

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE FACTORS THAT LED
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF JITEGEMEA IN THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF EAST AFRICA

By
JOY WAMBUI MINDO

A Thesis submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Missions.

JULY - 2002

**NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY**

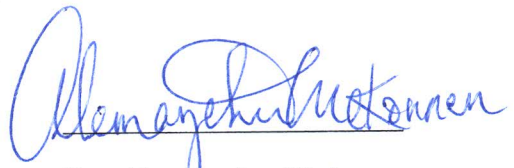
**A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE FACTORS THAT LED TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF *JITEGEMEA* IN THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH OF EAST AFRICA**

**BY
JOY WAMBUI MINDO**

**A Thesis submitted to the Graduate School in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Missions.**

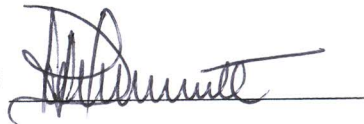
Approved:

Supervisor:



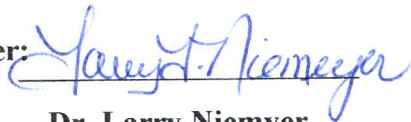
Dr. Alemayehu Mekonnen

Second Reader:



Dr. Henry Mutua

External Reader:



Dr. Larry Niemyer

LIBRARY
NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
P. O. Box 24686, NAIROBI

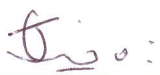
July, 2002

Student's Declaration

**A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE FACTORS THAT LED TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF *JITEGEMEA* IN THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH OF EAST AFRICA**

I declare that this is my original work and has not
been submitted to any other college
or university for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of
Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of
Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed) 
Joy Wambui Mindo

July, 2002

ABSTRACT

Jitegemea appears in the logo of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa and it is the official working philosophy of the General Assembly, the highest court of the church. The study seeks to find out how the concept of Jitegemea and the historical events that facilitated its adoption in the church.

This is a historical study that seeks to investigate the factors that led to the development of Jitegemea in the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. The research consults documents from the PCEA archives situated at St. Andrews Church in Nairobi, the National Library in Edinburgh and open-ended interviews with the people who were involved in the development of Jitegemea.

The study covers the period between 1950 and 1975, when missionaries of the Church of Scotland were handing over leadership to the national leaders. A review of the literature gives vital information for the church prior to 1950 and the background information on the events that led to the events for the adoption of Jitegemea. It provides lessons for the Church in Africa for the success and dangers in the development of an indigenous Presbyterian church in Kenya.

To my father
Duncan Mindo Gathuo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks are first due to God who has sustained and provided for me during my time for training at NEGST.

The following people have contributed to the successful completion of this study. I am greatly indebted to them and acknowledge them for their help in lighten the load for this research. May the Lord continually bless them.

To Dr. Mekonnen, my supervisor and head of the missions department for encouraging me to complete the task of writing this thesis. To Dr. Mutua, my second reader who took time to read the thesis.

To Very Rev. Dr. John Gatu who steered the PCEA church towards *Jitegemea* and instilled the concept of developing an indigenous church and the spirit of interdependence in the church. He encouraged me in the quest of investigating *Jitegemea* by providing foundational information about the concept.

To Dr. David Philpot for his advice and support in Edinburgh as I sought to retrace the steps that the missionaries took in their quest to establish the Presbyterian Church in Kenya.

To the members of the PCEA church who took time to answer my questions, for their wisdom and insights as they reflected on the past events of the church.

To my course mates Faith Ngunjiri, Bob Kikuyu, Enosh Angawandia and Oriyomi Oladeji for their encouragement, counsel and moral support.

Lastly to my siblings who encouraged me in this quest to seek for theological training at NEGST and their continual support in my studies at NEGST, may God fill your lives with good things.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Problem Statement	
Purpose of the Study	
Research Questions	
Significance of the Study	
Approach of Study	
Limitations and Delimitations	
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	5
Substantive Literature Review	
Methodological Literature Review	
3. METHODOLOGY	25
Entry	
Sources of Information	
Interview Questions	
Validation of Instrument	
Pilot Testing	
Method of Analysis	

4.	FINDINGS	30
	Development of <i>Jitegemea</i>	
5.	SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ...	42
	Summary of Findings	
	Conclusion	
	Recommendations	
	REFERENCE LIST	49
	APPENDIX	53
	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sir. William MacKinnon and other directors of the Imperial East Africa Chartered Company invited a band of missionaries led by Rev. James Steward of Lovedale. They arrived at British East Africa and began work at Kibwezi in 1891. In 1898 the mission station was transferred to Kikuyu. The Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) can trace its inception in 1891 with the arrival of the Scotland missionaries.

In 1926, the first Kikuyu ministers were ordained. The first African head of the church was appointed in 1964 coincidentally on the same year that Kenya became a republic. Political independence generated certain religious independence (Baur 1994, 447).

In 1968, the church celebrated 70 years since the first missionaries from the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) began work at Kikuyu. The next year the term *Jitegemea* was coined and adopted as the church official slogan. *Jitegemea* is a Kiswahili term meaning leaning on one-self, not depending on another. Selfhood as dependence on oneself is a process of obtaining resources from within rather than begging in order to develop. This term appears in the church logo best translated as selfhood more specifically as self-reliance. It became the working philosophy of the church.

This policy was hence propagated by the church secretary general Very Rev. Dr. John Gatu and he was instrumental in coining the word *Jitegemea*. He emerged with ecclesiastical consciousness with a call of Africans to arise and take charge.

Before the adoption of *Jitegemea* as the working philosophy of the church, there were many changes that were taking place in the church that necessitated the need to develop a working philosophy that the church would consider their own.

When the All Africa Conference of Churches met in Kampala they established their main objective as “selfhood of the church in Africa” (Baur, 432). Dr. Gatu used the same platform to propagate what the Presbyterian Church of East Africa had initiated concerning selfhood since 1950 and was working well for the church. The PCEA had established its sense of selfhood and was encouraging the church in Africa to adopt it too.

Problem Statement

This historical study brings to light the factors within and without the PCEA to develop and depend on African initiatives and resources. There has been no documentation of the concept of *Jitegemea* and the factors that led to its development. It is the central issue in the PCEA, which is one of the first churches in Africa that began to send missionaries to the churches in the west.

Purpose of the Study

This study aims at finding out the events that transpired between 1950 and 1975 that led to the development of *Jitegemea*. It attempts to come out with factors that led to the formation and formulation of selfhood in the church and the contribution of the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) in collaboration with the African clergy and laity in the PCEA.

Research Questions

1. Why did the PCEA adopt *Jitegemea* as the official working philosophy?

2. Who were the initiators of *Jitegemea* in the PCEA?
3. How did religious, political and social-economic activities and environment influence the development of *Jitegemea*?
4. What was the contribution of the Church of Scotland missionaries?
5. What were the criteria used to come up with the term *Jitegemea*?
6. What was the contribution of the African clergy and laity?
7. What can the church in Africa learn from the concept of *Jitegemea*?

Significance of the Study

The study clarifies the term *Jitegemea* by analysing its development in light of the word of God and based on the ‘three-selves’ in missions. The study also gives an analysis of the factors that led to the development of *Jitegemea* in light of the word of God and missionary activity within the church by consolidating ideas from different sources.

Finally, the study seeks to educate the clergy, laity in the church and the academic community by adding to the world of knowledge.

Approach of the Study

The study is historical in nature and is descriptive, giving a chronological overview of the factors that led to the development of *Jitegemea* in the PCEA. Interviews, archives and libraries provided the information related to the time frame of the study between 1950-1975. The literature review includes an overview of the church before the period of study because of the nature of a historical study. It sets the foundation for the church before 1950. The review includes an interview with Dr. Gatu on 11th June 2001 that enabled the researcher to develop an outline. The

literature review includes historical information related to the selfhood of the church as well as the religious, political and socio-economic conditions of Kenya prior to 1950 that relates to the issue of selfhood.

This historical research traces down the information that is much older than the time frame of the research. The literature is drawn from different sources. The findings give a chronological story of the development of the concept of *Jitegemea* in the church with the decisions that were made that led to its development. The summary, conclusions and recommendations give the aspect of *Jitegemea* with the lessons of the church in Africa in response to the research questions.

Limitations and Delimitations

The area of study is located in an area of close proximity to Kikuyu, the first mission station of the CSM missionaries. Many of the informants are found around the central part of Kenya. The study focuses on the activities of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa regardless of the other churches that have adopted the same policies of selfhood. The researcher consulted data between 1950 and 1975 for analysis of the research questions. The study deals with the historicity of the development of *Jitegemea* at this period of time.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Two writers have written the history of the PCEA. Robert MacPherson writes an account of the origins and development of the Presbyterian Church in Kenya. The book does not mention the idea of *Jitegemea* but sets the background of the church on its formation, which provided the researcher with background information on the activities of the church prior to 1950. The historical data provided does not show a comprehensive overview of the church activities up to 1970, the year the book was published (MacPherson 1970, 140). David Lyon writes about the activities of the Church of Scotland Mission in the world from 1947 to 1972, which includes the activities of PCEA. He does not record the *Jitegemea* policy by the church (Lyon 1998, 280).

Substantive Literature Review

A Brief History of the PCEA

In 1889, William Mackinnon and Alexander Bruce who were leaders of the British East Africa Company and members of the Church of Scotland conceived the idea of setting up a private Christian mission in the heart of the territory of to be called East Africa Scottish Mission toward religion, educational, medical and industrial ends. They raised £ 10,000 to begin the mission. They set up at Dagoretti to reach the Kikuyu and Maasai. They stopped at Kibwezi and moved North to Dagoretti in February 1898. The present Thogoto site was acquired in 1899.

From 1896, a serious drought had affected Kikuyu land and the missionaries set up a relief camp. This brought the Kikuyu people to the station for medical attention. They gained the confidence of the Kikuyu people. Many missionaries died in the formative years but they persisted. Scott, one of the founders of the mission station at Kikuyu was in charge of the transfer of the station to Thogoto. He died in 1900 after two years of rigorous work. His widow continued with the work of teaching and maintaining the station.

The Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) officials took over the running of the mission from the pioneer missionaries in 1901. Two men Henry Scott and Dr. Arthur were pivotal in laying the foundation. Scott's vision of the Kikuyu mission was as a base for expansion of the work of the church up to Abyssinia where every region would be able to support itself financially (MacPherson, 34). MacPherson notes that in the early part of the twentieth century, the mission "prepared converts to Christianity for leadership in a future indigenous church" (MacPherson, 32).

The first convert to Christianity was baptized in 1907, nine years after the mission was set up. Three young men at the time took up the task of the evangelist. Daniel Wachira and Petro Mugo, carried the mantle of Christianity to Tumutumu and Daudi Makumi to Chuka and Mwimbi. They took upon themselves to take the good news of Jesus to the surrounding people who were far from Kikuyu station.

In an effort to let the local people develop their own way of worship, Barlow an interpreter, wrote that the missionaries would "give them (Kikuyu) their own gospel songs into which they would put their heart" (MacPherson, 46). The missionaries would address the people in a conventional way and allow them to participate.

In 1905 December, six men were baptized and they made a public declaration to be followers of Christ. From then, more people desired to join the catechism. The

gospel of Mark was published as translated by Barlow and the first hospital was opened. There was a deliberate and intense evangelistic enterprise that saw many young men and women desire to know more about God and adopt a new way of life.

The church began to grow from 1910. The First World War paved way for more colonial dominance and the African who was being educated by the missionary lacked representation in the new colonial government. It was in 1915, that Dr. Arthur sent Daudi Makumi and Samsoni to Chuka to pioneer evangelism and medical work in Chuka-Mwimbi (MacPherson, 66). The Presbyterian Church formed a Kirk session of elders as was recognized by the Kikuyu leadership, which met traditionally as a council of elders from 1916. In 1920, Kenya was gazetted as a colony and the representation of the African people dwindled. In no way was the African put in charge of his own affairs. This led to the formation of indigenous associations by the African address to the colonial office the grievances that the African faced, especially on land and labour. The missionaries in 1920 condemned the labour policy in the African interests.

The first Kirk session was held in 1920 with a temporary constitution (MacPherson, 77). The first session clerk was Mr. Filipu Karanja, an African. The agreement that had been established in 1925 whereby the missionaries gave a quarter of the African clergy salaries. Precedence was set for the local people to support the clergy. This was the vision of the church laws set in 1915 and had been in use by the missionaries and the local evangelists. With it, the first presbytery was formed. The moderator was elected annually from one of the ordained missionaries. Church membership began to rise. A new missionary Rev. Calderwood arrived in 1921 and began a training programme that led to the ordination of the first eight Africans in 1926. The church courts held by the missionaries were from then headed by ordained African ministers and the control of the church slowly began to be the responsibility

of the African. The work in the mission decreased as the indigenous church began to take shape due to the political climate and shifting allegiance.

There had been attempts from 1910 to form a united church in Kenya; the CSM missionaries spearheaded this effort for an alliance. The African Christians were not involved in this endeavour for the amalgamated CSM with PCEA to become one church. It was in 1936 that the Gospel Mission Society (GSM) and CSM who had doctrinal differences were able to put them aside and amalgamate with the work of the African leadership. There were many changes taking place in the Kikuyu traditional society. The church was called to take responsibility.

Right from the beginning, in 1908, African evangelists Peter Mugo and Daniel Wachira had been sent to Tumutumu to set up the second mission station from Kikuyu. The first African clergy were ordained twenty-eight years after the presence of the missionaries in Kikuyu and were given local churches to preach and teach. They were active in establishing and expanding regions that did not have Christian witness and churches. The members were trained to carry forward the vision which led to the establishment of the PCEA in the Rift Valley with the migration of followers to new regions. These churches had become large and there was need for local evangelists. A conversation with one of the founder's of the churches in Rift Valley, Mr. Jason Wangombe spoke of the work of one minister, Rev. Rebbmann Wambaa, who had the responsibility to minister to 62 churches prior to 1973. Untrained evangelists who later went on to train for the ministry at St. Paul's Theological College assisted him. Rev. Wahogo was such a man who acted as an evangelist before he was trained and ordained.

By the end of 1920, the female circumcision controversy shook the church. Dr Arthur spoke forcefully against the practice which the church had condemned earlier. He was caught between the activities of the Kikuyu Central Association

(KCA) and the work at the church. This prompted him to resign as the representation of African affairs in the legislative branch of the colonial government (LEGCO) and to concentrate on the affairs of the church especially building the church of the Torch at Kikuyu (MacPherson, 116).

It was during this time, in 1930, that Church of Scotland was united with the United Presbyterian Church to form a greater Church of Scotland. This union brought with it an overseas presbytery to oversee the affairs of the white members in the union living overseas especially in the colonies. The idea of being answerable to the General Assembly (GA) in Edinburgh was rejected by the Kenyan Presbytery (MacPherson, 116). The Church of Scotland had three committees that were responsible for the missionary activity in the church. These were the Foreign Mission Committee (FMC), the Jewish Mission and the Colonial and Continental Committee (CCC), the latter being wholly responsible for the members of the Church of Scotland working in the colonies and detached from the work of the FMC, which was basically working with the native Africans. The PCEA received autonomy from FMC while the Colonial and Continental Committee (CCC) continued under the auspices of the Church of Scotland, which included many of the urban churches in Kenya that were exclusively for the Europeans. The ordained missionaries were responsible to the larger Church of Scotland presbytery not the local presbytery. The local ministers were at the end of the day answerable to the Church headquarters in Edinburgh (MacPherson, 117).

This disparity in mission was a point of concern for the local African Christian and the missionaries in the field. Due to the state of the world prior to 1950, with increased racialism, it was difficult to bring about the unity of the FMC and CCC. Unity propagated by the WCC in its first meeting in 1947 and was deficient yet the Church of Scotland began to make deliberate plans to integrate the PCEA and the Church of Scotland presbytery, which governed the CCC (MacPherson, 163).

Macpherson notes that the board failed to see that by rejecting the proposal of autonomy of the Kenyan presbytery and “setting up a church of Scotland for expatriate populations overseas where indigenous Presbyterian churches had already been set up by church of Scotland missionaries, it was imposing a form of ecclesiastical apartheid upon them” (MacPherson, 116). The proposal for a united PCEA and GMS church was accepted in 1936 and after years of debate and the Overseas Presbytery under CCC was reunited to the PCEA in 1956 under the GA in Kenya.

The debate raised the awareness of African independence and sought to rise above the paternalistic relationship of the missionary and the local African to partnership that viewed both the African Christian, the missionary and Christian expatriates to be of equal representation. In the church, the procedure of integrating the church began to bear fruit for an indigenous Presbyterian church in Kenya.

In 1935, another six African ministers were ordained while two other young men, Stevenson Gathii and Charles Muhoro, were chosen to undertake theological study in South Africa. Their experience in the inter-racial relation in South Africa in relation to establishment of an overseas Presbyterian in Kenya for while settlers led the newly trained leaders to write a constitution for the church in Kenya that was truly indigenous which took seven years to complete (1936-1942) (MacPherson, 123).

In 1943, the PCEA synod was formally recognized by the FMC. It was independent apart from the property that responsibility for upkeep and maintenance of schools and hospitals was helped in partnership until the PCEA could be able to take responsibility. The PCEA and the adherents from GMS were joined 1946. It was at this time that the East Africa Revival had an impact on the local Christians. The Second World War brought about recruitment of young people into the war and some of the young believers were recruited depleting the church of local leadership. The

training of leaders ceased for a while. MacPherson comments that the “revival made an essential contribution to the life of the Presbyterian church in Kenya in that it gave Christianity indigenous roots” (MacPherson, 127). It brought new life in the midst of social changes that were affecting the African at the turn of the first half of the century.

By 1943, when the PCEA was being formed, there were 24 ordained African ministers. At the time of the establishment of the synod of PCEA, the church had extended to the Rift Valley due to the movement of Christians working at the settlers’ farms. The church continued to grow and Rev. Charles Kareri became the first African leader of the African affairs of the Presbyterian Church in 1950.

Scriptural References on the Selfhood of the Church

Paul was a church planter. He travelled outside his home in Tarsus into the Roman Empire. The church in Antioch sent him for the work that God had called him to (Acts 13:2). God had called him “to go and carry my name before the gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel” (Acts 9:15 NIV). Paul remained in a place long enough to appoint elders or had elders elected in each church that he started or established (Acts 14:23). He committed the church to the Lord and continued with his mission to make Christ known in other regions. Paul insisted on supporting himself (Acts 20:33-34). He was confident that the church in the towns at which he preached was able to stand on its own (1 Corinthians 9:12, 1 Thessalonians 2:8-9). Paul did not want to be a burden to the new converts and on the other hand he did not want the church to depend on him.

Whenever Paul provided support, he did so when the church would not provide for itself. He took a collection from churches in Asia, Achaia and Macedonia

to Judea when it was hit by famine (Acts 11:29). Gilliland comments that the self-sufficiency nature of Paul's churches was one of the most visible results of his ministry (Gilliland 1983, 250). The church's ability to finance its own life must be seen as a consistent component within a larger reality. The principle of self-support is a natural emphasis resulting from a contextual theology of churches.

Every church had its own autonomy. Paul recognised the leaders and allowed them to work in the respective regions with minimal interference unless there was need to encourage the church or to correct an issue. In Acts 20:20, Paul states that he taught only what he knew would be helpful for the church.

Paul insisted on the unity of the church and he made sure that he explained that autonomy does not result in divisions but should eventually bring about the unity in the church (1 Corinthians 1:10; 12:12-31).

0031203

Early Missionary Ideas on Selfhood

The Church of Scotland had always regarded its enterprise in missions overseas as an integral component of its obedience and part of the church universal. The central concern was to bring into being churches, which would freely take upon themselves the obligation of missions. The intention was to promote an integration that would enable an active partnership between two churches in freedom under the control of the younger church interdependently. It was the long-stated policy of the FMC to encourage the development of indigenous churches, so there was no opposition on its part for the demand for change being called for by the younger churches (Lyon, 44).

Four men beginning from the eighteenth century were instrumental in the development of selfhood in church planting and establishment of mission fields. The model was adapted to a large extent by the FMC (Lyon, 19).

John Nevius was a missionary in Korea and China under the Presbyterian Mission Company. He records how he developed a new mission in Korea and China using local human and material resources to do relational evangelism. He did not use foreign funding. The Presbyterian Church in Korea has been one of the oldest and most well-established mission churches (Nevius 1895, 3).

Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn formulated the ‘three-selves’ formula for the indigenous church. They were both mission board administrators in America and Britain respectively. Venn encouraged “the social and religious improvement of Africa by means of her own sons” (Shenk 1983, 68). Shenk sees the achievement of Venn as a humanist in his attitude of respect for the autonomy and integrity of the people receiving the gospel in the colonies. His commitment was one of self-determination. The missionaries would be pioneers not pastors. Venn’s principle was for the development of the nations who would embrace the gospel. He emphasized self-dependence rather than dependence (Shenk, 31). Rufus Anderson was a creative administrator of the missionary movement. He worked as the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission. He formulated the ‘three-selves’ idea of “the planting and fostering of churches which became self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating” (Beaver 1970, 10). The ministry of Paul in the book of Acts influenced the stand that Anderson took. Paul was careful to gather and form local churches under its own presbyterian care. Anderson realised that mission was too burdened with cultural and social activities, which were at the time regarded as the only true expression of the Christian religion. They were as much a hindrance to the spread of the gospel as the Mosaic Law was to Paul. He comments that “had

not the apostolic idea of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches dropped out of the apostles, not to be fully gained until modern times, how different would have been the history of Christendom” (Beaver, 15). Anderson concluded the characteristic of the missionary apostles as follows:

Such were the apostolic mission. Such were the efforts made for propagating the gospel among the heathen by the missionaries under the special divine guidance. It was by the gathering of converts into churches at the centres of influence and putting them under native pastoral care. The means employed were spiritual; namely the gospel of Christ. The power relied upon giving efficiency to these means was divine; namely the promised aid of the Holy Spirit. The main success was among the middle and lower classes of society: and the responsibility for self-government, self-support and self-propagation were thrown at once upon several churches (Beaver, 16).

Rufus was the founder of the indigenous church principle. It was a process of developing a scriptural sense of self-propagating Christianity with the aid of the Holy Spirit. He believed that “a church that is self-supporting and self-governing from the beginning will be self-propagating... The people should build their own churches according to their own style and not after Western models, at almost their own expense” (Beaver, 13). He understood that bearing responsibility makes a church grow (Beaver, 33).

Pierce Beaver, writing about Anderson’s view on the ‘three-selves’, notes “it is evident that within his doctrine of liberty, responsibility and self-sufficiency of the native church, there is room even for possible cultural adaptation” (Beaver, 36). The ‘three-selves’ would enable the church to begin to contextualize the gospel. The idea of two other selves namely self-theologising and self-missilogizing can be realised after the ‘three-selves’ are achieved (Taylor 2000, 6).

Venn and Anderson acted on the basis of scriptural truth irrespective of the norms of mission and church planting. Shenk notes that according to Ayendele, “Venn’s indigenous church policy was attractive to the educated African for political

independence” (Shenk, 106). Venn insisted that every other people had the potential to achieve the same level of competence if given the chance. The stagnation of the mission work prompted him to think along the same lines as Anderson where he insisted that true conversion should be a result of the mission from independent action of the Holy Spirit against the back drop of ‘rice Christians’. He longed to see a church established with a missionary zeal in its understanding and practise. Venn and Anderson laid a foundation for the missionary enterprise on how they should conduct themselves in accordance with scripture.

Roland Allen was a missionary who wrote of the importance of having the mission churches independent of external influence. Allen recorded the policy of self-support that Paul wrote during his missionary journeys. He also outlined the need to select responsible church leaders from the local people by means of taking them through training and teaching them the gospel. These local leaders would take over the church. Allen himself realised that the most appropriate way to doing mission was to totally depend on the Biblical methods that had been used by Paul. Allen pointed out three things that guided Paul is mission. First, Paul did not seek financial help for himself, secondly, he did not ask for help from those he preached to, and thirdly, he did not interfere with the finances of the local church (Allen 1960, 49).

Self-propagation is the ability of the church to take the initiative to preach to others about Jesus Christ and plant churches among their neighbours who do not know about Christ and being in sole charge of the evangelisation of the country to which the church belongs. This initiative is an outgrowth from within the church. Self-government is the establishment of local leadership within the church to take responsibility of the local church government based on biblical models of appointing elders, deacons and bishops as a strategic goal to be accomplished together with a gradual devolution of mission. Self-support is the church’s initiative to depend on its

own resources, which is primarily monetary by paying her clergy and also material for maintaining land and buildings.

Religious Ideas that Reinforced Selfhood

The revival movement in the Protestant church in eastern Africa started at about 1927. It was an attempt to restore the first love that had been taught in the Bible (Baur, 484). The revival was inspiring (Falk, 267). It was an attempt to form an understanding of the gospel as a call to repentance. The missionaries had neglected the work of the gospel to develop auxiliary aspects such as education and health facilities.

The fact that Africans spread the spirit of the revival to many of the regions in East Africa reinforced the fact that they were capable of being spiritual leaders of their church. The influence of the revival movement was the beginning of a truly indigenous church in the PCEA. The revival brought about a true sense of the need of true independence within the universal church. The revival brought a spirit of unity not schism. Langford Smith notes that the revival was a movement of the spirit within the church since by the 1950s the church in East Africa had become so mixed up with material progress that faith tended to be nominal rather than real and based on vague assumptions rather than the revealed truth and living experience (Lang Ford 1954, 137). When the PCEA became autonomous in 1943 from the Foreign Mission Committee (FMC), there was an agreement that the mission would help maintain the running of the institutions. With the revival, this changed. It brought about a unity between the PCEA and the missionaries to bring about the unity of the church and yet recognise the autonomy of each (Lyon, 96). Following the argument by Paul that God accepted the gentiles just as he accepted the Jews by giving the Holy Spirit to both of

them (Acts 15:8,9), the African church leaders recognised that God was at work within them also. The revival increased the zeal of the African Christian. The movement may have had a high influence in the development of self by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

The spirit of Africanising Christianity was also noted in Vatican Council II initiated in 1962-65. In the documents of Vatican II, there was a deliberate decision to allow the use of vernacular by the local African Christians (Flannery 1975, 92-95). The clergy could be selected from the local people who would be trained to serve the people better (Flannery, 766-798).

There was a growing interest in the need to incorporate the laity in the life of the church. The idea of Africanising Christianity cut across denominational boundaries and every one was affected by the decisions made by the Vatican Council concerning Africa. Molyneux correctly states about the Kikuyu that “the council came at a time when in Africa... articulated and forceful demands were being voiced both within the church and outside it for new attitudes” (Molyneux 1993, 62).

The World Council of Churches was formed in 1947. The churches from the West noted that there was a new vision that was in existence from the third world countries where there was increasingly an emergence of political freedom. By then WCC was still “too Western in personnel, thought and method” (Lyon, 122). By 1930, the vision of the church had grown in three ways, maintaining the ministers, securing independence from the missionary and ecumenism with other African churches (MacPherson, 121). This became the basis of the continuing work of the missionaries in the PCEA.

The Political Arena

The political environment of the early twentieth century in Kenya set the stage for the development of the PCEA as independent as possible. The missionaries sought

to form presbyteries that would in time pave the way for the church in Kenya to take responsibility for the activities in the church leadership. This would include all other auxiliary departments of education and hospitals. Ordained African ministers and elders represented Africans in the presbytery. When the first African clergy were ordained the giving in the church also increased (MacPherson, 77).

The rising nationalism within the African continent coincides with the development of *Jitegemea* ideology in PCEA. The practical task committed to the International Missionary Committee (IMC) at its meeting in Willingen in 1952 defined nationalism to denote the self-conscious assertion by a people of its own individuality in relation to other people (Warren 1955, 387). The philosophy behind nationalism is that every group of people with a common cultural and historical heritage is entitled to determine its own way of life and its own identity. “The question is whether this can also be applied to the church; and the possible answer is, no.” For the nature of the church is found in its unity and the interdependence of the church is demonstrated in its analogy of the body (Beyerhaus 1964, 405). The church is both a social and spiritual institution with Christ as the head instituted as a visible institution and needs to be governed by laws as in human society as indicated in Paul’s pastoral letters. Missionaries were citizens of the colonizing powers and they worked hand in glove with the colonizing countries. The Scottish missionaries followed the railway line that was built for the purpose of attracting traders, settlers and missionaries who would establish Christianity, commerce and civilization in the East African Protectorate under the British government.

This is made as an elaborate conclusive idea on the issue of politics by stating “the political emancipation which has been rapid... had (sic) only served to heighten the consciousness of other forms of dependency and to seek means to eliminate them”

(Anderson 1974, 206). The missionaries entered East Africa with the colonialists (Kane 1978, 104).

The First World War, to which many Africans were recruited, brought to light the hostilities among the European nations. “The war had a positive effect on African self-awareness” (Falk, 420). The Treaty of Versailles after the war set policies that would reveal more weaknesses of the European nations (Falk, 420).

Many of the African leaders were travelling abroad for training. Jomo Kenyatta, the first President of Kenya, had been trained in the CSM station at Kikuyu in 1909 and later spent 16 years in Britain studying. He returned to Kenya in 1944 to lead the nation to independence. “He encouraged hope for a rapid achievement for independence and economic advancement, and instilled in a growing number of supporters in the determination to achieve these things in every way possible” (Howarth 1967, 27).

African nationalism was on the rise in Africa, spearheaded by the African elite. Nationalism is an achievement of group consciousness, awareness by a people that the African people standing up against people of the West, not in hostility but as different. Many of them were educated in mission schools and were actively involved in the activities of the church. Harry Thuku the founder of the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) was a staunch member of the Gospel Missionary Society (GMS), which amalgamated with the PCEA in 1946 (MacPherson, 124). The Second World War is regarded as the watershed in the emergence of African self-rule (Haynes 1996, 55). Not all Africans chased away the missionary, but they asked for a changed relationship, from a paternalistic to a brotherly one.

In 1920 the Kenya Colony was formalised and the first African political group was formed called Young Kikuyu Association. It began as an informal grouping of Christians in leadership, government representatives and elders to present their

grievances to the colonial government (MacPherson, 73). Then came the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1925 which was concerned with the grievances of the African especially on forced labour, taxation and *Kipande* (identity card for all Africans above age 16 to be carried at all times) laws. The founder, Harry Thuku, was a member of the GMS. Many of these associations were African initiatives to establish forums where they could discuss their predicament and look for ways to deal with the problems that they faced. They formed the base for nationalism.

The emergence of independent churches was a rebellion against European domination and imposed culture. The militant tendencies of the *Mau Mau*, who were fighting to free the Africans from colonial rule, were a result of African nationalism, which nurtured the ideas of self-advancement in dealing with issues that confronted the nations.

After the Second World War, Britain began granting independence to her colonies. The kingdom had been devastated by the war and was looking for ways in which it would be able to begin rebuilding its economy. It did not have any resources for her colonies. Prior to the Second World War was the great economic depression in 1929, which had an impact on the missionary grants. Church staff was retrenched. It stimulated a spirit of self-help in the Kenyan church. Seeds of self-dependence were being planted by allowing the church develop slowly and largely by African hands (MacPherson, 117).

Kane notes that “Church leaders... can refuse to accept missionaries if they want to” (Kane, 104). He therefore gives five factors why missionary forces were in the decline after the war. First, the national churches achieved both independence and maturity. In an interview with Dr. Gatu, he asserts to this fact by stating that the PCEA church was mature and the African clergy were ready to take over (Gatu 2001). Secondly, nationalism made life and work in the mission field more difficult. After

the war missionaries became less critical of colonial rule. Thirdly, the numbers of those in the missionary service decreased. There were less recruitments and support from the home countries. Fourthly, budgets for missionary service began to dwindle. The economy of the home countries had been devastated by the war. “An increasing shortage of both funds and of candidates for missionary service was a constant anxiety to the FMC” (Lyon, 112). Lastly, there was a rise of African theologians who were supporting political as well as religious independence (Lyon, 105).

Socio-Economic Issues

African Christians struggled with cultural questions. Was it possible to be an African and a Christian at the same time (Haynes, 183)? Mbiti describes the strand of Christianity in Africa as the church from the missionary church where a majority of the church belongs. He quotes from Scherer’s book “Missionary Go Home” that the “19th century emphasis on moral and cultural uplift through mission was a dangerous displacement of apostolic ideal as was the political motive” (Mbiti, 1986, 192). The early missionaries did not understand that “Christian unity is unity, not in conformity or uniformity, but in diversity” (Marzoru 1997, 316).

One of the major issues that were discussed in relation to missionary activity in Africa was the Western cultural monopoly that was preached outside what the Africans read from the Bible. The colonial government introduced the hut tax in 1902. This was done to make many of the Africans to seek employment in mission stations where they could be educated and at times converted to Christianity (Karanja 1999, 53).

The Church of Scotland Mission (CSM) policy was to retain a few stations that would have complete facilities for medicine and education (Karanja, 11). Karanja observes that “in central Kenya, pioneer missionaries won some adherents because of

the correspondence of the people to that of three important categories of people in traditional societies: *itonga* (rich people), *andũ ago* (medicine men) and to a lesser extent, *athamaki* (spokesman) or presiding elders” (Karanja, 70). The missionary sought to work with the local leaders and people of influence in the African society.

After the First World War, many of the people who had been educated in the mission schools were given government jobs through the Kikuyu Mission Volunteers that was headed by Dr. Arthur of CSM (Karanja, 87). Dr. Arthur represented the African cause in the Legislative Council in Kenya in the 1920s for the growing colony. The missionaries had developed a close association to the colonial government and had a “quasi-established status” with the Africans. The mission had a special place with Imperial East Africa Company and the public affairs of which Dr. Arthur was a member of the colonial government representing African interests (MacPherson, 103). The adherents accepted this as a form of acceptance by the missionaries who were concerned for their economic well-being. Many were posted as teachers and government clerks in the interior where they spread Christianity. Many Christians sympathised with their own African problems of taxation though they did not drop out from the church membership nor renounce Christianity. They joined associations that would fight oppression by colonialists toward the African.

The Kikuyu New Testament was first published in 1926 while the Old Testament was completed in 1951, though it was completed ten years before; the Second World War had interrupted publication (Karanja, 136). The scripture in vernacular promoted religious independence. The Kikuyu society is dynamic with a competitive culture, which strives to improve itself with the resources within and without its reach. Kibicho writes of one CSM missionary, Alexander Y. Allen, who wrote back home to Scotland saying, “I had come prepared to be very much shocked

with the people and very much agreeable surprised to see many faces full of character and intelligence” (Kibicho 1978, 376).

By 1947, Africa had reached a new stage. Lyon comments of crucial issues that were instrumental in the way that a new paradigm was being formed in the church. He says:

Its schools and colleges had produced many highly educated men and women who were aware of the opportunities opening up to escape from the constriction of the old ways and who were anxious to give a lead. There was a large number of young people for whom the war had provided a chance to travel and to extend their experience. Nationalism, one of the consequences of the widening horizons, had become a powerful force and the new attitudes of self-confidence spurred it on. The time was ripe for radical change (Lyon, 55)

Christianity in Africa was not a rebellion from the missionaries but, in light of biblical understanding of the church, Africa sought to realize herself and recognise others as well as find integration within their own culture. PCEA did not break ties with the Church of Scotland. Some of the churches are still named after the early missionaries; Dr. Arthur in Nakuru Kenya for example, after the missionary who worked closely with the Africans. The young PCEA church had borne the responsibility of taking over leadership of the African converts. It had been called to make itself responsible. The missionaries had passed on to the people church leadership in the form of church councils, which were biblical in accordance to New Testament patterns and familiar to the traditional pattern of leadership in the Kikuyu society (MacPherson, 102).

‘Self’ implies affirmation of identity, being or becoming active and being able to exist and work on one’s own resources. It does not imply isolation and ceasing to be influenced and supported by others (Beyerhaus, 403). This historical study development of *Jitegemea* will bring to light the pertinent factors that led to the PCEA working philosophy of selfhood based on the ‘three-selves’ which are self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing. The ‘three-selves’ have been expanded to include

a newer two, which include self-theologising and self-missilogising (Taylor, 550).

Warren states that;

if we can believe that history is the scene of God's action, then we can hardly escape the conviction that he wants peoples of the world to be different and that in the enjoyment of difference, we in some measure approximate to the mind of God, who desires that mankind's hymns of praise and adoration be sang in harmony not in unison (Warren, 396).

Methodological Literature Review

The research was descriptive for both literature and field research in the form of interviews. It gave a comprehensive report on the origin and development of the aspect of *Jitegemea* in Presbyterian Church of East Africa between 1950-75, in relation to the development of selfhood by the African Christians. It also gave a description of the relations between the Church of Scotland missionaries and the African church leaders in the PCEA while *Jitegemea* was being formulated.

The purpose of a historical research is to reconstruct the past systematically and objectively by collecting, evaluating, verifying and synthesising evidence to establish facts and reach dependable conclusions. Historical research is defined as “a process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a past phenomena for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of present institutions, practises, trends and issues (Gall, Borg and Gall 1996, 644).

The research is qualitative in nature. The perspectives of *Jitegemea* differ from one person to another. The generalisations that are drawn from the responses from the research questions attempt to give a composite picture of how people think of the factors that led to the formation of the term *Jitegemea* on the PCEA.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Entry

The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the Academic Dean of Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology to ask for permission to use archives and libraries at Edinburgh. The researcher made contact with the headquarters of the church to get permission to use the data available in the archives. There were no cultural problems because the researcher belongs to the church.

Sources of Information

Archives and Libraries

The research involved documentary analysis. The documents were obtained from archives and libraries. The records of the PCEA are found in the Presbyterian Church of East Africa Archives at the St. Andrews Church, Nairobi. It holds all church records since 1920 and especially the official church minutes between 1950-1975.

Kenya National Archives holds annual reports by CSM deposited in the archives. *Mwigwithania*, a Kikuyu newspaper that held the expressions written by African Christians was also be consulted and is kept in the archives.

Nairobi University Library contains some of the documents from the CSM that have been stored in microfilm. St. Paul's Theological College Archives contains collections of oral materials that have been stored in the library that give an account

of the development of Christianity by CSM recorded from the African Christians. Edinburgh University Library houses the CSM archives consisting of missionary reports of their activities in Kenya and also the *Kikuyu* news, a journal by the CSM Kikuyu Mission.

The researcher conducted interviews of the people who were involved in the formation of *Jitegemea* from the clergy and laity with references to personal diaries, journals, letters, autobiographies, and transcripts of long, open-ended interviews and memoirs. These are reviews of unpublished materials that are not cited in the standard references. They were consulted in the case of a historical study. They gave information that was not directly observable. This process identified other key players and principle initiators who were not acknowledged by the existing records but are mentioned in the records above.

Reference to the church journal and manual on practice and procedure of Presbyterian Church of East Africa will also provide more information. The newsletter named '*Jitegemea*' also provided information on the aspect of the philosophy of *Jitegemea*.

Informants

The researcher found out the people who were involved in the development of *Jitegemea* between 1950-75. This information was provided from the literature and an interview with the key informant, Dr. John Gatu.

The interviews were conducted with people who were involved in the formation of *Jitegemea* between 1950-1975. They were drawn from all the six presbyteries that were in existence at 1968 when *Jitegemea* was formulated. They were composed of church ministers and elders who held office in the church and were involved in the development of *Jitegemea*. From Kikuyu Presbytery, Rev. Timothy Ngumba, Rev. Dibon Kirathi and Rev. Stephen Kariuki. From Tumutumu Presbytery

Rev. Dr. Timothy Njoya and Rt. Rev. Dr. Jesse Kamau. From Chogoria Presbytery
 Rev. Peterson Rukenyia and Rev. Bernard Muindi. From Rift Valley Presbytery Mr.
 Jason Wangombe, Mr. Fredrick Ngoro, Rev. Samuel Wahogo and Rev. Timothy
 Waithaka. From Nairobi Presbytery the Very Rev. Dr. John Gatu and the Very Rev.
 George Wanjau

The informants from the Church of Scotland included those that worked
 closely with the church during the time of study. These are Rev. Ian Dougall, Rev.
 Elspeth Dougall, Rev. Donald Lamont, Rev. James Wilkie and Rev. David Philphot

Interview Questions

This was the main instrument in the research and was developed from the
 research questions. There was a preamble to give the title and the purpose of the
 research because many of the informants are old and could not remember all that went
 on when *Jitegemea* was being formulated and have been tempted to divert from the
 interview questions but give their own views concerning *Jitegemea*. The questions
 were developed with a direct approach in order to obtain the specific answers
 reflected from the research questions. They were straightforward to give factual
 information. The instrument used was in the form of open-ended interview questions.

The instrument was developed from the research questions. It was pre-tested
 by the process of pilot testing. The interview questions were posted to the informants
 prior to the actual interview with the informants and the researcher indicating the day
 the interview was held. This helped the informants think through the questions before
 direct contact. The reason for this was to allow the informants, many who are old, to
 recollect the events and minimise the time taken during the interview.

Validation of the Instrument

Interviews must meet the standard of validity and reliability that apply to collecting information. Best states that “the key to effective interviewing is the extent to which the interviewer can establish rapport” (Best 1981, 166). The questions were handed to two research experts, one from the department of mission and one from the department of church history who helped the researcher make the necessary corrections. The two consultants agreed that each of the questions was valid.

Ethnic background is important and the researcher belongs to the same ethnic group as the informants; there was no barrier in language. The instrument was reliable by ensuring that the interview questions were asked twice with the intention of ensuring that the answers did not contradict. The interview was conducted face to face.

To weigh the validity of the information the documents were examined for authenticity by external criticism. This was verified by ensuring that the records met intricate tests of the signatures, documentation and consistence with what is known. The information gathered from the archives went through internal criticism to check accuracy in records. This was based on Woody’s principle of internal criticism of sources (Ndagi 1984, 91-92).

Divergent opinions and sources were checked. The authenticity of the opinions of the informants was verified by ensuring that they did not contradict the records that were consulted from the archives and library. The research aimed at integrating the facts obtained into meaningful generalisations.

Pilot Testing

The researcher conducted a pilot study by approaching the leader of the Africa Gospel Church (AGC) and giving the interview questions to the leaders so that

modifications and corrections could be made for the instrument. These were Rev. Nathaniel Korir, the assistant Moderator of AGC, Rev. David Mutai the missions' coordinator and Pastor Sammy Kirui.

Method of Analysis of Findings

The researcher used qualitative analysis of historical information by organising material by thematic form was based on the research questions. The themes or topics were arranged in chronological order from 1950 to 1975. Every question was the basis of the title of the theme. The information was arranged according to the findings from the primary sources and the secondary sources. Caution was taken to ensure that the effects of the study of *Jitegemea* were not included as factors.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of the study was to find out the factors that led to the formation of *Jitegemea* in the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. Information obtained from the research was analysed depending on the historical research design. Findings were reported with respect to providing factual information from each question asked.

1950-1975 were crucial years in the history of *Jitegemea*, whereby 1950 is the year that the first African leader was chosen to lead the PCEA and 1975 marks the year that the church sent its first African missionary, the late Rev. Jacob Mugo to USA.

The 1972 *Jitegemea* Bulletin contained the following report written by Dr. Gatu of the development of *Jitegemea*. *Jitegemea* is a Kiswahili word, from the national language in Kenya spoken in the East African region. It is derived from the word ‘egemea’, which means to lean against. ‘Tegemea’ is literally translated as ‘to depend upon’ or ‘to be dependent on someone or something’. The term is also used to conotate the word trust with the belief of relying on someone to accomplish a task. The word ‘tegemea’ refers to a relationship between people (Moffat 1974, 1).

The pronoun ‘ji’ when added to the word ‘tegemea’ gives a personal pronoun the word ‘Jitegemea’, to a person or a group of people which means ‘to stand on your own two feet’, which is the ability for people to rely on themselves in order to accomplish a task (Moffat, 2). The word became widely used in 1971 when the PCEA set out to build its own headquarters. The building committee that was elected at the time adopted and used it on badges that were sold to the adherents of the church. The term *Jitegemea* appears inside a cross set in a blue background. It follows that for the

church to be able to stand on its own feet, it must rely on the cross, from which the church finds its place in Christ who promised to build the church (Matthew 16:18). The cross shows that the love of God demonstrated on the cross is the basis of the selfhood of the church whereby Jesus is the head of the church (Ephesians 5:23). Christ loved the church that he gave himself as a sacrifice for her.

The PCEA handbook reports that the importance of *Jitegemea* is seen in practice in the life of every member of the church. It is seen in the relationships that the members of the church have with other believers. It is a word that commits every member of the PCEA to hold to it in practise not just as a slogan (Moffat, 2).

The Development of *Jitegemea*

In 1968 the church celebrated seventy years since the arrival of the Scottish missionaries at Thogoto in Kikuyu. The number '70' was significant in terms of age for it shows the full age of a grown man. The life of the missionary was at the stage where they were handing over the church to the African leadership. The baton of inheritance in the African concept was being passed on.

During the celebrations in 1968 which were held in every presbytery then, the colossal responsibility fell on the African clergy and laity. Here was a realisation that the church was of age, and that it was time that they took the church forward. The secretary general at the time Rev. John Gatu took the responsibility to put forward the challenge to the people that the church now belonged to them.

The missionaries had done their job and now the church had come to life. The sons were taking over the inheritance with its responsibilities from the fathers. They had fanned the flame and kept the church alive and burning, a slogan that was adopted in the 1991 centenary celebrations. It was not until 1971, when the church head office was being built that the church realised that it would need to encourage the

congregants to participate and contribute the project in every local church. The *Jitegemea* song at the time reflects the call to all to adopt *Jitegemea* as the basic teaching toward giving to the church. It is translated with the words ‘we can not borrow everyday when God has already blessed us abundantly’.

Since 1948 at the golden jubilee celebrations, Rev. Charles Kareri, in preparation the development of the PCEA the church, began to see the need to equip the members in order that the growing laity would recognise the responsibility of the PCEA, which had a ratified constitution in 1943 when the church was going to be given the responsibility of the church buildings, hospitals and schools. The task that lay ahead at the celebration of the establishment of an autonomous and independent church was great. The ground was set for gradual changes in the church. The missionaries continued to work with the national leader. A letter dated 22nd December 1953 was sent by three African leaders Rev. Charles Kareri, Rev. Crispus Kiongo and George Njoroge written to the convener of the FMC to consider a new evangelism strategy to reach the newly created colonial villages where people were segregated. Rev. Charles Kareri was elected the head of the PCEA synod in 1950. It dealt with the affairs of the Africans within the PCEA.

The General Assembly in Edinburgh in 1952 had given the go ahead to negotiations between the Church of Scotland presbytery in Kenya and the PCEA. A negotiating committee was appointed and at the end of 1953 had prepared a draft which was submitted in the next General Assembly in 1955 and permission was granted for the union and the assembly “expressed their joy in the prospect of a new union of churches in Kenya, which would bring Christians of European and African race into one fellowship of witness to the Lord Jesus Christ and for the extension of his kingdom in Africa” (Lyon, 166).

In 1956, the PCEA became autonomous and the missionary council was dissolved after nearly 50 years of existence in Kenya. The missionary committee succeeded it. Since 1943, the council had gradually handed over the running of the churches, schools and hospitals to the PCEA. The missionary committee avoided intruding in the areas where the PCEA was under control. The missionaries were now under the PCEA in the departments of language study, land titles, mission houses and maintenance, cars and transport and PCEA records had been formally handed over to the PCEA. The missionary committee met for the last meeting in May 1966. It was not recognised within the PCEA structure since it had excluded expatriate missionaries who were part of the PCEA but not from the Church of Scotland. The PCEA formed a mission board and terminated the role of the missionary committee.

The first General Assembly was held on 11th February 1956 at the St. Andrew's church. A document was produced that was titled 'PCEA Scheme of Union between Church of Scotland and Overseas Presbytery for Kenya and the PCEA'. There was no question whether the moderator was an African or not. Rev. Calderwood was the first moderator. He had come to Kenya in 1922. He had been accepted by the person as one who was in the forefront of the establishment of the PCEA. Rev. Calderwood's appointment in 1922 in Kenya saw the first appointment of the first ordained ministers in 1926 whom he spear-headed in training up to his time as the first moderator in 1956 of the unified PCEA in which thirty years later, he worked at uniting the Presbyterian Church in Kenya.

Two years later, the second General Assembly was held on 11-13 March 1958. Rt. Rev. Robert Macpherson was elected the new moderator with Rev. Charles Kareri as the senior clerk. The PCEA had seven presbyteries at the time. They received reports on training in the presbyteries as lay courses for the laity. The General Assembly saw to it that there were two councils; one was the African council and a

European council. Each of the councils had representation from the African clergy and the European clergy. They aimed at integrating the work of the missionary and the work of the Africans by receiving reports on the things that were happening amongst the European congregations and the African congregations (Lyon, 166). They learnt from each other about the way that each conducted their work. For example, the European women's guild invited the African women's guild for a joint fellowship in 1958 at St. Andrews church. The administrative division of the African and European affairs divided the church racially and by 1959, the church had begun to reconsider the decision (Lyon, 167). In May 1953, there were 319 missionaries compared to 282 missionaries in May 1959 sent by FMC in the mission (Lyon, 179).

The third General Assembly was held in 14-16th March 1961. This was a time when Rev. Charles Kareri was appointed the first African moderator. All the seven presbyteries endorsed him. Rev. Donald Lamont was elected the General Secretary taking over the post that Rev. Charles Kareri had held during the second General Assembly. Rev. John Gatu was endorsed as the assistant secretary general.

A church stewardship campaign was launched during this General Assembly under the leadership of Rev. John Gatu assisted by Rev. Robert Macpherson. In preparation for the institution of the stewardship campaign, there had been a retreat attended by 65 ministers and laymen on the teaching of spiritual uplift and understanding of Christian stewardship (Report by the third GA 1961, 12). The major emphasis of the life of the third General Assembly (1961-1964) was on Christian stewardship. Much of the funds were still from the foreign donors. In the budget in 1961, the African congregations gave 335 pounds compared to 5280 pounds from foreign funding. There was a projection that there would be ten additional trained ministers from St. Paul's theological college to reinforce the African clergy. There was a resolution to encourage adherents of the PCEA church to become members

through baptism and confirmation and consequently to make pledges for the church upkeep. The ministers by then were paid from the local churches in which they belonged including the moderator. There was no central fund.

The fourth General Assembly met on 18-20th February 1964. Rev. Charles Kareri was re-elected as the moderator of the General Assembly. Rev. John Gatu was elected as the first African General Secretary when Rev. Lamont retired. In an interview with Rev. Donald Lamont on 22nd August 2001, he acknowledged that handing over leadership to the African clergy was the whole idea of missions and this was a natural outcome. Rev. Lamont stayed on and helped with the new church until his retirement in 1974. The people who were taking leadership were adequately trained and ready to take over. It was a natural process. The Kiambu presbytery was split into two for purposes of administration into north and south Kiambu.

The stewardship committee invited Rev. Dr. Paul Lindholm from the Presbyterian Church in USA to teach the church more about stewardship. The church was expanding and more presbyteries were being created to take care of the increasing members in the church. There was an additional presbytery in Nyeri ratified during the fourth General Assembly. There was resignation of seven missionaries for the Church of Scotland and three new expatriate missionaries from the Presbyterian Church in USA to help with the hospital. Partnership in the church was extended to other churches outside the Church of Scotland.

There was intense work at the PCEA lay training centre with a lot of emphasis on the teachers although the turn out was low from the presbyteries. This did not discourage the teachers who included Rev. Oswald Welsh, Rev. Philpot and Rev. Crispus Kiongo who saw the need to continue training the laity, as is part of the Presbyterian Church. The foreign missionary committee gave Ksh.122,160 compared

to Ksh.115,300 from the presbyteries. There was a marked increase in giving from the presbyteries compared to the previous report from the General Assembly.

There was a consultation on integration of mission churches and the Church of Scotland that took place in the General Assembly in Edinburgh on the overseas department of the Church of Scotland. The moderator of the PCEA was invited to attend to this event. The consultation was held in St. Andrews in Edinburgh in 1965 and was attended by the Moderator of the PCEA. They discussed the place of the missionary abroad. The report contained issues on the need for missionaries, money or people, length of service of the missionaries, their best use and missionary committees. The question that was raised was

whether contributions of people and money would in fact strengthen the church unless they were helping it in its mission to the world. If the church was turned in upon itself and uninterested in outreach to the world around it, a missionary contribution bogged down in the structure of a static church would sap initiative still further...the missionary could be of value in the nurture and strengthening of the church's life at any point (General Assembly Report, 1964).

It was agreed that the mere number of missionaries was less likely to deter the indigenous growth of a church than the presence of missionaries who thought themselves superior to the local people. The placing of too many missionaries in executive positions in the church could as well stifle growth. The missionaries were asked to be increasingly involved in the church in loyalty. There was need for the missionary and the nationals to meet together often where they could meet as friends concerning the problems facing the church and the missionaries. The best use of the missionary and his services was recognised as one of the most important concerns of the consultation (Report of The St. Andrews consultation 1965, 31). Rev. Kareri contribution asked the FMC in order to encourage African leadership to provide financial support for the African leadership who were becoming available for major post in the church (Lyon, 215).

The seventh General Assembly was held in 1967. Rev. Crispus Kiongo was elected new moderator. Two ministers were chosen to work with the congregation in 1969 to mobilise the whole church for missions. The giving in the church had increased three-fold from 1964 to 1967. Rev. Charles Kareri's address in 1967 as the first retiring African moderator acknowledged the missionaries for the precedence that they had set and thanked the missionaries who were working with them during this crucial time as the church set out to take the gospel to other parts of the country that did not have enough resources with the effort that was being made in improving the giving. The theme of 'Missions and Evangelism' was established in life of the sixth General Assembly 1967-1970.

Plans were underway for the seventy years celebration in 1968 in every presbytery. The assembly would concentrate on improving stewardship and outlined the theme for the 1967 GA as 'Missions' – in recognition of what they had received from others, the church decided to give to others by going out to others instead of expecting people to come to them.

The General Assembly noted that 1966 was the year in which the presbyteries ceased to be aid receiving and become aid giving. The challenge had been put forward by the stewardship committee for people to pledge in what is commonly known as '*Kariko*' (Kikuyu word that means pledge). People were encouraged to give toward the church as unto the Lord. Gatu believes that *Jitegemea* stemmed from the celebration with the realization that the church had a new responsibility to finance many of the projects and the grants that they were receiving were not enough to effectively be used to run the church. In view of the activities and events in the past, the church needed to take responsibility to uphold the work of the church in missions.

The General Assembly in 1967 formed a mission's branch with a foreign affairs department with a sub-committee for missionary representation to take care of

the personal representation of missionaries. Hence the missionary committee unanimously decided to ask the Church of Scotland to allow it to dissolve with effect of the 1967 General Assembly. (Letter to the General Administrative Committee in October 1966 addressed to the moderator of GA titled “Statement on the Dissolution of the Missionaries Committee”).

The church established what it terms as ‘nendeni’ areas. Nendeni is a Kiswahili word that means, “Go ye” derived from the great commission. A booklet was published at the seventy years celebrations in 1968 with the name ‘*Thi-ii*’ which means “go” in Kikuyu language. *Nendeni* areas (new mission fields) did not have Christian witness.

The General Assembly in 1970 acknowledged the work of the missionaries and the partnership developed with other Presbyterian churches in the world. There was an emphasis on stewardship classes that were chaired by the moderator with Rev. David Philpot as the training secretary. A letter from the WCC was read recognising and identifying the main thrust of the church’s involvement in development programmes as the promotion of social justice and self-reliance from the report from the Uppsala Assembly in 1969. The report by the general secretary reaffirmed the theme of the Jubilee celebrations that had been held in 1968 not as ceremonial but a rededication to the mission of the church.

Samson Mugo who was training in New York for the task of treasurer of the church wrote a letter dated 27th February 1970 to the assembly encouraging the church to maintain the annual budget by encouraging the church to finance its own programmes. The General Assembly quoted the words of a report done by Prof. P.M. Miller on ‘Equipping for Ministry’ on a two year research that he had done on “The Patterns for Ministry and Theological Education” that one cannot escape the impression that there is very little about the programme which bears the stamp

‘Africa’, and gives evidence of a creative response to the unique needs of the church in Africa. The program does not seem to be carefully designed to equip equippers or to train the trainers of a ministering laity.

A report was presented on the All Africa Council of Churches meeting in Abidjan in September 1969, which had the theme “Working with Christ in Africa today”. Regarding selfhood, the report noted that the overseas societies needed to mobilise their resources of personnel as well as finances to common action in Africa for evangelisation and service. The report further instructed the church in Africa to develop financial resources of the church by instructing the members to give willingly letting the local congregation have a part to play in deciding their budgets and hence be responsible in giving.

Rev. George Wanjau was appointed to St. Andrews Kirk Session to pave way for integration of the African clergy and laity in the European churches. Rev. J.L. Peterson was invited to become the ministers of St. Andrews Nairobi and it was his aim to prepare the way for a Kenyan to take his place and he rejoiced in his co-operation with Rev. George Wanjau. A report by Rev. Bernard’s trip to Africa noted that the church in Africa was playing a significant role in nation building and there was need to train members in responsible witness. The Church of Scotland needed to be flexible in its thinking about the churches overseas with a willingness to appreciate the implications of growing selfhood within these churches. He noted the changes taking place within the PCEA regarding selfhood and the place and role of the missionary. The Church of Scotland realised that it had an important task of reviewing its relationship to the churches overseas, bearing in mind the study of the self hood of the church (report dated 20th March 1973).

The General Assembly in Edinburgh 1973 noted that questions are arising on the place of the missionary from the west and the implications of annual grants from

the overseas work of the church. The church would need to prayerfully study and consult in depth with the churches in Africa.

In 1973 the term *Jitegemea* was adopted as the church motto as the church worked toward self-reliance. The thirtieth anniversary in 1973 was recognised by the GA in that year since the introduction of the local constitution in 1943. It was in this year that the General Assembly adopted *Jitegemea*, which the Moderator Rev. Jeremiah Gitau's speech termed as "self-reliance, self-consciousness and a search for relevance as well as a church firmly planted in the soil of this land". He said that it was the conviction that the challenges, religious or otherwise cannot be met by a church that is so largely dependent upon other countries for theology, personnel or even funds. He insisted that this did not mean severing partnerships but an expression of maturity and determination required for any church (report of the GA 1973, 14). The guest of honour was Charles Njonjo, a prominent politician at the time who saw *Jitegemea* as a challenge. The true meaning of *Jitegemea* would mean active hardworking African members who commit their time, talents and energy to the life and worthwhile activity of the church.

The Church of Scotland was asking questions about the new phase of the missionary work in Kenya. With the numerical extension of the church in Kenya, there was greater need for missions by the church and for pastoral care. The overseas council in Edinburgh in 1974 was in charge of missionary work. It took the theme 'Giving and Receiving'. They reported that

in the relation of church to church there is the part of churches in under-developed countries an increasing sense of the dignity of man, a desire to stand on their own feet and to show their nation that they are a church in their own right, not dependent on 'charity' from the west (Lyons, 259).

They concluded that it is the essential part of true partnership that money is seen to belong to the part of Christ's work where it was needed the most. The concept

of *Jitegemea* was rooted in the centrality of the cross with the need to allow the church to truly take root in Kenya. The church is spiritual reality with Christ as the head and Christ should be at the head maintained by the redeeming love of Christ. Just as children grow they are given responsibilities, so a young child should be given responsibilities. In the same way, the Church of Scotland was able to give responsibilities to the African leaders; the term *Jitegemea* was a term denoting a new phase of the PCEA. Gatu's initiative of *Jitegemea* was made out of good will as a process that was set by the missionaries to relinquish leadership to the African clergy. It did not arise out of rebellion, but out of need to discover the potential God has put in the PCEA to build up and use its God given resources and cultural values that do not conflict with the plan of God for man in redeeming him.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter consists of a brief summary of every thing covered in the first three chapters of the research including the findings. The summary includes a report of the findings from the interview questions in reference to the research questions. It also refers to the information obtained from the archives and the interviews. Observations based on findings for further studies are made to provide foresight into researchable work.

The historical study brings the factors within and without the church to develop and depend in African initiatives and resources. The purpose of the study is to find out the events that transpired between 1950 and 1975. Research questions were used to gather the facts of the events that transpired in the period of study.

Headings for the findings were derived from the research questions. The last research question was the basis for the conclusion for the lessons for the church in Africa.

Summary of Findings

The summary of the research organises the research questions in thematic form in which every research question forms the title of the summary of the findings from the interviews and information from books and archives.

Factors that Led to the Adoption of *Jitegemea*

Jitegemea was officially adopted within the church during the seventh General Assembly in 1973 as the theme of the church which has become the slogan of the

PCEA. The study has indicated that the missionary had the purpose from the onset of beginning the church to hand over the church to trained African leaders who would take the responsibility and take the church to greater heights. The national leaders would help in the propagation of the church.

Initiators of *Jitegemea*

The initiators included the missionaries from the time that the PCEA was formed in 1956 as an autonomous church. The missionaries paved way for the African clergy. The missionaries included Rev. Dr. Calderwood, Rev. David Steel, Rev. David Philpot, Rev. Oswald Welsh and Rev. Donald Lamont and Rev. Ian Dougall. The African clergy include Rev. John Gatu, Rev. Crispus Kiongo, Rev. Jeremiah Gitau, Rev. Charles Kareri and Rev. Bernard Muindi.

Contextual Factors that led to the Development of *Jitegemea*

The era between 1950 and 1975 began with the declaration of state of emergency in 1952 due to the activities of the *mau mau* oath. Many Christians were killed because of the allegiance to the church and especially due to the revival movement that did not condone acts that were called upon by the *mau mau*. The next trial came about during the oath taking in 1969, which Christians refused to participate in and some were tortured. The East African revival movement brought about a fresh impetus by the church to establish its roots based on biblical principles of loving God with all their heart mind and soul and loving the neighbour as oneself. The revival had had an effect in the church from 1949 especially in Chogoria. The changes that were taking place in the pre and post independence country during this time brought about a sense of nationalism in the people's ability to achieve their full

potential. The church was concerned as much as the government to seek for Kenya an authentic African identity while at the same time accepting a genuine friendship of respect on all parties in all that they had to share. Many of the Kenyans were gaining education and taking places of responsibility in the new government. This is reflected by the call of Kenyatta after independence urging the settlers to stay in order to build a united Kenya.

The Contribution of the Church of Scotland Missionaries

It has been clear that the Church of Scotland laid down the expectations of the church in Kenya. They were sensitive to the changes that were taking place from within the church. They listened to the African Christians and their leaders as they requested first for recognition of PCEA and later as they sought for integration with the European congregations in the country. They exercised a great deal of humility and patience as a father with a son as they guided the church in new avenues of responsibility. There was growing realisation that partnership with churches emerging from the foreign missionary enterprise had to be seen as partnership between churches with Christ as the head of his church. This would be achieved with the integration of the responsibilities of the missionaries and the African church leaders

Criteria Used to Come up with *Jitegemea*

The criterion that was used was derived from the situation and the status of the church, which was at the verge of the nationals taking over the running of the church. The responsibility had been passed to the African clergy and laity to be responsible for the running of the local churches in mission and evangelism. The theory of the three-selves was adopted, whereby the church sought to be self-reliant, self-

supporting and self-propagating. The representation of African clergy as officials of the General Assembly as part of a self-governing church was adopted as part a commitment that was started in the PCEA. The church was also self-reliant in paying the clergy and building local churches. Until 1967, the clergy were paid from the local churches when the church established a central fund for paying the clergy with contributions from the presbyteries while the Church of Scotland helped the church develop pension schemes. *Jitegemea* was the motto used during the building of the church headquarters. The church became self-propagating by establishing ‘nendeni’ areas to take the gospel to areas that did not have Christian witness and started churches.

The Contribution of the African Clergy and Laity

The offices of the Presbyterian Church have an emphasis of equipping the laity for the work of the church and ministry. The General Assembly has representation from the elders and clergy from every presbytery and parish. All the members of the GA ratify the decisions that are made since the Presbyterian Church is committed to the rule of ordained ministers and elders. The clergy took the responsibility to teach the members of the church of the role that they had to play in the church for wider fellowship. The elders of the church were also involved in the development of *Jitegemea*. The Presbyterian Church government has representation from the clergy and the laity up to the General Assembly.

Conclusion

One of the challenges that are facing the church in Africa today is over dependence on foreign funding and the need to develop partnership with churches while maintaining autonomy. The main focus of this study has been an investigation

of the factors that led to the development of *Jitegemea* in Presbyterian Church of East Africa. The situation and the times have changed and the context in which the theme of *Jitegemea* was adopted has changed. Even so, there are important lessons that can be highlighted from the factors that have been studied.

The goal of missions has its starting point at the preaching of the gospel so that men may come to repentance and make a commitment to know Christ and to make Him known. Wherever a missionary goes, the task of missions makes him a servant to accomplish the work of building the church in which Christ is the head. Missions is not a proclamation of ethical truths and principles, it is an invitation to all of mankind to participate in the new life in Christ that begins at the cross. Believers meet together in churches with the appointment of leaders from amongst them to oversee the church the way Christ will as he establishes his kingdom recognising Christ as the head of the church.

The missionary must work with a sensitivity to the people; aware of the changes that are taking place within the church and an investigation into the ways in which God is bearing witness to the church. The context of the PCEA guaranteed success because the missionaries recognised that Jesus Christ works through history for he calls man to be a witness to the saving grace purchased at the cross.

To begin with, *Jitegemea* was established in a **spirit of unity**. The prayer of Jesus to the disciples was for those who believe that the witness of the disciples to be united. The missionaries brought the gospel and united the church. With the challenge of racialism and nationalism, they heeded to the call of a united Church of Christ.

The second lesson for the church in Africa is the aspect of **partnership**. The missionaries and the African clergy worked hand in hand to see a church take root in Kenya that was relevant in full obedience of nurturing Christians who would take forward the mantle of missions just as they had received the gospel. The aim of

missions was clear for the missionaries who laboured to see the establishment of an indigenous Presbyterian Church in Kenya with deliberate plans to integrate the life of the church in participation with the members of the church.

The third lesson is the task of **training and equipping the Church** for the work of the church. In accordance to Ephesians 4:7-13, Christ gave different gifts to the church to build up the body in order that it may reach unity in the faith and attaining the full measure of Christ. The leaders of the church were charged to be shepherds of the church of God.

The fourth factor is **stewardship**. The young PCEA church did not have many resources but the lesson of generous and self-sacrificial giving was taught and the members excelled in the grace of giving to the work of the church and the expansion of the kingdom of God in Kenya (2 Corinthians 8:1-7).

Fifth, the church can learn the lesson of **equipping the local congregation** to support the work of the church and teach them that they have a responsibility in the church. This was expressed in the spirit that existed during the construction of the church headquarters whereby every member felt responsible for the establishment of the offices and was determined to take part.

Sixth, the church in Africa can learn that it is important to **develop initiative and local resources** that can be used to finance the church. *Jitegemea* brought about a sense of giving whereby every member of the church was charged with the responsibility of looking for ways in which they could support the work of the church. This dependence is totally on God for His work and advancement of the church.

Lastly, there is need to **develop an indigenous church** that is sensitive to the needs of the local people rather than import everything that is taught. Throughout history God has encountered with different peoples and nations in unique ways in

their culture just as he revealed himself to the gentiles (Acts 11:19). God gave his witness in the past to each particular people.

The concept of *Jitegemea* in the PCEA is one of the pivotal issues in the church. It encompasses the transition of handing over of leadership to the African clergy in a spirit of unity. Beginning with Dr. Calderwood, the foundations that he laid down together with the other missionaries that he worked with had enabled the PCEA to be established and to move on to great strides.

Propagation of the church to the utter most ends is an indigenous initiative of fulfilling the great commission and accomplishing the mission of God in the world. This was the case of the PCEA with its work spilling over to other East African countries. Training and equipping the clergy and elders in the spirit of self-government have developed national leadership. The sacrifices of the missionaries must be acknowledged in the self-sacrificing attitude that led to the Presbyterian Church in Kenya.

Recommendations

The study deals with the development of the concept of *Jitegemea* with an overview of the life of the church between 1950-1975. The study can be extended to evaluate the concept of *Jitegemea* in the church and implications for missions. The leaders of the church should encourage the members to understand the history of *Jitegemea* and its accomplishments so that they can continue supporting the church in the work of missions.

The church was established first in Kenya and the study concentrates the work of the PCEA in Kenya since the work did not intensify in other East African regions of Uganda and Tanzania. There is need for more research in the area of the development of *Jitegemea* after 1975 up to date and to evaluate its effectiveness in

missions in the new adoptions of the three-selves, which are self-theologising and self-missilogising.

REFERENCE LIST

- Allen, Roland. 1960. *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or ours?* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Anderson, Gerald H. and Thomas F. Stransky ed. 1974. *Missionary Trends No. 1: 23 essays that discuss crucial issues in missions today.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Ayandele, E.A. 1966. *The missionary impact on modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis.* London: Longmans.
- Baur, John. 1994. *2000 years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church history.* Nairobi: Pauline Publications.
- Beaver, Pierce, ed. 1970. *To advance the Gospel: Selections from the writings of Rufus Anderson.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Beetham, T.A. 1967. *Christianity of the new Africa.* London: Pall Mall Press,
- Best, John W. 1981. *Research in education.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Beyerhaus, Peter. 1964. The three-self formula. Is it built on Biblical foundations? *International Review of Missions*, 53: 393-407.
- Bujo, Benezet. 1992. *African theology in its African context.* New York: Orbis Books.
- Cox, Monte B. 1999. "Euthanasia of Mission" or "Partnership"? *An evaluative study of the policy of disengagement of the Church of Christ missionaries in rural Kenya.* Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.
- Falk, Peter. 1979. *The growth of the church in Africa.* Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House.
- Flannery, Austin P. ed. 1975. *Documents of Vatican II.* Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Gall, Meredith D., Walter R. Borg and Joyce P. Gall. 1996. *Educational research: An introduction.* White Plains: Longman.
- Gatu, John ed. 1999. Presbyterianism in East Africa. *PCEA Theology and Research Panel.* 1: 5-9.
- Gatu, John. 2001. Interview with Author, 11 June, Nairobi.
- Gilliland, Dean S. 1983. *Pauline theology of missions.* Michigan: Baker Book House.

- Hastings, Adrian. 1979. *A history of African Christianity 1950-1975*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Haynes, Jeff. 1996. *Religion and politics in Africa*. Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers Ltd.
- Howarth, Anthony. 1967. *Kenyatta*. Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House.
- Jeckinson, Williams and Hellen O'Sullivan, ed. 1991. *Trends in missions, towards the third millennium*. Mary knoll: Orbis Books.
- Kane, Hurbert. 1978. *A Concise history of the Christian world mission: A panoramic view of mission from pentecost to present*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Karanja, John K. 1999. *Founding of an African faith: A Kikuyu Anglican Christianity 1900-1945*. Nairobi: Uzima Press.
- Kibicho, Samuel G. 1978. The continuity of the African conception of God into and through Christianity. In *Christianity in independent Africa*, ed. Fashole-Luke, Edward Richard Gray, Adrian Hastings and Goswin Tasié, 370-388. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Lang Ford, Smith. 1954. Revival in East Africa. *International Review of Missions*. 18: 77-81.
- Latourette, Kenneth. 1953. The light of history on current missionary methods. *International Review of Missions*. 33: 137-143.
- Lyon, David H.S. 1998. *In pursuit of a dream. The story of the Church of Scotland's developing relationship with the churches emerging from the missionary movement in the twenty-five years from 1947-1972*. Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press.
- Mbiti, John S. 1986. *Bible theology in African Christianity*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- McGravan, Donald A. 1970. *Understanding church growth*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- MacPherson, Robert. 1970. *The Presbyterian Church in Kenya. An account of the origins and growth of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa*. Nairobi: Litho.
- Moffat, Ron ed. 1974. *The Presbyterian Church of East Africa handbook*. Nairobi: Jitegemea Publishers.
- Molyneux, Gordon K. 1993. *African Christian theology: The quest for selfhood*. Lewston: Mellen University Press.
- Muzorewa, Gwinyai H. 1985. *Origins and development of African theology*. New York: Orbis books.

- Nacipil, Emerto P. 1971. Mission but not missionaries. *International Review of Mission*, 60: 356-362.
- Ndagi, Jonathan O. 1984. *Essentials of research methodology for Nigerian educators*. Ibadan: University Press Ltd.
- Neil, Stephen. 1964. *A history of Christian mission*. England: Penguin Books.
- Nelson Martin I. 1976. *Readings in third world missions: A collection of essential documents*. California: William Carey Library.
- Nevius, John L. 1895. *Planting and development of missionary churches*. The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company.
- Ngewa, Samuel, Mark Shaw and Tite Tienou ed. 1998. *Issues in African Christian theology*. Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.
- Njoya, Timothy M. 1976. *Dynamics of change in African Christianity: An African theology through historical and socio-political change*. Ph.D. diss., Princeton University.
- Ochieng, William R. ed., 1984. *A modern history of Kenya, 1895-1980*. Nairobi: Evans.
- Parratt, John. 1987. *A reader in African Christian theology*. London: SPCK.
- Phily, Horace R.A. 1935. *God and the African in Kenya*. London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott Ltd.
- Report on the First General Assembly 1956.
- Report on the Second General Assembly 1958.
- Report on the Third General Assembly 1961.
- Report on the Fourth General Assembly 1964.
- Report on the Fifth General Assembly 1967.
- Report on the Sixth General Assembly 1970.
- Report on the Seventh General Assembly 1973.
- Report of the Practice and Procedure Manual of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, 1998. By Joseph Kamau Kamere, Chairman. Nairobi: Publishing Solutions.
- Report on the St. Andrews Consultation, 1965.
- Roland, Oliver. 1952. *The missionary factor in East Africa*. London: Longmans.

- Shenk, Wilbert R., 1983. *Henry Venn - missionary statesman*. Mary knoll: Orbis Books,
- Shumacher, John. 1990. *The third world and the twentieth century church*. Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House.
- Taylor, William D., ed. 2000. *Global missiology for the twenty-first century*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Uka, Emele Mba. 1980. *Moratorium: Ideology or utopia? A sociological interpretation of an African response to Christian mission*. Ph.D. diss., Drew University, Text-fiche.
- Warren M.A.C. 1950. *The missionary obligation of the church in the present situation with consideration of the radical new relationships between east and west*. *International Review of Missions*, 34: 393-408.
- Warren M.A.C. 1955. Nationalism as an international asset. *International Review of Missions*, 44: 385-393.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

- A. African members of Presbyterian Church of East Africa.
- 1) What position did you hold in the church between 1950-1975? For how long did you serve?
 - 2) What led to the formation of *Jitegemea* in the PCEA during this time?
 - 3) Who were the initiators of *Jitegemea*? With whom was the idea shared?
 - 4) What did the initiators intend to achieve?
 - 5) What was the reason at the formation of the idea?
 - 6) What historical events were happening that led to the idea? Were there other events happening in the country at that time that encouraged or favoured the birth and growth of the idea of *Jitegemea*?
 - 7) Was it necessary to develop the concept of *Jitegemea*?
 - 8) Were there any conflicts? If so, what were they?
How were they resolved?
 - 9) Did the missionary participate in the development of the concept of *Jitegemea*?
 - 10) How did the African church leadership perceive the idea of *Jitegemea*?
- B. Missionaries from the Church of Scotland Mission
- 1) How long were you in the mission field in Kenya under the Church of Scotland Mission? What office did you hold?
 - 2) Are you familiar with the term *Jitegemea* in the PCEA?

- 3) Are you familiar with the concept of the three selfs in missions and church planting?
- 4) What were the reasons for the missionaries to hand over the church to the national church leaders?
- 5) What were the methods used by the Church of Scotland in the handing over process to the nationals?
- 6) What is your perception of the PCEA working philosophy of *Jitegemea*?

JOY WAMBUI MINDO

OBJECTIVE

MISSIONARY PASTOR AND TEACHER

EDUCATION

1989-1992 LAISER HILL ACADEMY
KENYA CERTIFICATE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

1994-1998 EGERTON UNIVERSITY, NJORO
B. Sc. NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT
(RANGE MANAGEMENT).

2000-2002 NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THEOLOGY
M.A. MISISONS (CANDIDATE)

EXPERIENCE

1999-2000 MISSIONARY PASTOR, AFRICA GOSPEL CHURCH,
NGORON, EAST BARINGO.

PERSONAL DETAILS

DATE OF BIRTH	1975
SEX	FEMALE
NATIONALITY	KENYAN

CONTACTS

P.O. BOX 903, NAKURU,

P.O. BOX 123, KERICHO.

TEL. 0733 922-203