

James Karanja

**The Missionary Movement
in Colonial Kenya:
The foundation of Africa Inland Church**



Cuvillier Verlag Göttingen
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Introduction

African Christian history used to be the history of missionary enterprise¹. Its first enthusiasts sought to explain the victorious revelation and evangelization of the truth to the ‘heathen’ people as the work of the Holy Spirit, through the medium of missionary self-sacrifice. Later critics of the missionary enterprise denounced its activity in Africa as intentional cultural genocide,² imposed in partnership and immense collaboration with the colonial machinery. This project seeks to determine whether the foundation of Kikuyu³ Christianity by the Africa Inland Mission was truly the work of the spirit for the expansion of the universal Church of Christ or whether it was nothing but cultural genocide.

I. Statement of the Problem

Instead of Kikuyu engaging in the religious dialogue and debate that early missionaries so intensively desired, early Kikuyu hearers laughed or walked away.⁴ Looking at this religious interaction between the Kikuyu and missionary religious traditions, one is confronted with the question: How then did the Africa Inland Mission and its missionaries win the hearts of the Kikuyu, thus resulting in the establishment of the Africa Inland Church [AIC] among this group?⁵ The work of AIM missionaries in pre and colonial Kikuyuland is something that has not been sufficiently explored. This rich history of the establishment of AIC in Kikuyu “White Highlands” is a field of research that has not received much scholarly attention. This research investigates a religious history, the history of Kikuyu Christianity brought about by the stunning courage of Western missionaries.

II. Methodology

The research has followed the basic principles of historical method in the examination of primary sources: documents, records, diaries, Mission and Church publications, minutes of Mission councils, Colonial government’s files and documents. These data are located at the Billy Graham Archives Center in Wheaton, Illinois. Other documents are located at the Africa Inland Church⁶ Headquarters, Kenya National Archives, Kenya Library Archives, Presbyterian Church of East Africa Archives, and Anglican Church of Kenya Archives, all in Nairobi Kenya. In addition a

¹The idea that history of Christianity in the south is a missionary enterprise is mentioned in so many books. The following are just but a few examples: Mortimer Arias, *Mission and Liberation. The Jubilee: A paradigm for mission today* (International Review of Missions 73, 1984), Harry R. Boer, *Pentecost and Missions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1977), John Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation* (London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 1900), Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message. The missionary impact on culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989), Georg F. Vicedom, *Missio Dei: Einführung in eine Theologie der Mission* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1960), Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

²Most modern critics of the missionary enterprise in the south are African Scholars as they seek to proffer solutions to postcolonial Africa’s problems such as poverty, neo-colonialism and the split-personality crisis. Many of the leading writers with these critics are Chinua Achebe, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, Okot p’Bitek, Ali Mazrui, and Mongo Beti. See John Iliffe, *East African Doctors: A History of the Modern Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³Kikuyu people are Bantu who live in Kenya, mainly in the Central Province. This province comprises of five districts: Kiambu, Murang’a, Nyeri, Kirinyaga, and Nyandarua. *Gikuyu* is the term used for the Gikuyu people as well as the language they speak. *Agikuyu* is the plural for *Gikuyu*. *Kikuyu* is the term that the colonial government used to refer to the Gikuyu people.

⁴Derek R. Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004), p.41.

⁵From hereon Africa Inland Mission will be referred to as AIM while Africa Inland Church will be referred to as AIC.

⁶Africa Inland Church is the official name of the national Church that grew out of Africa Inland Mission’s work.

limited number of personal interviews were conducted with Kikuyu Christians and church leaders of the Africa Inland Church Central Province.⁷

Secondary sources for this research were books, dissertations, and periodicals related to the area of study. This work being historical in nature has endeavored to recreate only so much of the socio-historical past as can be meaningfully constructed. This means that the project has:

- 1) Sought out the records and survivals of Kikuyu and missionaries' past,
- 2) Critically imagined and examined those records and survivals,
- 3) From the information that records and survivals provided, endeavored to imagine what the past was like,
- 4) Presented the results of this imaginative reconstruction of that past in ways that do no violence either to the records or to the canons of scientific imagination.

It follows then that this historiography has consisted of two basic faces; a) a process of examining records and survivals, and (b) a way of 'writing up' or otherwise presenting a historical narrative.

III. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the work of Africa Inland Mission among the Kikuyu of Central Kenya, work which resulted in the emergence of an African Christianity. It will also assess factors that were significant to the mission in the development of its work of evangelizing the Kikuyu. In the process of the growth of African Church, the missionary's religious convictions will be investigated in comparison to the Kikuyu religion. The work will also investigate whether and to what extent there was a continuity of the Kikuyu religion in the missionary Church or how soon discontinuity was vital.

The missionary culture especially the 'faith mission tradition'⁸ will be examined so as to determine how much of a role this tradition played in the founding of the Church. Finally, it is important to consider the political, social, religious, and even cultural context in which Kikuyu Christianity came into being. In this consideration the research will investigate and discuss Kikuyu response to the Mission and Colonial policies.

Utilizing the method suggested above, the research will try to bring to life the world of the Kikuyu between 1895 and 1963. This investigator hopes that when this research is done, it will enlighten and inspire all those interested in the factors that shaped the emergence of Christianity among the Kikuyu and at the same time help to fill a scholarly gap that has been neglected for many years.

IV. Survey of Literature

Until now previous historical research on the Kikuyu Christianity has been done by outsiders. Though not much has been done, the few historical studies and writings about Kikuyu Christianity look like a Western project, written typically from an outsider perspective to an outside audience. Though our prerogative as Kikuyu Christian historians give us no right to claim a viewpoint from which we can interpret Kikuyu Christianity, it is necessary to suggest that the neglect of such an insider viewpoint would falsify our understanding of our Christian past. The present researcher being a Kikuyu Christian scholar will first of all attempt to give a review of scholarship that has touched in one way or the other the beginning and growth of Christianity in Kikuyuland.

⁷ Africa Inland Church Central Province is composed of Kikuyu Christians.

⁸ See: Klaus Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen* (Giessen, 1992).

Robert Strayer's *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa*,⁹ is an excellent historical investigation of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Kenya which gives quite some attention to Kikuyu people. Though he takes a Western mission-centered approach, he does realistically concentrate his analysis on the Kikuyu communities that emerged from the missionaries' evangelistic endeavors. Throughout his account there seems to be a good balance between emphasis on CMS policy makers and the Kikuyu recipients of the policy.

However, by just paying attention primarily to mission policy and African reaction, Strayer fails to examine at least two areas in which Kikuyu creativity and initiative are especially evident: Kikuyu's dynamic reception of the Christian faith and their participation in the missionary activity. In David Sandgren's *Christianity and the Kikuyu*,¹⁰ Sandgren examines the Kikuyu encounter with several missions such as Africa Inland Mission, Church Missionary Society, Church of Scotland Mission, and Gospel Missionary Society. In his work, Sandgren gives more attention to the conflicts and struggles between the Kikuyu adherents and non-adherents.

Sandgren does not focus primarily on the missionaries: "Rather, it is the Kikuyu themselves and their grassroots interaction with Christianity that takes centre stage. It is their creativity and initiative that provide both form and content to their experience with the missionary Christianity."¹¹ However, Sandgren's study differs from mine in several significant ways. First, while his work focuses on several missionary organizations and general Kikuyu adherents, the present research concentrates on Africa Inland Mission and its adherents. Since all these missions differed in their attitude to Kikuyu customs and in their approach to African Education, it is hoped that the comparisons which are occasionally drawn from sources will enable us to see how selectively Kikuyu responded to the challenges and opportunities offered by Christianity.

Secondly, while Sandgren's work over AIM covers both those Kikuyu who left the missions during the circumcision crisis and those who remained, the present study concentrates on those Mission and Colonial policies and Kikuyu response to them. Two other accounts discuss the history of particular mission societies working among Kikuyu. Robert MacPherson's *The Presbyterian Church in Kenya*¹² provides insight into the Scottish mission history in Kenya. Since the mission's primary area of evangelism was Central Region, it is essentially a study of the Church of Scotland Mission among Kikuyu.

Keith Cole's *The Cross Over Mount Kenya*,¹³ which was written to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the establishment of the Anglican Church of Central Kenya, covers part of the same geographical area as this research. Though the book adopts a mission-centered approach, it contains useful background material. Further, it provides helpful materials about other mission societies that established work in various regions in Kikuyuland. The review of such literature on current topic will help us understand to what extent the current researcher will seek to complement or depart from previous studies.

Other books that have proved particularly useful are: Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*,¹⁴ as one of the first really competent and instructive contributions to African ethnography by one of pure Kikuyu parentage; Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles: The Story of Africa Inland Mission*,¹⁵ which tells about the early beginning of Africa Inland Mission; Horace R. A. Philp, *A New Day in Kenya*, which presents a survey of the situation in Kenya in 1920s. In this book, the consequences of the impact of the Christian faith and of Western civilization on the

⁹Robert W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa* (London: Heinemann 1978).

¹⁰David P. Sadgren, *Christianity and the Kikuyu: Religious Divisions and Social Conflicts* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

¹¹Sandgren, p.6.

¹²R. MacPherson, *The Presbyterian Church in Kenya* (Nairobi, 1970).

¹³K. Cole, *The Cross Over Mount Kenya* (Nairobi, 1970).

¹⁴Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu* (New York: Vantage Books, 1938)

¹⁵Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles: The Story of the Africa Inland Mission* (London: Africa Inland Mission, 1968).

indigenous Kikuyu are graphically set forth.¹⁶ Harry Thuku's book, *An Autobiography*,¹⁷ is also very useful in this study because it demonstrates very clearly the texture of history that is being investigated.

Two other biographies have also proved particularly important: Ernest Wanyoike's *An African pastor*,¹⁸ which tells the story of the Pastor Wanyoike Kamawe of the Gospel Missionary Society, and Obadiah Kariuki's autobiography, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*.¹⁹ Both provide important details and background material for this study.

V. Outline and Structure.

This study is organized in a broadly chronological fashion. Following introduction, Chapter I examines Africa Inland Mission's historical background paying attention to the Mission's self-understanding in the light of its "theological persuasion" and its "faith mission tradition."²⁰ To set the stage, this chapter will start by examining Peter Cameroon Scott, AIM's founder and the driving force behind it. It is generally understood that every existing organization is the lengthened shadow of a woman or a man. In this case AIM is the lengthened shadow of Peter Cameroon Scott (1867-96)²¹.

Of particular interest in this chapter is the missionaries' field of operation. An examination of how the Mission begun its evangelistic enterprise among Africans who were practitioners of a "traditional religion," with gods, beliefs, and dogmas paralleling the world religions is paramount.

Chapter II further examines the socio-historical context within which the Mission established work. The argument in this chapter will be that the socio-historical background in which AIM worked cannot exclusively be confined to the activities of the Mission alone. Elizabeth Isichei an expert in the African Christianity suggests that Christianity has expanded rapidly in the twentieth century Africa because individuals were forced to become part of a wider world, where nature spirits or ancestor cults seemed inappropriately local.²² This is based on the assumption that a wider world had already been established when colonialism broke the curtain. The idea of British colonialism in the White Highlands will be examined as a background to an understanding of the socio-historical and traditional context in which an African Christianity was planted.

The construction of roads and the Kenya-Uganda railway and increased security to travel, by the colonial government, meant that it also became easier for the pioneer missionaries to spread the Christian message. Where there was a substantial body of white settlers in Kenya, the missionaries were also present. The relationship between the missionaries and the British colonizer in this historical context and how much this relationship influenced the work carried out by the missionaries will be investigated. It is of great historical necessity to find out what pros and cons were in the relationship between the cross and the crown. How did the Kikuyu people view this alliance?

The fact that AIM missionaries since their establishment of work in Kikuyuland did not work in a political vacuum but rather developed within a colonial matrix necessitates a thorough

¹⁶ Horace R. A. Philp, *A New Day in Kenya* (London: World Dominion Press, 1936).

¹⁷ Harry Thuku, *An Autobiography* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹⁸ E. N. Wanyoike, *An African Pastor* (Nairobi, 1974).

¹⁹ Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1985).

²⁰ Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994), p.11.

²¹ J. Gratton, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya between 1895 and 1971* (Michigan: University Microfilms, 1971), p.16.

²² Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, MN: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), p.229.

investigative survey of the relationship between colonialism and the mission. This concurs with what Adrian Hasting, a former Catholic Church historian and missiologist had observed:

Church history forms part of the complex rough and tumble of social and political history. The missionary penetration of Africa in the years 1880-1900 at times preceded but at other times depended upon the general European penetration of the conquest. The two only make historical sense when placed together.²³

But a former Nigerian Church historian, Bolaji Idowu states categorically that “it was an error of judgment for the Mission to identify herself closely with the ruling colonial powers on the continent of Africa.”²⁴ Was the involvement of AIM as a co-belligerent with the British East Africa inevitable? Investigating the relationship between colonialism and AIM, a relationship between the temporal and spiritual powers in Kenya, will evidently help us understand how this relationship shaped the destiny of the fresh Kikuyu Christians.

In Chapter III, the researcher will attempt to explore the Kikuyu culture and its encounter with the missionary culture. The missionary worldview might have posed challenges, tensions and problems to the traditional Kikuyu worldview. Kikuyu culture being a dynamic culture consisted of immigrant groups who were not fully settled at the time of colonization.²⁵ As they struggled to come to terms with their new environment, the immigrants evolved a highly experimentative and adaptive culture. Did the mobility and adaptivity of the Kikuyu culture enable them to cope well with these new challenges with the reception of the missionary religion?

All religious beliefs have within them a tension between absolute demands and the need to exist in this world. The missionary message had a prominent eschatological component—it emphasized radical discontinuity between the demands of this world and of the futuristic world. On the other hand Kikuyu worldview, while not totally lacking in eschatology, did not exhibit a sharp distinction between the world of human experience and the spirit world. Did the missionaries have to accommodate their eschatological message to the realities of Kikuyu religious beliefs if they were to succeed in their task of evangelism? Missionaries invited Kikuyu to speak as believers in a ‘traditional religion’ hoping to rope them into a debate over contending theologies. How did Kikuyu react to this abstract conversation over religion?

There are several reasons for investigating the aspect of the Mission’s multi-phased activity in Chapter IV. When the missionaries entered Kikuyuland, they started schools, hospitals and literature work. This shows that the Mission’s social work was a vital part of its endeavor. AIM is credited as one of the first agencies to establish schools and hospitals among the Kikuyu in Central Kenya. Can the history of the Mission’s educational and health program be a history of the growth of the Church? Does this mean that the African Church grew out of a school room and a hospital ward?

Were schools and hospitals strategies employed by the Mission in order to be able to achieve its objectives or were they done from a pure human concern for the needy? There is a need to investigate these methods and strategies employed by the missionaries in planting a Kikuyu church in order to establish what role they played in achieving the Mission’s objective.

In determining the role of education as an agent of change, it is readily admitted by thoughtful people²⁶ that religion and education are significant constructive forces for changing and directing the life of a community. Was the missionary public education effective bearing in mind that it was introduced in a context where traditional oral education was the order of the day? Did not

²³ Adrian Hasting, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa* (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1967), p.74.

²⁴ Bolaji Idowu, *The Predicament of the Church in Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.429.

²⁵ J. N. Karanja, *Founding an African Faith: Kikuyu Anglican Christianity 1900-1945* (NBI: Uzima Press, 1999), p.16-17

²⁶ Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism: Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1968), p.124.

the missionary education violate the traditional and basic oral education of the Kikuyu in the freedom of conscience and in the right of each Kikuyu person to live in the old way?

Kikuyu were affected by the colonial government practices in the socio-economic and political life in the first six decades of the last century. Thus Chapter V, in addition to discussing some of the mission policies and their effect on missionary adherents, will also examine the colonial government policies of land, forced labor, and taxes; policies that further undermined Kikuyu patterns of community, allowing for a general climate of protest to grow and encouraging the development of nationalist feelings and movements.

The Chapter will begin by defining nationalism and ethno-nationalism so as to be able to trace and describe the feelings of nationalistic consciousness among the Kikuyu. We will also examine the emergence of voluntary and political associations sponsored by the missionaries as vehicles for redressing African grievances. Further, the establishment of other organizations that differed from the Mission ideals will be examined. Finally, the chapter will end by looking at the different challenges that some of the organizations posed upon the Mission and its work. Chapter VI will draw together a conclusion of the study.

1) The beginning of Missionary work in Kikuyuland

1.1) Peter Cameroon Scott (1867-1897) and the beginning of Africa Inland Mission

1.1.1) Historical Background

Africa Inland Mission is the “lengthened shadow”²⁷ of Peter C. Scott. Scott was born in Glasgow Scotland on March 7th 1867 right after the great American revival of 1859-61 in New England, particularly in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and extended to New York and other states and before another revival in 1874-75 which originated in the labors of the American evangelists Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey.²⁸

In November 1879, the Scott family crossed the water and settled in Philadelphia, USA. While in Philadelphia, the family joined a Presbyterian Church where Scott’s fine voice earned him a solo part in the choir and even brought a chance to sing on the stage. Scott wanted to become an opera singer but because of the family’s religious piety which had been informed by puritanism and pietism, his parents were always against offers to perform on the concert stage.²⁹ Since his family did not support his love for classical music, Scott was forced by circumstances to look for a job as a clerk in a printing press. He worked as a clerk for two years after which due to health reasons he was forced to leave Philadelphia and to go back to Scotland.

In Scotland he spent one year during which time his health improved making it possible to return to Philadelphia to join his family. While standing at his sister’s graveyard in Scotland, “he seriously thought about the possibility of his own death; then and there he committed his life to Christ and vowed to serve God if only He (God) spared his life from a severe illness that he had.”³⁰ The crisis of sickness had brought him to inner struggle over a “complete dedication of himself to God” against his “regard for his musical career.”³¹

After returning to Philadelphia to join his family, Scott started contemplating about going to the mission field in Africa. At an impressive service conducted by Rev. A.B. Simpson³² in New York, Scott was ordained the day before he sailed to West Africa. In November 28th 1890, he started for West Coast of Africa to labor under the International Missionary Alliance in Congo. His

²⁷ John Gration, *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and Its National Church in Kenya*, p.16

²⁸ Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity Through the Centuries: A History of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids: Harper Collins Publishers, 1954), p.430-431.

²⁹ “No son of ours shall use for a wordly purpose what God has given for His glory alone,” Scott’s father once said. Anderson, *We felt like Grasshoppers*, p.18.

³⁰ Watson A. Omulokoli, *Foundational History of the Africa Inland Church, 1895-1903*. Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology 14, no. 2 (1995), p.46.

³¹ Catherine Miller, *The Life of Peter Cameroon Scott: The Unlocked Door* (London: Parry Jackman, 1955), p.15.

³² A.B. Simpson (1843-1919) was the founder of the Alliance Missionary and Church movement: Simpson, A.B. *The Fourfold Gospel* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1887); *The Gospel of Healing*. rev. ed (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1915); *The Holy Spirit or Power From on High*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, n.d.); *Wholly Sanctified* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1890); David F. Hartzfeld and Charles Nienkirchen, eds., *The Birth of a Vision* (Regina, Sask., Canada: His Dominion, 1986); Gary B. McGee, “*The Radical Strategy in Modern Mission: The Linkage of Paranormal Phenomena with Evangelism*.” In *The Holy Spirit and Mission Dynamics*, ed. C. Douglas McConnell, 69-95, Evangelical Missiological Society Series No. 5 (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1997); William W. Menzies, “*The Non-Wesleyan Origins of the Pentecostal Movement*.” In *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vinson Synan, 81-98 (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1975); Robert L. Niklaus, John S. Sawin, and Samuel J. Stoesz, *All for Jesus: God at Work in the Christian and Missionary Alliance Over One Hundred Years* (Camp Hill, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1986); Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992); A. E. Thompson, *A. B. Simpson: His Life and Work*. rev. ed. Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1960. A. W. Tozer, *Wingspread: Albert B. Simpson—a Study in Spiritual Altitude* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1943).

own beloved mother accompanied him as far as London. On the morning of 31st January 1891, his ship anchored off the shores of Banana port at the mouth of River Congo.³³

Scott worked for two years and during this period his brother John joined him. After only a few months' service, John died. Tucker tells us that, "Peter constructed a crude coffin and dug the grave himself. There were no church bells or flowers or eulogies, but alone at the grave, Scott reached another crisis and recommitted himself to preaching the gospel in Africa."³⁴ After the burial of his brother, Scott returned to Scotland and then to America, broken in health from repeated attacks of fever. While in England, it should be noted that Scott had his third spiritual crisis. He had attempted to kneel beside the tomb of Sir David Livingstone in Westminster Abbey after being gripped by the inscription on the tomb which read, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold, them also I must bring."³⁵

The inscription motivated him to go back to Africa, this time to East Africa because he had already informed himself about this thickly populated region in what was then Imperial British East Africa which was largely unreached with the Christian message.³⁶ Graton while commenting on this experience at Livingstone's tomb says, "In that same moment by Livingstone's tomb Scott envisioned a chain of mission stations stretching westward from Mombasa on the east coast to Lake Chad in the very heart of Africa. The Africa Inland Mission was thus conceived."³⁷

On 17th August, 1895 Peter C. Scott with seven others started their journey from New York with SS Admiral for the east coast of Africa.³⁸ After arriving in Zanzibar, Scott and Krieger journeyed to Mombasa and the rest of the team followed a few days later. They were cordially received by Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary Rev. H. K. Binns³⁹ (1852-1935) at Freretown.⁴⁰ Scott had planned to travel inland immediately with the whole party but was warned

³³ Kenneth Richardson, *The Garden of Miracles: The Story of Africa Inland Mission* (London: Africa Inland Mission, 1968), 25.

³⁴ Ruth Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A bibliographical History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Academie Books, 1983), 200.

³⁵ Quoted from the Gospel of John 10:16. Richardson notes that as Scott knelt at the tomb, "there came a definite sense of call and commission. He gave himself afresh to the Lord and heard the divine call to continue where Livingstone had laid down his task. Those few moments crystallized the thoughts which had been coursing through his mind during recent weeks---a line of mission stations, some 2,000 miles in length, across Africa from the East to Lake Chad in the center. The seed of the Africa Inland Mission had been planted." Kenneth Richardson, 1968, p.26.

³⁶ Kenneth Richardson writes, "Increasingly the burden of Africa weighed upon his heart. He gave three weeks to earnest prayer that he might know the Lord's will. At the end of that time, guidance having become clearer, he wrote to his parents telling them how he was being led, and seeking their approval for the steps he was to take. A loving reply from his mother by return post said: "The day you left home to go to the College, going to my room, on my knees I gave you more than ever to the Lord to go wherever He might call you." Found in *Garden of Miracles: The Story of Africa Inland Mission* (London: Africa Inland Mission, 1968), p.23.

³⁷ Graton, p.17.

³⁸ See the 1892 Map of Africa on page 29 of this work. The group was composed of Peter C. Scott, Lester Severn, Margaret Scott (Cameron's sister), Walter M. C. Wilson, Bertha Reckling, Willis Hotchkiss, Minnie Lindberg, and F. W. Krieger. *Hearing and Doing*, 1, 3 (1896), p.4. See also Graton, p.24.

³⁹ Rev. Harry Kerr Binns was sent to Mombasa by Church Missionary Society (CMS) in December 1875 to replace Johann Rebmann, a German Pietist who together with Johann Krapf pioneered CMS work at the east African coast. Harry K. Binns was made secretary of the mission in Mombasa in 1889 and appointed Archdeacon there in 1910. In 1923 he resigned from the mission service.

⁴⁰ For all the heroism of the early East African missionaries it was Livingstone who inspired the missionary interests in East Africa in the late 19th Century. Livingstone had reported about the East African slave trade and with his dying words had summoned the heaven's greatest blessings on all who would be willing to undertake the task to "heal this open sore of the world." When he died in 1873 a year before Johann Rebmann's death in Germany in 1874, Livingstone had already captured the attention of the many in the West and also inspired new efforts and agencies. One of the most significant new efforts he inspired was Freretown. Freretown an inland in Mombasa named after Sir Bartle Frere who arrived in Zanzibar in 1872 as Britain's special emissary to Sultan Bargash (1837-88), who had come to power in 1870. Frere's task was to negotiate a treaty with the sultan outlawing slavery. Bargash was eager to do business with the British and so signed the antislave treaty in 1873. What was needed next was a place to put the recaptives that would result from the provisions of the treaty. Frere was informed of the work of the Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo where

by Rev. Binns and the Consul General of the British Imperial; “The Consul General forbid our so doing as the country has been very much disturbed of late by the uprising of a rebel named Mbarak, an Arab chief.”⁴¹

Smith Mackenzie working with the only European Company in town at that time offered to organize transport for Scott and his team to the mysterious interior. A task force of two hundred and fifty porters was organized and on 12th November, 1895 the team set for the interior of Kenya with an aim of establishing mission stations right from the coast of East Africa connecting to the West coast of Africa through Chad.⁴²

The contingent arrived in Nzau Kambaland, what became the first Africa Inland Mission station end of December 1895.⁴³ The Kamba people conditioned to regard every stranger as an intruder, having had experiences with the Maasai tribe and the British settlers, did not embrace the strange white people.⁴⁴ But through the protection of the British Sub-Commissioner Ainsworth, Scott and his team found a fine site to settle and build their first thatched houses.⁴⁵ In August 1896, the pioneer group was joined by another party of eight missionaries including Scott’s parents and sister, Ina who later became the wife of the British Sub-Commissioner Ainsworth.

Being a forward looking man, with the arrival of the new recruits, Scott saw the possibility of further expansion. In Kangundo some 112km north of Nzau, the missionaries were offered a military house which had been empty for sometime. To this day Kangundo is still one of the central AIM stations in Kambaland.⁴⁶ By the first annual meeting of AIM in October 1896, Scott and his team had installed missionaries in four locations: Nzau, Kangundo,⁴⁷ Sakai, and Kilungu.⁴⁸

The first annual report to the Philadelphia mission board which Scott gave begins with extraordinary joy:

My heart is filled with wonder, love and praise, as I sit down and review the past year of our labors in this land, to which God, by His grace, hath called us. We went out not knowing, but our God led us forth by a right way, and brought us to a city of habitation.⁴⁹

Scott reported the opening of the four mission stations where missionaries had started giving elementary education and medical care to the local people. He also continued to put forth his idea of

they were taking care of freed slaves. His brief visit to them convinced him that just such efforts should be carried out by protestant missionaries as well. In response to his conviction, he opened Freretown in 1874 where freed slaves were settled, taken care of, and even reunited to their families in the interior. A school was also established for the younger members of the community in 1876. Kiswahili was the language of instruction owing to the translation work of Johann Krapf.

⁴¹ Peter Scott, *Hearing and Doing*, January 1896.

⁴² *Hearing and Doing*, 1, 2 (1896), p. 4-5. His diary entries, beginning November 12th, 1895, are printed in a supplementary issue of *Hearing and Doing* (1, 4; 1896, pg. 1-12) and continue together with his letters to the Philadelphia mission council and others until the memorial issue written after his death. It should also be noted that Scott wrote his first letter in Africa on November 8th, 1895 while still in Mombasa a few days before going interior.

⁴³ Dirk Anderson, *We felt like Grasshoppers*, p.21-23.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Kenneth, p.31. It was also logical to establish a station in Nzau because the British commissioner would guarantee the missionaries maximum security in such a hostile place knowing very well that the indigenous people consider all foreigners equal.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.32.

⁴⁷ Kangundo was a former Government post used as a base in subduing rebellions in the district. It was offered to the Mission by the Sub-Commissioner of Ukambani, John Ainsworth, for the rental fee of \$1.50 per year. For Scott this was not expensive at all, “it was simply giving away.” *Hearing and Doing*, II, 1 (1897), p.10. Ainsworth later married Scott’s sister, Ina. In spite of the evidence of a favorable attitude toward European settlement, Professor Dr. Ogot a Kenyan historian speaks of Ainsworth as one of the few british administrators who “maintained that the first duty of the administration was to safeguard African interests, and that settlement must take second place to this.” Found in B.A Ogot, *Kenya Under the British, 1895 to 1963*, “*Zamani: A survey of East African History*,” eds. B.A. Ogot and J.A. Kieran (Nairobi: Longmans, 1968), p.264.

⁴⁸ Anderson, p.22-23, Richardson, p.31-32.

⁴⁹ Scott, *Hearing and Doing* quoted in Richardson, *Garden of Miracles*, p.32-33.

a chain of missions across Africa and made it clear that the four already established ones were just but the beginning of the long struggle.⁵⁰ Scott and his team like those before them were aiming further.⁵¹ They had heard of a large Bantu tribe known as the Kikuyu living on the highlands of central Kenya an area usually with adequate rainfall in comparison to Kambaland.

The early missionaries targeted Kikuyu region not only because of its productivity for the ideal habitat for the agricultural hardworking Kikuyu who for a long time made it the granary of their neighbors as well as the European and Swahili caravans,⁵² but rather because of the openness and hospitality of the Kikuyu. Kikuyuland being also high can be very cold and mosquitoes do not breed there. The soil is very fertile and European vegetables can be grown there all the year round. This made the area a very strategic point for setting up a new and adequate station for the pioneer missionaries.⁵³

Kikuyuland being at the heart of Kenya would be strategic in helping the missionaries come close to accomplishing Scott's vision of establishing a chain of Missions across Africa.⁵⁴ Less missionaries would die of malaria; missionaries would also grow foodstuff to subsidize with their little financial support received from sending agencies; in Kikuyuland the pioneer missionaries would establish young churches with the purpose of recruiting Africans for the greater goal.⁵⁵

Scott's contribution to his vision in Africa was brief for on December 4, 1896 at Nzau station, he passed away after a brief illness.⁵⁶ He did not live to reach the Kikuyu society, something that he had always longed for and he did not also see his idea of a chain of mission stations come to fruition.⁵⁷ But having walked 4,160kms, Scott saw the beginning of his vision in Westminster Abbey realized.⁵⁸ The last entry in his diary reads: "Can we whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high, can we, to men benighted, the lamp of life deny? Here am I, Lord, use me in life or in death."⁵⁹

It is interesting that Scott and his team should begin missionary work among the Kamba people and aspire to move as quickly as possible to the Kikuyu community whom Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881) had described as "the commercial medium between the coast and the interior."⁶⁰ Even more important is Krapf's proclamation that he "regarded this people as an important element in relation to future missionary designs in East Africa."⁶¹ Though Krapf had been in East Africa thirty years before Scott was born and had died eight years before Scott left to the same location, it

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Krapf and Rebmann

⁵² Godfrey Muriuki, *A History of the Kikuyu 1500-1900* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.33.

⁵³ Richardson, p.56-57

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ It was intended by AIM leaders that after establishing a main station in Kikuyuland, new missionaries arriving in Kenya would spend a period at this healthy place, learning something of the African language while getting adjusted to the conditions of their future service. Hurlburt the one who took over from Peter C. Scott after his death was quick to argue for an establishment of a large mission station in Kikuyuland: "The wooded hills circling about us; the hills back of us covered with immense gardens, cared for by the Kikuyu people. We have plenty of timber for building purposes, fine streams giving us an abundance of clear fresh water. Heat is almost unknown here, nights especially being very cool. Sickness is very rare and fevers are unknown. Have we not many reasons to praise our God for His goodness in providing such a place from which to extend the Kingdom of his Son among the fallen Races of Africa (Quoted in Richardson, p.57-58).

⁵⁶ On December 10th, 1896 Scott's sister writing to the Philadelphia missionary board reminded them that in his last letter Scott had referred to the fact that the great Nzau Hills were called the gateway to Central Africa, adding that "now the first stepping stone has been laid inside the gateway, and God has seen fit to bestow that honor upon our head and director." *Hearing and Doing*, 11, 3 (1897), p.5.

⁵⁷ Richardson, p.34-35.

⁵⁸ Gration, p.26.

⁵⁹ Scott in *Hearing and Doing*, II, 3 (1897), 5; quoted in Richardson, p.35 and Gration, p.29.

⁶⁰ Johann Ludwig Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, During an Eighteen Years' Residence in East Africa* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), p.118.

⁶¹ Ibid. , p.109

would be interesting to know if Scott's missionary ideas had been influenced by Krapf. Gration asks, "Did two great men simply have the same insight and vision?"⁶²

1.1.2) Chain idea

It is important to point out that Scott was not the first leader to come up with such a proposal of establishing a chain of mission stations stretching all the way from Mombasa to West Africa. Most faith missions borrowed this idea from Apostle Paul whose policy was to preach the gospel where no one else had preached before him.⁶³ Klaus Fiedler argues that Paul has always "remained the shining example for faith missions everywhere."⁶⁴ For most early mission strategists, the interior unreached areas of Africa seemed 'dark'⁶⁵ and little was known about them. To make missionary work in this region easy, they adopted the chain concept.⁶⁶ According to Fiedler this concept had been developed by Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782-1867), a pietist who is accredited with the founding of the Pilgermission St. Chrishona, and propagated by Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1887) who started his missionary work in Mombasa in 1844.⁶⁷

Christian Spittler had borrowed the idea from Felician Count Zarembo (1794-1874),⁶⁸ who had been advocating what he called 'a pilgrims' road' from Jerusalem to Abyssinia.⁶⁹ In his proposal Spittler suggested that pioneer "pilgrims were to start and run stations, to earn their living by their craft or trade and, by their simple testimonies to do missionary work."⁷⁰ In 1846 when Samuel Gobat (1799-1879) was made Bishop of Jerusalem, Spittler seized the opportunity and established a Bruderhaus there as the base of the pilgrims.⁷¹

In 1854, Chrischona sent the first team of pilgrims. From 1858 onwards, Spittler tried very hard to establish a chain of mission stations along what he called 'apostles road'.⁷² At regular distances of four days traveling time, twelve mission stations were to be established, with each bearing the name of one of the twelve apostles. This road was meant to continue to Ethiopia and then southward, with another twelve mission stations towards the south of Africa. Unfortunately Spittler only managed to establish some of the stations because of the English-Ethiopian wars of 1866-1868 and of course financial difficulties, thus the whole idea was abandoned.⁷³

⁶² Gration, p.26.

⁶³ Romans 15:20-21; "Thus making it my ambition to preach the gospel, not where Christ has already been named, lest I build on another man's foundation, but as it is written, They shall see who have never been told of him, and they shall understand who have never heard of him."

⁶⁴ Das missionstrategische Vorbild (nicht nur) der Glaubensmissionen blieb auch in Afrika Paulus, dessen Leitmotiv es war, dort zu predigen, wo noch kein anderer vor ihm gepredigt hatte. Klaus Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen: Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen* (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1992), p.107.

⁶⁵ H. B. Garlock, *Before we Kill and Eat You: The Miracles and Adventures of a Pioneer Missionary Couple in Africa* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Servant Publications, 2003), p.20.

⁶⁶ See the Map p.30 of this dissertation. The map is adapted from Klaus Fiedler's work, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 1994, p.77.

⁶⁷ Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions from Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994), p.73.

⁶⁸ Felician Count Zarembo was a Russian reformed missionary of German dissent working with Basel Mission. Fiedler, p.73; 105.

⁶⁹ Karl Rennstich, *Nicht jammern, sondern Hand anlegen! Christian Friedrich Spittler. Sein Werk und Leben*, Metzingen 1987, p.59.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Fiedler, p.73.

⁷¹ Alfred Kober, Samuel Gobat, *Vom Juradorf nach Jerusalem*, Basel, 1968. Bishop Gobat trained at the Basel Mission Seminary, and later became the Bishop of Jerusalem on 1 January 1847 (p.71); see also Fiedler, p.74.

⁷² Fiedler, p.74.

⁷³ Erich Schick and Klaus Haag, *Christian Friedrich Spittler. Handlanger Gottes*, Giessen, 1982, p.80; see also Fiedler, p.74ff.

Johann Ludwig Krapf⁷⁴ who also trained at the Basel Mission Seminary and joined Church Missionary Society for missionary work and geographical explorations in Africa had conceived for such a plan. In his book *Travels, Researches, and Missionary labors*, he wrote:

In my zeal for the conversion of Africa I used to calculate how many missionaries and how much money would be by a chain of missionary stations. (In 1850 Krapf went to London) to advocate in person the scheme of an African chain of missions, to be established through the whole breadth of the land, from east to west, in the direction of the Equator.⁷⁵

Krapf has been recognized as one of the pioneer missionaries destined to play a major role in Kenya's history of Christianity.⁷⁶ His initial desire was to work with the nomadic Galla people in Ethiopia, whose kingdom he regarded as "the Germany of Africa" for he thought that by reaching them with the message of Christianity they would later be the key to the evangelization of East Africa and probably the rest of Africa as well.⁷⁷ He was afraid of the rapid spread of Islam in Ethiopia as well as along the coastal regions of East Africa. He therefore favored the British intervention to prevent Abyssinia from falling further into political factionalism.

Unfortunately his criticism of Islam, the local rulers and his call for British intervention brought his missionary work in Ethiopia to a bitter end in 1842. Together with his CMS colleagues, Krapf left for the East African coast, Mombasa where he was joined by Johann Rebmann in 1846 and Johann Erhardt in 1849.

Krapf established his first station about fifteen miles inland from Mombasa on a low plateau of scrub land called the Nyika Plateau locally inhabited by the nine tribes contemptuously known as the Wanyika people. The CMS missionaries located their mission station in Rabai. Rabai became the center post for the missionary pioneers and explorers to venture into the interior. Krapf's vision of a chain of mission stations across Africa would begin here.

Being a missionary with CMS which had already established mission stations at the West African coast, Krapf knew already about Badagri⁷⁸ and Abeokuta⁷⁹ regions in Nigeria and so agreed with CMS assessments that these two ports were already two possible links in the chain.⁸⁰

While interacting with local Kamba traders near Rabai, the missionaries got to know about the beautiful alpine regions inland; Kikuyuland and also about the responsive Kikuyu tribe. This assured Krapf of promising good links from the eastern side stretching towards the west. After doing his calculations, Krapf sent a message to CMS missionary board requesting for more missionaries. "Now if stations with four missionaries," he told CMS leader, "were established at intervals of a hundred leagues [about six hundred and forty kilometers], nine stations and thirty six missionaries would be needed."⁸¹

Krapf's vision became very militant in his metaphors: "Africa must be conquered by missions; a chain of missions must be effected between the east and west though a thousand warriors should fall to the left and ten thousand to the right."⁸² In pursuit of this impressive strategy,

⁷⁴ Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa: A Church History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1986), p.23-30.

⁷⁵ Krapf, p.109.

⁷⁶ Mark Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa: A short History of African Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1996), p.184.

⁷⁷ Krapf, p.497 also in Mark Shaw, p.184.

⁷⁸ Badagri in Nigeria was a major slaving port. Between 1711 and 1810 one million people were captured along the Bight of Benin, most of them from the Yoruba ethnic group in southwest Nigeria and some from the Hausa and Nupe groups living north of the Niger and then traded in Badagri and Ouidah in Benin.

⁷⁹ Abeokuta, town, southwestern Nigeria, capital of Ogun State. It is connected to Lagos by rail and serves as the shipping center for an area in which cacao, palm kernels, and palm oil are produced. Handwoven fabrics are dyed in local factories. Abeokuta is today inhabited largely by the Yoruba people.

⁸⁰ C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 2 (London: Lutterworth, 1954), p.110.

⁸¹ Quoted in Shaw, p.188.

⁸² Ibid.

Krapf and his colleagues embarked on a number of historic journeys as trailblazers between 1847 and 1851. Rebmann visited Kilimanjaro, he also visited the Chagga tribe around Moshi and also the Shambaa in Usambara closer to the border between Kenya and Tanzania.⁸³ The Shambaa under the Kimweri monarch later invited Krapf and Rebmann to come and establish work in their midst.

Johann Krapf was also able to travel to Kambaland under the invitation of the Kamba chief, Kivoi. This invitation brought him within sight of the snowcapped Mount Kenya right at the center of Kikuyuland. The Kamba seemed to respond positively to his message and also to receiving him. Through their help Krapf and his team were able to establish a station in Ikutha which later was taken over by the Leipziger Mission.⁸⁴ A second link of Krapf's vision was found among the Kamba. They moved further interior to explore more possibilities but unfortunately, they came under severe banditry attack near Tana River in Kitui. Chief Kivoi the man acquainted with the topography of the area was killed but Krapf barely escaped with his life.⁸⁵

Despite these setbacks the Church Missionary Society supported Krapf's scheme and sent seven more missionaries in 1851. Unfortunately within just a few months most were dead or incapacitated by the hardships they encountered. Krapf was forced to return home in 1853 due to his debilitating health. Johann Erhardt also returned home in 1855 broken by his bad health and by hardship.⁸⁶ Only Rebmann and a few others remained to take care of the newly found mission station. In 1874 Rebmann due to bad eyesight had to return back to Germany after which he shortly thereafter died.

Though Krapf returned to East Africa for a short time in 1862 to assist the Methodist missionary Thomas Wakefield in the founding of a station at Ribe for a work among the Galla, his lasting contribution to the history he had began was the book written shortly after his return to Europe in 1853, which became one of the greatest motivational books of the faith mission enterprise.⁸⁷ In East Africa he is also praised for his work in the Swahili Language, producing not only Bible translations but also the first Swahili dictionary and grammar book, materials that proved an immense aid to the later generations of missionaries as well as to aid the later growth of the East African Christianity rooted in the African language.

From the foregoing discussion we have noted that actually the idea that Peter C. Scott had of establishing a chain of mission stations from the East Coast to the West Coast of Africa had existed long before he was even born. Is it possible that he had heard of Livingstone's vision of the whole of Africa? Could it be possible that he had also come into contact with CMS missionaries in Scotland who were spreading news about Johann Krapf and his colleagues' work in Ethiopia and East Africa? Is it possible that through this contact he got the mentioning of Krapf's idea of establishing a chain of mission stations across Africa? These questions are only speculations, but we can also guess that during his encounter with the CMS missionary; Rev. Binns in Mombasa, he might have introduced him to Krapf's long standing missiological strategy.

In an article written in July 1889, one of the great pioneer missionaries of Uganda Alexander Mackay also under the Church Missionary Society, had envisioned such a similar chain of stations. He had proposed a few well known stations enough far apart that would become educational centers from which students of the Bible would go forth "to labor among their countrymen, thus filling the gap."⁸⁸

It would be of great interest to know how much Krapf and Mackay had influenced Scott in his mission strategies. Latourette has argued that Scott "revived Krapf's dream of a chain of

⁸³ Tanzania was formerly known as Tanganyika.

⁸⁴ Shaw, p.188.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Johann Ludwig Krapf wrote, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors, During an Eighteen Years' Residence in East Africa* in 1853.

⁸⁸ A. M. Mackay, "Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda," by his sister (New York: A. C. Armstrong and sons, 1895), p.462.

mission stations from the east coast across the continent.”⁸⁹ We have earlier noted that Rabai had become the center post for missionary pioneers. All the new recruits who came to the East African coast with the intention of going interior had to spend a while at Rabai CMS mission station. Scott and his team first laid foot at Rabai before going interior.

1.1.3) Africa Inland Mission in Philadelphia

Africa Inland Mission in Philadelphia was not a mission neither a missionary board by virtue of its definition. It was meant to be a support group for the few missionaries in Africa. Its main work was to pray for missionaries as they labored in East Africa, encourage the Christians at home to financially support their brothers and sisters in the mission, and lastly recruit new missionaries for the work in East Africa.⁹⁰ This group included Dr. A. T. Pierson who became the main supporter of the team and through his counsel the support group later came to be known as the Philadelphia Missionary Council.⁹¹ The Rev. Charles E. Hurlburt, who later played a major role in forming AIM into a mission agency as well as his great contribution in establishing work among the Kikuyu was also in the council.

The Philadelphia support group agreed to represent the interests and work of the proposed Africa Inland Mission⁹² in American churches by “forwarding to the field workers and means as God might furnish them.”⁹³ The declared aim of the new mission was not “to supplant existing organizations, but to join heart and hand with them in a work of such stupendous difficulty of evangelizing the darkest spot in Africa’s continent of darkness.”⁹⁴ This purpose was incorporated early into the mission’s constitution: “The objective shall be evangelization in inland Africa, as God shall direct.”⁹⁵

Such an objective stands in contrast to David Livingstone’s campaign on the benefit of the British commercial enterprises as a missionary activity.⁹⁶ Livingstone saw the former as a means of combating and eradicating slave trade by providing an alternative. He forcefully argued: “I feel convinced that if we can establish a system of free labor in Africa, it will have a most decided influence upon slavery throughout the world.”⁹⁷

AIM was founded upon the theology of revival movement of the second half of the nineteenth century. To understand AIM’s objectives as a faith mission, it is useful to know about the revival movements which produced most of the faith missions.⁹⁸ The revival first broke in North America. There appeared extraordinary spiritual stirrings, such as a great urge for prayer and fasting, heavily attended evangelistic meetings, towards the last part of 1857 along the east coast of North America and in Canada.

⁸⁹ Kenneth Latourette, *The Great Century: In the Americas, Australia, and Africa, 1800 A.D. to 1941 A.D.*, vol. 5, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), p.405.

⁹⁰ Richardson, p.26, 46.

⁹¹ Ibid.; see also Graton p.19.

⁹² The original name Philadelphia Missionary Council was officially changed in a diary notation of Scott on October 12, 1896 shortly before his death. *Hearing and Doing*, 11, 1 (1897), 8.

⁹³ “A yielded lie: Its Story” in *Hearing and Doing*, 11, 3 (1897), p.3. The original committee was not an organic part of the mission nor did it exercise any control over it.

⁹⁴ *Hearing and Doing*, 1, 1 (1896), p.3-4.

⁹⁵ Constitution and Rules of Government of the A.I.M 1902, p.3.

⁹⁶ Graton, p.20: W. Monk, Dr. *David Livingstone’s Cambridge Lectures*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1860), p.21: “I do hope to find a pathway to lead to highlands where Europeans may form a settlement, and where by opening up communication and establishing commercial intercourse with the natives of Africa, they may impart to the people of that country the knowledge and the inestimable blessings of Christianity.”

⁹⁷ W. Monk, p.22. For a compelling summation of anti-slavery campaigns and efforts during this period, more especially the ill project of Niger delta expedition, C. P. Groves work is the most appropriate: *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 11 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1954), p.1-13.

⁹⁸ Klaus Fiedler, *History of Faith Missions*, p.114.

In 1858, the revival was comparatively quiet, strongly emphasizing communal prayer. It was a lay movement, in which the lay people of all denominations gladly undertook ordinary and extraordinary responsibilities.⁹⁹ Though faith missions arose after this first wave of revival (1857-9), the second wave was far more important for them. The second wave is bound to the name of Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899)¹⁰⁰ who actually rose to worldwide fame not in his home country but in Britain.¹⁰¹ With its revolutionary theological emphasis the church was “never felt to be without importance, but all emphasis was placed on evangelism.”¹⁰² The same with baptism: It was never abolished, but what really counted most was personal conversion after conviction of one's own sinful nature. It did not matter whether baptism preceded or followed conversion.¹⁰³ Classical Christianity and traditional Christian doctrines were taken for granted, but emphasis was placed on practical holy living.¹⁰⁴

For faith missions, the revival's most significant emphasis was on reaching the unreached for Christ. To achieve this, borders had to be crossed, even national and geographical borders. The gospel was for all people and they were all to be presented with the gospel for all they needed in life was Jesus. This stemmed from a missional conviction that, “all who do not believe in Christ are eternally lost. Therefore Christians must make every effort to present the gospel everywhere so that everyone has a chance to hear or read it and to accept Christ as savior.”¹⁰⁵

Parallel to this was also the conviction that Christ's second coming will only take place after the gospel has been preached to all peoples. While some believed that Christ would come after the gospel had been preached to all people, others believed that his coming was actually at hand therefore cause the urgency of the preaching of the gospel.¹⁰⁶ AIM's missionary motif seemed to have been shaped by this background of revivalism. With this in mind, therefore, the question of the relationship between proclaiming the gospel and other social activities, a question that still nags missionary agencies was not answered in AIM's first constitution. In fact Thomas Allen, a member of Scott's first party to East Africa, concurred with the statement of a missionary in another field that “the effort to combine industrial with evangelistic work in the climate of Africa appears to be a mistake.”¹⁰⁷

1.1.4) Recruitment of missionaries for work in Kenya

If the unevangelized had priority, then evangelism had priority because only by evangelism could the unevangelized be reached. If evangelism had priority, then the most effective way must be

⁹⁹ J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongues. Evangelical Awakenings, 1900* (Chicago: Chicago Press, 1975), p.15. See also Cairns, *Christianity Throughout the Centuries*, p. 428-431.

¹⁰⁰ Moody, Dwight Lyman (1837-99), American evangelist, born in Northfield, Massachusetts. A Unitarian, he was converted to Congregationalism and in 1856 left his work as a shoe salesman in Boston to engage in missionary work in Chicago. His Sunday school in North Market Hall developed into the Illinois Street Church (1863) and afterward became the Chicago Avenue Church, of which he was lay pastor; it was later named the Moody Memorial Church. In 1870 he was joined by the American singer and hymn composer Ira Sankey. The two began a series of revival meetings in America and also visited Britain. In 1879 Moody opened the Northfield Seminary (later, School) for Young Women and in 1881 the Mount Hermon School for Boys, both in his hometown. In 1886 he founded the Chicago Evangelization Society (now known as the Moody Bible Institute) in Chicago to train Christian workers.

¹⁰¹ Fiedler, p.115

¹⁰² Fiedler, p. 116.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.117. See Cairns, p.426-434.

¹⁰⁵ Klaus Fiedler, *Die Bedeutung der Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi für die Theologie der Glaubensmissionen* in *Jahrbuch für Evangelikale Theologie*, 1992. Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, p.34. See also James Hudson Taylor, *China: Its spiritual Need and Claims*.

¹⁰⁶ Fiedler, p.34.

¹⁰⁷ Letter of Thomas Allen, August 14, 1897 in *Hearing and Doing*, 11, 10 (1897), p.3. In the same letter, however, Thomas did plead for the need of a vegetable garden. That the mission found itself committed to much more than this in terms of social endeavors will be seen later in subsequent chapters.