and Gretchen Castle
10. Non-Nobis House, Peniel House, Commonwealth House and Wycliffe Hall accommodation facilities
11. The Reedwood Friends Church, Portland Oregon, USA, and particularly- Gladys Wanjala and her late husband John Wanjala. Reedwood contributed to my first year fees
12. The Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC) that has allowed me on my trips to New York, to conveniently buy air tickets so that I could meet my residence requirements
13. The OCMS community led by the Executive Director Won Suk Ma, for wonderful study environment and for part scholarship funding afforded me in one of the years and its very thorough and friendly faculty and staff
14. The Kenya National Archives, and Mr Richard Ambani, the Archivist that was very helpful in tracing materials
15. Dr Aloo Mojola, who singularly encouraged me and gave me useful feedback.
16. My Kenyan friends that have tirelessly afforded me a place I could eat ugali away from home:-Peter and Cecilia Oyugi, Patrick and Hellen Mukholi, Bishop Francis Waihenya and Joshua and Gladys Wathanga.
17. The Africa International University Library and The Hekima Library, Ngong Road, Nairobi

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	
DECLARATIONS	
Dedication	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Table of Figures	v
Acronyms	vi
Chapter One	1
Background information	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Kenya: Concise history of Christian missions before study period	2
1.3 Research Problem	4
1.4 Research question (s)	6
1.5 Kenya: Context, people and brief histories of religious groups	7
1.5.1 Kenya, the context of the study	7
1.5.2 Kenya's multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious citizenry.....	7
1.5.3 Kenya's religious groups.....	9
1.6 Importance of this research	10
1.7 Methodology	10
1.7.1 Research objectives	11
1.7.2 Methodological issues	11
1.7.3 Conceptualizing a religion to citizenship contribution model	14
1.7.3.1 Ernest Troeltsch's findings: The Advocacy model	15
1.7.3.2 Max Weber's findings: The Discipleship model	19
1.7.4 Protestants and their role in Kenya's public life	21
1.7.5 Roman Catholics in Kenya.....	22
1.7.6 Citizen and citizenship	23
1.7.7. Conceptual framework	25
1.8.0 Data collection	26
1.8.1 Data Collection from Archives	26
1.8.2 Data collection from NCKK and its membership	27
1.8.3 Data collection from interviews and group discussions.....	28
1.8.4 Data Analysis	29
1.8.5 Limitations and challenges.....	30
1.9 Thesis arguments and arrangement of chapters	32
Chapter Two	34
Protestants' and Africans' citizenship in Kenya	34
2.1 Introduction	34
2.2 The missions and the state as civilizing agents: the experience of Africans	35
2.3 Citizenship: Its origins, development and introduction to British East Africa ..	41
2.4 Protestants, the protectorate and Africans in the territory	46
2.5 Protestant missions and colonial state operations	50
2.6 Protestants and the complexities of the development of Kenya	51
2.7 Religion and politics in Africa	58
2.7 Conclusion	61
Chapter Three	62
Diversities cooperating for effectiveness	62
3.1 Introduction	62
3.2 Protestant missionaries and church leaders	62
3.3 The Federation of Missions and Africans' citizenship of exclusion	66

3.4 The Alliance of missions and Africans' citizenship of local representation	67
3.5 The Kenya Missionary Council and Africans' increased citizenship activities	71
3.6 The Christian Council of Kenya and African's representation on the LegCo.....	76
3.7 The National Christian Council of Kenya and Africans' full citizenship	79
3.8 Conclusion.....	79
Chapter Four	81
Protestants' efforts towards Africans' political representation	81
4.1 Introduction.....	81
4.2 Protestants' and the challenge of Africans' political exclusion	81
4.3 Protestants and the beginnings of Africans' representation	86
4.4 Protestants' representation of Africans in the paramountcy debates.....	87
4.5 Protestants and Africans' self-representation on the LegCo	109
4.6 Conclusion.....	116
Chapter Five	118
Protestants' efforts towards Africans' labour and taxation rights	118
5.1.0 Introduction	118
5.2 The missions and the beginnings of Africans' labour and taxation	119
5.2.1 Setting the scene.....	119
5.2.2 Missions' intervention.....	121
5.3 The missions and the debates around the Northey Circulars	124
5.3.1 The colonial state and labour shortage.....	124
5.3.2 The Colonial State and the Northey Circulars	125
5.3.3 The missions direct advocacy efforts	128
5.3.4 The missions' counter policy on labour	131
5.3.5 The missions' unexpected opponents	137
5.3.6 The missions indirect advocacy through J H Oldham	141
5.4 Examples of labour injustices 1920-1950	143
5.5 Protestants and the <i>Kipande</i>	147
5.6 Conclusion.....	153
Chapter Six	155
Protestant Missions and Africans' Property Rights	155
6.1 Introduction.....	155
6.2 Emergence of the missions' critiques of land policy in 1919 to 1920	156
6.3 Protestants and the prevention of a white mans' country.....	163
6.4 Protestants and the Ormsby-Gore Commission	168
6.5 Protestants and the Carter Land Commission.....	173
6.6 Conclusion.....	182
Chapter Seven	183
Protestants and Race relations.....	183
7.1 Introduction.....	183
7.2 Protestant missions and the race relations dynamic.....	184
7.3 The emergence of race relations terminology.....	186
7.4 Protestant missions and the Race Relations Committee	187
7.5 Protestant Missions' Conference on Race Relations	194
7.6 The Christian Council on Race Relations (CCRR) and citizenship	195
7.7 The CCRR, its challenges and achievements.....	197
7.8 Protestant missions, the Colour Bar and Kenya as a multi-racial state	204
7.9 Conclusion.....	214
Chapter Eight	217
Protestants empowerment of Africans for their civic role	217
8.1 Introduction.....	217
8.2 Protestants and the rehabilitation of Ex-Mau Mau detainees	218

8.3.0 Protestants and the pre-independence moment	226
8.3.1 Strengthening the CCK	227
8.3.2 Protestants and civic education	227
8.3.3 Protestants and preparations for independence	233
8.4 Protestants, nation building and Africans' transition to full citizenship	237
8.5 Protestants and Africans' endangered citizenship	242
8.6 Protestants' and the great need for civic education	249
8.7 Conclusion	254
Chapter Nine	255
Critical summaries and lessons	255
9.1 Introduction	255
9.2.0 Protestants' organization and joint efforts towards Africans' citizenship	255
9.2.1 Protestants' successive ecumenical institutions	256
9.2.2 Protestants and representation rights	257
9.2.3 Protestants and labour and taxation rights	258
9.2.4 Protestants and property rights	260
9.2.5 Protestants and race relations	261
9.2.6 Protestants and Africans' empowerment in rehabilitation and civic education	261
9.3 Protestants and Africans' citizenship: Additions to knowledge	262
9.3.1 Church state studies in Kenya	263
9.3.2 Ecumenical Protestants were operational early in the colonial period	264
9.3.3 Ecumenical Protestants and Africans' gains towards full citizenship	264
9.3.4 Ecumenical Protestants, the Northey Circulars and Paramountcy debates ..	268
9.3.5 Ecumenical Protestants and multi-racialism in Kenya	269
9.3.6 Ecumenical Protestant leaders' relations with state leaders	270
9.4 Ecumenical Protestants and Africans' citizenship: Continuity and discontinuity	271
9.5 Protestants and the task of developing Kenyans for effective citizenship	272
9.6 Conclusion	274
Bibliography	276
Primary Source materials	276
Kenya National Archives	276
Government Reports	276
Church Reports	277
Periodicals	277
Oral Sources: DHR labelled as Discussion and historical recollection	277
NCKK Archives Limuru	278
NCKK HQs:	279
Materials and discussions from other sources	279
Government Reports	279
Church Reports	280
Books and Booklets	280
Rhodes House, Oxford-Archives	281
OCMS Library, Oxford	282
Secondary Sources	283
Phiri, Isabel Apawo	309
Table of Figures	
Figure 1.1 Historical developments within the state and among ecumenical Protestants	
Figure 1.2 Population by religious affiliation	
Figure 1.3 Dynamics of Church- State influence	

Acronyms

APM	Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa
AAPS	Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society
AIM /AIC	Africa Inland Mission/ Africa Inland Church
BCC	British Council Churches
BEA	British East Africa
BRC	Bible and Research Committee
CCK	Christian Council of Kenya
CCKCC	Christian Council of Kenya Citizenship committee
CCR	Christian Council on Race Relations
CMS	Church Missionary Society
MSGBI	Conference of Mission Societies in Great Britain and Ireland
CSM	Church of Scotland Mission
DJPR	Department for Justice Peace and Reconciliation
DWP	Devonshire White Paper
EAP	East Africa Protectorate
EASD	East African Statistical Department
EAYM	East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers)
FAM	Friends Africa Mission
FIAM	Friends Industrial African Mission
FMB	Foreign Missions Board
FOM	Federation of Missions
GPFC	General Purposes and Finance Committee
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association
IMC	International Missionary Council
KAU	Kenya African Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KICC	Kenyatta International Conference Centre
KMC	Kenya Missionary Council
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KWW	Kenya We Want
LNC	Local Native Councils
LegCo	Legislative Council
MGM-KMC	Minutes of the General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council
NA	NCCK Archives
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCCK Hq	National Council of Churches of Kenya, Head Quarters
RCA	Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missions
RHO	Rhodes House Library, Oxford University
ROK	Republic of Kenya
RRC	Race Relations Committee
RSC	Rapid Social Change
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
UMC	United Missionary Conference
SECAM	Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
WW I and WWII	First World War and Second World War
YIG	Youth in the Gap

Chapter One

Background information

1.1 Introduction

Protestant missions and churches,¹ Africans and the state were the three critical players of Kenya's colonial and post-colonial development process that are of central concern in this thesis. Protestant missions' main reason for being in British East Africa was to spread Christianity (Strayer 1978). They however encountered new dynamics arising from the impact of the operations of the East Africa Protectorate on Africans, and organized themselves to intervene on behalf of Africans. Of these interventions, those towards various rights were important for Africans introduction to the modern state, and the gains they made towards integration as equal subjects or citizens in the colonial period until they achieved full citizenship. Full citizenship in this thesis refers to the status that Africans attained, when they finally had full representation by fellow Africans in Kenya's parliament at independence.

This thesis is therefore a presentation and discussion of research findings from primary sources of the role played by ecumenical Protestants (Protestant missions and churches as represented by their leaders) acting jointly towards the citizenship of Africans between 1918 and 1982. This chapter is introductory, providing a concise history of Christianity in Kenya, stating the research problem, question(s) and objectives, giving information about Kenya and key concepts, discussing a conceptual framework for this study and the methodology employed.

1 In this thesis, missions were the missionary led agencies that were sent to evangelise and plant churches among Africans, while churches were the local congregations that began to emerge under mission leadership. The missions terminated their work at independence, while the churches remained and grew under African leadership.

1.2 Kenya: Concise history of Christian missions before study period

The Protestant missions in focus in this research began their work in British East Africa in mid-19th century (Nthamburi, 2014; Strayer 1978) when the Church Missionary Society (CMS) sent Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann to East Africa to spread Christianity among Africans. They overcame great personal and contextual challenges to set up the first mission station at Rabai Mpya, studied and published the Swahili dictionary and Bible (Nthamburi, 1991; Strayer 1978 Anderson 1970), both of which strengthened the role of Swahili as the *lingua franca* of trade between different ethnic communities from the coast to Kavirondo (western Kenya) (Gregory, 1901).

The CMS missionaries were followed by the United Methodist Mission (UMM) at Ribe in 1862. By this time David Livingstone was urging mission agencies to send missionaries to Africa to spread Christianity, civilization and commerce (Monk, 1860, 24). The UMM was followed by the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) at Kibwezi in 1891, and the Africa Inland Mission (AIM) in Ukambani as from 1895. Though Oliver (1967, 67) noted the missions' pre-colonial petition to the Colonial Office to set up its services in the territory, the British government set up the East Africa Protectorate (EAP) for other reasons, mainly to protect Lake Victoria as the source of the River Nile from German aggression. Towards this end the EAP established its administration in the territory, built the railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria and enforced security, three things that were important for the missions. The railway however became its own cause of inclusion and exclusion among Africans. Firstly, while it linked African communities in the Southern two-fifths of Kenya and facilitated various socio-economic developments, it excluded those in the northern three-fifths of Kenya causing their marginalization. The missions in focus in this research, operated in the southern area. Secondly, the railway was the reason that Indian railway workers, clerks and trades

people and European settlers were imported into Kenya, with great effect on Africans. The former were employed by the EAP to construct the railway or provide certain other services, and the latter invited as investor farmers to raise revenue for running the territory and repaying its construction loan (Kamoche, 1981; Low, 1965).

Thirdly, the railway facilitated rapid movement to the interior. By 1902, the missions were already in conflict over space in Nairobi, making it necessary for the colonial state to apply the comity arrangement, through which it allocated a sphere of operation to each mission.² In so doing the colonial state also took advantage of mission efforts in social services like education, medical and vocational training, as a way of spreading services to very remote parts of the protectorate at the cost of the missions. In many cases the mission stations became the main catchments for market days, local politics and in some cases chief's camps.

It was because of the common challenges they encountered in their spheres that Protestant missions began their ecumenical fellowships, forming successive ecumenical institutions through which they engaged the state. After independence, in 1966 they renamed their institution the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) (Musyimi, 2003; NCCCK, 2013). Below is a table of how they organized themselves for their role against the background of national historical developments.

2 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G, Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya, page 21

	1895-1920	1920-1940	1940-1960	1960-1982			
State	East Africa Protectorate	Kenya Colony	Independent Kenya				
State activity	Established colonial government, secured territory from German aggression, begun raising revenue to repay railway loan. Some governors working with settlers to turn Kenya into a white man’s country			Established independent Kenya, re-organized country as prosperous homeland for Africans. Other races were welcome to stay, but behave			
Europeans’ status	Full citizenship with full national level participation in all government departments/ First class			Second class			
Indians and Arabs	Citizenship of limited National representation compared to Europeans. Second and third class citizens respectively.			Second class			
	1895-1920	1920-1944	1945-1963	1963-1982			
State and European settler activity	Colonization period. Some lands bought at throw away prices. The rest forcefully alienated using the CLO 1902 and 1905. Africans forced into tribe-specific Reserves onto small pieces of land apiece. Settlers’ pressurize state to force Africans to labour 1906 MSO	Control period. Governors and settlers try to consolidate power by reviving white mans’ country (wmc) effort. DWP stands in the way. Africans growing fast in population, in knowledge, political activity.	State and Europeans attempt to get back to wmc project after WWII, but have to allow Africans to LegCo and are shocked by Mau Mau. Governors begin to create room for Africans farming and independence	Africans as full citizens on fast track to know how to function in an independent state. Somalis and Nubians’ service to colonists and role in the crushing Africans’ resistance to colonialism a negative point			
Africans	1895-1920	1920-1944	1945-1963	1963-forwards			
	Citizenship of Exclusion/ Fourth class	Citizenship of Localized representation Fourth Class	Citizenship of limited National Representation Fourth class	Full citizenship (Even if of various shades) First class			
	Africans were not consulted and had no representation.	Participation in Local Native Councils -Representation in National LegCo by a missionary	In 1944 Participation in Nat’l LegCo by African for Africans	Participation by African MPs in Kenya’s independence Nat’l Assembly			
Ecumenical Protestants	1903-1913	1913-1918	1918-1924	1924 -1943	1943 -1966	1966-1982	
	Missions in spheres	FOM	APM	KMC	CCK	NCCK	

Figure 1.1 Historical developments within the state and among ecumenical Protestants

1.3 Research Problem.

Though Protestant missions began their meetings prior to the First World War (WWI) (Omulokoli 2004), and held their first ecumenical conference in 1913, their real engagement of the state concerning Africans' rights began from their second ecumenical conference in 1918, when they resolved to get involved (Sections 2.6, 4.2). Scholars of religion and politics including Strayer (1978), Stibbs (1978) Spencer (1974), Temu (1972) and Oliver (1969) have given attention to Christianity in the colonial period. More recently, especially after 1980, scholars have had divergent arguments on the role of the churches in politics in Kenya. Scholars like Owuoche (2010), Knighton (2009), Sabar (2002), Githiga (2001), Chepkwony (1987) that focused on the efforts

that the churches made viewed them as effective, despite their varied deficiencies. Those that focused on the deteriorating socio-economic and political culture of Kenya, like Gifford (2009) and Lonsdale (2005, 1992, 1978), took it that the churches and their leaders had been ineffective because they lacked the credibility, unity of purpose and a theology of public engagement. It is however observable that in the massive literature that include Hornsby (2013), Branch (2010), Branch, Cheeseman and Gardner (2010), Bates (2005), Peterson (2004), Mutunga (1999), Southall (1999), Ndegwa (1998, 1997), Throup (1998, 1995), Throup and Hornsby (1998), Haugerud (1993), Berman (1992), Berman and Lonsdale (1990), Kanogo (1987), Kamoche (1981), Bennet (1976), Leys (1975) and Welbourn (1961), the church is hardly or minimally discussed.

Renewed interest by church-state historians and political scientists happened after 1990. This was because of the downturn that Kenya took from the stability and economic progress of the first ten years of independence known as Kenyan exceptionalism (Bates 2005; Haugerud 1993) to the deterioration that occurred in the 1980s. Scholars who showed great interest in the role that the NCCCK membership and the Roman Catholics played between 1985 and 1995 left the impression that the churches were not as active before that (Branch, 2010; Gifford 2009). This research set out to address that academic gap by investigating how the state's activity affected Africans' citizenship, and the role ecumenical Protestants played. Africans here includes both gender, unless specified.

This research chose 1982 as the end of the research period for two reasons. First, it was the year in which Kenya Airforce soldiers attempted to overthrow the government of Kenya led by President Daniel Arap Moi. After the failed *coup d'état*, Moi adopted an authoritarian approach. He for example changed the Constitution to make Kenya a de jure one-party state. In the four years following, citizens' rights of association and free

speech were all curtailed. Secondly, it marked the turning point that individuals and civil society groups began to question the Moi regime and to push for reforms. Individuals like university lecturers and students were detained or exiled and civil society groups like Law Society of Kenya, that had some capacity to air their opinions, were silenced or dismantled. Their push however reflected Huntington's (1996, 1993) post-1975 third wave of democratization. It took the churches some time, having welcomed a Moi presidency in 1978, to re-organize their frame of thinking. It was not until 1985 that they as church leaders allied to NCKK began to question the Moi government. Thirdly, 1982 was a date dictated by the available unused primary sources. The knowledge gaps left by the literature above led to the research questions below;

1.4 Research question (s)

The following overall research question guided this research;

What joint efforts did Protestant missions and churches as represented by their leaders make towards the citizenship of Africans in the process of Kenya's socio-economic and political development from 1918 to 1982 and why?

The sub-questions to this question are as follows;

What was the background to Protestant missions and churches ecumenical organization and efforts towards the citizenship of Africans in the light of existing academic literature?

What methodology was employed in the study, with what merits and demerits?

What joint efforts did Protestant missions make with regard to Africans' citizenship right to representation between 1918 and 1950, how and why?

What were their joint efforts towards the labour and taxation rights of Africans between 1918 and 1950, how and why?

What were their joint efforts towards the property rights of Africans between 1918 and 1950, how and why?

What were their joint efforts towards race relations of Africans with other races between 1918 and 1950, how and why?

What were their joint efforts towards the empowerment of Africans towards their role as citizens between 1950 and 1982, how and why?

What discussions and conclusions emerge?

1.5 Kenya: Context, people and brief histories of religious groups

In view of the research question above, the following background information is important.

1.5.1 Kenya, the context of the study

Kenya is a country on the East Coast of Africa that straddles the equator, measuring some 582,600 sq. km. Its population was 38,610,097 in 2009. This was an increase of 35 per cent from the 1999 census. Of these 19,192,458 are males and 19,417,639 are females. In 1897, two years after the British Empire set up the colonial government in British East Africa, the population was 2.5 M. It grew to 5.4 M in 1948, 8.6M in 1962, 10.9 in 1969, 15.3 in 1979, 21.4 in 1989 and 28.7M in 1999. (KNBS 2010, 1-2; 19). It is a multi-cultural society made up of at least 120 people groups usually clustered in 44 tribes, 4 main races and 8 major religious groupings.

1.5.2 Kenya's multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious citizenry

Of the races that became part of the citizenship discussion in Kenya, Africans were in the territory when the others arrived (N'gan'ga 2006; Ehret 1974; Stiles 1980; Ochieng 1989; Osogo 1966). They had migrated to the territory at different times, between 500 AD and 1650 AD (Kiarie, accessed 2016; Maxon 1986; Spear 1981). These lived either

as scattered clans under cephalous or acephalous leadership structures (Muriuki 1972) or as kingdoms like the Wanga kingdom in present day Mumias in Kenya. They were under-developed in comparison with European and Middle Eastern races, but they each were holistic cultural communities that did not separate religion from politics, economics or even their warfare activity (Knighton, 2009; 2005). Their religious activities, described as African traditional religion, ranged from superstition to organized ritualistic worship of a deity or deities.

Muslim Arabs began operations in East Africa between mid-tenth and mid-eleventh century AD. They initially came in as traders, but under Ibn Batuta, established 'Zalya, Mogadishu, Mombasa, and Kilwa along the East Coast' and Muslim city states between 1329 and 1330 AD (Hunwick, 1988). They demarcated the Ten Mile coastal strip for their settlement and converted all Africans therein to Islam, but retained the interior segregated from their religion as a catchment area for slaves. This was because Islam forbade them from enslaving fellow Muslims. In the period 1400-1700, Catholic Portuguese like Batholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama travelled via the East Coast with their fleets as they explored an alternative route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. They overthrew the Muslim rulers on the East Coast and controlled it between 1500 and 1700 AD, built Fort Jesus from which they fought their battles, dominated trade, exacted taxes and raided the interior to capture Africans for their Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Portuguese had a bad reputation for brutality and immorality, and did not spread Catholicism. They also with few exceptions never quite settled in Kenya as Europeans.

The Portuguese were themselves overthrown by Muslim Omani Arabs, who once again took control of the slave trade in the 18th century. Mazrui (1980) in an effort to justify

how the Portuguese and Muslim colonizers above, did not address their moral failure as a religious groups that abused fellow humans through slavery. He instead argued that they were more organized cultures and so could not be resisted by the less developed Africans. Though it is said of Indians that they were engaged in trade on the East Coast before 1000 AD and (Delafosse 1924; Trimmingham 1964), the majority of those that settled in Kenya came later when the EAP employed them to build the Kenya-Uganda railway. Other than the Portuguese discussed above, the other Europeans came either as missionaries, staff of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) in 1888, or of the EAP from 1895 onwards and as European settler farmers from 1897 onwards (Mungeam 1978). Thus by 1921 the territory was inhabited by an estimated 2,500,000 Africans, 22,822 Indians, 10,102 Arabs and 9,651 Europeans by 1921, African numbers remaining low for some time because of epidemics.³

1.5.3 Kenya's religious groups

According to Barret et al's (1973, 144-145) research on behalf of the NCCK, 53 percent of Kenyans were Christians in 1962, growing to 66 percent in 1972. The 2009 census results (See Figure 1.2) showed that these had grown to 82.6 percent, with 97.5 percent of Kenyans being religious.

	Religious affiliation	Adherents	Percent
	Catholics	9,010,684	23.45
	Protestants	18,307,466	47.66
	Other Christian	4,559,584	11.87
	Muslim	4,304,798	11.21
	Hindu	58,393	0.15
	Traditionalist	635,352	1.65
	Other Religion	557,450	1.45
	No religion	922,128	2.40
	Don't know	61,233	0.16
	Total respondents	38,412,088	

Figure 1.2 Population by religious affiliation (KNBS 2010, 396)

3 KNA.305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 9

1.6 Importance of this research

The importance of this research lies in its argument that prior to independence in 1963, Protestant missions and churches, through successive ecumenical institutions, engaged the state with regard to the citizenship rights of Africans in the period 1918 to 1982. It provides researched information on how ecumenical Protestants organized themselves for engagement, clarifies their main motivation and discusses how the efforts they made affected the gains that Africans made towards full citizenship.

It also proposes that a research approach that focuses on efforts made, unearths important information that could be analysed to gain clearer insights into the nature of Church state relations. Further, this thesis highlights some dynamics that underlay the work of ecumenical Protestants towards the citizenship of Africans over the study period and recommends how the NCKK may approach advocacy and civic education. Similar research can be done on other religious groups.

1.7 Methodology

This research project employed the historical method from a qualitative methodology approach. It took note of Cohen, Manion and Morrison's (2011, 537) advice that;

There is no one single or correct way to analyse and present qualitative data; how one does it should abide by the issue of fitness for purpose ... (It) is often heavy on interpretation, and one has to note that there are frequently multiple interpretations to be made of qualitative data – that is their glory and their headache.

Secondly, according McCulloch (2011, 248)

Historical and documentary research methods are intended to provide access to, and facilitate insights into, three related areas of knowledge about human social activity. The first of these is the past, whether that of modern history over the past two centuries or of earlier times. The second is that of processes of change and continuity over time, including the contestation and negotiation that is involved in these and the broader social, political, economic and other forms of context within which they take place. The third relates to the origins of the present that explains current structures, relationships and behaviours in the context of recent and longer term trends.

1.7.1 Research objectives

With the above in mind, the following research objectives were clarified;

To contribute to ongoing research on church-state relations;

To conceptualize a church–state-citizen relationship model and establish a suitable framework for the study of the role of Protestants in Kenya’s public life;

To trace how Africans’ citizenship status changed with time and the role played by Protestant missions and churches towards the changes.

To trace the efforts that Protestants made towards the citizenship of Africans in the context of Kenya’s political and socio-economic development from 1918 to 1982.

To analyse and discuss implications of the research findings for the church’s public role in Kenya.

1.7.2 Methodological issues

Historical studies, which had advanced from being chronicles of kingdom records into well done historical narratives that spoke to the people, even if hermeneutically subjective (Wood, 2010), were jerked by the intense warfare mounted by Descartes in the 17th century, when he rubbished Aristotle’s initial view by declaring that it lacked a system of logic (Berlin, accessed 2015). He observed that this challenge caused many historians to invest in demonstrating that history was a science like the physical sciences. Though Wood agreed that it brought much good in that it anchored history in statistical and other scientific facts, he also noted that consumption of academic historical literature went down, because hardly any people were keen on laborious reading. It was perhaps because of this that narrative history retained its place. According to Little (2008) narrative;

is an account of how and why a situation or event came to be...intended to provide an account of how a complex historical event unfolded and why.’ So that the people ‘understand the event in time.’ its relevant contextual features to the outcome – ‘the settings at one or more points in time that played a role...and the actions and choices that agents performed.

It is the reason the actors took those ‘actions rather than other possible choices’, and the ‘causal processes -- either social or natural’ that ‘may have played a role in bringing the world to the outcome of interest.’ In the 1960s, White (2014), argued against anachronism and came up with his theories of metahistory⁴ by which he sought to make historians gain their relevance after the works of others like Michelet and De Tocqueville were long gone. While the above discussion pits the chronicler, the scientific historian, the narrative historian and the metanarrative ones against each other, this research is more a combination, employing facts as found in historical documents, ascertaining the correct times, interpreting them within their political and socio-economic contexts and telling the stories as they related to the big picture.

Munslow (2000, 251) assessed the development of history methods from another angle. He saw in one Burckhardt’s focus on the intellectual, social and representation aspects of the renaissance cultural history, an approach in which he described the individual within the emergent national polity, the role of history as a national force, the growth of the academic disciplines, the role of biography, the relationships between men and women, and various aspects of popular culture. Munslow’s observation was that ‘In the early twentieth century the rise of the masses into political life, the increasing impact of science and technology, the consequences of hugely unbalanced wealth creation, the arrival of total war, and the intellectual promise of the social sciences, combined to produce the century’s dominant form of historical study- social (and to a lesser extent economic) history.’ This empirical approach seemed to reinforce the ‘empathic approach of Burckhardt and Johan Huizinga to social sciences through the application

4 Metahistory is concerned with the nature of history, the meaning of history and the cause and significance of historical change. <http://www.historytoday.com/christopher-dawson/problem-metahistory#sthash.Z6o47Oet.dpuf>

by statistics, known as cliometrics',⁵ seemingly reinforcing 'the historian's capacity for telling the truth about the past as it actually happened.' After this he observed that there came the *Annales* school of France which enhanced social history into cultural history in the second half of the twentieth century, 'the present highly complex study of the inter-personal relationships of the three aspects of social life noted above.' Thus to Munslow (2000, 251) cultural history is the current approach to historical studies, being the result of the influence of contemporary events in the USA and Western Europe on the lives of historians, with race, gender and class issues in the age of rapid technological growth, as well as imperial and internal decolonization.

Other scholars who raised key issues in historical research included Mangal and Mangal (2013, 59-60) who identified six main steps to the research process including specification of the research problem, formulation of the research hypothesis, literature review, data collection, evaluation of the data and writing of the research project. McCaffrey (2005, part 1), defining the historical method as 'the systematic body of principles and rules designed to aid effectively in gathering the source materials of history, appraising them critically, and presenting a synthesis (generally in written form), of the results achieved,' highlighted three major operations. These were the heuristic, which involves the search for sources of information, the critical appraisal of the sources for 'evidential value' and the assembling and presentation of findings. She, like White (1966, 38), cautioned against the guilt 'of anachronism or "presentism", which meant applying the morals and mores of the present to the actors of the past, that provide excessively critical historical interpretations, dismissive of previously honoured historical actors (2005, part 2).

5 Merriam-Webster dictionary. 'The application of methods developed in other fields (as economics, statistics, and data processing) to the study of history.

Summing up all the discussions therefore, this research progressed by conceptualizing a religion to state influence model, defining Protestants' successive ecumenical bodies, identifying level of representation as an indicator of level of integration into citizenship, determining the gains that Africans made in representation in decision making processes by investigating Protestants' efforts towards labour, taxation and property rights and towards better race relations (belonging) and civic empowerment of Africans for political participation.

1.7.3 Conceptualizing a religion to citizenship contribution model

John Stott (1994, 339) observed that historically, church-state relations had taken four main approaches as follows; 'Erastianism (the state controls the church), theocracy (the church controls the state), Constantinianism (the compromise in which the state favours the church and the church accommodates to the state in order to retain its favour) and partnership (church and state recognize and encourage each other's distinct God given responsibilities in a spirit of constructive collaboration).' This research was however more specifically focused on investigating how the missions and churches efforts affected the citizenship of Africans in Kenya.

The study revealed the presence and active participation of missions and churches in the political and socio-economic development processes of colonial and post-colonial Kenya between 1918 and 1982. It took note of the complexities of religion to politics interaction, two dimensions of the same cultural milieu that could integrate or divide citizens (Knighton, 2009; Lonsdale 2005; 1992e, Haynes 1996). Marshall observed that in its development history, Britain had set up the Executive, Parliament and the Judiciary (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992, 8-10), three arms of government in line with Locke's philosophy of separation of powers (Locke, 1690). These reduced statecraft to

the work of making, implementing and upholding laws and policies, the written expectations that all stakeholders had a right to hold the state to account about. If the state failed to enforce the law, society would degenerate into malpractice. It follows that if any stakeholder desired to influence the direction of society, their most critical effort was to advocate for just laws and policies, push for their enforcement and continually evaluate progress. In this thesis a culture of malpractice refers to misuse of political power, corruption, negative ethnicity, politically instigated violence and violations of Kenyans' citizenship and human rights. The history of church state relations remains open to study and interpretation. Though the early church is often considered to have been an apolitical sect, it grew into myriads of sects with varied interactions with the state in various contexts. Two scholars whose research and findings provided guidance for this research were Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber.

1.7.3.1 Ernest Troeltsch's findings: The Advocacy model

Troeltsch (1992 [1931]) undertook a massive, almost impossible study of the 'Social Teachings of the Christian Churches' using Weber's sociology categories (Reist 1966, 106-117). The importance of his work for this research lies both in his findings and in his methodology. Concerning the former, Troeltsch (1931, 993-1000) found that though the gospel of Jesus began as a free personal piety, new religious communities were only formed when faith in Him became the central point of worship. Troeltsch (1930, 993) wrote that;

From the very beginning there appeared the three main types of the socio-logical development of Christian thought: the Church, the sect and mysticism. The Church is an institution which has been endowed with grace and salvation as the result of the work of redemption; it is able to receive the masses, and to adjust itself to the world, because, to a certain extent, it can afford to ignore the need for subjective holiness for the sake of the objective treasures of grace and of redemption...The sect is a voluntary society, composed of strict and definite Christian believers bound to each other by the fact that all have experienced 'the new birth'. These believers live apart from the world, are limited to small groups, emphasise the law instead of grace, and in varying degrees within their own circle, set up the Christian order, based on love; all this is done in preparation for and expectation of the coming Kingdom of God...Mysticism means that the world of ideas which had hardened into formal worship and doctrine is transformed into a purely personal and inward experience.

Troeltsch (1931, 994) observed therefore that of the three, only the churches had the power to stir the masses in any real and lasting way, though the sects drew closer to the churches when mass movements took place. The worship of Christ constituted the centre of the Christian organization, and created Christian dogma. Redemption was so important to the church that;

the church must see to it that the whole nation shall hear the message of salvation, and that everyone shall have at least a contact with divine salvation. Mercy requires it, and the absolute divine origin of the truth of salvation justifies this procedure. Here it is permissible to force people for their own good. This however, demands the co-operation of the material power of the state, without which neither the inner uniformity of the church, nor the building up of popular and territorial churches would ever have come into existence (Troeltsch 1931, 997-998).

Troeltsch (1931, 997-1000) in addition pointed out that the history of the Christian ethos on the one hand demanded 'the sanctification of the self for God by the practice of detachment from everything which disturbs inward communion with God' and on the other hand demanded the brotherly love that would overcome in God, all the tension and harshness of the struggle for existence, of law and of the merely external order, that was envisaged by the Kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed. This, Troeltsch wrote, was 'an ideal which cannot be realized within this world apart from compromise.' To him (1931, 1000) therefore;

the history of the Christian ethos becomes the story of a constantly renewed search for this compromise, and of fresh opposition to this spirit of compromise. The Church in particular, however as a popular institution, is forced to compromise; this she effects by transferring to the institution the sanctity and the grace of forgiveness proper to it as an institution;

While Catholicism worked out a dualism of 'evolution: the ascent from grace', 'Ecclesiastical Protestantism destroyed this dualism and wove both its elements into the ethic of the calling.' The sect however in contrast was 'in sharp opposition to the world.' (Troeltsch 1931, 1000). Thus Troeltsch found that to reconcile asceticism with an ethic of civilization, the church drew on the moral 'Law of Nature,' which is constantly changing and constantly requires a new Christian ethic. The church was capable of interacting with the state institutionally and negotiating on matters of

concern. In so doing, influence took on the meaning of negotiation between two institutions, the church and the state, with the necessary give and take, hence his employment of the term compromise. Thus 'something of the context became a part of its new found strength and newfound insight within the faith itself in such a way that the involvement of the Church in the world was irreversible.' In Reist's (1966, 158-159) interpretation of Troeltsch therefore, the history of Christianity was a 'history of the compromises that the church had made with the world in their mutual positive significance'. In modern times, the process of negotiating with the state towards certain desired ends is known as advocacy.

With regard to research methodology however, Troeltsch (1931, 34) set out to 'inquire into the intrinsic sociological idea of Christianity, and its structure and organization.' He employed sociological categories from other scholars he named as Weber (1907), Simmel (1907) and Rickert (1902) for his historical study of the social teachings of the Christian churches (Troeltsch 1931, 29). Noting 'the economic form of 'society' based on the division of labour' as an independent phenomenon he raised 'the question of the inward influence of Christianity upon the sense of personality, and upon ethical mutual relationships,' as being 'of immense importance,' yet 'neither conceived nor answered' Troeltsch (1931, 30). Reist (1966, 107) considered this to be the reason that Troeltsch depended on Weber as follows;

Weber's contribution to Troeltsch's thought at this point was both formal and substantial. One must add that it was also profound. As has been often noted, the relationship between Troeltsch and Weber was an extremely close one. It is undoubtedly true to say that it was from Weber primarily that Troeltsch gained his insights into the emerging discipline of sociology- insights which, as we have seen at length, shaped the very centre of his own creativity ... For Weber the relationship between the social sciences and the historical disciplines was always very close.

Concerning Troeltsch's methodology, Reist (1966, 28-29) noted that 'The social' referred to the non-political, or indirectly political, but nevertheless observable phenomena';

...from the initial and basic distinction between those relationships, on the one hand that are decisively political in character and that are consequently ordered by the state, and those relationships, on the other hand, that are not of a political nature but that are nevertheless discernible within the nexus of the observable sociological phenomena at large.

Troeltsch called the interaction between the political and the social, the ‘Social Problem’. Reist (1966, 31) quoted Troeltsch; ‘If,’ he argued, ‘the state and society, in their interrelationship, have always been the dominant forces in the shaping of civilization, then the implication is that they had a role to play in this evolution only when and in so far as it moved in collusion with these forces.’ Thus for him the question was ‘How can the church go hand in hand with these key forces in such a way that a unity of culture will emerge?’

Though Troeltsch’s discussion of the unity of culture drew sharp criticism from others like Bonhoeffer (1961, 286-287), who viewed him as compromising the values of the gospel, and his methodology was nevertheless valued. According to Bainton (1951, 71-72) Troeltsch had divided Christianity into particular epochs and cultures, taken the best dozen or so books on each period and out of them constructed a ‘picture of the dominant characteristics’ of each, and then compared the manifestations with each other. Considering that ‘Troeltsch made no pretence of an exhaustive acquaintance of the sources,’ and that Troeltsch’s conclusions could only be tentative, Bainton concluded that ‘a work like that of Troeltsch should be canonized rather for its methodology than for its positive conclusions.’ Reist (1966, 25) considered Troeltsch to have contributed to ‘methodology in Christian thought’ and agreed with Bainton, when he wrote that ‘it goes without saying that one cannot stop with Troeltsch, but the road beyond him lies through him.’ Thus his methodology was a historical study of the church’s involvement with the state, which is important for this study.

1.7.3.2 Max Weber's findings: The Discipleship model

Weber (1978, 50, 56) viewed the church as 'a compulsory hierocratic organization that claims a monopolistic authority over spiritual services.' It involves the 'routinisation of charismatic force in a set of ecclesiastical, specifically episcopal offices.' He considered that the church exercises domination over the laity through means of grace like baptism, marriage, Eucharist and confession. Such people experienced a different dynamic when it came to the state because 'the state is an institution that exercises a monopoly of violence within a given territory.' Whenever the churches were unable to relate with the state, they unintentionally created a sharp dichotomy between the sacred and the secular, giving way to the development of secular political institutions (Turner 2002, 260-1).

Weber (1930, 3-10), as a leading sociologist of his time, undertook a sociological study aimed at answering Catholics' concerns that;

occupational statistics of any country of mixed religious composition showed with remarkable frequency the fact that business leaders and owners of capital, as well as higher grades of skilled labour, and even more the higher technically and commercially trained personnel of modern enterprises alongside other features were overwhelmingly Protestant.

In this Weber (1930, 12) employed the historical method as a way of establishing facts for his sociological study and explanation. He found that Protestants had on the basis of their theology, taught their adherents the godliness of hard work, frugality, and freedom to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Key within their theology was a rejection of superstition through their faith in God and their adoption of a disciplined lifestyle based on a strong eschatological focus and the idea of the 'calling' (1930, 79). Thus Weber (1930) found that by their commitment to the values above and others, Protestants in their varied denominations, but especially after John Calvin's 'Institutes of the Christian Faith' and its construction of a public theology, had developed a culture that enabled them to live productive lives that resulted in wealth accumulation. He called it the

‘Protestant Ethic.’ Their theology was however not comprehensive enough to enable them to retain their Protestant ethics when they became very wealthy. It yielded capitalism and hedonism rather than charity and outreach as this quote shows;

There follows the advice that those who gain all they can and save all they can should also give all they can, so that they will grow in grace and lay up treasure in heaven. It is clear that Wesley here expresses in detail, just what we have been trying to point out...the full economic effect of those great religious movements, whose significance for economic development lay above all in their ascetic educative influence, generally came only after the peak of the purely religious enthusiasm was past. Then the intensity of the search for the Kingdom of God commenced gradually to pass over into sober economic virtue; the religious roots died out slowly, giving way to utilitarian worldliness (Weber 1930, 119).

Weber’s (1930) study presented the possibility that a religious community could construct a theology or teaching, which if adherents followed, would result in a way of life which he called the ‘Protestant Ethic.’ Its impact caused a shift in which adherent communities became centres of interest due to their newly found socio-economic stability that had implications for the political order. It was an approach that was value based as follows;

And while the politically privileged monopoly industries in England all disappeared in short order, this attitude played a large and decisive part in the development of the industries which grew up in spite of and against the authority of the state. The Puritans...repudiated all connection with the large scale capitalistic courtiers and projectors as an ethically suspicious class. On the other hand, they took pride in their own superior middle-class business morality, which formed the true reason for the persecutions to which they were subjected on the part of those circles (Weber 1930, 122).

Weber noted as shown above that ‘they took pride in their own superior middle class business morality’, suggesting the possibility of a discipleship curriculum or at least a common teaching. It is this teaching approach that is in this research labelled the discipleship model. It is derived from the instruction of Jesus to His disciples to make disciples by their teaching (Mat. 28:18-19). Though Weber criticised what he saw to be the negatives of capitalism against the underprivileged in society, he recognized its impact (Weber 1930, 15-20). A significant challenge to Weber’s theory has recently been presented by Harvard Scholar David Cantoni (2009), in which he has used empirical analysis of data between 1300 and 1900 AD in Western Europe to show that

in the long run, there was no great difference between Protestant regions and Catholic regions. His concerns however did not deny that the teaching of Christianity tended to alter the way people lived.

1.7.4 Protestants and their role in Kenya's public life

During the period covered by the research, Protestants in Kenya were in three main families namely Ecumenical Protestants, Evangelical Protestants and the African Independent (also referred to as Instituted or Indigenous) Churches (AICs) (Padwick 2003, 3-6). Firstly, the AICs were founded as breakaways from mission churches from the mid-1920s either on spiritual grounds or cultural grounds. They include churches like the Africa Church of the Holy Spirit (ACHS) which broke away from the Friends Africa Missions (FAM), also known as the Quakers, in 1927 in search for deeper spirituality (Padwick 2003, 5-6), and Africa Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (AIPCA) which took on a nationalist agenda (Barret 1973, 50). These operate under the Kenya Union of Independent Churches (KUIC) or the Organization of African Independent Churches-Kenya Chapter (OAIC-K). Secondly, Evangelical Protestants were founded both by Pentecostal/ charismatic missionaries from different parts of the globe and by Charismatic Kenyan leaders from the 1940s and 1950s forward. They operate under their umbrella Evangelical Alliance of Kenya (EAK). Though initially focused on personal salvation, they more often have been supportive of the political establishment in the days of Moi and got engaged much more with regard to the 2005 Constitution referendum (Gifford, 2009, 215-220, 163-166).

Thirdly, Ecumenical Protestants were founded by the missions and began their joint fellowships in 1913. In the period 1918 to 1919, they held several meetings in which they decided to engage the state on behalf of Africans. The term ecumenical, derived

from the Greek word *oikumenikos* –which means ‘of the same household’, is borrowed from the World Council of Churches concept of worldwide Christian fellowship, although the NCKK does not hold official membership. Ecumenical Protestants in Kenya, exhibit both liberal and evangelical doctrine, with freedom to engage the socio-economic and political issues of the mission field (Gifford, 2009, 242, 249-250). Scholars Gifford (2009) and Lonsdale (1992) identified three reasons for Protestants’ ineffectiveness in shaping Kenya’s political culture namely, their divisiveness, their lack of a political theology and their discredited leaders. Their views were among those that necessitated further investigation. To be able to investigate the role of ecumenical Protestants towards the citizenship of Africans, I identified various moments as discussed in chapters Four, Five, Six, Seven and Eight, and looked at how they organized themselves, what they did, and why. The findings were analysed and tested with secondary literature as I wrote the thesis.

1.7.5 Roman Catholics in Kenya

The other major Christian family besides Protestants that has had a long history of varied types of engagement is the Roman Catholics. The Holy Ghost Fathers of the Roman Catholics (RMC) began their work at Kosi 1889, but moved to Mombasa in 1890, after one of their leaders was murdered (Barret 1973, 31-32). During the colonial period, perhaps because they were originated from different parts of mainland Europe, they were unavailable to take any serious stands against the state. They were more in agreement with the colonial state for their survival. In 1925 for example, when called to engage in the paramountcy debates, they declined, saying it was too dangerous. They however have been recognized by some scholars for their development efforts and for having a theology of political participation. Being the single largest church in Kenya, with far more property, resources and highly trained personnel than the Protestant

movement, they tend to exert greater weight in dealing with the state. The NCCK's collaboration with Roman Catholics after independence picked up in the 1970s. Research is required to investigate their role with regard to the citizenship of Africans.

1.7.6 Citizen and citizenship

Citizenship is the main area of focus in this thesis based on the view that in a democratic society, it encompasses not just membership in the state, but also the important role of political participation, including setting governments in place and holding them accountable (Marshall, 1950; Almond and Verba, 1963). It is derived from the classical meaning of citizen which refers to one who is 'a member of a political community or state, has rights and responsibilities, and participates in determining how it is governed.'

In this thesis, citizenship is discussed in two perspectives namely citizenship-as-legal status and citizenship as desirable activity. The former is reflected in whether or not the person or people in question feel a sense of belonging the state, evidenced by access to the required state documents and have access to equal rights and responsibilities with rest including participation in decision making processes either directly or by representation. The citizenship of Africans in here means the status they held at any one time as reflected in the way the state dealt with their rights and the legal access it afforded them to participate in decision making processes. The missions despite, their own racial prejudices, expected that a civilized colonial state would uphold British trusteeship for Africans, viewing and treating them as British subjects or citizens with equal rights before the law (Grant 2005; Kamoche 1981).

In reality however, the colonial state applied a differentiation policy on the basis of race (Mamdani 1996), creating four classes. The first class were British subjects of European origin, the second British subjects of Indian origin, the third British subjects of Arabic origin by mutual arrangement with the Sultanate of Zanzibar and the fourth class, British subjects of African origin, whom the colonial state treated as a people without status and excluded from decision making processes as it violated their property, labour and taxation, racial equality and political participation rights, until Britain declared Kenya a colony in 1920. The level of representation in the state's decision making processes reflected the citizenship status afforded to Africans. Thus the research investigated the efforts that ecumenical Protestants made towards securing Africans rights either by representing them or advocating to have Africans represent themselves.

The latter is the citizenship that this thesis argues, ought to be employed to address the increasingly problematic relationship between religion and politics (Kymlicka and Norman 2014, 352-353). Troeltsch (1931, 31) wrote 'In our modern way of speech the State and Society are conceived as quite distinct from each other, and the characteristic conception of society only arises out of contrast with the modern, formal constitutional conception of the State.' This thesis argues for a citizenship conceptualized in a holistic culture model, derived after reflections on the works of anthropologists like Kraft (1979), Tylor (1958), and Evans-Pritchard (1951) and political scientists like Kymlicka and Norman (2024), but concretized using Mugambi's (2004) concept of culture as 'the way of life of a people,' characterised by six interacting dimensions namely politics, economics, social relations, ethics, aesthetics and religion. This is helpful because the thesis investigates the work of ecumenical Protestants (being a religious group) and their efforts to secure Africans' representation (political rights), belonging (social rights) and property and labour (economic rights) as key efforts towards their

citizenship. I argue that rather than emphasise separation of religion and state, there ought to be a philosophical construction that allows each dimension to supply its bit, in order to create a balanced society for every citizen.

1.7.7. Conceptual framework

Reflecting on Troeltsch's (1931) and Weber's (1930) studies, and the clarifications on citizenship, culture and civic competence above, this research settled that ecumenical Protestants acting jointly could have influenced the state directly through advocacy and representation or indirectly, through empowering Africans for their role. Empowerment in this thesis means civic education for holistic participation in society, in addition to formal education and any other skills development. These, according to Almond and Verba (1989 [1963]), would be aimed at improving the civic competence of the people. In both cases the primary aim would be to reach points of agreement or compromise (Troeltsch 1931), that would be anchored in laws and policies that would in turn form the objective basis for the state's dealings with its citizens. The former is advocacy, the latter is empowerment, but in Christianity known as discipleship. These, direct and indirect approaches, can be illustrated diagrammatically as follows;

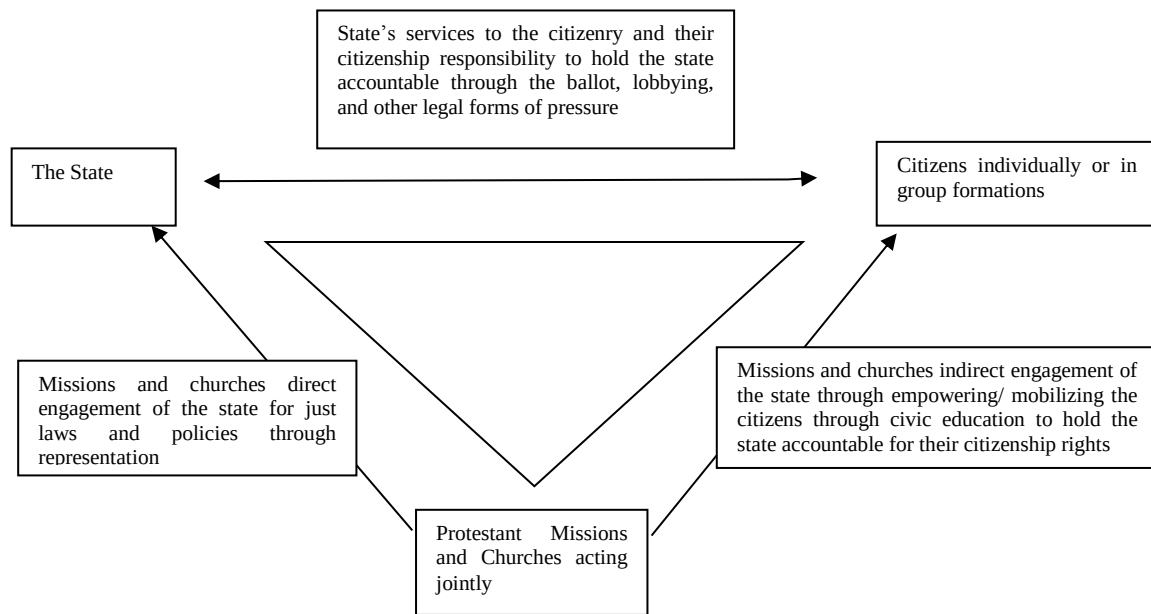


Figure 1.3 Dynamics of Church- State influence

1.8.0 Data collection

The study involved searching for documents and materials in places where they could be found and resources could allow as explained below. For information on representation rights, labour and taxation rights, race relations (belonging) rights, or property rights, the researcher looked for key debates and checked diligently, searching for any joint efforts that the missions made or did not make to evaluate their role. The research also sought to know whether the missions' joint efforts to teach and facilitate Africans had in any way facilitated Africans' participation. Where it was possible, various debates and efforts were examined.

1.8.1 Data Collection from Archives

The first approach was to find and study archival documents as the main sources of data for this research. They consisted historical documents stored in numbered files at the NCKK Archives in Limuru, the Kenya National Archives Nairobi, the collection on Kenya at Rhodes House Library Oxford and the Anglican Church of Kenya Archives

Nairobi. I searched for any documents that related to missions, churches, the colonial state, representation, labour and taxation, land and property in the colony, race relations and the efforts that missions made to empower Africans. All files together with their documents, unpublished works including letters, memoirs, meeting programmes, presented papers, photographs and pamphlets. I used Rubin and Babbie's (2011, 36) advice and where necessary found Archivists to help with finding, not analysing materials. In many cases I found parts of documents, some photocopies and others fading or defaced, specific published works relating to specific engagements of the successive ecumenical Protestants' organizations including reports, biographical materials, letters between missionaries, manuscripts and petitions were looked at in detail. Other materials available at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. Most notable were the handwritten notes of various key figures and the typed draft notes of manuscripts. The research located them historically so as to compare documents with each other. The correspondence letters between key players like leaders and the colonial government officers shed light on other documents like minutes.

1.8.2 Data collection from NCKK and its membership

The second approach was to look at documents at the offices of the National Council of Churches of Kenya and those of some of its member Church offices. Of these, I dealt mainly with minutes of official meetings at various levels (General Assembly, Executive committee, Finance and General Purposes Committee and other sub-committees as was appropriate) between 1913 and 1991. Others included reports, presentations, memoranda, communiques of statutory committees and appendices in the same period and documents preserved by Quaker, Anglican and Presbyterian Individuals. Following leads from Blaxter, Christina and Malcom (2006, 103) who noted that 'much that may be relevant to your research may not be published, and that

the unpublished minutes of organizations, though not easily accessible if one is not an insider, may be of critical importance to research;’ and Walliman’s (2005, 242-3) advise that minutes be authenticated by checking whether they were signed at the beginning of each meeting as a true record of what transpired, this researcher spent a lot of time ploughing through original minute books between 2007 and 2013 and continued to revisit them until the dissertation was written. The minutes were authentic because they were filed in official minute books after confirmation, despite the fact that they either bore the signatures of the respective chairman or secretary or both, or in some cases none. This research on the greater part complied with official regulations that do not allow the use of minutes that are under thirty years old except on critical issues. This was because the minutes of the Council are usually distributed to the members and are therefore not classified in that sense. The thirty years rule applied to all other sensitive documents.

1.8.3 Data collection from interviews and group discussions

Important additional information for this research was obtained from elders. They had to be people that had experienced the colonial state or the work of the missions singly or collectively over the years, that understood history and could talk about rights, responsibilities and citizenship. After developing the criteria above, ten key people were identified, with the research seeking to interview at least five. Each of these were given a code (DHR #- meaning Discussion of Historical Recollection number x). Of these, four people provided valuable information on how the FAM (Quakers) made their entry at Lugulu in western Kenya, the history of the Tachoni people and their encounter with mission work and education. Three others provided valuable information on Anglicans, Presbyterians and the NCKK. The codes assigned to each one, are the ones that appear in the main body of the thesis where necessary. The information gathered from them

shed light as was necessary to shed light on the researcher's findings from reading historical materials. Each interview session took between thirty minutes to one hour per interviewee or group of interviewees. The discussions were open ended touching on the role of Protestant missions or churches, their failures and their successes and how these affected the citizenship of Africans. Some of the interviews were captured by an MP3 recorder and used as necessary.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

Historical data was read and analysed piece by piece. The minutes were important sources because they were a record of what was agreed upon by the cooperating missions and recorded in fair language. They provided useful information as to the main framework of Protestants' joint discussions. They guided the search for information from other materials highlighted above, comparing time periods, persons involved and subjects raised. To trace the citizenship status of Africans, the research investigated the level of exclusion or participation by Africans or their representatives in decision making bodies. These ranged from exclusion, their representation by the missions and settlers to their full representation by fellow Africans at independence. Though in the British system, Africans, Europeans and Asians were considered subjects of the monarch and Arabs were subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Protestants in England, the sending agencies of the missions in Kenya, employed the term citizenship in 1924 as well. The KMC used the term in the constitution that established the Christian Council of Kenya in 1943.⁶

6 NCKK Hq. Minute on Constitution of the CCK attached as Appendix. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office Nairobi. 25.1.1943

1.8.5 Limitations and challenges

Though the title of this research reads ecumenical Protestants, it discusses their activity as carried out by their representative leaders. The absence of African names in most of the thesis reflects the reality that mission leadership remained under European missionaries until the period just before independence. The research encountered a number challenges.

First, the choice of the NCKK as an organization formed out of the cooperation of Protestant missions and churches meant that in the interest of time and resources, the research was restricted. The materials I consulted were mainly those that reflected ecumenical activity. Others from the member churches were only to enrich the study. Secondly, the geographical scope of the thesis was limited to the area of Kenya in which the involvement of the colonial government, missions and churches operated. This is the southern third of Kenya from the east coast to Kitale in the west of Kenya and Nanyuki and Meru around Mt. Kenya as the northernmost areas, all generally within 100 Kms of the railway.

Thirdly, due to the fact that much research has been done on church and state in post-colonial Kenya, the focus of this thesis on empowerment of Africans for responsible citizenship was limited by a reduced volume of primary sources. Civic education in particular was an area in which the churches were pioneers, which flowered in the post-1990 situation, and which has attracted a lot of academic interest.

Fourthly, being a senior member of staff of the organization whose contribution I was investigating meant I faced the challenge of objectivity in two ways. First, there was and is the need to avoid dealing with classified information and compromising my

official responsibility. On the positive side, it gave me access to original documents, as my research was to provide useful information. On the negative, it was not easy to interview the people as a neutral researcher. To ensure objectivity, my main focus was on Archival sources, document sources from the Council and very little by way of interviews. Efforts were made to avoid assigning meaning to historical documents on the basis of contemporary thinking.

By way of example, the research did not agree with Kanogo's (1987, 87) labelling of missions' education as substandard. This was because they were the only foreigners that organized to educate Africans, with their meagre resources. Theirs was the best, almost only effort at the time to educate Africans and which produced the best brains at the time. Arabs, Indians and other Europeans did very little and yet had more resources. Fourthly, the research was done with the assumption that the documents available, mainly minutes, reports, official letters and other documents were the official position of the cooperation of missions and churches. It would not be surprising to find individual opinions that may have different findings from the data that was used to make conclusions in this research. The research addressed these by seeking out other documents like letters and reports and comparing with secondary literature as much as possible. Fifthly, within the course of the research in 2007, the NCKK underwent a major change in which a new general secretary was appointed in the year that Kenya experienced the major 2007 to 2008 post-election violence, both of which centrally involved me. This took away about one and half years of study time. In that period I coordinated a research team that worked to establish the root causes of Kenya's post-election violence. A copy of the report was donated to the OCMS.

1.9 Thesis arguments and arrangement of chapters

This thesis argues mainly that though the missions came to British East Africa individually with the primary purpose of spreading Christianity, their joint activity in critical moments of Kenya's socio-economic and political development were important for the gradual gains that Africans made towards attaining full citizenship of Kenya between 1918 and 1982. Four distinct stages of development are observable, beginning with a citizenship of exclusion, to one of localised representation from 1924, to one of limited national representation from 1944, to full citizenship from 1963.

It argues secondly, that in the period of study the missions waned and waxed back and forth in their engagement of the state depending on whether they were focused on their mission work in their spheres to the neglect of important national developments or engaged the state directly through representation and advocacy or indirectly through empowering Africans, towards better laws and policies for Africans' citizenship. The research showed that their representation of Africans with regard to political, labour, property and belonging rights were among the factors that facilitated the gradual gains that Africans made towards their integration as full citizens of the colonial or post-colonial state. There was however no evidence that their civic education was based on a common curriculum as a theological foundation for effective citizenship (Lonsdale 1992), despite Sabar-Friedman (2002, 254-256; 282-283) finding a theology of development within the Anglican system.

This thesis makes these arguments as follows; Chapter Two covers how the state and citizenship came about in Kenya in the light of existing literature. Chapter Three highlights how the meanings of citizenship changed as Africans made gains, and traces how the missions and churches organized themselves to play their role. Chapter Four,

demonstrates how the missions waxed strong as they represented Africans and advocated for their integration. Chapter Five discusses the state's dealing with Africans in matters of labour and taxation and how the missions' representation contributed towards securing their rights. Chapter Six discusses how missions' advocacy and empowerment efforts contributed towards Africans' gains in property rights, chiefly land. Chapter Seven discusses their efforts towards the improvement of race relations before and after WWII. Chapter Eight discusses the various efforts they made towards empowering Africans for responsible citizenship that included living as citizens and participating in holding the state accountable for good governance. Chapter Nine interprets the findings of the entire research, discusses their implications for the role of Protestants in Kenya, highlights areas in which the thesis adds to knowledge and makes concluding recommendations.

Chapter Two

Protestants' and Africans' citizenship in Kenya

2.1 Introduction

In the approximately sixty-five years covered by this thesis, the status of Africans changed from that of being excluded from the rights of citizenship by the colonial state, unlike Europeans, Indians and Arabs in the protectorate, to full citizenship (meaning in Section 1.1) of an independent Kenya beginning 1963. Citizenship (in the British system it was subject hood) in the Aristotelian and Roman Empire formats, could only take root from 1895, when the East Africa Protectorate was set up. In the process by which this occurred, the role of Protestant missions and churches towards the integration of Africans as equal citizens has not been discussed by leading scholars of colonial and post-colonial Kenya like (Gifford 2009; Wasserman 2009; Berman and Lonsdale 1992; Berman 1990; Throup and Hornsby, 1998, Throup 1995; Temu 1972).

This Chapter discusses the background to this thesis in the light of available literature as follows; firstly, it paints a picture of the experience of Africans as the missions and the state operated among them. Secondly, it discusses the origins of the concept citizenship, its development, its theories and its introduction in the East Africa Protectorate. Thirdly, it discusses from secondary literature what Protestant missions and the colonial state's entrance meant to Africans and to their citizenship. Fourthly, it reviews and discusses some academic work on the operations of the colonial state in Kenya and the role of Protestants with regard to Africans. Fifthly, it reviews some important academic work on religion and politics in Africa and Kenya.

2.2 The missions and the state as civilizing agents: the experience of Africans

Different African individuals and communities had different experiences of the state and the missions. In their approach to history, a number of key African leaders highlighted the work done by African evangelists like William Wade Harris of Liberia, who though not educated by the missionaries, communicated the gospel with great effectiveness (Ayandele 1979, 246). In Kenya Strayer (1978, 20-28) discussed the role of African Evangelists in the early period. His work was a more specific focus on the CMS, an addition to Oliver's (1967) discussion of Africa's history in which he noted that the missions had educated Africans towards responsible citizenship (Oliver 1967, 156-157).

Derek Peterson (2004, 30-60) later researched into how the Kikuyu took time to acquire important skills from missionaries. Protestant missions were unique in that they operated as individual missions in their spheres and came together ecumenically to address issues of common concern. Africans had varied experiences in the shift they experienced from separated ethnic community living, to the amalgamated colonial rule that also introduced them to the official state – citizen relationship or citizenship. It was thus the individual and group experiences among Africans in relation to the state and the missions that caused their varied reactions as well as raised the issues of concern to the missions in their ecumenical fora. Since Peterson (2004) and Lonsdale (1994) are among those that discussed the experiences of the Kikuyu in central and the Kavirondo, the Luo, the Kisii, the Kalenjin in western Kenya respectively, I here locate the dynamics of the church-state interaction in the reaction of two Africans in North Kavirondo.

In the Direct Historical Recollection (DHR) that came out of a discussion of four Tachoni Elders, coded DHR#2,¹ two missions approached the paramount chief Sifuma Namisi of the Tachoni community in 1912, seeking to establish their work among his people. He rejected the Roman Catholic mission, on the grounds that they allowed the drinking of liquor and the smoking of tobacco, and chose the Friends African Mission (FAM), reasoning that they would educate his people. As a result, the FAM set up another mission station at Lugulu in 1914, having started at Kaimosi in 1902. DHR#2 recounted the experience of the then middle aged Masai Siandinyakho² in the mid-1930s when the FAM missionaries approached him, seeking to have him sell one of his cows to pay school fees for the education his son, Festus.³ Festus, had already moved to live within the mission centre as an adherent, despite being labelled a sell-out, nicknamed Musieni (meaning mission). Masai Siandinyakho was so angry that he determined to spear any cow that was identified to be sold for fees. His reaction reflected a major clash of values. Cows and land were everything for the middle aged man as indeed for many, including among the Kikuyu, Gusii, Luo, Bukusu whom Lonsdale (1992) wrote about. He felt greatly threatened that some strange white men could take away his son, who ought to have been looking after cows, and then come for his cow as well,⁴ for something whose value he could not see. Though his son Festus missed education, his exposure to the missions was such that he himself sold all his cows to educate his youngest brother and his own sons.

Prior to the mission's activities, the state had already been engaged in enforcing its dominion in Western Kenya. In North Kavirondo, state officers had encountered the

1 This illustrates the interface of mission work and African cultures and the colonial state in the emerging complex situation. I got this information from the four senior people, with whom I held a discussion. They explained the experience of Tachoni people under Chief Sifuma and the experience Masai Siandinyakho, then a middle aged Tachoni man reflected the emerging transitions from lack of exposure to state and missions and their reactions. Two of the interviewees were Siandinyakho's grandsons.

2 This was a nickname he acquired for himself because he kept wondering why life was difficult for him.

3 DHR#2

4 DHR#2

Bukusu and the Tachoni communities that lived side by side. Both had forts which they had built as a way of defending themselves against the frequent raids of the Maasai and the Nandi. The Bukusu fort was known as Lumboka and the Tachoni one was known as Chetambe. Charles Hobley, the long serving and dreaded colonial civil servant, recounted his expeditions when he raided various ethnic groups in western Kenya, including the Kisii, the Kalenjin and the Bukusu (Lonsdale 1992; Wagner, 1949, Hobley 1929) seeking to subdue them under state rule and enlist them for taxation. Wagner (1949, 31) wrote

In February 1895 C W Hobley was sent to Mumias as sub-commissioner to open up an administration in North Kavirondo. In the same year occasional raids which the natives had made on trade caravans using the main route through Kavirondo as well as repeated theft of riffles gave rise to several punitive expeditions against the Vugusu (Kitosh) and Nyala (Kakalewa).

In the second such raid in 1895, the Bukusu had outsmarted the colonial police and killed them all (Lonsdale 1992, 64-70; Wagner 1949, 31). Reeling under such weight of humiliation, Hobley had mobilized the British forces and launched a third raid a year later in 1897-1898 (Lonsdale 1992, 64-70), with excessive force and fire power.

Of these measures, the expedition launched ... against Kitosh in retaliation for the killing of 25 soldiers of the Sudanese Garrison was a major action in which a company of Sudanese, 1100 Ganda under Chief Kakunguru, 5000 Bantu Kavirondo recruited from the tribal groups owing allegiance to chief Mumia, 1000 Elkony, and 600 Uasin-Ngishu Masai (Who after their expulsion from the Uasin-Ngishu Plateau lived among the Bantu Kavirondo) participated under the command of two Europeans. (Wagner 1949, 31).

Once Hobley and his men overran the Lumboka Fort, thousands of Bukusu warriors fled, some hurt and bleeding from head and body wounds known as (*amakuma na amakule*) and terrified,⁵ and burst into the Chetambe Fort, reportedly without those that were bleeding undergoing required rituals. The Tachoni considered it a bad omen and fled, leaving the fort for the Bukusu. The colonial soldiers, who included vengeful Swahili and Sudanese (Lonsdale 1992, 62), in addition to Ganda and Maasai numbering over 3000, pursued the Bukusu Warriors to the Chetambe Fort and killed them in

5 DHR#2

thousands, and got those that remained to acknowledge British over rule and promise not to live in walled villages. The colonial state was therefore not good news, but terror, to the Bukusu and Tachoni people of North Kavirondo, as it attempted to introduce a new approach to governance in which Africans were unequal citizens. Wagner (1949, 31) wrote;

For the mass of the natives the establishment of European rule began to make itself felt only with the introduction of taxation in the year 1899, when Sir Harry Johnston took office as Special Commissioner of Uganda. Taxes were levied at first in kind (timber, goats, iron hoes, chickens, crocodile eggs etc.) or in the form of labour which every owner of a hut had to perform to an extent equivalent to the sum of 3 rupees per year. As Hobley writes, the idea of levying a tax was in the beginning 'to build up a will to pay something'. The principle was not foreign to the native mind...its payment was, therefore, an outward and visible sign that the particular section had definitely accepted government control.

While some thought that the Tachoni betrayed the Bukusu, when they took off and abandoned them, DHR#2 group explained that they had acted according to a shared understanding. Culturally among the two communities, when warriors were hurt in such a manner and were bleeding, they were required when they arrived at the place of shelter or at the neighbouring fort, to call for help and wait outside until they were cleansed from the blood. If they entered without cleansing, it was considered a bad omen. DHR#2 group explained their ancestors escaped, because they feared danger was looming, but also did not wish to deny shelter to the Bukusu.

It was because of the state's killing of Bukusu warriors as recounted above, coupled with the missions' onslaught against Bukusu and Tachoni cultural practices like polygamy,⁶ that one Elijah Masinde, came to hate European state officers and settlers so much. Masinde was the case of a man educated, but unable to adopt the mission's civilizing effort in the face of cultural traditions. Born in 1910 to Bukusu parents in Kimilili area of North Kitosi, and educated at Lugulu between 1920 and 1930, he was

6 KNA DC/BAR/1/7/2. Seton, C R W and E B Hosking. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affray at Kolioa, Baringo. Presented to H E the Acting Governor, Government House, Nairobi. 1950. Pg 1-3

initially accepted as an adherent of the FAM. He however was excommunicated from membership when he became polygamous.⁷ He moved to work as a labourer on a European farm in Kitale from 1939 to 1941 (Ogot 2003, 14), and then became a Native Tribunal Process Server for a while.⁸ He in 1941 left employment, did an intensive study of the Old Testament, and founded the '*Dini Ya Msambwa* (religion of the spirits of the deceased) religious group between 1942 and 1943.⁹ He soon had many followers in Bungoma, Pokot and Baringo, and became a nuisance to the colonial administration. He for example would deny agricultural officers the opportunity to inspect his land, and then incite his sizeable crowds against the colonial state and Europeans in general. He was reacting against the European led institutions namely, the state and the missions. Even when imprisoned and bonded, he would still mobilize the people against Europeans as soon as he had completed his jail term. District officers Seton and Hosking recorded that in 1947 September;

he led a crowd of followers-estimated to number 5000- to the old Fort (*read Chetambe*) near Lugulu where Hobley forces had fought his final battle with the Kitosi...to exorcise the ghosts of the men killed in the battle at Chetambe; a sheep was sacrificed and a small piece of it given to every man present.¹⁰

In the illustrations above, the experiences of the un-missioned, uneducated Siandinyakho and the missioned and educated Masinde, reveal another side of the complex dynamics of exclusion and inclusion that were happening at local and national levels as Africans came under the increasing control of the colonial state and as they encountered the demands of the missions.

7 KNA DC/BAR/1/7/2. Seton, C R W and E B Hosking. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affray at Kolioa, Baringo. Presented to H E the Acting Governor, Government House, Nairobi. 1950. Pg 1-2

8 KNA DC/BAR/1/7/2. Seton, C R W and E B Hosking. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affray at Kolioa, Baringo. Presented to H E the Acting Governor, Government House, Nairobi. 1950. Pg 1-2

9 KNA DC/BAR/1/7/2. Seton, C R W and E B Hosking. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affray at Kolioa, Baringo. Presented to H E the Acting Governor, Government House, Nairobi. 1950. Pp 1-3

10 KNA DC/BAR/1/7/2. Seton, C R W and E B Hosking. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affray at Kolioa, Baringo. Presented to H E the Acting Governor, Government House, Nairobi. 1950. Pg 3

Peterson (2004) recounted an experience of a teacher and the pupils of Wandubi School in Tumtumu. Their Wattle trees, which they had planted on land loaned by one man, were pulled out by a disputing cousin. To Peterson, this meant that the emerging conflicts were not just between missions and Africans, or state and Africans, but between Africans themselves, especially those open to missions and those opposed to them. In 1952, Philip Mitchell wrote as follows;

So as both Church and State laboured to bring about the change in themselves from foreign missions to institutions permanently rooted in East Africa, both were perplexed by some diversity of purpose or means and some conflict with those confident expressions of personal views- or prejudices – which in East Africa are usually called ‘Public opinion’. It seems to me in retrospect that it could be said that both were often curiously unconscious of the profound revolution which they were creating among the millions of hitherto inexperienced Africans among whom they were establishing themselves, millions who had existed from their beginnings outside the general stream of world history and the experiences of the human agents alike of Church and State.¹¹

The discussions above reveal that though the state had capacity to enforce its rule, it also faced challenges. Among the dynamics at play were the divergent views between the metropolitan’s commitment to the trusteeship of Africans and the colonial state’s leaning towards the settlers’ efforts to create a white man’s country (Kamoche, 1981). The state and the missions viewed themselves as civilizing agents, but the Africans they were dealing with were not accustomed to their centralized control approach (Berman, 1992; Lonsdale 1992). There was therefore a conflict of purposes between the forceful colonial state and its subdued African ethnic groups like the Maasai.¹² The missions were not fully trusted by either the state or the people because they seemed to be on the side of the state in their cooperation in land, labour and education matters, and on the side of Africans in their services and interventions. There were issues the missions confronted the state about and issues they confronted the people about. They themselves had limitations and limited resources.

11 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/856. Address given by H E Sir Philip Mitchell, Philip to a special meeting of the CCK Standing Committee on 8.5.1952 in St. Andrews Church Hall.

12 RHO. Mss. Brit. Emp.S.22, G131. Judge Hamilton, The Masai case 1913

2.3 Citizenship: Its origins, development and introduction to British East Africa

Ndegwa (1997) argued, that there existed a civic-republican citizenship within African communities before colonialism, as he urged scholars to expand the spheres in which they elaborated citizenship, beyond the state to others such as ethnic communities. By civic-republicanism Ndegwa (1997 602) meant, the vision that ‘considers rights not as inherent but as acquired through civic practice that upholds obligations to the community.’ This was different from the liberal vision which held that ‘rights inhere in individuals, exist prior to community, and are guaranteed with minimal obligation to the community’. Despite his arguments, the analysis in this thesis is derived from the classical understanding of citizenship in the context of the state.

The earliest use of the terms citizen and citizenship is traceable to Solon in 640 BC (Riesenberg, 1992). These were later used by his descendant Plato (Runes, 1979, 236), whose student Aristotle (Aristotle, 1958; Heywood, 1999, 207) employed them to organize the governance of Athens in ancient Greece. Aristotle conceptualized citizenship to be the status of free native-born propertied males, that allowed them membership and participation in the assembly of the city-state and that required them to fund its running. (Heater, 1990, 4; Mouffe 1993, 138-9). Though acknowledged as an ingenious and abstract concept that did not exist in any other polity, Athenian citizenship was discriminatory against women who, alongside slaves and the poor among the Greeks, were seen as the property of males (Heater, 1990, 2; Weber, 1981, 316). Heater (2000, 16) commented that the citizenship of the Greek city-state was ‘parochially practical but exclusive, generously ecumenical but hollow’. When the Roman Empire adopted the concept for the administration of their vast territory to maintain the *Pax Romana*, it introduced representation as a legitimate way of citizen participation that was both pragmatic and extensible in application beyond the city state

(Heater, 1990, 2-3). From then on, through the teaching of the school of Zeno (Heater 1993, 11);

the concept of citizenship opened up to universal application,' even though abandoned until the renaissance. It was from this school that such distinguished men as St Paul from Asia Minor and Cicero, and later Seneca and Marcus Aurelius among the Romans came.

Britain, the empire that colonized Kenya began its citizenship journey in 1215 AD, when the barons confronted King John in 1215 and forced him to sign the Magna Carta, which required him as monarch and his successors to respect private property.¹³ During the renaissance, Nicolo Machiaveli (1961, 54) revived the Roman city-states and Republicanism, (*res publica*), as championed by Plato (1998 [360BC]), Aristotle (1946), Tacitus (Nd). It emphasised individual and group rights and the role of conflicts and contest in the expansion or construction of such rights, civic self-rule, participation in writing of laws, and liberty in the sense of protection against arbitrary or tyrannical government. Their activity benefited from the Lutheran reformation's declaration of 'salvation by faith alone' and Calvin's theological construct of the state as alternatives to the Catholic approach, giving rise to nationalistic tendencies (Woodberry 2012, 244-255; Cavanaugh 1995, 398-403; Weber 1930).

As the reformation gained ground, Europe became characterised by a multiplicity of Protestant sects and European ethnic groups that reshaped socio-economic and political structures. Leading reformers at the time published doctrinal materials that guided the teaching and function of Protestants, leading to what Weber (1930) later called the 'Protestant Ethic'. Woodberry (2012) has recently argued that Protestantism played a role in the establishment of stable democracy in Europe. In the enlightenment period, John Locke emphasized individual citizen rights to life, free association, free movement, expression, and property and argued for the role of the state to be reduced to

13 The Magna Carta. http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/magna_carta/

that of protecting those rights. These ideas, among others informed the French revolution and gave rise to liberalism (Locke 1689, vii, 9; 1690, Chapter 7, 85, 87 and 94). Liberalism became the most dominant citizenship approach in post reformation Europe (Heywood 1993, 29). Brubaker¹⁴ (1989) wrote that ‘The institution and the ideology of national citizenship were first worked out during the French Revolution, and spread to the rest of Europe.’ America however preferred republicanism (De Tocqueville’s 1998). Marshall (1950, 8-12) showed that citizenship in Britain developed within two hundred years beginning with civil rights, followed by political rights and then social rights of the individual.

A critique of liberalism arose in the enlightenment period, chiefly under Karl Marx’s critique of capitalism as he developed his ‘dialectic materialism’ theory. He viewed the self to be embodied in community that imparts values and purposes. His emphasis on social justice and care for minorities instead gave rise to communitarianism. It required that each individual contributes to the society that had shaped his or her desires, values and purposes alongside the state, engages in fraternity and cooperation. He expected such to benefit from the dreams of Marxist classless society and the conservative view of society as an organic whole (Kymlicka 2001, 16-16; Heywood 1999, 34-35).

Many scholars have had problems with the Aristotelian concept of citizenship, some criticizing its separation of politics and economics, and others its incongruence with society. Almond and Verba (1963) showed that citizens of advanced democracies like America and Britain were not even enthusiastic about political participation. It meant that they were exercising their citizenship every day without participating in politics.

14 Brubaker, William Rogers. 1989. The French Revolution and the invention of citizenship. In *French politics and society. Volume 7* Available at <URL: <http://works.bepress.com/wrb/23/>. Accessed 1.10.2016>

While the argument is not that politics be ignored, their experience like that of many, reveals that citizenship demands more than political participation.

Among the serious critics of the modern period is Pocock (1995, 32) who noted that Aristotle's formulation of citizenship depended upon a rigorous 'separation of public from private, of *polis* from *oikos*' and of 'persons and actions from things'. In Aristotle's scheme, to 'qualify as a citizen, the individual must be a patriarch of a household or *oikos*, in which the labour of slaves and women satisfied his needs and left him free to engage in political relationships with his equals.' Quoting from the Roman Juris Gaius that 'the universe as defined by jurisprudence is divisible into "persons, actions and things," Pocock observed that the Romans shifted to seeing a citizen as just a political being to 'a legal being, existing in a world of persons, actions and things regulated by law' To Pocock (1995, 42) therefore the history of the concept of citizenship in Western political thought represented the unfinished dialogue between the Aristotelian and the Gaian formulations, between the ideal and the real, between persons interacting with persons and persons interacting through things. His criticism highlighted the unnecessary tension between the political and the economic dimensions of citizenship, because I here argue that they are only two of six important dimensions of any human cultural milieu.

In the case of Africa, modern citizenship was introduced through colonialism. Though it is known for example, that in the British Empire all were subjects of the monarch, those that broke away like America adopted citizenship. In the case of Kenya, Mamdani (1996) argued that the colonists practiced a differentiation policy in which Europeans, Indians and Arabs were citizens governed centrally and nationally while Africans were subjects governed at local levels. Mamdani may however not have been aware of a 1918

letter by the sympathetic H R Tate, Provincial Commissioner (PC) for Central Kenya based at Nyeri, who referred to Africans as citizens,¹⁵ nor the more authoritative Ainsworth, who wrote officially in 1919 that Africans had no status outside their Reserves.

John Ainsworth, was the first man appointed to hold the office of Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) set up in 1918. He was, a man that had had wide experience serving among Africans beginning with the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1889, on to PC in Nyanza province between 1906 and 1914, and CNC in 1918.¹⁶ Ainsworth had experience in dealing with Africans on just about anything (Tarus 2004, 21; Maxon, 1980, 5-12). These two scholars indicate that he had a stormy relationship with the settlers as one opposed to their land speculation and exploitation of Africans¹⁷ and was aware of what they were going through.

The overriding exclusionary approach of the colonial state disgruntled Africans and drew their reaction beginning 1919 onwards (Stibbs 1978, 53; Harbeson 1973, 18). Similar reactions were seen both in Rhodesia and South Africa (Leo 1984), only that Africans there reacted after the settlers had already forced a white man's country status, resulting in a much longer struggle.

In the argument of this thesis, republicanism, liberalism and more recently, communitarianism are different approaches to citizenship that aren't sufficient for emerging realities. Kymlicka and Norman (2014, 352-353) have distinguished between citizenship-as-legal status and citizenship-as-desirable activity, in which 'the extent and

15 VQ 1 28 17 Native Ed 1918 (15). Tate, H R to the Director of education in Nairobi. 15.6.1918

16 NCCK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

17 NCCK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

quality of one's citizenship is a function of one's participation in that community.' This researcher seeks to explore the latter in the light of Mugambi's (2004) concept of human society and culture (Section 1.7.6). While it is obvious that Tylor (1958) and Kraft (1979) are much more the experts in anthropological studies of culture, and Niebuhr (1960) on Christ and culture, Mugambi's (2004) conception is fresh. Citizenship conceptualized only in political and socio-economic terms leaves out the other important dimensions namely, aesthetics, ethics and religion. These all have a bearing on how the citizen functions. In this thesis, I argue that Christianity needs to guide its people in citizenship-as-desirable activity approach, conceptualized to encompass all the six dimensions of culture or human society, and especially for religion to provide a theological foundation. While this is outside the scope of this research, it requires attention.

2.4 Protestants, the protectorate and Africans in the territory

Protestants came to African communities that had survived, even if with many calamities epidemics, hunger, famines and slave raids. Researchers like Ambler (1983, 59-60), Ogot (1995, 190-191 and Ochieng (1989) showed that they co-existed in such a way that they had inter-tribal conflicts, inter-marriage and other shared services. Berman and Lonsdale (1992, 77-79) pointed out that marriage and livestock were their main indigenous modes of production and banking, through which they sustained their lives together. Ndegwa (1997, 610), argued that a stable citizenship existed in pre-colonial African communities, with each person having a strong sense of belonging and culturally defined rights and responsibilities. To Ndegwa (1997, 599, 603), the importance of an ethnic citizenship lay in the fact that when the state was introduced, there arose a conflict of competing identities and loyalties among Africans. This was because Africans held an ethnic and a state-centred citizenship at the same time, in the

context of multi-ethnicity. He argued that because individuals' experience civic-republican citizenship in their ethnic communities' and liberal citizenship at national level, 'the illiberal republican citizenship prescribed by ethnic groups undermines the liberal citizenship assumed in the national community.' (Ndegwa 1997, 601-610) The competition between the two loyalties, in terms of authority and legitimacy (Mamdani 1998, 13), complicated the role that any group like the successive ecumenical Protestant bodies (The Alliance, KMC, CCK and NCCK), would hope to play in their engagement of Kenya's public life. Ndegwa (1997, 610-620) argued that the problem of ethnic citizenship in modern democratic governance was that of its perpetual conflict with national citizenship. Kymlicka's (2001) view that citizenship existed in sub-national, national and supra-national dimensions reinforced the possibility of ethnic citizenship as indicated by Ndegwa. Another observation that supports Ndegwa's is that of Peterson (2004, 10-12) who observed among the Kikuyu, an attitude similar to what governed Aristotelian citizenship thus;

Where Gikuyu celebrated wealth as civic virtue, poverty they decried as delinquency ...one "destitute of poverty" and descendants of a "poor wretch, a good for nothing, a scoundrel". Poverty was not simply an economic problem for poor men. It was a civic disability. Poor men were not entitled to take an active part in public affairs: any poor man who presumed to speak in the presence of the wealthy invited the rejoinder "a poor man does not answer back"

Indeed scholars like Knighton (2009), Berman (1992) and Eyoh and Kymlicka (2004) acknowledged elements of citizenship in African communities, only that the communities lacked the institutions that characterise the modern state and the capacity to administer large communities beyond clans (Odhiambo 2004; Lonsdale, 1994; Ndegwa 1997).

Despite the important discussions above however, modern citizenship was only possible when the EAP was set up as a colonial state in 1895. The urgency with which the EAP needed to execute its mandate required that it sets up the required infra-structure,

security and administrative services. (Lonsdale 1992; Berman 1990; Section 1.2). While its purpose was to secure British East Africa from German aggression, the race groups it invited as part of its work force and revenue generating strategy, introduced new dynamics with regard to citizenship. The local chieftaincies from the various tribes for example, became the implementers of the colonial state's policies at much less cost, supervised by a lean European staff at national and provincial administration (Berman 1990, 3-5). African chiefs and security officers, reported to European district officers, who reported to district commissioners, reporting to provincial commissioners, reporting to the governor.

In many cases, these activities of the colonial state, were useful for mission expansion and mission work was useful for colonial state work. While some scholars consider such mutual collaboration clear evidence that the missions and the state were one and the same (Mwaura 2005, 163-165; Githige 1982, 110-125), it is better seen as a convergence interests. For the missions, the opportunity to spread Christianity, which entailed establishing schools, hospitals and vocational training centres was priority. To the state, the missions were providing services at their own cost (Section 1.2). Thus though the missions were absent when critical laws like the Crown Lands Ordinance (CLO) 1902 and the 1906 Master and Servants Ordinance (MSO) were being passed, Strayer (1978, 119-121) and Lonsdale (1992, 367-370) indicate that they were focused on mission work and were involved in local politics.

Providing perspectives as to the role of churches after independence are scholars like Sabar (2002) and Githiga (2001), whose theses showed that the Anglican Church in Kenya (ACK) had been engaged in Kenya's development process. Sabar (2002, 25-45), referring to the Anglican church's engagement in social services as 'Temporal means to

holy ends,' emphasised that the missions' priority was to spread Christianity. Their engagement of the socio-economic and political issues of Kenya was therefore in response to the challenges they faced on the mission field. This reflected the approach of the disciples in the book of Acts, in which they focused on the gospel, but addressed the issues that arose. To Sabar, efforts in education, were initially aimed at teaching Africans to read and write as a way of spreading Christianity with time they realized that Africans were more interested in education for the employment opportunities it created and not for the sake of the gospel. After independence however, the ACK had with time shifted from a mediation to a confrontation approach to the state to address its malpractices. Githiga (2001), focusing on the Anglican Church, argued that between 1963 and 1992, had begun its operations in partnership with the state, but had shifted its approach to operate as a bulwark against authoritarianism, seeking to create space for Kenyan citizens. The missions did not expect that the state under African leadership would violate the rights of Africans the way it later did (Sabar 2002, 282-283). In this period, as the NCCK cooperated with the government in development, it was Target magazine that spoke out on key issues of concern (See section 8.5).

The discussions above show that the colonial state presented both opportunities and challenges. On the opportunities side the colonial structure shielded the missions from the harassment of African chiefs, creating options for African adherents of Christianity. Both Strayer (1978, 119-120) and Lonsdale (1992, 366-369) show for example that the chiefs became the leaders that were implementing the colonial state priorities at the grassroots, including mobilizing Africans for labour in the new arrangement. The missionaries gained status in that they were able to negotiate with their fellow European district officers and district commissioners, who were the supervisors of the chiefs, to have their African adherents exempted from labour obligations. The chiefs found that in

some cases, there were mission adherents that were exempted on the request of the missions to the district officers.

On the challenges side, the missions got together to address mission issues in their spheres of operation and also began discussing how to influence the future of the EAP (Mungeam 1978, 149).¹⁸ This was in response to the issues they were facing in their mission work among the diverse ethnic communities, some of them in difficult circumstances. The African communities needed to adjust to the new reality of the state, look beyond their own governance approaches and relate to a remote and abstract government headed by a remote King locally represented by a governor Berman (1990) and Kyle (1999). For African communities, this was a task that would take time and learning, but which actually never happened in the colonial period covered by the study. More complicated was the fact that they had to learn how to operate under a state in the context of an expanding racial base, as Indians and Europeans migrated to the territory, whether as missionaries, civil servants, Indian trades' people or European settler farmers.

2.5 Protestant missions and colonial state operations

As above highlighted, the colonial state was set up with the task of securing the territory. With time, the state's efforts to establish its control and legitimacy, increasingly favoured European settlers and violated Africans' representation, property, labour and taxation rights.¹⁹ Before it became Kenya colony in 1920,²⁰ the EAP undermined Africans' subject status in the British colony by excluding them from

18 On 15.12.1908, Bishop Willis wrote to Dr Scott about their intended United Missionary Conference at Maseno, 4-8.1.1909 saying they would on the third day 'consider what is likely to be the future of the country, and how we as missionaries can best prepare for and influence that future.'

19 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, Pgs 9-10

20 NCKK Limuru 1/1/2182. Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya colony with reference to Foreign Missions Board minute of 7.1920; NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Ainsworth's Confidential Document to Bishop Heywood 20.8.1919. Pg 3 of document.

decision making processes and alienating their land to create the White Highlands for European settlers (Sections 6.2; Leakey, 1936 103). While scholars like Ward (1952) argued that the land that was alienated was unoccupied and relatively small in size, they did not appreciate that it was the main source of livelihood for Africans in their varied means of production, sometimes under complex mutually understood arrangements (Okoth-Ogendo 1991). In the period before 1910, the missions viewed the state as a useful service provider. After 1910, they began to raise questions about child labour. They began their direct interventions on behalf of Africans after the WWI.

2.6 Protestants and the complexities of the development of Kenya

A number of scholars that studied the role of the churches in society, highlighted their potential for positive contribution but decried their limiting factors (Section 1.3 and 1.7.4). In 1978 two former staff of the NCCCK namely Stanley Booth-Clibbon (founding editor of the publication named *Rock* in the late 1950s) and Andrew Hake (Coordinator of NCCCK's industrial and research work from the late 1950s to the end on the 1960s), worked with historian John Lonsdale to publish a paper. In it, they commended the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) for its development work, but warned that care be taken how they interacted with the state. This was because the two main British societies, CMS and CSM, had settled into the state's quasi-established position in public life and were accessing funding without noticing the possibility of state control, especially because they served pastoral roles over key European persons in Kenya. Lonsdale, Booth-Clibbon and Hake (1978, 269) observed that 'The congregation at Nairobi's Anglican Cathedral has been described, not inaccurately, as the colonial power in prayer, and at St Andrews down the road would have been found many of its men of business.' They noted that, in contrast, the American founded churches like the AIC had rejected state funding to maintain independence.

The churches capacity to function was however limited by other factors. Lonsdale (1992, 3-6) observation of the developments of the 1980s, revealed that Kenya was a deeply divided society along four cleavage points. These were ethnicity, class, religion and gender. He particularly noted the potential of religious communities, stating the strengths and weaknesses of Catholics, Muslims and Protestants, but criticized the latter thus;

If Islam, then, is united in a critical political theology but divided in its political allegiance, Kenya's Christianities are divided on both grounds. They do not agree theologically on the need for good governance. None of them, apart from the Catholics and perhaps the Anglicans, can claim to speak on behalf of all Kenya's peoples...

If these theological differences were not enough to cast doubt on the capacity of Kenya's Christianities to inspire good governance or effectively reprove the bad, there is the still more disabling fact that many of its churches bear an ethnic rather than national character in the popular mind. This segmentation makes it easy for politicians to scorn clerical critics as representatives of ethnic self-interest rather than of the common good (Lonsdale 2005).

The above statement showed that the divisiveness emerging in Kenya, was defiant of Lonsdale's (1994, 131-134; 2002, 46-75) imagination of the possibility that the 'moral ethnicity' (that is the efforts that ethnic communities made to define their humanity, adulthood, manhood and womanhood, and inherent relations) existent within ethnic communities could overcome political tribalism (the negative use of ethnicity as a tool for political mobilization). It proved Klopp's (2002) observation that moral ethnicity could not be the solution to tribalism. It also reinforced Ndegwa's view that the people were more committed to their ethnic communities in civic republicanism than to liberalism at state level, and reiterated Berman and Lonsdale (1992) call for a new approach to nationality and ethnicity.

Other Scholars highlighted the growing socio-economic and political activity among Africans and how they were reorganizing themselves. Bates (2005) and Kanogo (1989) discussed the experience of squatters in their work for the settlers and their own agricultural initiatives on European estates in the White Highlands. Elkins (2003, 201) noted that 'For Askwith, a stable multi-racialism depended upon a land based

conception of citizenship.’ Bates (2005), Berman (1990), Kanogo (1989) and Furedi (1989) however discussed how changing approaches to Africans by the colonial state and the settlers precipitated both the Mau Mau revolt and the resultant counterinsurgency (Branch 2005).

Mau Mau was an uprising in colonial Kenya by many aggrieved Kenyans, mostly of Kikuyu origin, who mobilized one another through oaths to fight the British colonists and their African collaborators, in an effort to reclaim their land. Its magnitude and destruction was way beyond what the oppressive colonists and the missions could have thought possible. It caused the colonial state to face the reality of the land problem, realizing that no amount of effort towards multi-racialism was possible unless it was resolved. The scholars above acknowledged the role of the missions, sometimes in harsh criticism and at others in commendation, but left gaps of their role in the development of Africans’ citizenship.

In the period 1963 to 1992, in which Christians in the two-thirds world were seeking answers for their varied challenges, with such innovations as Black theology and Liberation theology (from north America and South America respectively), Okullu published his first study on Church and State in Kenya. It was a ground breaking material in which he sought to awaken Kenya’s churches to engage in politics and hold the state accountable (1974, 1-12). Oluoch, (2003, 127) concluded that Okullu’s theology was public and political, but was not a theology of political engagement (Oluoch 2003, 127). According to Okullu (1984, 22-23), Christians in the West were uncomfortable with the engagement of the WCC in world politics because their sponsors might withdraw and also because of their false separation of the material from spiritual (22-3). In this regard, ‘the pioneering missionaries did not leave us a sufficient

body of teaching on social philosophy.’ The new missionaries he observed, were further splitting the church into evangelicals and non-evangelicals.’ Their motivation seems to be ‘to give for bodily needs as a step in the process to save souls rather than to serve persons because they are in need’. He urged the African Church to muster itself and remember its inheritance of the oneness of religious and secular life and begin to articulate its theology along these lines. This he said, would be ‘a major contribution to unity.’ Okullu (1984, 24-5) concluded;

We in Africa wish to reaffirm this inheritance and affirm our conviction that evangelism, Christian nurture through its teaching and sacraments, and social action are integral components of the same gospel addressed to the whole person in the totality of his situation.

Reading through Okullu’s (1984, 1974) and Oluoch’s (2003) work, one see his concern about the role of the church in politics and development. He however never got to define for or with his clergymen or in the context of the NCKK, the kind of discipleship strategy required to answer his call and concern

Chepkwony in the 1980s focused her doctoral research on the NCKK, highlighting its role as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in development programmes including the establishment of village polytechnics, various forms of handiwork and its support through credit financing. It engaged politics as a way of advocating for the lower classes. On her part Sabar (2002), considered Okullu, one of the chief contributors to the process by which the Anglican Church, and to some extent the NCKK, developed its theology of development. This was part of the process of involvement of the Church, first in socio-economic development and then in politics as the Moi state became more oppressive. Oluoch’s (2003) and Sabar’s (2002) conclusions that the Anglicans and the NCKK had to some extent developed a theology of public participation was not shared by Lonsdale (2005) as highlighted above. In the dynamics of the Kenyatta - Moi periods, Sabar (2002, 279) noted that the intra-church conflicts

and power struggles in the retirement transitions of Archbishops Leonard Beecher, Festo Olang and Manases Kuria, had absorbed much of the Church Province of Kenya's (Now ACK) energy.

Sabar also had her spotlight on three clergymen Okullu, Gitari and Muge who were very important to the CPK and the NCKK, even though the latter at some point labelled the NCKK 'a rotten potato' (Sabar 2002, 279). These three later became Bishops of the ACK and members of the NCKK executive committee. In the view of this researcher, Lonsdale was only partly right to blame Protestant Christianity. While malpractices like bad governance could be attributable to other factors like authoritarianism and tribalism, there remained a need for understanding how the churches would play their role. In 2009, Knighton coordinated a team of scholars under the theme Religion and politics in Kenya in honour of the retired Archbishop Gitari. Underscoring the importance of the ministry of David Gitari as a prime mover, Knighton (2009, 35) criticized Christian leaders saying;

Koffi Anan who spent an inordinately long time in Kenya during the crisis (*2007/8 post-election violence situation*), mediating between the two main parties searched for a senior churchman of integrity and courage to enable a Kenyan solution, but never found one.

In writing this thesis, this researcher appreciated that perhaps the answers being sought could be found if scholarship looked at the role of the churches not in terms of their supposed post-colonial failures, leaving a lot to be desired, but as different organizations from the state, without capacity to use force or collect taxes, motivated by their commitment to the gospel. After 1900, the missions operated in a context in which the colonial state had been mandated to rule and was intent on stamping its control, beginning with denying Africans their property, labour and taxation rights. Berman (1990, 3-5) observed that initial historical studies were either focused on colonialism and its civil service as set up by the various metropolises or on the political economies of

the colonial states. To him, both approaches repeatedly demonstrated the centrality and pervasive role and control of the state in the colonial social and economic life. In tracing the nature of that control, he noted that neither the classical Marxist theories of imperialism nor Leys' theory of dependency and development were adequate in explaining the post-independence developments. To Berman, the colonial administration between 1900 and 1940, was not just a civil service in the hands of the metropole, but a state that was working to establish its own control and legitimacy over time. He held that its move to organize an efficient civil service and to bring Africans into the tax bracket, alongside its frequent differences with the metropole were all efforts to legitimize its position.

What Berman did not focus on was the fact that within its territory, the missions were not a quiescent partner as Throup (1995, 143) intimated. They may have viewed the state as a partner at the beginning, but did not appreciate the state's attempt to dictate what they as missions could do. In the same way Temu (1972, 117-125) missed out when he viewed them as one and the same with state. They had come in response to the great commission, seeking to make disciples. Whatever affected the Africans they were targeting was of concern to them.

Of the people with whom the colonial state dealt. Africans were the most unexposed and most victimised. The Indians had more rights than Africans, but still felt discriminated against. The Europeans' grievances were mainly about the colonial state's failures to afford them adequate representation on the Legislative Council (LegCo), to supply them with cheap labour on their farms and to enforce segregation laws. For a colonial state that had been imposed and was working to entrench itself, there were varied dynamics because Africans were independent people groups, sometimes trading

with each other and at others in conflict. Its dealings with Africans created challenges as to how they were to be involved. While the colonial state had the opportunity to lay the foundations for a multi-racial nation state, through what Branch, Cheeseman and Gardner (2010, 5-10) called nation building, it embarked on state building instead (Berman 1990; Lonsdale 1992) thus undermining the status of Africans.

Fukuyama (2004, 50-51) defined Nation building as 'the creation of self-sustaining state capacity that can survive once foreign advice and support are withdrawn.' His observation that few nations were ever built by external powers reflected the failure of the colonial state. Scholars Harbeson (1973) and Branch and Cheeseman (2006) are among those that raised concerns about post-colonial nation building. Conceptualizing nation building as including 'developing the economy, expanding training facilities to produce manpower to run the developing economy, and encouraging such social amenities as full attention to economic development', Harbeson observed that 'Nation building has not included creating increased political awareness among the people as a whole or modernizing the institutions of political expression.' This latter form of the expected legacy is what Branch, Cheeseman and Gardner (2010, 244-245) observed to be lacking when they wrote;

It is no exaggeration to say that Kenya has never undertaken a serious top down process of nation building. Indeed Kenyan leaders have typically avoided the question of how to understand nation hood. Building the nation, Kenyan style, was always more an economic, infra-structural and logistical project than it was a cultural endeavour...If anything, Kenyatta, Moi, and Kibaki could be said to have embraced a sort of competitive multi-culturalism, in which the government makes no effort to tame local identities or to promote a coherent 'national' culture, but neither recognizes the right of minority languages and cultures to protection.

As highlighted above, the colonial state's effort towards state building through transport infra-structure, schools, hospitals, national and local government structures (Throup 1995; Berman 1992) and not nation building. Though in doing this, the colonial state

provided a head start in terms of infra-structure, it failed to bequeath the newly independent state with a good foundation for nation building.

As for the missions, with their primary focus on spreading Christianity and making disciples, the issues that arose from the state's activities were complex. They as Protestant missionaries, considered to be less educated than those serving elsewhere (Strayer 1978), were yet still responsible to offer pastoral care to civil servants, business people, settlers and to champion the rights of Africans without feeling inadequate to relate with the state as individual missions. Being mainly from Europe and America, each with dominant membership in different ethnic communities, their ecumenical interaction at national level was beneficial towards the integration of Africans into state decision making processes. In the colonial period they offered themselves as Africans' representatives. After independence, the new African church leaders dealt with nation building as the overriding claim of the post-colonial Kenyatta led government. Initially, the churches' attempted to approach their role through addressing the socio-economic needs of the people and empowering them for effective living and participation.²¹ They however realized that for state operations, they needed to engage in matters of legislation and civic education. These were much more significant for a nation's development than relief work. Within a short time, they encountered a further challenge. The political class was more bent on acquiring and retaining power than on building a new inclusive Kenya.

2.7 Religion and politics in Africa

Further afield, various scholars have discussed matters of religion and politics. Cheeseman (2015, 73-74) viewed the Catholic Church in Mobutu's Zaire as the hope of

21 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/ 2653; Kamau, John. Machinery for Christian Cooperation and Unity 1966b

the people because it offered services where government public service had collapsed. Thus, though Mobutu was deeply suspicious of the Church, his 'government was not prepared to antagonize it because a majority of the population were practicing members and Mobutu was wary of alienating such a large constituency.'

Though the Catholic Church strove to retain a degree of independence, its story in Zaire was not a proud one, because it was never a straightforward bulwark against the abuse of power. Instead what emerged was a different kind of marriage of convenience, in which for long periods the Catholic Church tacitly accepted the status quo in return for being allowed to practice and recruit followers.

Cheeseman (2015, 75) further observed that;

The role played by the Catholic Church in Zaire was not dissimilar to the way that Catholic, Protestant, Anglican and Presbyterian churches engaged with authoritarian rule across the continent. With some important exceptions, these organizations generally tolerated democratic backsliding in the 1970s, but later broke out bravely in defence of human rights. The legitimacy and organizational capacity of these churches, along with their international connection, made it safer for religious leaders to openly advocate political liberalization. In the process, they broke long-kept silences and paved the way for an outpouring of public criticism. Moreover, by allowing opposition leaders to meet and discuss tactics at funerals and weddings, some churches also provided much needed shelter for the continents nascent pro-democracy movements.

To Cheeseman therefore, religion had the capacity to collaborate with the state for mutual benefit as well as to oppose the state. In the case of Senegal, Cheeseman (2015, 76-77) observed that President Leopold Senghor maintained a relationship which ensured mutual benefits. This 'meant that the presence of powerful Islamic leaders ensuring that the Marabouts and the Union Progressiste Senegalaise (UPS) formed a remarkably stable Alliance.'

Haynes (1996, 80) on his part raised two important arguments for this thesis. First, he argued that religious leaders were not only, not just ineffective, but were even in partnership with state operatives to maintain status quo, thus;

My argument is that most representative and associational groups-including religious ones- are organically linked with the state to perpetuate the role and position of a certain hegemonic stratum. Organizations within civil society serve to internalize the relations of domination, creating the consensus indispensable for the reproduction of this domination; leaders of mainstream religious organizations play their part in the maintenance of the status quo. On the one hand, the leaders of these organizations epitomize, as figurehead and leader, the normative beliefs of their religion in terms of a re-organization of society which may well transcend the merely spiritual level.

Haynes' thinking above is similar to Marx's, who saw religion as the opiate that lulled the working classes into subservience to the ruling classes. It also reflects Bayart's (1993, 155-179) view that Africa's was a politics of the belly, in which leaders of diverse sectors, religious ones included, operated in a mutually beneficial reciprocal assimilation.

Secondly, Haynes (1996, 82-83) argued using examples of religious leaders that had been harassed or murdered by state leaders, that religions' power was no match for the state's loyal security forces unleashed. To him religion only had 'mere' morality and right on its side, while the state and its political actors had superior force at their disposal, and were quite capable of silencing religious 'trouble makers'. Thus he argued that both because of state superior power and internal differences between top class leaders and their lower cadre leaders, religion's effectiveness stood undermined.

In her study of the history of African Christianity, Isichei (1995, 74-75, 233) pointed out that Christianity in Africa had been shaped by 'reaction against a tradition of missionary biography, where the foreign Christian is a heroic actor, and the African communities merely the backdrop for her or his deeds'. In so doing, she not only showed the role of Africans as did Ayiayi (1965) and Ayandele (1966), but also noted that 'Many British administrators were critical of missionaries, and hostile to Christian educated Africans.' Despite the above, Isichei (1996, 234) still wrote that 'the missionaries on the whole supported the colonial regime.' The Scholars above for the greater part viewed religion as collaborating with the state. Knighton (2009, 5) observed that while religion emphasizes faith, morality and ethical values as it seeks to recruit believers and make the world a better place (Knighton, 2009, 5), politics, in Kenya at least, is the sphere of

jostling, fighting, fierce competition, false promises, corruption and violence. Knighton (2009, 10-20) captured this as the *dini-siasa polarity* (Religion-politics polarity).

2.7 Conclusion

This Chapter has discussed citizenship as a concept, its origins and theories, its development in colonial and post-colonial Kenya in the light of secondary literature. It is clear that scholars find the state, civil society and the citizens to be all engaged variously, but with the net effect of a culture of bad governance. As shown, a number of scholars have been focused on church and state, religion and politics, and citizenship before (Ndegwa 1997), during and after colonialism (Mamdani, 1996). More recently great effort has gone into studies on the second liberation after 1986. The discussion above however shows the need to investigate the role of the missions and churches after the WWI and before 1985. A focus on citizenship provided a new area of investigation. We now turn to discuss how the missions and churches organized themselves for their role.

Chapter Three

Diversities cooperating for effectiveness

3.1 Introduction

Despite the colonial state's claim to administer the EAP with justice for all,¹ Africans only gained integration into citizenship gradually between 1900 and 2002 (both dates out of the scope of this research), through efforts like those of the missions or churches and those of Africans themselves. The missions, having come to spread Christianity, began inter-missions meetings in 1907 that led to the beginning of their formal cooperation 1913 (Omulokoli (2004, 149-157).

This Chapter provides an overview of how ecumenical Protestant missions and churches organized themselves for their role, alongside the state's dealings with Africans and its implications for their citizenship. It argues that Protestants operated through successive ecumenical bodies to better address issues of common concern among Africans, including advocating with the state concerning their citizenship rights. In so doing, it provides information that explains how the missions and churches were organizing themselves as important information for Chapters Four to Eight.

3.2 Protestant missionaries and church leaders

Missionary or church leaders were the prime movers in the role that the missions played. They were sent to the mission fields to spread Christianity among Africans, though some offered themselves for different reasons (Strayer, 1978). Scholars have with different levels of passion highlighted the failures and inadequacies of missionaries and the missions they set up. Strayer (1978, 5-29) gave an account of the challenges of

1 Sir Arthur Hardinge to Salisbury in Mungeam, G.H. 1978, 67. The East Africa Protectorate proclaimed at Mombasa, July 1, 1895, by A.H. Hardinge, HM Agent and Consul-General, Zanzibar.

interaction between missionaries themselves, between missionaries and upcoming converted Africans and between the missionaries and Muslim Arab slave owners. He wrote that the missionaries in East Africa were considered less educated than their peers in Asia, insecure even about the little education acquired by freed slaves, vulnerable in loneliness away from home and burdened with work in their stations. These all were factors that predisposed them to be seen as part and parcel of the colonial state's activity. Throup (1995, 144-150), Strayer (1978, 5-11) and Allen (2013, 1-2) among others considered the missions inextricably linked with the colonists but many times in conflict over divergent motivations, purposes, values and class distinction. Church leaders in the post-colonial situation have faced similar assessments by scholars like Gifford (2009) and Lonsdale (1992).

Despite these, it was not so much their individual differences, as their ability to work together that resulted in progress towards the citizenship of Africans. It is well known that each of the missions had very few missionaries apiece before WWI and that many of them were unprepared for the shock of dealing with African realities, culture and customs like male and female circumcision (See 3.5) and polygamy, which they viewed as involving immoral dances, superstition and witchcraft among others. Welbourn (1961, 140-142) argued that they brought the gospel clothed in European culture. To him, independent Churches meant some Africans had accepted Christianity and rejected western culture. On the flipside however, an increasing number of scholars, trying to avoid anachronism, have looked at what the missions and churches did as individual denominations or jointly and highlighted their impact (Section 1.3 and 1.6).

The missions realized very early, that for them to communicate the gospel to Africans, they needed to address hindrances including language barrier, basic hygiene and home

science for health, agricultural production, vocational skills and ‘excessive fear of evil spirits....witchcraft ...and superstitious forms of customs and beliefs’(Ohanga, 1956, ii-iii). In view of their common challenges and individual deficiencies, Protestant leaders took advantage of their ecumenical platform, where they benefitted from information researched by expert staff at the secretariat, discussed the state of their missions and the nation and developed a common mind. This enabled participating leaders to take strong common positions on issues on behalf of their missions and Africans, as evidenced by Anglican Bishops speaking from their diocesan corners (Sabar 2002, 11-14).

Before 1918, they had problems with the government’s opposition to their efforts towards academic education for Africans. J H Oldham of the International Missionary Council (IMC) intervened by raising funds for the Phelps-Stokes Commission. This undertook research between 1921 and 1924 and published reports on the best ways to approach Africans’ education. Oldham and the missions used the reports to lobby for the improvement of Africans’ education.² Protestant missions in Kenya for example, worked with the colonial state to set up the Jeanes School in 1925 (present day Kenya School of government). This in its heyday was a quality institution built by the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa (APM) with funding from a leading Quaker entrepreneur from United States of America, to train African teachers in specialized subjects, including citizenship. The missions also lobbied and built the Alliance Secondary School in 1926. The unease of the missions is indicated thus;

We shall all need much patience in carrying out this Land Trust Ordinance. The Government realizes that Missions need more freedom in these lower schools, and no doubt the Missions realize the Government’s demand for continuity – the difficulty will be in the tenancies of the school plots which must have a degree of permanency.

2 KNA: AFR.KNA/MAC 370.096.7AFR. Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe.

In all these efforts, education became the main opportunity for mission work, with areas of convergence and divergence with the state. Ohanga, himself an early beneficiary of mission education wrote that the Christian churches and government are in debt to the missions;

Not only were they Christians in the deepest sense but also human, extremely patient and possessed of deep understanding in the more important aspects of human life. They were also great scholars, a fact well borne out by the rapidity with which they mustered the African languages...The individual missionaries daily contact with Africans, his devotion to work, his absolute sincerity of purpose and astonishingly high moral standards, are some of the factors which form and guide the infiltration of western influence, civilization and culture among the indigenous communities of Kenya.³

Though Ohanga recognized that the missions and the state were agreed on major matters, he also acknowledged differences. As a government minister, he downplayed what government interference meant for the missions.

With regard to their common mission issues or matters to do with the state, they still could have acted as individual missions (Sabar 2002, 11-14), but were much more effective when they acted jointly. In this way they as missions and their individual missionaries (later African clergy) retained their pastoral roles, but discharged their prophetic role through their ecumenical platform, with the general secretary of their ecumenical body be their spokesperson. What follows is a discussion of the way Protestant missions organized themselves to play their role alongside the changing meanings of Africans' citizenship as the colonial state developed.

3 Foreword by B A Ohanga, first African cabinet Minister of community development,. In Elizabeth Richards *Fifty years in Nyanza 1906 -1956: The history of the CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Kenya*. 3.1956.

3.3 The Federation of Missions and Africans' citizenship of exclusion

Concerned initially about common mission issues and the state's condoning of labour for African children,⁴ Protestant missions began consultations in 1907 (Omulokoli, 2004, 152-156) and held their first ecumenical conference in July 1913. It brought together 57 participants, mainly missionaries from eleven Protestant mission agencies working in Kenya at the time and two visiting clergymen, to Church of the Torch (*Thogoto*) of the CSM in Kikuyu.⁵ This was just three years after the first World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland in 2010 (Van Beek 2006, 4; Gunther 2002, 521). In the conference, the Rt. Rev. Willis of the CMS, Bishop of Uganda, presented a paper titled 'The desirability of a Common Native Church.', (Omulokoli, 2004, 155), advising the missions to either form 'One United Native Church' or a 'Federation of Missions in British East Africa'.

Considering that there was strength in unity, he argued that the missions had the opportunity to demonstrate to Africans that there was only one God, to fulfil the prayer of Jesus Christ for oneness (John 17) and to be an example of unity to their mother churches in Britain. The missions however, each being from a strong doctrinal and traditional background, chose to form the Federation of Missions⁶ (Anderson, 1970). Indeed, only three British and one American, missions namely CMS, CSM, UMM and (AIM) respectively⁷, all Episcopalian, signed up to form the Federation of Missions (FOM).⁸ The other missions like the FAM expressed the need to consult their sending

4 NCKK Hq. Minute 1 on Committee to look into Native Child and Women Labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Mission Societies in British East Africa. 25-27.4.1921

5 NCKK Hq. Attendance list. In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference (MUMC) held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913; NCKK. 2013. Page 1-2.

6 NCKK Hq. Appendix B: Draft Constitution of the Federation of Missions, in Minutes of the United Missionary Conference (MUMC) held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

7 NCKK Hq. Minute on Federation of Missions. In minutes of the United Missionary Conference held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

8 NCKK Hq. Musyimi, Mutava. 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Page 2-3

mission agencies,⁹ because they as yet had differences about their approach to evangelism and social services (Knighton, 2009, 9: Lonsdale, Booth-Clibbon and Hake, 1978, 268). The four agreed on the Bible as their common standard of appeal; the Apostles and Nicene Creeds; the two sacraments- baptism and the Lord's Supper and a duly ordered and safeguarded ministry. They therefore viewed the signing as the '...first step towards the formation of a United Church in British East Africa'.¹⁰ This was also the first cooperation of any diversities in the territory. Their initial effort against child labour did not succeed partly because they raised it just before the outbreak of the WWI, but chiefly because the state had not conferred any labour and taxation rights on Africans.

3.4 The Alliance of missions and Africans' citizenship of local representation

The second ecumenical Missionary Conference was held at Kikuyu in 1918, after the WWI, also known as the 'Great War'. It brought together 100 delegates from 8 mission agencies. Participants included 'government officials and a few prominent settlers' from the Convention of Associations (CA), the body that brought together all European non-governmental organizations in the territory. The presence of government officials and settlers was attributable to the missions' approach of maintaining good relationships with the state and the other Europeans. The missions however remained independent minded. They for example had already turned down an invitation to join the Convention of Associations.¹¹ The continuation committee presented a draft constitution to facilitate their more serious cooperation, by dissolving the FOM and forming the APM.

9 NCCCK Hq. Minute on Federation of Missions. In minutes of the United Missionary Conference held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

10 NCCCK Hq. Musyimi, Mutava. 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Page 3

11 NCCCK Hq. Minute on Convention of Associations. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 4-10.10.1919

This conference was reported internationally by Reuters.¹² Their key areas of concern included education, medicine and interaction with government on matters like natives marriage,¹³ concerns that had aspects that were both attractive and repugnant to Africans (Chepkwony 1987, 50). As a result of the WWI, Africans were becoming politically conscious and were desirous to gain political representation. The resolutions of the 1918 meeting showed that the missions collaborated with the state strategically to enhance their mission work to Africans, but retained the capacity to oppose its decisions. In the 1918 meeting they agreed on modalities of operation including mutual respect between themselves and space for each mission to pursue its work unhindered, and a joint approach to emerging issues among Africans with respect to the state. This was partly because they were aware that the colonial government would not allow Africans to participate in decision making processes for themselves. Thus in addition to their other work, they responded to emerging issues among Africans. They recorded an appreciation from the Church of Scotland in their minutes thus;

The General Assembly learnt with keen interest and gratification that the spirit of cooperation and union in the Mission Field continues to grow. They welcome the tidings from Kikuyu, that, at a thoroughly representative Conference of the Missionary Societies of B.E.A., a Constitution of an Alliance of these Societies has been framed which is beneficial to the common aims, secures a large measure of uniformity in method and in standard of Christian enterprises, and yet does not interfere with the liberties of the different Societies in things deemed essential. The General Assembly thank God for this notable advance towards Christian unity and empower their missionaries in that Field to enter the Alliance in terms of the Constitution as now presented to the Assembly. The R.C. records with satisfaction and pleasure the terms of this minute.¹⁴

Despite their efforts on behalf of Africans however, the missions did not as yet have Africans sitting on their own Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missions (RCA). The reason they gave was that time had not yet come, for Africans

The R.C. recommended that the Alliance do not become a member of the above Convention but instruct the Secretary to thank the Convention for the courtesy of their invitation and to state their willingness to send representatives on the same footing as formerly.

12 NCKK Hq. Minute 2 on Telegram by Reuters to the home Papers. In the minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Mission Societies in British East Africa. 26.7.1918

13 (Heywood, 1919, MB3)

14 NCKK Hq. Minute on General Assembly (Church of Scotland). In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 4-10.10.1919

were not yet in the leadership of their denominations and so could not represent them.¹⁵ They however had them at the lower levels known as District Councils as provided for in the constitution they ratified.

The District Council shall consist of all ministers, resident in the district: and missionaries in charge of Parishes. One lay representative from each local church numbering up to twenty five: two from churches numbering not less than fifty and up to a hundred: and one additional member for each complete hundred thereafter. All in full membership are entitled to a vote. Its duties shall be to establish new centres of mission work in the district to administer the district funds, and to make provision that the Word of God is preached within its bounds, the Sacraments duly administered, and discipline maintained. Each District Council shall meet at least twice a year.¹⁶

It was in that same 1920 that the British metropolitan changed the status of Kenya from a protectorate to a colony of Britain (Kamoche 1981, 26-27). This was just after the missions' indirect advocacy with the metropolitan had caused the Northey government to amend the Northey Circulars in 1920 (Section 5.3.6). It was also the time when Indians' were increasing their campaign to be recognized as the paramount racial community and to have access to the White Highlands, arguing that they were more in number than Europeans.

Declaring Kenya, a British colony in 1920, meant that the colonial state was required to include Africans as equal subjects. The state's unwillingness to so recognize Africans was seen in the fact that the missions still cautioned the state against legislation that might affect the welfare of Africans. They for example, warned the state against abruptly reducing government grants for the education of Africans even as they increased their taxation (Section 5.3.4). It was in this period, after Governor Coryndon took over from Governor Northey, that they as missions worked with him in what led to the Devonshire White Paper (Chapter Four), the nomination of a missionary

15 NCK Hq. Minute 10 Africans on the Representative Council. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 3-4.3.1920

16 NCK Hq. District Councils. Appendix C of the Draft Constitution. In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

representative of Africans on the Legislative Council (LegCo) and the setting up of Local Native Councils (LNC) for Africans' political participation (Huxley 1953, 194-197; Section 4.4 and 6.3). This was the first time Africans were represented on the LegCo, even is by a missionary, interpreted in this thesis as the first gain towards Africans' citizenship.

The Alliance membership wrestled with its tendency to pass laws that undermined their mission work as they remained on the lookout for the state to uphold the interests of Africans. These, coupled with their own inter-mission issues kept their number to a minimum at a time when the needed every missions to be involved.¹⁷ Their restrictive membership criteria had caused some missions not to sign up. They for example, in 1919, had rejected the application of the FAM that had been involved in ecumenical fellowship since 1907, even after it agreed to sacraments for the sake of ecumenism.¹⁸ They also had ongoing challenges with the comity arrangement. Rev. Hotchkiss of the Lumbwa Industrial Mission declined to participate in any arbitration that would have had his mission relocate from Lumbwa which was within the sphere of the AIM.¹⁹ These issues necessitated a third major ecumenical conference.

Dr John William Arthur, who came to East Africa as a Church Scotland medical missionary and took over from Rev. Scott, maintained a cordial relationship with the state, but much more became the coordinator of the missions' ecumenical activities from 1912 until 1937, when he retired. He

was born in Glasgow in 1881 the son of John W. Arthur, a Glasgow businessman. He was educated at Glasgow Academy and at Glasgow University from where he graduated M.B. Ch.B. in 1903 and took his M.D. in 1906. He was appointed to the post of medical missionary

17 NCKC Hq. Minute 8 on General Assembly. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 4-10.10.1919; NCKC Hq. Minute 3 on Rev. Hotchkiss. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 13-14.10.1919;

18 NCKC Hq. Minute 11 on Friends Africa Industrial Mission. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 4-10.10.1919; NCKC Hq. Minute 3 on Rev. Hotchkiss. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 13-14.10.1919;

19 NCKC Hq. Minute 8 on General Assembly. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 4-10.10.1919; NCKC Hq. Minute 3 on Rev. Hotchkiss. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 13-14.10.1919;

at the Kikuyu Mission, British East Africa (Kenya), in 1906, arriving at the mission on 1 January 1907. He opened the mission's first hospital and also became involved with its evangelical and educational work. Arthur succeeded Dr Henry E. Scott as head of the mission on the latter's death in 1911 and, after his ordination in 1915, he concentrated increasingly on ministerial rather than medical practice.

During the First World War Arthur organised the Kikuyu Missions' Volunteer Carrier Corps for service in German East Africa and became the commanding officer... Arthur came to be accepted as one of the foremost spokesmen of missionary opinion in East Africa and worked enthusiastically for inter-mission co-operation. He also worked with the colonial government, applying pressure from within for reforms.²⁰

He, as honorary secretary of the APM, organized a meeting of the Alliance membership on 23.4.1924 at 2.15 pm, and invited all Protestant missions that could attend to a wider meeting for the two days that followed. The Alliance meeting was to discuss how to make use of Dr Arthur's nomination to the LegCo as the representative of Africans.²¹ Noting that without, such representation, Africans could not talk of citizenship and the need to have all Protestant missions involved, Arthur, seconded by Archdeacon Owen, moved the adoption of a recommendation '...for the formation of a Kenya Missionary Council'.²² Dr Arthur supported by Dr Garfield William, pointed out;

...the need for a full representation of the Missions in the Colony and protectorate on a comprehensive body for dealing with matters of common concern, which need had become particularly emphasized at the present time owing to the call for a community of aim and effort in native education resulting from the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. In support of the proposal that such a comprehensive body should be formed, he adduced the Minute of the Church of Scotland Mission Council of October 3rd – 6th 1923, advocating the formation of a Joint Missionary Council for Kenya Colony.²³

3.5 The Kenya Missionary Council and Africans' increased citizenship activities

Forty participants from 12 missions, namely CMS, CSM, UMM, AIM, FAM, GMS, SA, BEAM, SDA, WUM, YMCA and AICG, 2 unattached missionary women and the Education Secretary of the CMS and member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, Dr

20 Arthur, John William. Available at <URL. <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/database.html>. Accessed 15.6.2015

21 NCKK Hq. Minute 5 on Missionary representation on the Legislative Council. In Minutes of the RC of the APMSBEA 19-22.11.1923

22 (Barlow, 1924c, MB3).

23 NHQ MB3. Minute on Relation of the Alliance to the Non-Allied Societies, and Question of a Joint Missionary Council. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Mission Societies in British East Africa. 23.4.1924.

Garfield Williams as a visitor,²⁴ met on 24-25.4.1924.²⁵ They had the backing of the Alliance, that had met the previous day and whose convenor Dr Arthur, had invited them. After discussing the issues of concern, they agreed to form the more inclusive Kenya Missionary Council (KMC),²⁶ to deal on a wider basis than hitherto possible with all questions of missionary co-operation and comity, and all matters affecting the development of the native peoples on Christian lines.²⁷ By development they meant spiritual, educational and ability to function in society. Coinciding with their meeting was the first ever conference on politics, economics and citizenship in Birmingham;

The basis of the conference is the conviction that the Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of today, that the social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians with disastrous consequences to the individual and to society.²⁸

The documents produced became standard literature of reference on matters of politics, economics and citizenship throughout the churches in Britain and their mission agencies. In the same year, J H Oldham published his book 'Christianity and the race problem', that among other things discussed citizenship. Thus at a time when the colonial state was seeking to strengthen its control of the territory, the missions were also strengthening their ecumenical cooperation.

24 NCKC Hq. Minutes of the Representatives of Protestant Societies held in Nairobi 24-25.4.1924; Minute on Relation of the Alliance to the Non-Allied Societies, and Question of a Joint Missionary Council. In Minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa meeting at the CMS School in Nairobi. 23.4.1924 at 2.15 pm.

25 NCKC Hq. Musyimi, Mutava. 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Page 3

26 NCKC Hq. Minutes of the Representatives of Protestant Societies held in Nairobi 24-25.4.1924; *And* Minute on Relation of the Alliance to the Non-Allied Societies, and Question of a Joint Missionary Council. In Minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa meeting at the CMS School in Nairobi. 23.4.1924 at 2.15 pm;

NCKC Hq. Musyimi, Mutava. 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Page 3.

27NCKC Hq. Minute on Relation of the Alliance to the Non-Allied Societies, and Question of a Joint Missionary Council. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Mission Societies in British East Africa. 25.1.1943

28Manchester, W., Chairman. COPEC in Action (A Christian Order in Politics, Economics and Citizenship). Held in Birmingham, England .12.4.1924;

Manchester, W., Chairman. Politics and citizenship: C.O.P.E.C Commission Report of the conference. Held in Birmingham, England. 12.4.1924

Despite its noble purpose, the KMC did not completely reconcile the British and American streams of Protestantism. The former dominated by the CMS, the CSM, UMM and BBS and the latter by the AIM still held different perspectives of mission.²⁹ There were issues that arose that split even those missions that came from Britain. In the KMC meeting of February 1925, the Rev. Rees of the FAM) from America vacated the Chair, to table the matter of spheres of influence or comity.³⁰ This was one of the indicators that the missions' progress on the mission field was accompanied by their own unique challenges including inter-mission misunderstandings, conflicts and expansion options. In this case when Rees reported that the comity arrangement was becoming impractical, the missions discussed the matter extensively and resolved that the comity arrangement stays intact until such a time as they will all agree to an alternative.³¹

In the period following, Kikuyu Africans formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and the CSM mounted a serious campaign against female circumcision that was initially not supported by the CMS. Female circumcision,³² internationally known as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) (Okwalo 2004),³³ is the 'the surgical procedure that involves total or partial removal of the external female genitalia.'³⁴ Some missionaries had been shocked about it, and had been campaigning against about 20 years, based on their view that it is a harmful traditional practice affecting girls and women. They at the time noted that it was rampant in at least 27 out of 46 African countries. Dr Arthur and

29 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2419. From Kikuyu to the Christian Council 1913-1947. By Rev M G Capon. Undated draft. Page 24

30 NCKK Hq. Appendix B: Mission comity in Draft Constitution of the Federation of Missions, in Minutes of the United Missionary Conference (MUMC) held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

31 NHQ MB5. 1925. Barlow, 1925. Minute on Spheres of influence.

32 Communities in Africa would never perceive circumcision as mutilation.

33 Okwalo, Monica. 2004. Alternative rite of passage paper. Presented to the Inter-Faith Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Religious Leaders Consensus Building workshop. Organized by Building Eastern Africa Community Network (BEACON).Held at Sportsview Hotel, Kasarani 23-24.6. 2004.

34 National Plan of Action for the Elimination of Female genital Mutilation In Kenya. (1999)

Dr Philp, who in their medical services before the WWI, had identified FGM as a problem to women during child birth, vigorously renewed their campaign against it in mid-1920s, and brought the matter to the KMC.

After discussions, the KMC membership on the basis of medical evidence, approved the campaign against FGM. It however created a major crisis in their mission work. African Christians who favoured the custom lost their trust for missionaries as Africans' representatives and separated from the mission churches to form African independent churches like the Africa Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (AIPCA). It instead provided an opportunity for the KCA to magnify its legitimacy, entrench itself and access funding from Kikuyu business people in Nyeri (Peterson 2004), claiming that the missions and the state were seeking, in addition to taking their land, control their sexuality and population also. In a sense by opposing the practice, the missions lost some of their goodwill to influence Africans leaders, and African padres and school teachers were attacked as the white man's "yes-men". Mission schools were deserted and congregations decimated.

Scholars like Haynes (1996), Kanogo (1987) and Chepkwony (1987) viewed the decision by Africans to break away and form indigenous churches as both evidence of the patronizing attitude of the missions and an effort by Africans to Africanize Christianity. Haynes (1996) particularly saw it as a reaction against the hegemonic association that mission leaders had with state leaders. The flipside however reveals the willingness of the two missionary doctors and the KMC membership, despite objections, to face the fact of so many suffering women, and to pay the price it required to campaign on their behalf. Dr Arthur had to step down from representing Africans on

the LegCo in 1927 (Section 4.4). The campaign caused great differences between state officers and Dr Arthur.

In the early 1930s, when the KMC set up a committee to safeguard natives' interests in land and labour in the Carter Land Commission process (See Chapter Seven), its convenor Dr Arthur, took it as an opportunity to repair the strained relations that had resulted from the anti-female circumcision campaign (Peterson, 2004, 35-40. Alongside their race relations efforts, the missions also put effort in developing African leaders. In 1938 for example, two African leaders Mr Apolo Ohanga who became the first African cabinet minister and Mr Meshak Murage, were appointed to accompany Rev. J W Ford of the FAM to the International Missionary Council Conference in Tambaram, Madras India.³⁵ The report that Rev. Ford gave highlighted the fact that other missionaries in other African countries faced similar issues.³⁶ Towards 1940, the worsening relations between the Colonial State, the settlers and Africans constituted increased responsibilities for the missions. It required them to re-organize further, so as to include more Protestant missions and refocus their objectives in order to confront the issues they faced on their mission fields.³⁷ The missions;

decided to further widen the association of Protestant Christians to allow for all Christian groups to participate. They undertook further internal reorganization so as to approach their realities in a better way. ... 'After some discussion it was agreed that at the General Meeting of February 1940, Mr. F. C. Smith should move a resolution. "That the time has now come for the review of the whole machinery of Christian Co-operation in Kenya, and that a committee be appointed to make particular suggestions."³⁸

35 NCKK Hq. Report of the Madras delegation. Minute 17 of the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held in the Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi. 21-23.2.1939

36 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/591. A glimpse of the Tambaram Conference of the International Christian Council by Rev J W Ford. Undated

37 NCKK Hq. Appendix I. A Transformed Kenya, Address to the Executive Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, by Hopkins. In minutes of the Executive Committee of the KMC held on 17-20.2.1942

NCKK Hq. Minute 7 on Christian Cooperation in Kenya. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office 18.12.1939

38 NCKK Hq. Minute 7 on Christian Cooperation in Kenya. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office 18.12.1939

In his speech to the AGM of 1942, Hopkins warned that the Gospel could not be proclaimed in a vacuum (Section 4.5).³⁹ He emphasised that the KMC promotes the participation of Africans as equal human beings with the other races, living in a just society with their socioeconomic needs met. Equality here was a citizenship issue in the sense that Africans needed socio-economic empowerment to be part of a harmonious multi-racial colony. The discussions that followed this resolution yielded a draft constitution which was discussed at various stages and adopted in 1943, when the KMC was officially reorganized to become the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK).

3.6 The Christian Council of Kenya and African's representation on the LegCo

The launch of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) prepared ecumenical Protestants for the next phase of engagement with the state.⁴⁰ The tasks ahead needed a much wider participation missions, churches and individuals. Its main objective was to promote 'the extension of the kingdom of God among all races in Kenya, by fostering co-operation and mutual consultation among all Christians in the colony'.⁴¹ It aimed firstly, to bring 'together representatives of the churches, missionary societies, and other Christian agencies of Kenya for periodical conferences and counsel concerning the spiritual and general welfare of all races. Secondly, to promote the study and investigation of all problems relating to the progress of the kingdom of God, not excluding matters concerning economics and citizenship'. Thirdly, to 'help form an enlightened Christian public opinion on all issues affecting the spiritual, moral and physical welfare of all peoples in the colony. Fourthly, to give expression to such Christian opinion and bring

39 NCKK Hq. Appendix I. A Transformed Kenya, Address to the Executive Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, by Hopkins. In minutes of the Executive Committee of the KMC held on 17-20.2.1942

NCKK Hq. Minute 7 on Christian Cooperation in Kenya. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office 18.12.1939

40 NCKK Hq. Minute on Constitution of the CCK attached as Appendix. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office Nairobi. 25.1.1943

41 NCKK Hq. Minute on Constitution of the CCK attached as Appendix. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office Nairobi. 25.1.1943

it to bear on all public questions.’ The CCK set up a committee towards this end. At its first meeting those present namely Rev M G Capon, Messrs Mr F C Cege, J Jeremiah, H E Lambert, J G Scotchmer and Rev. L G Beecher –as secretary, chose F C Smith to chair their meetings. Present as visitors were C E Mortimer from government and Mrs F O B Wilson and Mrs Charles Taylor representing the East Africa Women’s League. Apologies were received from Lieut. Col. G Grimshaw, Mr A Phillips, and Mr A J Hopecraft. At that meeting, the named it the Christian Council of Kenya Citizenship Committee (CCKCC). They led the CCK’s Africans’ ex-soldier re-entry efforts after the WWII and lobbied for Africans representation on the LegCo (Section 4.5 and 7.7). After Mathu was appointed to the LegCo and took up advocacy on these matters, Beecher stepped down from it 1945 and became chairman of the Africans’ Education Commission which provided the blueprint for the next phase of Africans education. Rev Beecher also reported that it had become impossible to arrange for meetings of the CCKCC due to poor race relations⁴²and proposed that its functions be assumed by the Executive Council and the standing Committee for some time.⁴³ With this the CCKCC wound up.

In 1960, the CCK’s review of its 1943 objectives⁴⁴ showed that it had wound up the citizenship committee and taken over its objectives as listed above.⁴⁵ Not long after this review, a shift in the British colonial policy coupled with Africans’ agitation resulted in the independence of Kenya. At that point, Africans’ achieved the status of full citizenship, even though with limited citizen participation. The significance of the CCK effort of civic education and constitution review (See Section 8.3) was that it attempted

42 NCK Hq. Minute 20 in Minutes of the meeting of the Standing Committee of the CCK held within the CMS conference room on Thursday 6.11.1947.

43 NCK Hq. Minute 20 in Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in St Andrew’s Hall and the Peel Hall, Nairobi. 20-21.2.1945

44 NCK Hq. (Appendix ii, min of AGM, 1960)

45 (CCK, 1960a, MB7)

to develop leaders for their work in independent Kenya. This was partly as a result of their past mission work. In 1949, the Presbyterian Church of East Africa and Methodist Church in Kenya had become partners with the Anglicans in the ownership of their divinity school in 1949 and worked together to make it St Paul's United Theological College in 1955.⁴⁶ It trained most of the church leaders in Kenya, including those from Independent churches. The CCK recruited John Kamau from the Mau Mau camp⁴⁷ in 1957 to serve as a clerk in the NCCCK office. Kamau recalls that he was interviewed by Mrs Caroline Brekinridge, when they discovered he had an education (Crouch 1993, 54). Having begun as a typist, he rose within the short period of five years to become the first African general secretary of the NCCCK in 1963. Before he took up office, he was sent to a six months course in the UK to prepare him for service.⁴⁸

At independence, the status of all Africans shifted from a citizenship of limited representation at national level on the LegCo, to full citizenship (Section 1.1) of independent Kenya as provided for in the new constitution. Most citizens needed socio-economic and civic empowerment to operate as full citizens of an independent Kenya. It was towards empowering Kenyan citizens that the NCCCK engaged in socio-economic empowerment work and in civic education towards political participation (Chepkwony, 1987). To illustrate this, soon after independence, Kamau became general secretary of the CCK and Thomas Lun'gaho became the First African Executive Secretary of the Quakers in 1964 (Malenge, 2012, 14), Bishop Festo Olang was chosen to become the First African Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Kenya in 1970 (Crouch, 1993, 30) and John Gatu became the first African Presbyterian Moderator in 1979 (Crouch, 1993, 50).

46Our history on the Website of St Paul's University. <http://www.spu.ac.ke/home/spu.html>

47Worsley, Peter Maurice best description of Mau Mau= he listened to the people

48 NCCCK HQ. Min 12 on Appointment of Acting General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary and Minute 16 on appointment of a new General Secretary in the minutes of the Annual meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya, held at Limuru Conference Centre. 8-9.3.1962

3.7 The National Christian Council of Kenya and Africans' full citizenship

Though Protestant missions failed to form one native church, their unity in diversity was an example of how different communities could work together on the issues about which they agreed. It provided space for fellowship and cooperation across a wider constituency of mission agencies, churches and Christian organizations. Calderwood⁴⁹ wrote that Protestant missions or churches had to form the Christian Council. Firstly, 'Because we are united', and 'that unity is the gift of God to be manifested by us, not created', because we have so much in common. Secondly, 'Because we are divided on many matters', acknowledging that if they had been wholly one church, there would be no need of a Council. He therefore urged them to hold unity and diversity in a proper tension,' because, 'Too much stress on one or the other would destroy the Council.' With these Protestant churches were keen to lay a strong foundation for the citizens of Kenya through leadership development, civic education, family life education and youth work through research and communication using various media. These covered four broad areas, namely the socio-economic wellbeing of the people, advocacy with government, capacity building of the people through socio-economic empowerment and civic education, and building their faith. John Kamau referred to the NCKK as 'the privileged instrument of the Protestant churches'.⁵⁰

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the way Protestants organized themselves and cooperated for their role in the way Africans' citizenship developed. It is significant that the missions and churches worked jointly towards the welfare of Africans in the colonial and post-colonial periods despite their weaknesses and failures. Among those scholars that wrote

⁴⁹ Appendix ii, minutes of 1962 AGM

⁵⁰ DHR-1. Discussion with John Kamau concerning the work of NCKK over the years 3.3.2007

on Church and state in Kenya, Owuoche (2010), Spencer (1974) and Chepkwony (1987) focused on the NCCCK. This Chapter adds to their work by clarifying how the missions and churches organized themselves in successive ecumenical institutions and how such organization was important for their role towards the citizenship of Africans. Important to this research is the way the development of the CCK reflects what Troeltsch called an institution. Protestant Christianity, which started as individual mission movements of missionary pairs in the mid-19th century, had grown to organize itself into successive ecumenical institutions in 1918, 1924, 1943, 1966 through which they related with the state.

Chapter Four

Protestants' efforts towards Africans' political representation

4.1 Introduction

European settlers began to seek representation within a year of their arrival in the EAP, employing slogans like 'No taxation without representation.' (Gardner 2012, 104). Gradually, the colonial state created room for Europeans, followed by Indians and Arabs by 1912 (Eliot in Mungeam 1974, 454). To some scholars, the absence of strong advocacy by the missions on behalf of Africans prior to the WWI meant they were in collusion with the state (Allen, 2013; Throup, 1995; Strayer, 1978).

This chapter argues that ecumenical Protestants acting jointly, between 1918 and 1950, engaged in debates at colonial and metropolitan levels that contributed to Africans' rights to representation as an indicator of progressive gains in their citizenship status. This began with the missions offering themselves as Africans' representatives in debates about labour in 1919, leading to government's recognition of their role as Africans representatives in the critical 1918-1923 'paramountcy of Africans' interests' debates in Nairobi and London, which gradually led to Africans direct participation on the Legislative Council (LegCo) beginning 1944. By 1950, there were four nominated Africans on the LegCo, one of them sitting on the Cabinet.¹ Africans achieved full citizenship (Section 1.1) at independence.

4.2 Protestants' and the challenge of Africans' political exclusion

The end of the First World War (WWI) provided an opportunity for the state and the missions to re-organize their work (See section 2.6.3). The state particularly, had a great opportunity to re-organize its approach to the citizenship of Africans and to reset the

1 Parliamentary Reporting Booklet. Available at URL. < www.awcfs.org/index.php/content-development/.../books? ...reporting... > Accessed. 21.9.2015;
Setter liberalism, East Africa and the Origins of non-Racialism. Available URL.<<http://www.wiser.wits.ac.za/system/.../Soske2014.pdf>. > Accessed 21.9.2015. University of the Witwatersrand

protectorate towards multi-racial integration. During the WWI, it had enlisted people of the different races to fight for the empire (Section 5.2.4; Lonsdale 1969). It however did not harness the initial interracial exposure provided by the war. It instead took three steps that undermined integration in the territory from thence forward. The first step was its adoption of the report of the Local Economic Commission of Enquiry (LECE), appointed in 1917 to look into post-war economic developments and make recommendations.² Its members were settlers like Hugh Cholmondley, the third baron Delamere, and Mr Ewart Scott Grogan, ardent defenders of European rights. It had no Indian, Arab or African representation³ (Section 2.5; Kamoche 1981).

Its racially-biased report was contentious in that it recommended that the White Highlands be reserved for Europeans, that Indian migration to the protectorate be stopped and that Kenya be turned into a white man's country.⁴ These recommendations greatly angered the Indian community in Kenya and beyond and created a conflict between them and Europeans.⁵ They accused the colonial state and the settlers of treating them like second class subjects in the British protectorate.⁶ The LECE recommendations rekindled their pre-war competition for supremacy, each seeking a bigger say in the way the protectorate was run (Section 6.2). The second step was its welcome of the metropolitan's decision to send British ex-soldiers to Kenya as a way of rewarding them for their role in the WWI, while it ignored African carriers (Section 6.2). The settlers saw it as a way of boosting European numbers in comparison to Indians (Section 6.2), and in their view it improved their chances of attaining European paramountcy.

2 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 5

3 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

4 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 5

5 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

6 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 3-6

The third step involved its post-WWI support for settlers' efforts to turn Kenya into a white mans' country. Sir Charles Eliot, commissioner between 1902 and 1904, and most of his successor commissioners and governors, shared a mind-set with the settlers, to turn Kenya into a white man's country (Kamoche 1981, 10). There was no talk of a multi-racial nation in which subjects of all races could participate politically. Before 1918, Protestant missions' engagement in their work in the rural parts of Kenya (Section 2.4), meant they did not engage the colonial state as it passed a number of critical laws, including the 1902 and 1915 Crown Lands Ordinances (CLO) and the 1906 and 1910 Master and Servant Ordinances (MSO) (Anderson 2005; Mungeam 1978). Their involvement in local rather than national politics (Strayer, 1978)⁷ left Africans without representation. While Peterson (2004), Lonsdale (1992) and Strayer (1978) illustrated this by their discussion of CMS and CSM work among the Kikuyu, this thesis has highlighted the entrance of the Friends Africa Missions (FAM) in North Kavirondo among the Bukusu and the Tachoni communities. The colonial state with its skeleton administration structure was at the time focused on taking control of the territory (Berman, 1990).

For the FAM and other missions to function effectively, they had to advocate with the state over their concerns, including the rights of Africans.⁸ It was therefore strategic that they met in their second major ecumenical conference at Thogoto, Kikuyu in July 1918 and re-organized their engagement (Section 3.4). Their failure to comment on the LECE report in the conference and in their subsequent meeting in January 1919, coupled with the assurance they gave the state that whenever 'the Alliance makes recommendations which concern government administration it be clearly understood that they do so not as a

7 NCKK Hq. Minute on Federation of Missions. In minutes of the United Missionary Conference held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

8 DHR#2

political but as a social organizations working with the natives for the natives,'⁹ gave the impression that they were in cahoots with the state.

The missions' main area of convergence with the settlers however was their shared position, even if for different reasons, that Indians should not be paramount in Kenya. The missions were keen to avoid a situation of Indian domination because they considered it uncondusive for their mission work. Their prejudice against Indians was criticized by Spencer (1974), who viewed it as a loss in moral standing. Spencer was partly right that the missions needed the input of J H Oldham to shift their imagination from that of barring Indian domination in favour of European domination, to that of campaigning for a multi-racial state.¹⁰

This may explain why Indians later reacted¹¹ negatively against Governor Robert Coryndon's nomination of Dr Arthur as his missionary adviser on native affairs (Section 4.4) in the Indian Land Question.¹² Indian Land Question was the label the colonists gave to Indians efforts to be treated as the paramount race because of their numbers and as such be allowed to buy land and live in the White Highlands. The settlers were keen, as the colonial state was, not to provide any exemption for Indians or Africans to acquire property in the White Highlands. The fact that in addition to its pre-war demarcation of the White Highlands for exclusive European settler habitation, it had also restricted Africans' access to those highlands and to areas designated for Indians, if they did not have the

9NCK Hq. Minute on Participation. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 16-19.1.1919.

10MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1. Oldham to Lugard (8-page letter) that discusses European self-rule and Imperial trusteeship. 29.5.1923

11 Emp. S22 G135. Indians in East Africa. Polak, S L, hon. Secretary and treasurer of the Indians Overseas Association letter to Harris. 24.2.1922

12 NCK Hq. Minute 8 on London Meeting In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 6-7.3.1923; NCK Hq. Minute 6 on Questionnaire on the Indian Question. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

kipande pass (Section 5.5),¹³ was an emphasis that Europeans had exclusive property rights in the White Highlands.

From their statement above however, the missions had decided to approach the state, firstly, from a social intervention perspective rather than a political activism one, expecting it to uphold trusteeship for Africans. Secondly, from a distance that did not deny them the right to confront the state over any key issues. The colonial state's expectations and attitudes towards Africans can be seen in its communications and activities. In the former, Chief Native Commissioner John Ainsworth's response in a confidential letter to Bishop Heywood's request that the state passes a law to exempt African converts from widow inheritance customs and restrictions, recognized that;

Such natives may become civilized and live under civilized ideas, they may amass property by their earnings and may marry in accordance with civilized customs, they may die and leave a civilized widow and children, yet on their death, because such men have no real status outside of their tribes, their moveable property, including the widow and children, is subject to native law and custom, ... they are all inherited by the eldest surviving male relative of the deceased. A continuance of such procedure cannot but help retard both Christianity and civilized ideals.¹⁴

He however explained to Bishop Heywood in the same letter that Africans were not even in discussion, except as labour saying;¹⁵

The term 'native' is generally understood to be the African whose home is British East Africa. In a general sense it also includes each and every black man who is found in the country ... All natives in the East Africa protectorate have really no status outside of their tribes. It is true that while working or resident in towns or other places away from their Reserves they are subject to the ordinary law of the protectorate, this is of course as it should be. They have of course no statutory right, no matter what their standard of education or training in a non-reserved area, i.e they are tolerated either because of the necessity for employing blacks or because there is no opposition to their living in the towns etc. But no black man has any legally recognized right to reside anywhere outside his Reserve.¹⁶

13 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Worthington, R T, McKenrick F H, and Barlow, A R. Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-Committee appointed by the KMC, to report on native registration (*Kipande*). 8.1933

14 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

15 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

16 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947. John Ainsworth unofficial document on Exemption of Natives to Bishop Heywood 20.8.1919

The missions realized that Africans' rights were nowhere in discussions and yet needed representation.

4.3 Protestants and the beginnings of Africans' representation

Protestant missions' efforts to represent Africans began when the colonial state published the Northey Circulars in 1919. The missions launched an opposition against some of the provisions in the circulars in Kenya, and when they were not listened to, influenced the metropolitan to instruct Governor Northey to amend the Circulars (Chapter Five). Alongside these efforts, the missions launched the formation of African political groups in 1919, hoping they could manage them towards what they called responsible politics. According to Spencer (1985, 26-28) the Kikuyu Association (KA) was formed when CMS Christian members of the *kiama* (Kikuyu Elders Council-some of whose members later became chiefs) came together with three members from each Protestant denomination, soon after Canon Leakey had intervened against the state's intention to alienate more land from the Kikuyu Reserve.¹⁷ Harry Thuku, one of the three representatives of his mission, was angered by the way the colonial state continued to alienate Africans' lands and coerce them into forced labour. He as a result mounted his political activism by founding the Young Kikuyu Association which he renamed the East African Association (Okia 2012, 70; Harbeson 1974). The missions however opposed Thuku's radical nationalistic approach, because it set him in confrontation with the state. Other political movements then coming up included the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association(s) (KTWA) set up with the help of Archdeacon Owen in Kavirondo.¹⁸

17 NCKC Hq. Minute 15 on The Kikuyu Reserve in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

18 The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers: Africa for the Africans, 1921-1922. Volume 9. June 1921-December 1922. http://books.google.co.ke/books?id=Ka3gefc7Ec8C&dq=King,+biography+Harry+Thuku&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Realizing that the colonial state did not consider any African fit to participate in decision making, the missions petitioned Governor Northey three times between 1920 and 1922 to nominate a missionary to represent Africans on the LegCo, and in other bodies like the Commission dealing with demarcation of native Reserves.¹⁹ Despite these efforts, and their successful advocacy through J H Oldham in the metropolitan against the Northey Circulars, Governor Northey acknowledged their ability and role as missions,²⁰ but denied them the opportunity to represent Africans,²¹ until he handed over to Sir Robert Coryndon in 1922. The state was focused on facilitating the settler community without reference to Africans (Section 5.2.4), claiming they were uneducated and uncivilized. This approach of ignoring Africans and Indians and passing laws and policies that were unjust against them, fuelled nationalism in both, which they as missions did not consider to be good for their work. And yet there was a bigger problem as discussed below.

4.4 Protestants' representation of Africans in the paramountcy debates

At the beginning of March 1923, Bishop Heywood of the CMS and chairman of the Alliance at the time, received a request from the new Governor Coryndon through Major Dutton, his private secretary, that the missions nominate one missionary to accompany him on his trip to London as advisor on African affairs. Governor Coryndon had been invited by the Duke of Devonshire to the third round of discussions aimed at resolving the Indian

19 NCKC Hq. Minute 15 on Commission for demarcation of Native's Reserves. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in Kenya Colony, C.M.S. House, Nairobi. 12-13.10.1920

20 NCKC Hq. Minute 9 on Missionary Representation on the Legislative Council. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 3-4.3.1920

The following resolution is sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies has referred to missionaries as representing native interests, and also that the missionary bodies in this country form such a strong constructional and educational force in the country, this Representative Council of the Protestant Alliance of Missions begs His Excellency to appoint a representative of Missions upon the Legislative Council; failing this, that the Representative Council should appoint a small political committee to watch vigilantly over native interests and make suggestions as to action to be taken by the Alliance having power to call emergency meetings of the Standing Committee when considered necessary.

21 NCKC Hq. Minute 15 on Commission for demarcation of Native's Reserves. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in Kenya Colony, C.M.S. House, Nairobi. 12-13.10.1920

Land problem with Europeans.²² Twice previously, without missions' participation, under Sir Winston Churchill and Governor Northey, a solution to the Land problem had become completely elusive, despite Churchill's assurance to Indians in 1921 that their equality as subjects was guaranteed. 'In August 1921 Churchill had told the Kenya government that Britain could not divest itself of the responsibility for mediating imperial disputes' (Stibbs 1978, 81).

There was therefore considerable pressure from the Duke of Devonshire on governor Coryndon to implement the Wood-Winterton agreement (Stibbs 1978, 82). These were regulations drawn on 4.7.1922 by Edward Wood, Churchill's undersecretary of state and Earl Winterton, parliamentary undersecretary at the India office that provided for 'a common electoral role for all British subjects and protected persons' (Maxon 1993, 249). Being the third time that the Colonial Office was seeking to engage Europeans and Indians in round table discussions in search for a solution to the Indian Land Problem, the matter was serious.

The missions in Kenya met between 6th and 7th of March 1923²³ to consider the governor's request. Bishop Heywood invited Father Foley of the Roman Catholic Church and Major Peat of the Salvation Army Church in order to ensure wider representation of missions.²⁴ Both were not associated with the Alliance at the time, but governor's private secretary advised that they be invited. At the meeting, Bishop Heywood explained that 'H E (His Excellency) was anxious that members of other religious bodies should take part in the discussion on the present situation, hence the presence of the two leaders.' The members of

22NCK Hq. Minute 1 on Political Situation. In minutes of the meeting of Mission leaders from all religious groups convened by Bishop Heywood to meet with Governor Coryndon's private secretary, Major E A J Dutton. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

23NCK Hq. Minute 1 on Political Situation. In minutes of the meeting of Mission leaders from all religious groups convened by Bishop Heywood to meet with Governor Coryndon's private secretary, Major E A J Dutton. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

24NCK Hq. Minute 1 on Political Situation. In minutes of the meeting of Mission leaders from all religious groups convened by Bishop Heywood to meet with Governor Coryndon's private secretary, Major E A J Dutton. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

the Alliance agreed to their presence and so Father Foley and Major Peat joined the session. The meeting became the first level of the paramountcy debates, the other two of which were engaged in London as discussed below.

The first debate was therefore amongst the missions themselves. Should they or should they not nominate a missionary to accompany governor Coryndon as advisor? In the meeting, Bishop Heywood tabled the official letter from the governor and had Major Dutton explain the sequence of events thus;

His Excellency has always made our ultimate responsibility for native interests a very strong point in his representations. The reason why a missionary accompanies the delegation is because he is in Eastern Africa for nothing else; he much holds a mandate for the whole native population.²⁵

After Major Dutton's explanation, there was an intense discussion among the missions as to their engagement. Father Foley of the Catholic Church expressed apprehension and declined the participation of the Catholic Church saying;

he considered the whole question was a very dangerous one, in view of missionary work in India, and that it would be better for them as missionaries not to enter into the discussion taking place. In answer to a question, he said he was only expressing his own opinion as he had not had time to consult the authorities of his Church. He promised, however, to bring the position before them.²⁶

In contrast, Major Peat of the Salvation Army, a Protestant mission that had not been part of the discourse until then, agreed with the others to oppose the Europeans versus Indians competition for paramountcy. He stated that he was taking that position knowing full well that it might generate repercussions against the great work of Salvation Army in India.²⁷ Before Major Dutton left, he explained that 'His Excellency was very anxious that the missionaries should not enter into the politics of the matter but confine themselves entirely to how the question affected the natives of the country;' and further added that;

25 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947 Dutton to Owen 20.03.1923

26 NCKK Hq. Minute 1 on Political Situation, in a section of the meeting of Mission leaders from all religious groups convened by Bishop Heywood to meet with Governor Coryndon's private secretary, Major Dutton. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

27 NCKK Hq. Minute 2 on governor's request, in a section of the meeting after the governor's private secretary Major Dutton had left. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi on 6-7.3.1923

H.E. further did not want the missionary, whom he had requested the R.C. (Representative Council) to nominate to him to be a part of the deputation but merely to accompany the deputation to advise His Excellency on native interests; and that H.E. considered such representative should be independent in finance and otherwise of that deputation.²⁸

Thus by the time Major Dutton left the meeting, the missions had agreed to nominate a missionary. From the words of Major Dutton at the meeting, it was clear that Governor Coryndon desired to involve the missions. It is possible he had heard how governor Northey had ignored the missions to his peril, and so could have been avoiding such a showdown by engaging the missions on his side.

When the missions met, they initially nominated four missionaries namely Canon Leahey, Canon Burns, Mr Hooper and Dr Arthur,²⁹ and chose Dr Arthur through the ballot to accompany Sir Robert Coryndon, to London as an adviser on African affairs.³⁰ The missions also agreed to contribute towards the cost of the trip to ensure their representative did not feel bound to the government's opinion³¹ and sent a simple questionnaire to all their member missions seeking their views on the Indian Land Question. The survey may not have been as scientific as Spencer (1974, 225-230) criticized, but it was intended to help them clarify the views of the missions,³² in the very tight timeline they had. The more serious problem unearthed by the process was the reaction of the CMS missionaries. When Rev Rus of the FAM in Western Kenya, wrote to Archdeacon Owen to propose that they meet with the CMS and Bunyore (*possibly Church of God*) in order to come up with a

28NCK Hq. Minute 1 on Political Situation, in a section of the meeting of Mission leaders from all religious groups convened by Bishop Heywood to meet with Governor Coryndon's private secretary, Major Dutton. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

29NCK Hq. Minute 3 on Selection of missionary. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi on 6-7.3.1923

30NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419. Capon, M G, Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya, page 21

31 NCK Hq. Minute 7 on Expenses of the missionary. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

32NCK Hq. Minute 15 on of the minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.3.1920; NCK Hq. Minute 6 on Questionnaire on the Indian Question. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

common response to the questionnaire rather give separate communications,³³ he did not respond. Having missed the meeting in Nairobi, he was extremely unhappy that Dr Arthur had been chosen to travel to London as advisor to the governor on African affairs. His was a sharp reaction, especially because three CMS clergy had been proposed for consideration, with their own Bishop chairing the session.

It would appear that the CMS clergy were unhappy that Dr Arthur, a CSM missionary was chosen, to represent the missions. When Dr Arthur called up his friend Owen to inform him about the decision, he did not immediately respond for a period. Owen instead mobilized the CMS clergy to a post-meeting reflection, surprisingly, with the blessing of Bishop Heywood. The meeting resolved that Owen writes a letter on their behalf, himself not having been at the meeting, to Sir Robert Coryndon the governor advising him to take the Hon. Chief Native Commissioner, Mr G V Maxwell and Mr Tate, who were known defenders of the rights of Africans,³⁴ as substantive representatives of Africans rather than a missionary advisor (read Dr Arthur). This, he wrote, was because ‘our educated natives are very concerned to discover that in a question of such importance they are to have no special representation. Any missionary chosen represents European missionary opinion, and has no mandate whatsoever from the natives’.³⁵ He argued secondly, that ‘natives need as active protagonists in this matter as Europeans had. Their protagonists should in our opinion, be present at all discussions and negotiations, and should have as full an opportunity to represent native interests as European delegates have to safeguard their interests’.³⁶ This was because in their view as the CMS clergy, ‘in the event of the failure to safeguard native interests, the blame will fall in some measure on those who failed to

33NCCCK Limuru Archives. Lim 1/1/1749 Rus to Owen 13.03.1923

34Limuru 1/1/1947 Owen to Tate; Owen to Sir Coryndon; Owen to R.S. Mombasa 15.3.1923

35NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen’s letter on behalf the CMS clergy to His Excellency Sir R Coryndon as Governor of Kenya. 15.3.1923

36NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen’s letter on behalf the CMS clergy to His Excellency Sir R Coryndon as Governor of Kenya. 15.3.1923

make the best provision to guard against failure. In their ‘opinion the best provision has not been made,’ and they felt they would be held responsible by the natives.³⁷ Owen argued that the natives were particularly concerned that the missions had failed to protests against the 1915 CLO, which limited the land in the Reserves and so wished to have ‘direct representation with the Secretary of State through official channels.’³⁸

The letter by the CMS clergy revealed the existence of power struggles within the ecumenical engagement of the missions in relation to the state. The same Owen was in 1934 cautioned to tone down his extreme letters to the British Press and to consult the Race Relations Committee members before sending letters out, by a committee of which Dr Arthur was the convenor. In the case above however, it seems the CMS had expected, that because they were the Church of England, the governor should have granted them the opportunity. For the rest of the missions that had just proposed Dr Arthur to accompany the governor as their representative, and that wished to convince him to let the Alliance have one slot on the LegCo as representatives of Africans, Owen’s action presented some unexpected opposition.

Owen offered that they as CMS missionaries would be on hand to be consulted when necessary.³⁹ There however was a consistency in the Anglican position. The CSM had had their representative in state organs since 1908. The CMS had been keen to promote Africans integration. Douglass Hooper had advised Africans to organize themselves politically even before the WWI (Knighton, 2012). In 1923, Anglicans advocated for Africans’ self-representation’.⁴⁰ They respectfully stated their view that;

37NCKK Limuru Archives. Lim1/1/1947 Owen to Sir Coryndon; Owen to Tate; Owen to R.S. Mombasa 15.3.1923

38NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen’s letter on behalf the CMS clergy to His Excellency Sir R Coryndon as Governor of Kenya. 15.3.1923

39 NCKK Archives Limuru 1/1/1947 Owen to Tate; Owen to Sir Coryndon; Owen to R.S. Mombasa 15.3.1923

40 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen’s letter on behalf the CMS clergy to His Excellency Sir R Coryndon as Governor of Kenya. 15.3.1923

to ignore official methods of voicing native opinion is derogatory both to officials and to the native. The native given a suitable opportunity is the best advocate of his own case. What is needed is a channel of expression and that exists. If his case is to be lost, better far that he should lose it himself, than that a missionary should lose it ... and if he is capable of winning it, we shall have taken a long step on the road to a worthy self-respect, which we all desire to foster.⁴¹

Bishop Heywood endorsed Owen's advice that 'the CNC Maxwell, and an experienced official like Mr H R Tate, would be the greatest possible help to the African cause if H E would invite them to join the present delegation to England.'⁴² Three days later, to his credit, Archdeacon Owen wrote to Dr Arthur; 'We hope that the governor will take the CNC Maxwell and Mr Tate to England with him and have sent a petition, signed by all the male members of the Kavirondo Mission' and backed by the Bishops letter.'⁴³ Expressing his reservations, he added;

I sincerely trust that your labours will be crowned with results rich in help for the natives. Our prayers will go with you. I wish that before that you would publish a letter retracting your signature from the recommendation of the Labour Commission on the restriction on Reserves to land required for present needs.⁴⁴

The Second level of debates involved the criticism of Indians in Kenya and in the UK led by Mr S L Polak⁴⁵ representing British Indians of the Muslim Aga Khan Community and Mr J Harris of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (AAPS).⁴⁶ The Indians and Europeans in Kenya, whose conflict necessitated the Devonshire-led London meeting in the first place, also reacted against Dr Arthur's appointment.⁴⁷ The Indian community in Kenya mounted serious opposition against the appointment of Dr Arthur, presenting themselves as the best placed to represent Africans. The European civil servants and settlers, men and women that argued strongly for the exclusion of Indians from the White

41 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen's letter on behalf the CMS clergy to His Excellency Sir R Coryndon as Governor of Kenya. 15.3.1923

42 Limuru 1/1/1947 Bishop R S Mombasa Archdeacon Owen. 15.3.1923

43 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen's letter to Dr Arthur. 18.3.1923

44 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947 W E Owen's letter to Dr Arthur. 18.3.1923

45 Emp. S22 G135. Indians in East Africa. Polak, S L, hon. Secretary and treasurer of the Indians Overseas Association letter to Harris. 24.2.1922

46 Emp. S22 G135. Indians in East Africa. Harris, to Oldham. 16.5.1923

47 NCK Hq. Minute 1 on Political Situation, in a section of the meeting of Mission leaders from all religious groups convened by Bishop Heywood to meet with Governor Coryndon's private secretary, Major Dutton. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

Highlands,⁴⁸ were also uncomfortable with Dr Arthur, because the missions had intervened for Africans in the labour problem. European women directly opposed the Indians claim, saying that for the 200 years they had traded along the East Coast before the British came, they had made Arabs indebted to them, had not developed interior Kenya and were exploitative.⁴⁹ In contrast, European men and women, had ‘invested heavily and transformed the colony in only quarter a century.’⁵⁰ In London, the Polak and Harris groups, opposed the choice of a missionary to represent Africans in London, the former influencing the latter. Initially the AAPS led by Harris was on the side of the missions because they had been directly engaged in support of Africans. To such claims and similar ones raised by Harris, Polak got involved as follows. Firstly, he tempered the direct confrontation that originated from the AAPS and the colonists thus;

You are quite right in pointing out that there has been no direct mission effort on behalf of the natives of Africa done by the Indian Community, but I entirely disagree with you in your conclusion. The civilizing influence of Indians upon the natives of Kenya and Uganda has been enormous. Indeed prior to the advent of the missionaries and of the British civil service, the only culture that the natives of east Africa absorbed had come from Indians.... I consider that the Indian influence and the Missionary influence have been complimentary, but of course on the Indian side it has been in the ordinary day's work, and not a matter of special individual effort. Indeed, for example, had Islamic missionaries carried their propaganda actively among the natives of the interior, I can imagine the shrill protests of men like Archdeacon Owen and Canon Burns.⁵¹

Secondly, he introduced new dimensions to the discussion when he said;

May I incidentally remind you that it was the Indian delegation last year and not the settler's delegation, either then or now, that was authorized to draw and did draw public attention to the disabilities under which the natives' labour, and we certainly claim that in fighting the battle of status of Indians in the Empire, we are fighting for status for every coloured man within the empire, and Kenya natives have recognized this fact and have accordingly collaborated with the Indian leaders.⁵²

Thirdly, he in the same letter began to shift the blame to the missionaries and used extreme language on Owen when he wrote;

48 RHO. Mss. Brit. Emp.S.22, G135. Wilson, Margaret Maclellan., Gwendoline Watson, Beatrix F Grahame Bell and Blanche Laws. Nd. The Women's point of view. Nairobi: Swift Press

49 They in addition claimed that Indians had not run their own country in a way that reflected the capacity they were claiming to run Kenya. They pointed out that Indians had not even contributed to the costs of constructing the railway, preferring rather to remit their earnings to India than invest in Kenya.

50 RHO. Mss. Brit. Emp.S.22, G135. Wilson, Margaret Maclellan., Gwendoline Watson, Beatrix F Grahame Bell and Blanche Laws. Nd. The Women's point of view. Nairobi: Swift Press

51 RHO Mss Brit Emp. S22. G 135 Secretary, Abdulla Kariuki East Africa Association consisting of young Kikuyu, Kavirondo, Nandi other natives wish represent

52 RHO Mss Brit. Emp. S22 G135. Indians in East Africa. Polak, S L, hon. Secretary and treasurer of the Indians Overseas Association letter to Harris. 24.2.1922

You appear not to have noticed that the Archdeacon Owen has tried to draw a red herring across the trail by endeavouring to make the gullible English public believe that the Kenya European settlers are animated by the same motives towards the natives as the British missionaries that have gone out there. I think that you and I know differently from this.⁵³

Polak supported his observations by referring to a letter from one Abdulla Karioki, who introduced himself as the secretary of the East Africa Association cited above, consisting of Kikuyu, Kavirondo, Nandi and other natives.⁵⁴ Polak used the letter to malign the Christian missionaries and convince Harris to join the side of the Indians. He for example labelled Archdeacon Owen, deceptive and labelled the British public ‘gullible’ to his deception, for the articles he was publishing in the British Press. Harris later wrote to Mr H R Tate to make enquiry about Karioki.⁵⁵ The above level of discussion, fitted Knighton’s (2009, 8-10) *Dini–Siasa* polarity.

It was the thinking that emerged in the early 1930s influenced by the East African Revival which viewed politics as dirty, not for saved Christians (Section 8.2). Dickson wrestled with this reality when he advised the revivalists not to be narrow minded.⁵⁶ The European settler men and women in the territory together with the Muslim Indians in London employed harsh criticism against the missions reflecting dirty politics or *siasa*, while the missions in the protectorate and Dr Arthur working with J H Oldham in London were expected to act in a civil manner reflecting *dini* (religion’s) cooling effect. The only point at which missions remained agreed with the state and the settlers, was in their strong opposition to Indians’ paramountcy or possible rule. The missions preferred a European

53 RHO Brit. Emp. S22 G135. Indians in East Africa. Polak, S L, hon. Secretary and treasurer of the Indians Overseas Association letter to Harris. 24.2.1922

54 Mss Brit Emp S22. G 135 Secretary, Abdulla Karioki East Africa Association consisting of young Kikuyu, Kavirondo, Nandi other natives wish represent

55 Emp. S22 G135. Harris to H R Tate on Indians in East Africa. 4.6.1923

56 NCCK Archives Lim 1/1/2641/ Bostock, Peter G. The revival movement in African Churches in Kenya. UP 31.7.1954

civilization because they considered it more suited for their mission work by virtue of its connectedness to Christianity.⁵⁷

The third level of debate, and most important of the three, focused on the Indian Land Problem. Dr Arthur, unmoved by the negative reactions of fellow missionary Owen, the Indians and the settlers, travelled to London and linked up with J H Oldham and Captain Lugard, in order to fulfil his role of advisor to Sir Robert Coryndon.⁵⁸ Of the two, Oldham was to play the more significant role. He was an Anglican man of unique qualities, experience, and background. He came up through the Student Christian Movement and Young Men's Christian Association, and studied at Edinburgh and Halle Universities. He was born in Bombay in 1874, to Lt. Col. R. G. Oldham of the Royal Engineers and educated at Edinburgh academy. He then studied at Trinity College, Oxford where he obtained a second class honours degree in literaehumaniores in 1897. In 1908 he was appointed organizing secretary of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference that was held in 1910. In 1912 he was made editor of *International Review of Missions*. It was this role that gave him extensive exposure to international politics and the role of the Church. Later in 1920, he became the Secretary of the International Missionary Council.

In their discussion of the Kenya situation, Dr Arthur stressed that the missions in Kenya were keen on safeguarding the rights of Africans and emphasized 'the pain it would cause them if the government did not uphold its trusteeship policy'.⁵⁹ Lugard, a veteran colonial administrator that had served in West Africa proposed that 'Europeans be allowed to have

57NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G, Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya

58 NCK Hq. Minute 8 on London Meeting In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 6-7.3.1923; NCK Hq. Minute 6 on Questionnaire on the Indian Question. In Minutes of the meeting of the RCAPMSBEA held in Nairobi 6-7.3.1923

59NCK Hq. Minute 3 on Dr Arthurs Report. In minutes of the RCAPMSBEA held at C.M.S. House, Nairobi 19-22.11.1923

their enclave, or state within a state.’⁶⁰ They took note of Bishop C F Andrews’s writing on behalf of Indians, in which he attempted to correct the impression of the Bishop Willis of Uganda, who affirmed that ‘They did not believe in either an European or Indian “settler domination”,’ and yet supported ‘a definite refusal to give to Indians, who are qualified by education and payment of taxes, citizen rights in no way inferior to those of the European settlers.’⁶¹

On his part, Oldham proposed a multi-racial solution. He agreed with the missions’ concerns as outlined by Arthur and disagreed with Lugard’s proposal that sought to promote an ‘imperial government control over natives’ affairs,’ by ‘giving the settlers as *quid pro quo*, enlarged powers within an enclave consisting of the territory already alienated.’ Oldham considered that it would create problems of ‘the division of powers between the central government and the self-governing European community.’⁶² To him the task was more complex, requiring balance rather than force. He confessed saying, ‘It took me a long time to accept this or to understand the reasons. I think I now see them and, whether they seem to us reasonable or not, we have to accept them as a psychological fact.’⁶³ He added;

The whole question as far as India is concerned is a psychological one. A settlement along the lines proposed would exclude them from the highlands and would mean surrender of existing claims. From the Indian point of view, it would appear as a defeat of the Indian contention. They could not be got to understand, nor would they believe in the sincerity of the imperial control over native affairs. All that they would see would be that within the enclave the settlers had got their way and had been able to establish an exclusive European reserve. They could not be induced to believe that in the course of time, the settler point of view would not be imposed on the surrounding territories.⁶⁴

60Lugard, F Empire Problems: Sir F. Lugard and the Mandates Times 15.11.1922

61Andrews, C F. Indians in Kenya. An article letter to the Times of 8.5.1923,

62 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1Oldham to Lugard (8-page letter) that discusses European self-rule and Imperial trusteeship. 29.5.1923

63 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1Oldham to Lugard (8-page letter) that discusses European self-rule and Imperial trusteeship. 29.5.1923

64 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1Oldham to Lugard (8-page letter) that discusses European self-rule and Imperial trusteeship. 29.5.1923

Thus it required a solution that addressed the state of self-view that they were in. Oldham insisted that the principle of trusteeship be recognized to avoid allowing the territories to pass into the hands of a small oligarchy of Europeans.⁶⁵ McGregor Ross advised;

that even at the present time with an official majority, the European community in practice very largely dictates policy. There is no question what the settlers want and intend to have if they can get it. The decision is of such far reaching importance that it ought to be cleared up without further delay...Many members of the present government would stand unreservedly for the principle of trusteeship, and the principle would also have the support of both wings of the Liberal Party and of the Labour Party.⁶⁶

Oldham was interested, not in greater segregation, but in integration that gave all races a place in the territory. He wrote to Lugard;

A small white community living in the midst of what are admittedly native territories and dependent entirely for its prosperity on those territories cannot have self-government and it may prove in the end to be the best and simplest course to say so.⁶⁷

Oldham led the think tank that included Dr John Arthur and Sir Frederick Lugard to link up with Sir James Masterton Smith, the Parliamentary Undersecretary for the colonies at the time (Maxon, 1993, 273-275), and convinced him that the Colonial Office was better off upholding Britain's trusteeship policy. To him, entrenching a European minority rule would only antagonize Indians in Kenya, South Africa and India, and entrench the discrimination of Africans.⁶⁸ He wrote to Lugard;

It seems to me, therefore, that the first step is to secure a declaration from His Majesty's Government in this sense. It would do a great deal to simplify the difficulty with India. I have drafted the kind of declaration which I have in view. The language is no doubt capable of improvement. I do not intend what I have written to imply the withdrawal of the franchise. I am anxious that the way should be left open for any solution, including the one which you propose, provided that the principle on which any policy must be based is clearly laid down.⁶⁹

In his letter to Sir James Masterton Smith, he hinted at what would appear in the Devonshire White Paper (DWP) when he wrote;

An announcement that His majesty's government regards the East African colonies and protectorates, including Kenya as essentially native territories and that it is their policy to administer Kenya under the direct authority of the crown acting as trustee for the native population

65 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1 Oldham to Lugard (8-page letter) that discusses European self-rule and Imperial trusteeship. 29.5.1923

66

67 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1 Oldham to Lugard (8-page letter) that discusses European self-rule and Imperial trusteeship. 18.6.1923

68 RHO. MSS. Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham to Lugard 29.5.1923

69 RHO. MSS. Afr. S. 22. Box 3 Oldham to Lugard 18.6.1923

and for humanity as a whole, and that as between the different communities the interests of native are paramount.⁷⁰

This presents an alternative theory to Maxon's (1993, 273), who argued on the basis of government documents to say that the provisions of the DWP,⁷¹ especially the declaration of native's paramountcy were of Coryndon's origination, and that Oldham's 'main contribution was rather to sell the colonial office's position.' The various indicators above point more to Oldham's strong influence, if not origination. He worked with information from the missions in Kenya and India⁷² and on the basis of the British government's trusteeship, to draft the paramountcy of Africans' interests' proposal as the quotations above show. In this, Maxon adopted a different position from that of scholars like Kamoche (1981, 50) who showed that before Oldham drafted the proposal, he had met with Masterton Smith and Lord Devonshire and briefed them.

This research found a more significant role for Oldham and the missions as follows. Firstly, the correspondence above shows that Oldham had already arrived at his position by the time he met Masterton.⁷³ Secondly, in the period that Sir Winston Churchill and governor Northey met with Indians and Europeans beginning from the Imperial Conference of 1921, about a year before Coryndon took over as governor, the metropolitan state and the colonial state did not find a solution, even though officers like Bottomley, whom Maxon (1993, 24) relies on, were in the system. If Maxon credits governor Coryndon, he must acknowledge his request for advice from the missions, who in turn were advised by Oldham. In addition, Oldham's sensitivity to the dynamics of race and religion, and the metropolitan versus local power, had caused him to seek out a solution

70 RHO. MSS. Afr. s. Box 3. Oldham to Smith, 18.6.1923; MSS LUGARD Box 74, File 1: Indian crisis, 1921 -24 (11) correspondences Oldham to Sir James Masterton Smith.

71 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

72 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 3

73 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham to Lugard 29.5.1923

that would pacify all races with respect to British trusteeship.⁷⁴ Thirdly, looking at Oldham's letters to Lugard and to James Masterton Smith, the meetings he acknowledged to have been a part of in which he held delicate positions with regard to the rights of Africans.⁷⁵ He told Lugard to expect certain language when the Paper was finally published.⁷⁶ This last note to Lugard, viewed in the light of the following quotation provides a very strong hint as follows;

At the end of a long day I felt very despondent. I could see no way out of the present impasse. At last a plan suggested itself to my mind, the outline of which you will find on the attached sheet. I have submitted it to Andrews, Sastri, and Polak and it would, I believe, obtain their assent. It has thus at least the initial advantage of averting an immediate break with India with all the consequences that might follow from that.⁷⁷

...The decision is of such far-reaching importance that it is one that ought to be cleared up without further delay. It is an issue for the nation to decide and not a matter of arrangement between Government offices.

...It seems to me, therefore, that the first step is to secure a declaration from His Majesty's Government in this sense. It would do a great deal to simplify the difficulty with India. I have drafted the kind of declaration which I have in view. The language is no doubt capable of improvement.⁷⁸

...If we have a clear declaration of policy, it is then possible to consider how it may be applied to the very tangled conditions of Kenya.⁷⁹

The language above, reflects what a scribe could write in reference to a private document that he had forwarded for consideration, not to divulge the actual words, especially because he had already shared with the key players and they had not raised an objection. Oldham was seized of the delicateness of the matter. Fourthly in addition, Oldham was aware that the policy declaration he sought was not the answer any of the parties were looking for. He therefore warned that the DWP was a stop gap measure that afforded each group just enough promise of gain not to offend others, to create room for other efforts including a team of experts. The entire London consultation process above resulted in the famous Devonshire White Paper of 1923⁸⁰, which gave Indians the rights of recognition in the commonwealth and representation on the LegCo in Kenya colony, though it did not give them the right to rule the territory. It also affirmed Europeans' exclusive access to the

74 All politicians asked share

75 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 2 File 3 Oldham to Lugard 29.05.1923; Oldham to Lugard 22.12.1924

76 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

77 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham to Lugard 29.5.1923, page 4

78 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham letter to Lugard 29.5.1923, page 6

79 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham letter to Lugard 29.5.1923, page 6

80 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

White Highlands, but did not give them paramountcy. Its most significant outcome was its declaration that;

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 native must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.⁸¹

Like Stibbs (1978, 82) observed, the DWP was difficult to implement despite several attempts, just like Oldham realized and anticipated at the time of drafting and informed Lugard that a commission would need to be set up to look into the mechanics of how what they had done might work.⁸² The first was the Ormsby-Gore Commission sent to make a general report on the East Africa territories. It proposed that trusteeship would only have positive effect if the settlers were persuaded to help in the welfare of Africans. Stibbs (1978, 83) expressed surprise that Oldham, the champion of native interests, found the re-definition of trusteeship acceptable, obviously not aware that it had been Oldham's position all along. With the Ormsby-Gore Commission's proposal unsuccessful, Lord Amery submitted the whole question to the Hilton Young Commission.⁸³ The main body of the report was written by Schuster and Oldham, the latter concentrating particularly on native Affairs (Walker Papers in Stibbs 1978, 84).'

On his return to Kenya from London, Dr Arthur gave an account of his activities and the success stories that led to the DWP. He indicated the need to follow up with Secretary of State through letters to emphasize the need to safeguard Africans' lands through enforcing the DWP.⁸⁴ As a result of their contact with Oldham and Dr Arthur and the missions from 1923 onwards increasingly realized that a stable multi-racial Kenya could only happen if

81 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 10

82 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham letter to Lugard 29.5.1923, page 6

83 KNA K 325.3141 REP. Young, Hilton. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer Union and Dependencies in East Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office. Page 86.

84 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 2 File 3 Oldham to Lugard, 1924; Devonshire White Paper 7.1923

all races found space for mutual co-existence, especially if the state and the Europeans saw the need to integrate Africans.⁸⁵

The beneficial support that Dr Arthur provided to governor Coryndon resulted in the diffusion of the potential conflict between the races in Kenya.⁸⁶ This caused Governor Coryndon to appoint Dr Arthur to represent Africans on the LegCo in 1923.⁸⁷ With representation on the LegCo, the missions had a first-hand opportunity to contribute to debates through Dr Arthur. He either brought proposals from the KMC meetings or questioned unjust ones generated elsewhere before they were passed.⁸⁸ He would explain to KMC members what the bills meant. That Arthur's role on the LegCo was recognized by colonial officers is seen in the letters that began to seek his attention. The CNC O F Watkins for example wrote to him to apologise that a circular that had been drafted and circulated without authorization, laying down the position of mission adherents under existing Ordinances, had not been withdrawn (See 5.2,4).⁸⁹

In addition to the importance of appointing a missionary to the LegCo, governor Coryndon also created Local native Councils (LNCs) in 1924, by convincing Europeans like Cholmondley to support the relevant bill in the LegCo, as a way of managing Africans' political participation. The LNCs were to Coryndon, 'a link between chiefs and people' and 'an outlet for the political ambitions of the more educated and intelligent young men',

85 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham letter to Lugard 29.5.1923, page 6

86 RHO MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1. Oldham to Lugard on Ley allegations. 18.12.1924; Oldham to Lugard on the Indian land problem. 29.5.1923; and fuller discussion in Chapter Four

J H Oldham, the general secretary of the IMC, that had helped the Missions mobilize against unjust labour and land policies, wrote to Lugard revealing that the Devonshire White paper had been drafted with great wisdom to avoid massive inter racial conflicts in Kenya and to calm India as one of Britain's prized colonies that were completely on edge at the time. In addition to affirming Africans' paramountcy, the Devonshire paper combined with the new Kenya Franchise constitution⁸⁶ to hold European and Indian interests in abeyance, thus creating room for the political development of Africans.

87 NCK Hq. Minute 5 on Missionary representation on the Legislative Council. In Minutes of the RC of the APMSBEA 19-22.11.1923

88 NCK Hq. Minute on Crown Lands Amendment Bill. In minutes of the Executive Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, which met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi 17.8.1926

89 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/591. Chief Native Commissioner O F Watkins to Dr John Arthur. 10.8.1925

a 'training ground for the development of responsibility among native leaders' (Huxley 1953, 123, 196-197). Huxley (1953, 194) observed that 'In Sir Robert Coryndon, Kenya had found a rare specimen, a governor who was popular with everyone'. Through him, Africans shifted from non-participant subjects to political participation in LNCs and represented participation on the LegCo. It is worth noting that although the missionaries, most likely led by Leakey, facilitated the Kikuyu Association to write their memorandum to the Ormsby-Gore Commission in 1924, it expressed a desire that Africans be consulted concerning decisions that would affect their lives.⁹⁰ They wrote;

We have expressed on other occasions our feeling regarding the passing of laws closely affecting us without our people having had any say in the decision, and often without any knowledge on our part until after the laws are made. We feel that it is only right that when legislation affecting us is contemplated we should have opportunity of getting to understand what is proposed and to say what we think about it before a law is passed.⁹¹

The KA in addition, expressed appreciation for the provision that had just been made by the formation of the LNCs 'whereby we may take a greater part in the discussion and management of tribal affairs, and through which we can express our views and desires to government.'⁹² They however remained unsettled about being represented by government officials and un-officials like the missions. They thus wrote;

...we look forward to the time when we may have direct representation on the on the legislative Council. We are aware that the Chief Native Commissioner and the unofficial representative of native interests are watchful of our interests in the Council, but we feel that they are not able to speak for us as one of ourselves and cannot have such knowledge⁹³ of our minds as to reflect our point of view in the same way as would our native representative.

The more radical Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), formed as a continuation of Harry Thuku's work, and different from the Kikuyu Association, rubbished the latter considering

90 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, 11.1924

91 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, 11.1924

92 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, 11.1924

93 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, 11.1924

it an initiative of some missions and the British administration⁹⁴ (Peterson 2004, 95). To join the KCA one had to show commitment by taking an oath,⁹⁵ a sign that it was a more radical group. To Dr Knighton, it was a sign that they also did not trust each other (Knighton 2012). It was in 1926 that Jomo Kenyatta joined the KCA and was later sent to Britain to present Kikuyu grievances. His activity in Britain was attested to by one LeGregorloss, who introduced himself as a man who had hosted Kenyatta during some of his time in Britain, when he wrote to Lugard;

the whole African community has had such a terrific object lesson in the European 'Convention of Associations' of the high commercial and political value of combination and organization among their employers that I confess they (the Africans) have my sympathy in seeking to go and do likewise.⁹⁶

His view was shared by Peterson (2004, 92) who wrote much later that the Kikuyu had taken advantage of their exposure to Europeans in the mission stations, in government or the farms to learn how to keep records, run institutions and organize themselves. They were sensitive to European patronage and interference with their cultural affairs, but were observant of their dealings.

In 1926, Dr Arthur explained to the missions that he was satisfied that the new Lands Ordinance was intended to safeguard the rights of Africans.⁹⁷ The KMC was also keen on the performance of its representatives. They allowed their representatives to express their frustrations when they encountered some. Dr Arthur for example expressed his frustration at the unwillingness of the members of LegCo to listen to his opinion.⁹⁸ Several council

94 Though many KCA members were Christians and educated in mission schools, they did not wish to operate under 'the paternalist, authoritarian role of the Kikuyu Association.' Their membership included Christian adherents at Tumutumu, businessmen and teachers that began meeting as a reaction to Harry Thuku's arrest and formed the Nyeri wing of the Kikuyu Central Association

95 KNA MSS 43/1/16-17. Joseph Kangethe and Henry Mwangi. Muuma wa Gitonyi gya KCA. 14.2.1929

96 RHO. MSS Lugard Box 74 File 4. LeGregorloss of 24 Middleway, London, NW11 (unclear in original handwritten letter) to Lugard. 19.11.1930

97 NCKK Hq. Minute on Crown Lands Amendment Bill. In minutes of the Executive Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, which met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi 17.8.1926

98 NCKK Hq. Minute on Native Lands Trust Bill. In minutes of the Executive Committee Kenya Missionary Council held in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi, 15-16.5.1928

members expressed their sympathy with Dr Arthur in his difficult position.⁹⁹ Towards the end of 1926 the Hon. Rev. Canon Britton became the Africans' representative the LegCo.¹⁰⁰ In that same month, the KMC sent him to raise a matter in the LegCo to modify the defence bill.¹⁰¹ In 1928, Rev. Can. Harry Leakey became the representative of Africans, followed by Rev. Can. Burns in 1933 and Rev. Beecher in 1943. During Can. Leakey's time, Dr Arthur 'also spoke of the disabilities of the representative on the Legislative Council, with special reference to mutilations and omissions in his speeches as reported by the press.' The missions also had opportunity to evaluate and commend them when they did good work. All the missionaries that represented them on the LegCo were commended for their service in their time.¹⁰²

Their role as representatives of Africans on the LegCo was however thrown into a spin when Dr Arthur and Dr Philps led a campaign against female circumcision, leading to the major schism that followed (Section 3.5). During that time, the missions intervened for Africans with regard to the Natives Trust Lands bill, by discussing it with Governor Altrincham.¹⁰³ Their efforts were however overshadowed by the schism above, and the 1929 Hilton Young which declared;

uncertainty and disagreement about the goal of political evolution have had a confusing and hampering effect on the political development of Kenya. The essence of the difficulty is the existence side by side of a single territory of two communities, one of which represents European civilisation in the twentieth century while the other consists of backward native tribes. The former has reached an advanced stage of political education and development and is accustomed to representative institutions. The latter is quite unfitted at present to take any part in the government of a modern state, nor is it certain that its natural line of political evolution will be in the direction of representative institutions in the form in which these have been developed in European countries.¹⁰⁴

99 NCK Hq. Minute on Native Lands Trust Bill. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council of the Kenya Colony. Which days the Executive Committee met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi, 15-16.5.1928

100 The Hansard of Kenya. Administration of the oath. The Rev. John Britton. 4.11.1926

101 NCK Hq. Minute on Defence Force Bill. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council of the Kenya Colony. Which days the Executive Committee met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi, 16.11.1926

102 NCK Hq. Minute on Native Lands Trust Bill. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council of the Kenya Colony. Which days the Executive Committee met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi, 21.8.1928

103 NCK Hq. Minute on Native Lands Trust Bill. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council of the Kenya Colony. Which days the Executive Committee met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi, 4-5.6.1928

104 KNA K 325.3141 REP. Young, Hilton. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer Union and Dependencies in East Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office. Page 86.

Coming at a time when Africans were getting much more actively engaged in politics, both Africans and Europeans were not happy with the Hilton young report for at least two reasons. Firstly, because the chairman had a different report from that of the other three commissioners. It would appear the chairman was prejudiced in his purpose to support Lugard's two-state approach and the number of European representatives on the LegCo to strengthen the settler's claims (Young, 1929, 244-245) for self-rule. This was however not possible with Oldham and the other two commissioners, who insisted that Africans had to have a representation that took care of their interests with four additional native representatives and one additional Indian out of a total of thirty-eight.¹⁰⁵ They also recommended that there be a reduction of official representatives from the chairman's ten to eight, with four additional representatives for natives on the LegCo and three general representatives of whom one should be an Indian, bringing Indian representation to five out of a total of thirty-eight¹⁰⁶. They also argued for the Imperial government's control saying;

It is true that it may be a long time before natives are fit to sit in the Legislature, but there is already growing demand on the part of the natives for a voice in political affairs, and it will become more and more necessary for the European representatives of native interests to keep in touch with native opinion and identify themselves with it in the Legislature.¹⁰⁷

Secondly, because as cited above, it attempted justify the state's failure to educate and integrate Africans as equal subjects. It was not fitting for the colonial state to call Africans 'backward', when it had failed to educate them. The missions had made limited efforts before 1929. In 1925, the missions had petitioned the state to allow them use resources they had raised for their post-War Relief fund to set up the first secondary school for

105 KNA K 325.3141 REP. Young, Hilton. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer Union and Dependencies in East Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office. Pp 238

Oldham and the other two Commissioners also recommended that there be a reduction of official representatives from the chairman's ten to eight, with four additional representatives for natives on the LegCo and three general representatives of whom one should be an Indian, bringing Indian representation to five out of a total of 38

106National Archives. CAB. 24 (202)CP 66 (29). Cabinet Report of the Hilton Young Commission. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 4.3.1929. Pp2

107 KNA K 325.3141 REP. Young, Hilton. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer Union and Dependencies in East Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office. Pp 238

Oldham and the other two Commissioners also recommended that there be a reduction of official representatives from the chairman's ten to eight, with four additional representatives for natives on the LegCo and three general representatives of whom one should be an Indian, bringing Indian representation to five out of a total of thirty eight

Africans. The result was the completion and official opening of the Alliance Secondary School. Their aim was to educate key Africans for top leadership from the whole country. These missions' efforts among others, though doubted by some like Sifuna (1985) and Temu (1972, 147) and labelled elitist by Kipkorir (1969), were the main factors in the preparation of notable Africans. They did so in the face of opposition from the colonial state and European settlers, who were against a rapid expansion of Africans' education. By 1932, Alliance Secondary school had produced various key leaders, including Eliud Wambu Mathu, who in 1944 became the first African on the LegCo and a number of key leaders of the Kenya African Study Union like James Gichuru. Mathu was born in 1910 in Kiambu district, had his secondary education at Alliance High school from 1926, then went Fort Hare College in South Africa (1932–34) for his first degree, but completed from the University of the Witwatersrand as well as Balliol College. In 1937 he helped organize the first Kenya African Teachers Union conference held in January 1938.¹⁰⁸ , and then joined Oxford University from 1939 to 1940. In 1944 as other Kikuyus joined the KCA and issued petitions and organized protests against the colonial government, Eliud Mathu did not join them defending himself saying that he was more concerned with his education and teaching.

That the Hilton Young Report¹⁰⁹ was neither satisfactory¹¹⁰ to the Colonial Office nor to the settlers, was seen in the appointment of another Commission under the chairmanship the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Wilson.¹¹¹ It was sent to review the grievances of Africans in Kenya, but chiefly the matter of Closer Union of the East African colonies and related common services, the supervisory power of its future Commissioner General and the

108 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/591. Kenya African Teachers Union: Report. By the KMC, with Eliud Mathu as chairman.

109 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 2 F D Lugard. Memorandum on Education in Tropical Africa 6.1923

110 mainly because of Young-Oldham differences on Lugard's two state proposal,
111 Catalogue Reference CAB/24/202. C.P.66 (29). Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Cabinet. On The Report of the Hilton Young Commission. 4.3.1929. [filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk /pdfs/small/cab-24-202-CP-66.pdf](https://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-202-CP-66.pdf);

increases of the unofficial element of the Legislative Council with respect to Indians.¹¹² To this Commission the KCA presented two memoranda.¹¹³ In the first one, they pleaded for Harry Thuku's release and also petitioned to have a Kikuyu representative on the LegCo chosen by themselves.¹¹⁴ In the second, they gave feedback on the Hilton Young report stating that unless the imperial government made a definite declaration in regard to future trusteeship for Africans,¹¹⁵ the idea of Closer Union of the East African Countries and the setting up of an East Africa High Commission would not work. They instead petitioned to have six African representatives three Africans, two Europeans and 1 Indian, on the LegCo and in each of the municipal councils. They declared that they as the Kikuyu in 1929 had already identified Mr Johnstone Kenyatta as their representative. They appealed that all educated people in the colony be allowed to exercise common franchise and that settlers be barred from the thought of self-government.¹¹⁶ They repeated their preference to be under the Imperial government rather than under settlers in the colony.¹¹⁷ In the colony they engaged the provincial administration over issues like the right to hold meetings.¹¹⁸ This showed that they felt capable¹¹⁹ and ready to represent themselves on the on the LegCo in place by non-Africans.¹²⁰ Lord Francis Scott¹²¹ advised;

112 Catalogue Reference CAB/24/202. C.P.66 (29). Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Cabinet. On The Report of the Hilton Young Commission. 4.3.1929. filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-202-CP-66.pdf;

113 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec of KCA to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 2.5.1929

114 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec of KCA to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 2.5.1929

115 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec. of KCA. to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 30.5.1929

116 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Assistant Secretary of the KCA letter to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 30.5.1929

117 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Assistant Secretary of the KCA letter to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 30.5.1929

118 KNA MSS 43/1/33-34. SD/- De Wade, for Acting Chief Native Commissioner to the President, Kikuyu central Association. 25.6.1929

119 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minute 3d on Africans. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933; and

Report to the Kenya Missionary Council by E E Biss, Honorary Secretary of the Race Relations Committee. 20.2.1935

120 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Arthur, 1933a;

'Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament's (Command Paper No. 156 of 1931, p 42) recommendation for an increase in Africans' representation on the LegCo that led to the nomination of

121 Glasgow Herald. Obituary of Lt Col. Francis George-Montagu-Douglass Scott was uncle of the Duchess of Gloucester that had had a distinguished career in the army in South Africa and in the First World War, but later settler in Kenya. 28.7.1952. <Available at URL <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2507&dat>

Whatever we do, there is bound to be a demand by the educated native for representation on LegCo in time, but it seems to me that the only safeguard is to give the native councils so much to do in their own Reserves that they will be satisfied, and not want to be represented by their young educated fellow tribesmen.¹²²

Their stand as Africans earned them harassment from the state. Their secretary, who was a sergeant in the Police department in Kitale, had his housing unit on Nairobi's River Road broken into, party documents taken and he himself detained without convicting evidence. He had to write to the governor to appeal.¹²³

4.5 Protestants and Africans' self-representation on the LegCo

The third moment that reveals the missions' role as Africans' representatives, came soon after the WWII. Its genesis is traceable to the Dr Arthur led campaign against female circumcision in the late 1920s, which resulted in a major fall out between mission churches and their African members that were keen to retain their culture. (Section 3.5). Dr Arthur may have been willing to pay the price to campaign against female circumcision, but was not happy about the bruised relationships with Africans. It is therefore instructive that in 1932 he focused on race relations (Section 7.2). Although Africans were products of mission schools, the politically conscious among them did not wholly take that missions were committed to their welfare. Increasingly, Africans learnt the ways of the modern state and their role in it (Peterson 2004, 92). The WWI and WWII, each in its time exposed Africans' to foreign countries and their ways and built their capacities to organize and wage war.¹²⁴ It is however notable that even after the KCA was formed in 1925, and in succeeding years up to 1929 when they, alongside other groups, intensified their political activities (Middleton 1965, 363), they still needed the missions to advance their course in

=19520728&id=1FtAAAAAIBA&sjid=xJMMAAAAIBA&pg=5098,2395934&hl=en. Accessed 22.4.2015>

122RHO. MSS LUGARD Box 74 File 4; Kenya correspondence 1934, Lugard to Hinde quoting Lord Francis scot, leader of the unofficial appointed by the Governor in the Kenya Legislative Council.

123 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Sgt. George K Ndegwa Appeal letter to his Excellency the Governor at Government House 3.6.1940

124 KNA CN/51. Minute by Private Secretary to Acting Governor of East Africa Protectorate.

such issues as negotiation with the state on land issues¹²⁵ and preparation of memoranda.

126

In the period 1929 to 1933, the KCA pressed to have Africans represent Africans on the LegCo. In their first memorandum to the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Wilson's committee, sent by His Majesty's government to review the grievances of Africans in Kenya,¹²⁷ the KCA criticized the practice of 'a government nominee, whether a missionary or otherwise, to represent native interests'.¹²⁸ In their second memorandum to the same committee, they gave feedback on the Hilton Young report¹²⁹ stating that unless the imperial government made a definite declaration in regard to future trusteeship for Africans, nothing would be fulfilled in an honest and genuine manner.¹³⁰ They opposed the idea of Closer Union of the East African Countries and the setting up of an East Africa High Commission and instead petitioned to have six Africans' representatives- three Africans, two Europeans and one Indian, on the LegCo and in each of the municipal councils. They declared that they had already appointed Mr Johnstone Kenyatta (who later became the first African president of Kenya) as their representative. They appealed that all educated people in the colony be allowed to exercise common franchise and that settlers be barred from the thought of self-government.¹³¹ To them it was safer to be under the imperial government than under settlers in the colony.¹³² They also on occasion engaged the provincial administration over issues like the right to hold meetings.¹³³ They opposed the recommendation of the 'Joint

125 NCK Archives Limuru.178. Kenya Missionary Council Memo titled Native Lands Trust Bill 16.5.1928

126 KNA K 325.3141 REP. Young, Hilton. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer Union and Dependencies in East Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office. Page 86.

127 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec of KCA to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 2.5.1929

128 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec of KCA to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 2.5.1929

129 KNA K 325.3141 REP. Young, Hilton. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer Union and Dependencies in East Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office. Page 86.

130 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec. of KCA. to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 30.5.1929

131 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec. of KCA. to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 30.5.1929

132 KNA MSS 43/1/3-. Henry Mwangi, Asst. Sec. of KCA. to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Wilson 30.5.1929

133 KNA MSS 43/1/33-34. SD/- De Wade, for Acting Chief Native Commissioner to the President, Kikuyu central Association. 25.6.1929

Committee of the Houses of Parliament¹³⁴ that sought to increase the number of Europeans representing Africans on the LegCo.¹³⁵ The RRC was therefore out of step with the KCA when in 1934 it wrote ‘We recommend the immediate increase of native representation in Legislative Council to three members, of which we suggest two should be missionaries and one an ex-official retired in Kenya’¹³⁶ as a way of implementing Joint Select Committee on Closer Union and Lord Moyne’s views.

The WWII had a greater and more positive impact on integration, because it both provided an opportunity for the state to recruit subjects of all races into the army and created the need for farmers and workers of all races to engage in profitable agriculture. Following the missions experiences of the late 1920s and 1930s, clergymen like Archdeacon Owen and Rev A J Hopkins in the late 1930s and early 1940s called for missions to have a more comprehensive approach to their work. Hopkins for example warned the AGM of 1942;

We cannot as a Missionary Council pursue our evangelistic activities without a knowledge of the conditions which determine the ordinary life of the people to whom we are called to proclaim the Gospel. We cannot be satisfied with a Gospel which defines itself in terms of snatching brands from the burning. Social justice and economic equality for the African are as much a part of the Gospel we are called upon to declare as is the message of salvation to every individual soul. Nothing can be more intolerable than an attitude that all we are called upon to do in these perilous times, when men all over the world are dying to keep us secure is to carry on with our job.¹³⁷

Their messages and the self-evaluation of the missions in the Alliance and the wider KMC, resulted in the dissolution of the two and the formation of the Christian Council of Kenya

134 Command Paper No. 156 of 1931, p 42

135 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Arthur, 1933a

136 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1643 Memorandum presented to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation from the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council. Consisting of John W Arthur, W J Wright, W Arthur Pitt-Pitts and Evan E Biss. 1934

137NCCCK Hq. Hopkins, A J. 1942. Point 3, on The Religious Problem in the paper, A Transformed Kenya Missionary Council. 18.2.1943. Appendix to the minutes of the General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held in the Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi. 17-20.2.1942.

(CCK) in March 1943.¹³⁸ This was in preparation for what they saw as their expanding role.¹³⁹ In September 1943, the CCK received an 'oral letter, which it quoted as follows;

We welcome and commend the setting up of Christian Councils through which men and women of all races and conditions can seek a solution for the many urgent problems that are a challenge to relate Christian principles to the whole of life. These problems include citizenship, race-relations, economics, social conditions and morality. We are glad to know that such councils have already been formed in some areas, and we trust that others will follow, and that they will function, not only as central organisations but in local groups of persons who will study such questions and take suitable action.¹⁴⁰

Central to its concept of citizenship was socio-economic welfare and participation in public life on the basis of understanding. In its first full meeting the CCK¹⁴¹ set up an advisory committee on economic, political and social affairs' and appointed Rev L J Beecher as secretary and convenor. Beecher was a man born in 1906, who moved to Kenya in 1927 as a missionary to teach at the Alliance High School. He was first proposed to serve as secretary to the KMC in 1929 upon Barlow's transfer to Nyeri.¹⁴² He then moved to Fort Hall as teacher who also did general pastoral work. He perfected his Kikuyu at that time. In mid-1930s he was appointed convenor of the Literature Committee of the KMC. He first came to public attention in 1936 when he supported claims of tax collection abuses with specific examples from his own Fort Hall area, which government did not like (Spencer 1985, 118-123). In 1937, he was sent on a year's sabbatical to study at the University of London and returned to greater involvement in the KMC.

138 NCKK Hq. Minute on Constitution of the CCK attached as Appendix. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office Nairobi. 25.1.1943

Minute on The formation of the Christian Council of Kenya. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held at the C.M.S. Office Nairobi. 25.1.1943 139 NCKK Hq. Minutes 15 and 16 Minutes of the General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council, held in the Peel Memorial Hall, Bishop Bourne, Nairobi. 23-25.3.1943;

Minute 8 on the Constitution and Minute 9 on Winding up the Alliance, In Minutes of the meeting of the Representative Council of the Alliance held in the Peel Memorial Hall Nairobi on 25.3.1943;

140 NCKK Hq. Minutes of the Second meeting of the Inauguration committee held in S Andrew's Hall, Nairobi. 6.9.1943

141 NCKK Hq. Minute 11e Advisory Committees. In Minutes of the First full meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya held in St Andrew's Hall, Nairobi. 7-8.10.1943.

142 NCKK HQ. Minute 7 on Election of Secretary. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council. 26.2.1929-1.3.1929

The CCK instructed the committee led by Mr F C Smith as chairman and Leonard Beecher as secretary,¹⁴³ to take care as soon as possible to 'to ensure adequate African, Asian and European membership.'¹⁴⁴ . They expected the committee to facilitate the people to exercise their citizenship on the basis of researched information, as an enlightened citizenry. Its meetings were to be held every two months and those with expert knowledge invited to speak. The committee was 'to seek out and support such candidates as can offer to render to the country devoted service based on the Christian ideal,'¹⁴⁵ and to consider the matter of Film Censorship.¹⁴⁶ Thus the CCK, earlier than anyone else in the colony was thinking about Africans' citizenship, seven years earlier than Marshall (1950) discussed citizenship in Britain. The missions conceptualized that membership in the kingdom of God had the important dimensions of an effective citizenship on earth that was based on socio-economic wellbeing. Of great significance was the fact that the Committee was to facilitate the emergence of Christians that were not just committed to Christ, but that were walking with him as disciples in a holistic way, able to respond to any needs that arose. While some missions were fundamentalist and apolitical, others, especially from CMS, CSM, UMM and to some extent, FAM, were open to participate holistically in society.

In terms of a Christian approach to life in its totality, this was perhaps the most significant statement that I came across in the whole study, made by the missions and churches. CCK members were able to see that Christian discipleship in real society expresses itself through the lives of Christians who appropriate the status of citizen in a responsible manner. The

143 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/429. F C Smith listed as Chairman on attendance list in Minutes of the third meeting of the Committee on Citizenship held in St Andrew's Church Hall, Nairobi on 28.4.1944.

NCKK Hq. Minute 4 under Committees. Economic, political and social affairs committee In Minutes of the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in St Andrew's Hall, Nairobi. 27.10.1943

144 NCKK Hq. Minutes of the Citizenship Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in the CMS offices 17.12.1943. The leaders were 'Mr F C Cege, Lt. Col. G Grimshaw or (Capt F Crittenden), Messrs J Hopecraft, J Jeremiah, H E Lambert, C E Mortimer, A Phillips, F C Smith, and an Indian Member.'

145 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/429. Minute 5, Minutes of the Citizenship Committee, 17.12.1943

146 NCKK Hq. The Christian Council of Kenya Report for 1943 presented by Martin G Capon, Hon. Secretary, nd. In the Minute book of the minutes of Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya dating 28.4.1943 to 8.4.1948

language used anticipated a new a new way of life that covered all dimensions. They however did not, like John Calvin did, develop a complete teaching that embodied such a Christian way of life.

The committee began by devoting itself to study issues of concern to the citizens, rather than engaging in public action or pronouncements. Its first meeting was well attended with participation from government officers and representatives of the East Africa Women's League and few apologies.¹⁴⁷ The members present discussed their terms of reference, and noted that the name Economics, Political and Social Affairs Committee was cumbersome.¹⁴⁸ They renamed the committee, the Christian Council of Kenya Citizenship Committee (CCKCC) or simply the Citizenship Committee (CC).¹⁴⁹ This was approved by the CCK Executive committee of 7.1.1944.¹⁵⁰ The CCKCC reported that it would study the issues facing the country from a Christian standpoint. Their first task however came when the government called on the CCK¹⁵¹ to help returning African ex-soldiers¹⁵² have smooth re-entry.¹⁵³ The committee enlightened the people on their responsibility towards the returning soldiers,¹⁵⁴ and prepared member missions to facilitate their re-entry. In so doing however the state evaded its responsibility to African ex-soldiers as it unjustly rewarded

147 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/429. F C Smith, Chairman. Minutes of the first meeting of the Committee on Citizenship held at CMS offices, Nairobi on 17.12.1943;

NCKK Hq. Minute 4 under Committees. Economic, political and social affairs committee In Minutes of the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in St Andrew's Hall, Nairobi. 27.10.1943

148 NCKK Hq. Minute 4 under Committees. Economic, political and social affairs committee. In Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in St Andrew's Hall, Nairobi. 27.10.1943

149 Committee on citizenship. 1943. Minutes of first meeting 17. December 1943 in Minutes of Executive Committee from 28th April 1943 to 8th April 1948, Serial number 6. Nairobi: NCKK hq. page 33-34

150 Capon, Martin G, Secretary CCK. 1944. Minute 7 of 14.1.1944, held at St Andrews Hall, Nairobi in Minutes of Executive Committee from 28th April 1943 to 8th April 1948, Serial number 6. Nairobi: NCKK hq. page 36-37

151 NCKK Hq. Minute 4 under Committees. Economic, political and social affairs committee In Minutes of the first meeting of the Executive committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in St Andrew's Hall, Nairobi. 27.10.1943

152 NA Lim/1/1/758 Letter: Secretary of British Legion Kenya to General Secretary of CCK Rev. Capon. 4.8.1944

153 NCKK Hq. Minute on Rehabilitation of returning soldiers. In Minutes of Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya, held at St Andrews Hall, Nairobi in Nairobi 4.2.1944

154 NCKK Hq. Minute 3. In Minutes of the Citizenship Committee held at the CMS offices, 1943

European ex-soldiers with land and start-up capital.¹⁵⁵ The African ex-soldiers, like their fellow ex-soldiers after the WWI, were conscious of the racial discrimination that was taking place, but instead moved to organize themselves socio-economically, laying emphasis on quality education for their children.¹⁵⁶

When Rev Beecher was appointed to replace Canon Burns as Africans' representative on the LegCo in 1943, he stepped down from leading the CCKCC, denying it his committed leadership.¹⁵⁷ Despite being a time when Europeans were once again beginning to think of pursuing their white mans' country, the CCK Citizenship Committee worked with Rev. Beecher to advocate for an African to be nominated to represent Africans, which happened in October 1944 (Musyimi, 2003, Sabar 2002, 38-40; Spencer 1985, 118-120; Bennet and Smith 1976, 116-117).¹⁵⁸ Eliud Mathu was appointed the first African to officially join the national LegCo in 1944 as a representative of Africans. This fulfilled the desire of the missions and the dreams of the KA and the KCA and marked a shift in the status of Africans from local representation to a citizenship of limited representation at national level (Section 3.4 and 4.4). The CCKCC wound up and handed over to the CCK Executive committee in 1945 (Section 3.6).

Other elite Africans formed the Kenya African Study Union to support Mathu. It later became Kenya African Union, which Kenyatta initially rejected, but later adopted as his launched to the national platform. Between 1944 and 1950, Africans gained four slots on the LegCo. These gains were however too late as 'by 1950, the militants and the moderates

155 NCKK Hq. Minute 3. In Minutes of the Citizenship Committee held at the CMS offices, 1943

156 KNA, MSS 3/231. Beecher, Leonard. Handwritten notes in File on Beecher Commission.

157 NCKK HQ. Minute 10 on Legislative Council. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council. 15-16.2.1944. This reported the appreciation of Leonard Beecher's role on the LegCo as the representative of Natives interests; Minute 12 Literature Committee Council. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council. 23-25.3.1942 –Beecher stepped down from Committee when nominated to the LegCo to represent African interests.

158 NCKK Hq. Musyimi, Mutava., 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Nairobi: NCKK5 pp-6.

in the nationalist movement in Kenya were uneasy allies. The moderates preferred to negotiate, while the militants, aware of the devious nature of the colonists, wanted to fight for their independence.’ (Ogot, 2003, 9). The militants resorted to the Mau Mau revolt, seen as both religious and political.

4.6 Conclusion

Key scholars like Berman (1990), Hornsby (2013), Throup (1995), Bates (2005) and Kanogo (1989) either ignore or consider the church to have been part of the colonial scheme. This Chapter has however shown that though the colonial state prioritized Europeans by providing for their representation and other rights, and with some arrangement created room for Indians’ and Arabs’, it dealt with Africans as an excluded race. After the WWI, the missions’ unwillingness to operate under an Indian system, supported the Europeans’ limitation of their migration. The mission however faced the more serious challenge of the violation of Africans’ rights and intervened to represent them in the important paramountcy debate.

Though the missions favoured European rule, their pursuit of justice for Africans caused them to work with Oldham regarding paramountcy. Contrary to Maxon’s (1993) view, J H Oldham, in consultation with Dr John Arthur, James Masterton Smith and Frederick Lugard and yet leading the way, was instrumental in drafting wording that ended up in the in the Devonshire White Paper. This shows unlike other scholars, that missions’ efforts were important for the single critical decision that prevented Europeans and Indians from fighting to have Kenya either a white mans’ country or an Indian colony. Thus Africans began with a citizenship of exclusion, but the efforts discussed in this Chapter shows that mission activity together with metropolitan decisions enabled them gain a citizenship of local representation in LNCs, and of limited national representation on the LegCo in 1944 on their way to independence.

Chapter Five

Protestants' efforts towards Africans' labour and taxation rights

5.1.0 Introduction

The last Chapter showed that in their efforts towards the citizenship of Africans, Protestant missions employed representation and empowerment of Africans. This Chapter discusses their role with regard to Africans' labour and taxation rights. Initially before the First World War (WWI) Protestant missions did not oppose the colonial state's approach of forced labour, nor its publication of the 1906 and 1910 Masters and Servants Ordinances (MSO) (Anderson 2000, 460-465). Leys¹ and Spencer (1974) considered the resultant state exploitation of Africans' labour damaging to the missions' reputation. This was because, though the missions had among them, some like Handley Hooper² who considered Africans to be hardworking people, they still sanctioned the state's coercive approach to Africans' labour based on their claim that they lazy (Okia 2009; Bates 2005; Maxon 1993; Huxley 19 48).

This chapter argues that, despite this seeming early history of concurrence with the state, Protestant missions' joint engagement in debates concerning labour, wages, taxation and the *Kipande* pass³ system, prevented the entrenchment of unjust laws and created room for better participation of Africans in the emerging colonial multi-racial wage economy (Stichter 1982). It makes these arguments firstly, by highlighting the missions' cooperative pre-WWI interaction with the state concerning Africans' labour. Secondly, by discussing the missions' engagement in debates on the Northey Circulars and unjust taxation practices, in the light of Anderson's (2000) and Maxon's (1993) arguments. Thirdly, it

1 Leys to Oldham (1926, 1927 in Cell, 1976, 61).

2 MSS Lugard Box 74, File 1: Hooper, Handley letter to Oldham. (Handley Hooper of CMS Kahuhia, Fort Hall, Kenya colony. 24.11.1924

3 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2135. Dickson, Scott W. Pass laws in a paper titled Race Relations in Kenya. 2.1950

reveals the missions' struggles with the highly sensitive issue of the *Kipande* pass, and draws conclusions.

5.2 The missions and the beginnings of Africans' labour and taxation

The primary sources available fill up some gaps in the secondary literature as discussed below;

5.2.1 Setting the scene

Colonial rule was not the beginning of manual labour in the territory. Among Africans, men, women and children all laboured in one way or other, to generate their livelihood (Ambler 1983, 59-60). Manual labour was the main component, even when Africans used domesticated animals like oxen, donkeys or camels. Ambler's (1983, 215-220) study showed that prior to colonial rule, 'The circulation of labour, in various forms, was thoroughly integrated into the regional system of exchange.' Labour 'not only substituted for livestock, but also circulated in the region as a consequence of the transfer of rights over persons, generally in return for the payment of livestock.' It was these labour efforts that produced the food which in pre-colonial times, the Arab slave traders, the European explorers and missionaries benefitted from in their interior trips. Clayton and Savage (1974, xii-xv) however showed that the labour regime under colonialism was from farmland to taxes and education management designed to keep Africans as manual labour. While the colonial state, from the time it completed the construction of the railway in 1901, organized to run on the taxes of European settlers, Indian service providers and Africans, its use of taxation as a coercive measure to force Africans to labour, made them issues of injustice rather citizenship responsibilities.

Prior to the establishment of the colonial state, the five missions in the territory employed Africans on their stations or as porters even if in limited fashion. The establishment of the colonial state however changed the labour landscape. Firstly, by importing Indian workers

to help construct the railway line and letting them become a community in the protectorate that was more numerous than Europeans. Secondly, by Commissioner Arthur Hardinge's introduction of tax on property in Nairobi and on urban land in 1900, one year after Commissioner Harry Johnstone of Uganda had introduced a Hut Tax of Rs 3 per African per year in Kavirondo (Wagner 1931, 30-35). These were combined in the 1901 Hut Tax Ordinance when the metropolitan transferred western Kenya including Kavirondo to the EAP. On taking over from Commissioner Hardinge, Commissioner Charles Eliot replaced it with the 1903 Hut Tax Ordinance in which he granted himself powers to levy taxes in the whole territory (Clayton and Savage, 1974, 34). Thirdly, by Eliot gaining approval to publish the 1902 Crown Lands Ordinance and using it to import British settlers as investor farmers, he introduced greater number of Europeans and more opportunities for Africans' labour (Tarus 2004, 18-20; Eliot to Lansdowne, 18.6.1901 reproduced in Mungeam 1978, 86-88). To attract them, he offered them cheap land and cheap labour from Africans (Maxon, 1989, 71; Middleton, 1965, 336; Leakey 1936, 103).

Eliot intended the European settlers to invest for revenue generation, but much more to be part of what would become a white mans' country. He therefore let Europeans organize themselves politically and to demand for their rights as soon as they arrived, declaring that there would 'No taxation without representation (Gardner 2012, 104). At that time Africans had no such capacity or opportunity. In the colony then, Europeans were priority, Indians second and Arabs third, leaving Africans as fourth class, at the bottom of the pack (Anderson 2005). As indicated in the previous chapter, they were wrestling with the impact of the state on their livelihoods and of the gospel on their cultural issues. Despite the above, the state still generated the 1906 and 1910 Masters and Servants Ordinances in succession, to the further detriment of Africans.

5.2.2 Missions' intervention

The spread of the missions across the country caused them to employ Africans and to have a first-hand feel of how the state's laws and policies were affecting them. After holding meetings on their mission concerns for some time (Section 3.3), they began to give attention to labour rights issues beginning with child labour.⁴ Among the missionary leaders that played a key role towards Africans' ability to access better employment in the pre- WWI period were Douglas Hooper, Can. Leakey (Knighton Lecture 2012), Dr Arthur, Bishop Peel of CMS⁵ and Mr Rees of Friends whom the missions acknowledged for his useful participation in the 1913 conference.⁶

Initially the settlers and the colonial state expected that the missions shared their views on Africans as labour. They invited Rev. Henry Scott⁷ to sit on the Colonists Association, on the Provincial Labour Board in 1908 and to serve as chairman of the first Education Board set up in 1909.⁸ They also had Dr Arthur (Section 3.4), who succeeded Rev. Henry Scott⁹ on his demise, to serve on the Native Labour Commission (NLC) of 1912-1913.¹⁰ The NLC was set up 'to investigate the anxieties of European employers regarding labour supply.' This was because the 1910 MSO in which Scott had participated, had not corrected the problems that the 1906 MSO had created (Anderson 2000, 468). Thus the missions, whose primary task was to evangelize Africans and establish them in

4NCCCK Hq. Child Labour. In Minutes of the First Ecumenical Conference held at Thogoto, Kikuyu in 17-22.6.1913

5 NCCCK Hq. Minute 6 on Drafting of boys out of Reserves for work In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

6 NCCCK Hq. Minute 6 on Drafting of boys out of Reserves for work In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

7 NCCCK Hq. Minute 6 on Drafting of boys out of Reserves for work In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

8 No name. 2008. URL <Available at <http://Education.Stateuniversity.Com/Pages/772/Kenya-EDUCATIONAL-SYSTEM-OVERVIEW.html>. >Accessed 15.1.2015

9 NCCCK Hq. Minute 6 on Drafting of boys out of Reserves for work In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

10 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 13.7.1920

Christianity,¹¹ found that in addition to education, medicine and vocational training, they also needed to address the state's and settlers violation of Africans labour and taxation rights, because the state was operating without their input.

To the Africans of North Kavirondo (present day Bungoma County) for example, the taxation of 3 rupees per year introduced by Harry Johnstone was enforced by the chiefs and so required them to engage in labour and agricultural production. To begin with, it was Rs 1 higher in Kavirondo than the Rs 2 noted by Gardner (2012, 103) in Kenya. This may be partly the reason that the political record book¹² reveals that the Bukusu periodically revolted against taxation, even though they gradually got more organized into villages and were highly productive, contributing to the North Kavirondo surpluses (Olumwullah 2002, 195). In the period 1904-1905, the Kitosi (Bukusu) burnt two government huts at Maboma Mawili, necessitating police reinforcement to support the Swahili's collecting Hut Tax and the rebuilding of the huts. The colonial state had to keep collecting guns and bullets from the Kitosi to avoid their revolts. In 1908 a patrol of fifty men with officers of the KAR recovered 107 Rifles.¹³ It also had to ensure that chiefs and headmen had security support in place, for them to collect taxes from the people.

In 1911, Assistant District Commissioner N De L. De Davis made a tax collection tour from his Mumias station and filed a report to his DC which included reports that the Kitosi under Chiefs Murunga and Matere and the Tatsone (Tachoni) under Chief Sifuma were among the communities he dealt with.¹⁴ While he reports that they had to keep collecting guns among the Kitosi and frequently faced tax collection revolts from them, the Tatsone under were more organized, making it easier for progress in the clearing of rural roads and

11 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 5

12 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. N. Kitosh In: Political history record. S/N 205 Pp13

13 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. N. Kitosh In: Political history record. S/N 205 Pp13

14 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. Assistant District Commissioner N De L. De Davis to District Commissioner. Report on Mount Elgon. 27.3.1911

collection of taxes among them.¹⁵ To the people of North Kitosi therefore, hard work was not a problem. Security was. The Bukusu had to keep arming themselves against the Karamojong and Maasai cattle raiders, hence the regular disarmament visits. Chief Matere was said to earn Rs 180 for no recognizable work of leading his people and collecting tax and Chief Murunga was known to be on higher pay by Rs 50 per month and was very rich but kept complaining for more. Officer David warned him that he would not receive his pay if he did not collect and hand in all the taxes.¹⁶

The Tachoni chief maintained good relations with the state and the Assistant commissioner related well with them.¹⁷ Masai the Tachoni man was among those that were required to pay Rs 3 per year as hut tax. His challenge was that while the state was asking for tax, the missions were asking for fees. This was all very confusing. His was a difficult case because he was a cousin to Chief Sifuma. When opportunity arose, many from North Kitosi across the Kamakoiwa River migrated to become squatters on European farms in Trans Nzioa.¹⁸ Thus there was a sustained struggle between the new way of life of labour and taxation and the old way of cultivation, livestock keeping and hunting.

When the missions finally came together at Kikuyu in 1913 they highlighted child labour as a problem, but did not address the matter of adult forced labour then. They at the time had sanctioned the state's approach to labour, when they were lean on European manpower as they established their mission work, rendering them unable not engage against the Ordinances that favoured European employers over African servants. Spencer (1974, 225-230) viewed their approach as a source of discredit. When they began opposing issues like

15 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. S D Woodhouse, Stock Inspector. Report on North Kitosh. 3.1911

16 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. Assistant District Commissioner N De L. De Davis to District Commissioner. Report on Mount Elgon. 27.3.1911

17 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. Assistant District Commissioner N De L. De Davis to District Commissioner. Report on Mount Elgon. 27.3.1911

18 KNA DC/EN/3/1/1. Assistant District Commissioner N De L. De Davis to District Commissioner. Report on Mount Elgon. 27.3.1911

‘Sunday labour’ and ‘the drafting of young boys for work’¹⁹ in 1913, their efforts were overtaken by the WWI, causing them to seek ways of organizing their adherents for minimal engagement and offering their services as war chaplains. It was however their engagements in debates that helped secure the rights of Africans.

5.3 The missions and the debates around the Northey Circulars

This section discusses how the missions intervened against unjust labour laws and determined to seek representation for Africans, who were at the time excluded from decision making processes.

5.3.1 The colonial state and labour shortage

In their 1918 conference soon after the WWI,²⁰ the missions appointed a committee to advocate with the state to address the problems caused by early marriages for girls, bigamy, the conversion of heathen marriages into monogamous ones and the inheritance of Christian widows and children by relatives.²¹ This reveals that they remained primarily focused on mission issues as true evangelicals, but also addressed labour and taxation issues, child labour and forced labour, all of which worsened after the war. Dr Arthur wrote that of nearly a million Africans that had been conscripted to the WWI as carriers, about 120,000 had died of ‘war casualties, famine and influenza’ and thousands others had been maimed.²² This meant their ability to work even on their own farms in the Reserves for their livelihood had already been severely weakened. Their second concern, and ironically so, was the fact that the state had the task of meeting the acute shortage of

19 Paton, William and M M Underhill. *The International Review of Missions: A survey of the years 1932 and 1933*, page 70 on East and central Africa.

20 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Minute on Committee to meet the government in minutes of the Representative Council that was held at the CMS School House, Nairobi, 3.8.1918

21 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Minute on Committee to meet the government in minutes of the Representative Council that was held at the CMS School House, Nairobi, 3.8.1918

22 NCKK Limuru 1/1/2182. Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya colony with reference to Foreign Missions Board minute of July 1920; NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Ainsworth’s confidential Document to Bishop Heywood 10.1920 Page 3 of document.

labour²³ aggravated by the British government's decision to reward the WWI European ex-soldiers with land in Kenya,²⁴ some of which belonged to returning African carriers.²⁵ This was a double injustice to the Africans that had served the European soldiers as carriers in the same war, but were not being similarly compensated. The attempt to alienate more land from Africans greatly angered Canon Leakey (Section 6.2).²⁶ It underscored the feeling that the state prioritized Europeans, followed by Indians and Arabs in that order and left Africans with no clearly defined status outside their Reserves.²⁷ These were the reasons that caused Africans like Harry Thuku to become activists against the colonial state.

5.3.2 The Colonial State and the Northey Circulars

At the beginning of 1919, the CNC Ainsworth already had a stormy relationship with the settlers over their land speculation and exploitation of Africans (Tarus 2004, 21; Maxon, 1980, 5-12). In response to Bishop Heywood's intervention for African Christians, Ainsworth wrote;²⁸

Conditions affecting the native populations in this country have moved fairly fast in the past and the rate of progression will undoubtedly continue ...large numbers of men and women were leaving their Reserves and coming into the towns or going onto the farms, some, an increasing number yearly, were gradually qualifying for vocations which are fitting them, and will more and more do so as time goes on, for higher class work in the development of the country. Men who become qualified to follow certain trades or any calling higher than that of a casual labourer must as a rule reside away from their tribal areas to allow of their finding or continuing in employment.²⁹

23 NCK Limuru 1/1/2182. Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya colony with reference to Foreign Missions Board minute of July 1920;

Ainsworth's confidential Document to Bishop Heywood 10.1920 Page 3 of document.

24 Mombasa, Willis and Arthur. 17.10.1919,

25NCK Hq. Minute on Kikuyu Reserve in Minutes of the RCAPMBEA 16-19.1.1919.

26NCK Hq. Minute on Kikuyu Reserve in Minutes of the RCAPMBEA 16-19.1.1919.

27 NCK Limuru 1/1/1947. Ainsworth to Bishop Heywood 20.08.1919

28 NCK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

29 NCK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

Ainsworth appreciated that the ‘mission converts, teachers, budding native clergy and medical assistants’ were developing fast and entering into a new order of life,³⁰ their wives ‘a higher plane than her sister in the Reserves.’³¹ In the face of labour shortages however, Ainsworth did nothing to facilitate the progress he envisaged above. Thus although Governor Northey and CNC Ainsworth had the post-WWI opportunity to create room for advancing Africans, the acute labour shortage they faced caused them, like the settlers, to remain heavily prejudiced, declaring that Africans had no status away from their Reserves.³²

To address the labour shortage, Ainsworth published the Labour Circular Number 1 of 1.10.1919, known as the ‘Northey Circulars’,³³ on the instruction of Governor Northey. The circular was aimed at providing a legal framework for government officers to compel able-bodied Africans to labour on government or private enterprises. Governor Northey instructed that all government officials, chiefs, district commissioners and employers use every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied African males to go into the labour field. He also activated the Native’s Registration Ordinance (NRO) of 1915 and Resident Native Ordinance of 1918 (Mungeam 1978, 394-395) to enforce the *Kipande* pass on all Africans between 16 and 37 years of age, requiring them to work without pay for two months in every year, either in ‘communal labour’ for the government or on private settlers’ estates. By the time it was published in the *East African Standard* on 27.10.1919, the circulars and ordinances were already affecting African labourers. The DC, Kiambu, for example, instructed his officers in a circular saying;

As I understand that a considerable amount of additional labour will shortly be required to get in the coffee crop, and as in view of this, I intend to arrange for a temporary supply of child labour

30 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth’s letter titled ‘Exemption of Natives’ sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

31 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth’s letter titled ‘Exemption of Natives’ sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

32 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth’s letter titled ‘Exemption of Natives’ sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

33 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

from the Reserves, I shall be glad if any coffee growers who may like to employ these children will write his name hereon, stating the number required, the time for which they may be most needed.³⁴

Ainsworth's claim that it would 'not be possible to guarantee that the number required or even an approximation to that number will be forthcoming,'³⁵ meant that virtually all children from age 13 years upwards were to be drawn into the forced labour bracket. With the introduction of the *Kipande* pass, Africans found their operations much more restricted. The unjust conditions this created were such that Africans' desertions became rampant, activating equally unjust judicial processes that favoured employers (Anderson 2000, 460-465).

Though the missions had sanctioned that Africans be compelled to labour in the face of the crisis (Cell 1976, 42-43), they did not receive the move by Governor Northey and CNC Ainsworth's approach of extracting Africans' labour. The CNC seemed to contradict his statement that Africans had no status and no right to reside outside the Reserves,³⁶ by explaining that they needed to be in coerced employment outside the Reserves. Similarly, the Europeans sought to keep Africans out of the cities and towns and even estates, but desperately needed their labour. It was this dilemma that Oldham captured when he later opposed the 'dual state policy' saying, how could Europeans declare themselves an independent enclave if they were dependent on Africans' for their labour supply?³⁷ The language Ainsworth employed in these matters did not clearly portray him as committed to safeguarding native interests as Maxon (1993, 120-125) indicated. If indeed Ainsworth

34 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

35 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Quotation of Kyambu District Commissioner's Notice to Junior officers on Labour for Coffee Picking 17.10.1919. In Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920. Page 1;

36 NCK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

37 RHO. MSS Afr. S. Kenya Native welfare Sub-committee, 1926. 1829 Box 1, JHO 1/4; document 4 Oldham, J H. In: Research into Native Welfare in East Africa; Draft document addressed to Ormsby-Gore: Comments on Sir Edward Griggs dispatch, C.R.(K) 5. Copy number 19. 10.9.1926.

was one of the officers dedicated to Africans welfare,³⁸ then it is possible that he unwillingly enforced the instructions of Governor Northey, and left it to his successors CNC Maxwell and CNC Watkins to rock the boat by being more emphatic against settler demands. Okia (2012, 65-75) observed that the promulgation of the Northey Circulars brought swift criticism from humanitarian groups like the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (ASAPS) and the Conference of Mission Societies.

5.3.3 The missions direct advocacy efforts

When information about the Northey Circulars and the impact it was creating on the districts reached Bishop Heywood and Dr Arthur in that late October 1919, Bishop J J Willis of Uganda was visiting with the latter at the time.³⁹ Both Spencer (1974) and Cells (1976) did not realize that opposition to the labour circular originated from the three Church leaders in Kenya. On seeing the Kyambu district commissioner's action, the three leaders considered it sufficient evidence that the circulars were open to great abuse by government officers, courts and African chiefs.⁴⁰ They therefore discussed the matter urgently, without even calling the Standing Committee (SC) of the Alliance, and decided to engage in the debate.⁴¹ They had Bishop Willis draft a memorandum, agreed on its contents, appended their three names and signatures, and forwarded it to the governor.⁴² What were their main bones of contention? While the three leaders were agreed with the Northey Circular's main purpose of preventing idleness and meeting the demand for necessary labour, they disagreed as follows.

38 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

39 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the Labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

40 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Quotation of Kyambu District Commissioner's Notice to Junior officers on Labour for Coffee Picking 17.10.1919. *In* Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920. Page 1;

41 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

42 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

Firstly, they objected to the use of the term forced labour- which they likened to slavery. Their concern was reflected in the fact that they even expressed reservations about replacing it with a phrase, less repugnant to British ears, like compulsory labour (Mungeam 1978, 395-399). Secondly, they pointed out that the government ought not to have compromised its position as governor of both employers and employees, by leaning on the European side. Thirdly, they pointed out that by technically expressing a wish that ‘natives come out into the labour field’, the governor had given natives the impression that he had instructed administrative officials to force them to labour on private farms. They argued that the governor’s statement which read that ‘All permanent officials in charge of native areas must exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labour field,’ was in practice open to almost any abuse, once native chiefs were made in charge of the recruitment process.⁴³ In Britain, for example, school summer holidays existed in order to enable children to help with the harvest. It was their labour in factories all day that was dangerous and objectionable. The school leaving age was raised to 10 in 1880, 11 in 1893, to 12 in 1899, to 14 in 1921, and to 15 in 1936 (Gillard, 2011). It was expected that those who left school would work for a small wage.

To the missionaries who had been raised in 19th century Britain, where children routinely helped their parents with farm work during summer holidays, the employment of children ‘to help in the picking of coffee,’⁴⁴ could be temporarily overlooked in order to deal with the bigger problem. To them in 1919 to 1920 teenage labour for income was completely normal, and coffee picking was ideal children’s work, being neither strenuous nor

43 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

44 Mombasa, Willis and Arthur. 17.10.1919,

dangerous. Thus to the missions, it was the state's role in the forced recruitment of labourers for private farmers that was a serious problem. They wrote;

but we may fairly ask whether it is the business of the District Officer to arrange for such supply of child labour, what will be the effect on native education of such action and what actual steps would be taken by the District Officer or by the native authorities to secure the services of such children.⁴⁵

After the three leaders had submitted their memorandum to the governor, they also published it in the *East African Standard* on 1.11.1919.⁴⁶ Their unilateral action however caused differences between them and their fellow SC members.⁴⁷ Only a few of them owed canonical obedience to the two Bishops. The other leaders from the AIM and the UMM needed convincing. Not all Europeans were in support of the circulars. The PC of Kenya Province called Dr Arthur to express the frustration of government servants, because the governor's circular had put them under great pressure.⁴⁸ Several of them expressed their opinion 'that rather than agree to it they would sent in their resignations to the colonial office.'⁴⁹ The PC, Kenya (then spelt as Kenia) Province, called a meeting of missionaries working in the province to formulate a policy and to present it to government at a meeting of settlers called to meet Sir Charles Bowering, the then acting governor, to discuss the question of labour.⁵⁰

45 Mombasa, Willis and Arthur. 17.10.1919,

46 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

47 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

48 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 13.7.1920 Page 3

49 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 13.7.1920 Page 3

50 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 13.7.1920 Page 3

5.3.4 The missions' counter policy on labour

At a subsequent SC of the RCA,⁵¹ Dr Arthur had to explain why they had prepared and sent the memorandum without consulting.⁵² The SC settled the matter and adopted the memorandum but decided, in view of all other realities facing the colony, to develop a document they called their Labour Policy. It became the basis of their negotiation with the state for a more just approach to Africans' labour.⁵³ Though Spencer (1974, 225-280) extensively discussed its contents, I here discuss it in view of its importance to the debates on labour and taxation for Africans' citizenship. It was, firstly, based on their belief in the equality of all human beings. They argued; 'that the raw native is what he is, not from want of capacity but from lack of opportunity.'⁵⁴ This distinguished the missionaries from the Darwinism of the late 19th century. Secondly, it was aimed at enabling Africans to enjoy full membership in society. Their evangelism and education efforts were designed to lead to 'emancipation from servile conditions.'⁵⁵ They argued that it was;

a false and a short sighted policy which would relegate, for all time, to the position of "hewers of wood and drawers of water", the great mass of the native population. Education here, as everywhere, has its obvious dangers: a difficult transition state is unavoidable: we must learn to look beyond it. And beyond it there lies, clearly visible, individual liberty, with its immense possibilities of good or evil: a people less tractable, less docile perhaps, but more intelligent, more capable, and from the point of view of production far more valuable. Until such a people emerge some form of compulsion will be necessary.⁵⁶

This shows that the missions were keen to develop Africans to prepare them for better socio-economic participation, even if they remained labourers. Having come from Britain, where school leaving age meant the end of compulsory school attendance, compulsion to school and work were socially beneficial and uplifting to the young, and was to be

51 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.3.1920

52 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 13.7.1920 Page 3

53 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.3.1920

54 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

55 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

56 NCK Hq. Minute 14 on Natives and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

rewarded. This means that they could not be charged with loss of credibility as Leys feared in his letters to Oldham in 1926 and 1927 (reproduced in full in Cell, 1976, 61) or moral standing as Spencer (1974) concluded. By resisting the state's attempt to limit the type of education offered to Africans, they were both safeguarding Africans' interests as well as their mission work.

Thirdly, it aimed to correct their views on the state's efforts to entrench a culture of hard work through compulsion, saying 'there is nothing inherently objectionable in demanding that each able-bodied man do his fair day's work for the benefit of the community as a whole.' They however cautioned that such labour be 'properly paid for, adequately safeguarded and clearly defined'⁵⁷ and indicated that 'Under proper conditions, the Alliance would favour a well thought out scheme of compulsory labour.'⁵⁸ They would only set their face against actions that would permanently restrict the native population to the position of unskilled labourers.⁵⁹ They stated then that 'the future advance of the protectorate is wrapped up in the progress of its native population.'⁶⁰

As if unjust wages were not enough, at the beginning of 1921 through a combination of economic realities, the colonial state went into a process of change and devaluation of the Indian Rupee coins in use then, and with pressure from the colonists, attempted to reduce the wages offered to Africans. In addition to Clayton and Savage's (1973, 139-144) discussion of forced labour, the missions were among those that fed Oldham with information. Knowing that Africans would lose the monetary value of the coins they had worked for, the Alliance advocated with the state to change currencies with that of equivalent monetary value and advised Africans to exchange their many coins with new

57 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Change of coinage. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

58 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

59 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

60 NCK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

ones. This was partly the reason the Alliance opposed the colonial state's move to manipulate the currency. In their meeting;

The Secretary read a letter dated 22nd July sent by him to the Colonial Secretary re the change in coinage. The Committee approved of this action and decided that a memorial be addressed to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies praying that the proposed depreciation in the value of the cent should not take place, as in their opinion the course is immoral and dangerous to the prestige of the British Government. Mr. Barlow and Dr. Jones were authorized to draw up the memorial on the lines of Dr. Jones' letter.⁶¹

Fourthly, it proposed that chiefs be informed whenever the government was due to recruit Africans. This was to allow them to supervise the recruitment process and to inspect the conditions of camps where natives would be staying while they worked out of their Reserves and 'to visit plantations where their people are employed'.⁶² To them 'It would be unwise on the part of settlers, who depend on the government for labour, and on the chiefs for their good will, to resent such inspection or visitation', for they said 'The more open the whole thing can be, the easier will the labour question become.'⁶³ The missions proposed that the terms of service be such that 'A known and fixed obligation is understood,' in terms of labour and cash. They advised that 'Each able-bodied man should know definitely the extent of his liability to the state, and when that has been discharged he should be free to attend to his own affairs.'⁶⁴ They recommended;

sixty days as a maximum period of compulsory service in each year, defined so that every such employee receives a certificate of the time he has served and paid for at the market rate, rather than exploited to overwork the willing horses. Once a native had completed sixty days labour, either voluntary or compulsory, he was free from further conscription that year.⁶⁵

61 NCKK Hq. Minute on Currency. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the RCAPMBEA held in Nairobi. 3.3.1921.

62 NCKK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

63 NCKK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

64 NCKK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Minute 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA which met in Nairobi 3-4.3.1920

65 NCKK Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Min 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

They proposed that a complete list of workers be kept and checked by the district commissioner in each district⁶⁶ and advised that compulsion be exerted fairly so that the willing tribes like the Luhyia or Kikuyu were not oppressed as unwilling ones like the Maasai were excused. In the same vein the chiefs were to avoid oppressing the weaklings from their communities or picking on those that were unpopular with them, when the best of the young men were retained for lighter duty.⁶⁷

Fifthly, it criticized the colonial state's proposed increase of natives' taxation 'as a means of forcing them into the labour market,' and forwarded a 'copy of this minute to the chief secretary and to the secretary of state for the colonies through him.'⁶⁸ They also sent a copy to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society (amalgamated in 1909). This was important because this society was following cases of forced labour.⁶⁹ When the RCA discussed the matter, it proposed that compulsory labour be regarded as taxation in kind saying, when;

Taxation in the form of cash is legally imposed and is of a fixed and known amount. It falls evenly on all, and when the amount has been paid in full the man who has paid it is free. It would be disastrous were the Government, in need of money, and in the absence of legal sanction to collect it, to induce the native chiefs to supply the deficiency by "encouraging" their people to contribute, with the knowledge that each would be reported on favourably or unfavourably, according to the amount of money he had succeeded in collecting. Such a policy would make native life an intolerable burden.⁷⁰

It was however also true that not all missions and missionaries shared one mind on Taxation. In 1923 Archdeacon Owen wrote that 'The CMS natives voted strongly in favour of abolition of Hut Tax in favour of universal Poll Tax,' but reported that he had heard 'unofficially that all other missions in Kavirondo are against Poll Tax, and that one of the

66 NCKC Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Minute 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA which met in Nairobi 3-4.3.1920

67 NCKC Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Minute 14 on Native and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA which met in Nairobi 3-4.3.1920

68 NCKC Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1643 Memorandum presented to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation from the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, consisting of John W Arthur, W J Wright, W Arthur Pitt-Pitts and Evan E Biss. 1934

69 NCKC Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 3rd-4.3.1920.

70 NCKC Hq. Minute 13 on Taxation and Minute 14 on Natives and labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA which met in Nairobi 3-4.3.1920

chief arguments they put forward is that Hut Tax helps to restrict polygamy.’⁷¹ He however felt that that was not the case because the natives had indicated to him, that ‘the wives generally earn their own tax, and that the only restriction on polygamy is a very high dowry’.⁷² He referred to section two of the 1910 Ordinance which read ‘If any such native has more than one wife living in one hut, he shall pay a further tax in respect of each additional wife living in such a hut.’⁷³ To Owen therefore there were three classes of taxation ‘Hut, Wife (polygamous) and Poll’. He was as opposed to Wife Tax as he was to the taxation of prostitutes viewing it as a form of legalization of both, but proposed that natives themselves be consulted as to what they preferred between Hut and universal Poll Tax.⁷⁴

An important connection with regard to missions’ engagement in debates on the Northey Circulars and on the Indian Land question, was the fact that governor Coryndon valued their support and responded to their request to have one missionary serve as an Africans’ representative on the LegCo⁷⁵ and for Africans to participate through Local Native Councils (Huxley 1953). The latter provided the first opportunity for Africans to express themselves politically on key issues including labour and taxation.

Bishop Heywood read a letter from Mr. J. H. Oldham which enclosed a copy of the memorandum on native affairs in Kenya Colony urging the appointment of a Royal Commission. In reply to this letter, it was decided to send to Mr. Oldham accounts of the

71 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Archdeacon W E Owen to Dr J W Arthur on Natives Taxation. 19.2.1923

72 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Archdeacon W E Owen to Dr J W Arthur on Natives Taxation. 19.2.1923

73 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Archdeacon W E Owen to Dr J W Arthur on Natives Taxation. 19.2.1923

74 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Archdeacon W E Owen to Dr J W Arthur on Natives Taxation. 19.2.1923

75 NCK Hq. Minute 5 on Missionary representation on the Legislative Council. In Minutes of the RC of the APMSBEA 19-22.11.1923

Dagoreti and Thika meetings of natives and to point out the significant fact that the natives themselves are now bringing forward their grievances. The Secretary was authorized to send Mr. Oldham all information possible as to the conditions among the natives.

Sixthly, it proposed that the labourer be 'free to choose his sphere of service, or at least that none be compelled to work for any European or Indian employer who had proved himself incapable of managing native labour.'⁷⁶ They further wrote that 'the age of the able-bodied worker, who is subject to compulsion,' be defined as from 17 to 27 years'. They reasoned that ten years was enough for one to adopt a culture of labour. Those older were to be allowed to take care of their families.⁷⁷

In a follow-up meeting of the SC, Mr Johnstone of the AIM spoke, urging that the RCA protests against the raising of native taxes. He viewed it as 'as a breach of faith on the part of the Government.'⁷⁸ As CNC Ainsworth was retiring the missions passed a minute to thank him for the role he had played as CNC. Interestingly, he still tried to convince the deputation they had appointed to visit him, to allow some time '...for the provisions of the Circular to take effect,⁷⁹ and to then raise;

grievances in connection with native labour continued after that time protest should be made. It was pointed out that such grievances, with fullest particulars and proofs, should be reported by the missions to the Secretary in order that effectual action might be taken on behalf of the Alliance.⁸⁰

This caused Rev. A J Hopkins, a minister of the UMM, to ask the Alliance to clarify its position with regard to compulsory labour. In response the SC stated its dilemma, saying

76 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Minute on Natives and Labour. In minutes Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies in British East Africa meeting at Nairobi. 3-4. 3.1920. This set was that preserved by Archdeacon Owen

77 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Minute on Natives and Labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies in British East Africa meeting at Nairobi. 3-4. 3.1920. This set was that preserved by Archdeacon Owen

78 NCKK Hq. Minute on Taxation. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 19.4.1920.

79 NCKK Hq. Minute 13 on Native labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 22-24.6.1920.

80 NCKK Hq. Minute 13 on Native labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 22-24.6.1920.

‘they did not approve of the principle but realized that compulsory labour was inevitable, and felt that the only means of safeguarding their position was to favour for the present a legalized form of compulsion.’⁸¹ They as a result set up a subcommittee, convened and chaired by Archdeacon Owen, to collect concrete evidence on compulsory labour and of the abuses arising there from.⁸² Its members included Rev. A W MacGregor and Rev. F H McKenrick of the CMS and Mr. A R Barlow of the CSM. The SC required a report of any such ‘evidence at their earliest convenience’.⁸³

5.3.5 The missions’ unexpected opponents

In the process of developing their policy guidelines however, the APM encountered negative reactions from very unlikely opponents. The Foreign missions Board (FMB) of the CSM questioned the Bishops on the memorandum and the Church of Scotland (CSM) itself questioned their proposed labour policy. The FMB accused Dr Arthur, Bishop Heywood and Bishop Willis that they had written and published a memorandum in support of forced labour without consulting them or the British government,⁸⁴ and yet it was dealing with extremely critical issues. This was despite the fact that Bishops Heywood and Willis and Dr Arthur had held an interview with the Chief Secretary, Sir Charles Bowring, and the CNC Ainsworth, before they published it.

In response to the FMB’s concerns, Dr Arthur explained what they had done. He referred to his long experience of engagement of labour issues from the time he served on the

81 NCCCK Hq. Minute 13 on Native labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 22-24.6.1920.

82 NCCCK Hq. Minute 16 on Compulsory labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 22-24.6.1920.

83 NCCCK Hq. Minute 16 on Compulsory labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa held at Kikuyu. 22-24.6.1920.

84 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

Native Labour Commission in 1911 to the interventions they were making at the time.⁸⁵ He affirmed that their joint concerns were focused on preventing injustice against Africans. Dr Arthur wrote that, when the Northey circular was published, they were;

absolutely against the whole policy which would certainly have made the breach between missionary and settlers, which we have been trying to heal, more acute and militated against any common desire to work for the good of the country; or of seeking to find some solution which would help the country in what was a very serious crisis.⁸⁶

He also explained that they had recommended a modified form of compulsion, that would cause many of the young male natives to be out at work ‘under proper safeguards rather than loafing about the native Reserves, dressing themselves in paint and feathers and dancing their immoral dances to the detriment of themselves and the young women, and therefore of the tribe.’⁸⁷ He explained that they had advised ‘young unmarried men to do their full 24 days-work a year excluding weekends, as long as there were adequate safeguards against injustice.’⁸⁸ They held that to force Africans to work on European farms without adequate compensation was highly unjust. Dr Arthur wrote;

Our intention was that the labour should be free to choose its own sphere, and we considered that we had laid down such safeguards that any evil effects from such legislation would be reduced to the minimum, and that the natives would be infinitely better off than they were under veiled compulsion.⁸⁹

Noting that African communities displayed great variation of commitment to such values, he pointed out that the missions were opposed to the unjust remuneration and subjective handling of natives labour and taxation issues. They were also opposed to the arbitrary use of force by chiefs to bully and exploit Africans sexually and financially through bribes, the

85 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920 Page 3

86 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920

87 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920

88 NCK Hq. Minute 21 on Compulsory labour. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 4.10.19

89 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920

disruption of mission education, their exaction of revenge and their unjust display of their power. To the missions;⁹⁰

If natives are to be fairly treated, provisions must be made to ensure that they receive adequate return in services for the taxes which they pay. Strictly interpreted this means that their total contribution to the taxes should be calculated, and that after allowing out of this the amount equivalent to what would be their proper contribution to the costs of general services the balance should be devoted to services directly for the benefit of the natives.⁹¹

Dr Arthur recounted how, after they had published their memorandum, Bishop Willis returned to Uganda with anxiety and wrote saying ‘I do not at all like raising what may be a storm on this labour question, and then having to go off and leave you to bear the brunt of it’. He prayed that God would give Dr Arthur wisdom to handle it.⁹² Interestingly however, Arthur found that ‘majority of the settlers were absolutely opposed,’ to the Northey Circulars. The furore which Bishop Willis anticipated did arise, but only from two government officers including the Kyambu district commissioner, Mr Dobbs.⁹³ These blamed the three leaders for ‘meddling in the sphere of politics and as the cause of all the trouble at home against the governor, which arose entirely out of our protest.’⁹⁴

Dr Arthur expressed disappointment in hyperbole saying, ‘I am hardly at liberty to say more than that both (*the acting Governor Bowring and CNC Ainsworth*) of them at the time were obviously in entire agreement with our protests and our suggestions, as embodying some of their own which had not been listened to.’⁹⁵ He further wrote that ‘There is not a missionary or a government administrative official in the country who does

90NCCCK Hq. Minute on Anti-Compulsion Document. In minutes of the Standing Committee of the RCAPMBEA which met at C.M.S. House, Nairobi 12.11.1920 ‘The Bishop read this document which set forth a protest from the Home Church against the introduction of any form of compulsion, which was said to be only another form of Slavery.’

91 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920

92 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920 Page 3

93 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920 Page 3

94 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920 Page 3

95 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 1-2

not know that unauthorised compulsory labour had been in force through pressure on the chiefs by officials and labour recruiters.⁹⁶ Arthur stressed that they had made every effort to forward the memorandum to them, but his secretary Miss Haslam had failed, thinking she had done so.⁹⁷ He also wrote to them, that the missions could not always wait to consult the FMB in cases of emergency, saying;

If we do not take action at once, laws may sometimes be passed by government that may result in hardships to the native peoples which might become unalterable or at least cause grave trouble, for want of protest at the time. The missionaries were faced in October 1919 with an unprecedented statement of policy, which practically sanctioned force for private profit without legal enactment. The results of our action have all been for good, but it remains to be seen whether the good done will be permanent, because of the want of safeguards of the present position. We are the natives' only true helpers and representatives, and I hold it is up to us to take such action as will lead to the safeguarding of their interests.⁹⁸

Dr Arthur had come to such a conclusion out of experience, having worked closely with government officials. That the officials appointed to serve as trustees of Africans, exhibited some care for the interests of Africans is seen in Archdeacon Owen's opposition to Dr Arthur's nomination to accompany governor Coryndon in the 1923 Devonshire debates, stating that the CMS Bishop and clergy had confidence that the CNC Watkins would represent natives better. Thus Dr Arthur may have been making a comparison based on the trust of Africans, since colonial regimes beginning with Eliot's and even Coryndon's, had been under pressure to conform to settler demands. Men like Watkins had been very daring in preventing injustice against Africans, and were not liked by many of the settlers.

To the missions' credit, when Indians and Europeans claimed that they could have represented Africans better, headman Josiah retrospectively spoke in a meeting chaired by the CNC that the Kikuyu Association (KA) had 'agreed that Dr Arthur should speak for them at the time.' Dr Arthur also criticised the FMB for censuring the missions' action without commending their courage saying;

96 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920, page 4-5

97 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 10.1920 Page 3

98 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920

I do feel very keenly the censure of the Committee.⁹⁹ A certain member of the House of Commons in the debate on the subject spoke of the courage of those who had exposed the state of affairs, and it is disheartening to find in the decision of the Committee, where they find it necessary to disagree with our actions, no acknowledgment of an action which did require courage and immediate action, and the undoubted good that has come of it.¹⁰⁰

After the discourse above, Dr Arthur had to deal with an even more difficult challenge, criticism from the Church of Scotland back home that resulted in their disowning the proposed missions' labour policy without consulting him. The Church of Scotland immediately wrote to instruct Dr Arthur as head of their mission in Kenya to dissociate himself and the CSM membership from Kenya missions' labour policy that they had just helped to draft,¹⁰¹ on grounds that it contradicted the policy of the colonial state. Dr Arthur was forced to announce in the next SC of the Alliance meeting that the Church of Scotland in the UK had renounced the policy and instructed the CSM to withdraw from it.¹⁰² The rest of the SC consulted with Bishop Willis and determined to carry on with the Policy.

5.3.6 The missions indirect advocacy through J H Oldham

The missions' were so serious in their desire to correct the unjust provisions of the Northey Circulars that they stepped up pressure by seeking the help of J H Oldham, despite his Scottish connections. In so doing, they shifted the debates on the Northey Circulars from Nairobi to London.¹⁰³ On receiving the request, Oldham first made effort to reconcile the missions because as indicated above they had fallen out with each other over the missions' draft labour policy (Cell 1976, 30-40). He then mobilized home churches like the Church of England, humanitarian agencies, political leaders and parties against the Circulars.

99 Referring to Foreign Missions Board

100 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182. John W Arthur. A statement with regard to the committee minute on the labour Question 10.1920

101 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on withdrawal of the Church of Scotland from the labour policy of the Alliance. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 12-13.10.1920

102 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on Withdrawal of Church of Scotland from the Labour Policy of the Alliance. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 12-13.10.1920

103 Oldham was at the time, the editor of the International Missionary Review based in Britain; also see Cells, 1976, 39-40.

When in 1921, the matter reached the Archbishop of Canterbury, pressurized Lord Milner saying ‘Recent administrative measures in EAP have given rise to wide spread doubt and questioning as to whether the principle of trusteeship in the government of subject peoples is being successfully applied.’¹⁰⁴

At variance with Spencer’s (1974, 225-227) criticism, the missions in the colony were the ones that fed Oldham with the information that enabled him mount a campaign against the Northey Circulars in London. Governor Northey had ignored the fact that when Kenya was declared a colony in 1920, the rights of all the people within it were affirmed. Thus in 1921 for example, when the Indians complained to Churchill about discrimination, he took it up and affirmed the equality and protection of all subjects in the colony.¹⁰⁵

Oldham’s desire was to avoid the domination of the majority by the minority races and vice versa, urging the British government to retain its trusteeship role.¹⁰⁶ To him, there were internal disagreements that were undermining colonial affairs (Maxon 1993, 27-30). As a result, Lord Milner instructed that the unjust sections of the Northey Circulars be amended (Lord Milner’s Dispatch, in Mungeam (1978, 402). Not even pressure from some of the aristocratic settlers in Kenya could secure their demands against Oldham’s campaign in Britain (Burke, 1964). After the Northey Circulars were amended, it was reported in the RCA;

that the letters which had been sent to Mr. J. H. Oldham had led to interviews with the authorities at Home and had produced the Government Labour Circular of August 1921. It was unanimously agreed that the Alliance support Government in every effort to pass Laws to safeguard native interests in labour matters. The R.C. expressed their grateful thanks to Mr. Oldham for his interest and invaluable aid at home.¹⁰⁷

104 Mss Afr.s. 1829. Oldham boxes Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. Memorandum on native affairs in the East African Protectorates (sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to major EFL Wood, 24th May 1921.

105 The Times. 29.1.1922. Speech by W S Churchill (Colonial Secretary) at East Africa Dinner. Titled Indians in East Africa: Mr Churchill on equal rights on 27.1.1922.. Reproduced in Mungeam 1978, 576-577)

106 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 1 Oldham to Lugard 29.5.1923

107 NCKC Hq. Minute 3 on compulsory Labour In minutes of the RCAPMSBEA which met at C.M.S. House, Nairobi 31.8.1921-2.9.1921

Oldham's engagement was focused on the possibility of a harmonious multi-racial state. Though Maxon (1993, 27, 154-158) downplayed Oldham's role, ascribing it to J A E Elliot- the district commissioner of Embu at the time, he acknowledged that Sir William Cecil Bottomley (1878-1954) CMG (1921), who served as a member of the East African currency board in 1920 and in 1927 and Assistant Under Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, met Oldham with the intention of enquiring about the implications of the Northey Circulars on Africans.

In Maxon's argument, it was Eliot that caused the colonial office to revise the circulars. He however did not deny that the pressure from the missions through Oldham had played a significant role. Okia (2012, 75) was more accurate noting that Oldham was drawn into the forced labour controversy through his contact with J H Harris of the ASAPS, Dr Norman Leys, and reports from missionaries including Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar and J W Arthur. Even after modifying the Northey Circulars however, Governor Northey still violated Africans' labour rights regarding where to work, negotiation for pay, reasonable working hours and freedom of movement among others.

5.4 Examples of labour injustices 1920-1950

The worst violations that Africans suffered were those in which some settlers colluded with colonial police and judicial officers to under-prosecute labour injustices. They employed the concept of 'Simple Hurt',¹⁰⁸ adopted from the Indian Penal Code which distinguished between 'Hurt' and 'Grievous Hurt'.¹⁰⁹ The judges in colonial Kenya, when faced with obviously difficult racial crimes, applied the Indian Penal Code of 1860 rather than English Law's Offences against The Person Act 1861. By labelling crimes committed by European employers against Africans as 'Simple Hurt', the judicial officers undermined

108 Governing Colonial Peoples. <http://www.ucpress.edu/content/chapters/9621.ch01.pdf>

109 Indian Penal Codes of 1860. Acts Number 45 of 1860. 6.10.1860

their attempts to seek justice about what they or their kin had suffered. One anonymous person, who considered 'Simple Hurt' cases¹¹⁰ in Kenya colony, abominable, wrote;

"Simple Hurt" connotes, to most minds, a pin pricked finger at least, and at most a black eye, but surely nowhere outside Kenya colony could judicial proceedings construe charges of homicide or negro-murder as "Simple Hurt". The advantage of this construction appears that when white murders black, a nominal fine can be inflicted instead of imprisonment.

In 1918, for example,

a native labourer from Lumbwa, who made the mistake of offending his employer, was alternately flogged and "ducked" in water by fellow workers under the instruction and supervision of his employer, and then spread-eagled in the sun and finally burned, dead or alive, with petroleum.¹¹¹ Upon hearing the case, the magistrate said "I have never heard of such brutality". He, however, shockingly reduced the charge from murder to 'Simple Hurt'.¹¹²

In 1920 the missions appointed Archdeacon Owen to chair a subcommittee to investigate settler injustices against Africans.¹¹³ His committee gathered information and confronted the colonial government with evidence of the settlers' violations of the rights of Africans with state collusion.¹¹⁴ After the Owen Committee reported its findings a year later, the RC appointed a fresh committee consisting of Mr Britton for Kavirondo, Mr Butcher and Mr McKenrick for Kikuyu Province and Mr Harris for the Coast to continue gathering information.¹¹⁵

That the way the colonial state dealt with Africans was of great concern in Britain is seen in an article entitled 'Forced Labour and Kenya Colony' written by Isabel Ross. Previously known as Isabel Abraham (1885-1964), a history teacher at Wellington High School for Girls, she had lived with Nellie Ross for several years. In Kenya she pursued her interest in women's movements and politics, co-ordinating the East African Women's League in 1917.

110 MSS Brit. Emp S22 G136 No name to Writer Mr C D Sharpe, Esq. Editor, The New Statesman, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, on 'Simple Hurt' 24.11.1921

111 MSS Brit. Emp S22 G136 No name to Writer Mr C D Sharpe, Esq. Editor, The New Statesman, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, on 'Simple Hurt' 24.11.1921

112 MSS Brit. Emp S22 G136 No name to Writer Mr C D Sharpe, Esq. Editor, The New Statesman, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, on 'Simple Hurt' 24.11.1921

113 Section 4.3.0 of this dissertation gives the background of Archdeacon W E Owen.

114 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/2182 Arthur, John W. Statement on labour question in Kenya Colony with reference to Foreign Mission Committee Minute of 13.7.1920 Page 3

115 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1947. Minute on Compulsory labour. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies in British East Africa meeting at Kikuyu, Nairobi 12.11.1920

144

She was instrumental in obtaining the vote for European women in elections to the Legislative Council in 1919.¹¹⁶ Being wife (1915) of McGregor Ross (1876-1940), another Scot involved in Labour Party politics who was the British workers' delegate to the Forced Labour Committee at the International Labour Conference in Geneva, 1929, her comments read thus;

In Kenya colony from early days of settlement, some of the more articulate and politically-minded of the settlers have advocated that the native population shall be taxed so high that they shall necessarily work for wages on European farms, that also they shall not have so much land that the cultivation of it would make them financially independent of the European, and there has been constant attempt to influence the local government and its officials to persuade chiefs to send out men to work away from their homes.¹¹⁷

The other matter of injustice that concerned the missions was taxation, mainly because of the colonial government's approach to resource allocation. Though it collected much more tax from Africans, it applied very little of it for their benefit by way of services.¹¹⁸ This had been highlighted by the Lord Moyne's Commission which also recommended the establishment of a Native's Betterment Fund, to use some of the tax money paid by Africans to improve the services offered to them. In addition, they understood the challenge of insufficient labour, but did not allow the interruption of Africans' education. Rev. Barlow turned down the request by Mr C Gaitskell of the Coffee Planters union, that children be released from school to harvest coffee, saying 'it might be difficult to arrange as it involved alterations in times of school holidays.' Rev Barlow reported the sympathetic reception of the government's suggestion, but at the same time pointed out the difficulties involved.'¹¹⁹

116 BOD GB 0162 MSS. Afr. s. 2305. McGregor Ross, William and Isabel Ross. Identity statement. Available at URL. <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/11/1272.htm>. Accessed 3.2015

117 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim /178. Isabell Ross. Extract from "The Woman's Leader". 9.4.1926.

118 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Brown, Report of special meeting, 1936

119 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim178. Barlow, Ruffell. Letter to C Gaitskell, Secretary to the Kenya Planters Union of Kenya. On the subject: Labour. 18.11.1926

The RRC discussed the matter of government funding extensively in its memorandum to the Secretary of State for the colonies.¹²⁰ Immediately after the conference, the missions advocated for the setting up of the Fund as a way of addressing natives' interests, but did not succeed with the colonial state.¹²¹ In pushing for this Fund, the missions sought to lessen the imbalance that existed between the facilities that Europeans enjoyed, empower Africans for participation, and improve race relations. In its absence, most of the facilities that Africans accessed were set up and sustained by the missions, a cost that the government had tended to avoid.

In 1942 for example, a Mr Lawrence of the CMS Kavirondo complained that 'the reduction in grants had necessitated 'the cutting off of equipment grants and the removal of pupil teachers, whose loss the schools feel considerably.'¹²² The discontinuation of the Native's Betterment Fund, concerned the missions. They questioned the role of the Europeans that were designated to represent Africans on the LegCo. When 'Mr J. Stephen Smith remarked that Africans might ask how a person 'who did not put forward their views could be said to represent their interests,' Montgomery, a European Member that represented Africans' interests on the LegCo replied 'that there was no such thing as an African point of view representing the unanimous opinion of the natives on any particular question'. He failed to realize that this was why a diversity of Africans' representatives was required. It also confirmed Africans' fears that many European settlers could not stand for Africans' welfare. Of the missionaries that maintained a serious interest in matters of Labour, Owen was persistent. In 1930, Major Claudet wrote to the East African Standard stating the settlers' challenge to Archdeacon Owen.¹²³

120 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/2/1/1643. Memorandum presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation of the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council signed by John W Arthur, W J Wright, W Arthur Pitt-Pitts and Evan E Biss. nd

121 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Brown, Report of special meeting, 1936

122 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/2/1/246. Letter from Lawrence to Mr Smith concerning DEB grants 5.7.42

123 Claudet, Major. 1930. Settlers Challenge to Churchman: Archdeacon Owen and forced Labour in East African Standard. 4.10.1930. Page 22

5.5 Protestants and the *Kipande*

Among the issues that Protestants did not address early enough and which remained poisonous to the Africans' labour and taxation situation was the *Kipande* pass. It was a registration certificate introduced by the NRO of 1915, but enforced in 1920 by governor Northey. The Ordinance required that every male African over 15 years of age registers before an administrative officer, at which point his finger prints would be taken and he would be issued with the certificate and copies kept with the Chief Registrar of natives in Nairobi. It contained his personal particulars and a record of his employment outside his reserve, including the type of work and the wages and rations received. It was an item of discrimination in that it was only required of Africans. They were to carry it around in a metal cylinder, hanging around their necks at all times they ventured out of their Reserve area.

The *Kipande* was used by the state and European employers of Africans, to track those that absconded duty and to keep labour costs low by denying them the opportunity to bargain. It thus became the most hated part of Kenya's labour regulation by Africans in all communities (Berman, 1990, 147-148; Clayton and Savage, 1974, 131-; Ndegwa, 2006, 257; King, 1970, 19). In February 1926, Dr Arthur complained to the CNC on an unjust arrest of seven Africans from his mission station.¹²⁴ When the Superintendent of Police investigated the matter, he wrote to Dr Arthur saying;

The European Police Constable states that he arrested the natives concerned because previous warnings had been disregarded and he wished to make an example. He states further that on weekends and especially on Saturdays, Limuru is generally overrun with strange natives. He has frequently asked natives for their Registration Certificates and in the majority of cases the Certificates have not been forthcoming. He considered that the time had come to take some drastic action to make the native population realise the necessity for obeying the law... It has not hitherto been the usual Police procedure in Kyambu district to enforce sec. 8 (5) of the Native Registration Ordinance 1921 in public places (out of Reserves) during the hours of daylight save in instances where natives may be suspected to be vagrants or of suspicious character; or in a locality where a

124 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim178. Superintendent of Police. Letter to Dr Arthur titled. Arrest of Certain Kikuyu for being without Registration Certificates. 15.2.1926

serious crime may have been committed. ...From this you will see that the constable has been reprimanded for failing to release the prisoners in accordance with your request.¹²⁵

From the above communication Africans were not protected. Strayer (1978, 121) observed that the *Kipande*, alongside low wages and higher taxes were the sticky issues that caused the new group of mission trained African intermediaries like Harry Thuku to arise as an alternative to the missions in their role 'as broker between the African masses and the colonial state'. This was especially because the missions did not quite address the *kipande* in their joint forums until the 1930s. Either they had accepted it as a means of creating order, or they were unwilling to engage the colonial government and the settlers over its misuse as Biss later intimated.¹²⁶

In 1929 for example, the Executive Committee of the CMS referred a question to the KMC requesting to know 'the procedure followed under the Native Registration Ordinance in the case of a native accidentally found without his *Kipande*.'¹²⁷ The KMC noted the question but did not discuss it. The KMC's AGM, despite being the highest decision making body of the missions' joint activity, wrote 'As no information was forthcoming in support of this,' and in view of the matter having been raised by members of the CMS at the Coast, 'consideration of this item was deferred until the May meeting of the Executive Committee of the KMC.' They did so to allow their 'Secretary in the meantime to obtain further information on the subject.'¹²⁸ The matter was again raised in the AGM of August 1932 with regard to the Closer Union report. Though 'It was generally felt that the *Kipande* system was open to much abuse, and that the whole question was one of great

125 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim178. Superintendent of Police. Letter to Dr Arthur titled. Arrest of Certain Kikuyu for being without Registration Certificates. 15.2.1926

126 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss' letter to Hodge, Hon-secretary of the KMC 31.3.1936

127 NCKK Hq. Minute 32 on Natives Registration Ordinance. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held in Nairobi, 26-28.2.1929 to 1.3.1929.

128 NCKK Hq. Minute 32 on Natives Registration Ordinance. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held in Nairobi, 26-28.2.1929 to 1.3.1929.

importance,¹²⁹ it was again not discussed. Instead, the KMC appointed a sub-committee of three missionaries namely Rev. R T Worthington, Rev F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow to look into the *Kipande* issue in Kikuyu Province.

In addition, the KMC discussed its concerns about the various ordinances affecting Africans' Interests, on such areas as mining, and decided to play a role. They thus agreed that another 'Committee be formed to consider how best African interests maybe promoted and safeguarded.'¹³⁰ It was to work 'in conjunction with African organizations and the Member of LegCo for African interests; to study the possibility of cooperation with the elected Members' Organization, and European chaplains;' and to consider 'whether a measure of co-operation with Roman Catholics be possible.'¹³¹

Among those that wrote to the 1932 Barlow sub-committee, appointed to look into Africans' interests, was the KCA, expressing their hatred for the *kipande*.¹³² In the investigations that Mr McKenrick and Mr Barlow undertook, two groups of Africans emerged.¹³³ The first group interviewed at Kijabe and Tumutumu complained to the KMC sub-committee¹³⁴ that they hated the *Kipande* for the following reasons.

Firstly because, for Africans moving out of the Reserves, 'Having to carry a "*Kipande*" makes a man like a slave or a dog; it is looked upon as a bond or a mark of servitude', only

129 NCKK Hq. Minute 32 on Natives Registration Ordinance. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held in Nairobi, 16-17.8.1932.

130 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on Laws Affecting African Interests In minutes of the General meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held at Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi 15-16.8.1933

131 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on Laws Affecting African Interests In minutes of the General meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held at Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi 15-16.8.1933

132 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *kipande* 8.1933

133 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

134 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Worthington, R T, McKenrick F H, and Barlow, A R. 1933. Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-Committee appointed by the KMC, to report on native registration (*Kipandes*).

applied to Africans.¹³⁵ Secondly, ‘the signing-on of his “*Kipande*” binds a man to his employer; he is thenceforth not free to leave without permission, even when he has good reason. If he does leave without permission he is liable to imprisonment’.¹³⁶ Thirdly ‘Some European and Indian employers would refuse to sign off an employee’s *Kipande* when requested, in order to retain his services as long as possible; or they may defer doing so from annoyance or neglect or for other reason.’¹³⁷

Fourthly, if the *Kipande* got lost or destroyed, say by fire, the owner was compelled to go to the trouble and expense of procuring another at Shillings 3/-, a full months wage for a squatter.¹³⁸ Fifthly, if in case an African moved out of his Reserve having forgotten his *Kipande*, he would be arrested and detained. The greater violation they complained about was that government officers would arrest them and detain them, just for misplacing or forgetting to carry their *Kipandes*.¹³⁹ They condemned the *Kipande* as something that had value only with qualified assent.¹⁴⁰

The sub-committee however also found some Africans from the Methodist church of Meru that acknowledged the merits of the *Kipande* as follows. Firstly, that ‘If an African employs a stranger and he absconds with property belonging to his employer, he can have him be traced’ (he can trace him) if he had a *Kipande*. Secondly, when a person was found

135 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

136 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

137 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

138 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

139 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

140 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

dead away from home, the *Kipande* facilitated identification.¹⁴¹ Though they finally wrote the report without the input of committee member R T Worthington, they felt that they, as

...the remaining members do not feel satisfied that the African (Kikuyu) attitude towards the present Registration system should be the deciding factor in any recommendations submitted to the KMC. While agreeing with many of the criticisms made by Africans, we are not convinced that as a means of identification the *Kipande* system is valueless.¹⁴²

The Committee therefore held that the *kipande* was of some value, but required a different approach. The KMC AGM of 1933 received the Barlow *Kipande* report,¹⁴³ but preserved it until the Christian Council on Race Relations (CCRR) was formed (Section 7.6).

The other committee that was appointed at the same meeting by the KMC ‘to consider how best African interests may be safe-guarded,’¹⁴⁴ was the one that named itself the Race Relations Committee (RRC) (Section 7.2). Its opportunity came when the Carter Land Commission of inquiry into land matters was appointed towards the end on 1932.¹⁴⁵ Of importance here is that the RRC it facilitated the formation of the CCRR two and a half years later, and launched it in early March 1936 (Section 7.5).¹⁴⁶ It was to the CCRR that the KMC handed the Barlow *Kipande* report, together with a copy of a complaint letter from Archdeacon Owen on this subject, for their consideration. The KMC considered the CCRR better suited to deal with the *Kipande*, because it had representation from all races. It was to keep the KMC informed of progress.¹⁴⁷ Clearly, the various committees were

141 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration Kipandes 8.1933

142 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/591 Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-committee appointed by the KMC to report on Native registration *Kipandes*. Signed by E W Crawford, F H Mckenrick and Mr A R Barlow as Convenor. 8.1933

143 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Worthington, R T, Mckenrick F H, and Barlow, A R. 1933. Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-Committee appointed by the KMC, to report on native registration (*Kipande*).

144 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on Laws Affecting African Interests In minutes of the General meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held at Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi 15-16.8.1933

145 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O'B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer. pp1; Dow, 1955, 20-21

146 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to Hodge, 31.3.1936

147 NCKK Hq. Minute 1d on *Kipande* In minutes of the Standing Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council held in Nairobi 25.3.1936

treading with great care concerning the *Kipande*. It was not surprising that even the CCRR found the matter quite complex.

On the 31.3.1936, Biss wrote to Hodge the honorary secretary of the KMC saying, 'I shall ask the CCRR whether they wish to discuss the *Kipande* system and Mr Barlow's memorandum.'¹⁴⁸ He also indicated that there was demand from the East Africa Women's league and other European sources that the registration system be tightened up and extended.¹⁴⁹ He warned that the 'matter may prove to plunge us (*the missions*) into the veritable hornet's nest' because;

Vague charges of abuse of the system are not enough. It is necessary to have at least a few dated and signed cases which can be investigated before useful conclusions can be reached. I shall be glad to have what Archdeacon Owen has to say on the subject. He needs to be statistical on the matter of prosecutions and sentences.'¹⁵⁰

Biss expressed considerable unease about Owen's letter.¹⁵¹ In his next letter, Biss indicated that he had duplicated the Barlow memo, and circulated it to all members of the CCRR.¹⁵² He was however waiting for Archdeacon Owen to authenticate his complaints. It is observable that in the meantime, the CCRR was happier dealing with other matters as it sought clarifications on the *Kipande*. In their 17.4.1936 meeting, they discussed Canon Wingfield-Digby's scheme for industrial guilds, which they considered urgent before his departure for Britain. They deferred the *Kipande* registration matter to future meetings anticipated on the 20.5.1936 or 19.6.1936, pending Archdeacon Owen's memo. He had raised issues and been asked to present a memo detailing the evidence he had gathered and had not quite done so. On the 10.8.1936 Hodge wrote to Biss to monitor progress, but there was hardly any.¹⁵³

148 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss' letter to Hodge, Hon-secretary of the KMC 31.3.1936

149 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss' letter to Hodge, Hon-secretary of the KMC 31.3.1936

150 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss' letter to Hodge, Hon-secretary of the KMC 31.3.1936

151 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss' letter to Hodge, Hon-secretary of the KMC 31.3.1936

152 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss' letter to Hodge, Hon-secretary of the KMC 12.8.1936

153 See Chapter Five, section 5.5

Despite the efforts it made, the CCRR did not find a conclusive solution to the *Kipande* before the WWII. After the WWII, the *Kipande* discussion was revived when the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (CMSGBI) raised the matter of the Colour Bar (Section 7.7). Both Rev. Martin Capon, the CMS missionary¹⁵⁴ who doubled up as Principal of St Paul's Theological College and general secretary of the CCK, and Scott Dickson that became general secretary in 1948, were in favour of any good intentions that the colonial government had. They sought to address the discriminatory aspects of the *Kipande* so as to remodel it for its benefits.

By 1950, these CCK's concerns alongside pressure from Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya African Union, caused Governor Philip Mitchell's government to change the contentious registration laws in order to turn the *kipande* into a respectable document of citizenship. In this way, all subjects regardless of race were required to have the *Kipande*¹⁵⁵ in its new form. Dickson wrote 'All must now register-Black, White and Brown.' From then on the complaints were mainly from those citizens who hailed from Northern Frontier districts (Northern Kenya) and those from districts where Kenya shared a border with other countries.¹⁵⁶ The independent government also retained the *Kipande* as an important citizens' pass or identity card, a document of belonging, and one that conclusively identifies a person as a citizen of Kenya. It changed it from a mark of race to one of nationality.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown, firstly, that though Protestant missions initially accepted the colonial state's claim that it was seeking to inculcate a culture of hard work among

154 NCKK Hq. Minute 4g on Teacher training. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council. 26.11.1936

155 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1689. Race Relations in Kenya. Scott Dickson. 1950

156 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1689. Comments by Africans 8.1925

Africans, they after the WWI opposed the state's violations of Africans' labour and taxation rights. The missions, having risen against child labour just before WWI, opposed the state's attempt to legalize unjust labour, poor wages and excessive taxation as contained in the Northey Circular of 1919. When Kenya became a colony, Africans gradually became recognized as subjects, but were fourth class after Europeans, Indians and Arabs. The categories of Africans identified by scholars Berman (1992), Lonsdale (1992), Anderson (2000), Branch (2005), namely loyalists and radicals in their shades were already emerging in the 1920s. Labour, taxation and the *Kipande* were among the critical factors behind the rising nationalism.

It has shown a different perspective from that of Maxon (1993), Cell (1976) and Spencer (1974) in that, the missions were the ones that drew J H Oldham into their activist campaign against the Northey Circulars. After Oldham's advocacy in the metropolitan, instructions were issued that resulted in the suspension of the unjust clauses in the Northey Circulars. It has also brought to light that the CCK through its research contributed to the campaign that preserved the *kipande* as a pass of citizenship and national identity, rather than one of race based exclusion. By 1950 persons of all races in Kenya were required to have the *kipande*. In their engagements however, and although in their Protestant Ethic work was godly, they never developed a theology of citizenship integration and work by which they could guide their adherents, European, Indian and African for a harmonious multi-racial state.

Chapter Six

Protestant Missions and Africans' Property Rights

6.1 Introduction

The third area of focus for this dissertation is property rights. It serves as a case study of how Protestant missions related with the state over Africans' property rights as a citizenship issue. Protestant missions, having hardly responded to the state's settlement of minority migrant races on alienated Africans' land before WWI (Huxley 1949, 9-11),¹ jointly participated in debates that shaped the colonial state's direction and land policy² after the war. By 1933, they submitted memoranda jointly prepared with Africans (see 6.5) highlighting the insecurity of African land tenure to the Carter Land Commission.³

This chapter explores the missions' joint approach to the difficult question of land politics in colonial Kenya. It argues that Protestant missions, between 1919 and 1933, jointly engaged in debates that progressively re-shaped Kenya's land policy and improved the property rights of Africans. It makes this argument by examining the missions' joint interventions in debates about Kenya's land policy conducted mainly in Nairobi and in London that led to the Devonshire White Paper (DWP).⁴ The after that engaged in

1 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, 11.1924

2 NCCK Hq. Minute 15 on Commission for demarcation of Native's Reserves. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missions in Kenya Colony, C.M.S. House, Nairobi. 12-13.10.1920

In 1920, they 'unanimously agreed to request the Government to give them representation on the Commission dealing with demarcation of Native Reserves.' And subsequently petitioned to represent Africans on the LegCo

3 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O'B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer. Pages 2976-3010

4 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

discussions towards the Ormsby-Gore Commission report (OGC),⁵ the Hilton Young Commission report (HYC)⁶ and the Carter Land Commission report (CLC).⁷

6.2 Emergence of the missions' critiques of land policy in 1919 to 1920

When the mission agencies in Kenya met at Kikuyu for the first ecumenical conference in 1913⁸ (Section 3.3), they did not talk about land. Both, the missions like the Church Missionary Society (CMS), United Methodist Mission (UMM) and Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) that were already in the territory when the colonial state was set up in 1895, and the other missions like the Friends Africa Mission (FAM) that came into the territory after the completion of the railway, were able to acquire land, either through grant allocations or through negotiation and purchase from the African communities that owned it,⁹ under the 1902 Crown Lands Ordinance (CLO).

The missions used the land they acquired, in the areas allocated to them by the state,¹⁰ to set up their mission stations, mainly within 100 Kilometres of the railway (Section 1.2; Knighton, 2009). The FAM for example, acquired 1056 acres in the Kaimosi Forest and constructed their mission headquarters there.¹¹ By facilitating the missions to acquire such land and the legal documentation thereof, the state may also have been aiming at conserving forests or creating buffer zones between conflict prone ethnic communities, but

5 Ormsby-Gore, W. 1925. Report of the East Africa Commission. Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Parliament by Command of His majesty. 4. 1925. Pp 7

6 KNA K325.3141REP. Young, Hilton. Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

7 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O'B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer.

8 NCK Hq. Minute on Federation of Missions. In minutes of the United Missionary Conference held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

9 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G, Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya, page 21

10 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G, Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya, page 21

11 Friends Church in Kenya, Kaimosi Archives. Title deed of Kaimosi Mission Headquarters land. 1902

it left the impression among Africans that the state and the missions were in collaboration (Anderson 2005, 9-10; Hyden 2006, 14; Barman 1990, 55-66; Harbeson 1973, 9-11).

The missions faced the challenge of operating under a colonial state that had the task of upholding the British policy of trusteeship for the natives and at the same time the responsibility of raising revenue to sustain its operations and to pay the loan advanced for the construction of the railway (Sections 1.2 and 2.5). As a result, the missions operated among African communities that had been dispossessed of their land in disregard of their approaches to land use and predisposed to manual labour as a means of livelihood. The pre-colonial approach to property among Africans was on the greater part informal and patriarchal. Men owned the land and everything on it, and owned the women and the children. Among the Kikuyu, individual land ownership involved clearing the *githaka* (forest) and creating a homestead and farmland. At community level, they had the *aramati* who were trustees of sub-clan property holdings. The *athomi*, many of whom were mission educated stood high chances of becoming *aramati* (Lonsdale 1992, 320-321).

Rev. G.W Wright of the CMS for example, reported to the 1913 conference about a case he observed in the High Court in which a Christian woman and her children were ‘adjudged to become the property of an inheriting heathen relative on the decease of her husband’.¹² Unable to relate to this African cultural approach, the conference appointed a deputation to bring this matter before Governor Henry Belfield, seeking authority ‘to secure any legal advice necessary’ to intervene on behalf of Africans, especially those that had converted to Christianity.¹³ In both cases, Africans were invaded by Christianity and

12 NCKK Hq. Minute 7. On Christian women and children the property of heathen relatives. In minutes of the United Missionary Conference held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

13 NCKK Hq. Minute 7. On Christian women and children the property of heathen relatives. In minutes of the United Missionary Conference held at Kikuyu 17-22.6.1913

the modernist state, that was culturally problematic, but that later introduced them to the modern socio-economic approach to livelihood.

Among the very early, unofficial voices against the violation of Africans' labour and property rights, were Dr Norman Leys¹⁴ and Canon Harry Leakey.¹⁵ Norman Leys, a Quaker civil servant who stood for the rights of Africans, was present when the state planned and executed some of its Hobley-led expeditions among the Gusii and the North Kitosi (Lonsdale 1992a, 52-65) and its dispossession of Kikuyu and Maasai lands (Mungeam 1978, 343-344). His discomfort with the state's unjust approach and his questioning of its operations, cost him his civil service job (Cell 1976, 33-34). His correspondence to various officers of government and private societies about the injustice by which the Maasai and the Kikuyu had lost their land had been largely ignored. In both cases the land to which the Maasai and the Kikuyu were relocated was poor quality and insufficient. In the case of the Maasai, Leys observed that they were relocated to unproductive areas, which the colonial state had even marked as infested with unidentified flies. He further wrote;

Apart from the Masai, there are 20,000 Kikuyn (sic) in the Kiambu district living on land which they or their ancestors actually bought, now "Crown" land leased to Europeans for 99 years lease. It is proposed to compensate them by money, a perfectly useless thing to owners. They need land, not money. And the compensation proposed is about 5 per cent of the market value of the land.¹⁶

Ley's alarm drew the response of the missions in Kenya led by Leakey, but not government or other private societies. Canon Leakey, of the Church Missionary Society was married to Mary. He and his wife had devoted their lives to work among the Kikuyu and had spent many years translating the Bible into the Kikuyu language.¹⁷ In the metropole, Leys was ignored by the state. It was then that he thought of contacting J H

14 NCK Hq. Minute 15 on The Kikuyu Reserve in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

15 NCK Hq. Minute 15 on The Kikuyu Reserve in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

16 RHO. Mss. Brit. Emp.S.22, G131. Extract from a letter from Norman Leys 10.4.1913

17 <http://www.network54.com/Forum/204096/thread/1314039554/The+Leakeys+%26amp%3B+Their+Legacy+In+Kenya>

Oldham,¹⁸ who entered communication with him and began to use the information he gathered in his advocacy with his political contacts (Cell, 1976, 40-41).

That land was increasingly important to the missions, is seen in the discussions of the Continuation Committee of the Federation of Missions that began meeting in 1915 as a follow up to the 1913 conference. Their proposals for criteria that they as missions had to meet in order to enjoy cooperation with other missions in the Federation¹⁹ included good organizational governance. They were concerned that early that there were some 'one-man societies or missions' and so proposed that all 'societies or missions wishing to join the Federation' had to be 'governed by committees of standing,' and had to have 'their funding under the care of reliable trustees.'²⁰

There were three important developments that made it necessary for the missions to seek to represent Africans in decision making. Firstly, the report of the Local Economic Commission of Enquiry²¹ (LECE) (Section 4. 2), which among other things proposed that the White Highlands be exclusively for Europeans. It revealed the colonial state's attitudes towards the different races (Section 4.2). In excluding Africans from the White Highlands (alongside Indians and Arabs), the colonial state was taking an approach that emphasised racial differentiation in property ownership. By so doing, the state had relegated Africans mainly to the role of labourers (Section 5.3). To illustrate this, Chief Native Commissioner John Ainsworth responded to Bishop Heywood's request that Christian natives be exempted from widow inheritance customs and restrictions to the White Highlands by asserting that the colonial state had demarcated the White Highlands for exclusive

18 RHO. Mss. Brit. Emp.S.22, G131. Extract from a letter from Norman Leys 10.4.1913.

19 NCKK Hq. Membership. Clause Five of the Draft Constitution. In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

20 NCKK Hq. Minute 6 on Drafting of boys out of Reserves for work In Minutes of the United Missionary Conference 17-22.6.1913

21 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, page 5

European settler habitation. It had also designated other areas for Indians. It therefore had restricted Africans from accessing those areas, unless they were carrying their *kipande* pass (Section. 5.5).²² He wrote;²³

Such natives may become civilized and live under civilized ideas, they may amass property by their earnings and may marry in accordance with civilized customs, they may die and leave a civilized widow and children, yet on their death, because such men have no real status outside of their tribes, their moveable property, including the widow and children, is subject to native law and custom, that is, they are all inherited by the eldest surviving male relative of the deceased. A continuance of such procedure cannot but help retard both Christianity and civilized ideals.²⁴

The response of Ainsworth was not as the missions expected. They therefore realized that they dealing with a colonial state that was determined to assert its control on the territory (Berman, 1990) in a way divergent from its trusteeship responsibility. The state's approach undermined the status of Africans in the territory, leaving them out except as labour (Section 5.2.4) and caused conflict between Indians and Europeans, the two significant minority races.²⁵ The exclusion of Africans would be magnified if the territory was declared a European or an Indian, rather than an African territory. The missions considered additional to the risk of loss of land, to which Africans became exposed when the 1915 CLO declared all land to be Crown Land that could be demarcated further by the state. It would mean Africans were dispossessed of their land, their territory and therefore of their basis for belonging or political participation. This added to the missions' concerns about Africans exclusion from representation (Section 4.2) and strengthened the need for them to represent Africans on the LegCo.

22 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Worthington, R T, McKenrick F H, and Barlow, A R. Report of Kikuyu Province Sub-Committee appointed by the KMC, to report on native registration (*Kipande*). 8.1933

23 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1947. John Ainsworth unofficial document on Exemption of Natives to Bishop Heywood 20.8.1919

24 NCKK Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

25 This situation was worsened by the fact that more imperialist officers like Lord Alfred Milner and Leopold Amery took over as Secretary of State and Parliamentary secretary in the Metropolitan office and at the same time Sir Edward Northey another imperialist ex-soldier took over as Governor of the East Africa Protectorate in 1919, because they were in favour of the settlers. Maxon (1993, 128) observes that Northey soon became known as the settlers champion, favouring them against Africans and Indians.

Secondly, the missions' reorganization into the Alliance of Protestant Missions in British East Africa (APM) or simply the Alliance, that happened in their second national ecumenical conference in July of 1918. It dealt with land as property that was significant for their mission work, whether of worship, farming, educational or medical services (See Section 4.2). In their discussions of the draft constitution that was tabled by the Standing Committee of the Federation,²⁶ the missions made the governance and administration of property,²⁷ a key requirement for joining the APM. They wrote in Article 5 of their constitution that;

Those societies accepting all the constitution of the Federation shall be eligible for membership in the Federation who are governed by recognised committees of societies and churches, and whose property is vested in Trustees. This was the understanding that was employed with regard to the land that was acquired to build schools and the developments that were thereon.²⁸

In this way, the missions prepared to relate with the state in terms of documentation, decision making and accountability. This was important as they sought to intervene in the state's struggle between trusteeship and sustainability (Section 4.2), that disadvantaged Africans, privileged Europeans and angered Indians, causing a great conflict between the latter two.

Thirdly, the metropolitan's decision to send British ex-soldiers to Kenya and reward them with land, pleased the settlers who viewed their arrival as a boost to their numbers. It was to them a boost that would position them to push for White paramountcy. It however greatly increased the anger of Indians and Africans. The attempt of the colonial state to implement the metropolitan's decisions by alienating more land from Africans, received a sharp reaction from Canon Harry Leakey, who had begun dealing with Africans' land

26 NCCCK Hq. 1915. A meeting of the representatives of the proposed Allied Missions with the Right Rev. Bishop of Mombasa and the Right Rev. Bishop of Uganda. 1.12.1915 to 3.12.1915 at the C.M.S. House, Nairobi.

27 NCCCK Hq. Minute 4 on Committee to meet government in minutes of the RCAPMBEA 2-3.8.18.

28 NCCCK Hq. Draft Constitution of the Alliance of Protestant Missions passed in the 1918 conference 2-3.8.18. This was ratified in the conference of June 22-26, 1918.

issues alongside Leys before the WWI. He opposed the state's desire to alienate more land in Kiambu area in 1918, because it belonged to Africans, some of whom had helped the British soldiers in WWI as carriers. He reacted because the colonial state had earlier requested him as a missionary that was trusted by Africans, to convince them to give up sizeable land from the Kikuyu reserve to be used as an agricultural demonstration farm, with the promise that it would revert to Africans once the project was done. He pointed out that the Kikuyu reserve even then, was already crowded and that Africans needed sustenance especially because their able-bodied men had died in the war, fighting for the empire.²⁹ He considered that such alienation would have negative impact on Africans, whom the missions had come to evangelise. He was also furious because the colonial state had promised that no further land would be alienated from Africans.³⁰

Recognizing how difficult it was to confront the system alone, Canon Leakey brought the matter to the attention of the Alliance. He explained the challenge that faced their work among Africans, stating that the colonial state's intention showed 'base ingratitude for what they (kikuyu) have done for the British as carriers in the late war to inflict this hardship upon them; this step would also be entirely contrary to the expressed and definite policy of the secretary of state of the colonies.'³¹ Thus Leakey tapped into already existing sentiment that the colonial state was bent on violating Africans' rights.

The RCA discussed the matter and decided to confront the colonial government, opposing any intentions to annex any more land from the already crowded Reserves, more so because many able bodied African men had died in the war.³² They expressed their dismay that the Commission on Soldiers' Settlements had recommended the cutting up of the

29NCKK Hq. Minute on Kikuyu Reserve in Minutes of the RCAPMBEA 16-19.1.1919.

30NCKK Hq. Minute on Kikuyu Reserve in Minutes of the RCAPMBEA 16-19.1.1919.

31 NCKK Hq. Minute 15 on The Kikuyu Reserve in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

32 NCKK Hq. The Kikuyu Reserve. Minute 15 in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

Kikuyu Reserve for white settlement.³³ They did so through deputations and through the media, opposing the state's attempt to cut up the Kikuyu Reserve for white settlement. They challenged the state to stand by the promise of His Majesty's Government, that it would not allow white settlers to take away any more land from Africans' Reserves.³⁴ It would be a step that would be entirely contrary to the expressed and definite policy of the secretary of state of the colonies.³⁵ They urged that the state does not take any steps that could cause Africans to feel that the word of their British rulers can no longer be trusted.³⁶ Canon Leakey also considered it a bad reflection on his integrity, because he had been instrumental in convincing the Kikuyu.³⁷

While the Alliance insisted that land that belonged to the Reserves should not be alienated, the situation worsened when Sir Edward Northey became governor, because he favoured European settlers over Africans in the matter of land allocation, in the same way he did with regard to labour and taxation rights (Section 5.3). The governor working with the settlers intensified their efforts to create a white man's country.

6.3 Protestants and the prevention of a white mans' country

It was experiences with regard labour and taxation issues (Section 5.3) and these ones with regard to land between 1918 and 1920 that caused the missions to petition for opportunities to officially represent Africans on the LegCo and other key policy making organs (Sections 4.3 and 4.4). In 1920 for example they, 'unanimously agreed to request the Government to

33 NCKK Hq. The Kikuyu Reserve. Minute 15 in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance, Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

34 NCKK Hq. The Kikuyu Reserve. Minute 15 in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance, (See section 4.3). Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919
 35 NCKK Hq. The Kikuyu Reserve. Minute 15 in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance (See section 4.3). Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

36 NCKK Hq. The Kikuyu Reserve. Minute 15 in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance, realizing the determination of the colonial state and the European settlers' determination to dispossess Africans, began looking for an opportunity to represent them in policy making organs (See section 4.3). Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

37 NCKK Hq. Minute 15 on The Kikuyu Reserve in minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Mission Societies in British East Africa. 16-17.1.1919

give them representation on the Commission dealing with demarcation of native Reserves.³⁸ They were advocating that the state issues Africans with Title Deeds to the land in reserves. While the colonial state was facilitating the settler community to own land, the missions argued saying;

The Governor may make rules enforceable by penalties not exceeding three hundred rupees for the management and control of any land reserved for the use of the members of a native tribe. The Representative Council note from the above that the native has no legal right whatever to own land, tribal or individual;

They pointed out that the Crown Lands Ordinance;

contemplates alienation of land from the native Reserves to such an extent as to possibly reduce the area below what is necessary for the support of the tribe; that the only section protecting the native is that "he is to be compensated with other land, if any"; and that no provision is made for the natural increase of the tribe. It appears to the Representative Council that the reason for the alienation of such Reserve Land to European occupation is that Europeans may be given valuable land and the natives recompensed with land inferior in value. The Representative Council urge on the Government that for the sake of the wellbeing of the tribes of British East Africa of the country as a whole and of the interests of the Empire, the native tribes of British East Africa be given title deeds for their definitely demarcated Reserves, with the view of securing them in their land as a tribe to-day with the eventual object of individual land tenure, as time permits.

This was because Africans had been excluded on account of race, education and civilization, and were not participants of the key decisions that were being made in the territory. The Alliance of missions' petitioned the colonial state to let them represent Africans on the LegCo three times, and were turned down three times by Governor Northey.³⁹ Despite that Canon Leakey and the Alliance maintained their fight against the state's injustice with regard to the Kabete Government Farm. They opposed its subdivision into 50 acre plots, saying;

In view of the fact that this land was originally alienated from the Kikuyu native Reserve with the purpose of establishing a Farm that had for one of its objectives the benefiting of the Kikuyu people in teaching them better methods of agriculture, and in view of the decision of the Government to close it down, the Representative Council desire to represent to the Government their opinion that this land should be returned to the Kikuyu native Reserve and held in trust by the Government for their future use in such a way or ways as may be seen to be best.⁴⁰

38 NCK Hq. Minute 15 on Commission for demarcation of Native's Reserves. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missions in Kenya Colony, C.M.S. House, Nairobi. 12-13.10.1920

39 NCK Hq. Minute 15 on Commission for demarcation of Native's Reserves. In minutes of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Protestant Missions in Kenya Colony, C.M.S. House, Nairobi. 12-13.10.1920

40 NCK Hq. Minute on Kabete Government Farm. In minutes of the SC of the RCAPMBEA 31.7.1922

Canon Leakey was asked to prepare a report on the history of the matter.⁴¹ It was then that the missions intensified their participation as self-appointed representatives of Africans in the debates that became known as the Indian Land Problem.⁴²

The Africans, though initially conquered to submission before the Great War, after it, engaged in activism. The land matter was so critical to Africans that after the First World War, with the help of the missions, the Kikuyu people organized themselves and formed the Kikuyu Association,⁴³ and the Kavirondo people formed the Tax Welfare Association (Middleton, 1965, 365).

Part of their pain and anger lay in the fact that even after being relocated to Reserves, they had made numerous attempts in vain to seek Title Deeds for the land that remained to them. In 1920, they had discussed with Ainsworth who had carried on an in depth study of their Kikuyu land tenure system, but he left for UK.⁴⁴ In 1921 they had picked it up at Dagoreti with Col. Watkins, the CNC then, but he declined in writing stating that Title Deeds were 'inapplicable to the Kikuyu System of land tenure'.⁴⁵ Their leaders Chief Kinyanjui and Phillip Karanja still saw a certain Mr S F Deck, who told them that all the lands in the Reserves were owned by the Crown.⁴⁶ It was in this period that Harry Thuku's activism reached its peak, partly fired by the Indian land crisis, but subdued by the arrest and banishment of Thuku in 1922.

41 NCKK Hq. Minute on Kabete Government Farm. In minutes of the SC of the RCAPMBEA 31.7.1922

42 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 9-10

43 KNA MAI/16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924

44 KNA MAI /16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924 Page 3

45 KNA MAI /16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924 Page 3

46 KNA MAI /16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924 Page 3

Indeed, the Catholic clergy, who rarely spoke up on public affairs in colonial Kenya, wrote through the Kenya Missionary Council, in support of most of the claims that the Kikuyu Association made. They however, being unable to confirm whether the ‘land tenure by which the natives hold their land in this colony’ is ‘tribal, familial, or individual,’ added;

This, however, is certain, when the Europeans came here the land belonged to the natives, and it is difficult to see how they have lost their rights to its ownership. It is equally certain that the petition of these same native owners should be granted, that is, that they should have a solemn guarantee, a written document of some kind, pledging the government here, and that imperial government in London, that the native Reserves, as they exist at present, should be the inalienable property of the natives, that the government may not take away any of it except for the forests which will be shared.⁴⁷

Though as shown above, the APM failed to get opportunities to represent Africans under Governor Northey, their opportunity came when Governor Robert Coryndon took over from Governor Northey in August 1922 and Sir Victor N Cavendish, the ninth Duke of Devonshire, took over from Sir Winston Churchill as Secretary of State for the Colonies in the metropolitan in October 1922. On the advice of the Wood-Winterton report, the Duke of Devonshire revived discussions on the Indian Land Problem in early 1923 (Section 4.4; Maxon, 1933, 240-255) and invited Governor Coryndon and other parties to London.

Unexpectedly in that same 1923, Governor Coryndon invited the missions to nominate one missionary among them to accompany him as his advisor on African affairs. The discussions turned out to be heavily political (Chapter Four on representation). At the root of the matter was the vast stretch of real estate in colonial Kenya known as the White Highlands. While Europeans feared the numerical strength of the Indians and desired to dominate them through restriction in economic (land segregation) and in political (under-representation from the LegCo) representation, the Indians were aggrieved that their exclusion from both made them second class subjects in the colony without recourse.

47 KNA MAI /16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924 Page 3

Africans, who were the original owners of the land, were in the midst of this discussed by these minority groups only as providers of labour.⁴⁸

The emotive nature of the emerging conflict was seen in the way the two minority races engaged each other. The Colonial government, European civil servants and European men and women settlers argued strongly on the basis of Simpson's expert advice that it was unhealthy to mix the races in residential or commercial areas.

Simpson was born at Glasgow, the son of John Simpson. He went to school in Jersey and studied medicine at Aberdeen University, graduating as M.B, C.M, in 1876. After early appointments at the Samaritan Convalescent Home, Dover, and the Haydock Lodge Asylum, he began his career in public health in 1880, by obtaining the post of medical officer of health for Aberdeen. This he resigned in 1886, when, after studying at King's College, London, he went out to Calcutta as the city's first medical officer of health. The wide experience that he gained in twelve years there enabled him to qualify, on his return, for the chair of hygiene and public health at King's College, which he occupied from 1898 to 1927. He also lectured on hygiene at the London School of Medicine for Women for some years. He helped to found the London School of Tropical Medicine in 1899 and served on its staff as lecturer on tropical hygiene till 1923. He was likewise one of the promoters of the Ross Institute at Putney in 1926 and acted as its director, and as physician to the attached Hospital for Tropical Diseases, till his death.⁴⁹

Though the advice was given by an experienced scientist, it was hardly a reason to establish Kenya on segregation lines. Simpson was a hygiene and sanitation expert, who had observed while working in India that their close association with cows had a bearing on the prevalence of cholera. The colonial state was nevertheless bent on finding any reason to uphold its policy of differentiation. European women settlers also argued on the basis of output, claiming Europeans had in 25 years achieved what Indians had not in 200 years, except exploiting Arabs. While Indians preferred to remit their earnings to India rather than invest in Kenya, the European men and women had 'invested heavily and transformed the colony in only quarter a century.'⁵⁰

48 NCCK Hq. Minute 13 on *Taxation* and Min 14 on *Native and labour*. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 3-4.10.1920

49 KNA. 305.89141106762 GRE. Devonshire White Paper 7.1923, pages 2-3; Sir William John Ritchie Simpson. <http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/4068>. URL Accessed on 4th.12.2014. 4 pm
50 RHO. Mss. Brit. Emp.S.22, G135. Wilson, Margaret Maclellan., Gwendoline Watson, Beatrix F Grahame Bell and Blanche Laws. Nd. *The Women's point of view*. Nairobi: Swift Press

After the Devonshire White Paper was published, with its declaration that in case of conflict, Africans' interests were to be paramount, the missions focused on securing its gains while the colonial state under Governor Coryndon and the settlers found the declaration very difficult to apply (Kamoche 1981, 85), and began to seek ways of mitigation.

6.4 Protestants and the Ormsby-Gore Commission

On 18.12.1924, Oldham wrote to Lugard calling his attention and action on a book written by Leys on Kenya, which was an indicator that Oldham had heard Leys, did not necessarily agree with him, but used the information towards advocacy as seen in the quotation below;

The state of things described by Leys cannot possibly be squared with the principles to which we are publicly committed, laid down in the White Paper of last year. Leys may be wrong in some points of detail ...but I doubt whether his main contentions can be disproved. Legete and Harriet say they are substantially correct. The book is written in a masterly way and seems to me bound to have political effect. If it becomes the subject of public discussion, great harm may be done to our national reputation and the effect of many of the best minds in America must be to create a doubt as the sincerity of British adherence to the principle of trusteeship. Other powers interested in Africa, whose own record is not too good, will know how to exploit the situation to their advantage.⁵¹

To appreciate Leys' concern, the debates that arose among the missions and the Kikuyu were revealing. Thus, though he had been ignored by the colonial office for a long time, he was heard and weighed by J H Oldham,⁵² who used the information to influence political decisions (Cell, 1976, 40-41). These included his advice that a Commission be set up⁵³ (Young⁵⁴, 1929 11). In 1924, the Parliamentary Commission on East Africa chaired by Ormsby-Gore was set up (Kamoche, 1981, 85).

51 RHO MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1. Oldham to Lugard on Ley allegations. 18.12.1924

52RHO. MSS. Brit. Emp.S.22, G131. Extract from a letter from Norman Leys 10.4.1913.

53RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 2 File 3 Oldham to Lugard 29.05.1923

54 Young, E. Hilton. Chairman. 1929. Report of the Commission on Closer union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa. His Majesty's Stationary Office.

In 1924, the missions worked with the Kikuyu Association to prepare a memorandum for presentation to the Omsby-Gore Commission. It was presented to the Commission by their president Koinange wa Mbiu and secretary Phillip Karanja.⁵⁵ It was an opportunity to address their pain with regard to the land they had lost. They gave an in-depth explanation beginning as follows;

The matter that above all else continues to give us grave concern is the question of security of our tenure of our tribal lands, now known as Kikuyu Reserve. Deprived of our land, we Kikuyu should be dispossessed wanderers, dependent upon the white man for home and livelihood. We feel we have reason, as we hope to show, still to feel insecure about this matter, despite the many appeals we have made and the answers we have received.⁵⁶

They wrote ‘The question of the security of our land became acute at the end of the great War,’ because the colonial government was, urged by some Europeans to take the land that lay on both sides of the railway for themselves. It caused ‘great misgivings’ and ‘consternation among Africans, especially because of our services in the War; we asked ourselves. Is this our reward?’⁵⁷ They stated that before the white people came, they held and ‘occupied their lands from times unknown, excepting such forest land in Southern kikuyu as had comparatively recently been bought by our fathers from the “Wandorobo”, the forest-dwellers (“Aathi”) and had not yet all been utilized’. They explained that they had their own system of tenure amongst themselves, ‘where by the land is held by families or individuals who originally acquired their rights by purchase either from the “Wandorobo” or from other Kikuyu’.

Noting that the late CNC Ainsworth had studied and understood their system, they argued that ‘When the white man first came we did not understand that we were to be deprived of any of our land.’ They had however in the process lost land and even the watering-places

55KNA MAI/16/19.Headman Koinyange, Message of the Kikuyu Chief’s and Elders to the meeting of the East African Commission at Dagoreti on 10.7.1924.

56 KNA MAI/16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924

57 KNA MAI /16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924 Page 3

and salt-lick areas for their cattle.⁵⁸ From their testimony above, it seems the Kikuyu had calculated to benefit from the visitor Europeans, not knowing that they were selling their land. They were therefore overtaken when ‘from about 1902 increasing numbers of White men arrived and portions of our land began to be given out to them for farms, until land areas in Kyambu, Limuru, Kikuyu,...Ruiru and beyond, had been disposed of in this way.’⁵⁹ Their argument in 1924 was that the land had not been bought from their Kikuyu owners, because the compensation they received was for lands actually under cultivation, and was at an extremely small rate per acre, which was inadequate for purchase.⁶⁰ They complained that the natives that had so availed their lands, had had to either become squatters (on what had been their own land) or else move off, losing access even to watering places.⁶¹ They wrote further that ‘When Europeans had established their rule here, we were also deprived of large tracts of Kyambu forest, and Mr Ainsworth had said would be under the possession of the government and us.’⁶² They thus argued to the Commission that they needed their land secured with Title Deeds.⁶³

Their discourse above revealed that although some African groups like the Kikuyu were already engaged in commercial activity, including selling food in sufficient quantities to the caravans that passed through central Kenya on their way to Mumia country (Knighton, 2009, 3-4) and Uganda for slaves⁶⁴ and other business, they were not experienced in property matters in the emerging money economy. They were neither exposed to the European commercialization of land, nor to the modern highly productive agricultural

58 KNA MAI /16/19 Memorandum Presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924 Page 2

59 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, by Chairman Koinange wa Mbiu and Joseph Karanja on 11.1924

60 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, by Chairman Koinange wa Mbiu and Joseph Karanja on 11.1924

61 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, by Chairman Koinange wa Mbiu and Joseph Karanja on 11.1924

62 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, by Chairman Koinange wa Mbiu and Joseph Karanja on 11.1924

63 KNA MAI/16/19. Koinangewa Mbiyu and Philip Karanja. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission 11.1924

64 Ormsby-Gore, W. 1925. Report of the East Africa Commission. Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Parliament by Command of His majesty. 4. 1925. Pp 7

farming techniques of the Europeans.⁶⁵ While it is observable that Europeans took advantage of Africans in their acquisition of land, the KA's complaint above seems to have come as a retrospective claim for compensation, after they began to see how Europeans valued land and the commercial production to which they put it.

In its report, the Ormsby-Gore Commissions' attempt to reconcile the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 with the emerging disgruntlement among Europeans, Indians and Africans, proposed the famous dual policy which meant 'the complimentary development of natives and non-native communities', arguing that 'East Africa can only progress economically and socially on the basis of full and complete cooperation of all races'.⁶⁶ This angered the Europeans even further, giving way to investigations of whether a Closer Union of the British colonies in the region was desirable.⁶⁷ Matters were not helped by the differences that the missions held over the Native Lands Trust Bill, the Dr Arthur led anti-female circumcision effort that began gaining momentum after 1925⁶⁸ and the formation of the radical Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1925.

Though Dr Arthur had felt that the bill was okay, Bishop Brandsma of the Catholic Church raised the question of the position of missions under the operation of the proposed Ordinance. He pointed out that nowhere in the Bill was security provided for mission centres in the Reserves. Under Section 22(k) he noted, 'there was nothing to indicate whether the reservation of areas for "schools, churches, hospitals and other institutions" included mission schools and churches or whether this clause contemplated only the establishment of Government schools ... or of native-controlled churches.' He considered that the tenure of mission centres under such rules might be very precarious. He

65

66 Cmd 2387 The East Africa Commission 1924, pages 22-23.

67

68 Communities in Africa would never perceive circumcision as mutilation.

anticipated, that 'The native might oppose the grant of land for mission schools and churches, as was already happening in some parts, or might withdraw their consent later and require the closing of such schools and churches.'⁶⁹ The Rev. R. G. M. Calderwood of the CSM Tumutumu stated in support of this, that in his area native land-holders had in some cases closed mission schools and destroyed school property in defiance of the chief and at the instigation of a native political association, most likely the KCA. Father Bernhard said the same thing had taken place in Thika District. The Bill they were advocating against was therefore not helpful in this regard.

Sir Edward Grigg, who took over from Governor Coryndon, had a different view of the missions than his predecessor. After working in the territory for some time, he wrote to Lord Emery complaining that 'of the five influences that were confusing the African,' 'The missionary influence is, by general agreement, the most destructive of his primitive ideas.'⁷⁰ This was a stinging verdict coming from one who hoped to unite the territory. Did he prefer that the missions had left Africans uneducated so that he and the settlers could manipulate them for manual labour however they wished?

Interestingly, he set aside his verdict above and invited a deputation from the KMC led by Bishop Heywood of Mombasa on the 15.5.1928 to discuss the Native Lands Trust Bill. After a cordial meeting in which the missions advised that the clauses that empowered the governor 'to make rules governing the occupation rights of individuals, families and communities within Reserves', be removed from the Bill, they came away gratified. They were 'convinced of the complete sincerity of his Excellency's desire to give the Africans every possible security for their lands and his intention to provide for future contingencies

69 NCK Hq. Minute on Native Lands Trust Bill. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council of the Kenya Colony. Which days the Executive Committee met in the Peel Memorial Hall. Nairobi, 4-5.6.1928

70 RHO. MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 2 File 3. Edward Grigg to Col. Amery. Dispatch explaining the need for resources for research into the issue confronting natives 11.6.1926; forwarded by W C Bottomley to Oldham. 3.9.1926

attendant upon the progress of the Africans themselves and the development of the Reserves.⁷¹ Later in the year the governor met them again and expressed his desire that natives should be educated on the Native Lands Ordinance Bill, meaning he had adopted the previous advice of the Missions.⁷²

It was in follow up to the Ormsby-Gore Commission and other aspects that the Hilton Young Commission was set up by His Majesty's Government in 1928. It was to look at certain aspects of the Ormsby-Gore report and explore how to bring about 'Closer Union as a way of resolving the European-African crisis. After a one year effort, it produced a report that recommended that the problem of the colony would be largely reduced if the colonial government was to allocate sufficient land on an equal basis to all races and recommended that all people in the colony be treated equally, including a common roll in elections (Young, 1929). The Europeans' were however quite displeased with such prospects, and their leaders made every effort to prevent it. Protestant missions, operating as the Kenya Missionary Council (KMC), continued to pursue Africans' land rights even at the time they faced a backlash over their anti-female circumcision stand (Peterson 2004, 92; Strayer 1978, 136-37).

6.5 Protestants and the Carter Land Commission

Governor Grigg's shift from a serious critic of the missions to one who viewed them as useful, was not shared by the settlers. The latter remained unwilling to create room for the integration of Africans. Thus when the Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament that was appointed in 1931 to consider the various White Papers and Commission reports of the past years, recommended that a comprehensive inquiry should be undertaken into

71 NCKK Archives Limuru.178. Kenya Missionary Council Memo titled Native Lands Trust Bill 16.5.1928

72 NCKK Archives Limuru.178. Notes of meeting between Representative Missionaries and Senior Commissioners at Government House 26.11.1928. H E the Governor in the chair

‘the needs of the native population, present and prospective with respect to land’, Sir Cunliffe, the Colonial Secretary appointed a Commission chaired by Morris Carter to look into Africans’ land issues.⁷³

It was set up to among other things consider the needs of the native population ‘with respect to land, the desirability and practicability of setting aside further areas of land for present and future use’ and ‘the nature and extent of the rights held by natives under section 86 of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915.’ (Carter 1933, 1-2; Smith 1936) (See Chapter Seven).

When the Carter Land Commission was set up in 1932⁷⁴, the KMC appointed a committee to look into native’s interests and safeguard their rights in the process.⁷⁵ This was important because the Carter commission was to among other things consider the needs of the native population, ‘with respect to land, the desirability and practicability of setting aside further areas of land for present and future use’ and ‘the nature and extent of the rights held by natives under section 86 of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915.’ (Carter, 1933, 1-2; Smith, 1936). Its convenor Dr Arthur, took it as an opportunity to repair the strained relations that had resulted from the anti-female circumcision campaign (Peterson, 2004, 5-40) by investing in seeking to create better race relations.

73 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O’B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer. pp1; Dow, 1955, 20-21

74 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O’B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer. pp1; Dow, 1955, 20-21

75 NCKK Archives. Lim/1/1/1643. Minutes of the general meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council 21-23.2.1933

Discussion took place on the various Ordinances affecting Native Interests, particularly under the new conditions of the mining areas. Emphasis was laid on the opportunity for the KMC to do real constructive work. It was agreed that a Committee be formed to consider how best African interests maybe promoted and safeguarded; to work in conjunction with African organizations and the Member for African interests; to study the possibility of cooperation with the elected Members’ Organization, and European chaplains; and to consider whether a measure of co-operation with Roman Catholics be possible. The committee was asked in the first place to consider what constructive policy could be put forward for the development of the mining areas, having regard to the safeguarding of African interests and to the particular points raised by Archdeacon Owen in regard to various ordinances; water; native tribunals; mining areas; electoral divisions; Morris Carter Report; and to take appropriate action when occasion arises. Too much here: keep selecting what is relevant.

The Committee, in its first meeting under the chairmanship of Dr Arthur, named itself the Race Relations Committee (RRC) (Section 7.2). Its first responsibility was to ensure Africans' interests were protected in a multi-racial colony.⁷⁶ It for example moderated the perception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who in 1933 desired to visit Africans in their primitive state, saying;⁷⁷

the future of the African races in Kenya ... lies with the enlightened and progressive elements amongst them –those elements that are responsive to the helping influence of government officials, missionaries or settlers, and are preparing to take their place in what we pray may be a truly Christian civilization. It is our firm belief that for the African, as for all communities, the surest foundation of citizenship is that laid upon Christian principles and underpinned by personal Christian character.⁷⁸

Secondly, it facilitated the KMC to prepare a missions' memorandum to the Carter Land Commission by gathering information from Africans and missionaries. This was presented on behalf of the KMC by Messrs. F. N. Hoyt, president and member of the Friends African Mission, Rev. T. F. C. Bewes (Secretary), Rev. R. G. M. Calderwood, Archdeacon W E Owen, Rev. J. W. C. Dougall,⁷⁹ formerly Principal of the Jeanes School near Nairobi and who also became educational adviser to the missions in Kenya and Uganda in 1932⁸⁰ and Mr H Ford, the head of the East Africa Yearly Meeting.⁸¹ They highlighted the insecurity of Native Land Tenure under the Native Lands Trust Ordinance; the Mining Ordinance, the School and Church Sites Ordinance and the Reserves Ordinance, all being laws which could be used to further violate Africans' rights, especially because they were not represented on the Central Land Board (Carter, 1933, 2076-2079).

76 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 Laws affecting Natives interests. MGM-KMC, Peel Memorial hall, Nairobi. 15-16.8.1933

77NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim /178 Kenya Missionary Council Resume of discussions held at the Conference of Protestant missions at Kikuyu 2.1926

78 NCKK Archives Limuru. 178 Kenya Missionary Council notes for their meeting with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Nd.

79 Ross, Kenneth R. 2008. The legacy of James Dougall. (Biography). International Bulletin of Missionary Research October 1, 2008

80 Paton, William and M M Underhill. The International Review of Missions: A survey of the years 1932 and 1933, page 70 on East and central Africa.

81 NCKK Archives Lim/1/1/1643. Minutes of the general meeting of the KMC 21-23.2.1933.

Calderwood, the Chairman of the KMC at the time, spoke of the errors of past governments in failing to ensure justice when they alienated land to give it to settlers and emphasized that it be returned or that adequate compensation be made – preferably in land or other form. He also urged that it ensures that Africans benefit from the same law as Europeans. The missions rejected the government's unjust speculation that Africans would misuse land Title Deeds, if they were given. They pointed out that without Title Deeds, Africans were merely tenants-at-will of the Crown.⁸² They added with regard to the future needs saying;

we trust that some of the un-alienated Crown Land will be reserved for (a) settlement of landless native (b) purchase by progressive and detribalised natives and (c) setting aside against future growth of the native population, to allow for groups of native to hold or acquire land in the Reserve, for trading, educational, or religious purposes.⁸³

The missions were keen that other land be set aside to provide for natives that were born on estates and who as a result of education did not desire to return to shamba (farm) work on the estate, but who had no holding in the reserve because the Squatter's Ordinance was a hindrance to such progressive natives. The missions proposed that certain forests be set aside for lease to Local Native Council's under safeguarding conditions (Carter, 1933, 2080-2081; Bates, 2005, 5-20).

Thirdly, its affiliate missionaries facilitated Africans to write their memoranda in the various localities. The missionaries J B Dalziel and A E Barnet for example, helped the people of Kamasia to draft theirs (Carter, 1933, 945). Revd Barlow helped the Progressive Kikuyu Party (PKP)⁸⁴ as indeed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) was assisted by Handley Hooper (Knighton, 2012; Peterson, 2004, 93-94).

⁸²KMC evidence 1933 in Carter, et al, 1933, 2076-2079

⁸³KMC evidence 1933 in Carter, et al, 1933, 2076-2079

⁸⁴ NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2547 Ref. No. 138/2. Comments by Committee of Progressive Kikuyu Party, South Nyeri 18.6.34

The Carter Commission compiled a weighty report in four volumes, the first being the summarized arguments and recommendations and the other three being a compilation of the evidence gathered from all quarters (Carter Commission, 1933). On reading it, the Secretary of the RRC Mr Biss and Archdeacon Owen both commended the thorough work done but advised that it be interrogated to ensure that Africans were okay with it.⁸⁵ Archdeacon Owen wrote two articles to the Press. In the first, he noted the injustice of 1,029,422 Africans occupying 7114 square miles of reserve land, that is 136 natives to the square mile, compared to 17,000 Europeans in prime land of 16,700 square miles or 1 European per square mile of the colony (Carter, 1933, S 1091), and concluded that ‘The disparity is too great.’⁸⁶

In a subsequent article, Owen agreed with regard to gold-mining in Kakamega, that Africans be compensated land for land whenever government alienated any of their land,⁸⁷ that land be classified to create room for native’ population growth and that a Lands Board be set up locally.⁸⁸ On their part however, the missions in central Kenya owned 7939 acres of land, of which 2300 acres were for mission and education purposes. The rest, the report recorded, was used for income generation for the missions and recommended that they be required to compensate the Kikuyu.⁸⁹

85NCCCK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547.Biss letter to the Hon. Colonial Secretary 5.7.1934 This read in part ‘The first reaction of several members of the committee...was that it should be adopted as it stands even at the sacrifice of small interests involving minor injustices for the advantages of an early and final settlement appeared to outweigh the disadvantages arising from re-opening the whole question. ...It is therefore all the more regrettable that a subsequent and more thorough examination of the report has resulted in a unanimous opinion among the members of the committee that even in our present state of knowledge of the views and feelings of the native, such a course would only result in profound convictions of injustice among them and a permanent feeling of discontent in certain sections. Since white rule in Africa must rest upon its manifest justice, it is felt that a hastily legal settlement, however desirable it may seem, may prove to be delusive in the long run’

86NCCCK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Owen, W E Article to the UG titled The Kenya Land Commission Report Copy received by Biss on 9.6.1934

87KMC evidence 1933 in Carter, et al, 1933, 2076-2079

88NCCCK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Owen, W E Article to the UG titled Report of the Kenya Land Commission Report Copy sent to Biss on 12.6.1934

89 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O’B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer.

The RRC took four steps to facilitate Africans' review of the draft Carter report. Firstly, it organized interaction forums for themselves as leaders, for Europeans and for Africans to create awareness as they discussed the report. Biss advised against yielding to pressure for more land because it would have to be taken from one race and allocated to others. He preferred that full information was weighed;

at this juncture rather than later on when irrevocable action has been taken. If also at any point the commission should seem inadvertently to have arrived at an improper or unjust decision, it is plainly the duty of a responsible citizen or body of citizens bring the matter to light without undue delay.⁹⁰

The responsible citizen or group of citizens here referred either to knowledgeable Africans or Europeans interested in facilitating Africans equal access to land resources. Though they were required to recognize one another's property rights, the European Members of the LegCo would hear none of it. African political Associations like the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA), the Kikuyu Loyal Patriots (KLP), the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and Kikuyu Progressive Party (KPP) at Tumutumu and other important civil society groups considered land the central issue.⁹¹

Secondly, it provided a platform for those who wished air their views through them just like they had done when views were being collected.⁹² The Kamasia people for example were able with the help of Dalziel to write a second memorandum to appreciate the gains and clarify what they felt was left out.⁹³ The Progressive Kikuyu Party, as part of the Tumutumu group, whose imagination, literary and record keeping skills were highlighted

90NCK Archives Limuru 1/1/2547. The Race Relations Committee and the Carter Land Commission Report. Written by Evan E Biss for publication as an Article to the Editor, East African Standard 4.6.1934.

91 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643. Minute 3d on Relationship with other bodies: Africans. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933; NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Evans Biss, 1935a

92 NCK Archives Limuru. 178. Memorandum to the Carter Land Commission from the Kamasia people. Written on their behalf by missionaries Dalziel and Barnet. nd

93 NCK Archives Limuru. 178. Memorandum to the Carter Land Commission from the Kamasia people. Written by missionaries Dalziel and Barnet. nd. They noted 'The recommendations as given in paragraph 7(a) have been approved and recommended by the land Commission. We are grateful that such recommendations have been made but now greatly regret that the following recommendations were not placed before them.'

by Peterson (2004, 38), was facilitated by Revd Barlow⁹⁴ to study the report and prepare their memorandum,⁹⁵ in which they urged that Mt Kenya be preserved as a place of worship (religion) because the Kikuyu believed that “Ngai” (God) dwells there.⁹⁶ The PKP however differed with the Commission’s reluctance to address individual and family (*Mbari*) claims, claiming that the people had suffered loss through being ‘deprived of their land’, ‘Their flocks and herds’ dying off, and the expenses they had incurred preparing to present to the Commission believing that their ‘issues would be properly investigated.’

They criticised the Commission for poor investigation into the question of native lands in the highlands and the distress they caused the people when they told them in public meetings or ‘barazas’ (Haugerud 1993, 4-10), that they were not to expect the land that was in the possession of Europeans to be returned to them. They contradicted a certain Brother Benedetto’s evidence in which he had said ‘in 1903 there were no Kikuyu at “Mathari” (Carter, 1933, p31, s.81), when they pointed out for example that the Nyeri station at Thathwa, Kiganjo station, had been built on land owned by Kikuyu *Mbari* of Wang’ombe, the father of Chief Nderi, who gave it to government in 1902. His son Nderi however, lived at Kamaha (on Capt’ O’Hagan’s land) for 9 years;

and yet he is stated to have had no land (“ng’undu”) there. If more evidence had been asked for it could have been produced, and if the Commission had been in earnest in trying to find out the

94 NCK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Carter Land Commission Report: comments by the committee of the Progressive Kikuyu Party, South Nyeri, for the Race Relations Committee 18.6.34

95 NCK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Barlow A R to E E Biss, letter forwarding the document, ‘Comments by Committee of the Progressive Kikuyu Party, South Nyeri, for the Race Relations Committee 18.6.1934.

In it, they said among other things that they hoped that the proposed Land Board would be local, made up of a majority of men that could read and acquainted with the law of the government, at least three of whom would be African members one from Nyanza, one from Central Province and one from Coast and three Europeans chosen by Africans.

They also urged that since in the report, ‘...the forest lands which are contiguous to the European areas will be available for cultivation (development) by Europeans when they cease to be forest.’, it also ought to be ‘...that the forest land contiguous to “Native Lands” will be available to the Native when it ceases to be forest.’

96 NCK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Barlow A R to E E Biss, letter forwarding the document, ‘Comments by Committee of the Progressive Kikuyu Party, South Nyeri, for the Race Relations Committee 18.6.1934

truth about this “*mbari*” claim (and others), they could have been taken and shown the old boundary marks.⁹⁷

The PKP therefore wondered ‘Should not these people receive compensation out of the money being given by the Imperial government?’⁹⁸ Though the Carter Commission found it difficult to verify their claims to the evidence cited in Carter (1933, 32 s.83 and s.84) which said a Chief named ‘Nderi was living at Kamaha in 1900,’ it gave them the benefit of doubt for purposes of compensation.⁹⁹

The second strategy was to invite input from associates like Oldham. Though he repeatedly warned Biss, that what he had written could not be quoted as considered opinion, Biss acknowledged his contribution as very helpful. Oldham had suggested that:

the ultimate protection of the natives’ right of land should be entrusted to a Land board in London assisted and advised by a local board ... As I think the Ormsby-Gore Commission pointed out, it is precisely against government and the secretary of state, as past history shows, that the native’s need to be protected. The whole object of our endeavour is to provide the native so far as possible with as secure a title to land as the European. The European land owner has rights for the maintenance of which he can seek the protection of the courts against the Crown. I see no reason therefore why the protection of native rights of land should not be entrusted to an independent board which even the secretary of state cannot overrule.¹⁰⁰

Oldham, having received but not had time to look at recommendations from Lord Lugard, Rev. Leakey and others, drew Biss’ attention to points deserving consideration,¹⁰¹ and advised as follows;

‘I think we must all recognise that the Commission has carried out its task with great thoroughness and that there recommendations secure many of the things that we have long felt to be desirable. It is of the first importance that native Reserves will in the future be native lands and not Crown lands. It also gives additional security that the Boundaries of the Reserves will be fixed by order-in-Council ... a great improvement on the existing Lands Trust Ordinance that the functions of the Land Board will be primarily protective and that the task of developing the reserved will be left to the administration, to which it properly belongs. It always seemed to me a great mistake to saddle the land board with administrative functions.’¹⁰²

97 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O’B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer. Page.67, s.209

98 NCK Archives Limuru.1/1/2547 Barlow A R to E E Biss, letter forwarding the document, ‘Comments by Committee of the Progressive Kikuyu Party, South Nyeri, for the Race Relations Committee 18.6.1934

99 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O’B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer.

100NCK Archives Limuru1/1/2547 Oldham to Biss, 19.6.1934

101 NCK Archives Limuru 1/1/2547 Oldham to Biss 19.6.1934

102 NCK Archives Limuru 1/1/2547 Oldham to Biss, 19.6.1934

Their third strategy was to write to invite various stakeholders to share their views, including Catholics, District Commissioners, member missions of NCCK, and international friends like Oldham among others. Most of those he wrote to, decried the short notice, but responded with their views. This enabled them to gather some views from Africans and missionaries living in some of the Reserves. Mr Biss wrote to Mr Dougall thus;

The only Catholic reply that I have been able to get is from Acting Vicar Apostolic of Kisumu, and he quite reasonably thinks the time too short to get dependable answers from his particular population. He has set the ball rolling in his two branched native Catholic Union, so that we may hear hereafter. Some interesting stuff has come in today from Dalziel and Barnett as well as Beecher. There is a good deal of Kikuyu stuff and, of course, Owen has a good deal on Kavirondo Country.¹⁰³

With the process above, the RRC prepared their memorandum to the Commission and advocated that Africans be educated on the contents of the Report before the colonial government publishes any Bills in the LegCo.¹⁰⁴ Thus the RRC facilitated interaction between Europeans and Africans on the question of land. Thus the missions were concerned that Africans be engaged in tabling their land grievances before a Commission for discussion and to have them addressed as a way of upholding their rights.

Fourthly, while the Carter Commission offered hope for Africans, nothing much changed until the Second World War, after which the missions reorganized themselves into the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK), and set up the Citizenship committee of the Council to address African realities, including land rights. In this regard, the Citizenship committee guided by Lambert's paper discussed the differences between African communal and European materialistic approaches to land ownership and use.¹⁰⁵ Lambert argued that, if the land problem was not addressed, there would be no socio-economic wellbeing. Land

103NCCK ArchivesLimuru1/1/2547 Biss to Dougall, 21.6.1934,

104NCCK Archives Lim/1/1/2547.Biss, Evan. E. 4.6.1934. The Race Relations Committee and the Carter Land Commission Report. Written for publication as an Article to the Editor, East African Standard.

105 NCCK Archives Lim 1/1/429. Lambert, H E. Africa Land Tenure, paper on presented to the Citizenship committee. 28.4.1944.

had become a problem to Africans after the Europeans interfered with their approach to its use. In the words of Lambert, ‘ it is he (the African) who will have to solve it, which means re-solve it in the new conditions, and all we (Missionaries) can do is try-with his help –to help him resolve it.’¹⁰⁶ Further, Hopecraft¹⁰⁷ called for concerted efforts to retain forests, water sources and soil fertility. As it turned out, the peasant class, was so aggrieved that they mounted the revolt that became known as the Mau Mau.

6.6 Conclusion

The findings of this chapter have shown that the Colonial State, rather than enhance the citizenship of the majority Africans when it was set up, worked with the settlers to retain them as fourth rate subjects, as compared to Europeans, Indians and Arabs. The state’s demarcation of Africans’ lands to create the White Highlands based on the unjust 1902 to the 1915 Crown Lands Ordinance, violated Africans property rights, in favour of the minority races and consigned them to fourth class subjects or citizens.

This Chapter has used the case study of Property, to show that though the Colonial state was determined, it was unable to proceed with its attempt to make Kenya a white mans’ country, because of the intervention of the missions in Britain and in Kenya (Section 6.3). In terms of Influence therefore, the missions operating as a joint ecumenical institutions related with state institutions directly to facilitate the publication of the Devonshire White Paper, the participation of Africans in the important processes of the Ormsby-Gore, the Hilton Young, and the Carter Land Commission. Their intervention, despite the weaknesses they may have exhibited, had the effect of forestalling a South Africa or Rhodesia type apartheid self-government that Kenya’s Europeans were seeking. Protestant missions’ interventions were in line with the Colonial States mandate of trusteeship.

106 NCK Archives Lim 1/1/429. Lambert, H E. Africa Land Tenure, paper on presented to the Citizenship committee. 28.4.1944. Page 2

107 NCK Archives Lim 1/1/429. Hopecraft, J N. Post War Employment, paper presented to the Citizenship committee. 2.3.1944

Chapter Seven

Protestants and Race relations

7.1 Introduction

The last three chapters looked at citizenship from political and economic rights angles. In both cases Protestant missions jointly engaged the state directly seeking acceptable compromises on laws and policies concerning the rights of Africans. This chapter presents findings of joint missions' efforts towards improving race relations. While some scholars share the view that all Europeans upheld a differentiation policy towards Africans (Mamdani, 1993, 10-15; Lonsdale 1969, 142-143; Sorrenson, 1968, 170-200), primary sources show that Oldham and the missions had advised towards a multi-racial state solution from the early 1920s. By 1938, they facilitated the first ever multi-racial deputation to Governor Brooke-Popham.¹ Governor Joseph Mitchell's post Second World War (WWII) race relations initiative and Derek Erskine's 1950² Kenya Citizens' Association, both followed pre-war mission efforts.

This chapter explores the missions' engagement of the very sensitive relationships between European settlers and the African majority in the context of the difficult questions of paramountcy, labour, taxation and land politics in colonial Kenya. It argues that Protestant missions acting jointly, though a decade after Oldham had advised,³ made efforts to address race relations as a way of facilitating Africans' participation as equal subjects in a multi-racial colony. It makes this argument by examining missionary efforts towards race relations in the period 1930 to 1950 as seen in their engagement of the 1933 Carter Land

1 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093. Minutes of the Christian Council on Race Relations 12.1.1938; 23.3.1938; 21.4.1938 and 18.5.1938

2 Lim 1/1/2152. Kenya Citizens' Association: An analysis of its purpose by Derek Erskine, President. 20.8.1952

3 RHO. MSS LUGARD Box 74, File 1: Oldham to Lugard 18.6.23, Oldham to Lugard and others Indian crisis, 1921 -24 (11) correspondences

Commission process,⁴ their efforts towards setting up suitable structures (conferences and organizations) and getting key representatives of the different races engaged in discussions and any outcomes and challenges they encountered both in Nairobi and in London, to draw conclusions.

7.2 Protestant missions and the race relations dynamic

In addition to Lonsdale's (1969, 141-151) recognition of Africans, Europeans and Indians as the three races that were in conflict over land and labour issues, there were also Arabs and issues of paramountcy and political representation. Thus the missions' post-First World War (WWI) campaigns against unjust labour laws (Section 5.3) and against European's versus Indian's attempts to gain paramountcy over Kenya (Section 4.4), led to their role as Africans' representatives on the Legislative Council (LegCo) in 1924. They however ended the decade with a major schism, resulting from their campaign against female circumcision. In the intense discussions and communications that Oldham had held with Lugard,⁵ Arthur⁶ and Smith Masterton (Kamoche (1981, 50) over the issues that were central to the Devonshire White Paper,⁷ he wrote thus;

The point of view from which I approach the question is that the crucial issue is whether the principle of trusteeship is to be recognized and applied in our East African territories, or whether we are to allow the control of these territories to pass into a small oligarchy of Europeans. As you say in your memorandum, the former policy is the only one consonant with the best British tradition.⁸

Oldham's advice however eluded the missions, not to mention the state and the settlers in particular. Recognizing the possibility that Europeans might take advantage of ongoing

4 KNA MAI/16/19. Memorandum presented by the Kikuyu Association, Kenya Colony to the Members of the East Africa Commission, 11.1924

5 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1 Oldham to Lugard on his proposal for European self-government.29.5.23

6 Emp. S22 G135. Indians in East Africa. Harris to Dr Norman Leys 21.6.1923

Harris of the AAPS complained that the people at Edinburgh House (Oldham and others) had met and were in support of Dr Arthur

7 RHO. MSS. Afr. S. 22. Box 3 Oldham to Lugard 18.6.1923

8 MSS Afr. S. 1829 Box 3 File 1 Oldham to Lugard on his proposal for European self-government.29.5.23

Colonial Office commissions, to pass laws and policies that undermined the rights of Africans, the Kenya Missionary Council (KMC) sought to ‘safeguard Africans interests.’⁹

The Committee that the KMC set up in 1932¹⁰ to look into native’s interests and safeguard their rights in the process of the Morris Carter Land Commission,¹¹ (Section 6.5) interpreted its mandate¹² in its first meeting on 17.8.1933, and its members agreed to call themselves the Race Relations Committee (RRC).¹³ This was possibly because its first convenor, Dr Arthur, was seeking to repair the racial fallout that arose from the divisive campaign he led against female circumcision and was also pursuing the establishment of the multi-racial state that Oldham advocated for.¹⁴ Those appointed to the committee included Rev. W A Pitt-Pitts and Rev. Dr J W Arthur from the Highlands, Mr F. N. Hoyt and Ven. Archdeacon Owen representing the Kavirondo and Rev. A G V Cozens and J W C Dougall from Coast. Of these, Dr Arthur had led various initiatives and served on the LegCo in the 1920s, while Archdeacon Owen was one known for his enthusiasm and courage in defending Africans’ interests.¹⁵

The committee was asked to, in the first place consider what constructive policy could be put forward for the development of the mining areas, having regard to the safeguarding of African interests and for advocacy with regard to ordinances on water; native tribunals;

9 NCKK Archives. Lim/1/1/1643. Minutes of the general meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council 21-23.2.1933

10 Carter, Morris. R W Hemsted and F O’B Wilson. 1933, Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer. pp1; Dow, 1955, 20-21

11 NCKK Archives. Lim/1/1/1643. Minutes of the general meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council 21-23.2.1933

12 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minute 1 on Appointment of Committee. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933

13 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643. Minute 2 on Reasons for Committee’s formation. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933

14 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 Laws affecting Natives interests. MGM-KMC, Peel Memorial hall, Nairobi. 15-16.8.1933

15 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minute 1 on Appointment of Committee. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933; KNA, PC/NYZ/3/13/28, Owen, 1929.)

mining areas and electoral divisions.¹⁶ Among the tasks that it accomplished were leading the KMC's engagement of the Carter Land Commission process (Section 6.5) and the setting up of the Christian Council on Race Relations (CCRR).

7.3 The emergence of race relations terminology

'Race relations' terminology, which includes 'race problems' and 'colour bar', arose in 1909 when Tengo J Jabavu, who became the President of South African Races Conference, and organized the Cape Native Convention.¹⁷ The convention criticised 'the introduction of the colour bar provisions in the draft South African Act' terming it 'unjust and unprecedented in the annals of the British Empire' and dispatched a deputation to England. In Britain, the first Inter-racial congress was held at the University of London from 26-29.7.1911 (Chamberlain, 1912, 494). In 1912, Jabavu again organized 'The South African Races Congress' and in his inaugural address, used the phrase 'colour bar' (Jabavu, 1912). Later in 1920, Jabavu highlighted the dynamics of white and black multi-race societies in his book, *The Black Problem*. His discussion of the race problem came before Oldham's engagement of the subject in his book, *Christianity and the race problem* in 1924. Jabavu (1924, 249-250), also noted the awakening of race consciousness among Africans and coloured peoples and was recognized to be one of the 'beacons by which the nation can tell the progress it has made on its way to full citizenship' (Ngubane 2013).

Race relations discussions took on an interesting twist when in 1926, a group of intellectuals in Britain, renamed themselves the Eugenics Society, seeking to establish scientific similarities and differences between races, especially focusing on intellect. In 1933, the time the RRC began to lead the KMC's focus on race relations, European medical professionals and psychologists in Kenya also founded the Kenyan Chapter of the

16 NCK Hq. Minute 20 on Laws Affecting African Interests In minutes of the General meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held at Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi 15-16.8.1933

17J.T. Jabavu, editor of the Black Newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu. 1909. He organized a Cape Native Convention. <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/african-national-congress-timeline-1866-1909>

Eugenics Society and the Kenya Society for the study of Race improvement (KSSRI). These followed lectures by Dr Gordon, and a proposal by Mrs Shaw, wife of the Resident Judge of Mombasa.¹⁸ The chairman of the society was R F Mayer, an influential figure in the settler community that was also the founder of the East African Standard Newspaper. Hugh La Fontaine, who was at the time the Acting Chief Native Commissioner, was involved in this group, but reputed to have been outspoken in his dislike of racial discrimination and one of the founder members of the United Kenya Club (Chloe, 2007, 114-115, 118-119).

7.4 Protestant missions and the Race Relations Committee

The RRC¹⁹ chose to approach its task²⁰ of safeguarding Africans' interests through efforts to improve race relations towards a multi-racial state.²¹ The KMC had been working directly with the state, but now the RRC sought to indirectly work through the people. Dr Arthur, having worked with J H Oldham in London during the Devonshire White Paper negotiations, shared his arguments for the co-existence of the races in a multi-racial Kenya on the basis of British Trusteeship. In this regard, they first reached out to some African political Associations, namely, the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA), the Kikuyu Loyal Patriots (KLP), the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and Kikuyu Progressive Party (KPP) and any other important civil society groups.²² These reflected the differences that existed among Africans themselves with concerns about land, labour, discrimination and representation. Peterson (2004) showed that while the Kikuyu

18 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 letter from Bishop of Uganda to Biss. 1.10.1935

19 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on Laws Affecting African Interests In minutes of the General meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held at Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi. 15-16.8.1933

20 NCKK Hq. Minute 20 on Laws Affecting African Interests In minutes of the General meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council held at Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi 15-16.8.1933

21 RHO. MSS LUGARD Box 74, File 1: Oldham to Lugard 18.6.23, Oldham to Lugard and others Indian crisis, 1921 -24 (11) correspondences

22 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minute 3d on Relationship with other bodies: Africans. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933; NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss, 1935a

Association had been initiated by the missions and viewed to be a colonial state and missions' outfit, the KCA was a group whose nationalistic activism arose out of their anger over the banishment of Harry Thuku and over the anti-female circumcision controversy. Thus missions' efforts towards race relations had to overcome, not just their own weaknesses, or colonial state injustices, or settlers' racist malpractices, but the intra-African tensions as well.

Despite these, the RRC initiated consultations with Africans²³ including the representatives of the political associations above and worked with them to facilitate their contribution to the Native Betterment Fund's committee and the Carter Land Commission.²⁴ Among the outcomes were the reversal of the unjust practice of burning Africans' huts in connection with the collection of hut taxes and the appointment of a second representative of Africans to the LegCo in 1934.²⁵

Secondly, after facilitating Africans in the Native Betterment Fund and Carter Land Commission processes, the RRC worked to find the best way of fostering better race relations. These were between Africans and all parties interested in their welfare including government,²⁶ European settlers and also between Africans and their European representatives.²⁷ To their advantage, they as KMC and RRC had intervened variously for Africans over land issues through advocacy, awareness creation and had facilitated them to

23 NCKC Hq. Minute on Race Relations committee. In minutes of the Standing committee of the Kenya Missionary Council Annual General meeting, held Nairobi 23.4.1934; and

NCKC Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Arthur to Biss on Race Relations Committee 8.5.1934

24 NCKC Hq. Minute 20 on Laws affecting African interests. In minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council Annual General meeting, held Nairobi 15-16.8.1933

25 NCKC Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1643 Memorandum presented to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation from the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council, consisting of John W Arthur, W J Wright, W Arthur Pitt-Pitts and Evan E Biss. 1934

26 NCKC Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1643 Memorandum presented to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation from the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council consisting of John W Arthur, W J Wright, W Arthur Pitt-Pitts and Evan E Biss. 1934

27 NCKC Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093. Minutes of the Christian Council on Race Relations 23.3.1938; 21.4.1938 and 18.5.1938

prepare and present their memoranda²⁸ to the various commissions themselves (Chapter Six). Initially therefore, they found that Africans were keen to engage in race relations efforts, seeking to have their land and other grievances addressed. In 1934 for example, the African associations that had met the RRC requested to be furnished with certain documents.

It was agreed to ask the Secretary of the R.R.C. to say that they would receive a copy of the Memo to the Sec. of State; that the Memo to the Land Commission would certainly be published in the Carter Report, and, as it was long, re-typing would not be justified; and that they be informed that no Memo had been presented to Lord Moyne.²⁹

Europeans were however not uniform in their perspectives on Africans. The RRC's deputation to the Rt. Hon. Secretary of State at the time stated that 'We have been guided by the undoubted fact that the responsibility of all British people (and not merely the government) for the Trusteeship of the native is more and more recognized and accepted in Kenya.'³⁰

On their side were the more positive European settlers that were keen on better race relations. Orchardson for example, a settler farmer, wrote that the RRC should encourage parents and teachers to teach European children to have a better attitude towards Africans.³¹ The more negative European settlers however, were opposed to any thought of equality with Indians, let alone Africans,³² and were not ready to meet with them. They did not think that much could come out of meetings with Africans. James Clegg for example,

28 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2547 Ref. No. 138/2. Comments by Committee of Progressive Kikuyu Party, South Nyeri 18.6.34

29 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643. Letter from John Arthur to Mr Biss, Hon. Sec. Race Relations Committee, Nairobi. 8.5.1934

30 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1643 Memorandum presented to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation from the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council. Consisting of John W Arthur, W J Wright, W Arthur Pitt-Pitts and Evan E Biss. 1934

31 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1643 Orchardson, J W to E E Biss 12.12.1934

32 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 General Comment in the Report to the Kenya Missionary Council by Mr E E Biss, Hon. Sec. Of the Race Relations Committee 20.2.1935.

The activities of the RRC upto date have clearly revealed two things; first, the enormous body of work that needs to be done in clearing up misunderstandings and suspicions in the minds of both Europeans and Africans in respect of each other, and in inducing a better attitude to the other on the part of each race;

even after writing a five page letter to Mr Biss in 1935, in which he expressed surprise at the keenness of Africans to learn, warned that engaging them could translate into a chaotic situation, because to him, they remained savages, even if educated.³³ He echoed the attitudes of Sir Charles Eliot,³⁴ the second Commissioner of the colony (Bennet 1963, 10) and the brutal Grogan, who both from the beginning of the colonial state viewed Africans as an inferior race (Oliver and Fred, 1968, 7-9). Grogan was quoted in '*An Englishman's view of Africans*' thus;³⁵

I will ignore Biblical sayings about the equality of men regardless, and say what is clear to all who have observed the African native-that he is fundamentally inferior in mental development and ethical possibilities (call it soul if you will) to the white man. He approaches everything from an entirely different stand point to what we do. What that stand point is I cannot pretend to explain. I have failed to find anyone who could. But the fact remains that if a native is told to do anything, and it is within the bounds of devilish ingenuity to do it wrong, he will do it wrong. If he cannot do it wrong, he cannot do it right. I can only suggest as an explanation that he is left minded as he is generally left handed.

Thirdly, the RRC invited Mr Evan Biss, whom Dr Arthur described as an excellent worker, to be their secretary and coordinator.³⁶ Dr Arthur had met him on the Committee on Grants-in-Aid for schools, soon after he was recruited by the state in 1924. He was 'fresh from his important work as a government educationist first in South Africa and latterly in India,' recruited to serve as Chief Inspector of Schools in Kenya. Being a member of the CSM, he had the experience to lead the government's intervention in occasional cases where missions came into conflict with Local Native Councils over schools³⁷. Mr Orr, the Director of Education, welcomed the coming of Biss, saying he was 'a strength for education in East Africa' because he had 'sympathy with India and understood the strength and the weakness of the missionary educational system'. He, as a government servant,

33 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/1643 James Clegg to E E Biss, as Hon. Secretary for the Committee of the Progressive movement. 22.1.35

34 Attitude initially expressed by commissioners and governors like Eliot who was 'contemptuous of local Africans', because they 'shocked him by their barbarity and their nudity... had no qualms about introducing European settlers,34 or settlers like Grogan

35 Grogan Known as "Kenya's Churchill" and nicknamed "Bwana Chui", the leopard by the Kikuyu, Grogan distinguished himself in both world wars, fighting behind enemy lines in German East Africa, winning the DSO and was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel.http://www.karenblixencoffeeegarden.com/Grogan_mcmillan_manor_house.html

36 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minute 4 on Membership. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933

37 Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, Kenya Colony, 8th September 1925, History of Grants-in-Aid Committee

ensured that schools were set up at all levels without competing with the missions, thus fostering cooperation.³⁸ Rev. Capon, considered the RRC fortunate to have Mr Biss as its first secretary, viewing him as ‘a man of vision and ability who had leisure enough to do the work with thoroughness, after his retirement from the position of chief inspector of schools’.³⁹ Dr Arthur acted as both convenor and secretary of the RRC, until Mr Biss reported to the work.

Mr Biss took over the work of the RRC, servicing all committee meetings and maintaining the necessary communications. His main complaints, coming from a government job, was lack of funds and facilities. He for example wrote that ‘My little typewriter cannot make more than nine or ten copies of papers, and I have no means of duplication, as that widespread use of our paper is not at present possible.’⁴⁰ He however still worked and furnished the KMC with progress reports.⁴¹ In 1934 alone, Biss reported that he coordinated twenty RRC meetings.

With regard to race relations, the RRC met African and European leaders in an effort to bring them together. They first met ten African leaders⁴² including Chief Koinange, a leading Kikuyu chief,⁴³ Peter Wanyama, a Tachoni man that was also a leader of the

38 Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, Kenya Colony. History of Grants-in-Aid Committee. 8.9.1925

39 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council. 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya. nd

40 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Biss complaint letter W Grieve, Honorary Secretary to the Kenya Missionary Country. 18.12.1935

41 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minute 6 on Membership. In minutes of the Committee of the KMC on Race Relations held in Nairobi 17.8.1933

Race Relations Committee. The Dean of Nairobi, Mr. Wright and Rev. J. F. G. Orr of St. Andrews’ members of the committee, were present by invitation. Dr. Arthur, Chairman of the Race Relations Committee, gave a report of the Committee’s work since its formation in August 1933. This was adopted, with a request that the Hon. Secretary of the Race Relations Committee, Mr. Biss, prepare a short report of the activities of the Race Relations Committee for the purpose of record.

42 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2547 Ref. No. 184. Biss to Oldham, 28.6.1934

43 NCKK Limuru. Lim 1/1/2547 Ref. No.192. Notes of an informal conference of the Race Relations Committee with Certain European Friends with Representative Africans invited to discuss the recommendations of the carter land commission 27.6.1934

Friends Church⁴⁴ representing North Kitosi, Benjamin Shitzungane, an Isukha man who served as an interpreter, John Paul Oti who represented Nairobi, Allan Weru and Stanley Kiama Gathigira, both Kikuyu leaders of the Kikuyu Progressive Party, Jeremiah Hokaka, a Luo leader representing Kavirondo Tax payers Welfare Association, Jesse Kariuki and Josphat Kamau from the Kikuyu Central Association, with the latter as secretary⁴⁵ and Phillip Karanja James, a Kikuyu leader from the Kikuyu Loyal Patriots.⁴⁶ They also reached out to other European groups like the Nairobi Association, the Chamber of Commerce, Roman Catholics, Protestant missionaries of all denominations and individual influential Europeans, whom they had reached when they were collecting views for the Carter Land Commission⁴⁷ (Section 6.5). The RRC maintained useful contact with these, save for the Chamber of Commerce that did not wish to get involved in politics and the Roman Catholics (Lonsdale 1990, 370), who were hesitant because their workers were of foreign citizenship.⁴⁸

The RRC also reached out to Africans' missionary representatives in the LegCo, Rev Leakey and Cannon Burns and the Elected Members Organization leaders, Lord Francis Scott and Major F W Cavendish-Bentnick, to advocate for more time for the Carter report to be understood by Africans before it could be turned into Bills and Acts of Parliament.⁴⁹ The differentiation between the races was seen in the fact that Biss' wrote to seek their permission as leaders of the Elected Members Organization to be allowed to invite;

a few very carefully selected African representatives ...to sit in with us. Such a gesture would go a long way to meet a strong body of opinion that considers that we should work with, and not

44 Confirmed by Mr Hezron Wekesa, Presiding Clerk of the Sipala Monthly Meeting of North Yearly Meeting of Friends in Kenya, in response to my enquiry on 10.8.2013

45 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182 Ref. No. 53. Letter from Koinange Mbiyu and J Kamau to Biss, E titled Kikuyu objections in the K L C's Report. 13.10.1934

46 NCKK Limuru. Lim 1/1/2547 Ref. No. 195. Biss to Dougall 21.6.1934

47 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya nd

48 NCKK Archives Lim/1/1/2093. Letter from the Bishop of Uganda to Mr Biss. 1.10. 1935

49NCKK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Evan Biss letter to the leaders of the Elected Members Organization Lord Francis Scott and Major F Cavendish-Bentnick on 'White-Black' cooperation and the Carter Commission Report. 7.6.1934;

merely for, Africans. I know there are dangers in the proposal but do feel that the presence of natives at the meeting might disarm a good deal of criticism at home.⁵⁰

To this, Major Cavendish-Bentnick responded in strong language saying, ‘neither Lord Francis Scott nor myself, nor any other Elected Member, are prepared to attend any meeting to which African representatives have been invited.’⁵¹ Despite these, the RRC tried to maintain useful relationships in and outside the colony. It was in the course of their initial contacts with the African parties cited above, that the RRC sensed that the KMC membership had not had an opportunity to discuss their views on race relations, and initiated plans for the Christian Conference on race relations. In addition, the RRC maintained links with individuals like Captain C. Anderson of the East African Standard, J H Oldham of the IMC,⁵² and the South African Institute of Race Relations (SARR), which the committee allowed Biss to join as a member.

They, however, like the Kenya Missionary Council ‘realizing the desirability of securing unanimity in Kenya, rather than of raising discussions overseas regarding matters concerning native affairs’,⁵³ wrote a memorandum to the governor Sir Joseph Byrne, advising him to set up an all-race Advisory Council to the government. The governor was sympathetic to their race relations efforts but declined.⁵⁴ When the RRC finally began to bring Africans and Europeans together, Europeans claimed that the committee was pro-African after attending just a few joint meetings.⁵⁵ On 18.12.1935, Biss wrote;

50NCKK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Evan Biss letter to the leaders of the Elected Members Organization Lord Francis Scott and Major F Cavendish-Bentnick on ‘White-Black’ cooperation and the Carter Commission Report. 7.6.1934;

51NCKK Archives Limuru. 1/1/2547 Major F Cavendish-Bentnick letter to Evan Biss on possible meeting with Africans representatives. 7.6.1934;

52 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1643 Memo to Rt. Hon. Secretary of State,

53 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182 Ref. No. 136-140. Biss, E E. Draft Communication from the Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council to the East Africa Standard. 1935

54 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Memorandum on the Christian Council on race relations for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor of Kenya. Nd

55NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya Nd. Chp 13

We have had a number of meetings between Europeans and Africans (*cited above*) who are interested for preliminary discussions, and memoranda have been kept off our doings. Until we find some source of adequate and regular funds work must be hampered⁵⁶

7.5 Protestant Missions' Conference on Race Relations

In an attempt to develop a common approach to race relations, the RRC members and the chaplains that ministered among Europeans,⁵⁷ held a joint meeting at Kyambu (sic) on 29.11.1934, and proposed that a Christian conference on race relations be held.⁵⁸ To implement this, they set up a Continuation Committee to which they invited Mr Isucharan, an Indian Christian worker to represent Indians.⁵⁹ Their advocacy for Christian co-operation on matters of race relations and their need to mobilize for 'the witness of the church in public questions,'⁶⁰ still lacked because they weren't yet ready to have African representatives in their committees. Their very divergent opinions required that they have a forum that would create a common understanding of their impending race relations work. They thus held their first Christian conference on race relations from 17th -21st July 1935.⁶¹

The Bishop of Mombasa and Dr Arthur wrote in their report;

Early on Wednesday, 17th July, 1935, there assembled in St Andrews Church Nairobi, what was in some respects surely one of the strangest and most auspicious congregations since the day of Pentecost. American and several European nations mingled their numbers with those of India and most of African tribes in Kenya, while there was a noticeable sprinkling of friends from neighbouring territories.⁶²

The great task ahead was evidenced by the fact that all its main speakers including Rt. Rev Cyril Stewart, Bishop of Uganda, the Rev. J.W.C. Dougall, Mr E. E. Biss, and Rev. R. G.

56 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643. E E Biss letter to W Grieve, Hon Secretary of the Kenya Missionary Council and Principal Alliance High School. 18.12.1935

57 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182 Ref. No. 52. Biss E E to Bishop of Mombasa. 24.10.1934

58 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Mombasa R S and John W Arthur. Conference on Christian Cooperation: Report 17-18.7.1935

59 NCK Hq. Minute on Race Relations committee. In minutes of the Standing committee of the Kenya Missionary Council Annual General meeting, held Nairobi 23.4.1934; and

NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Arthur to Biss on Race Relations Committee 8.5.1934

60 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2182 Ref. No. 121. James Dougall's letter to the Secretary of the RRC E E Biss. 14.12.1934

61 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Mombasa R S and John W Arthur. Report of the Conference on Christian Cooperation, Nairobi, Kenya: 17-18.7.1935

62 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Mombasa, R. S. and Arthur, John W Report of the Conference on Christian Cooperation, Nairobi, Kenya: 17-18.7.1935, page 1-2

M. Calderwood, were European. The conference participants made four main resolutions.⁶³ Firstly, they congratulated the KMC for setting up the RRC and resolved to replace it with the Christian Council on Race Relations (CCRR) with representation from all races and individuals from various sections of the community that are committed to harmonious co-existence. Secondly, they resolved to mobilize all Christian bodies to be engaged in evangelism. Thirdly, they emphasized the essential unity of the church in its membership and its work among all races. Fourthly, they set up a Continuation Committee that was to organize another conference in not less a year's time.⁶⁴ These efforts led to the formation of the Christian Council on Race Relations.⁶⁵

7.6 The Christian Council on Race Relations (CCRR) and citizenship

After the conference on race relations above,⁶⁶ the RRC began the process of forming the Christian Council on Race Relations (CCRR). The heaviness of the task of race relations required the participation of all races, including Africans. It was to broaden its membership to include more laymen⁶⁷ and representatives of all race groups, and to be the main vehicle by which difficult and sensitive inter-race issues would be addressed. The RRC members held a number of informal preliminary meetings between interested Europeans and Africans.⁶⁸ Individuals like 'Mr H F Bargman, also known as "*Bwana Chai*" (Mr Tea), of the East Africa Coffee Curing Company, Nairobi, who lived at Chiromo just across the

63 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Mombasa R S and John W Arthur. Conference on Christian Cooperation: Report 17-18.7.1933 page 8-9

64 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Mombasa R S and John W Arthur. Conference on Christian Cooperation: Report 17-18.7.1933, page 8-9

65 NCKK Hq. Minute on Race Relations committee. In minutes of the General Meeting of the Kenya Missionary Council in Kenya Colony held in the Peel Memorial Hall, Nairobi 13.8.1935;

NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss, 1936

66 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Report of the Conference on Christian Cooperation, held in Nairobi Kenya as written by R S Mombasa and John W Arthur 17-18.7.1935

67 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Report of the Conference on Christian Cooperation, held in Nairobi Kenya as written by R S Mombasa and John W Arthur 17-18.7.1935

68 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Grieve to the Honourable Director of Education: Memo of Rev. Canon Wingfield Digby 23.8.1935

68 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim

railway-crossing near the Salisbury Hotel, Nairobi', asked Mr Biss to invite Mr Dougall⁶⁹ to meet some of those interested in discussing the proposed Council and its work.⁷⁰ Initially, the RRC informally declared the CCRR in December 1935⁷¹ and began to enrol interested people. Rev. H F Hodge, the Hon. Secretary of the KMC for 1936 for example, proposed that three Europeans and one African, 'who are not as it were professional Christians', but keen on joining the CCRR be invited.⁷²

Among those proposed were Mr Stockdale of May's Sports House, whom Hodge said 'gives a good deal of his time to refereeing native Football, though at present on leave', Mr Richards, 'who is in charge of the CMS Bookshop', 'Mr Neville, a reporter on staff of the East African Standard' and 'James Gichuru, a master on the staff of this school (*Alliance School*) who is an Old Boy and has been to Makerere.'⁷³ These had already participated in initial exploratory meetings;

held informally in private houses and other places and expenses have been met by private contributions from members of the Council. Subjects such as Poll Tax, Tax rules and the spread of English among Africans, were discussed, as a way of promoting better understanding between the races.⁷⁴

When the CCRR was finally launched in early March 1936,⁷⁵ it had members from the RRC and other invited participants,⁷⁶ but faced administrative challenges. Mr Biss welcomed⁷⁷ the CCRRs first donation of Shillings 240/- from the KMC,⁷⁸ which came at a time they could not even issue formal minutes to members of the CCRR'.⁷⁹ Despite

69 Paton, William and M M Underhill. *The International Review of Missions: A survey of the years 1932 and 1933*, page 70 on East and central Africa.

70 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 letter from Biss to Hodge, 2.10.1935

71 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss on Christian Council on Race Relations, 13.3.1936

72 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss 18.3.1936

73 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss 18.3.1936

74 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss 18.3.1936

75 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to Hodge, 31.3.1936

76 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letters from Hugh Hodge to Evan Biss 13.3.1936 and 18.3.1936 and 27.3.1936

77 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to Hodge, 31.3.1936

78 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss on the CCRR 27.3.1936

79 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to Grieve, the Hon. Secretary of the KMC 18.12.1935

minimum funds, lack of equipment and ⁸⁰a formal constitution (since it was felt that one would evolve later more satisfactorily),⁸¹ Biss made progress by enrolling new members.⁸² At the launch of the CCRR, the missions had varied, if not unrealistic, expectations of its work. The Diocesan Secretary of the Mombasa Synod for example, brought to it the difficult ‘moral issues involved in forced marriages among Africans’.⁸³ Archdeacon Owen brought before it, issues affecting native’s registration even though he did not have documents to verify his claims.⁸⁴

The KMC on its part welcomed the formation of the CCRR and considered it best placed to address the difficult race issues. These included matters of the Natives Betterment Fund, the Native Industrial Training and Employment programme proposed by Rev Canon Wingfield-Digby,⁸⁵ and the very sensitive issue known as the *kipande*, discussed in Chapter Five.⁸⁶ Though the CCRR was confronted with tough issues and beginner’s challenges, it became the first effort towards the integration of Africans in the national political affairs of colonial Kenya.

7.7 The CCRR, its challenges and achievements

The CCRR faced major challenges in the course of its race relations work. The first of these concerned the medium of interracial communication.⁸⁷ While the missions had

80 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to Grieve, the Hon. Secretary of the KMC 18.12.1935

81 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss on Christian Council on Race Relations, 13.3.1936

82 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya written by Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Nd.

83 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to the Hon. Secretary of the KMC 17.6.1936

84 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Biss to Hodge, 12.8.1936

85 Can. Wingfield-Digby’s proposal was forwarded by Grieves, the Honorary Secretary of the KMC and one of the mentors of Eliud Mathu (the first African member on the Legco), to the Honourable Director of Education.)

86 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Grieve to the Honourable Director of Education: Memo of Rev. Canon Wingfield Digby 23.8.1935

86 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim

87 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Hodge to Biss 18.3.1936

previously emphasised vernacular languages in their education efforts, especially in the lower classes of school, the need to foster race relations and the demand from Africans, caused the CCRR to shift their position to teach English in their schools. They considered English a general channel of inter-communication, a means for moral, mental and material progress, and the knowledge and use of English as of first class importance.⁸⁸ This called for intensive training of a larger number of teachers. They therefore set up a sub-committee to reflect on these matters and make contact with the Director of Education.⁸⁹ Africans were receptive because their traditional seers to seek the white man's education (Peterson, 2004).

The second challenge concerned leadership. Biss, having pioneered the work with meagre resources amongst suspicious groups and seen only a bit of desirable progress, stepped down from his role as honorary secretary of the new CCRR at the end of 1936 and went to Britain for a full year.⁹⁰ He handed over to Mr A S Brown, who stepped in with confidence and in 1937 facilitated the CCRR to hold six full meetings.⁹¹ The participation did not improve much in 1937 under the leadership of Brown either.

The third challenge was one of disparities in taxation. Mr Biss included in his notice of the January meeting of CCRR to members, copies of two letters, one by the Chief Secretary to the governments of Uganda⁹² and Tanganyika⁹³, stating that the minimum age at which a person was liable to pay tax was 18 years, but that the collector had the discretion to

88 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Report of the Sub-committee of the Christian Council of Race Relations on the accelerated Spread of the Teaching of English 16.6.1936

89 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Report of the Sub-committee of the Christian Council of Race Relations on the accelerated Spread of the Teaching of English 16.6.1936

90 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913-1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya written by Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Nd.

91 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Undated Brief Report forwarded by a letter from Brown to the Acting Hon. Secretary of the Kenya Missionary Council 13.2.1938

92 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Copy of letter from Chief Secretary to the Government of Uganda 30.12.1935

93 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Copy of letter from Chief Secretary to the Government of Tanganyika 2.1.1936

determine the age of the person with regard to Africans.⁹⁴ Upon discussion, the CCRR prepared a memorandum in which they advocated against the practice that ‘The minimum age for taxation for Europeans and Indians in Kenya is eighteen years; that of Africans is sixteen. This caused a sense of injustice among Africans, and it is in fact, unjust.’ They contradicted Lord Moynes report,⁹⁵ which stated the prevailing notion that Africans remained child types for longer than Europeans, by going ahead to tax them as people who mature faster. In the view of the CCRR, ‘It is doubtful whether this is the case with all non-natives (e.g. Indians), and even if it is, ‘the argument does not seem to be of great value or weight.’⁹⁶

Considering the system to be open to abuse, the CCRR advised the colonial state that ‘a system of birth registration for future uses ... be instituted wherever possible and encouraged, possibly through or Local Native Council.’⁹⁷ The Council therefore stated that the time had come to improve race relations by revising ‘the system of African taxation so as to get rid of the hut tax which is in reality a woman or wife tax, and is in fact collected as such’.⁹⁸

The Fourth challenge concerned European leaders’ approach to Africans’ engagement in the CCRR. With little change in membership in 1937, the CCRR invited Mr Biss after his return to Kenya in 1938, to educate them on how race relations’ work began and to encourage them to the work.⁹⁹ At his handing over, Biss had urged that the CCRR

94 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Notice of CCRR meeting by Biss to members 11.1.1936

95 Lord Moynes Report, 1.5.1932, page 7, paragraph 13

96 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Draft Memorandum of the CCRR 11.1.1936

97 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Draft Memorandum of the CCRR 11.1.1936

98 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Draft Memorandum of the CCRR 11.1.1936

99 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Minutes of The Christian Council on Race Relation. 12.1.1938

maintains communication with and receives publications¹⁰⁰ from the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), whose membership he had joined in in 1934 on the instruction of the RRC.¹⁰¹ After Biss, C E Mortimer of the Lands Office and member of CMS, H E Bargman, S V Cook of the Mombasa Club, the Principal Alliance High School and L B Greaves of the KMC,¹⁰² all had become members. The documents that came from South Africa were two main types, namely; 'Race Relations: The official journal of the SAIRR' and 'Note from a Neighbour', supplied by the Information Officer for South Africa. While the former, which Biss recommended, discussed issues from a perspective of how to improve race relations, the latter discussed them in a way to justify the racial differentiation that existed.

As an example, an article in the Journal discussed labour in 1935 and acknowledged that there were poor people among Europeans. It called for the expansion of African Reserves to allow for increased land use to sustain increased populations and improve services, thereby creating employment for livelihoods.¹⁰³ The Note however published disturbing articles like this one in 1954 by Geyer, then retiring South African High Commissioner in the United Kingdom;

We in South Africa have watched with admiration the way in which, within a mere half century, your small but virile European community have transformed this country, have built up Kenya from less than nothing. We have watched, too, and are watching with great sympathy the way in which you are facing up to a resurgence of barbaric savagery. One could indeed say that your problems of today have sprung in part from the good that you have done. One could say that in bringing great blessings to Kenya, you have upset the balance of nature- nature nowhere more cruel and harsh than in pre-colonial Africa.¹⁰⁴

100 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letters from the South African Institute of Race Relations to L Bruce greaves, then Hon. Secretary of the KMC 26.9.1940; to hon. Treasurer 3.3.1942; to F Cecil Smith 29.7.1942

101 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Report to the Kenya Missionary Council by Mr E E Biss, Hon. Sec. Of the Race Relations Committee 20.2.1935

102 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter Co-secretary of the KMC to the SAIRR 16.9.1942

103 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2152 Race Relations: Official Journal of the South African Institute of Race Relations. Vol.1.No 6; 10-11.1934

104 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2152 Geyer, A L. The Principles of Apartheid. In Note from a Neighbour', supplied by the Information Officer for South Africa 14.6.1954

Archdeacon Owen on his part had advised that the CCRR prioritizes gaining the trust of Africans. In 1938, the CCRR gained participation from Africans like Mr J Jeremiah, Mr Dedan Ngaruiya, Mr A C Chege, Mr E Mathu, Mr Odera,¹⁰⁵ Mr F Mbaka Kamau, Mr D N Gethigi, Mr L K Hunter, Mr E Mathu and Mr L W Kamau.¹⁰⁶ In the meeting of 14.7.1938 however, there was conflict between African representatives and the Hon. H R Montgomery who represented their interests on the LegCo.¹⁰⁷

The CCRR set up a subcommittee to look into the matters of concern to Africans. When the draft report of the special meeting held on the 14.7.1938 was presented on 20.7.1938, its African members Mr J Jeremiah and Mr F Chege took great exception to a section of it that likened Africans to children and approved it only after the offensive part was deleted.¹⁰⁸ Their offence was however such that even after the resolutions were re-worded, Mr Jeremiah declared that he had consulted with other Africans and had decided they could no longer support the resolutions because;

In his opinion the first section of the resolution, by the absence of mention of Europeans or Indians implied that crime was confined to Africans, and that therefore any action taken on the lines of the resolution must lead to further repression of the African. He was supported in this opinion by Mr Mathu.¹⁰⁹

Thus both Mr Jeremiah and Mr Mathu resigned from the committee,¹¹⁰ despite the pleading of members like Chief Magugu. Their action revealed the increasing boldness of Africans to confront other races and demand their rights and marked a very significant shift in Africans' dealings with Europeans. Archdeacon Owen whom Rev. Capon described as

105 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Minutes of The Christian Council on Race Relation. 12.1.1938

106 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093 Minutes of The Christian Council on Race Relations 23.3.1938

107 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Report of a special meeting of the Christian Council on Race Council held at Bishopsbourne Nairobi 20.7.1938

108 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minutes of the Christian Council on Race Council held at Bishopsbourne Nairobi, and attended by hon. H R Montgomery, representative of Africans' interests on the LegCo. 14.7.1938

109 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minutes of a meeting of the CCRR held at Bishopsbourne, Nairobi 20.7.1938

110 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minutes of a meeting of the CCRR held at Bishopsbourne, Nairobi 20.7.1938

‘a great protagonist for the defence of African interests in Kenya’¹¹¹ in matters commercial, mining or agricultural interests or by government policy’ and one of the key members of the former RRC, blamed the fallout on the CCRR saying it;

quite deliberately gave priority to seeking to establish confidence with the leaders of the Kenya European community, and with the government. Archdeacon Owen thought that the better way would have been to get going with Africans first, to attempt to gain the full confidence of African political leaders, and then with them, to make a united approach to others.¹¹²

Archdeacon Owen’s criticism was aimed at getting the CCRR to work with Africans to address their welfare whether under the Municipal Council or otherwise rather than working against them.¹¹³ His criticism did not take into account the strength of the opposing European groups and their unwillingness to engage with Africans. Biss was therefore being invited to educate the CCRR in a situation of distrust.

The fifth was the success of the CCRR in overcoming the racial fallout. It immediately set up another subcommittee of African members namely ‘Chief Magugu Waweru, Mr Dedan Ngaruiya, Mr L K Hunter and Mr F Kamau to draw up and submit new proposals.’¹¹⁴ It took up the task of drafting a constitution for the CCRR and struggled with it as this quote shows;

It is not easy to draft a Constitution designed to fill our needs, and to give time for reflection by members it is suggested that Council should for a time adjourn its meetings to allow the Sub-Committee of African members appointed on July 20th 1938, to complete its charge, and to enable all members to prepare and submit to the Hon. Secretary their ideas and proposals for the suggested constitution of the Council.¹¹⁵

111 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913 and 1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya written by Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Nd.

112 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2419 Unpublished Manuscript (UM) titled From Kikuyu to the Christian Council between 1913 and 1947: The story of cooperation between missions and churches in Kenya written by Capon, M G Honorary Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, 1943-1946. Nd.

113 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Brown as Hon. Secretary of the CCRR to the KMC 21.2.1939

114 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Minutes of a meeting of the CCRR held at Bishopsbourne, Nairobi 20.7.1938

115 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter from Kamau to all members of the CCRR 27.2.1939

As a result of these renewed efforts, the CCRR was able to send the first ever multi-racial deputation to visit Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, the governor¹¹⁶ during which they formally notified him of their existence.

The sixth was the challenge of the *Kipande*, discussed comprehensively in section 5.5.0. It was a constant reminder of Africans' racial subjugation and a reinforcement of their exclusion from full citizenship. The gravity of the *kipande* issue was such that even the multi-racial CCRR did not find a conclusive solution to it. This, coupled with other issues like the failure of the Natives' Betterment Fund were the reason the Hon. Montgomery was questioned in the CCRR meeting of July 1938. It was clear that Montgomery did not raise issues on behalf of Africans even after Rev C E Mortimer¹¹⁷ who joined the CCRR on the recommendation of the office of the Bishop of Uganda,¹¹⁸ appealed to him to speak out on behalf of Africans to the Municipal Council with regard to unemployment, housing, control of Africans and unjust allocation of resources.¹¹⁹ He declined to address the issues with the explanation that the income from the natives' taxation was irregular.¹²⁰

The seventh was the racial nature of the challenges that faced the Christian Council of Kenya's Citizenship Committee (CCKCC) that was led by Mr Smith and Leonard Beecher (Section 4.5). While it had a mandate to ensure representation from all races, its race relations side of the work became hazardous because of the prejudices of Europeans and Africans. After their work in the rehabilitation of African ex-WWII soldiers, they wound up (Section 4.5).

116 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2093. Minutes of the Christian Council on Race Relations 12.1.1938; 23.3.1938; 21.4.1938 and 18.5.1938

117 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter Co-secretary of the KMC to the SAIRR 16.9.1942

118 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/2/1/2093. Letter from office of the Bishop of Uganda to Mr Biss, recommending names for consideration to the CCRR 1.10.1935

119 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Report of special meeting of the Council Held at Bishopsbourne Nairobi and attended by the Hon. H R Montgomery presented by L A S Brown 14.7.1938

120 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Brown, Report of special meeting of the Council Held at Bishopsbourne Nairobi and attended by the Hon. H R Montgomery 14.7.1938

7.8 Protestant missions, the Colour Bar and Kenya as a multi-racial state

The WWII, like the first one, created a new dynamic for race relations in Kenya colony. It exposed Africans to the reality that European and Indian soldiers were vulnerable human beings and not invincible the way colonialism had presented them (Kaggia, 1975, 66; Hyden, 2006, 15; Strayer, 1978, 120). In a way similar to what it had done after WWI, the metropolitan rewarded returning European ex-soldiers with land and start-up capital,¹²¹ without a similar arrangement for returning African soldiers. Despite this however, their increased awareness caused them to engage better in socio-economic activities and in demanding for increased access to quality education for their children.¹²²

Considering the work of rehabilitating the returning African soldiers to be too great a burden, the colonial state under Governor Mitchell invited the Protestant missions, then organized as the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK), to take up the task of facilitating a smooth re-entry.¹²³ The CCK in turn passed the task to its CCKCC, as the one it had appointed to take care of citizenship issues and to enlighten the public on their responsibility towards returning soldiers.¹²⁴ The missions operating as the KMC, before reorganizing to become the CCK, had tried to repair their fall out with the races and the colonial state in an effort to promote positive race relations.¹²⁵

After the WWII, as they undertook their rehabilitation task however, they were hit by a great new challenge. Their mother mission agencies in Britain along with the Britain Council of Churches, meeting as the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (CMSGBI), on the basis of a book by a former missionary named Cannon

121 NCK Hq. Minute 3. In Minutes of the Citizenship Committee held at the CMS offices, 1943

122 KNA, MSS 3/231, Doc 8, Beecher, Leonard. Hand written notes in File on Beecher Commission.

123 NCK Hq. Minute on Rehabilitation of returning soldiers. In Minutes of Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya, held at St Andrews Hall, Nairobi in Nairobi 4.2.1944

124 NCK Hq. Minute 3. In Minutes of the Citizenship Committee held at the CMS offices, 1943

125 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter to the Editor of the East African Standard on Race Relations nn, nd

Gerald Webb Broomfield, in which he claimed that colonial governments were discriminatory against Africans on the basis of the 'Colour Bar',¹²⁶ released a statement to that effect. In questioning Kenya's colour bar problem, the conference asserted that the word of God demanded that all men be treated equally. They thanked United Nations for recognizing this reality, localising it on Africa and Kenya in particular thus;

The conference ... is deeply thankful for the repeated affirmation of responsible staff of the United Nations that there must be full freedom of opportunity for all peoples of the world without discrimination on racial grounds. It affirms that the prevention of the spread of such discrimination and the speedy elimination of where its exists are obligations, not only of common justice, but also of the Christian faith which holds that mankind is made in the image of God and that all men, whether coloured or white are of equal worth in the sight of God.¹²⁷

Upon hearing the statement, the House of Commons asked the Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs whether he had 'considered the statement on 'the colour bar and racial discrimination'¹²⁸ that had been issued by the CMSGBI and circulated to all Hon. Members, and if he will 'endeavour to secure the observance of the principles therein outlined in Southern Rhodesia and in any other parts of His Majesty's Dominions in which current practice falls short of these principles.'¹²⁹ This statement, on the colour bar came as a great shock to the missions in Kenya. It had potential to create misunderstanding between the missions, the colonial state, Europeans and Indians, and Africans at a time when the missions were trying to overcome their pre-WWII fallout.

The origins of the term 'Colour Bar' that was employed by Gerald Web Broomfield in his book titled *'Colour Conflict': Race relations in Africa* is discussed above (Section 7.3). Racial prejudice in Kenya was magnified by the fact that the colonial state favoured

126 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Colour Bar and race. Article in Ministry of Information Bulletin, number 280, 22.3.1945

127 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 British Missionary Societies and Colour Bar. In Protestant Newsletter London, 19.3.1945

128 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Colour Bar Questions In the Commons on 27.3.1945 by Standard Correspondent, London, Newspaper cutting without date.

129 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Colour Bar Questions In the Commons on 27.3.1945 by Standard Correspondent, London, Newspaper cutting without date.

European ex-soldiers after WWI and WWII, thus undermining the rights of Africans.¹³⁰ For the CCK and its Citizenship Committee that had just taken on the task of rehabilitating returning African soldiers, the CMSGBI's statement and that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rev. Dr Fisher, that likened Kenya to Rhodesia, came as a shock indictment on their work. It generated animated discussions in the Press from March to August 1945, with some in Britain asking for action to be taken against the colonies concerned. In Jabavu's and Broomfield's writings, the term captured situations in which the state related to its people on the basis of their skin colour rather than as human beings created in the image of God.

The discussions that followed in the media were varied. An Indian known as Kiriamahuti wrote to argue that, because he disliked the outcome of inter-racial mingling (of Indians, Europeans and Africans), he feared that the statement that had been issued by the Societies would arouse a lot of bilge among hardworking, Europeans, Indians and Africans.¹³¹ A European settler named Schmidt argued that culture and not colour bar was the problem. To him, 'scientific opinion' questioned the missionaries sincerity as to whether the 'South African Bushmen, Congo Pigmies, and Australian Aborigines or Black fellows' were to be regarded as being equal with Europeans. He felt that the colour bar would only diminish when the different race groups were equally educated. He imagined that a day would come when there was so much intermarriage that the dominant colour of the world would be various browns.¹³² The leaders of the CCK on their part also reacted immediately and sharply. Rev. Capon's response, though he was general secretary of the CCK, created misunderstanding among Africans, because he himself was sympathetic to Europeans. He wrote saying;

130 NCKK Archive Limuru. Lim 1/1/758. Progress report on Demobilization No 2-Colony and Protectorate of Kenya -.1.1945

131 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Kiriamahuti's letter to the Editor on Colour Prejudice. In the East African Standard 29.3.1945

132 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 The Colour Bar Racket by F P G de Schmidt, the Sunday Post 31.3.1945

To speak of the exclusion of Africans in -- Kenya from large areas of their own country" is "an example of discrimination—bound to be attributed to race prejudice" would be interpreted by the ordinary reader as a definite condemnation of the methods and motives of white settlement. And such a sentiment is very different from what Broomfield says on page 16 and 79 of his book ... It must never be forgotten too that white settlement has brought great benefits to the native people of Kenya. The statement hardly seems to make enough of that essential point. Then again the reference to the pass laws is wholly misleading; so far as Kenya is concerned there are hardly any restrictive regulations of that kind.¹³³

Viewed against discussions on labour, taxation and the *kipande* (Chapter Five) and land issues (Chapter Six) magnifies Rev. Capon's prejudice. Leonard Beecher, the missionary representative of Africans on the LegCo on his part wrote to the East Africa Standard saying;

Information at our disposal in this country in no way indicates the circumstances which prompted the publication of a statement in such terms. The publication of Dr Broomfield's on Colour Conflict did not give rise to much serious comment in this country, perhaps because it was realized that, although Dr Broomfield had served for a considerable number of years in Zanzibar and Tanganyika, he had comparatively little, if any, first-hand experience of affairs in Kenya and had in any case, been absent from East Africa for a number of years before his book was written. It so happens that those years have been some of the most formative in the establishment of goodwill and a sense of community of interest and purpose between the responsible representatives of black and white in East Africa.¹³⁴

Due to the importance of the matter, other mission leaders joined the discussions, even though their approach raised more questions than answers. Offended because the CMSGBI had not consulted them, the CCK leaders wondered why Broomfield and other retired missionaries had not so spoken when they were in Africa.¹³⁵ They thus vented their wrath on the retired missionaries¹³⁶ and on Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Fisher, for supporting them.¹³⁷ As a follow up, mission leaders wrote to the Britain Council of Churches (BCC) expressing surprise that it had published such a matter without consulting them. They also wrote in a statement prepared by Rev. Capon as CCK general secretary and Bishop of Mombasa as its chairman to the editor of the East African Standard, saying;

133 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Letter to Grace by Capon, the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya with regard to the statement made by the British Conference of Missionary Societies 30.3.1945

134 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Letter to the Editor of the East African Standard on Race Relations nn, nd

135 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Capon letter to Mr Grace 30.3.1945

136 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Editorial In the East African Standard 4.4.1945

137 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Capon and Hopkins on behalf of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) to the East African Standard on Race relations 4.4.1945

We wish to express our conviction that the solution of racial problems in Kenya is dependent on the maintenance of relations of confidence between the leaders of the various racial communities. Such good relations will only be improved by the frank facing and statement of matters at issue, but may be gravely prejudiced by statements based on inadequate information. For this reason we regret the action of the British Missionary Societies in publishing their statement after a long period when it has been particularly difficult to maintain contact between East Africa and Great Britain. Since 1939, hardly any missionaries from East Africa have been able to go on leave, and during this time there has been a marked growth of good will and a sense of community of interest and purpose between the responsible representatives of black and white in East Africa.¹³⁸

In so doing the CCK leadership indicted the missionaries that were speaking from Britain for failing in their prophetic ministry when they were in office. On 29.5.1945 the CCK held an emergency meeting in which they denied that Africans had been excluded from large portions of their own country, and injured race relations on the side of Africans.¹³⁹

The CCK leaders sought to assure those that had been puzzled by the CMSBI statement that the missionaries in East Africa were in consultation with their head-quarters in England and the CCK was 'actively engaged to rectify the misunderstandings about local affairs and conditions that still persist in Britain.'¹⁴⁰ 'That big tasks still remain is not denied. The missions believed that in the spirit of the "honest and courageous application of the historic Christian idea" those problems can be tackled here on the spot.'¹⁴¹ Listening to the CCK leadership, one realizes that their reaction was presented in language that revealed their leaning towards Europeans and therefore their insensitivity to the racial problem that Africans were facing. These were among the things that caused Africans

To the missionary societies in Britain and Ireland and the BCC, The CCK leadership wrote to the BCC and CMSBI urging that in future, no such statement or action with implications for race-relations was to be undertaken without furnishing the CCK with full

138 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Capon as Secretary to the CCK and Bishop of Mombasa as chairman on behalf of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) to the East African Standard on Race relations 4.4.1945

139 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Letter from Capon to Gichuru 29.5.1945

140 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Capon as Secretary to the CCK and Bishop of Mombasa as chairman on behalf of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) to the East African Standard on Race relations 4.4.1945

141 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Capon as Secretary to the CCK and Bishop of Mombasa as chairman on behalf of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) to the East African Standard on Race relations 4.4.1945

information.¹⁴² Their claims were questionable because they themselves as missions in Kenya had not kept the BCC and home Churches abreast with what was happening in Kenya. The CCK leaders further confronted the press in Kenya that had publicized the colour-bar accusations against Kenya colony, likening it to Rhodesia. They discussed with Commander Couldrey of the Kenya Weekly News and Mr Kinnear of the East Africa Standard urging greater care. Couldrey agreed 'that objective reviews of Christian achievement in relation to political, social and economic problems in this country, more particularly in relation to African welfare, would receive sympathetic editorial consideration.'¹⁴³No such indication by Kinnear was found.

As the EAS editorial of 4.4.1945 noted however, many writers were mostly opposed to the statement's claim that Europeans in Kenya had, like those in Rhodesia,¹⁴⁴ used the colour bar to exclude Africans from large areas of their own country and had occasioned them hardship by pass laws.¹⁴⁵ Those who thought this way, counted on the presence in the White Highlands of hundreds of thousands of Africans, who though known as squatters (Kanogo 1989, 124-126) had arrangements that gave them access to land (Bates, 2005, 15-30). They however were proved wrong because not long after the refutations, the settlers began to push squatters out of the White Highlands. As Bates noted, the agricultural transformation that occurred in the White Highlands disadvantaged squatters economically and politically, and the colonial government made things worse by moving in to enforce

142 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Letter to Grace by Capon, the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya with regard to the statement made by the British Conference of Missionary Societies 30.3.1945

143 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim1/1/1689. Record of Informal conference held under the chairmanship of the Acting Information Officer, Kenya –E R ST. A Davies. L J Beecher, Recorder. 7.2.1944.

144 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1643 Complaint by Capon that the Conference of Missionary Societies had misrepresented Broomfield's findings (pages 46 and 52), when they likened Kenya's record to Rhodesia's with regard to pass laws. In A record of the discussions of an Extra-Ordinary full Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya meeting on the 14.5.1945, one month after its normal session on April 1945, to address issues of race relations in Kenya and sent their thoughts to the Rev. H M Grace of the Britain Council of Churches at Edinburgh House London. 14.5.1945

145 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Editorial on Race Relations. In the East African Standard 4.4.1945

their return to the Reserves. The tension that resulted from their inability to cope with that situation of homelessness is what Bates (2005, 25-30) called the agrarian origins of the Mau Mau. Thus though the editorial regretted that ‘so influential an organization as the Conference of Missionary Societies should persist in ignoring the local governments and their own kith and kin in the Colonies,’ and that the representations with which they were influencing local opinion were those of missionaries they had never heard publicly ‘make such representations during their period of service in the colonies,’¹⁴⁶ the reality on the ground in the experience of Africans demanded answers.

In addition, Governor Mitchell mounted a new race relations initiative in 1945, despite the disparaging colour bar accusations. His efforts like those of the missions faced challenges with leading politicians and settlers, opposed to any such developments. In the course of his efforts, some missionary leaders and some government officers that were part of the pre-WWII initiative, made additional contributions. Scott Dickson, the Presbyterian minister from Tumutumu, who became the general secretary of the NCK in 1947 wrote passionately to Rev. Capon saying;

My own conviction is that we need to use Christian principles in solving that complex of problems which are labelled “racial” or “colour” but the problems themselves are not in any sense religious and I doubt how far they are really “racial” or “colour”. They are social, political, economic or anything else you like but probably only with the very few “racial”¹⁴⁷

Dickson thus proposed that a series of articles be written to address the problem. In Charles Mortimer’s view, having been involved in race relations work before the WWII, the race relations initiative in Kenya ‘fell into abeyance because of investigational, cultural and social’¹⁴⁸ reasons. He wrote to Dickson arguing that the government and its various organizations were not best placed to lead the investigation. He opined that better

146 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Editorial on Race Relations. In the East African Standard 4.4.1945

147 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Letter from Scot Dickson of the Church of Scotland Mission in Tumutumu to Rev Capon concerning a suggested statement for publication as a Christian Council of Kenya Statement 8.6.1945

148 NCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 2152 Letter from C E Mortimer to Scot Dickson as General Secretary of the CCK. 3.6.1950

investigations might have been carried out if Kenya had had a Race Relations Institute (RRI) like South Africa did. Though interesting, Dickson's proposal was overshadowed by two developments.

Firstly, by the establishment of what is known as the United Kenya Club. This was a Club in Nairobi that was located not far from Norfolk Hotel, that provided in some measure for the much needed cultural fellowship between members of different races interested in forging better race relations. Secondly, Scott pointed to the establishment of the British Council as one set up to address matters of collaboration.¹⁴⁹ This was however not the case because in Kenya, as was the case in South Africa where the Dutch Reformed Church supported apartheid, some missionaries had religious justification for their preference of Europeans. Carey Francis, the renowned Head teacher of Alliance High School and member of the CMS for example, wrote to Rev. Capon in highly provocative language as follows;

I hold the theory, nowadays unpopular in mission circles and suspect of being unchristian, that Africans can in many respects be compared to children. I don't think that this is permanent, any more than it is with children, but it is likely to persist, on the average, for a good many years. Clearly discrimination is allowable often where children are concerned; if there is any truth in my theory it is also allowable where Africans are concerned ... In general: I know I'm different from most of you, but I wonder whether you know how difficult I find it to keep my temper at meetings where Cege is present and where the election of Mathu to LegCo is hailed, apparently universally, as an advance. I suggest that Satan should be nominated for the Christian Council so that we might understand his point of view better.¹⁵⁰

A man known as Geyer expressed their perspective saying; 'call it self-preservation if you like. We make no apology for possessing that very natural urge' Apartheid 'is an attempt at self-preservation in a manner which will at the same time also enable the Bantu to remain a separate people and as such to develop to their fullest extent.'¹⁵¹ Scott also betrayed

149 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 2152. Letter from C E Mortimer to Scot Dickson as General Secretary of the CCK. 3.6.1950

150 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Carey to Capon concerning Grace's letter 21.5.1946

151 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2152. Geyer, A L. The Principles of Apartheid. In Note from a Neighbour', supplied by the Information Officer for South Africa 14.6.1954

prejudice when he declared that the equality campaign abroad was pre-mature.¹⁵² He reacted saying;

Kenya suffers a lot equally from those who believe that a matter is right and Christian because the Africans want it and those who believe the reverse. Most of us conveniently put the Indian out of our minds. He is too awkward a problem for both black and white dislike and want rid of him ... At bottom the African is just as racial as we are. We miss-educate our children and so does he. We teach ours to regard the African as a servant. He probably teaches his children to ape us but at the same time to hate us as superior.¹⁵³

His views revealed a patronising attitude, like that of the state and a majority of Europeans, who mistook Africans' lack of exposure to mean inferiority in this example;

Take the problem of land. We have the "White Highlands". Any attack on these is going to rouse bitter feelings yet I for one think the "White Highlands" are doomed so don't let us get bald-headed for them. The denial of land to Africans qua Africans is wrong. That we admit. But the admission of Africans to the White Highlands to ruin the soil is if such a thing is possible even more wrong. The use of Europeans to teach proper soil conservation and cultivation is right and that involves them having land... How are we to strike the happy medium and how are we to avoid the possibility of those who farm under a European becoming either slaves or so reactionary that he can get no progress made?¹⁵⁴

Rev. Capon's letter to H M Grace, the Secretary of the British Conference of Missionary Societies and one time Headmaster of Kings School, Budo in Uganda, reflected an attitude like that of Scott, when he commented on Indians' and Africans' reaction to Governor Philip Mitchell's intention to improve government machinery, as follows;

When it was debated in the LegCo however, the Indians first, and then Mr Mathu, the African member, made something of a racial issue out of it by objecting to the fact that the members of the Executive Council put in charge of departments might be other than government officials. The debate showed how small a spark is needed these days to fire the charge of racial antagonism and suspicion... Africans tend to think they are being slighted. They do not see how much they need to learn before they can effectively take their places in positions of responsibility.¹⁵⁵

It could however be argued that it was Rev. Capon, who failed to harness the potential in Africans and to facilitate their development. After the sentiments above, Rev. Capon wrote seven months later criticising Africans, that;

152 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643. Letter from Scot Dickson of the Church of Scotland Mission in Tumutumu to Rev Capon concerning a suggested statement for publication as a Christian Council of Kenya Statement 8.6.1945

153 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643. Letter from Scot Dickson of the Church of Scotland Mission in Tumutumu to Rev Capon concerning a suggested statement for publication as a Christian Council of Kenya Statement 8.6.1945

154 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643. Letter from Scot Dickson of the Church of Scotland Mission in Tumutumu to Rev Capon concerning a suggested statement for publication as a Christian Council of Kenya Statement 8.6.1945

155 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Letter from Capon to Grace 11.8.1945

The future of Kenya depends on inculcating feelings of mutual respect between the races, taking the place of the present rivalry and sometimes hatred. The violent nationalism of the present time must be curbed, and a sound basis of co-operation established. Ultimately such a basis can only be found in allegiance to Christ, the one Saviour. (Hence the supreme relevance of all missionary endeavour)... In matters political, the best that can be achieved will always be a compromise. For better or worse, the three races must learn to live together in peace. It is useless and wrong for any party to try to get everything its own way.¹⁵⁶

As above shown, Scott Dickson and later Carey Francis, either exceeded or shared Rev. Capon's views. Dickson remained conscious of the rising tension among Africans and wrote to European settlers saying; 'A reasonable measure of temporal security for members of all races is a legitimate demand which the Christian Church can fully support: but no race can demand this for itself, while being unwilling to grant it to others.'¹⁵⁷ In this he echoed the conviction of Oldham, not just that it was wrong for Europeans to imagine a white man's country within the colonial state, but that it would be impossible to have a dual arrangement in which Europeans segregated themselves to their own leadership and privileges without providing for Africans, when they were wholly dependent on them for labour and even taxes.¹⁵⁸ In 1950, Scott Dickson as general secretary of the CCK wrote to the Kenya African Union concerning race relations thus;

The Christian Council of Kenya is perturbed by the worsening relations between the races in Kenya and has appointed a small committee to contact both the Electors Union and your own Union with the object of finding out what the policies of these bodies are in the hope that thereby a programme of advance may be discovered which may earn the support of all Christians in the colony as well as of all who, while not Christians desire to live in amity with those of other races. To this end I should be glad to know whether you would be prepared to meet me for a preliminary discussion or to come and meet the special committee of the council at a date to be mutually agreed on.¹⁵⁹

Thus, though their leaning towards their race undermined their objectivity, causing them to fail to pursue the place of Africans as equal subjects, the initiative that the missions, took towards improving race relations in the early 1930s, to their credit, inspired the race efforts that took place after WWII. There were progressive Africans, Indians and Europeans who

156 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Page 4, Part of Article by RMG Capon 3.1946

157 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 H M Grace article published in the East Africa Standard 15.6.1945,

158 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 1643 Capon letter to Mr Grace 30.3.1945

159 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/ 2152 In a letter written by Scott Dickson the Gen. Sec of the CCK to the Kenya African Union, and vetted by the Very Rev. H A Evan Hopkins to vet 1.6.1950

formed the Kenya Citizens' Association under the leadership of Derek Erskine in 1950.¹⁶⁰

It drew 'membership from persons of all races in Kenya who believed that in national unity lies the only key to progress.'¹⁶¹

7.9 Conclusion

Of the scholars that discussed race relations in Kenya, Rothchild (1970) focused on Indians,¹⁶² Lonsdale (1992) on the emergence of tribes and the internal struggles of the Missions, Sorrenson (1968) on the struggles that the different races faced in their competition for space in the colony, Campbell (2007) on race and eugenics with a focus on eugenics and the study of race couched as a race improvement efforts and Mamdani (1996) on the differentiation policy of the colonial state.

This chapter has in addition to these scholarly works used primary sources to highlight the unique joint effort that the Protestant missions made to create a bridge between the different races in Kenya through its RRC and Christian Council on Race relations. It was premised on their recognition that perhaps the reasons why the colonial state and the European settlers were keen on violating the rights of Africans, was because they had not quite established a relationship of trust and dialogue. Thus the Missions' influence was seen in the fact that, although the missions did not enjoy any support for its race relations work before the WWII, and faced strong criticism from the CMSGBI after it, the colonial state took on race relations work under the leadership of governor Mitchell after he arrived in 1944, albeit too late, as Africans had already shifted into the mode of demanding

160 Lim 1/1/2152. Kenya Citizens' Association: An analysis of its purpose by Derek Erskine, President. 20.8.1952

161 Lim 1/1/2152. Kenya Citizens' Association: An analysis of its purpose by Derek Erskine, President. 20.8.1952

162 For centuries, Kenya's game-laden plains and forests were the rewarding hunting grounds of her native African population. *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, traces the history of hunting there in the colonial era, describing the British attempt to impose the practices and values of nineteenth-century European aristocratic hunts. This both created and enforced an image of African inferiority and subordination. Ultimately conservationists came to claim sovereignty over African wildlife, completing the transformation of indigenous hunters into criminal poachers and seeking to eliminate hunting altogether.

majority rule. It was however also limited by the racial attitude of some of the KMC and CCK leaders between 1940 and 1950.

Chapter Eight

Protestants empowerment of Africans for their civic role

8.1 Introduction

The foregoing Chapters dealt with the joint Protestant missions' direct engagement of the state through representation of Africans in various decision making processes between 1918 and 1950. Though by 1950 Africans had gained ground in education, agriculture, employment, local government and politics, the process had been frustratingly slow (Section 4.1).¹ From 1950 forward international developments in which America pushed for the rights of colonized people and local developments that included the Mau Mau revolt (Lonsdale 1992, 451-452)², were part of what caused the metropolitan and colonial government to open up to the possibility of African majority rule and independence. In the academic discussions available, little is known about the role of the ecumenical Protestant missions and churches in their successive ecumenical bodies, securing the citizenship rights of Africans.

Academic discussions on de-colonization and post-colonial Kenya by scholars like Wasserman (2009, 12-30), Throup and Hornsby (1998); Berman and Lonsdale (1992) and Berman (1990, 377-417) gave attention to the establishment of the state, Haugerud (1993) to the emerging political culture, Mutunga (1999), Kasfir (1998) and Harbeson (1994) to the role of civil society, and Gifford (2009), Sabar-Friedman (2002) and Chepkwony (1987) to the churches' development and public role.

1 Parliamentary Reporting Booklet. Available at URL.< www.awcfs.org/index.php/content-development/> Accessed. 21.9.2015. Settler liberalism, East Africa and the origins of non-racialism. University of the Witwatersrand Available URL.<<http://www.wiser.wits.ac.za/system/.../Soske2014.pdf>.> Accessed 21.9.2015.

2 The Mau Mau war transformed both Kenya and Mau Mau. It defeated two sets of hawks, the settlers and the forest fighters. It installed two sets of doves in power, the departmental officers of the state and the constitutional politicians of the KAU. The first prepared the agrarian ground on which the latter negotiated independence; Mau Mau had shown that majority African rule was the only form of freedom possible.

This Chapter discusses the efforts that ecumenical Protestants made towards empowering Africans for responsible citizenship. It argues that between 1950 and 1982, ecumenical Protestants facilitated Africans' empowerment for their citizenship role through rehabilitation of ex-Mau Mau detainees, civic education of European and African church leaders for impending independence, and through workshops on the 'Kenya We Want' and on human rights. Civic education refers to the special education and awareness creation efforts that were made to empower the people to participate in socio-economic and political changes that were taking place. These efforts were the precursors to the better known nationwide civic education that the NCKC mounted in the early 1990s in partnership with the Roman Catholics towards the post-1986 second liberation movement.

8.2 Protestants and the rehabilitation of Ex-Mau Mau detainees

Almond & Verba (1963, 153-154) explained that 'if the ordinary man is to have any political influence, it must be in concert with his fellows.' In their view, such activity by the citizens needed to be 'An attempt to penetrate and control government.' They recognised as an important aspect of a country's political culture, the citizens' ability to see and use their social structures to influence government decisions. To be said to have influenced the state towards the citizenship of the people, whether through campaigns, lobbying, activism or research, better laws or policies had to be the result, because the state only operated by these (Section 1.4.3).

As seen in previous chapters, there was an ongoing conflict of perspectives between what the colonial state and the settlers thought the role of Africans should be and what the missions thought. With the exception of a few officers like John Ainsworth,³ O F

3 NCKC Limuru 1/1/1947. Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth's letter titled 'Exemption of Natives' sent to Bishop Heywood. 20.8.1919

Watkins,⁴ and Hugh La Fontaine⁵ that were favourable to Africans' progress, the state in the colonial period was so much under pressure from European settlers that it did not uphold its trusteeship role. In the process, it excluded Africans from participation and led to nationalist reactions by Africans, the most shocking of which was the Mau Mau revolt (Knighton, 2010; Rosberg. and Nottingham, 1966).

Calderwood, who took over from Dr Arthur as head of the CSM in 1937,⁶ was another key missionary leader of the joint activity of the missions and churches. He served four times as chair of the CCK and twice as its acting general secretary between 1943 and 1963 (Crouch 1993, 270-271). Calderwood recounted in hindsight that the Mau Mau revolt had been 'carefully planned and built up in the post-war years, and found very able leaders. Cassandra-like, the churches warned of what was happening- missionaries passed on information received from pastors and teachers.'⁷ The colonial state however failed to heed the warnings given by the missions and other actors about the mounting anger among Africans after the WWII,⁸ even though they had no clear picture of what to expect. Governor Phillip Mitchell's race relations efforts and Derek Erskine's 1950 Kenya Citizens' Association⁹ did not pacify Africans. The Mau Mau revolt therefore came as a great shock to the colonial state, the settlers and the missions themselves. Protestants in the territory responded variously to the Mau Mau revolt. The first group were those that were

4 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/591. Chief Native Commissioner O F Watkins to Dr John Arthur. 10.8.1925

5 Campbell, 2007, 117-118. La Fontaine was part of the Eugenics movement that arose among settlers in colonial Kenya in the mid-1930s, when after lectures by Dr. Gordon, Mrs Shaw suggested that a race improvement society be formed. The result was the formation of the Kenya Society for the study of Race improvement (KSSRI) in 1933, as part of an intellectual elite that focused its study on African intelligence. The chairman of the society was R F Mayer, an influential figure in the settler community that was also the founder of the East African Standard Newspaper. Hugh La Fontaine, who was at the time the Acting Chief Native Commissioner, was involved in this group. He helped formulate policy for Africans education, outspoken in his dislike of racial discrimination and one of the founder members of the United Kenya Club.

6 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Calderwood, RGM. The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. UP 24.9.1953. Pages 2-3.

7 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Bostock, Peter G. The revival movement in African Churches in Kenya. UP 31.07.1954

8 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Calderwood, RGM. The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. UP 24.9.1953. Pages 2-3.

9 Lim 1/1/2152. Kenya Citizens' Association: An analysis of its purpose by Derek Erskine, President. 20.8.1952

overwhelmed by the Mau Mau and yielded to pressure, because of they saw. The second group were those that responded in resistance. The *balokole* (the saved in Luganda language) or *Baokofu* (in Swahili language) group that arose from the East Africa revival, had had their faith deepened in the 1930s and were able to stand firm against the Mau Mau movement.¹⁰ Calderwood reported saying;

The core of the resistance is to be found among Christians. A return to fellowship on the part of those who have lapsed has been apparent since Easter. The Lari Massacre in Easter Week proved a major blunder on the part of Mau Mau leaders, provoking feelings of horror, disgust and indignation against a dreadful enemy. It brought a realization to decent, thoughtful Kikuyu (Christian and others), that the whole future of their tribal existence was at stake.¹¹

The greater challenge for them as missions however lay in their approach to Independent Schools, to which the Mau Mau were more naturally related.¹² Their view that ‘In the independent schools and churches’, ‘the name of Jesus was forbidden, and blasphemous parodies of hymns were taught from which the name of Jesus had been removed,’ drew their opposition rather a desire to connect with them for positive influence them. They further noted that ‘Many of the chief sufferers from Mau Mau brutality came from among the determined and outspoken revivalists, to whom the church owes so much.’¹³

Calderwood noted the following about those that had resisted the Mau Mau;

The campaign of violence that began with the murder of Senior Chief Waruhiu (a Presbyterian Church leader) was aimed equally at Europeans and at African Church leaders. The latter had led their people in steadfast refusal to take the secret Mau Mau oath. Sensing what was coming, they were better prepared than in 1929. In the providence of God, there had been a spiritual preparation in the rapid spread of a revival movement among the churches.¹⁴

This was partly because a large number of those involved both on the lapsed side and on the oath-administering side were Kikuyu. The divergent responses above were reflective of the missions’ failure, among other things, to develop an adequate socio-economic and

10 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Bostock, Peter G. The revival movement in African Churches in Kenya. UP 31.7.1954

11 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Calderwood, R G M. The Christian Churches’ role in combating Mau Mau. UP 24.9.1954. Page 4.

12 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Calderwood, RGM. The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. UP 24.9.1953. Page 3.

13 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Calderwood, RGM. The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. UP 24.9.1953. Page 3.

14 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Calderwood, RGM. The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. UP 24.9.1953. Pages 2-3.

political theology for their membership. Scott Dickson appreciated the revivalist *balokole's* stand cited above, but criticised them for their narrow theology saying;

One major difficulty is that many of the Christians who were influenced by the revival movement, and who have resisted Mau Mau terrorism so courageously, are completely other-worldly in their theology, and are not concerned about any of the pressing problems of the country except the purely spiritual.¹⁵

The third reaction was from those within the missions who viewed the Mau Mau revolt as a savage, barbaric, demonic and anti-Christian manifestation by people full of evil schemes.¹⁶ This was the reason the CCK initially supported the state against the Mau Mau. When the Archbishop of Canterbury visited Kenya in 1954, he condemned ‘...the hateful ways of the Mau Mau.’ (Abuom in Crouch, 1993, 11) with briefing from the Anglican Bishop of Mombasa Leonard Beecher, who was also a key member of the CCK. Not long after the Archbishop’s visit, the CCK came to terms with the state’s reactionary, uncivilized, brutal and indiscriminate approach in handling the detainees as their representatives visited the Mau Mau detention camps. The missions realized that some of those in the camps were Christians from the parishes of their member missions, having been unfairly arrested and even subjected to such state brutality. The missions immediately began to organize for their release. Their visits to the camps also caused them to begin seeing that the Mau Mau had some genuine grievances. Calderwood wrote;

As to the Kikuyus’ demands for more land, higher wages, more education, and a share in government, it should be emphasised that the loyalists and Christian believers among the Kikuyu share these grievances with the rest of the tribe and call for their speedy redress. Where they differ from the others is in their belief that cooperation between the races is the true way of progress – because it is the will of God for all His Children.¹⁷

Calderwood’s indication that African Christians were as concerned about the real issues facing the colony, but were seeking a legal way out, was a welcome attitude to Governor

15 NCCCK Archives Lim 1/1/2641/ Bostock, Peter G. The revival movement in African Churches in Kenya. UP 31.7.1954

16 NCCCK Archives Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. This is Kenya calling in St Martin’s Review. 3.1955

17 NCCCK Archives Lim 1/1/2641/ Bostock, Peter G. The revival movement in African Churches in Kenya. UP. 31.7.1954. P

Evelyn Baring's government, which was ready to accommodate such loyalist groups. With such realization, the missions committed to engage in rehabilitation. Morrison's explanation provides insight into how the CCK approached its task of rehabilitation thus;

The first step has been the screening of the detainees and their division into so called 'whites', 'greys', and 'blacks'. It was inevitable that in the process of detaining suspected persons many loyal citizens would be taken up. The aim of the Churches has been to ensure that the procedure of screening be expedited and loyalists released at the earliest possible moment; that the Churches, Missions and similar agencies, be allowed to go bail for those individuals for whose integrity they could vouch; and that individuals once released should not be subjected to a second and third detention.¹⁸

The CCK considered that a large proportion of the detainees were 'classified as 'greys', individuals 'affected by Mau Mau but who, it is hoped, will, in the course of time, be induced to give it up entirely.'¹⁹ This was the group they focused their rehabilitation efforts on. The blacks however were those they considered so deeply involved in Mau Mau that it seemed improbable that they would open up except after a very long time. Morrison explained;

For the sake of the 'greys' and the 'whites', and in order to prevent the further spread of the Mau Mau doctrine, the 'blacks' are being placed in separate prisons or camps. Some will be deported under a Governors Order. A camp of 5000 is being prepared on an island in the Lake Victoria Nyanza.²⁰

Their decision to engage in rehabilitation was reinforced by Governor Baring's request²¹ that the missions participate alongside government chiefs and home guards.²² This meant the government could avail resources for the task. The colonial state's call may have been because Scott Dickson, who in the period 1948 to 1955 served as general secretary of the CCK, was also an education officer employed by the colonial government and seconded to the missions. When invited to attend the International Missionary Council (IMC) conference at Wellingen in Germany in July 1952, he wrote;

On receipt of the cable, I ...asked if Govt. would be prepared (a) to give me three months leave of absence (b) to allow my wife to accompany me at our expense but at Govt. rates (c) to secure

18 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S. The Churches and the rehabilitation of the Kikuyu. 28.5.1954

19 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S. The Churches and the rehabilitation of the Kikuyu. 28.5.1954

20 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S. The Churches and the rehabilitation of the Kikuyu. 28.5.1954

21 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ no name. A task for the Church, in The East African standard. 14.7.1954

22 NA Limuru. Lim/1/1/856. Notes for the guidance of the clergy and others on 'cleansing' ceremonies for ex-Mau Mau. No date.

priority bookings for us both... The question at issue is whether the Christian Council is prepared to give me leave of absence to attend both Willingen and Cambridge. Govt. will I hope continue to pay my salary grant for the three months and the CCK will be put to no extra expense as the office will just close down.²³

This might partly explain why he was pretty tough on Africans saying;

Africans must be shown that these grievances are unfounded, or, if there is a basis in fact for them, steps should be taken to rectify them. If again Mau Mau is the outcome of the superimposition of an advanced western civilization upon a primitive culture, totally unprepared to receive it, a whole series of questions arises as to the suitability of western democratic procedures to an African background, the possibility of gearing in the economy of Kenya to a world market, the wisdom or possibility of trying to retain the best elements of an ancient tribal system.²⁴

Morrison later explained;

With the help of a government grant, the Christian Council has been able to place two European missionaries, eight African clergy, three African laymen and one African woman evangelist in a number of strategic centres in camps. Tribute to the effectiveness of their contribution to rehabilitation.²⁵

Among the complications of the rehabilitation process was the fact that the Mau Mau had administered various oaths to bind the people to secrecy. The CCK members held that since the 'oathing' was a process of rituals, a proper study had to be done 'of the forms of cleansing ceremonies for both Christian and pagan detainees'.²⁶ According to the Committee on Development and Rehabilitation (CDR), 'any genuine turning away from adherence to Mau Mau to responsible citizenship would need to include, repudiation (not necessarily public) of former attitudes and a resolve to maintain other attitudes in the future.'²⁷

Three forms of cleansing ceremonies were identified, depending on the religious background of the Mau Mau detainees. A Christian ceremony for former church members,

23 NA Lim 1/1/856/ Letter from Scott Dickson to members of the CCK Standing Committee. 30.5.1952

24 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S. A. What does rehabilitation mean? 5.6.1954

25 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S. The Churches and the rehabilitation of the Kikuyu. 28.5.1954

26 NA Lim 1/1/856/ Letter from McPherson to Mr Morrison on 'Cleansing ceremonies' 11.9.1954

27 NCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2106. Notes on cleansing ceremonies for Mau Mau adherents. Minute 6 of meeting of 2.7.1954. Committee on development and rehabilitation.

a 'magisterial oath' for detribalised persons and a ritual known as *Githathi* for pagans.²⁸

There was a fourth approach employed by home guards, which the missions considered crude in the way it sought to secure repudiation, because it employed violence against the detainees. This was said to have some measure of success, but in the view of the CDR, did not inculcate positive values.²⁹

Of the acceptable ones, the *Githathi* oath on a *Githathi* stone was taken by 'someone who is alleged to have done something wrong, and who wants to deny that he has done it.'³⁰ It was conducted by elderly people that had served as members of the *Kiama* (Kikuyu Elders Council) for a long time. In the course of the Mau Mau de-oathing and immediately after, the old men that conducted the ceremonies also found themselves threatened by the Mau Mau (Anderson 2005, 47), signifying the level of anger. The magisterial oath was one which even a clergy could conduct in the presence of a magistrate, though they and the settlers protested against counter-oathing.

The Christian ceremony involved four stages that began with confession and ended with absolution. The missions believed that 'no one in the Mau Mau was beyond redemption.'³¹ They thus sought by 'prayer and Christian love to change the hearts of the apparently incorrigible.'³² The CCK worked with its membership to develop a curriculum to facilitate the process of repudiation and resolve for the ex-Mau Mau that were Christians. They were taught repentance and confession, forgiveness, worship and witness, and the Christian's conflict-with the world, the flesh, the devil, followed by an unforced public ceremony for confirmation.

28 NA Limuru. Lim/1/1/856. Notes for the guidance of the clergy and others on 'cleansing' ceremonies for ex-Mau Mau. No date.

29 NA Limuru. Lim/1/1/856. Notes for the guidance of the clergy and others on 'cleansing' ceremonies for ex-Mau Mau. No date.

30 NA Limuru. Lim/1/1/2106. Notes on cleansing ceremonies for Mau Mau adherents. Minute 6 of meeting of 2.7.1954. Committee on development and rehabilitation.

31 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. What does rehabilitation mean? 5.6.1954. Page 7

32 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. What does rehabilitation mean? 5.6.1954 Page 7

In all the efforts above, their aim was to facilitate the restoration of the detained persons to society to take up their role as responsible citizens. As the CCK engaged in rehabilitation however, S A Morrison, its general secretary, viewed the ‘rehabilitation of the African tribes’ as linked both to the Mau Mau and to the ‘future of Kenya.’³³ He wrote;

One of the speediest ways of effecting a change in African attitudes towards the government is an assurance that that the Africans will be given their fair share in the development of a multi-racial society. A clear statement of a progressive government policy for the next ten years that would give them what they most need –hope...

But if a multi-racial society is to be realized in Kenya within a reasonable period of time, a great deal more thought must first be put into its implications in the fields of politics, economics, social relations, education, the legal system, and, indeed, every aspect of community life.³⁴

Morrison’s imagination that Kenya could still pursue a multi-racial agenda, had however been overtaken by events. The nationalism that had emerged among Africans after the WWII was based on their anger after many years of segregation, subjugation and outright racial injustice (previous Chapters). The settlers had squandered the opportunity to engage Africans on the platform of the mission’s race relations initiative. Neither the settlers nor the colonial state could sell a multi-racial state anymore. Morrison quoted Lennox-Boyd’s comment that he knew of ‘nothing more important than what the churches are doing in Kenya today,’ for it was filling a ‘deep spiritual vacuum.’ among Africans after their failure to achieve their goal.³⁵

To Morrison, the rehabilitation process was an opportunity for the CCK membership to spread Christianity,³⁶ which required commensurate government support. He noted for example that Kikuyu Christians and loyalists shared the grievances and demands of the rest

33 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. What does rehabilitation mean? 5.6.1954. Page 5

34 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. What does rehabilitation mean? 5.6.1954 Page 5

35 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. Quotation of Lennox Boyd in the article ‘This is Kenya calling.’ In St Martins Review. 3.1955 Page 88

36 NCCK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. 1955. March. This is Kenya calling in St Martin’s Review; Newspaper 14.7.1954

of the Kikuyus ‘for land, higher wages, more education, and a share in government,’³⁷ and were keen for ‘their speedy redress,’³⁸ through ‘promoting co-operation between the races’ as ‘the true way of progress’ and not the Mau Mau way which they viewed as tragically hindering progress.³⁹ He was appreciative that their work as Protestants was already resulting in a fair measure of rehabilitation and re-integration, with some of the uneducated ex-detainees becoming small scale farmers and the educated ones being recruited into available job opportunities, but wondered and warned as follows;

Will Government and the European population of Kenya be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to justify the African Christians’ gesture of faith in the way of co-operation and mutual trust, and meet them halfway? That is the very heart of Kenya’s problem for post-Mau Mau days. Before the Christian Church today, there opens up a great opportunity- and with it a great danger. First the opportunity. Its work is recognized as never before. The old fashioned sneering attitude to missions for “spoiling the native” is dead except in utterly reactionary circles....Then the danger. Popularity always leads to complacency, and the spiritual might be relegated to the second place in a desire to increase the worldly power and influence of the church as an institution.⁴⁰

It was in the process of working in the camps that John Kamau, the first African General Secretary of the NCKK was recruited (Section 3.6).

8.3.0 Protestants and the pre-independence moment

The Mau Mau event caused significant reflections, not just in the metropolitan and the colonial state in Kenya, but within the CCK as well. According to Frost (1978, 223-225), the idea of including Africans in the citizenship of the multi-racial state as adopted by governor Blundell in 1956, was incubated in 1952 by the Kenya Citizens Association. While the Metropolitan was thinking about involving Africans more, and even working towards independence, the CCK and its membership considered that they had the task of educating their own members so that they could take the lead in pressing for a fair deal for

37 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ R G M Calderwood Unpublished Paper titled ‘The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. 24.9.1953. Page 6

38 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ R G M Calderwood Unpublished Paper titled ‘The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. 24.9.1953. Page 6

39 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ R G M Calderwood Unpublished Paper titled ‘The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. 24.9.1953. Page 6

40 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ R G M Calderwood Unpublished Paper titled ‘The Christian Churches role in combatting the Mau Mau. 24.9.1953. Page 6

all.⁴¹ Key in this was the need to widen the horizon of Christians ‘who concentrate exclusively on winning souls, or building up the church and neglect the kingship of Christ over the whole of life and the social implications of His teaching.’⁴² To facilitate progress, the CCK refocused their efforts in at least three ways namely strengthening the CCK, engaging in civic education and playing their role towards independence.

8.3.1 Strengthening the CCK

In 1956, Bishop Beecher, discussed with Janet Lacey, the director of Christian AID and agreed that ‘the Mau Mau emergency had shown that the Kenyan Churches, though strong in faith, were not well-equipped to relate their faith to the fast changing political, economic and social conditions of the time’ (Booth-Clibbon in Crouch 1993, 21-22).

Thus in 1956, the CCK with support from Christian AID invited Rev. Stanley Booth-Clibbon, then serving as curate in a parish in Sheffield, to join its staff team. He was part of the British Church’s support for CCK’s reconstruction effort after the Mau Mau revolt was brought under control (Booth-Clibbon in Crouch 1993, 21-26). The second staff member recruited in 1957 was Andrew Hake. He was qualified in industrial and urbanization matters, and became the CCK’s Industrial Adviser and leader of the race relations programme from April 1957 to September 1967, and associate advisor to the Council until 1969.⁴³

8.3.2 Protestants and civic education

As soon as Stanley Booth-Clibbon was recruited, the CCK embarked on efforts to build ‘civic competence’ among the citizens, to borrow Almond and Verba’s (1963, 168-169)

41 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. ‘What does rehabilitation mean?’ 5.6.1954. Page 6

42 NA Lim 1/1/2641/ Morrison, S A. ‘What does rehabilitation mean?’ 5.6.1954. Page 6

43 Andrew Hake’s personal letter reproduced in Crouch (1993, 65-67)

phrase. The three main approaches they employed were film and print media, education working groups on politics, economics, urbanization, industrialization and family life, and civic education conferences and workshops.⁴⁴ In the first approach, the CCK employed cinematography and magazine production as the technology of the time for civic education purposes,⁴⁵ four decades after the Alliance first criticized the colonial state for allowing the screening of what they viewed as immoral films.⁴⁶ Their determination to educate Africans had caused them to set up a CCK Citizenship Committee in 1943, a Broadcasting Committee in 1951 and an East African Religious Films Library in 1956.⁴⁷ The latter was the Council's effort to provide alternative films that were mainly Christian and educational. The colonial state was however quite sensitive to what they as missions were doing in this area.⁴⁸

In 1958 for example, the state through the Film Censorship Board (FCB) denied the CCK a permit to screen a film on Martin Luther. Thus while the missions were against 'immoral films', the state was against films that could enlighten Africans on civil rights and social action. The CCK Chairman Archdeacon Peter Bostock and Secretary Rev. Alec McIver sought and gained audience with Mr J W Cusack- the Minister for Defence⁴⁹ and Mr C W Johnston-the Minister for African Affairs,⁵⁰ concerning the FCB's statement⁵¹ which read in part;

The films would have grave unsettling effects on primitive audiences which might lead to breaches of the peace. That it would seriously prejudice the excellent work done, in Kenya and Uganda by the

44 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim 1/1/1757 Programme of the Rapid Social Change conference of 1958

45 NA Lim/1/1/967. Report of an Interview with Mr Cusack –Defence Minister- and Mr Johnston- Minister for African Affairs on the Censorship of the Film Martin Luther. 12.6.1958

46 NCKK Hq. Minute 16 on Native morality. In minutes of the RCAPMBEA 22-24.6.1920

47 NA Lim/1/1/967. Report of an Interview with Mr Cusack –Defence Minister- and Mr Johnston- Minister for African Affairs on the Censorship of the Film Martin Luther. 12.6.1958

48 NA Lim/1/1/967. Report of an Interview with Mr Cusack –Defence Minister- and Mr Johnston- Minister for African Affairs on the Censorship of the Film Martin Luther. 12.6.1958

49 Kenya Gazette. Full name given as J W Cusack, Minister for African Affairs. Page 818. 28.7.1959.

50 Kenya Gazette. Full name given as C W Johnstone, Minister for African Affairs Defence. Page 269. 31.3.1959

51 NA Lim/1/1/967. Report of an Interview with Mr Cusack –Defence Minister- and Mr Johnston- Minister for African Affairs on the Censorship of the Film Martin Luther on 9.6.1958. Reported 12.6.1958

Christian Churches and Missions of all denominations, and would go far to disturb the good relationship which exists between the several Christian communities in these countries⁵²

The FCB's decision above was a setback to the CCK civic education programme, because they already had the film that was owned by the East African Religious Films Library. The state's action violated the rights of Africans to knowledge, at a time when a significant proportion had acquired sufficient education to be political activists and decision making clergymen. The former informed the CCK that the Film Censorship Board of Tanganyika had not banned the film in that country, meaning it was only Kenya that had problems.⁵³ Mr Johnston the minister gave the excuse that Tanganyika had not experienced an emergency like Kenya had after the Mau Mau revolt.⁵⁴

In 1957 the CCK also launched the Rock Magazine (Mbogo 2013, 1-2, 63-69) under the leadership of Stanley Booth-Clibbon. It was a monthly magazine aimed at providing information and educating the public from a Christian perspective. It came at a time of 'tremendous and rapid change' in which 'the CCK had very close relations with most of the up-coming politicians and community leaders',⁵⁵ but was limited in its ability to provide direct education to the public. Booth-Clibbon wrote;

It was also felt very important to prepare ordinary church members for the changes that were coming. In order to reach a wider audience, the paper Rock was launched as a monthly in late 1957 and this dealt with a huge range of issues from a Christian point of view. It was often criticized by the colonial government, especially the issue of February 1958, which had the headline KENYA STALEMATE –BRITAIN MUST ACT, calling for a clear declaration that Kenya would move swiftly to African majority rule⁵⁶

52 NA Lim/1/1/967. Report of an Interview with Mr Cusack –Defence Minister- and Mr Johnston- Minister for African Affairs on the Censorship of the Film Martin Luther. 12.6.1958

53 NA Lim/1/1/967. Letter from E C H Davidson, Honorary Secretary of the East African Religious Films library to Mr McIver, the Secretary to the CCK.8.7.1958

54 NA Lim/1/1/967. Report of an Interview with Mr Cusack –Defence Minister- and Mr Johnston- Minister for African Affairs on the Censorship of the Film Martin Luther. 12.6.1958

55 Booth-Clibbon, Stanley. 1993. Personal biography and testimony in Margaret Crouch's compilation of NCCCK Book titled 'A vision of Christian Mission: Reflections on the great commission in Kenya 1943-1993.' Nairobi: NCCCK. Pages 24-25.

56 Booth-Clibbon, Stanley. 1993. Personal biography and testimony in Margaret Crouch's compilation of NCCCK Book titled 'A vision of Christian Mission: Reflections on the great commission in Kenya 1943-1993.' Nairobi: NCCCK. Pages 24-25.

Through Rock in 1959, the CCK urged the colonial government to embrace the concept of “one man, one vote”.⁵⁷ This was important for civic involvement in the elections of 1962.⁵⁸ Thus print media became an important part of the CCK’s advocacy and civic education strategy.

The second approach involved working groups. Andrew Hake led the CCK’s efforts to reach people in industry at all levels.⁵⁹ He identified an empty shop with an upstairs house and ground floor meeting place along Race Course Road. ‘In the early days’ he wrote, ‘we developed meetings to explore urban and industrial issues that affected people’s lives.’ The work developed in three thrusts namely, holding Industrial Life Conferences, Supervisors and Shop Stewards conferences and the Life of the Churches in the City. Hake also led the inter-racial industrialisation programme and urbanization programmes from 1957 onwards. He held that ‘Christian mission must involve not only an understanding of the Christian faith, but also have a grasp of the community and the society in which the church is set responding to what the Kingdom of God and His justice requires (Mtt. 6:6)’.⁶⁰

In the third approach, the CCK organized Rapid Social Change conferences (RSC). Rev. Peter Bostock,⁶¹ the CCK Executive Chairman in 1958 and Mr McIver the Secretary, worked with Mr T Askwith, the then Commissioner of Community Development in the colonial government, to organize the first RSC conference in 1958. They invited experts to educate and empower European and African participants to face the considerable changes that were happening before their eyes. Bostock pointed to ‘The impact of the West on East African Society, the problems of village and rural life, urbanization, industrialization and

57 KNA 262.5. Kamau, John. 1987. In as much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) Page 38

58 NCCCK Hq. Musyimi, Mutava., 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Nairobi: NCCCK Page 6.

59 Andrew Hake’s personal letter reproduced in Crouch (1993, 65-67)

60 Andrew Hake’s personal letter reproduced in Crouch (1993, 65-67).

61 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Bostock, Peter G, Letter inviting participant. 7.10.1958

responsible citizenship.’⁶² Peter Kiddle,⁶³ an agricultural specialist, discussed agriculture in the light of social change, stressing that the Swynnerton Plan⁶⁴ aimed at intensifying agricultural productivity.⁶⁵ He advised that the citizens of the new Kenya own and use land as a stewardship, ‘to raise the productivity of the African lands, its population carrying capacity *and* the income and standards of the people’. J Porter⁶⁶ called on the people to shift from tribesmanship to citizenship, if they wished to enter the new modern world and ‘become fully participating members’, where Europeans no longer worried about whether or not Africans and Asians may farm in the White Highlands.⁶⁷ He hoped the races could co-exist because Africans had potential to contribute a far greater portion to the national economy if they were given the chance under improved race relations. He⁶⁸ further called on Africans to have a philosophy of reason and logic and a disciplined acceptance of cause and effect.

During the same conference, L J Campbell⁶⁹ called on the local churches, to prepare for the social and ethical issues that would arise from the approaching freedom. He on the one hand called on Protestant missions and churches to evaluate the vision and leadership of their churches, and on the other warned that the gap between the rich and the poor, unemployment and increasing immorality could be major challenges, if not addressed. He

62 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Bostock, Peter G, Letter inviting participant, dated 7.10.1958

63 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Kiddle, Peter. 1958. New Trends in Agriculture and consequent Social change: A Christian approach to rural reconstruction. Unpublished paper, presented at the Rapid Social Change conference, page 1

64 KNA K4/11/6. Swynnerton, R J M.1954. A plan to intensify the development of African agriculture in Kenya.

65 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60).Kiddle, Peter. 1958. New Trends in Agriculture and consequent Social change: A Christian approach to rural reconstruction. Unpublished paper, presented at the Rapid Social Change conference, page 1

66 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60).Porter J L, Paper titled ‘New Attitudes of mind about rural development in Kenya. RSC 9. Page 2. 20.11.1958

67 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Porter J L, Paper titled ‘New Attitudes of mind about rural development in Kenya. RSC 9. Page 2. 20.11.1958

68 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). New attitudes of Mind about Rural development in Kenya. Background paper presented at a Christian Council of Kenya forum. RSC 9. Page 8. 20.11.1958.

69 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Campbell, L. J 1958: The Concern of Local Churches with rural problems. Background paper presented at a Christian Council of Kenya forum. 20th.11.1958 RSC 11

called on Christians to occupy the youth through initiatives like youth clubs, to reflect on the changes that were emerging in witness and worship and to manage the changes that would occur in the provision of education. For all the above to find space however, Africans needed to work hard to establish democracy in a multi-ethnic and multi-racial context. These were in keeping with the declaration of the organizers in their overall background paper which read in part;

It can be inferred from this that in order to perfect democracy and make it work, a rather special attitude of mind is needed in the DEMOS. The attitude can be provided by a number of factors but the greatest of these is education and more particularly education with a Christian background. Universal adult franchise which is the acknowledged basis of democracy as we know it only came to Britain after nearly sixty years of universal and compulsory education and after the spiritual revival of the 19th century had been running for over 100 years.⁷⁰

Noting how much effort was needed to make democracy in Britain work, and the challenging conditions that were facing Kenyans before independence, the organizers urged Kenyan Church leaders to invest in universal education, to nurture a contextual Christian outlook with principles like uprightness, integrity and genuine faith and to work towards a kind of cultural homogeneity. It warned that until 'time and experience can supply these factors (and in the case of the last, homogeneity would have to be cultural), political democracy in Kenya cannot exist.'⁷¹

In all the above, the approach of the missionaries was to urge African leaders to realize that the task of building a nation out of many tribes and races required hard work, consistently done over time, for the people to subsume their tribes into another more encompassing one known as Kenya, and to be responsible citizens that worked hard to build their new country. They however did not appreciate that Africans were in no mood to be advised to play catch up with Europeans, and were keen only on Africans taking charge rather than multi-racial arrangements.

70 NA Lim1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Democracy in Kenya setting. Background paper presented at a Christian Council of Kenya forum. RSC 10. Page 1. 11. 1958.

71 NA Lim 1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Democracy in Kenya setting. Background paper by the conference organizers presented at a Christian Council of Kenya forum. November 1958. RSC 10.

It was to facilitate such education that in 1958, that the CCK built the Limuru Conference Centre (LCC) in follow up to Beecher's and Janet's discussion in 1955 (Booth-Clibbon in Crouch 1993, 21-22) with funds from Christian AID, on land acquired from St Paul's United Theological College.⁷² At that time Andrew Hake wrote to the WCC saying 'As you may know, we are going ahead with our plans for the CCK Conference Centre at Limuru, Nairobi, and we hope that courses will begin in February, 1959'.⁷³ The first warden of the centre and trainer was Jaap Windig. Among the functions held at the LCC in 1959 were a 'Housing and urbanization conference' in January, a course on 'Young workers in industry on human relations' held twice in May and October, a course on human responsibility in industry in July, and a course on 'Our urban ministry' for ministers, clergy, evangelists and ordinands in December.

The LCC was used both for CCK conferences and civic education courses and was also hired out to government and other institutions, political parties and private sector players for their retreats and workshops. In 1960, there were 42 conferences, workshops and training courses held there, translating to at least three per month and 62 in 1961,⁷⁴ mainly equipping the people in preparation for independence.

8.3.3 Protestants and preparations for independence

A number of the Africans that became independence leaders were part of a movement known as Pan-Africanism that was launched in a congress in Manchester in 1945. These included Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and George Padmore of Trinidad and Tobago- his personal adviser on African affairs, and Dr Otto Makonnen of

⁷² NCCCK. 2013. A century of ecumenism and mission: The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Page 48.

⁷³ NA Limuru 1/1/1922 (File CCK 1960, No 2291/GS/60). Andrew Hake letter to Mr Weber, The Executive Secretary, Department of Laity. World Council of Churches. 1.11.1958

⁷⁴ NA Lim 1/1.990. Limuru Conference Centre: Report for the year ending 31.12.1961.

Ethiopia.¹ They were all studying in Europe at the time and committed to the liberation of Africa from colonialism. In 1958, they were inspired by the fact that their 1945 dreams were coming to pass, because India had become independent in 1950, Ghana's in 1957, Nigeria was agitating,⁷⁵ and Africans were gaining political ground in Kenya.

Kenyatta alongside six others were in custody, when the colonial state crushed the Africans' revolt it labelled Mau Mau in 1954 and embarked on various forms of rehabilitation (Section 8.2). The determination of the colonial state and the settlers to retain control over Kenya only served as a uniting target for Africans, whose ethnic alliances and rivalries were already playing out in the 1956-1960 period. While the Kikuyu and Luo expressed their ambitions through Kenya African National Union (KANU), many of the other ethnic communities formed the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The missions, seeing that the post-colonial situation would require commitment to good governance, nation building and various forms of development, advocated for space for Africans' political activity. They, for example, intervened with the Minister for African Affairs to allow Africans to use the stadium for their political meetings saying;⁷⁶

The Council appreciates the action of the government in constructing the Makadara Hall for the holding of political meetings in Nairobi, but views with deep concern the inadequacy of the hall on occasions for the politically awakening African Society and the consequent frustration and injustice when large numbers of people are turned away, with the likelihood of clashes with the police. The Council hereby resolves to ask the Minister for African affairs to reconsider the possibility of allowing political meetings in the stadium, with the use of public address equipment, provided requirements for maintaining law and order are observed.⁷⁷

It expressed its deep concerns that the emergency regulations that were put in place to tackle the Mau Mau revolt, were still in force five years after it had been crushed. They resolved that;

75 NA Lim/1/1/945 Legum, Colin. 1958. The Accra Conference: Its origins and purpose. In Bandung, Cairo and Accra: Report on the First Conference of Independent African States. The Africa Bureau

76 Kamau, John C. General Secretary.1987. In as Much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK).Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pp 32. 25.5.1987

77 NCCCK Hq. Resolution on African political meetings in the Stadium. In Minutes of the Executive committee of the Christian Council of Kenya held in Nairobi. 26-27.2.1958

A subcommittee comprising the Chairman C.C.K., the General Secretary, C.C.K., the bishop of Mombasa and a lawyer should seek an interview with the chief secretary and express the deep concern of all Church leaders and Christians represented in C.C.K. for the fact that Emergency Regulations still in force seem to be used to deal with a situation which ought to be dealt with by civil law, and to enquire from the Chief Secretary what action, if any, is contemplated by the government to revise the emergency Regulations, and to relate them to the code of civil law.⁷⁸

African church leaders on their part, reached out to Kenyatta and his contemporaries, as leaders they considered destined to play key roles in Kenya's political leadership.⁷⁹ They initiated campaigns that Kenyatta and his fellow detainees be released from detention. When in 1960, under John Kamau's coordination, they asked to be facilitated to visit Kenyatta, permission and transport support were granted by the CCK for five African Christian leaders John Mpaayei, John Gatu, Obadiah Kariuki, Andrew Wambari and John Munyi⁸⁰ were sent to visit with Kenyatta in detention at Maralal. Both Gatu and Kamau commented that Kenyatta afterwards respected Church leaders. Although he was not committed to any Church, he never dismissed them during his presidency.⁸¹ After the trip, they held special prayers on 4.2.1961 for the future of Kenya. They then sent the delegation that had visited Kenyatta at Maralal to the governor, Sir Patrick Renison, to plead for his release. Kamau wrote;

Sir Patrick was shocked about the request. He could not understand how Christian leaders could ask to have a leader whom he believed could lead the country into darkness, released. But the Church leaders were convinced Kenyatta was the right man. From that point, the movement to release Kenyatta started.⁸²

78 Kamau, John C. General Secretary.1987. In as Much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK).Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pp 32-33. 25.5.1987

79 NCCCK Hq. Min 54/61 invitation to meeting with Mr Jomo Kenyatta. In minutes of the General Purposes and Finance Committee of the Christian Council of Kenya, page 4. 20.9.1961

80 Discussion and Historical Recollection-1. 5.5.2006; Kamau, John C. General Secretary.1987. In as Much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK).Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pp 33. 25.5.1987

81 Discussion and Historical Recollection-5. 4.12.2009

82 Kamau, John C. General Secretary.1987. In as Much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK).Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pp33. 25.5.1987

After the events above, African Church leaders in the CCK organized a national political conference,⁸³ and used the CCK's 'Rock' magazine to campaign for 'One Man, One Vote' and for the equality of adults of all races in political participation as indicated above.⁸⁴ In the election held in 1961, KANU luminaries led by Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya and James Gichuru refused to form the government, despite winning the 1961 elections by a large margin of 67.4 percent (Muigai 2004, 210), on the grounds that Kenyatta had not been released. Thus the KADU – New Kenya Party (NKP-minority white party) coalition formed the government for 11 months. After Kenyatta was released, Africans worked together to gain independence, but experienced ethnic divisiveness after colonialism ended. African Church leaders organized meetings of interaction with him, despite the fact that some European missionaries remained apprehensive.⁸⁵ Rev. Peter Thande of Fort Hall CMS further requested that a meeting involving church leaders of all races be organized to meet Mr Kenyatta. They were to discuss the 'role of the Church and Christians in the life, witness and the work of the emerging nation'.⁸⁶

While African leaders were enthusiastic, European missionaries were uncertain of the outcome. Rev. J McBride and Rev. G W Rhoad were apprehensive, citing past experiences with politicians, more so because to them, Kenyatta was a terrorist. African leaders took the lead to organize the meeting between Christian leaders of all races with Mr Kenyatta and other political leaders at the Limuru Conference Centre.⁸⁷ They did not invite the Press as agreed with the missionaries, so as to avoid any misrepresentations.⁸⁸ On the material

83NCCCK Hq. Minute 54/61 and 74/61 on National Day of Prayer and Resolutions 77/61 and 85/61 in MGPF of the CCK, 20.10.1961

84 Kamau, John C. General Secretary. 1987. In as Much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK). Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pp 34. 25.5.1987

85NCCCK Hq. Fueter, P D, General Secretary, S Magua Chairman. Min 58/61 on Meeting with Mr Jomo Kenyatta, in MGPF CCK 20.9.1961 page 2;

86NCCCK Hq. Fueter, P D, General Secretary, S Magua Chairman. Min 58/61 on Meeting with Mr Jomo Kenyatta, in MGPF CCK 20.9.1961 page 2;

87NCCCK Hq. Min 54/61 on Invitation to a meeting with Mr Jomo Kenyatta and Resolution 60/61, in MGPF CCK, 20.9.1961

88NCCCK Hq. Fueter, P D, General Secretary, S Magua Chairman. Min 58/61 on Meeting with Mr Jomo Kenyatta, in MGPF CCK 20.9.1961 page 2;

day however, the missionaries insisted that they did not wish to have Kenyatta address them in the Executive Committee. They instead met him over lunch hour in the dining hall.⁸⁹

It was in the midst of these developments that the metropolitan worked with Governor Patrick Renison to have African leaders travel to London, to participate in the famous Lancaster House Constitution conferences. One of the first political leaders of Kenya, Jeremiah Nyagah, observed that the missions were far ahead of government in preparing Africans to take over leadership.⁹⁰ He reported that he had pointed out at the Lancaster House conference that ‘The Church could count on a number of people of all denominations capable of leading, while in January 1960, the government could not count on a single African DC.’⁹¹ Despite this, the political leaders agreed on Kenya’s independence constitution.

8.4 Protestants, nation building and Africans’ transition to full citizenship

Few scholars believed like Oliver (1965, 291) that Kenya would survive the political and social changes of independence. In the transition to independence, one phrase that captured the imagination of the ruling KANU party, churches and Kenya citizens alike was nation building (Section 2.6). To the political class nation building involved undertaking projects that would help eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease.⁹² Towards this end, they needed to settle the many disinherited Africans, to build one nation out of many ethnic communities, and to facilitate socio-economic development in the context of neo-

89NCCCK Hq. Min 54/61 on Invitation to a meeting with Mr Jomo Kenyatta and Resolution 60/61, in MGPFCK CCK, 20.9.1961

90 NCCCK HQ. Appendix 4 on ‘Report in “East African standard of 9th March of CCK public Meeting quoting Nyagah.” Titled ‘Church brought Kenya near Uhuru.’ In the minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya. 8-9.3.1961.

91 NCCCK HQ. Appendix 4 on ‘Report in “East African Standard.”9.3.1961. ‘CCK Public Meeting quoting Nyagah.’ Titled ‘Church brought Kenya near Uhuru.’ In the minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya. 8-9.3.1961.

92 Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965

colonialism, underdevelopment and the cold war rivalry (Leys, 1975). Kenyatta's initial approach demonstrated this when he showed that transition was not about throwing Europeans out, but building a stable multi-racial Kenya and maintaining good relations with Britain and other countries of the international community. Kenya still needed these for her exports to industries in the metropolitan as it worked out how to establish its own.

The political leaders urged all Kenyans to work towards their own socio-economic sustainability and the national Anthem was a prayer to God in that line. Kenyatta led KANU in developing the famous Sessional Paper number 10 of 1965 that proposed African Socialism as the philosophy for building a post-colonial Kenya.⁹³ Its approach to Africanization was however haphazard and a contradiction to his own preference of capitalism. Mamdani (1996) observed that the Kenyatta government deracialized Kenya, but did not detribalize. Nation building focused infra-structure and not national integration and inter-ethnic cohesion.

Taking it that at independence Africans had gained full citizenship (Section 1.1) status and rights, John Kamau as the first African general secretary of the CCK declared in his maiden speech⁹⁴ that he would do everything he could to facilitate the churches to build Kenya and East Africa.⁹⁵ The CCK committed to working alongside the Kenyatta government through activities ranging from socio-economic empowerment of African citizens through agriculture, education, medical services and civic education. While Chepkwony (1987, 268-271) discussed the NCCCK's mutual cooperation with government in socio-economic development terms, I here focus on empowerment through civic education.

93 Sessional paper number 10, 1965

94 NCCCK Hq. Kamau, J C. Youth in the gap. Minute 13/66 in the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya. 4-5.5.1966.

95 NCCCK Hq. Welcome to the General Secretary. Minute 3 in the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya. 19-20.6.1963.

The first such post-independence effort was towards shaping African leaders' imagination of the new nation (Anderson, 1991) through a CCK conference from 28-31.1.1964 on the 'Role of the Church in independent Kenya.'⁹⁶ It borrowed insights from the 1962 'Kenya We Want' conference'⁹⁷ that was organized by political leaders, businessmen and professionals, and from a summary report of a similar conference that was held in Nigeria in May 1961.⁹⁸ It brought together Church leaders, missionaries, partners and CCK staff to prayer and Bible reflection, and to discuss the role of the Church with respect to Mission,⁹⁹ Christian unity and cooperation,¹⁰⁰ Church and society¹⁰¹ and the youth and Industry among others.¹⁰² In the tasks that befell the churches in the new dispensation, Dr Calderwood stated that;

Christianity extends not only to the heart, but also must reach down into the pocket. If this is to be an African Church in an African country, African people must pay their own pastors. The African must also carry the message of the gospel to his own people. The Church must become thoroughly indigenous.¹⁰³

How African churches intended to fund their work became an important discussion among CCK members. The CCK's cooperation with the government was seen in the frequency with which government officials officiated its activities and in the various socio-economic projects it undertook. In 1964, the Council invited Tom Mboya,¹⁰⁴ a key government minister, as guest to their Annual General Meeting (AGM). He explained the range of

96 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2653 Christian Council of Kenya. Programme of the Conference on the Role of Churches in Independent Kenya. Limuru Conference Centre 28-31.1.1964

97 KNA 338.9 KEN. Likimani, J C. 1962. The Kenya We Want Report. Kenya National Archives, Nairobi
Renison, Patrick, Sir. Governor's speech, titled The Kenya W Want. In J C. Likimani

98 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2653 Christian Council of Nigeria. Recommendation of the Conference held at Ibadan, 8-12.5.1961

99 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2653. Conference on the Role of the Church in independent Kenya, Res. 40/63; The special committee on Evangelism, Res. 39/63 of the annual general meeting. January 1964.

100 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/449. Wagoner and Kamau, 1964; Kamau, 1963

101 NCCCK Hq. Ministry of Education, Dain.1964;

102 NCCCK Hq. (Minute 7/64; Resolution 4/64 to follow the cooperation recommended at the conference on role of the churches in independent Kenya. In the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya. 5-6.5.1964

103 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2653 Questions and discussions arising out of the group reports. 30.1.1964

104 NCCCK Hq. Speech by Moya, Tom to the AGM of the CCK, Appendix IV of minutes of Annual Meeting 1964, held Limuru Conference. 5-6.5.1964;

Mboya, T J. Work for all. Speech presented to the 29th Industrial Life Conference, organized by National Council of Churches of Kenya in collaboration with Kenya Catholic Secretariat held Limuru Conference Centre, 9.11.1968

challenges that faced the government, assured that it was at work to tackle each one, and invited the CCK to constructive engagement. In the same AGM, Beetham,¹⁰⁵ as a visiting speaker, urged the CCK membership on the basis of Christ-centred sacrifice, to provide spiritual nourishment for those in positions of responsibility and work to address African realities.

This AGM was significant for civic education in that the CCK set up instruments by which it could participate in the newly independent state. The first was their decision to partner with the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) to set up the East Africa Venture Company Limited (EAVC) as a media company.¹⁰⁶ This became the publisher of *Target* and *Lengo* magazines, under the leadership of Rev. John Scoffield as editor. The second was to set up the Church and Society Committee (CSC).¹⁰⁷ For some reason, perhaps because the CCK leadership had a cordial relationship with the Kenyatta government, Kamau being a friend and Bishop Kariuki being his brother-in-law, the CSC was never activated until 1971.

In the 1965 AGM, the CCK invited President Kenyatta himself as chief guest. In response to general secretary Kamau's statement that, 'The challenges that have faced the Christian Church in Kenya have been intensified by our desire to contribute to nation building in obedience to God and to the government',¹⁰⁸ President Kenyatta declared that the work that the CCK was doing was reflective of the spirit of African socialism, thanked them for their efforts in nation building and assured that where resources allowed, the government would support their work.¹⁰⁹ On the subject of resources, Beetham's advice to the CCK was in line with John Kamau's property development thinking and the moratorium thinking of

105 NCCCK Hq. Address by Rev. T Beetham. Appendix in minutes of 5-6.5.1964

106 NCCCK Hq. Musyimi, Mutava. 2003. Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Nairobi: NCCCK Page 9.

107 NCCCK Hq. Min 15/64 on Church and Society Committee. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya, held at Limuru Conference Centre. 5-6.5.1964.

108 NCCCK Hq. General Secretary John Kamau's Speech to welcome the President. Attached as appendix II to the Minutes of the AGM of the CCK held at Limuru Conference centre, 4-5.5.1965

109 NCCCK Hq. Appendix. Address to the Christian Council of Kenya by President Jomo Kenyatta. In the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya 4-5.5.1965

moderator John Gatu of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa in 1969 (Beetham 1967, 30-31). Both men led their institutions to think of generating their resources locally. As the CCK changed to become the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) it also acquired property and increased its personnel. Its hopes that the government might allocate some resources for its programmes hardly materialized. Its funding was mainly from ecumenical partners in Europe. Government support was in goodwill and in kind. In 1972 John Kamau¹¹⁰ said;

A special word of thanks goes to our government for the cooperation we have had in preparation for this consultation and more so for the offer by the ministry of defence to let us use two of their aircrafts to fly our delegates to Northern parts of Kenya to see the various activities and development projects that we are participating in.¹¹¹

The cooperation that the NCCCK sought to have with government was however not all rosy. In the course of time, it began to emerge that the political leadership of Kenya, was not necessarily committed to the empowerment of citizens to enjoy their full citizenship rights like freedom of expression, forming political parties and participation by questioning government activity. They considered themselves independence heroes, and expected the citizens to be indebted to them for their role in fighting for freedom, even though most were loyalists (Branch 2009, 2005). The Kenyatta government was happy for citizens to work on their farms to generate income for themselves and for the state, but not to question its activities or seek alternative leadership.

Since generation of income was the more important issue for livelihood, their small holder farming activities aggregated to the state's celebrated economic performance which in turn made political accountability a peripheral issue. Kenyatta's approach was unlike that of Julius Nyerere, who employed the *Ujamaa* ideology to educate Tanzanians to view

110 NA A3 UP Kamau, John. 1972. Speech on the occasion of the consultation on the Churches participation in development in Kenya, held from 2-7.10.1972 at the Limuru Conference and Training Centre

111 NA A3 UP Kamau, John. 1972. Speech on the occasion of the consultation on the Churches participation in development in Kenya, held from 2-7.10.1972 at the Limuru Conference and Training Centre

themselves as brothers and sisters beyond their diverse ethnic groups, thus making great strides in building one nation and one people, even if at the expense of economic growth (Cornelli, 2012).

8.5 Protestants and Africans' endangered citizenship

In the emerging situation, the NCKK increasingly found its close cooperation with the state, a difficult position from which to criticize it. The following were some of the steps that undermined Kenya's nation building agenda and undermined the initial call for forgiveness, co-existence and pulling together in hard work. Firstly, Kenyatta's move to dissolve the opposition, though aimed at uniting leaders and making Kenya a republic, resulted in KANU's unchecked majority in parliament. He rapidly used the advantage to change the 1962 Constitution to minimize the role of parliament and create a powerful presidency. The second sign was his use of the powerful presidency to side line or silence dissenting or competing voices (Githiga 2001, 51-52) like Odinga's and others (Odinga 1968; Crouch 1993, 267).¹¹² In the differences that arose between Kenyatta and his capitalist political supporters and Odinga and his socialist ones for example, the CCK took a balanced approach stating as follows;¹¹³

Firstly, we rejoiced with you (*Kenyatta*) and the world when a year ago, an opposing party (*KADU*) voluntarily dissolved itself and the country moved to one party state. This example was acclaimed the world over as an expression of political maturity of our people, putting the needs of the country first and also the unquestionable confidence that our people had and still have in your person. The spirit of *harambee*¹¹⁴ which to the politically divided world for the first time conjured by yourself, brought with it a new enthusiasm, understanding, tolerance and an 'Esprit de corps' which this country had never known ... Secondly, we rejoiced in your being elected president of KANU at the last conference and we appreciate the impact of progress that your party had made as a ruling party since independence.¹¹⁵

112 The NCKK established the East Africa Venture company in 1963 that began to publish Target magazine and its Swahili sister-paper- Lengo, taking over from its predecessor, the Rock, as important print media for socio-economic and political commentary.

113NCKK Hq. Minute 9/66 on Report of the General Secretary. In the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya. 4-5.5.1966; 28.4.1966

114 Swahili slogan employed by President Jomo Kenyatta meaning 'Let's pull together'.

115NCKK Hq. Address to His Excellency the President of the Kenya Republic, Hon. Jomo Kenyatta by J C Kamau. Appendix 1. In the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya held at Lumuru Conference Centre. 4-5.5.1966

With the above approach, the NCKK leadership viewed Odinga's questioning of the Kenyatta government and his move to form an alternative political party as anti-progress, instead of defending political freedom. The third sign was the Kenyatta government's move to silence the media between 1965 and 1982. With the NCKK leadership still in the mode of affirming Kenyatta,¹¹⁶ one of its key Bishops, Obadiah Kariuki, being Kenyatta's brother-in-law, and its CSC not yet activated, there was no criticism. It was *Target* Newspaper and its Kiswahili version *Lengo* that became the prophetic voice against injustice and malpractice.¹¹⁷ In a scholarly analysis commissioned by the NCKK, Nicholas Otieno wrote;

Where other media in the country were cautious or going all the way to discredit KPU...the Rev. Schofield immediately...turned *Target* into more or less the opposition party's defender...The Rev. Schofield probably regarded his candid commentaries as manifestations of his conscience, prophecy and sense of Christian ministry but the government was not impressed.¹¹⁸

According to Okullu, the NCKK found itself on the spot by the fact that, while it was being cordial, its *Target* magazine had taken the task of questioning the government's malpractices. In 1968 for example, *Target* questioned the move by the Kenyatta regime to build the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) as a KANU building, using tax payer's money (Okullu 1987, 54-5).

The government responded by putting pressure on the NCKK leadership to change *Target's* European managing editor. Scoffield had written at a time when Africans did not expect an African editor, let alone a European one, to be daring enough to stand against African leaders. The fury of the government was such that he was given 48 hours to pack and leave Kenya. The NCKK replaced him with his deputy, the equally forthright Henry

116 NCKK Hq. Min 15/64 on Church and Society Committee. In minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Christian Council of Kenya, held at Limuru Conference Centre. 5-6.5.1964.

117 NCKK Archives Limuru. GST/7/2/6. Otieno, Nicholas. *Target Newspaper: A historical and sociological analysis in preparation for the Relaunch of Target Magazine*. 30.1.1964

118 NCKK Archives Limuru. GST 7/2/ 6. Otieno, Nicholas. Nd. *Target Newspaper: A historical and sociological analysis in preparation for the Relaunch of Target Magazine*.

Okullu. Born in 1929 in Ramba Village, Asembo Central Location, Siaya District of Nyanza Province, he rose to become a celebrated Bishop in Kenya, after studies in the USA. Oluoch (2003, 63-83) has given an extensive biography of Bishop John Henry Okullu. Manana (2000) referred to him as the outspoken critic of the Kenyan government in his sermons and publications on issues of human rights and justice, one who in late 1980s advocated a multi-party system of government.

The fourth sign, involved the assassinations of key political leaders. The assassination of Tom Mboya and the 'oathing' ceremonies that followed, were both a violation of human rights and an undermining of the nation building agenda through differentiating them towards ethnic hatred (Knighton, 2010, 119). It took Christian leaders from the NCK member churches, notably the Presbyterian Church whose two clergymen were killed for rejecting the oath and the Baptist Church led by its minister Tom, Houston¹¹⁹ (Githiga 2001, 54-55) to speak strongly against the 'oathing' (Mutava, 2003, 10) though the damage had already been done (Knighton's 2010, 119-120).

The NCK's cooperation with state was criticized by practitioners and scholars who argued that it had either shunned its role or had done much less than was expected. No less than Mwai Kibaki, the man who became president of Kenya in December 2002, in 1963¹²⁰ and 1972¹²¹ urged the Church to always speak the truth to the political leadership. In 1972 he said;

A modern Church is expected to be outspoken because other groups in society must be cautious.' We must have at least some organizations who speak up for the right of man regardless of what

119 East African Standard 8.9.1969; Interview, Oxford, 2006;

120 NA Lim/1/1/1757 Kibaki, Mwai. 1963. The role of the Church in the new Kenya: The Church and education. Unpublished paper

121 It is in fact quite telling that no less than Mwai Kibaki, the man who became president of Kenya from 2003 to 2012, consistently spoke on various occasions between 1963 and 1986 urging the Church to be bold. In 1963, he spoke on the role of the Church in education. In 1972 he said 'A modern Church is expected to be outspoken because other groups in society must be cautious. We must have at least some organizations who speak up for the right of man regardless of what happens tomorrow, ...an active organization which speaks of our problems which we face today. I cannot think of any other organization better placed than a church to play that role.'

happens tomorrow,' and for 'an active organization which speaks of our problems which we face today. I cannot think of any other organization better placed than a church to play that role.¹²²

Two important developments happened that re-directed the work of the NCCCK. Firstly, the NCCCK appointed a deputy general secretary called Bethuel Kiplagat. He was young and energetic, educated through the Protestant Alliance High School and Makerere University. He was later co-opted by the Moi government and became Kenya's Ambassador to France, Permanent Secretary of Foreign affairs and later Chairman of the Somali Peace talks. In an address to a conference of Student Christian Council at Limuru for example, Kiplagat said that 'When we look at the country that boasts of democracy we find there is so much shortcomings. Power is concentrated in the hands of a few people. They are usually the rich few who also control the means of communication.'¹²³ This was a strong criticism, which had not been heard from the NCCCK in the 1960s.

Secondly, with Kiplagat's involvement, the Executive Committee¹²⁴ in 1971 revived the Church and Society Committee that was provided for in 1964 and set the date of its first meeting for the 5.10.1971 under the chairmanship of J. Mbogori¹²⁵ Its members were distinguished Christian leaders including David Gitari, who later became the Archbishop of Kenya, Mr Samuel Kobia who later became the second African General Secretary of the NCCCK and the first African General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC), Mr N'gan'ga Njiraini who became the Director of Ufungamano House, Colonel Joshua Ngugi of Salvation Army, and Mr Bethuel Kiplagat and Mr E G Awimbo as Secretary

¹²²Kibaki, Mwai. 1972

¹²³ NCCCK Archives Limuru. GST/6/1/2. What we truly stand for. Delivered to the Conference- Christian Student Council held at Limuru on 11.7.1971

¹²⁴NCCCK Hq. Resolution 17/71 On CCK membership's call on the General Secretary to revive the Church and Society Committee as a matter of urgency. In minutes of the Executive Committee of the NCCCK 6.1971

¹²⁵NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337. Minutes of the Church and Society Committee of the NCCCK. 9.1971

from the NCKK staff team.¹²⁶ This marked a shift in the way the council approached the state¹²⁷ towards one of criticism.

As the country celebrated 10 years of independence in 1973, the NCKK resolved to intensify its nation building efforts in two ways. Firstly, seeing the needs in the north and at the request of a Borana man (Crouch 1993.8, 55), they committed to avail quality formal education for the people of northern Kenya by building a second Alliance type school. The NCKK considered education in a national school environment as an effective way of integrating Kenyans. The NCKK raised funds and constructed the Garba Tula mixed primary and secondary school at Isiolo in northern Kenya in 1973. It was recognized in Parliament by the Hon. Rubia on 27.3.1974¹²⁸ as providing equal opportunity for girls and boys. While the NCKK and its member churches ran the school, it was the top national school in the entire north and was responsible for educating many key leaders for Kenya. It began to decline when some northerners, a few even educated at the school, began to wage war against the NCKK and its membership, tussling to run the school.

Secondly, towards civic education, they proposed to host ‘The Kenya We Want’ fora arguing that while they recognized the great strides that Kenya had made in ten years of independence, ‘we feel it is necessary at this juncture to examine the goals ahead of us and to explore the various directions we, as Kenyans, should take to achieve these goals’¹²⁹ In the Consultation that they organized moderator John Gatu stated as follows;

Kenya, like many other countries of Africa was developed divided tribally, racially, religiously resulting in a socially, economically and religiously divided nation. While attempts were made to bring people together by creating institutions that went beyond these institutions, we have not been able to overcome these. Christianity should work for interpreting people of one background to the

126NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337. Members of the Church and Society committee in Minutes of the Church and Society Committee of the NCKK. 6.1971

127NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337. Resolution 17/71 in Minutes of the Church and Society Committee of the NCKK. 6.1971

128 The Hansard of Kenya. The Hon Rubia’s response to a question by the Hon. Kadir on Isiolo Secondary School as co-educational institution. 27.3.1974

129 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/650 Programme for the Kenya We Want forum held from 29th-31.3.1974

other emphasising the contributive, creative and strong points of the other instead of the known tendencies of always magnifying negatives.¹³⁰

In addition, Gatu pointed out that the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹³¹ needed to be brought to the knowledge of the average *mwanaanchi* (citizen) in a language that could be understood. The first human rights issue after the conference concerned discrimination on religious and race grounds. Gatu's call was to the NCKK as a non-state actor that was expected to apply Christianity and its Christian values of love for neighbour, justice and equality, because the majority of Kenyans were adherents of Christianity. This may have been the reason Abdalla pointed out in the same seminar, that Kenyatta had no Muslim member in his cabinet. Arguing that Christianity and Islam existed in most African countries side by side, even if in varying proportions, he petitioned the Kenyatta government through the NCKK to appoint a Muslim representative.¹³² While his assumption that non-Muslim political leaders were necessarily Christian was wrong, his speech revealed the sense of exclusion that was already felt by African Muslims.

The second human rights issue that shocked even Kenyatta's Kikuyu political allies (Knighton, 2009, 19) was the murder of J M Kariuki in March 1975. He was the popular Member of Parliament for Nyandarua North, who presented himself as defender of the poor, though a major land owner himself. His murder was profoundly shocking because it sent the message that with the Kenyatta regime, no one was indispensable, not fellow Kikuyus, not ex-Mau Mau fighters, not even after they, as Kikuyu, had taken oaths in an effort to secure the presidency for their tribe (Knighton, 2009, 19). It however also seemed

130 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/650 John Gatu. The role of Christianity and other religions. Presented to the Kenya We Want seminar held at Limuru Conference and Training Centre. 29th-31.3.1974

131 United Nations Website. Article 2 that includes provisions on race and religion. <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>. Accessed 19.9.2015

132 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/650 Islam, Christianity and Africa: A statement made by Mr A Abdalla at a seminar of the National Christian Council of Kenya on the theme "The Kenya We Want" held at Limuru. 29.3.1974

to allay the feeling that it was only Luos like Argwings Kodhek or Tom Mboya that had been targeted under the Kenyatta regime.

Unlike Mboya's assassination six years earlier,¹³³ Kariuki's murder occurred when the NCKK CSC was active. It considered the matter a violation of Kariuki's human right to life, free speech and political participation. This marked the beginning of the NCKK's active prophetic engagement. Until then, *Target* and *Lengo* magazines, with monthly circulations of 23000 and 25000 copies in 1975,¹³⁴ were the main voices of the Christian community. The CSC therefore issued a statement on 12.3.1975 which read in part;

The Church and Society Committee of the National Christian Council of Kenya, having heard the disturbing news of the untimely death of the Member for Nyandarua North, the Honourable Josiah Mwangi Kariuki ... express deep shock that such a brilliant son of this land has been taken away from us at a time when this country needed him most. Whatever the reasons and whoever is involved, we urge the government to leave no stone unturned so that the whole matter, however bitter, it may be may be known to us all. We call upon all members of our churches and the country in general to seriously pray for restraint, and understanding as our country faces the uncertainty now before us all. We further urge our Government and the public to ensure that the democratic rule and freedom which our country has been enjoying so far will not be put in jeopardy.¹³⁵

In addition, the NCKK organized to have David Gitari, then the general secretary of the Bible Society of Kenya and chair of the CCK's CSC, appear on live Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation (KBC) Radio to present a series of six sermons on the sanctity of human life to both the state and the citizens. As noted by Githiga (2001, 62-63), David Gitari was summoned by the security agents and his sermon notes scrutinised. The third human rights issue, arose from the experiences of United Kingdom Passport Holders (UKPH), who were still living in Kenya. The Council, which in 1968 had advocated for the fast tracking of Africans' integration in the nation's economic life, now intervened on behalf of the UKPH. The NCKK among other things, created office space for two officers to facilitate mainly

133 Omondi, Ibrahim, In Beyond Magazine

134 NCKK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 James Kireru marketing letter to all Church leaders, Church workers and Christian Institutions

135 KNA 262.5. Kamau, John. 1987. In as much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCKK) Page 38

Europeans and Indians, both those that were seeking to relocate to England and those that were seeking to remain in Kenya.

8.6 Protestants' and the great need for civic education

The NCCCK and its membership shifted from their cordial approach to the state in the early 1960s to a more critical one by key leaders like John Henry Okullu and David Gitari from 1967 onwards (Sabar-Friedman 2002, 163-165). The Gitari led CSC's opposition to the state's violations of human and political rights, however diplomatically stated, pitted it against the post-colonial Kenyatta government. In those days civil society activism against the perceived malpractices of the Kenya government was still underdeveloped. Okullu and Gitari were among the few voices that could articulate the position of the NCCCK and its membership boldly. Their statements got the government increasingly concerned. Charles Njonjo, the long serving powerful attorney general of the Kenyatta government, when invited as a chief guest of the NCCCK in the AGM of 1975, gave a measured rebuke saying;

I was genuinely amazed and impressed on studying these reports, by the very wide range of tremendously practical projects run by the NCCCK. I feel I must confess to you that I have often been disappointed and even disillusioned, by some of the NCCCK public attitudes and semi-informed public statements, and yet as I looked at these reports I was reassured and encouraged to realize that here was an organization that is quietly and devotedly working away behind the scenes, trying to meet some of our country's most poignant needs, needs for which we in government, alas, do not always have the time, or the concern, or the committed personnel, to face.¹³⁶

Njonjo advised that the NCCCK does much better research if it was to navigate the slippery road of public engagement or it would risk government action. He warned that in many countries, 'organizations such as yours and papers such as *'Target'*, are protected from their own folly in this particular area by being proscribed or at least censured or

136 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/650 Address by the Hon. C Njonjo, EGH MP At the Annual General Meeting of the National Christian Council of Kenya Held at the Limuru Conference and Training Centre. 2.7.1975. Appendix II of the Minutes

controlled.¹³⁷ This was a very significant critique and warning coming from a man so close to power in Kenya's rising authoritarianism.

To influence the state towards a better country therefore, the churches would require both their direct engagement in advocacy even if against the state and also indirect engagement by the active mobilization of the citizens themselves for participation. To mobilize the citizens required civic education on a range of issues including human rights, good governance and political participation. It was important that the citizenry know their rights and hold the state accountable.¹³⁸ Towards this end, the NCCCK initiated a new series of seminars under the theme 'The Kenya We Want', first used by professionals in 1962.¹³⁹ After an initial conference, the NCCCK organized other 'Kenya We Want' workshops at Nakuru Community Centre, 29-30.8.1975;¹⁴⁰ Government Training Institute Maseno, 2-4.10.1975; Kanamai Conference and Holiday Centre, 6-8.11.1975 and Reformed Church of East Africa Conference and Training Centre Eldoret 22-24.1.1976.

The topics discussed included 'The Church and its role in national development', 'Relevant system of education in Kenya', 'Land and property ownership in Kenya' and 'The Role of the Ruling Party'.¹⁴¹ They were organized to make the churches aware of the ethnic, cultural and social problems that the post-independence churches inherited from the pre-independence churches¹⁴² as well as to educate citizens on human rights. Coming soon after the murder of J M Kariuki, the participants wanted a country without

137 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/650 Address by the Hon. C Njonjo, EGH MP At the Annual General Meeting of the National Christian Council of Kenya Held at the Limuru Conference and Training Centre. 2.7.1975. Appendix II of the Minutes

138 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337. Awimbo, 1976

139 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Res. 52/75 and 53/75 on the Kenya We Want in minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the NCCCK held at Limuru 1-3.7.1976

140 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Report of the Church and Society Committee by E G Awimbo, Secretary, 1975

141 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Report of the Church and Society Committee by E G Awimbo, Secretary, 1975

142 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Objective 6. Of the Church and Society committee: main aims and objectives. Compiled by E G Awimbo, Secretary, 1975

malpractices like human rights violations, corruption and tribalism. They desired a country in which all people were treated with equality, with fair distribution of land, that afforded them quality education and where tourism was controlled for the benefit of Kenya rather than promotion of prostitution.¹⁴³ Kamau wrote;

The NCCCK was deeply concerned about the existence of corruption and “Magendo” (*euphemism for corruption involving coffee imports from Uganda and exports in the mid 1970s*) and the tense political and social conditions. The Council therefore organized series of seminars on the topic: ‘The Kenya We Want’. Following these seminars, the Executive Committee of the Council discussed the topic in depth and concluded that the Churches and Christians everywhere in Kenya should make sure that human rights were respected.¹⁴⁴

The NCCCK urged the ruling party KANU to uphold national consciousness, so that the Church imparts values, promotes respect for all human beings, teaches and safeguards the intrinsic value of human beings above money or status and publicizes the individual rights enshrined in the constitution.¹⁴⁵ The NCCCK did this because they held that all human beings were accountable to God.¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, as the NCCCK campaigned for human rights¹⁴⁷ and citizen political rights, the government showed its authoritarianism by arresting and detaining all those opposed to its way of operation and going as far as illegally arresting the Members of Parliament within the precincts of Parliament.

The second set of awareness conferences were held between 1976 and 1977 in opposition to the attempts by the Kikuyu hegemony around Kenyatta to change the constitution,¹⁴⁸ with the aim of barring Vice President Moi from taking over power and leadership from Kenyatta. Coming only 8 years after the 1969 ‘oathing’ ceremonies, it revealed the extent

143 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Taken from the Report on ‘The Kenya We Want’ Seminars. Compiled by E G Awimbo, Secretary, 1975

144 KNA 262.5. Kamau, John. 1987. In as much: A survey of the life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya Page 38

145 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Objective 6. Of the Church and Society committee: main aims and objectives. Compiled by E G Awimbo, Secretary, 1975

146 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 A report on the ‘Kenya We Want Seminars’

147 NCCCK Archives Limuru. Lim/1/1/2337 Resolution 52/75 on Kenya We Want in minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the NCCCK held at Limuru 1-3.7.1976; Awimbo and Mbogori, 1976)

148 KNA 262.5. Kamau, John C. 1987. In as Much. A survey of the Life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK). Nairobi: NCCCK Page 38

of tribalism that was already taking root among some Kikuyu leaders. The NCKC mounted its own campaign against the movement, by holding several consultations across the country 'to make people understand human rights and to prepare them to honour and respect Kenya's constitution. The Council felt that the Change-the-Constitution group would only have confused and disoriented the people.'¹⁴⁹ In this, the NCKC worked with Charles Njonjo as one who shared their views in opposition to the movement.

In the midst of the NCKC's increasing civic education efforts, the Kenyatta government decided to host its own 'Kenya We Want Conference' at the Kenya Institute of Administration, formerly Jeanes School (Section 3.2) between 17-19.1.1978. It was attended by top level government officers including Ministers, Assistant Ministers, Members of Parliament, Permanent Secretaries, Deputy Permanent Secretaries and Provincial Commissioners. There was unanimous agreement that the 'Kenya We Want', should be based on the rule of law and the Constitution, upholding the dignity of man as an individual, harmony between government departments, effective parliament, national ethics, effective planning and implementation, effective education and training for economic productivity, effective local government, effective care for the underprivileged and an elimination of conflict of interest and corruption among officers of government. Of critical importance was their statement;

That the 'Kenya we Want' should at all times consist of a well-disciplined leadership whose commitment to national goals and objectives should be reflected in their integrity, honesty, dedication, loyalty and public accountability because an efficient and effective leadership is the basis for political, social and economic development of the nation.

Could it be that the government decided to initiate its own 'Kenya We Want' discussions, at which it passed highly welcome resolutions, because it was aware that the NCKC was

149 KNA 262.5. Kamau, John C. 1987. In as Much. A survey of the Life and work of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCKC). Nairobi: NCKC Page 40

educating the public to demand more. This would be the fourth time that the state moved to take over something initiated by the joint missions or churches¹⁵⁰.

It was not long after that conference that President Moi took over leadership on President Kenyatta's demise. He was aware that he had become president as a result of the firm stand taken by attorney general Charles Njonjo and minister for Finance and economic planning, Mwai Kibaki and with the support of the churches. His activity in office in his first four years of office, which included his decision to release and rehabilitate political detainees like Martin Shikuku¹⁵¹ and George Anyona presented him as a democrat¹⁵² (Adar and Munyae,¹⁵³ 2001; Ogot, 1995, 190-191; Throup, 1995, 147; Benson, 1995, 179), one committed citizens' political rights.¹⁵⁴

His fight against corruption,¹⁵⁵ in which he warned that he could deport Asian crooks,¹⁵⁶ his dissolution of tribal associations as a way of fighting tribalism¹⁵⁷ (Oluoch, 2006, 9-10) were all highly welcome. Appreciating such a commitment from a man who was cutting the image of one who feared God (Benson, 1995, 179-180), the NCKK and its key leaders from its membership were once again keen to collaborate with the state (Imathiu in

150 See Governor Mitchell's race relations effort, Kenyatta government took over the running of schools knowing that they belonged to the churches, the Kenyatta government took over village polytechnics;

151 Weekly Review. President Moi's Jamhuri Speech on 1978.12.15

152 Weekly Review. Never say die. 10.4.1982;

A rehabilitated George Anyona vowed to contest for a parliamentary seat against Zachary Onyoka once again.

153 Korwa G. Adar and Isaac M. Munyae 2001. "Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001. African Studies Quarterly 5(1): 1. [online] URL: <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>

154 Okullu, Henry. 1984. Church and State in nation building and human development. 'On taking over President Moi was initially and rights so, more concerned with maintaining the stability of the country'..., using the Nyayo slogan (Okullu, 1984,39).

155 Lim/1/1/2337. 1978. Kamau, John. General Secretary's report. 14.11.1978. Minutes of the Church and Society Committee. 15.11.1978

156 Weekly Review. Moi threatens to deport Asian crooks. 12.2.1982

157 Lim/1/1/2337. 1978. Church and Society document titled, 'Proposed Programme of Church and Society Committee for 1979. Which read in part 'Now that President Daniel Arap Moi has been democratically elected and installed as the 2nd President of our republic of Kenya and with the KANU elections at National Level successfully completed, it is time that the Church and Society committee of NCKK reactivates its activities in line with the new President's publicly declared stand against such evils as tribalism, corruption, smuggling and unequal distribution of wealth etc.'

Crouch 1993, 6). Among the areas that the NCKK engaged were peace and reconciliation efforts in Nandi,¹⁵⁸ and in following up on their 1978 'Kenya We Want' conference recommendations on human rights and property rights.¹⁵⁹ They also urged its member churches to encourage their people to register as voters and to exercise their right to vote (Kamau, 1987, 40). The NCKK saw the Moi leadership as another opportunity to build the people in terms of citizenship and their dreams for a prosperous country in which they were free and participating.

8.7 Conclusion

Scholars like Owuoché (2010), Branch (2010) Knighton (2005) and Sabar-Friedman (2002) considered that the missions and the churches were active in the democratization of Kenya from the mid-1980s going forward. Paul Gifford observed that politically engaged Christianity was an exceptional vital force in the early 1990s (2010, 36-42). This Chapter and previous ones have however shown that the churches engagement in the 1980s and 1990s, was built on the work of the missions and churches between 1918 and 1982. Of their empowerment strategies, including rehabilitation of ex-soldiers and ex-Mau Mau detainees, their civic education of African and European church leaders in preparation for independence, their advocacy for human rights and their post-independence civic education of citizens on political freedom and human rights. The NCKK realized that collaboration required caution because the state's rising authoritarianism, increasing corruption and deteriorating human rights record were matters of discredit that made it difficult for criticism. Though the NCKK engaged the state against the malpractices they saw, they had to employ civic education as a way of mobilizing the citizens to demand their rights.

158 Lim/1/1/2337. 1978. Awimbo, E G. Report of the Church and Society Committee 1.11.1978

159 Lim/1/1/2337. Awimbo, E G. Secretary. Report of the Church and Society Committee titled 'Follow-up of the 'Kenya we Want' seminars. 18.9. 1979

Chapter Nine

Critical summaries and lessons

9.1 Introduction

The introduction highlighted a knowledge gap in church-state studies. The scholars that focused on the role of the missions, Stibbs (1978), Strayer (1978), Spencer (1974) and Oliver (1967) discussed their activity in the early colonial period, or the role of particular missions, or issues other than citizenship. Those of Kenya's post-colonial history commonly assume that the churches of Kenya only became politically active after independence. The foregoing Chapters have however shown, not just that Protestant missions and churches had a long history of organization and engagement, but that they had been variously effective in facilitating Africans' gains towards full citizenship (Section 1.1).

This concluding chapter, firstly, summarises the findings presented in the foregoing Chapters. Secondly, it discusses the findings of this thesis in the light of secondary literature and shows areas in which new knowledge is added. Thirdly, it discusses the implications of the findings of this research to the work of ecumenical Protestants in Kenya, providing an outline of a possible discipleship curriculum for effective Christizenship, derived from Lamin Sanneh's (2011) concept of Christian citizenship.

9.2.0 Protestants' organization and joint efforts towards Africans' citizenship

Though Ndegwa (1997) argued that citizenship existed among African communities without formal state structures before the modern state was introduced, this thesis undertook its investigation on the basis of Aristotle's state-citizen relationship. Thus the opportunity for Africans' integration into a multi-ethnic and multi-racial state only became

possible in 1895 when a formal state was set up. The state's dealings with Africans however surprised the missions, which it had made to believe that it was committed to the welfare of Africans. Despite, their late reaction, the missions intervened against the state's injustices. The following are summaries of the findings of the roles that the ecumenical Protestant missions and churches played with regard to the gains that Africans made towards full citizenship.

9.2.1 Protestants' successive ecumenical institutions

Protestant missions came to Kenya as individual missions, primarily to spread Christianity, commerce and civilization (Section 1.6.4) depending on their mission concepts. While scholars like Owuoché (2010) and Chepkwony (1987) studied the NCCCK's role in politics and development after independence, this thesis has shown that the missions began exploring ecumenical cooperation in 1907 (Section 3.3) in response to the common challenges that they were experiencing on the mission field, both mission and state related. The successive ecumenical institutions they created, beginning with the Federation of Missions (FOM) in 1913, the Alliance of Protestant Missions (APM) in 1918, the Kenya Missionary Council (KMC) in 1924, the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) in 1943 and later the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) after independence in 1966, became the platforms of their joint dealings with the state. Noting the above, their actual active engagement concerning Africans' rights relevant to this thesis began in 1918, when they reorganized themselves into the APM and determined to engage the state. While they as missions or churches and their leaders, individually and collectively, had various shortcomings, they, unlike Muslim Arabs, Catholic Portuguese, Hindu Indians and Protestant governors or settlers, worked for the welfare of Africans.

9.2.2 Protestants and representation rights

Representation in decision making processes as a measure of integration was the main right by which Africans' citizenship status in colonial and post-colonial Kenya was judged in the research process for this thesis. As discussed in the definition (Section 1.6.5), citizenship could only have been meaningful to Africans if they had had equal rights to participate in determining how they were governed, like their fellow European and Indian subjects or citizens. Such political representation, in organs where laws and policies were made, was the only official platform through which Africans could have questioned any state activity that violated any of their other citizen rights.

The missions first offered themselves to represent Africans when they realized that important decisions that affected them, were being made without consulting them at a time the colonial state had no room for them to represent themselves (Sections 4.3 and 4.4). As argued in Chapters Five and Six, the fact that a colonial state that was manned by civilized people with the mandate to uphold British trusteeship on behalf of Africans, violated the property and labour rights of those they were to protect, without consulting them, confirmed CNC Ainsworth's statement that Africans were a people without a status in the protectorate (Section 4.2). The colonial state's failure to pay attention to mission interventions on behalf of Africans, as it worked to pass and apply new laws and policies that were unjust to Africans (Section 5.2.2) also confirmed to the missions that it was not committed to Africans' rights. Initially Governor Northey confirmed the exclusion by his refusal to even have missionaries represent Africans on the LegCo. In effect he questioned their legitimacy to play such a role, despite appointing other Europeans that had little unofficial contact with Africans to represent them on the LegCo. In addition, when Indians heard that the missions were seeking a slot to represent Africans, they offered themselves claiming that they were better representatives of Africans than the missionaries.

Few however, had the credentials of the missionaries because they were among the very few non-Africans that lived among them and served them. The missions offer to intervene was therefore based on their ministry among Africans, their character as religious groups that were ordinarily expected to be sources of moral instruction and on the fact that they were linked to their mother churches in the metropolitan and J H Oldham of the International missionary Council, both with significant voices. The missions' successful advocacy against the Northey Circulars between 1919 and 1921 (Section 5.3) became a strong statement of their legitimacy. I argue that the colonial state was forced by its metropolitan appointing authority, to change the policy sections that violated the rights of Africans, due to among other factors, missions' advocacy.

In addition, the missions intensified their efforts to empower Africans through facilitating them to form political parties, expanding their access to secondary education and facilitating them to engage ongoing political processes, like the Ormsby-Gore Commission and the Carter Land Commission among others. Their main setbacks arose from the times they tried to balance between appreciating the state's plans and listening to Africans' grievances. At that time there were no Africans involved in the Alliance or the KMC because none of them were at the helm of their missions or churches. This appeared to contradict their educational and facilitation efforts to empower Africans to represent themselves. With time however Africans gained capacity to represent themselves in LNCs from 1924, the Legislative Council (LegCo) in 1944 and to gain self-determination at independence.

9.2.3 Protestants and labour and taxation rights

Labour, taxation, wages and the *Kipande* were the matters about which the colonial state and the settlers took advantage of the basic socio-economic rights of Africans, and

undermined their livelihood. The combination of unjust ordinances, limited land, controlled movement, low wages and bargaining capacity, high tax, the *kipande* and in some cases very inhuman treatment, were used coercively to huddle Africans to manual work on European estates (Clayton and Savage 1974). Counter productively however, what European investor farmers gained in income, they lost in terms of failing to inculcate a healthy work ethic, integrity and fairness, and even the possibility of building a modern multi-racial state, because Africans came to associate labour with subjugation. It reveals the conflict between the colonial state's and European settler's vision of the role of Africans versus that of Africans' themselves, the missions and conscientious civil servants.

Though Protestant missions had initially sanctioned the colonial state's intentions to use compulsion in the recruitment of Africans for labour on the basis of their Protestant work ethic, they opposed its attempt to violate their rights further through publishing the Northey Circulars. The findings show that the missions' intervention for Africans after the WWI contributed to the modification of the Northey Circulars, and created room for Africans' to negotiate for better wages just taxation, and later led to a correction of the *kipande* laws, so that by 1950, it was a useful universal citizens' pass for all races.

In addition, the state allowed the missions to introduce secondary education by working together to establish two institutions, the Jeanes College in Kabete in 1925 and the Alliance Secondary School in Kikuyu in 1926, jointly. The ecumenical Protestants then moved on and as individual missions built many other schools across the country. In the 1950s, the colonial state moderately expanded the education system after the Beecher Commission presented its report. Their efforts towards labour and taxation rights were what partly contributed to the appointment of Dr Arthur on the LegCo, and caused

Coryndon to create LNCs, the contributing to Africans gaining a citizenship of localized representation.

9.2.4 Protestants and property rights

By the time Africans realized that they had made a great mistake to let the advance party European settlers lease their land, the colonial state had already alienated wide areas of land, labelled it the White Highlands and distributed it to European settlers, and had relocated them to overcrowded Reserves. Thus while the state served European settlers, Indians, and Arabs, Africans were relegated to servile conditions, a people without status. The governors and the settlers had from the time of Commissioner Charles Eliot nursed hopes of turning Kenya into a white man's country, a step that could have disinherited Africans. After the WWI, Africans needed to re-organize themselves to find a way of survival.

Although Protestant missions were key beneficiaries of property in the form of land in the Reserves that fell within their comity areas, their discomfort with the European-Indian competition for paramountcy caused them as missions to intervene for Africans, partly to keep Indians at bay and partly to safeguard the rights of Africans. The publication of the DWP prevented a South Africa or Rhodesia type situation for Africans in Kenya, because it declared the paramountcy of Africans' interests and bought time for Africans to get educated, to grow in their capacity for political participation, to participate in government Commissions and express their views. Africans' growing capacity for participation in decision making processes is seen in the way they engaged the Carter Land Commission. Land remained the central critical issue that rallied both the elite and the peasantry, the latter resorting to the revolt that became known as the Mau Mau.

9.2.5 Protestants and race relations

The missions' efforts to improve race relations, even though highly sensitive, were a ground breaking initiative. Coming after the anti-female circumcision campaign, their efforts could be interpreted as Dr Arthur's attempt to address the fallout that had occurred. In this, the missions challenged racism, created room for willing Europeans to dialogue with Africans, climaxing a Christian Council on Race Relations and the first ever mixed race group visit to the governor as discussed in Chapter Seven. Thus the missions may not have achieved much, but they created vision and gave leadership in a task that was unimaginable. They themselves were a joint effort of diversities of mission with the first Africans entering mission leadership in the late 1930s, and in the Race Relations effort, they worked to get the races together. Their efforts coupled with the WWII exposure by Africans was part of the increasing boldness that Africans were gaining, and was of benefit to them in their post-war achievement of representation on the LegCo.

9.2.6 Protestants and Africans' empowerment in rehabilitation and civic education

After independence, scholars attributed the challenges and malpractices of African leaders on neo-colonialism (Leys 1975), moral ethnicity (Lonsdale 1992), patrimonialism and clientelism (Gifford 1998), authoritarianism (Githiga, 2001), kleptocracy (Southall 1999), politics of the belly (Bayart 1993), bad political culture (Haugerud 1993), and a conflict between ethnic and national citizenship (Ndegwa 1997). Gertzel and Rothchild (1969, 21-99) as did Klopp (2002) wondered how the citizenry could engage in nation building against militant tribalism. Branch, Cheeseman and Gardner (2010) observed that 'ethnic identities were strong under colonialism and were revived in independence.' Thus the churches came to terms with the fact that an African led state could be as brutal and unjust in terms of human rights as any other. They discussed human rights in the Kenya We Want conferences of 1975 to 1978. This thesis adds to knowledge by pointing out that the

prevalence of malpractice is was attributable to shortcoming of the missions' empowerment strategy which spanned formal education, rehabilitation, and civic education. With the massive civic education effort of the early 1990's that ushered in the second liberation, the NCKK now needs to evaluate the curriculum, for a more effective empowerment.

9.3 Protestants and Africans' citizenship: Additions to knowledge

This section discusses the findings in this thesis in the light of what other scholars have done. Being a thesis on ecumenical Protestants and citizenship, it benefitted from literature on the social teachings of the Christian faith, on theories of citizenship, on religion and politics in Africa, on the history of Kenya and the history of church and state relations in Kenya as discussed in Chapters One and Two. Scholars of citizenship in Africa and Kenya have done research on the meanings of citizenship in various contexts (Hunter 2015; Afro-barometer 2006), the political marginalization of groups whether ethnic, like the case of Nubians (Balaton-Chrimes 2015; Sing'Oei 2011; Lonsdale 2008), Somalians (CCIRBD, 1996) or Indians (Rothchild 1970) gender (Kattambo, et al, 1995), the relationship of empire to former colonies (Cooper, 2014), the difference between citizenship-as-legal status and citizenship-as-desirable activity (Kymlicka and Norman 2014), the possibility of sub-national, national and supra-national levels of citizenship (Kymlicka 2001), the challenge of allegiance between ethnic community based civic-republicanism and national libertarianism (Ndegwa 1997, 601-610; Sections 2.3 and 2.5) and differentiation of races and ethnic communities into classes by the colonial and post-colonial states (Mamdani 1996). Following the summaries above, I now consider six areas in which this thesis adds to knowledge, in addition to Section 9.2.1, as follows;

9.3.1 Church state studies in Kenya

After the significant works of Strayer (1978), Stibbs (1978), Spencer (1974), Temu (1972), Oliver (1967, 1963) that focused on the early colonial period, others like Owuoche (2010), Gifford, (2009), Knighton (2009), Lonsdale (2009, 2008, 2005, 1992), Githiga (2001), Throup (1995), Benson (1995), and Chepkwony (1988) have more recently discussed the role of the churches mainly after independence. Those that sought to explain the culture of malpractice including bad governance, corruption and interethnic violence viewed the churches as ineffective, whether because of their lack in theology, their fragmentation, their lack in sound leadership, their ethno-centric cleavages or their collaboration with the state. Of the recent studies done, some like Sabar-Friedman (2002), Githiga (2001) and Chepkwony (1988) presented an alternative perspective that showed that the churches had had a more positive role.

This thesis adds to their thinking as follows below. Firstly, that the effectiveness of churches in the emerging culture of a society is double pronged. While it ought to be primarily reflected in the way adherents operate in society and hold the state to account, its main effect on the state is only possible if their direct and indirect advocacy efforts yield better laws and policies. Effective efforts towards better governed societies are only possible if states are held accountable to just laws and policies.

Secondly, the divisiveness presented by the ethno-focussed multiplicity of Protestant missions and churches was mitigated by their opportunity for institutionalization for joint ecumenical activity, allowing for evangelistic, discipleship, church planting, social services and pastoral work within their denominations and for their more prophetic work through their joint platforms. Their efforts were found weak and questionable in some respects, but

were on the whole efforts that dealt with Africans as human beings and contributed to the gains they made from exclusion to full citizenship at independence.

Thirdly, that whenever the missions engaged on the basis of justice, whether the Northey Circulars, the Indian Land Problem, their race relations effort or civic education, it did not matter whether the state agreed with them or not. The state later shifted to accommodate some or most of what they were advocating.

9.3.2 Ecumenical Protestants were operational early in the colonial period

Both the works of scholars like Stibbs (1978), Kamoche (1981), Spencer (1974) and Ross (1927), who either wholly or partly, discussed the work of Protestants and those of other scholars like Branch (2010), Owuoché (2010) and Gifford (2009) that discussed the work of ecumenical Protestants in the independence period, may not have had the benefit of materials on how the latter organized themselves to become key players in Kenya's development process. This thesis, by investigating and highlighting how Protestant missions and churches organized themselves beginning 1907, provides vital information that helps scholars tell whether the missions were in cahoots with the state, or just seeking strategic ways of discharging their ministry. The research showed that they remained focused on spreading Christianity and related with the state and society towards that end. It was from this perspective that they addressed emerging issues concerning Africans development and integration towards full citizenship.

9.3.3 Ecumenical Protestants and Africans' gains towards full citizenship

Aside from Ndegwa (1997) who highlighted the tension between Africans' ethnic community level civic-republicanism and their national libertarian citizenship and Mamdani's (1996) discussion of the state's policy of differentiation in which Africans were subjugated to subject-hood in their local spheres as Europeans, Indians and Arabs

accessed a citizenship status at national level (Sections 2.3 and 2.5), this thesis adds to their discussions with a third perspective, in its argument that Africans did not just remain in their ethnic world view or enter a differentiated citizenship as helpless victims. They instead learnt from their subjugation by the state, their experience of forced labour, their exposure to mission education, their observation of European and Indian approaches to business, farming and politics (Peterson 2004), and their experience of the WWI and began organizing themselves politically in 1919. Their growing political capacity and activity from the experiences outlined above, coupled with the efforts of ecumenical Protestant missions and churches facilitated their gains towards full citizenship at independence, as follows;

Firstly, Africans began their experience of the colonial state excluded from decision making, hence a citizenship of exclusion. This was seen in the way the colonial state treated them as a people without status (Sections 1.6.5 and 3.3) and passed laws and policies that enabled it to alienate their land, relocate them to live in crowded Reserves and exploit them as cheap labour without recourse. It was also seen in the fact that while other races had representation on the LegCo beginning with Europeans in 1907, Indians and Arabs by 1921, Africans were initially represented by appointed Europeans that had no interest in their affairs until 1923, when the state began appointing a missionary to represent them with the understanding that missionaries lived among Africans and knew them better.

Secondly, the status of Africans began to change with the metropolitan's declaration Kenya as a colony in 1920, Governor Coryndon's nomination of a missionary to represent Africans on the LegCo beginning with Dr Arthur in 1923 and his creation Local Native Councils (LNCs). While a missionary representative was a key step, Spencer (1985) wrote,

the first five, out of six missionary representatives, could not have been viewed as fitted for their task because, they did not have a formal way of consulting Africans. In Spencer's view only the sixth missionary representative, Leonard Beecher, appointed in 1943 discharged that role. It was therefore only when in 1924 Governor Coryndon created the Local Native Councils (LNCs) as the first official opportunities for Africans to engage directly in the politics of determining their lives, even if at local level, that Africans made the first gain, from a citizenship of exclusion to a citizenship of localized representation (Section 4.4).

Thirdly, Africans' agitation from 1925 onwards, through organizations like the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA), alongside Protestant missions' advocacy efforts on land matters, the metropolitan's Commissions of enquiry and their reports, Africans' increasing enlightenment through mission and African-managed education systems, the missions efforts towards improved race relations, and the impact of the WWII on African ex-soldiers, were among the factors that resulted in the next shift in citizenship status. The decision by Governor Henry Moore in 1944, to appoint Eliud Mathu to the LegCo as the first African to represent Africans, marked the next very significant gain from a citizenship of localized representation through LNCs to a citizenship of limited national representation.

Other qualified Africans formed themselves into the Kenya African Study Union (KASU) to support the Honourable Mathu in his new role. In 1945 they renamed it the Kenya African Union (KAU) and later to Kenya African National Union (KANU). As Africans agitated for greater representation both through Mathu on the LegCo and pressure through political activity, the colonial state and the settlers tried to strengthen their hold on the territory. This caused otherwise divided Africans, to focus their efforts on achieving

majority rule (Section 8.3.3). By 1950 they had managed four Africans representing fellow Africans on the LegCo, and one appointed as a cabinet minister.

Fourthly, increased Africans' boldness, both through activities of political parties like the Kenya African Union and African revolts the best known being Mau Mau (Section 4.5), coming after India had gained independence in 1947, were catalysed rather than curtailed by the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta and his co-leaders and Sir Evelyn Baring's declaration of the emergency in 1952. More African leaders arose, so that soon after the Mau Mau was contained, more political parties were formed with African political and religious leaders pressing for more seats on the LegCo, for the release of Kenyatta and his co-detainees and for independence. The achievement of independence in 1963, marked another gain for Africans from a citizenship of limited representation on the LegCo and cabinet to a citizenship of full integration, to the point that the other races became marginalized and silenced. Africans however faced two main challenges.

The first was the fact that a majority of them neither had the civic competence (Almond and Verba 1963) nor the modicum of socio-economic stability that Marshall (1950) declared necessary for effective citizenship. These were partly the reasons that caused ecumenical Protestants to seek to complement the state's efforts through development programs (Chepkwony, 1987). The second was the fact that the first two African presidents were authoritarian in their leadership. This meant that although Africans had gained full citizenship, they did not enjoy the freedoms that would afford them the capacity to play their citizenship role of political participation. A fuller citizenship that involved political participation with freedom of association and speech to even demand for a new constitution, and much reduced authoritarianism, only came with their push for a second liberation.

Signs of discontentment against the state, began in 1982 with the attempted *coup d'état*, followed by other expressions and publications by university students, lecturers and civil society groups. These were either arrested and detained by the Moi regime or had to flee the country (Nzomo 2003; Oyugi 2003. Sabar 2003; Githiga 2002; Mutunga 1999). It was the entrance of the ecumenical Protestants on the platform of the NCCCK, with key leaders like Bishops Henry Okullu, Alexander Muge and David Gitari, Rev. Doctors Timothy Njoya and Samuel Kobia and Archbishop Manases Kuria in 1986 that provided a backbone to what became the second liberation struggle. Owuoche (2010), Branch (2010) and Gifford (2009) all acknowledge the role of the NCCCK and its participating leaders.

9.3.4 Ecumenical Protestants, the Northey Circulars and Paramountcy debates

This thesis adds to the knowledge of Maxon (1978) and Spencer (1974) with regard to the Northey Circulars of 1919 (Section 5.3.6) and the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 (Section 4.4). With regard to the Northey Circulars Maxon argued that it was state officers rather than the missions that originated the complaints and influenced the factors that led to the instruction that certain provisions of the Circulars be changed. On his part Spencer (1974) considered that the missions had been complacent and therefore discredited, until they were rescued by Oldham's intervention (Section 5.3).

This thesis has however shown that the missions were the first to engage in direct advocacy and to seek for Oldham's support after the colonial state declined to heed their advocacy. The missions, by contacting Oldham, as a man that had capacity to influence very key contacts in labour Party, in the media and in Parliament in the metropolitan, indirectly brought pressure to bear upon the colonial state. The result was a reversal of the provisions that would have allowed the state to recruit Africans to forced labour on European private farms. With regard to the latter, Maxon argued that it was the activity of state officers that led to the DWP settlement. This thesis has however shown not only that

the state officers that Maxon highlighted were part of the Indian Land Question discussions that twice failed to arrive at a compromise position. On the third time when governor Coryndon responded to the invitation of the Duke of Devonshire by inviting the missions to advise him on Africans' affairs, their engagement through Dr Arthur linked the discussion to the highly knowledgeable and influential secretary of the IMC.

His engagement with the various parties created understanding that allowed him to draft the wording that reflected the position that was agreeable to all parties. The view held in this thesis is not in conflict with the work of Kamoche (1981), who acknowledged the role of the missions and J H Oldham without discussing details as he discussed the importance of trusteeship to the metropolitan and the colonial state's lack of commitment to it. In view of the above, this thesis provides details as found in NCKK archives and corroborated by Oldham documents in Oxford University Library's archives.

9.3.5 Ecumenical Protestants and multi-racialism in Kenya

Previous research in the area of race relations has highlighted differentiation (Mamdani 1996), civic republicanism based on ethnic communities (Ndegwa 1997), and marginalization of citizens from other races or ethnic groups (Lonsdale 2008; Rothchild 1970) and the malpractices of the colour bar in Kenya and Rhodesia (Broomfield 1943).

This thesis, in addition reveals the efforts that the missions made towards improving race relations and discusses their successes and challenges. Though they faced opposition from European settlers, the missions' daring efforts were the first to facilitate multi-racial discussions, culminating in the first ever mixed race group to visit Governor Robert Brooke-Popham. Their influence is not only seen in the fact that six years later, Governor Henry Moore appointed the first African to the LegCo, but also that eight years later

Governor Phillip Mitchel took up the initiative to improve race relations and to facilitate further gains from a citizenship of localized participation to one of limited national representation on the LegCo.

9.3.6 Ecumenical Protestant leaders' relations with state leaders

The relationship between religious and political leaders continues to generate academic interest as highlighted in Section 2.7 of this thesis. Cheeseman (2015) discussed the ability of churches to collaborate or confront the state in support of the state for mutual benefit. Haynes (1996) arguing that religious groups were no match for the state, indicated that the former related with political leaders in a way to maintain the latter's hegemonic control. He wrote that 'The not especially surprising conclusion is that both religious and secular power-holders seek to manipulate political situations for personal and for corporate advantage' (Haynes 1996, 103). Isichei (1995) held that the churches and the state were one and the same because they were committed to the same purpose.

This thesis has however presented a more nuanced picture from the experience of Kenya's ecumenical Protestants in that, though the missions were cordial with the state, theirs was not an organic relationship. It was rather a strategic approach for the sake of their work and for the benefit of Africans. As seen in the cases of the 1919 Northey Circulars, the 1920-1923 Indian Land Problem, the 1953 brutality against Mau Mau detainees, the 1969 'Oathing' ceremonies and the rising human rights violations of the 1970s, ecumenical Protestants opposed the state rather than preserved politicians' hegemonies as Haynes argued. Evidence shows that both Africans, Europeans and even scholars today were very critical of the missions if they leaned towards the state. While this research did not access enough sources to refute Haynes observation of individual leaders of various religions relating with politicians for personal income or sectional goals, they as ecumenical Protestants did not collectively do so.

In addition, Protestant leaders were not purposely class-differentiated from their clergy and members as Haynes (1996) indicated. They were all struggling to keep their missions and churches going, and required human and financial resources for the work. They were therefore keen to find, educate and empower African clergy and citizens. This required that they minimize race and class differentiation (Section 9.2.5). The anti-female circumcision campaign was evidence of some of the missions' willingness to sacrifice relations with African adherents to rescue women.

The independent churches that got formed, though to the missions regrettable, were in effect an indicator of Africans' gains from the same missions' empowerment efforts, evidenced by their growing capacity to manage their own affairs (Section 2.2). What perhaps might be interpreted as a hegemonic relationship was the state's choice of missionaries as Africans' representatives on the LegCo discussed above (Section 4.5). Thus what existed between state and Protestant leaders was a convergence of interests on Africans, even if for different reasons and not an arrangement to preserve the political hegemonies.

9.4 Ecumenical Protestants and Africans' citizenship: Continuity and discontinuity

Based on the findings of this thesis, the following observations and recommendations are made;

Firstly, Protestants inability to form one united native church, was not necessarily negative as it allowed them to form themselves ecumenically and operate jointly. Their limitation was in the extent of their united operation, the quality of their research and discussions, the quality of their leadership, and their strategy of engagement of emerging issues. In this area, Protestant missions displayed continuity of structures, the discontinuity being from European missionaries to Africans church leaders.

Secondly, there was discontinuity in the area of representation. In the period 1918 to 1945, Europeans were dominant in politics. There was a transition in the period 1945 to 1962 so that beginning 1963, Africans became dominant group that emphasised majority rule without much care for the minority races. Ecumenical Protestants lapsed in their efforts towards a multi-racial state and the subject of marginalization. There was continuity in terms of governance structures. The NCKK needs to undertake research and advocate for national integration and cohesion.

Thirdly, there was continuity for the European settler farmers that remained in the White Highlands after independence, but discontinuity in that Africans were free to buy and own land, and practice agriculture in the White Highlands and anywhere else as they were able. The main problem was the lack of an effective land policy and the emergence of corruption and tribalism. The NCKK must engage in research and advocacy towards better legislative frameworks and land management.

Fourthly, there was discontinuity in Africans' fight for independence when they got it, but there is continuity in the need to work towards better governance and to educate citizens for a more effective role, especially because 82.6 percent of them are African Christians. These have not been educated to view Christianity as beneficial to their ways of life in their Kenyan, even ethnic contexts. Christianity has not provided answers for moral ethnicity (Lonsdale 1992), malpractices in the political culture (Haugerud, 1993), race and ethnic differentiation (Mamdani 1996) and corruption (Wanjala and Kibwana 1997) beyond outlawing them.

9.5 Protestants and the task of developing Kenyans for effective citizenship

Initiatives from Christian practitioners and scholars aimed at restoring the effectiveness of Christianity in society have been many. They range from those that called individuals and

groups to commit themselves to the Moral Majority (Griffiths 2008) or the Moral Re-Armament (Christie, 1960) to those that more naively attempted to gain political power and declare theirs, Christian countries like Frederick Chiluba did in Zambia (Phiri, 2003).

More theological approaches that arose from the difficult experiences of Latino Americans and African Americans became known as Liberation theology and Black theology respectively (Bradley 2010; Ron Nd: Garvey 1925). The proposal here differs from those above, in that it seeks to develop a theology of dual citizenship that empowers individual Christian citizens (Non-Christians can derive from it) to approach life in a way that takes care of their entire way of life or culture, including religious (spiritual), ethical, aesthetic, economic, social and political dimensions. It employs citizenship as the concept, other than disciple (which connotes an apolitical spirituality), that could encompass human life in the six dimensions of life in society.

A curriculum towards effective citizenship covers the following areas; Firstly, the meaning and nature of human society, how society functions in its dimensions (Mugambi (2004) and the Christians' (or other faiths) approach to life in that society. Secondly, faith in a pluralistic society: Commitment to Christ and life on earth, the dual citizenship that arises (for them as citizens of heaven operating as citizens of earth) and what both citizenships entail (Mtt 3:13-16). Thirdly, the spiritual resources and empowerment available for effective holistic participation in society. Two examples are key here. Firstly, Protestants (or other faith group) would educate their adherents to participate in politics through negotiation and dialogue with the state for just laws and policies, vying for office or voting for those vying.

Secondly, Protestants (or other faith) would educate their members on socio-economic participation through worship, hard work and stewardship. To empower the people, Christianity needs to empower them to be job creators or to find the modicum of socio-economic stability that Marshall (1950) pointed out was necessary for effective citizenship. Finally, it would educate on the spiritual and material disciplines necessary for their spiritual growth and strength in faith, understanding and competence to participate in society. These would be outlined as a Ten Week exposure.

9.6 Conclusion

The entire study has shown, that ecumenical Protestants' efforts were important for the progress that Africans made towards a fuller citizenship at independence. Their influence was enhanced firstly, through institutionalization and direct advocacy with the state towards identified citizen rights in critical moments and by representing Africans in decision making processes. Secondly, indirectly through empowering Africans in formal education, vocational training and civic education. These were both aimed at influencing the state to pass better laws and policies and to implement them for the benefit of all.

That malpractices continued to characterize society, did not mean that Protestant missions had not made efforts. Some past studies have tended to dismiss them in that zero-sum manner. This thesis, by focussing on efforts made has highlighted their failures and successes. Their failures are this researcher an indicator that more effective ways of empowering citizens for participation are required. Ecumenical Protestants still have their advocacy and prophetic roles to play, and the need to improve their civic education with a theology of public participation and citizenship, all aiming for better laws and policies and their implementation.

Bibliography

Primary Source materials

Kenya National Archives

- KNA MISS/61/46 Owen W E, Archdeacon of Kavirondo
Document 12. 1943: Population figures
Document 13-17. 1942. Owen, W E. Notes to His Excellency, the Acting Governor of Kenya. Notes on the case of Dishon Christopher Nyaola
Document 18. 1942. Owen, W E. Letter to His Excellency, the Acting Governor of Kenya. Re: Dishon Christopher Nyaola
Document 19-21. 1942. Owen, W E. Letters to Mr Smith Re: Exemption Tribunal, Military Labour Corps
Document 1942-44. African Labour.
- KNA MSS/3/231, sic. Beecher, Hand written notes.
- KNA MSS/61/46 numbers 1-6, 12. Beecher, L J. 1945. A preliminary note on labour policy in Kenya colony, primarily in connection with a proposal to sanction the importation of labour from the mandated territory of Ruanda Urundi. Unpublished paper
- KNA MSS/61/46 Numbers 16-18. Owen W E. Letter to acting governor
- KNA PC/NYZ/3/13/28. Owen, W E. 1932. Letter to Governor J A Byrne, forwarding copy of a complaint letter that he had sent to the District Commissioner of Central Kavirondo. 29th October 1932
- KNA MSS/61/46 Numbers 13-17. Owen W E. Notes on the case of Dishon Christopher Nyaola
- KNA LAB 3/2 3934 Native Affairs department Letter to Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza

Government Reports

- KNA K4/11/6.
Swynnerton, R J M. 1954. A plan to intensify the development of African agriculture in Kenya.
- KNA K305.89141106762 GRE:
Devonshire, 1923. *Indians in Kenya. Memorandum presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.*
- KNA 338.9 KEN
Likimani, J C. 1962. *The Kenya We Want Report.* Kenya National Archives, Nairobi
Renison, Patrick, Sir. Governor's speech, titled The Kenya W Want. In J C. Likimani, 1962. *The Kenya We Want Report.* Kenya National Archives, Nairobi. Pages 107-8
- KNA. MAC.370.0967 AFR: Jones, Thomas Jesse, Chairman
1924. *Education in East Africa: A study of East Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board.* London: Edinburgh House Press
- KNA MAC 370 0967 AFR
Jones, Thomas Jesse, ed. 1923 *Education in Africa: A study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by African education commission, under the auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund and foreign Mission Societies*
- KNA PC/Coast/2/10/2.

1927, October 31st. Circular number 397/22 from Education Department, Head Office, Nairobi to The Inspector of Schools, Nairobi, Mombasa and Maragoli, Kisumu. With attachment: Education Department Circular No 20. To Administrative Officers, titled 'Encouragement of Native Education.' Dated 10th June, 1927

KNBS (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics)

2010. Population Census Report Volumes 1, 2, 3, 4. Nairobi: Government Printers

Church Reports

KNA 303.66 NAT

Kobia, Samuel. 1992. We kneel and mourn before God. In *The cursed arrow*. Nairobi: NCCK

KNA 303.66 NAT

NCCK. 1992. *The cursed arrow*. Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya.

KNA, 283.67629RIC.

1956. Richards, Elizabeth. Fifty years in Nyanza 1906-1956: The history of the CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Kenya. Maseno: Nyanza Jubilee Committee

KNA, 13401. Stovold, K E. nd. The CMS in Kenya book 1: The Coast 1844-1944.

Nairobi: The CMS Bookshop

MAC.370.0967 AFR.

1924. Education in East Africa: A study of East Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund, in cooperation with International Education board. Chaired by Jones, Thomas Jesse. London: Edinburgh House Press.

Periodicals

Beyond Nairobi: NCCK

East African Standard Nairobi

Weekly Review Nairobi

Oral Sources: DHR labelled as Discussion and historical recollection

DHR-1.2007. John Kamau, Interview on the role of the NCCK in the development of Africans' citizenship in Kenya

DHR-2. 2008. Four men discussion Eliud Simiyu (62yrs), Hezron Busiyile (58yrs), Joash Werunga (52 yrs) all educated Tachoni men and Fred Omido (82 yrs) a Maragoli man, Friends Church leaders on citizenship, mission work versus Tachoni culture colonial government work and education among the Luhya, and the Tachoni in particular

DHR-3. 2009. Six key church leaders, trustees of the National Council of Churches of Kenya including retired Moderator of the PCEA John Gatu, retired general secretary of the NCCK Mr. John Kamau, retired deputy general secretary of the NCCK-Mr Richard Ondeng, Retired staff of the NCCK and former Mayor of Voi town, Mrs Joan Mjomba, retired leader of the Salvation Army Church Brigadier Kimokoti and retired Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church Lawi Imathiu. Discussing about the development and engagement of the NCCK

DHR-4. 2006. Discussion and interview of Tom Houston at his house in Oxford in 2006

DHR-5. Discussion with John Gatu concerning NCCK role in independence

NCKK Archives Limuru

File Number	Title
178	The Miscellaneous File. Dept. Code. GS. 1926-1928
220	Published Articles Touching on NCKK and its Member Churches
579	The Role of the Churches in Democratization
GST/6/1/2	Current Personal File. Sept 1971-Sept 1972
GST/7/2/6.	Target
Limuru 1/1/156	War Emergency correspondence. Dept Code GS
Limuru 1/1/200	Staff Consultation: Human settlements. Dept Code GS
Limuru 1/1/429	CCK-Citizenship Sub-Committee. Dept Code GS
Limuru 1/1/552	Christian Council of Kenya-Kenya Missionary Council. 1925-1946
Limuru 1/1/591	Kenya Missionary Council 1925-1938
Limuru 1/1/650	NCKK General Information File 1974-1975. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/758	File on Army Matters. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/854	Devils Dispossessed. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/856	Cleansing Ceremonies for Ex-Mau Mau 1952-1958. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/945	African Politics Kenya. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/947	African District Councils. Approved Estimates of Revenue and expenditure 1957. Dept. Code GS 57
Limuru 1/1/968	The NCKK. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/990	Limuru Conference and Training centre documents. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1061	East African Standard. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1517	Evangelism. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1643	Race Relations
Limuru 1/1/1689	Christian Council of Kenya. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1757	Conference on the role of the Churches in Independence Kenya. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1812	Female Circumcision 1950-1954. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1879	Alliance of Missionary Societies. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1922	The CCK 1960. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/1947	The Representative Council of the Alliance. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2003	Mau Mau Oaths 1953-1955. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2093	Race Relations 1935-1947
Limuru 1/1/2106	CCK Cleansing Ceremonies for Mau Mau Adherent 1954-1955
Limuru 1/1/2134	Tribalism. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2135	The British Council of Churches: Race Relations
Limuru 1/1/2152	Christian Council of Kenya: Race. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2158	Kenya Missionary Council-1924-1936. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2182	Race Relations Committee. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2337	Church and Society. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2417	NCKK Kikuyu History. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2547	Kenya Land Commission. Dept. Code GS
Limuru 1/1/2562	Newspaper cuttings

Limuru	1/1/2641	Relief Rehabilitation in Kenya (Mau Mau Movement). Dept. Code GS
Limuru	1/1/2653	Role of the Church in Independent Kenya. Dept. Code GS
Limuru	2/1/165	Jeanes School. Dept. Code Ed
Limuru	2/1/229	Jeanes School Lower Kabete
Limuru	2/1/246	General File. Dept. Education
Limuru	8/1/49	The Representative Council of the Alliance. Dept. Code FLEP
Limuru	9/1/102	The Representative Council of the Alliance. Dept. Code Comm
PRG/12/1/22		Human Rights and Democracy Workshop
PRG/12/2/28		Education for Participatory Democracy
PRG/12/2/37		The Role of the Church in Democratization 1994
PRG/12/2/46		Role of Church in Democratization
PRG/17/1/154		Member Churches, PCEA, NICA, Methodist, CPK Vol. II

NCKK HQs:

Official minutes of the NCKK (Stored in minute Books that are serialized)

Serial Book #1. Minutes of the United Missionary Conference National Council of Churches-Headquarters, Minute book 1, United Missionary Conference ETC (Minutes 1913-1919)

Serial Book #2. The Standing Committee of the Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies of British East Africa 1918-1935

Serial Book #3. The Representative Council of the Alliance of Missionary Societies of British East Africa 1919-1935

Serial Book #4. Kenya Missionary Council, Minutes of the Executive Committee, 1924 - 1944

Serial Book #5. The Kenya Missionary Council, General Meetings 1924-1944

Serial Book #6. The Christian Council of Kenya Minutes of the Executive Committee from 28 April 1943 -8 April 1948

Serial Book #7 C. C. K. (Christian Council of Kenya) Minutes of the Executive and Standing Committee March 1947—June 1960

Serial Book # 8 General Purposes and Finance Minutes October 1961 to December 1966

Serial Book #9 the Christian Council of Kenya, Annual General Meetings March 1961-May 1966

Serial Book #10 the National Christian Council of Kenya, Executive Committee Minutes 1966-1970

Serial Book #11 Minutes of the Annual General Meetings of the National Christian Council of Kenya 1971-1978

Serial Book #12 Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting and of the Finance Committee from 1985 to 1992

Materials and discussions from other sources

Government Reports

Carter, Morris, R W Hemsted and F O'B Wilson

1934. Great Britain Report of the Kenya Land Commission, British Sessional Papers. X (229). Cmd. 4556. London: HMSO.1934). Passim.

1933, *Report of the Kenya Land Commission* Nairobi: Government Printer.

Dialogue Africa Foundation

2008. *Kriegler and Waki Reports on 2007 Elections* Nairobi: Dialogue Africa Foundation.

Ingham, J H. Secretary. Hugh Dow, Chairman

1955. *The East Africa Royal Commission Report-1953-1955: Presented to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty* 5.1955. (Available at Kenyatta University Library)

Church Reports

Adhola, Shem Migot, Paul Mbatia, Wanza Kioko & Oliver Kisaka Simiyu, Research Team
2009. *Root Causes and implications of the post-election violence of 2007* A report of the research undertaken by Kenya Thabiti Task-Force 2008 (KTTF 2008) commissioned by the Kenya Inter-Religious Forum. Nairobi: Inter Religious Forum.

Awimbo, Godfrey E. (Secretary) and Mbogori, Johana

1976. *Church and Society report for 1975* NCKK's 1976 Annual General Meeting documents.

COPEC

1925. *Politics and citizenship. One of the Reports from the Conference on Christianity and politics, economics and citizenship held 5-12, 1924 at Birmingham* London: Longman's Green and Co.

Kobia, Samuel

1993. Introduction. In: *Responsible Citizenship: Building democracy*. Nairobi: NCKK.

1992. Why you should participate. In: NCKK, *Towards Multi-party democracy in Kenya* Nairobi: NCKK

Kobia and Ngumi, eds

1991. *Together in Hope. NCKK Report of the 1989 Missions conference* 1991 Law Society of Kenya

NCKK Annual General Meetings reports 1913-1982

NCKK Programme reports 1913-1982

Books and Booklets

AIPCA

2011. Brief History of A.I.P.C.A. In: *Utaratibu wa huduma ya Kutawazwa kwa Askofu Mkuu (Programme for the service of the enthronement of the Archbishop), year 2011: Rt. Rev. Bishop Evanson Ndung'u Kibe*.

Chepkwony, Agnes

1993. Mission Outpost 1943-1963. In Margaret Crouch, ed. *A vision of Christian mission: Reflections on the great commission in Kenya 1943-1993* Pages 3-13. Nairobi: NCKK.

Kariuki, Bernard Njoroge

1994. *A contribution to the 150 years celebration of the Anglican Church of Kenya history* Unpublished paper sourced from the author.

2000. *Impunity: Report of the Law Society of Kenya on the Judicial Commission of inquiry into tribal clashes in Kenya* Nairobi: The Law Society of Kenya

Malinowski, B

1936. Native Education and culture contact. In the *International Review of Missions* William Paton and M M Underhill. Volume 25. October 1936. Number 100. Page 480-515.

Musyimi, Mutava

2003. National Council of Churches of Kenya and Kenya Episcopal Conference.
2002. *Report of the voter Registration monitoring exercise. 4.2.2002 to 19th.3.2002*
Nairobi: Pann Printers
- Musyimi, Mutava
2003. *Celebrating 90 years of service (1913-2003): The story of the National Council of Churches of Kenya* Nairobi: NCCCK
- NCCCK
2013. *A century of ecumenism and mission: The story of National Council of Churches of Kenya 1913-2013*. With Foreword by General Secretary, Rev. Can. Peter Karanja. NCCCK: Nairobi
- NCCCK, DJPR
1993. *Responsible Citizenship: Building democracy* Nairobi: NCCCK DJPR
- NCCCK, DJPR
1992. *Towards Multi-party democracy in Kenya* Nairobi: NCCCK DJPR
- NCCCK, Working Party
1968. *Who controls Industry in Kenya? Report of a Working Party* Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House
- Odera, Josephine Ajema and John Karanja, Researchers
2003. *Youth and election Violence: Research and Monitoring Project*. Nairobi: Africa Peace Forum.
- Sanneh, Lamin
2011. Introduction. In *Accra Charter of Religious Freedom and Citizenship*. Oxford Studies in World Christianity
- Shillito, Edward
1924a. *Christian Citizenship: The story and the meaning of COPEC* London: Longmans.
1924b. 'COPEC and the Missionary' *International Review of Missions* 13/52:585-94.
- Simiyu, Oliver Kisaka
2015. *The Grace of giving: Growing in faith, integrity and community*. Nairobi: Arba
2006. *Empowering the membership: An NCCCK Working Document of the Capacity Building for Membership (CBM) Programme*. Unpublished, NCCCK Head Quarters
- Waki Commission
2008. Waki report-simplified version. In *Kriegler and Waki Reports on 2007 Elections*. Nairobi: Dialogue Africa Foundation

Rhodes House, Oxford-Archives

- Mss Lugard Boxes of assorted historical documents
Mss. Afr. s. 1829. Oldham Boxes of assorted historical documents
- Grigg, Edward
1928. *Speech by H E the Governor, 18.5.1928*. Nairobi: Government Printer
753.13r 56 (5). B M Kaggia
1962. *Uhuru ni Haki Yetu 1962* Nairobi: Inooro Bookservice
753.14r 43 (3). K W
1952. *The Kenya land Problem* Unpublished Pamphlet Part 1, page 3
Rhodes House, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford University. Part 1, page 3
753.17r 50. Patel, Ambu H.
1963. *Struggle for Release Jomo and his colleagues*, eds. Thakur, N S and Vanshi Dhar. Foreword Jaramogi Oginga Odinga

OCMS Library, Oxford

Briton, J. 1923. The Missionary task in Kenya. In *International Review of Missions* Volume 12, Number 47, July Pages 412-420

COPEC

1925. Politics and citizenship. Among: *Reports from the conference on Christianity and politics, economics and citizenship held 5-12, 1924 at Birmingham*. London: Longman's Green and Co.

International Review of Missions between 1918 and 1950

Oldham, J.H

1924. *Christianity and the race problem*. London: Student Christian Movement

Secondary Sources

- Abreu, Elsa
1982. *The role of self- Help in the development of education in Kenya: 1900-1973* Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Abuom, Agnes Chepkwony
1993. Mission Outpost 1943-1963. In Margaret Crouch, ed. *A vision for Christian mission: Reflections on the great commission in Kenya 1943-1993* Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pages 3-13.
- Abwunza, Judith M
1993. Ethnonationalism and Nationalism Strategies: The case of the AVALOGOLI in Western Kenya. In Michael D. Levin, ed. *Ethnicity and Aboriginality* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Acke, Claude
1981. *A political economy of Africa* Essex: Longman Group.
2000. *The feasibility of democracy in Africa* Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.
- AI Camp, Roderick
2001. *Citizen views of democracy in Latin America, Volume 1 USA*: University of Pittsburgh Press. Available at <URL. <http://books.google.co.ke/books?id.>> Accessed 13.2.2012.
- Alence, Rod
2004. Political institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 42 (2), 163-187.
- Almond, Gabriel A & Verba, Sidney
1989. *The Civic Culture Revisited* London: Sage Publications.
1963. *The Civic Culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ambler, Charles Hart
1983. *Central Kenya in the late Nineteenth Century: Small communities in a regional system*. PhD thesis, Yale University.
- Anderson, Benedict Richard O’Gorman.
1991. *Imagined communities Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso
- Anderson, David M
2000. Master and Servant in colonial Kenya, 1895-1923. In *Journal of African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pages 459-485.
- Anderson, David
2005. *Histories of the hanged: Britain’s dirty war in Kenya and the end of empire* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Anderson, John
1970. *The struggle for the school: The interaction of missionary, colonial government and nationalist enterprise in the development of formal education in Kenya*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Aristotle
1999. *Aristotle* Benjamin Jowett, Tr. Botoche Books.
1946. *Politics* E. Barker, ed. Clarendon Press.
- Arthur, C J. Ed
1970. *The German Ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Aseka, Eric Masinde

2000. The post-colonial state and the colonial legacy in Kenya. In Bethwell A Ogot and W R Ochieng, eds. *The making of a nation: A hundred years of Kenya's history, 1895-1996*. Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies, 2000 Pages 92-105.
- Atieno-Odhiambo
2000. Mugo's prophesy in Kenya. In Bethwell A Ogot and W R Ochieng, eds. *The making of a nation: A hundred years of Kenya's history, 1895-1996*. Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies, 2000, Pages 5-15.
- Atkinson, James
1997. Reform. In Tom Dowley, John H Y Briggs, Robert D Linder and David F Wright, eds. *A lion handbook: The history of Christianity*. England: Herts, 1997, Pages 360-398.
- Atkinson, D J, Field DF, Holmes A and O'Donovan O eds.
1995. *New Dictionary of Christian ethics and pastoral theology*. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Augustine, Saint
1945. *The City of God (De Civitate Dei) Volume Two*. Translated by John Healeys with a selection from Vives Commentaries. R V G Tasker, Introduction by Sir Ernest Barker. London: J M Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Austin, Victor, L
1997. Method in Oliver O'Donovan's Political Theology. In *Anglican Theological Review* available as an internet article on 27.9.06.
- Ayandele, E
1979. *African historical studies*. London: Frank Cass and company Ltd.
1966. *The missionary impact on modern Nigeria 1842-1914* London: Longman.
- Ayayi, J F A
1965. *Christian mission in Nigeria 1841-1891* London: Longman.
- Babie, Earl, Johan Mouton, Payze Vorster and Boshoff Prozesky
2001. *The practice of social research* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ball, Terence and Richard Bellamy
2003. *The Cambridge history of twentieth-century political thought* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Balaton-Chrimes, Samantha
2015. *Ethnicity, democracy and citizenship in Africa: Political marginalization of Kenya's Nubians*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited
- Banfield, Edward C
- (1961) 1965. *Political Influence* New. York: Free Press.
- Barret, D B, ed
1982. *World Christian Encyclopaedia* Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Barrett, David B, George K Mambo, Janice McLaughlin and Malcom J McVeigh, eds.
1973. *Kenya Churches Handbook: The development of Kenyan Christianity, 1498 -1973* Kisumu, Kenya: Evangel Publishing House.
- Bates, Robert H
2005. *Beyond the miracle of the market: The political economy of agrarian development in Kenya* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bayart, Jean Francois
1993. *The state in Africa: Politics of the belly* London: Longman.
- Beachey, R W
1996. *A History of East Africa: 1592- 1902* London: I. B. Tauris Publishers.
- Beck, Ann

1966. Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950. In. *The Journal of British Studies* Volume 5/02/ 5.1966, Pages 115-138 Available at <URL. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/385522>. North American Conference of British Studies.
- Beetham, T A
1967. *Christianity and the new Africa* London: Pall Mall Press.
- Beiner, R. E ed
1995. *Theorizing citizenship* New York: State University of New York Press.
- Bennet, George
1976. *Kenya: A political history* Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
1967. Kenya and Tanzania. *African Affairs: Journal of Royal African Society* 66 (265) 10.1967. Tom Soper and Alison Smith, eds. Oxford University Press for the Royal African Society. Pages 329-335.
1965. *Settlers and politics in Kenya*. In Vincent Harlow, E M Chilver and Mergery Perham, eds. *History of East Africa* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1965 Pages 265-332.
- Benson, G. P
1995: Ideological politics versus Biblical hermeneutics: Kenya's Protestant Churches and the Nyayo state. In Holger Bernt Hansen & Michael Twaddle, eds, *Religion and Politics in East Africa: The period since independence* Nairobi: East African Publishing Company. 1995 Pages 177-199.
- Benson, T G
1936. The Jeanes School and the education of the East African native. In *Journal of the Royal African Society* Vol. 35 Number 141 Pages 418- 425.
- Berger, Stefan and Angel Smith
1999. Between Scylla and Charybdis: Nationalism, labour and ethnicity. In Stefan Berger and Angel Smith, eds. *Nationalism, labour and ethnicity 1870-1939* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Berman, B
1990. *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya: The dialectic of domination* Oxford: James Currey.
1992. Structure and process in the bureaucratic states of colonial Africa. In B Berman & J Lonsdale, eds. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* Oxford: James Currey.
- Berman, Bruce, Dickson Eyoh & Kymlicka Will, eds
2004a. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey.
2004b. Ethnicity & democracy in historical and comparative perspective. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, eds. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey, 2004 Pages 1-21.
2004c. African Ethnic Politics and the paradoxes of democratic development. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, eds. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey. 2004 Pages 317-323.
- Berman, B & J Lonsdale, eds
1992. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* Oxford: James Currey.
- Berlin, Isaiah
2015. The Concepts of Scientific history. URL Available at <http://berlin.wolf.ox.ac.uk/published_works/cc/scihist.pdf> Accessed 1.10.2015
- Blaxter, Loraine Christina Hughes and Malcom Tight
2006. *How to Research* England, Berkshire: Open University.
- Blundell, Michael

1955. The present situation in Kenya. In *African Affairs: Journal of the Royal African Society* Vol. 54, No 214 Oxford University Press for the Royal African Society, Pages 99-108.
- Bohannon, Paul
1960. *African outline: A General introduction* Middlesex: Penguin Books
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich
1995 *Ethics* [1955]. Trans. by Neville Smith from the 6th German edition of *Ethik* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1949). New York: Simon & Schuster. Abbreviated E.
- Bode, Francis
1975. Anti-Colonial Politics within a tribe: The case of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya. In Aloo Ojuka, Aloo and William Ochieng, eds. *Politics and leadership in Africa* Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Bonino, José Míguez
1983. *Toward a Christian political ethics*. London: SCM Press.
- Bostock, Peter
1993. Biographical Interview. In Margaret Crouch, ed. *A vision for Christian mission: Reflections on the great commission in Kenya 1943-1993* Nairobi: National Council of Churches of Kenya. Pages 19.
- Bradley, Keith R
1987. *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Branch, Daniel
2009. *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya: Counterinsurgency, civil war, and decolonization* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2007. The enemy within: Loyalists and the war against the Mau Mau in Kenya. In *Journal of African History*. No 48: 291-315 -1960 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Branch, Daniel P
2005. *Loyalism during the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya 1952 -1960* Oxford: University of Oxford, St Peters College. D.Phil Thesis.
- Branch, Daniel and Nicholas Cheeseman
2006. The politics of control in Kenya: Understanding the bureaucratic-executive state, 1952-78. In *Review of African Political Economy* No 107: 11-31. ROAPE Publications Ltd.
- Branch, Daniel, Nic Cheeseman and Leigh Gardner eds
2010. *Our Turn to eat: Politics in Kenya since 1950* London: Transaction Publishers.
- Branson, Margaret S
1998. The role of civic education: A forthcoming education policy taskforce position paper from the communitarian network. Washington DC: Centre for civic education. Available at <URL. http://www.thenationalforum.org/Docs/PDF/Civic_Education.pdf> Accessed on 5.1.2012.
- Braton, Michael
2006. *Poor People and democratic citizenship* Afrobarometer Working paper number 56. Available at <URL. <http://www.google.co.ke/#hl=sw&q=afrobarometer+survey+citizenship&oq=afrobarometer+survey+citizenship>> Accessed on 14.2.2012.
- Britannia.com LLC
2013. Part 8. England in the 20th century. Available at <URL. <http://www.britannia.com/history/nar20hist2.html>.> Accessed on 3.2015
- Bruner, Kurt D
1992. *Responsible living in an age of excuses* Chicago: Moody Press

- Bryce, James
1931[1921]. *Modern Democracies (Vol. 2)* New York: Macmillan.
- Burke, F G
nd. *Political evolution in Kenya* Maxwell Graduate School Occasional Papers.
- Campbell, Chloe
2007. *Race and empire: Eugenics in colonial Kenya* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Canada-Centre for Immigration and Refugee Board Documentation (CCIRBD).
1991. The horn of Africa: Multiple citizenship of ethnic Somalis s.l. Unpublished paper.
- Cantoni, Davide
2009. *The Economic effects of the Protestant Reformation: Testing the Weber Hypothesis in the German lands*. Harvard University: Department of Economics. Available at <URL.www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~cantoni/cantoni_jmp_2>. Accessed 6.10.2015.
- Caplen B. R. (Brian R.)
1983. *The village polytechnic training scheme in Kenya : education for stagnation or development?* University of East Anglia. School of Development Studies. Norwich: School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia 1983 ii, 84 p.
- Cartledge, Mark J
2003. *Practical Theology: Charismatic and empirical perspectives*.
- Cavanaugh, William T and Peter Scott
2004. Introduction. In *The Blackwell companion to political theology* Peter Scott and William T Cavanaugh, eds. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cell, John W, Ed
1976. *By Kenya possessed: The correspondence of Norman Leys and J H Oldham 1918-1926* London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Chadwick, Owen
1972. *The Reformation* Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Chamberlain, Alexander F.
1912. Review of *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911* by G. Spiller; Record of the Proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress, Held at the University of London July 26-29, 1911. In *The Journal of Race Development* Volume 2 Number 4, April 1912. Page 494 of 494-497. Available at <URL. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737932>>. Accessed on 13.9.2013
- Chaplin, Jonathan.
2016. Christian public engagement in secularised society. Available at <URL.http://www.biblesociety.org.uk/uploads/content/bible_in_transmission/files/2007_winter/BiT_Winter_2007_Chaplin.pdf> Accessed 5.4.2016
- Cheeseman, Nick
2015. *Democracy in Africa, successes, failures and the struggle for political reform* New York: Cambridge University Press
- Cheeseman, Nicholas
2006. *The rise and fall of civil-authoritarianism in Africa: Patronage, participation, and political parties in Kenya and Zambia*. Oxford: University of Oxford, Nuffield College. DPhil Thesis.
- Chege, Michael

1997. Paradigms of doom and the development management crisis in Kenya. In. *Journal of Development Studies* Volume 33. No 4.
- Cheeseman, Nicholas
2006. *The rise and fall of civil-authoritarianism in Africa: Patronage, participation, and political parties in Kenya and Zambia*. Oxford: University of Oxford, Nuffield College. DPhil Thesis.
- Chege, Michael
1997. Paradigms of doom and the development management crisis in Kenya. In. *Journal of Development Studies* Volume 33. No 4.
- Chepkwony, Agnes
1987. *The role of Non-governmental organizations in development: A study of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), 1963-1978* Doctoral theses. Uppsala: University of Uppsala.
- Chia, Roland
2000. Resident aliens: some reflections on Church and culture. *Transformation* 17(3) 92-98.
- Christie S J, Joseph.
1960. *Moral Re-Armament*. London: Nore Press
- Chweya, Lodeki.
2006. Reversing rural poverty in an African Country: A Review of the Kenyan Policy regime. Presented at the *Mijadala on Social Policy, Governance and Development in Kenya* Nairobi: Development Policy Management Forum. 26.10.2006
- Cicero
Nd. *The nature of the Gods* 2.3.8
Nd. *Invention* 2.5.3.161
- Clark, J Desmond
1970. *The pre-history of Africa* Great Britain: Thames and Hudson
- Clayton, Anthony and D C Savage
1974. *Government and labour in Kenya 1895 to 1973* London: Routledge
- Cobb Jnr. John B
2011. *Process theology as political theology* Available at: <URL: <http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=3035&C=2537>>. Accessed 11.1.2011.
- Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison
2011. *Research methods in education*, 7th edn London: Routledge.
- Cooper, Frederick
2014. *Citizenship between empire and nation: Remaking France and French Africa*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Copeland, M Shawn
2004. Black political theologies. In Peter Scott and William T Cavanuagh, ed. *The Blackwell companion to Political Theology* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cornelli, Evariste Magoti
2012. *A Critical analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An investigation of its foundations and values*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham. DPhil. Thesis.
- Dahl, Robert
1986. *Democracy, liberty and equality*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Danto, Elizabeth Ann
2008. *Historical Research: In the series Pocket Guides To Social Work Research* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Davison, Basil

1992. *Blackman's burden: Africa and the curse of the nation-state* New York: Random House.
- Davidson, Basil
1964. *The African Past: Chronicles from antiquity to modern times*, 1st ed Boston: Little Brown.
- Davie, G
1994. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Decalo, Samuel
1998. *The stable minority: Civilian rule in Africa 1960- 1990* London: Florida Academic Press.
- De Jongh, Albert
1999. *Mission and politics in Eastern Africa: Dutch Missionaries and African Nationalism in Kenya Tanzania and Malawi 1945-1965* Paulines Publications Africa.
- Delafosse, Maurice
1926. Islam in Africa: First Paper. In J H Oldham and G A Gollock, eds. *International Review of Missions* Volume 15, July 1926. Pages 533-546.
- Gruchy, John W De
1984. *Bonhoeffer and South Africa* Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- De Jongh, Jan F and Jan Drewnoski
1966. *Report of work group number 5 on Social Change and Economic growth, at Development centre of the organization of Economic Cooperation and Development* Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis
1998. *Democracy in America* Translated by Henry Reeve. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.
- Dilley, Marjorie Ruth
1937. *British policy in Kenya colony* Britain Thomas Nelson and Sons
- Dumas, Andre
1978. *London: Political Theology and the life of the Church* Translated by John Bowden. SCM Press.
- Edgerton, Robert
1989. *Mau Mau: An Africa Crucible* New York, NY: Free Press.
- Ekeh, Peter
2004. Individuals' basic security needs and the limits of democracy in Africa. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, eds. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey, Pages. 22-37
- Ekeh, Peter P
1975. Colonialism and the two publics in Africa: A theoretical statement. In *Comparative Studies in society and history* 17.1.1975 Pages 91-112
- Eliot, Charles
1905. *The East Africa protectorate* London
- Elkins, Caroline
2005. *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal end of Empire in Kenya* London: Jonathan Cape.
- Emerson, P M & de Souza, A P
(2000). *Is there a child labor trap? Intergenerational persistence of child labor in Brazil* Vanderbilt - Economic and Business Administration Papers. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt

- Engerman, Stanley and Jacob Metzer Eds
2004. *Land rights, Ethno-nationality, and sovereignty in history* London: Routledge.
- European Commission
2010. *EU citizenship report: Dismantling the obstacles of citizen's rights*. Brussels. Available at <URL <http://www.google.co.ke/#hl=sw&q=Eurobarometer+concepts+of+citizenship+&oq=Eurobarometer+concepts>> Accessed on 14.2.2012.
- Evans, C Stephen
1982. *Philosophy of Religion: Thinking about faith* Leicester: InterVarsity Press.
- Eurobarometer
2010. *European Union Citizenship: Summary* Available at <URL. http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/citizenship/docs/eurobarometersurveys_2010/eu_citizenship_summary_102010_en.pdf> Accessed on 14.2.2012
- Everson, Stephen, ed
1988. *Aristotle: The politics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eyoh, Dickson
2004. Contesting Local Citizenship: Liberalization & the politics of difference in Cameroon. In Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, eds. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey, 2004, Pages 95-112.
- Ezeogu, Ernest Munachi
1998. Bible and Culture in African Theology, Part 1. In *International Review of Mission Essays in African Theology* 1.1998.
- Faringer, Gunila
1991. *Press Freedom in Africa* New York: Praeger, page 66. [Kenya Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers - television, circulation, stations, papers, number, print, freedom](http://www.pressreference.com/Gu-Ku/Kenya.html#ixzz1c6F151qK). Available at <URL. <http://www.pressreference.com/Gu-Ku/Kenya.html#ixzz1c6F151qK>>; Accessed on 14.2.2012.
- Fashole-Luke, E Gray R Hastings A and Tassie, G
1978. *Christianity in independent Africa* London: Rex Collins.
- Furedi, F
1989. *Mau mau War in perspective* London: James Currey
- Feuter, P
1962. *The Church, Mau Mau and Kenyatta* Mimeo
- Fisher, D & Hanstock, T
1998. *Citing references: A guide for students* UK: Blackwell.
- Forde, Gerhard O
1988: The Lutheran view. In Donald L. Alexander, ed. *Christian Spirituality: Five Views of Sanctification* Downers Gove: Intervarsity Press. Pages 13-32.
- Fortes, M and E. E. Evans Pritchard eds. for International African Institute.
1940. *African political systems* London: Oxford University Press.
- Freston, Paul
2001. *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2004. *Protestant Political parties: a global Survey*. Aldershot: Ashgate publishing.
- Friesen, Duane K
1986: A critical analysis of Troeltsch's typology of religious association (Studies in the Theological Ethics of Ernest Troeltsch). In Max A Myers &

- Michael R Lachat. eds. *Toronto Studies in Theology* 49/ pages 72-117. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd.
- Fuglestad, Finn
1992. The Trevor-Roper trap or the imperialism of history: An essay, In *History in Africa* Volume 19. Page 309-26. Available at URL. <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3172003?>> Accessed 4. 6. 2012.
- Furley, O W and T Watson
1978. *A history of education in East Africa* In the *Studies in East African Society and History* Series. G N Uzoigwe, Ed. London: NOK Publishers.
- Gardner, Leigh
2012. *Taxing Colonial Africa: The political economy of British Imperialism* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garnsey, Peter
1996. *Ideas of slavery from Aristotle to Augustine* Cambridge University Press.
- Garvey, Marcus
1925. African Fundamentalism. In *Negro World*, New York: Front Page Editorial. 6.6.1925. Available at <URL. [http://www.encaribe.org/Files/ Person alidades/marcus-garvey/texto/African%20Fundamentalism/pdf.>](http://www.encaribe.org/Files/Person%20alidades/marcus-garvey/texto/African%20Fundamentalism/pdf.>)Accessed 16. 6. 2016
- Gatgounis ii, George J II.
2016. The Political theory of John Calvin. Available at <URL.http://churchsociety.org/docs/churchman/110/Cman_110_1_GatgounisB.pdf > Accessed 15.2.2016
- Gayhart, Bryce A
1990. The ethics of Ernst Troeltsch: A Commitment to relevancy in *Toronto Studies in Theology* 53 Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
- Gerald, Delanty
2000. *Citizenship in a global village: Society, culture, politics* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gibs, Sarah and Deborah Ajulu
1999. *The role of the Church in advocacy: case studies from Southern and Eastern Africa* INTRAC Occasional Papers March Page 5.
- Gifford, Paul
2009. *Christianity politics and public life in Kenya* London: Hurst and Company
2004. *Ghana's new Christianity: Pentecostalism in a globalising African economy* London: Hurst and Company
1998. *African Christianity: its public role* London: Hurst and Company.
- Gillard, Derek
2011. *Education in England: a brief history* Available at URL. www.educationengland.org.uk/history.> Accessed 9.3.2015.
- Gitari, David M
2005. *Responsible Church Leadership* Nairobi: Acton Publishers.
- Githiga, Gideon Gichuhi
2001. *The Church as the bulwark against authoritarianism: Development of church state relations in Kenya with particular reference to the years after political independence 1963-1992* Oxford: Regnum International
1997. *The Church as the bulwark against extremism: Development of church state relations in Kenya with particular reference to the years after political independence 1963-1992* PhD theses, Open University / Oxford Centre for Mission Studies.

- Githige, Renison Muchiri
1982. The mission state relationship in colonial Kenya: A summary. In *Journal of Religion in Africa* XIII (2.), 110- 125.
- Gladwin, John
1979. *God's people in God's World: Biblical motives for social involvement* Leicester: Intervarsity.
- Gladwin, J W
1988. Theology of Society. In Sinclair B Fergusson, J I Packer and David F Wright. eds. *New Dictionary of Theology* 1988 Pages 647-49.
- Goedhals, Mandy
2003. African Nationalism and Indigenous Christianity: A Study in the life of James Calata (1895-1983). In *Journal of Religion in Africa* Westville: University of Durban.
- Goodin, Robert E and Phillip Pettit
2006. *Contemporary political philosophy: An anthology 2nd edition* In Blackwell Anthology Series. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gordon April A and Gordon, Donald L, eds
1996: *Understanding contemporary Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Gordon, Donald L
1996. African politics. In April A Gordon & Donald L Gordon, eds. *Understanding contemporary Africa* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1996 Pages 53-90.
- Grace, Davie
1994. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without belonging* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Grant, Kevin
2005. *A civilized savagery: Britain and the new slaveries in Africa 1884-1926*. London: Routledge.
- Gray, Christopher J
1998. Cultivating Citizenship through Xenophobia in Gabon, 1960–1995' In *Africa Today* 45/3–4 Pages 389–410.
- Gregory, John Walter
1901. *The Foundation of British East Africa*. H. Marshall & son
- Greves, L B
1969. *Carey Francis of Kenya*. London: Rex Collins.
- Gunther, Wolfgang
2002. The history and significance of world mission conferences in the 20th century. In *International Review of Mission* Vol XCII No 367
- Hansen, Holger Bernt and Michael Twaddle eds
1995. *Religion and Politics in East Africa: The period since independence* Nairobi: East African Publishing Company.
- Harbeson, John W
1994. Civil society and political renaissance in Africa. In Harbeson, John W, Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan. eds. *Civil society and the state in Africa* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
1973. *Nation building in Kenya: The role of land reform* Evanston: North Western University Press.
1971. Land reforms and politics in Kenya, 1954-70. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 9 (2) 231-251.
- Harbeson, John W Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan eds
1994. *Civil society and the state in Africa* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Hastings, Adrian
1979. *A history of African Christianity* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haugerud, Angelique
1993. *The Culture of Politics in Kenya* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harvey, J and L. Bather
1963. *The British Constitution* London: Macmillan & Co Ltd.
- Heilman, Bruce
1998. 'Who are the indigenous Tanzanians? Competing conceptions of Tanzanian citizenship in the business community'. In *Africa Today* 45 (3–4), Pages 369–87.
- Heater, Derek
1990. *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in world history, politics and education* London: Longman.
- Held, David
1999. The transformation of political community: Rethinking democracy in the context of globalization. In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds. *Democracy edges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pages 84–111
- Herbermas, J
1995. Citizenship and national identity: Some reflections on the future of Europe. In R E Beiner, ed. *Theorizing citizenship* New York: State University of New York Press.
- Herbst, Jeffrey
1998. The role of citizenship laws in multi-ethnic societies: Evidence from Africa. In Richard Joseph, ed. *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa* Pages 267–83. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner.
- Haynes, Jeff
1996. *Religion and politics in Africa* London: Zed books.
- Heywood, Andrew
1999. *Political Theory: An introduction* (2nd edn) Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Hicks, John
1989. *An interpretation of Religion: Human resources to the transcendent* London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Himbara, David
1994. *Kenyan Capitalists, the state and development*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
1993. Myths and realities of Kenyan capitalism. In *Journal of Modern African studies* Volume 31, no 1.
- Himmelstrand, Ulf Kinyanjui, Kabiru and Mburugu, Edward eds
2004. *African perspectives of development: Controversies, dilemmas and opening* Nairobi: E A E P.
- Hobbes, Thomas
1996 (1968 (1651)). *Leviathan* Edited by J.C.A. Gaskin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hobley, C W
1929. *Kenya from a chartered company to crown colony: Thirty years of exploration and administration in British E Africa* London: H F & G Witherby.
- Holmquist, F & M Ford
1998. Kenyan politics: Towards a second transition? In *Africa Today*, 45/2

- Horowitz, Donald
1991. *A Democratic South Africa* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hunt, Diana
1984. *The impending crisis in Kenya: The case for land reform* Hampshire: Gower Publishing Company Limited.
- Huntington, Samuel
1996. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order* New York: Simon and Schuster.
1993. The clash of civilizations? In *Foreign Affairs* 72/3/22-49.
- Hunwick, J O
1988. Islam in tropical Africa to c. 1900. In Peter Clarke *The World's Religions: Islam*. London: Routledge
- Hyden, Goran
2006. *African politics in comparative perspective* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2004. Changing ideological and theoretical perspectives on development. In Ulf Himmelstrand, Kabiru Kinyanjui and Edward Mburugu, eds. *African perspectives of development: Controversies, dilemmas and opening* Nairobi: E A E P.
- Idahosa, P L E
2004. *The Populist Dimension to African Political Thought: Critical essays in reconstruction and retrieval*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Ignatief, M
1995. The myth of citizenship. In R E Beiner *Theorizing citizenship*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Imbo, Samuel Oluoch
1998. *An introduction to African Philosophy*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Inukai, Ichiro
2011. *African socialism and agricultural development strategy: A comparative study between Kenya and Tanzania*. Available at <URL. http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Periodicals/De/pdf/74_01_01.pdf> Accessed on 1.4.2011.
- Iordachi, Constantin
2006. *The study of social history: schools, methods and case studies* Department of History, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Available at <URL. http://web.ceu.hu/crc/Syllabi/06-07/history/Iordachi_Social%20History.pdf> Accessed on 8.2.2012.
- Isichei, Elizabeth
1997. *A History of African Societies to 1870* Cambridge: Cambridge University Bridge.
1995. *A history of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the present* London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK).
- Isin, Engin F & Bryan S Turner
2002: Citizenship studies: An introduction. In Engin F Isin and Bryan S Turner, eds. *Handbook of citizenship studies* London: Sage Publications.
- Jabavu, J T
1912. The South African Races Congress: Inaugural address by J Tengo Jabavu, President, South African Races Congress <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4346>
- Jacobs, Donald R
1973. Kenya's cultural heritage. In David B Barrett, George K Mambo, Janice McLaughlin and Malcom J McVeigh, eds. *Kenya Churches*

- Handbook: The development of Kenyan Christianity, 1498 -1973* Kisumu, Kenya: Evangel Publishing House. Pages 40-48.
- James Currey
1992. Structure and process in the bureaucratic states of colonial Africa. In B Berman & J Lonsdale. Eds. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* Oxford: James Currey.
- Janoski, Thomas
1998. *Citizenship and civil society: A framework for rights and obligations in liberal, traditional and social democratic societies* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janoski, Thomas & Brian Gran
2002: Political citizenship: Foundations and rights. In Engin F Isin and Bryan S Turner. eds. *Handbook of citizenship studies* London: Sage Publications. Pages 13-52
- Jawara, Fatoumata & Aileen Kwa
2003: *Behind the scenes at the World Trade Organization: The real World of International Trade Negotiations* London: Zed Books
- Jeevanjee, T M
1978. Presidential address at the East African Indian National Congress. In Mungeam G H. Compiler. *Kenya: Select Historical documents 1884-1923* Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House.
- Johnson roger A
1986. Looking for lost absolutes: Troeltsch's reading of William James (Studies in the Theological Ethics of Ernst Troeltsch). In Max A Myers & Michael R Lachat. eds. *Toronto Studies in Theology* Volume 49/ Pages 118-155.
- Kala, A S
1979. Nationalism in Kenya before independence. In Priya Mutalik-Desai. ed. *Economic and political development of Kenya* Centre of East African Studies, University of Bombay. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House.
- Kamoche, Jidlap G
1981. *Imperial Trusteeship and Political evolution in Kenya, 1923 – 1963: A study of the official views and the road to decolonization* Washington DC: University of America.
- Kanogo, Tabitha
1989. Kenya and the depression, 1929 -1939. In W. R. Ochieng, ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. Pages 112- 143.
1987. *Squatters and the roots of the Mau Mau* Athens. OH: Ohio University Press.
- Kant, Immanuel
1969. *Critique of pure reason*. Translated by J M D Meiklejohn. London: Everyman's Library
- Kanyinga, Karuti
2000. *Re-distribution from above: The politics of land rights and squatting in Coastal Kenya*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet
- Kaplinsky, Rafael
2004. Capitalist accumulation in the periphery: The Kenyan case. In *The politics of transition in Africa: state, democracy and economic development* Giles Mohan and Tunde Zack-Williams. Sheffield: ROAPE publications. Pages 36-44.
- Karanja, J K

1999. *Founding of an African Faith: Kikuyu Anglican Christianity 1900-1945* Nairobi: Uzima Press.
- Karanja, J N
1966. Kenya and Tanzania. In *African Affairs: Journal of Royal African Society* Vol.66, number 265 October 1966 Oxford University Press for the Royal African Society. Pages 289-296.
- Kasfir, Nelson
1998. *Civil society and democracy in Africa* London: Routledge
- Kattambo, Mucai, Janet-Kabeberi-Muchai and Patricia Kameri-Mbote
1995. Law and Status of Women in Kenya. In Janet Kabeberi-Macharia, ed. *Women, Laws, customs and practices in East Africa: Laying the foundation*. Nairobi: Women and Law in East Africa. Page 80. Available at <URL. <http://www.ku.ac.ke/actil/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/LAW-AND-STATUS-OF-WOMEN-IN-KENYA.pdf>> Accessed on 8.2.2012.
- Kathryn, Tanner
1997. Theories of culture: A new Agenda for theology. In Guides to theological inquiry series. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress.
- Kato, Byang
1975: *Theological pitfalls in Africa* Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House
- Kay, T O.
1995. Luther Martin (1483-1546). In David J Atkinson, David H Field, Arthur F Holmes and Oliver O' Donovan, eds. *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics and pastoral Theology* Leicester: InterVarsity Press. Pp 559-560.
- Kenyatta, Jomo
1938. *Facing Mount Kenya* Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.
1968. *Suffering without bitterness* Nairobi: East Africa, Publishing House.
- Kenyatta, J
1979. *Facing Mount Kenya: The traditional life of the Gikuyu* London: Heinman.
- Kenyatta, Jomo
1953. *Facing Mount Kenya: The tribal life of the Gikuyu*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Kenyatta, Jomo
1964. *The Prime Minister of Kenya's speeches 1963-1964: From the attainment of internal self-government to the threshold of the Kenya republic* Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Khama, Tshekedi
1956. *Political Change in African Society: A study of the development of representative government* London : The Africa Bureau, 1956.
- Kiarie, Maina
nd. Early migrations into East Africa. Available at <URL. <http://www.enzimuseum.org/after-the-stone-age/early-migrations-into-east-africa>> Accessed on 4.5.2016.
- Kibwana, K Smokin W and Oketch O
1996. *The anatomy of corruption in Kenya: Legal, political and socio-economic perspectives* Nairobi: CLARION.
- Kihoro, Wanyiri
1992. Politics and Democracy in Kenya Today: In Royal African Society of Scotland *Occasional paper* 27.5.1992. Glasgow: Edinburgh University.
- King, Kenneth K
1969. Africa and the Southern states of the USA: Notes on J H Oldham and American Negro education for Africans. In *Journal of African History* x (4), 659-677.

1970. *Harry Thuku: An autobiography*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press
- Kinoti, George
1994. *Hope for Africa and what the Christian can do* Nairobi: AISRED.
- Kinoti, George & Peter Kimuyu eds
1997. *Vision for a bright Africa: Facing the challenges of development* Nairobi: AISRED.
- Kipkorir, Benjamin E
1969. *Alliance High School and the making of the Kenya elite*. Cambridge University. DPhil. Thesis
- Klopp. Jacqueline M
2002. Can moral ethnicity trump political tribalism? The struggle for land and nation in Kenya. In *African Studies*. 61 (2) 2002. Carfax Publishing.
- Kneller, George F
1971. *Introduction to Philosophy of Education* New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Knighton, Ben
2016. The fiftieth year of independent Kenya: Elections, righteousness and Churches. In *Transformation* 33(1) 16-32.
2012. Kenya African Union and Mau Mau: Intersection at the junction for Banana Hill. Presented at the African History and Politics Seminar, Queen Elizabeth House, Manor Road, University of Oxford. 28.6.2012
2010. Going for *cai* at Gatundu: Reversion to a Kikuyu ethnic past or building a Kenyan national future. In *Our Turn to eat: Politics in Kenya since 1950* Daniel Branch, Nic Cheeseman and Leigh Gardner. Eds. London: Transaction Publishers.
2009. Introduction. In Ben Knighton, ed. *Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in honour of a meddlesome priest* New York: Palgrave Mcmillan.
2005. *The vitality of Karamojong religion: Dying Tradition or living Hants*: Ashgate Publishing Limited
2004. Issues of African Theology at the turn of the millennium. *Transformation* 21(3) 147-161.
2003. The state as raider among the Karamojong: 'Where there are no guns, they use the threat of guns'. *Africa* 73 (3).
- Knighton, Ben, ed
2009. *Religion and Politics in Kenya: Essays in honour of a meddlesome priest*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan.
- Knighton, Benjamin Paul
1990. *Christian Enculturation in Karamoja, Uganda* A Ph.D thesis in two volumes. Durham University.
- Koff D and A Haworth
1979. Black man's land. *Public broadcasting service* April 3-5
- Kothari, C R
2004. *Research methodology: Methods and techniques* New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited, Publishers.
- Koyzis, David. T
2003. *Political visions and illusions: A survey and Christian critique of contemporary ideologies* Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.
- Kraft, Charles H
1979. *Christianity in culture: A study in dynamic biblical theologising in cross cultural perspective* Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Kraushaar, Otto F

1979. Criticism. In Dagobert D Runes, ed. *Dictionary of Philosophy*. New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co.
- Kreis, Stephen
2001. Republican Rome, 509-31 BC. *Lectures on Ancient and Medieval Europe* 2001, Vol. Lecture ii, <http://www.historyguide.org/ancient/lecture11b.html>.
- Kyle, Kieth
1999. *The politics of the independence of Kenya* London : Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Kymlicka, Will
2001. *Politics in the vernacular: Nationalism, multiculturalism and citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lachat, Michael Ray
1986. Troeltsch on the social impact of the doctrine of predestination (Studies in the Theological Ethics of Ernst Troeltsch). In Max A Myers & Michael R Lachat, eds. *Toronto Studies in Theology* Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd, 1986, 49, Pages 156-176.
- Lamb, David
1985: *The Africans Revised edtn* London: Methuen
- Little, Daniel
2008. Narrative History. Available at <URL <http://understandingsociety.blogspot.co.ke/2008/11/narrative-history.html>.> Accessed on 10.9.2015.
- Land, Richard D
1994: *Citizen Christians: The rights and responsibilities of dual citizenship* Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers.
- Langdon, Stephen
1987. Industry and Capitalism in Kenya: Contributions to a debate. In Paul M Lubeck, ed. *The Africa Bourgeoisie: Capitalist development in Nigeria, Kenya and Ivory Coast* Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Leakey, L S B
1936. *Kenya: Contrasts and problems*. London : Methuen and Company Limited.
- Lenard, Patti Tamara
2010. Extra-territoriality of citizenship rights and obligations. s.l. : Available at <URL. http://eis.bris.ac.uk/~plcdib/territory/papers/lenard_citizenship.pdf.> Accessed in June 2010.
- Lenin, V I
1970. *Imperialism: The highest stage of capitalism 15th edtn* Moscow: Progress Publishers
- Lewis, Joanna
2000. *Empire State-Building: War and Welfare in Kenya 1925-52*. Oxford: James Currey, 2000.
- Leys, Collins
2004. The overdeveloped post-colonial state: A Re-evaluation. In Giles Mohan and Tunde Zack-Williams, eds. *The politics of transition in Africa: state, democracy and economic development* Sheffield: ROAPE publications. Pages 32-36
1975. *Under-development in Kenya: The political economy of neo-colonialism 1964-1971* London: Heinemann.
- Leys, Norman
1926. *Kenya*. London: London Press
- Lijphart, Arendt,
1977: *Democracy in Plural Societies* New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Linz, Juan J & Alfred Stepan
 1996: Toward Consolidated Democracies.' In *Journal of Democracy* 7 (2): 14–33.
 1992. 'Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.' *Daedalus* 121:123–39.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin
 1994. The social requisites of democracy revisited. In *American Sociological Review*. 59/1/ 1-22.
 1981. *Political man (Expanded edition)* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press
- Lloyd, Christopher
 1991. The Methodologies of Social History: A Critical Survey and Defence of Structuralism. In *History and Theory* Vol. 30, No. 2 (May, 1991), Pages. 180-219. Published by: [Blackwell Publishing](#) for [Wesleyan University](#). Available at <URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505539>.> Accessed on 8.2.2012.
- Lohse, Eduard
 1988 *Theological ethics of the New Testament* Translated by M Eugene Boring. Minneapolis: Fortress Press
- Locke, John
 1690. *The Second Treatise of Government* Digitized by Dave Gowan (dgowan@tfn.net). Available at <URL: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7370/7370-h/7370-h.htm>.> Accessed on 29.8.2015.
 1689. *A letter concerning toleration* Available at <URL:<http://www.constitution.org/jl/tolerati.htm>.> Accessed 29.8.2015
- Lonsdale, John
 2008. Soil, work, civilization, and citizenship in Kenya. In *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 2 (2), 305-314.
 2004. Moral and political argument in Kenya. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, ed. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey 2004, Pages 73-95.
 2002. Authority, gender and violence: The war within Mau Mau's fight for land and freedom. In John Lonsdale and Atieno-Odhiambo, eds. *Mau Mau and nationhood: Arms, authority and narration*. London: Ohio University Press. Pages 46-75
 1994. Moral ethnicity and political tribalism. In P Kaarsholm and J Hultin, eds. *Inventions and boundaries: Historical and Anthropological approaches to the study of ethnicity and nationalism* Roskilde University.
 1992a. The Conquest state of Kenya: 1895-1905. In Bruce, Berman and John Lonsdale, eds. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa. Book 1: state and class; Book 2: Violence and ethnicity* Nairobi: Heinemann, Kenya.
 1992b: Structure and process in the bureaucratic states of colonial Africa. In Bruce Berman & J Lonsdale. eds. *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* Oxford: James Currey.
 1992c: The political culture of Kenya. In *Occasional Papers: Centre for African Studies* Glassgow: Edinburgh University 27.5.1992.
 1989. The conquest state, 1895-1904. In W. R. Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. 1989, Pages 6-34.
- Lonsdale, J M

- 1968-1969. European attitudes and African Pressures: Missions and government in Kenya between the Wars. In *Race: A Journal of race and group relations*. London: The Institute of Race Relations: 7.1968-4.1969 Pages 141-151.
- Lonsdale, J, S Booth-Clibborn and A. Hake
1948. The emerging pattern of church and state co-operation in Kenya. In E. Fashiole-Luke, eds. *Christianity in Independent Africa* London: Rex Collings, 1948
- Lovin, Robert W
1986. "God has no favourites": The emergence of a Christian theory of Natural law (Studies in the Theological Ethics of Ernst Troeltsch). In Max A Myers & Michael R Lachat, eds. *Toronto Studies in Theology* 1986. (49) Pages 1-24. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
- Low, D. A
1965. Settlers and politics in Kenya. In Vincent Harlow, E M Chilver and Mergery Perham, eds. *History of East Africa* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1965. British East Africa: The Establishment of British rule 1895-1912 in *History of East Africa* Vincent Harlow, E M Chilver and Alison Smith, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Pages 1-56.
- Lowe. Michael
2002. Marx and Weber: Critics of Capitalism. In *Logos*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2002). Translated from French by Michael J. Thompson. Printer friendly version Available at <URL. <http://newpol.org/content/marx-and-weber-critics-capitalism>> Accessed 15.3.2015
- Ludemann, Gerd
1987. *Early Christianity according to the traditions in Acts*. Translated by John Bowden in 1989. London: SCM Press.
- Luescher-Mamashela
2011. The University in Africa and democratic citizenship: Hothouse or training ground? Wynberg: Centre for Higher Education Transformation. Available at <URL. <http://www.google.co.ke/#hl=sw&q=afrobarometer+survey+university+students+citizenship&oq=afrobarometer+survey+university+students+citizenship>> Accessed on 14.2.2012.
- Lund, Christian
2011. *Land rights and citizenship in Africa* Discussion Paper, 65. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute. Available at <URL.<http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:460067>> Accessed on 28.2.2012.
2008. *Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macarther, John, Jr
1981. *The Church: The body of Christ* California, Panorama City: Word of Grace Communications.
- Machiaveli, Nicolo
1961. *The Prince* Translated by G Baur. Harmondworth: Penguin.
- Macnair, Donald J
1973. *The Birth, Care and Feeding of a Local Church* Washington DC: Canon Press.
- Machiaveli. Nicolo
1515. *The Prince* (The Original Version of this Text was Rendered into HTML by Jon Roland of the Constitution Society and Converted to PDF by Danny Stone as a Community Service to the Constitution Society)
http://www.constitution.org/ari/polit_01.htm
- Mafeje, Achie

1995. Theory of democracy and the African discourse: Breaking bread with my fellow travellers. In Eshetu Chole and Jibrin Ibrahim, eds. *Democratization Processes in Africa: problems and prospect* Dakar: CODESIA Book Series.
- Maini, Krishan M
1967: *Land law in East Africa* Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Mackenzie, Fiona
1998. *Land Ecology and Resistance in Kenya, 1880-1952* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Malcolm, Damon
2005: The role of the church in public policy: possibilities, obstacles and challenges. In *SACC Public Policy*. Internet article 25.8.2005.
- Malinowski, B
1936. Native Education and culture contact. In *International Review of Missions* William Paton and M M Underhill. Volume 25.10.1936. Number 100. Page 480-515.
- Maloba, Wunyabari
1989. Nationalism and decolonization, 1947-1963. In W. R. Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980*. Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. Pages 173-201.
- Maloney, H N ed
1977. *Current perspectives in the Psychology of Religion* Grand Rapids William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Mamdani, Mahmood
1998. *When does a settler become a native? Reflections of the colonial roots of citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa* Cape Town: University of Cape Town department of communication.
1996. *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism* Kampala: Fountain publishers.
- Manana, Francis
2000. Okullu, John Henry. In *Dictionary of African Christian Biography* Available at <URL. <http://www.dacb.org/stories/kenya/okullujohnhenry.html>> Accessed 7.2.2014.
- Manchester, W
1925. Christian Statesmanship. A review of Christianity and the Race Problem, by J H Oldham. In *International Review of Missions* Pages 449-454. London: Student Christian Movement.
- Mangal, S K. and Shubhra Mangal
2013. *Research methodology in behavioural sciences*. Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited.
- Mann, M
1987. Ruling class strategies and citizenship: In *Sociology* 1987, Vol. 21.3. Pages 339-54.
- Markovitz, Irving Leonard. Ed
1987. *Studies in power and class in Africa* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marshall, I. Howard
1970. *Luke Historian and Theologian* Paternoster Press.
- Marshall, Paul
1984. *Thine is the Kingdom: A biblical perspective on the nature of government and politics today* Hants, UK Marshall: Marshall, Morgan and Scott.

- Marshall, T H
1992. *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Classics.
- Marx, Karl
1974. A contribution to the critique of Hegel's philosophy of right. Introduction. In K. Marx, *Early Writings*, 243-257.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels
1848. *The Communist Manifesto* Available at <URL. http://public.wsu.edu/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/marx.html> Accessed 8.8.2010.
1964. *On Religion* New York: Schocken Books Inc.
- Mathewes, Charles
2007. *A Theology of Public Life* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, Guy
2005. Review of the populist dimension to African political thought: Critical essays in reconstruction and retrieval by P. L. E. Idahosa. Trenton: Africa World Press. In *African Studies Review*. 48(1) 226-229. Winston-Salem: African Studies Association.
- Maxon, Robert
1989. The years of revolutionary advance, 1920- 1929. In W. R. Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980*. Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. 1989, Pages 71- 111.
- Maxon, Robert M
1993. *Struggle for Kenya: The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912-1923* Fairleigh: Dickinson University Press.
1980. *John Ainsworth and the making of Kenya* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- Mazrui, Ali.
2007. *Uhuru bado kidogo: Africa's condition of 'Not yet Uhuru': The balance sheet*. Available at <URL.http://igcs.binghamton.edu/igcs_site/top#top>Accessed June 2012. Nairobi: Institute of Global Cultural Studies.
- Mazrui, Ali A
1980. *The African condition: A political diagnosis* London: Heinmann.
- Mbiti, John S
1969. *African religions and philosophy* Nairobi: Heineman.
- Mbogo, Beatrice
2013. Christian print media in central Kenya and their coverage of front page political events in the 1980s and 1990s. Wales: University of Wales. DPhil. Thesis
- McCaffrey, Donna T
2005. Lecture notes, prepared and posted on the internet by *Spinning clio: Where history meets politics* under the title: Political commentary with a historical perspective and vice versa. Available at <URL.http://cliopolitical.blogspot.com/2005/08/introduction-to-historical-method_26.html> Accessed on 12.10,2006.
- McCulloch, Gary
2011. Historical and documentary research in education. In Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison *Research Methods in Education*. London: Routledge. Pages 248-255
- McConnel, Michael W
2000. Believers as equal citizens. In Nancy L Rosenblum, ed. *Obligations of citizenship and demands of faith: Religious accommodation in pluralist democracies* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McLellan, David. Ed

1997. *Political Christianity: A reading* London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.
- Mellor, George R
nd. *British Imperial Trusteeship 1783-1850* London: Faber and Faber Limited.
- Mews, S, ed
1982. *Religion and National identity* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Middleton, John
1965. Kenya: Administration and Changes in African life 1912-1945. In Vincent Harlow, E M Chilver and Mergery Perham. eds. *History of East Africa* Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pages 333-394.
- Migdal, Joel
1988. *Strong societies and weak states: State-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World* Princeton University Press.
- Milbank, J
1993. *Theology and social theory: Beyond secular reason* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miller, David
2000. *Citizenship and national identity* Oxford: Polity Press, 2000.
- Miller, Fred
2011. *Aristotle's Political Theory* First published Wed Jul 1, 1998; substantive revision Wed Jan 26, 2011. Available at <URL.[http://plato.stanford.edu/ entries/aristotle-politics.>](http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-politics/) Accessed 28.1. 2011.
- Miller, Richard W
2005. Capitalism and Marxism. In R G Fray and Christopher Heath Wellman. eds. *A companion to Applied Ethics*. Available at <URL.http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405133456_chunkg97814051334567#citation Accessed on 17.1.2011
- Mistry, Percy S
2005. Commentary: Reasons for sub-Saharan Africa's development deficit that the comission for Africa did not consider. *African Affairs*. 104 (417) 665-678.
- Mogae, F G
2001. *Statement by His Excellency Mr Festus G. Mogae, President of the Republic of Botswana at the Annual General Meeting of the Botswana Scouts Association, Gaborone: Botswana College of Agriculture*. Gaberone, Bostwana : s.n.
- Moi, Daniel.
1986. *Kenya African Nationalism. Nyayo Philosophy and Principles*. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- Moltmann, Jorgen
2006: *Political Theology* internet article
- Monga, Celestin
2006: *Africa's Four Deficits*. Available at <URL.[http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/consultation/bob_geldofs_seminars/ african-letters/elestin Monga.pdf](http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/consultation/bob_geldofs_seminars/ african-letters/elestin_Monga.pdf). Accessed on 7.11.06.
- Monk, W. ed
1860. Dr Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, page 24. Quoted by Nkomazana, Fidelis. 1998. Livinstone's ideas of Commerce, Christianity and civilization In Pula: Bostwana Journal of African Studies, Vol. 12, nos.1 and 2. Page 44

- Montefiore, Hugh
1990. *Christianity and politics: The drummond Lectures 1989*. London :
- Morse, Suzanne W
1989. *Renewing civic capacity: Preparing college students for service and citizenship* ASHE- ERIC Higher Education Report No 8. Washington D.C.: School of Education and Human Development, the George Washington University.
- Morton, Andrew
1998. *Moi: The making of a statesman* London: Michael O'Mara Books Limited.
- Mouffe, Chantal
1993: Citizenship. In Joel Krieger, et al. eds. *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993 Pages 138-39.
- Moyi, Peter L
2006. *Child labour and schooling in Khana and Kenya: the roles of poverty and education policy: A Thesis in Educational Theory and Policy* Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, College of Education Graduate School. DPhil. Thesis
- Mugambi, J N K and N. Kirima
2004. Applied ethics and globalization: An African perspective. In *Theologies and cultures*. Volume 4/2 Pages 192-207.
2002. *Christianity and African Culture* Nairobi: Acton Publishers.
1989b. *African Christian theology* Nairobi: East African Publishers Ltd.
1976. *The African religious heritage* Nairobi: Oxford University Press
- Mugenda, Olive, M and Abel G. Mugenda
2003. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* Nairobi: ACTS press.
- Muigai, Githu
2004. Jomo Kenyatta & the rise of the ethno-nationalist state in Kenya. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, ed. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey Pages 200-217.
- Mujere, Joseph
2010. Land, Graves and Belonging: Land Reform and the Politics of Belonging in Newly Resettled Farms in Gutu, 2000-2009. In *Livelihoods after Land Reform in Zimbabwe Series. Working Paper 9*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.
- Munslow, Alun
2000. *The Routledge companion of historical studies* New York: Routledge.
- Mutalik-Desai, Priya, ed
1979. *Economic and political development of Kenya* Centre of East African Studies, University of Bombay. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House.
- Mutunga, Willy
1999. *Constitution making from the middle: Civil society and transition politics in Kenya, 1992 -1997*. Nairobi, Kenya: Sareat.
- Myers, Max A
1986. Introduction in Max A Myers & Michael R Lachat, eds. *Toronto Studies in Theology* 49/ Pages i-ix
1986: The essence of Christianity as dialogue and the constitution of value in history (Studies in the Theological Ethics of Ernst Troeltsch) in Max A Myers & Michael R Lachat, eds. In *Toronto Studies in Theology* 49/ Pages 177-204. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd.
- Murray, N U

- 1985/6. The need to get there first: Staking a missionary claim in colonial Kenya In *Journal of African studies* 1985/6 Winter, pages 181-193.
- Murray, Robert H
nd. *The Individual and the state: Their relationship historically considered with some of its bearings on the future of civilization* London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd.
- Mwaura, Ndirangu. 2005. *Kenya Today: Breaking the Yoke of Colonialism in Africa* New York. Algora Publishing
- Nazeer, Ahmed
No date. Islam in Africa: Introduction of Islam in Africa. In *History of Islam – An Encyclopaedia of Islamic history* Available at <URL. <http://historyofislam.com/contents/the-classical-period/islam-in-africa/>>Accessed on 13.2.2012.
- Ndegwa, Duncan Nderitu
2006. *Walking in Kenyatta struggles* Nairobi: Kenya Leadership Institute.
- Ndegwa, Stephen N. Ed
2001. A decade of democracy in Africa. In Stephen N. Ndegwa, ed. *A decade of democracy in Africa*. Leide: Brill. 2001, Pages 1-16.
- Ndegwa, Stephen N
1998. Citizenship amid economic and political change in Kenya. In *Africa Today* volume 45: 3-4, pages 351-368. Available at <URL. http://www.ndegwa.com/images/citizenship_amid_economic.pdf>Accessed 24.6.2009
1997. Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Transition Moments in Kenyan Politics. *The American Political Science Review* 91(3) 9.1997, Pages. 599-616. Available at <URL.<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2952077>> Accessed 11.2011
- Neal, Griffin Kenyon
1972. *Religious, citizenship, and mission orientations of Protestant Missionaries in East Africa* University of Kentucky, PhD, Political Science, International Law and Relations.
- Neuman, Lawrence W
2003: *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches 5th edn* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Neill, Stephen
1979: *A history of Christian missions*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Ngubane, Jordan Kush
Nd. an Editorial. In *Inkundla ya Bantu*: Available at <URL. <http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/NAM/newafre/writers/jabavu/jabavu.htm>> Accessed on 15.9.2013.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold
1960: *Moral man and immoral society: A study in ethics and politics* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Nigel Goring Wright
2000: *Disavowing Constantine: Mission, Church and Social Order in the Theologies of John Howard Yoder and Jurgen Moltmann* Carlisle: Paternoster Press.
- No name-1
2010. Lecture 26: A Black Theology of Liberation. Available at <URL.<http://www.wfu.edu/~matthetl/perspectives/twentyseven.html>> Accessed on 24.7.2010
- No name-2

- No date. Davidson, *Tengo Jabavu* in the South African History Online: Towards a People's history. Available at <URL. <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/davidson-don-tengo-jabavu> > Accessed on 13.9.2013.
- Nthamburi, Zablun
2014. The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya. In Dictionary of African Christian Biography. <Available at < URL. <http://www.dacb.org/history/beginning%20and%20development%20of%20christianity%20in%20kenya.html>; Accessed 7.2.2014>
1991. The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya. In *From mission to Church: A Handbook of Christianity in East Africa* Nairobi: Uzima Press.
- Nyanchama, Matunda
2001. *Youth not a panacea for Kenya's political problems*. Available at <URL. <http://www.africawired.com/YouthNotaPanacea.htm>> Accessed 22.10. 2013.
- Nyinguro, Phillip O and Eric O Otenyo
2007. Social movements and democratic transitions in Kenya. In *Journal of Asian and African Studies* Volume 42(1). Pages 5-24. London: Sage publications.
- Nyong'o, Peter Anyang'
1995. Discourses in democracy. In Eshetu Chole and Jibrin Ibrahim, eds. *Democratization Processes in Africa: problems and prospect* Dakar: CODESIA Book Series.
- Nyong'o, P. Anyang'
1988. The possibilities and political limitations of import –substitution industrialization in Kenya. In Peter Coughlin and Gershom K Ikiara, eds. *Industrialization in Kenya: In search of a strategy* Nairobi: Heinemann
- Nzouankeu, Jacques-Mariel
1991. The African attitude to democracy. In *International Social Science Journal*. Number 128, May 1991. Page 373
- Nzomo, Maria
2003: The 2002 general elections in Kenya women's performance and prospects in parliamentary politics. In *Wajibu 18/ (May-July) 1-2*.
2003. Civil Society in the Kenyan Political transition: 1992-2002. In Walter Oyugi, Peter Wanyande and C Odhiambo Mbai, eds. *The Politics of transition in Kenya: From KANU TO NARC* Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation. Pages 180-211
1993: The gender dimension of democratization in Kenya: Some international linkages. In *Alternatives*, volume 18, number1, Winter, 1993.
- Ochieng, W R, Ed.
1989. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited.
- Ochieng, William
1989. Introduction. In W R Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. Pages 1-5.
1989. Independent Kenya, 1963-1986 in *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* W. R. Ochieng ed. Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. Pages 202-218.
1975. Tribalism and National Unity: The case of Kenya in *Politics and leadership in Africa* Eds Aloo Ojuku and William Ochieng. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Ochieng, Zachary

2011. Poverty at 43. Available at <URL.http://www.newsfromafrica.org/news fromafrica/ articles/art_10815.html.> Accessed on 1.4.2011.
- Odinga, Jaramogi Oginga Ajuma
1968. *Not yet Uhuru: the autobiography of Oginga Odinga* London: Heinemann.
- Odhiambo, E. S. Atieno
2004. Hegemonic enterprises & and instrumentalities of survival: Ethnicity and democracy in Kenya. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka, ed. *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa* Oxford: James Currey, 2004, Pages 167-182.
- O'Donovan, Oliver
1996. *The desire of the nations: Rediscovering the roots of Political Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Donovan, Oliver and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan.
1999. *From Irenaeus to Grotious*. Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Ogola, George
2005: Confronting and performing power: memory, popular imagination and a “popular” Kenyan Newspaper serial. In *African studies*. 64/ July/1/73-8.
- Ogot, Bethuel A
1981. *Historical Dictionary of Kenya* London: The Scare Crow Press.
- Ogot, Bethuel and W R Ochieng
2000. Introduction. In Bethuel A Ogot and W R Ochieng, eds. *Kenya: The making of a nation: A hundred years of Kenya's history, 1895-1996* Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies. Pages 1-3.
- Ogot, Bethuel A and William Robert Ochieng. eds
1995. *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya 1940-1993* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Pages 214-237.
- Okia, Opolot
2012. *Communal Labor in Colonial Kenya: The Legitimization of Coercion, 1912-1930* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
2009. Children and forced labour in colonial Kenya. In Hugh D Hindman, ed. *The World of Child labour: An historical and regional survey* Publisher: M E Sharpe. Pages 271-272. Available at <URL.<http://www.mesharpe.com/mall/ resultsa.asp?Title=The+World+of+Child+Labor%3A+An+Historical+and+Regional+Survey>>Accessed 12.2.2012
- Okoth-Ogendo, H.W.O
1991. *Tenants of the Crown: Evolution of agricultural law and institutions in Kenya* Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.
- Okullu, Henry
2003. *Church and State in nation building and human development* Nairobi: Uzima Press.
1984. *Church and politics in East Africa* Nairobi: Uzima.
- Oliver, Donald W and W and Fred Neuman
1968. *Colonial Kenya* Middletown: Xerox Corporation.
- Oliver, Roland
1963. *The missionary factor in East Africa*. London: Longmans, Green
1951. Some Factors in the British Occupation of East Africa, 1884-1894. In *Uganda Journal* 15 (1): 49–64. 3.1951
- Oliver, Roland and Anthony Atmore.
1967. *Africa Since 1800* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Oliver, Roland and Michael Crowder
1981. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Africa* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Oluoch, Jemima
2003. *The Christian political theology of Rt. Rev. Dr. John Henry Okullu, Bishop of the Diocese of Maseno South of the Anglican Church of Kenya (1929-1999)*. School of Theology, University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg. M.Phil. Thesis
- Olumwulla, Osaak A
2002. *Dis-ease in the colonial state: Medicine, society, and social change among the AbaNyole of western Kenya* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press
- Omulokoli, Watson
2004. The early history of the Church. In *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 23 (2). 2004 pages 147-159.
- Osogo, John
1966. *A history of the Baluyia* Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Orvis, Stephen
2003. Kenyan Civil society. In *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41/2/ Pages 247-268. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Otieno, Nicholas
1993. *Beyond the silence of death: Life and theology of the late Bishop Alexander Kipsang Muge* Nairobi: National Council of Churches f Kenya.
- Orwa, Katete
1989. Foreign Policy, 1963- 1986. In W R Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited. Pages 219-244.
- Osei-Mensah, Gottfried
1990. *Wanted: servant leaders: The challenge of Christian leadership in Africa today* Achimota: Africa Christian Press.
- O'Toole, Thomas
1996. The historical context. In April A Gordon & Donald L Gordon eds. *Understanding contemporary Africa* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers (pages 23-52).
- Oucho, John O
2002. *Undercurrents of Ethnic conflict in Kenya*. Leiden: Brill.
- Owino, Opondo
2006. Greed, Kaparo warns Mps they face verdict at polls. In *Nation* 6.5.2006. Available at <URL.<http://www.nationmedia.com/dailynation/oldarchives.asp?archive=True>>. Accessed 12.6.2012.
- Owuoche, Solomon
2010. *The Church in the Struggle for Democracy in Kenya*. Nairobi: Mvule Africa Publishers.
- Oyugi, Walter O
2003. The Politics of transition in Kenya, 1992-2003: Democratic consolidation or deconsolidation. In Walter Oyugi, Peter Wanyande and C Odhiambo Mbai, eds. *The Politics of transition in Kenya: From KANU TO NARC* Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation. Pages 345-381
- Padwick, John Timothy
2003. *Spirit, desire and the world: Birmingham: Roho Churches in western Kenya in the era of globalization* Historical Studies Department, University of Birmingham. D.Phil Thesis.
- Pateman, Carole

2006. The fraternal Social Contract. In Robert E Goodin and Phillip Pettit, eds. *Contemporary political philosophy: An anthology 2nd edtn* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Paul, Garrett E
2006. *Why Troeltsch? Why today? Theology for the 21st Century*. Available at <URL.<http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title>>. Accessed on 04.10.06.
- Peled, Yaov
1992. Ethnic democracy and the legal construction of citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State. In *American Political Science Review* 86 (June): 432-43
- Perham, Margery
1951. The British Problem in Africa. In Hamilton Fish Armstrong and Byron Dexter, eds. *Foreign Affairs Journal: An American Quaterly Review* Volume 29#4 July 1951, pages 636-650. USA: Foreign Affairs.
- Peterson, Derek
2004. *Creative Writing: Translation, bookkeeping, and the work of imagination in colonial Kenya* In Allen Isaacman and Jean Allman, eds. *Social history of Africa*, Portsmouth: Heinemann.
1971. *Ethnic patriotism and the East Africa Revival: A history of dissent. C.1935-1972* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phiri, Isabel Apawo
2003. President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy Expressions of Christianity in Zambia (Nov., 2003),. In *Journal of Religion in Africa*. Vol. 33, Fasc. 4, pp. 401-428. Brill
- Pocock, J G
1995. The Ideal of citizenship since modern times. In R E Beiner *Theorizing citizenship* New York: State University of New York Press.
- Preece, Julia
2005. Perceptions of citizenship responsibility amongst Botswana youth: implications for citizenship education. Paper presented at ESREA Seminar on Citizenship and Civil Society, Estonia, September 2005. University of Glasgow: Centre for Research and Development in Adult and Lifelong learning (CRADALL). (A substantial portion of this text will be published in *Compare*, Volume 35(1) 2006).
- Price, Polly J
1997. Natural law and birth right citizenship in Calvin's case (1608). In *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities*, Inc.; Polly J. Price Yale J.L. & Human. 1997 Winter 73. Available at <URL. <http://www.uniset.ca/naty/maternity/9YJLH73.htm>> Accessed on 13.1.2011.
- Radcliffe-Brown, AR
1940. Preface. In Fortes, M and E. E. Evans Pritchard, eds. for International African Institute. *African political systems* London: Oxford University Press.
- Ramchandani, R R
1979. Some aspects of development strategy for Kenya. In Priya Mutalik-Desai, ed. *Economic and political development of Kenya* Centre of East African Studies, University of Bombay. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House.
- Ranger, Terence
2003. Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa: A continental comparison. In *Journal for the Review of African Studies*. 33(1), 112-17.

- Rawls, John
 1993. *Political liberalism* New York : Columbia University Press, 1993.
 1989. The domain of the political and overlapping consensus. *New York University Law Review*. 1989, Vol. 64, pages 234-35.
 1987. The Idea of overlapping consensus. In *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 1987, Vol. 7, Pages 5-6.
- Rees P M
 1963. *The growth of the Economy 1954-1962 Ministry of Finance*
 Economics and statistics division, December 1963.
- Reiss, H S, ed
 1990. *Kant Political Writings* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reist, Benjamin A
 1966. *Toward a theology of involvement: The thought of Ernst Troeltsch*
 Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.
- Renwick, A M and A M Harman
 1985. *The story of the Church* Leicester: Intervarsity Press.
- Rice, Stanley
 1923. The Indian Question in Kenya. In Archibald Cary Coolidge and Hamilton Fish Armstrong, eds. *Foreign Affairs Journal: An American Quaterly Review* Volume 2 #2 15.12.1923 pages 258 -269. USA: Foreign Affairs.
- Richards, Elizabeth.
 1956. *Fifty years in Nyanza 1906-1956: The history of the CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province, Kenya* Maseno: Nyanza Jubilee Committee.
- Rickett, Daniel
 1998. 'Developmental partnering'. In *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 34(4), 438-445.
- Riesenberg, Peter
 1992. *Citizenship in the Western tradition: Plato to Rousseau*. Capel Hill: North Carolina Press.
- Robertson, David
 1993. *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics*. London: Penguin Books, 1993.
- Robertson, Clare C
 1997. *Trouble showed the way: Women, men and trade in Nairobi area 1890-1990*. Ph.D. theses, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Robertson, David
 1993. *Dictionary of politics*. London: Penguin Books.
- Robinson, Colin
 2002. *Real World research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*, 2nd edtn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Robinson, James
 2010. Property rights and African poverty. In *Defining Ideas*. A Hover Institutional Journal. 15.3.2010.
- Roche, Maurice
 2002. Social citizenship: Grounds of social change. In Engin F Isin and Bryan S Turner, eds .
 2002. *Handbook of citizenship studies* London: Sage Publications, Pages 69-86.
- Rodney, Walter
 1988. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications Ltd.
- Ron, Rhodes

- Nd. Black, theology, black power and the black experience. Available at <URL.<http://www.equip.org/PDF/DL100-2.pdf>> Accessed 10.5.2016.
- Rosberg, Carl G. and John Nottingham
The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.
- Ross, McGregor
 1927. *Kenya from within a short political history*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Rothchild, Donald
 1970. *Citizenship and National Integration: The Non-African crisis in Kenya*. In *Studies in race and nations*, Study number 3- 1969-1970. Denver: University of Denver.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
 1968. *The Social Contract*. Translated by Maurice Cranston. Penguin.
 1913 (1762). *The social contract and discourses*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Rubin, Allen and Earl Babbie
 2011. *Research methods for social work*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/ Cole, Cengage learning
- Runes, Dagobert D. ed
 1979. *Dictionary of Philosophy*. Totova, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company.
- Rush, Vincent E
 1984. *The responsible Christian: A popular guide for moral decision making according to classical tradition* Chicago: Loyola University Press.
- Sabar-Friedman, G
 2002: *Church, State and society in Kenya: From mediation to opposition, 1963-1993* London: Routledge.
 1997. Church and State in Kenya, 1986-92: The Churches involvement in the "Game of Change". *African Affairs* 96, 25-52.
- Samuel, Bill
 2005. *Friends (Quakers) and Peace* Suite101. 10.02.2005.
- Schuck, Peter H
 2002: Liberal Citizenship. In Engin F Isin and Bryan S T. *Handbook of citizenship studies A introduction* London: Sage Publications.
- Scott, Peter
 2003: *A political theology of nature* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
 2004. Creation. In *The Blackwell companion to political theology* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Scott, Walter
 No date. *Exposition of the Revelation of Jesus Christ* London: Pickering and Inglis
- Sen, Amartya
 1999. *Development as Freedom* New York: Alfred Knopf
- Shaker, Lee
 2012. Local political knowledge and assesments of citizen competence. Communication faculty presentations. Available at <URL. http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=comm_fac> Accessed 22.3.2013
- Shapiro, Ian

2002. Problems, methods, and theories in the study of politics, or what's wrong with political science and what to do about it. In *Political Theory* volume 30, no 4. Pages 596-619. Sage Publications Inc. Available <URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3072623>> Accessed through OLIS. 29.12. 2012.
- Sherlock, Charles
1996. *The Doctrine of Humanity* Downers Grove: Intervarsity.
- Sherlock, Richard
1987: Ernst Troeltsch and the problem of natural right: The dilemma of a neo Kantian political theorist. In Max A Myers and Michael R. Lachat, eds. *Studies in Toronto Studies in Theology* 49/ 205-225 Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
- Siegel, Brian
1996: Family and Kinship. In April A Gordon & Donald L Gordon eds *Understanding contemporary Africa* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers (pages 221-247).
- Sifuna, Daniel
1985. The dilemma of Technical education in Kenya: The colonial period. In *Msingi Journal of Educational foundations*. 1(1) 1, pages 3-19.
- Sing'Oei, Abraham Korir
2011. Citizenship in Kenya: The Nubian Case. In Brad K Blitz and Maureen Lynch, Eds. In *Statelessness and Citizenship: A Comparative Study on benefits of Nationality*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. Pages 45-65.
- Skinner, Quentin
2006. The State in *Contemporary political philosophy: An anthology 2nd edtn* Robert E Goodin and Phillip Pettit, eds. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
1989. The State. [book auth.] Terrence, James Farr, and Russel L Hanson Ball. *Political Innovation and conceptual change* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Roger M
2002. Modern citizenship. In Engin F Isin and Bryan S Turner, eds. *Handbook of citizenship studies* London: Sage Publications
- Snyder, Jack
2000. *From voting to violence: Democratization and nationalist conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Sogaard, Viggo
1996: *Research in Church and Mission* Pasadena: William Carey Library.
- Somers, Margaret R. 2010. 2010.
- Sorrenson, M P K
1968. *Origins of European settlement in Kenya*. London: OUP.
1965. Land Policy in Kenya: 1895-1945. In E M Chilver and Alison Smith Vincent Harlow. *History of East Africa*. Oxford : Clarendon Press.
- Southall, Roger
1999. Reforming the State? Kleptocracy and the political transition in Kenya. *Review of African political economy* 79 () 93-108
- Spencer, Herbert
2012. Modern History Sourcebook: Herbert Spencer: Social Darwinism, 1857. From "Prograss: Its Law and Causes", *The Westminster Review*, Vol 67 (April 1857), Pages 445-447, 451, 454-456, 464-65. Accessed on 26.03.2012, 8.00 am Available at <URL: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/spencer-darwin.asp>>
- Spencer, Leon Pharr

1974. *Christian Missions and African interests in Kenya, 1905 to 1924*. Syracuse University. DPhil. Thesis.
- Stackhouse, Max L
2000. First Things 106 (October 2000): 19-22. Available at <URL. <http://www.firstthings.com/ftissues/ft0010/opinion/stackhouse.html>; >
Accessed 04.10.06.
- Stibbs, Timothy Paul Charles
1978. *Aspects of the Colonial Office administration of the trusteeship concept with special reference to Kenya and Nigeria*. Oxford: University of Oxford, St Edmunds Hall. D.Phil. Thesis.
- Stichter, S
1982. *Migrant labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African response 1895-1975*. London: Longman
- Stott, J. R. W
1988. *Issues facing Christianity today* Leicester: InterVarsity Press.
2001. *The incomparable Christ* Leicester: IVP.
- Stovold, K E.
nd. *The CMS in Kenya book 1: The Coast 1844-1944*. Nairobi: the CMS Bookshop
- Strayer, R W
1978. *The making of mission communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in colonial Kenya 1875-1935* London: Heinemann.
- Samuel, Vinay and Chris Sugden
1981. Toward a theology of social change. In *Evangelicals and development: Towards a theology of social change* Exeter: The Paternoster Press. Pages 45-68.
- Swainson, Nicola
1980. *The development of corporate capitalism in Kenya 1918-77*. London: Heinmann.
- Swamy, Gurushri
1994. Kenya: Patchy intermittent commitment. In Ishrat Hussain and Rasheed Faruquee, eds. *Adjustment in Africa: Lessons from country case studies* Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Swinton, John & Harriet Mowart
2006. *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* London: SCM Press.
- Syagga, Paul
Nd. Public land, historical land injustices and the new Constitution: Constitution Working Paper No. 9 Society for International Development (SID).
- Tarus, Isaac Kipsang
2004. *A history of the direct taxation of the African people of Kenya, 1895 to 1973* Rhodes University. D.Phil. Thesis.
- Temu, A. J
1972. *British Protestant Missions*. London: Longmans.
- Temu, William R
2009. Christian Organizations in Africa: Their contribution to ecumenism. In *The Ecumenical Review* World Council of Churches. Volume 53 No 3. 26.3.2009.
- Throup, David
1995. Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's: The politics of Church state conflict in Kenya 1978-1990. In Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, eds. *Religion and Politics in East Africa: The period*

- since independence Nairobi: East African Publishing Company, 1995, Pages 143-176.
- Throup, David W. and Charles Hornsby
1998. *Multi-Party Politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta and Moi states and the Triumph of the system in the 1992 election*. Nairobi: E. A. E. P.
- Thurmann, Ulrich
1967. Rural Development Administration in Bungoma District (Kenya). Report of the Country Study Group Kenya 1967, of the German Development Institute.
- Tilly, Louise A
2012. Social History and its critics. Available at <URL.http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/2027.42/43661/1/11186_2004_Article_BF00208773.pdf.> Accessed 8.2.2012
- Torqueville, Alexis De
1998. *Democracy in America* Translated by Henry Reeve. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.
- Todaro, Michael P & Stephen C Smith
2003: *Economic Development 8th edn*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited
- Trench, Charles Chenevix
1993. *Men who ruled Kenya: The Kenya administration 1892-1963* London: The Radcliffe Press.
- Trevor-ropper, Hugh
1965. *The rise of Christian Europe*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965.
- Troeltsch, Ernst
1992. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches 2 Volumes* (translated 1931 from 1912 original). Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Publishing
- Trimingham, John Spencer
1964. *Islam in East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Turner, Bryan. S
2002. Religion and Politics: The elementary forms of citizenship. In Engin F Isin and Bryan S Turner, eds. *Handbook of citizenship studies* London: Sage Publications.
- Tylor, Edward
1920 [1871]. *Primitive Culture*. New York: J.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Tylor, Edward Burnett
1958. *The Origins of Culture*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers
- UK Commission on Citizenship
1990. *Encouraging citizenship: Report of the commission on citizenship*. London: HMSO
2002. *Citizenship studies*. London: Sage Publications, 2002, Pages 259-275.
- Umar Abdi
1997. Resource Utilization, conflict, and insecurity in pastoral areas of Kenya. A paper for USAID Organized Seminar on Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa. Forum Kenya Pastoral Forum. Available at <URL.www.pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACH214.pdf.> Accessed 15.6.2012
- US State Department
2006: *Background Note Kenya* Bureau of African affairs. Available at <URL.<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2962.html#people#people>.> Accessed 15.6.2012
- Vandenberg, Paul,.

2006. *The African-Asian divide: Analysing institutions and accumulation in Kenya*. New York: Routledge.
- Van Engen, Charles
1997 Church growth: Recent growth. In Fahlbusch, Erwin et al, eds. *The encyclopaedia of Christianity, vol. 1 A-D* by Cambridge: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas
2003: Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems. In *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41/2/ 297-321
- Vansina, J
1992. Population movements and emergence of new socio-political forms, in B A Ogot, ed. *General History of Africa V: Africa from the sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* Paris: UNESCO Pages 47-73.
- Veneklasen, L. et al.
2004. Rights-based approaches and beyond: challenges of linking rights and participation, IDS Working Paper 235, IDS.
- Vidler, Alec R
1974: *The Church in an age of revolution: 1789 to the present day* London: Penguin Books.
- Villumstad, Stein
2005: *Social reconstruction of Africa: Perspectives from without and within* Nairobi: Acton Publishers.
- Vine W E
1952: *Vines expository dictionary of New Testament words* Oliphants Limited.
- Vincent, M. R
No date. *Word Studies in the New Testament* No city or country: McDonald.
- Volf, Miroslav
1996. *Exclusion and Embrace: Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness and Reconciliation* Nashville: Abingdon
- Wa Githinji, Mwangi & Frank Holmquist
2008. *Kenya's hopes and impediments: The anatomy of a crisis of exclusion* In *Journal of East African studies*, 2008, July, Vol. 2.
- Wagner, Gunther
1949. *The Bantu of North Kavirondo* London: Oxford University Press.
- Waller, Richard
2011. Ecology, migration, and expansion in East Africa. Downloaded from Available at <URL afraf.oxfordjournal.org> Accessed on 29.3.2008.
- Walliman, Richard
2005. *Your Research project* London: Sage Publications.
- Walls, F Andrew
1998. Africa in Christian History: Retrospect and prospect. In *Journal of African Christian thought* Vol. 1, 1 page 2.
1987. The Christian tradition in today's world. In F B Whaling (ed) *Religion in Today's world* Edinburgh: T and T Clark, page 80.
- Walter, Williams
1962. *The rich heritage of Quakerism* Newberg: The Barclay Press.
- Wangila, Mary Nyangweso
2007. *Female Circumcision: The Interplay of religio, culture and gender in Kenya* Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.
- Wanjala, Smokin and Kivutha Kibwana
1997. *Time to change: An open letter to Kenyans* Nairobi: Claripress

- Wanyonyi, Pius Kakai
2010. Historicising negative ethnicity in Kenya. In Mbugua wa Mungai and George Gona. eds. *(Re)Membering Kenya*. Vol. 1. *Identity, culture and freedom* Nairobi: Twaweza Communications. Pages 32-49.
- Ward, Kendall
1952. *The Kenya Land Question: The history of African and European Land Settlement* London: The Voice of Kenya.
- Wasserman, Gray
2009. *Politics of decolonization: Kenya Europeans and the land issue 1960-1965* London: Cambridge University Press
- Watson, Cynthia A
2004. *Nation building: A reference book* Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO
- Webber, Robert E
1979. *The Secular Saint: A Case for Evangelical social responsibility* Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Weber, Max
1981. *Citizenship in General Economic Theory* Transaction books.
1978. *Economy and society. Economy and Society: An outline of interpretive sociology* 2 Volumes Berkeley: University of California Press
1966. *The sociology of religion* London: Methuen
1958. *The city* New York: Free Press
1930. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* London: Allen & Unwin
- Webster, D D
2010. Liberation Theology, advanced information. In *Elwell Evangelical Dictionary* Available from URL. <http://mb-soft.com/believe/txn/liberati.htm>.> On 13.2.2012 at 8.10 am.
- Weisberg, Herbert F Jon A Krosnick and Bruce D Bowen
1996. *An introduction to survey research, polling and data analysis*
- Welbourn, Frederick Burkewood
1961. *East Africa rebels: A study of some independent Churches*. London: SCM Press
- Weng, Ng Kam
2004: *Covenant Politics and pluralist democracy for a new Asia: An Asian Christian Social action in Transformation* 21(3) 147-161.
- Were, Gideon S
1967. *Western Kenya historical texts: Abaluhya, Teso and Elgon Kalenjin* Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau.
1972. *Politics religion and nationalism in Western Kenya, 1942-1962* East Africa: East African Publishing House in Politics and nation building.
- White, Hayden
2014. *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*. Baltimore Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Whitlock Luder G
2000: *The spiritual quest: Pursuing Christian maturity* Grand Rapids: Baker Books.
- Wight, Martin
1957. *Development of the legislative council* London: Faber and Faber. IVP.
- Williams, C P
1988: *Protestantism*. In Sinclair B Ferguson and David F Wright, eds. In *New Dictionary of Theology* Leicester: InterVarsity Press.
- Williams, Raymond
1976. *Keywords* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Wills, Colin
1953. *Who Killed Kenya?* London: Dennis Dobson Limited.
- Wilks-Heeg, Stuart and Steve Clayton
2006 June: *Political participation and local democracy: a comparative audit of local politics in Burnley and Harrogate* The State of Local Democracy Research Project: Funded by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust. Available from <URL. http://www.liv.ac.uk/sspsw/research/State_of_Local_Democracy.htm. Accessed on 13.2.2012
- Wiseman, J A
1996. *The new struggle for democracy in Africa* Singapore: Avebury
- Wolfe, David L
Epistemology. The justification of belief Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.
- Wolterstorff, Nicholas
1980. *Educating for Responsible Action* Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Womack, Brantly
John Stuart Mills, Karl Marx and citizenship. In *Journal of Cambridge studies* <http://journal.acs-cam.org.uk/data/archive/2012/201204-article1.pdf>
- Wood, Gordon S
2010. In defense of Academic History writing. In *Perspectives on history. The News Magazine of the American Historical Association* <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/april-2010/in-defense-of-academic-history-writing>
- Woodberry, Robert D
2012. The Missionary roots of liberal democracy. In *American political science Review* 106 (2) May 2012 Pages 244-274
- Wrigley, C C
1965. Kenya: The patterns of economic life 1902-45. In Vincent Harlow, E M Chilver and Mergery Perham. eds. *History of East Africa* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1965 Pages 209- 264.
- Yamane, David
2005. *Oxford: The Catholic Church in State politics: negotiating prophetic demands and political realities* Roeman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Young, Crawford
1994. In search of civil society in Africa. In Harbeson, John W, Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan. eds. *Civil society and the state in Africa* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1994
- Zelesa, Tiyaambe
1989. The establishment of colonial rule, 1905-1920. In W R Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited 1989 Pages 35-70.
1989. Kenya and the Second World War, 1939-1950. In W R Ochieng ed. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980* Nairobi, Kenya: Evans Brothers Limited 1989 Pages 144- 172.

