Competition and Conflict between the Africa Inland Mission and Church Missionary Society in Nandi (1939-1990).

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DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

This research thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or a diploma in any other examination body.

_____ _____

Bernard Kosgey Date

Supervisors Declaration

This research thesis has been submitted to us as the student's supervisors

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Rev. Dr. Joseph Wandera Date

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the St. Paul's Theological College Kapsabet whom through Students and Staff interaction on Land court case between members of AIC and the College challenged me to research on this topic.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses at the conflict and competition between the African Inland Mission (AIM) and Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Nandi (1939-1990). The research attempts to examine the nature, effects, conflicts and competitions of AIM and CMS and impact their relationship on the Nandi community. The study analyzes how conflict and competition developed from 1939 as soon as the CMS came to Nandi, because the AIM believed that Nandi was its sphere of influence after the Kikuyu Conference of 1913, zoned the country into regions with the aim of eliminating conflicts and scrambles over converts in the interior of Kenya. The arrival of the CMS from Maseno in 1939 therefore was the beginning of rivalry between the two major denominations in Nandi. This study recounts the various forms of rivalries and how they gradually increased such that by the 1980's the rivalry had considerably intensified. Several factors catalyzed the rivalry these were: political, cultural, colonial and religious. These conflicts have featured through several faces for example land, sponsorships of schools and hospitals and even through social and political fields. This thesis attempts to recommend possible ways of mitigating the conflict that has been in existence for 70 years.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AACC; All Africa Council of Churches

ACK: Anglican Church of Kenya

AEAM : Association of Evangelical of Africa and Madagascar

AIC: Africa In Church

AIM : Africa Inland Mission

ATR : African Traditional Religion

BCMS; Bible Church Missionary Society

CMS: Church Missionary Society

CPE: Certificate of Primary Education

CPK: Church of Province of Kenya

CSM: Church of Scotland Mission

DC: District Commissioner

DEB: District Education Board

FAM: Friends Association of Mission

FGC ; Full Gospel Churches

IBEA CO: Imperial British East African Company

KAR: Kings Africa Rifles

LNC: Local Native Councils

MP: Member of Parliament

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NCCK: National Council of Churches of Africa

PCC ; Parish Church Council

PCEA: Presbyterian Church of East Africa

PTA: Parents Teachers Association

SA: Salvation Army

SDA: Seventh Day Adventist

UMM: United Methodist Mission

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Background of the study

Christianity in Nandi County has a long history. The introduction of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Africa Inland Church (AIM) to Nandi can be traced back to 1909 and 1913 respectively. There are other mission societies which made their presence in Nandi at an early period. These included the Catholic in (1930) the Seventh Day Adventist in (1940) and Roho Church in (1948) (Gehman 2013.15). Other denominations for example the Church of God, Pentecostal Assembles of God (PAG) and African Israel Nineveh (AIN) migrated from Luhya land to Nandi gradually through intermarriages and introduction of tea plantation in Nandi Hills in 1940 (Gehman 2013,153). This led to competition for resources such as land and converts. The CMS, AIM and other denominations such as the SDA, PAG and the Roman Catholic Church, continued with the mission work and they claimed a huge following in Kapsabet with the aim of utilizing resources such as land to build churches and institutions, so as to win acceptance from the natives. However, this competition for resources later gave to became competition and conflict among the, the dominant missionary societies, AIM AND CMS. After the inception of the Church in Nandi in 1909 its influence has spread to various corners of the county.

According to the National Survey of Churches of Kenya, Nandi County is expected to have, 1400 dominations by 2010 (Kibicho 2004, 67). However, as the churches were spreading, the CMS, AIM and other denominations competed to acquire land to build institutions such as Kapsabet Bible College (1950) for the AIC, St. Paul's Theological College for the Anglican Church (1963), Baraton University for the SDA (1968) and the Roman Catholic convent at Chepterit (1950), Kapsabet Girls (1940), Chepterit Girls (1956).

The study endeavored to discuss the historical background of the Church in Nandi County by focusing on CMS and AIM and the factors that brought about the competition and conflict among the CMS and AIM in the spread of the Christianity in Nandi County.

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The intensity of conflict between 1980 and 1990 is an area of concern that opens up the rivalry between CMS and AIM that was in existence since 1939. Therefore the study seeks to suggest possible ways on how the church could mitigate such competition and conflict among members of the church in future.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The introduction of Christian mission in Nandi region had a positive impact upon the society. However, this development also led to strained relations between and among members of the various religious groups in Nandi. This thesis investigates the history, nature and effects of the conflict and competition between the AIM and the CMS.

1.3 Significance of study

The ACK and AIC are the oldest and the largest denominations in Nandi. While considerable studies have been done on the positive role of the AIM and the CMS, not much scholarly research has been conducted on the fractious nature of relations between the two religious groups in Nandi and its effects. Past studies on mission work in Nandi have tended to focus on individual religious groups. An important perspective of this study is that it simultaneously focuses on two missionary groups hence bringing in a much needed comparative perspective to the study of missionary history in Nandi region.

1.4 Research objectives

1. To evaluate the historical background of mission work in Nandi focusing on AIM and CMS from 1939 and 1990
2. To trace the history of development of competition among the AIM and CMS in Nandi from 1939- 1990
3. To assess the effects of competition and conflict among the AIM and CMS from 1939- 1990
4. To recommend possible ways of bringing harmony between the religious groups in contemporary times.

1.5 Research questions

1. What is the history of mission work of CMS and AIM in Nandi?
2. What factors brought competition among AIM and CMS in Nandi?

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3. What were the effects of the competition and conflicts among the AIM and CMS on Christianity in Nandi?
4. What are the possible ways to mitigate the competition and conflict that has been there among CMS and AIM in Nandi?

1.6 Literature review

1.6.1 Introduction

There is extensive literature on the history and impact of missionary societies in Kenya and their contribution to the development of Africa and Kenya in particular. In this literature review, the study intends to highlight areas of conflict and competition beginning from the time of missionary arrival to Kenya after the completion of the Kenya - Uganda Railway. Secondly, the review shows the strategies towards ecumenism which led to doctrinal conflicts between missionary societies. And thirdly, discuss conflicts between missionaries and Africans due acquisition of land.

1.6.2 History of Background of Mission work in Kenya

According to Baur, and Sundkler the completion of the Uganda railway opened up Kenya to several mission agencies. In 1885, with the establishment of the Uganda Protectorate, the remaining area between Uganda and Coast was under the Queen Victoria protective wings and was called East African Protectorate until it became Kenya Colony in 1919 (Baur,.1994. 254,Sundkler.2000.559).

The missionaries therefore came to Kenya with settlers and were granted large possession of large chunks of land, like the settlers. This did not go well with the Africans. The missionary concentrated in two areas western Kenya around Kisumu and central Kenya around Nairobi. In Rift Valley, which was sparsely populated, the Maasai and Nandi were so hostile to the foreigners that which made mission work in these areas to be done later. Of the twelve original mission societies, nine were Protestant. As compared to the Uganda and Tanganyika, Kenya was seen as Protestant country (Baur, 1994,254). The first missionaries to come to Kenya was the CMS. In 1888, CMS were in Kitui in the heart of Kambaland and called their station *Mlango* "the gate". In 1900, they built Nairobi headquarters in Kabete. This headquarters was handled by the family of Leakey

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whose members became important for archeological achievements in the region. The other missionaries went to Maseno through Uganda in 1906: and settled on the border between Luo and Abaluhya; they made this place a centre of education in Kisumu region (Baur 1994, 255). The Presbyterian or Church of Scotland (CSM) came in 1898 and build their headquarters in Thogoto which is famous for the hospital and school. The CSM worked only mostly among the Kikuyu (Baur.1994.255,NCCK, 2013:2).

The third missionary organization, the United Methodist Mission (UMM)moved from the coast to the interior in 1910 and settled in Meru following an evangelist called *Golbariti.* The rest of mission societies are referred to as faith mission from America. The first was (AIM) which later changed to AIC. The founder Cameroon Scott started evangelization in Ukambani. The society spread to all parts of Kenya, including the Rift Valley where they were the first evangelizers and build the headquarters in Kijabe. In 1907, they had the off short gospel mission society in Kiambu. The other movements went to western Kenya for example the Quakers in Kaimosi under Friends African Mission (FAM), and Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) and the Canadian Pentecostals. The latter appealed to the emotional African character of the congregation being distinguishable from African Independent Churches (AICS) that began to enrich the Kenyan religious scene from 1914 onwards (Baur 1994:251, NCCK, 2013:3). As stated by Baur the missionaries contributed positively to the development of Christianity in Kenya.

1.6.3 Early Protestant Ecumenism

Protestants in Kenya founded a unique landscape with its multiplicity of early missions and also early ecumenical efforts. Protestants agreed to cooperate in the course of their work hence agreed on spheres of influence to mitigate the possible competition and felt that this was to be overcome by a united church (Baur 1994-256). The leader of this movement was Archdeacon J.J Willis of Maseno (Bishop of Uganda in 1912 where western Kenya belonged). He held four meetings from 1908 to 1911 at Thogoto and decided on a federation of missions as the first step towards a united church. The missionary groups agreed to work on "converging lines" in doctrine, discipline and

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liturgical matters. The agreement was only signed by the CMS, AIC, the UMM. The Quakers refused to take part in the Holy Communion service (Baur, 1994, 256).

This led to a protest of Anglo Catholic Bishop Weston of Zanzibar and who reported the matter to Arch Bishop of Canterbury for heresy. The Arch Bishop called a commission to discuss the matter. The commission resolved to refuse the idea of federation and prohibited inter- communion with other denominations. The council was to uphold valid ministry according to the Anglican understanding and had nothing to do with the interchange of pulpits (Baur, 1994:256).

The federation of mission could not work because of divergent doctrinal understandings. The Anglicans protected the idea of episcopacy. The AIM and other faith led denominations upheld discipline on drinking, dancing and smoke on her members. The latter even the conference of 1918 headed by Bishop Weston never discussed anything on federation but agreed on alliance of missionary societies in British East Africa. The denominations had a lot of divergent views and as such never agreed on genuine unity. The AIM totally refused any idea of unity or even alliance. It also refused the idea of joint theological training for fear of being defiled by the CMS unless they agreed to uphold the scripture as the final authority on all matters (Baur, 1994:257, Gehman, 2013:154).

As explained by Baur, the attempt to bring a federation of mission especially the CMS, CSM and union with the AIM was a complete failure for fear and suspicion of each other. They could disagreed on doctrinal matters which could have equally affected the congregation (Baur, 1994, 154).

The spheres of influence which had been discussed in consecutive meetings under Bishop Willis made the AIM and others to feel that the areas they had been given was theirs and no other mission could interfere with them and so the case in Nandi. Though Baur, (1994:257) argues that the missionaries attempted to bring harmony between the individual missionary societies this argument was not satisfactory.

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It has been shown by Sundkler (2000:156) that Kenya was open to outside influence by the completion of the railway line, however this did not cure the missionary conflict despite the fact they set up missionary stations. Even though Krapft praised the Kamba community as active carriers of the new ideas to the Inland people, the new Missionaries never held this view. The celebration of the work of Kraft attracted eight missionaries societies five German, two British and one American (Sundkler 2000:156). In fact, commemoration of Kraft's death in 1881 inspired German mission to enter Kenya and Bavarian Lutheran mission set out for Africa. It was also a trying moment for missionaries of whom, out of nine missionaries sent six died because of a hostile climate.

The CMS took lead in penetrating to the interior of East Africa, having been earlier established by Krapft and Rebman. The missionary occupation to Kenya was related to the British imperialist and economic enterprise with the Victorian favor of Christian evangelism. The IBEA encouraged CMS missionaries to open stations along the route to the interior. Where the IBEA set their foot, the CMS was also there (Sundkler 2000:557). However, the missionaries aimed at spreading Christianity. The closeness with Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA. CO), looked more as supporters of imperialistic strategists therefore deviating from their calling.

The American interdenominational group (the AIM) was founded in Kamba station in 1895. Other stations of the movement followed. They were seen as the chain of mission reaching beyond Kenya. The Roman Catholics began their work in Kabaa in 1912 and had difficulties on baptizing their new converts. The AIM had only baptized 161 in 1921 in a period of 25 years (Sundkler 2000:558).

1.6.4 Conflict between missionaries and Africans due to cultural practices

In Taveta the CMS missioners were welcome because they introduced development by stressing industrial development, agriculture and also brick making. The idea was good, but unfortunately most of the stations were composed of displaced people. They came with different customs and ideas. In Taveta, a crisis occurred revolving around the burial

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of the pastor's own mother. Traditional Taveta burial insists that after a lapse of a time the grave should be opened by dependents. When the time came, the pastor followed the Taveta traditional customs. This caused the congregation to split.(Sundkler 2000,557).

1.6.5 Land conflicts between Missionaries and Africans

The other problem was the issue of land. Ten thousand acres of land was given to Missionaries to plant sisal plantation by the colonial government. (Sundkler 2000:558).The railway signaled scramble for missionary occupation. Within 10 years nine Protestant and three Catholic missions began in the highlands and in western Kenya, forming the outline of mission map of the country. Strong denominational competition caused some stations to be founded with express intention of preventing the opponents from possessing the land (Sundkler 2000:559).

The mission benefited from the allocation of large tracts of land ranging from 600 to 3000 acres, while this was helpful to the missionaries to plant coffee and tea it was not agreeable to the Africans because it negated their function as the voice of the Africans.
The impression remained that the foreign mission were "grabbers" of the peoples land. As a result, there was resistance against the missionaries at the time in the highlands. This caused the fundamental question on land (Sundler 2000:559). Missionaries competed for large tracts of land but failed to adequately deal with the issue of conflict and competition among the fellow missionaries and congregation. This equally caused conflict to the Africans whose land they had taken and relegating Africans to reserves though they claim to be fighting for the interest of the Africans.(Sundkler,2000:5559)

Like Sundkler (2000, 559), Hasting (1994, 423) states that mission societies acquired large tracts of land. Some of the faith led churches such as Salvation Army, AIM and Quakers took lead in the acquisition (Hastings).The AIM in Kenya desired to own large tracts of land. This motivated the missionaries desire to implement the current dominant Southern Model, which required space for a large village with plenty of land to cultivate and on which missionaries would exercise control, (Hastings, 1994:424)

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The desire was to cultivate large estates profitably in order to make the mission self supporting. Missioners needed large plantations for commercial purposes. They felt that what they owned would finally return to the Africans unlike the settlers. This was simply justification of what they had done (Hastings 1994: 426).

The total acreage of missionaries in 1910 was 90000 acres. The CMS had 64000 acres at Kibwezi. It also had 3,000 acres in Kikuyu. The CMS had 1200 at Frere town, and 1,123 at Taveta. The FAM had 1000 acres in Kaimosi and while the Consolata Fathers had 3000 acres at Nyeri, UMM had 6000 acres at Tana River and the Sisters at Mangu 5000. The colonial government attempted to stop this, limiting it to few acres after 1910.(Hastings,1994,427)

The history of the use of missionary land in Kenya is a pretty sorry story, in which missionaries conflicted with the Africans. For example at Kibwezi the CSM never used the land acquired, instead it was later hired to sisal plantation (Hastings,1994,427).The story of Kikuyu was worse as this was a highly populated area. However in 1898, the local chief refused to sell more than 44 acres when pressed for 100. A few years' later Scott, head of the mission, persuaded the government to turn it into 3000 while leaving the Africans on the land as captive making the population to be defined now as "squatters" in 1909. In that same year, the successor of Scott called H.E Scott imposed labor agreement on "squatters" where they were obliged to work for the mission for 3 months a year to receive one acre as a personal plot but had to sell surplus products to the mission on the cost determined by mission administrators of the mission. This instigated conflict between the Africans and missionaries who were viewed by the former as collaborators and part of the oppressors. Scott had criticized the missionary land grabbing while at Nyasaland but when he came to central Kenya he, in the contrary acquired 1000 acres for himself, which was sold privately by his nephew after his death (Hastings 1994: 427).

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The Kikuyu used the word "*gutiri mubia na muthungu*" meaning, "there is no difference between a missionary and a settler. The statement reflected the basic realities- the way the missionary reacted to the laborers' was similar to the way the settlers reacted to the labourers. The way Rhodes an atheists and Imperialist of Rhodesia acquired land was not different from the way Mackninnon a devout Scottish Christian of Kenya acquired Land from Africans. Both behaved the same way when dealing with the African demands. There was no difference between a missionary and the settler. (Hastings, 1994, 427).

Although missionary acquisition of Land as showed by Hastings(,1994,428) sanctioned the activity of grabbing land as a means of creating income generating activity(IGA) for the mission churches ultimately, this became the genesis of conflict between missionaries and Africans and Africans and colonial Government.

In conclusion, the missionaries acquired large tracts of land with pretexts of protecting it for the Africans; they properly wanted it for IGA for purpose of finances. This became a source of conflict with the Africans because the Missionaries had graphed their land. By taking land just like the colonial government the Missionaries as such became agents of conflict as well.

1.6.6 **Effects of competition among Missionaries**

Oliver argues that the Kikuyu conference of 1913 had been widely claimed as a landmark in the ecumenical Protestant churches of the world. Certainly the conference raised issues which were significant. For example, what was the proper proximity of each mission station from another in order to avoid future conflicts and competition? (Oliver, 1997, 223)

During this time missions had marked fully the territories for evangelism. But with the development of European farms and with the growth of transport industry, African Christians began to travel from one sphere to another in search of employment. The CMS

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were the first to set up effective missions in towns especially, Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu which were excluded from the spheres.

With time pastoral problems emerged calling for cooperation between different missions. Catechists dismissed by one mission for misbehavior would be engaged by another a few miles away, often at higher salary compared with that one which they had lost. Christians under discipline from another could transfer their allegiance to another. Congregations from gospel mission Church for example, would ask to be received from Anglicans or Presbyterians who offered superior facilities for education (Oliver1997:224). Archdeacon W. J.J Willis raised this concern to address pastoral competition and indiscipline within the rival European missions to a higher level. Archdeacon Willis understood the embedded consequences, because such in fighting among the Christians would ease Muslim infiltration into small mission stations.

He therefore advocated for the mission to operate on "converging lines", hence requested of recognition by all mission for a single standard for church membership. Archdeacon proposed for, a single code of discipline, a common attitude towards certain native customs, and a common form of single worship which was sufficient and familiar to the Africans. He also advocated for a similar course of training African ministers based upon a common recognition of scripture and the creeds (Oliver,1994,225).

Willis and Scott put forward these proposals throughout the various conferences up to 1913 this stated the need to form a federation of missions. Despite this attempt the proposals led to problems due to the different doctrinal differences on episcopacy and ordination and the presbyter type of administration. In 1918, Bishop Weston who had opposed the first meeting attended this conference and presented a list of simple proposals for a united church which could have been accepted in the first conference of 1913. But C.E Hulbert of the AIM declared that "no basis was possible which replaced the church above the Word of God, no ritual which would take the place of personal communion and no ecclesiastical control which limit personal liberty in vital things (Oliver 1970:228).

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The other problem was that after the First World War churches could not any more discuss the idea of a native church but discuss federation or alliance of Churches because each mission were controlled the Political Home countries and Churches (Oliver 1970: 229) Oliver shows clear disagreements between individual missionaries on doctrinal and administrative matters and failed to agree on even a single matter. How then could they unite the Africans?

1.6.7 Conflict due to doctrinal issues

Hilbrandt highlights that in 1908, a meeting was held in Maseno with the major Protestant missions working in Kenya to discuss the idea of having a united Church in Kenya. Similarly a conference was called at Thogoto, as earlier stated. Those who attended were CMS, Nilotic independent mission the Lutheran Missions, FAM , SDA and CMS.(Hilbrandt, 1981:228)

The Kikuyu Conference of 1913 was attended by several missionary societies where a constitution was drawn. The representative of AIM stated that they will only join such a united church if the constitution made it clear that the church would remain true to the scriptures and the gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ. The difficulties which arose during the discussion were concerning baptism (Baptists) and confirmation (Anglicans). Amid a lot of enthusiasm the constitution was signed by representatives of AIM, CMS, and CSM. The FAM and SDA never signed the constitution. What followed was a joint the Holy Communion. Churches like FAIM, SDA GMS never participated in Holy Communion. After the communion service members of the Anglican Church objected to the fact that the members of the AIM and other non-Anglican missions had taken part in the communion service.

Local Anglicans wrote a letter to Canterbury challenging the practice of allowing non Anglicans participating in taking Holy Communion together the idea of united Church could not because the Anglican Church differed with CMS, AIM and UMM on the issue of communion. In 1923, the Anglicans also hindered cooperation to the alliance of Protestant missions when the CMS split to form two factions the Bible Church Missionary Society (BCMS) and Church Missionary Society (CMS). Another attempt was proposed to the AIM on forming a united Church. They refused the idea and stated

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that it was not within the spirit of original agreement of 1913 and 1918. AIM withdrew from the alliance (Hilbrandt, 1981:230).

The AIM stated that it would only join the alliance if theological differences had been clarified. But after 1932 it no longer took part in the discussions of a united Church (Hilbrandt, 1981:230). The other denominations such as Anglicans, Presbyterians Methodists, Lutherans and Moravians in Kenya and Tanzania continued with fellowships, yet they were unable to form a united church which had not been possible to date (Hilbrandt 1981: 231).

As earlier stated the missioners attempted to develop a united church Hilbrandt (1981:231) argue that it was a complete failure because of differences that came with missionaries that could ideally have united the new converts. But instead they became a source conflict and competition.

Strayer (1978:78) argued that the missionaries especially from the CMS were opposed entirely to the African cultural practices. After the First World War, the CMS devoted its efforts on saving the African individuals from their heathen surroundings with little or no attempt to redeem the African culture. The creation of boarding schools was aimed at separating the new converts from the perceived heathen culture. The missionaries also eliminating local beverages. Abstinence from beverages became for the missionaries, a symbol of genuine conversion and also a means of identifying those who were perceived as converts and those who were not (Strayer 1978:78).

However there were limits to the CMS action on the question of alcohol for mission itself never imposed total abstinence as a condition for baptism. This was product of a more tolerant Anglican tradition, which in fact represented a major point of conflict between the CMS on the one hand, and AIM and Presbyterian on the other. This was the main reason for the failure of deliberation advocated by Protestants. Certain groups of African Christians, apparently seeing the issue of drinking as a potent symbol of their new identity and religious commitment sometimes took matters in their own hands and went

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further than the missionaries themselves (Strayer, 1978 & 79). At Mbale in the Taita hills, for example, church elders without consulting the resident missionaries decided that the drinkers could not be baptized or have their children baptized and that the offenders must be avoided as much as possible (Strayer 1978:78).

Likewise at Kabare, African Christians resolved to forbid drinking among 'readers' and impose a fine of one month's work amounting to Ksh 5 on those who transgressed this prohibition. The Africans took the initiative to defining the cultural imperatives of the mission community. The use of drums and mixed singing during Christmas celebration was discouraged against the wish of the missionaries (Strayer 1978:79). Elders also forbade the missionaries from seeing certain cultural dances and ceremonies.

The other area of misunderstanding was family organization which involves role of women on issues of polygamy, bride wealth, inheritance of wives and sexual morality. Missionaries were concerned about women whose husbands put away when they became Christians. It is of essence to note that when the missionaries condemned polygamy, there was hostility among women and thus caused minimal growth of mission in the twentieth century (Strayer: 1978:78). The CMS discussed the matter in Lambeth Conference in 1907 and stated that baptism should not be denied to a man having more than one wife, though any man taking subsequent wives would be disciplined. This idea was not exposed for fear of encouraging polygamous marriages, though the conference had adopted the agenda (1978: 79).

On dowry Missionaries were opposed and declared that those who engaged in the practice of paying bride-wealth would not be baptized. This failed because the practice went on as usual and some even approached missionaries about loans for such purposes (Strayer 1978:9). In 1911 the missionaries established a policy for mixed marriages where parents of a "heathen" girl had to agree to put their daughters under Christian instruction before receiving payment from the Christian young man whom he planned to

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marry since a church wedding for such a case was forbidden for a Christian. The mission recommended a civil ceremony in such instances of mixed marriages.

The compromise did not satisfy everyone. The conflict over Christian and non- Christian marriages became an issue to mission for a longer time (Strayer 1978: 80). Missionaries regarded wife inheritance a form of oppression and exploitation hence Missionaries discouraged it. The missionaries saw this as a way of comodifying women and treating them as moveable property. The missionaries attempted to support the widows financially to disinterest them from being inherited and also used the local district officers to safeguard the rights of widows.

Another practical action of mission was to secure suitable wives for converted young men. Women were regarded as backward compared to men as a result the missionaries created boarding schools for women to create suitable wives for converted men. This they started in Kahuhia in 1923, and Kabete 1925 which developed as a refuge school for girls (Strayer 1978: 31).

Regulations set by missionaries sought to encourage the African convert to live as a Christian, as away require by the missionaries. Instead however it uprooted Africans from their values and traditions that held them together. This forced the Africans to live in duality of cultures. One could have one official wife and also have other wives without any problem**. (Temu:1974: 6)**

Temu (1974:7) argues that from 1874 until end of century, British Protestant missions worked mainly at the coast. The main duty was confined to freed slaves at Frere Town as a free slave resettlement. Apart from the challenge of repatriation of freed slaves, the survival of the mission was uncertain.

Muslims were opposed to missionaries because the missionary way of life was opposed to the Islamic faith. Hence missionaries were insecure but worked without freedom (Temu, E 1974: 8). On the other hand Africans had no wish to be Christians but they

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allowed missionaries to live among them both for economic reasons, prestige and military strength. The missionaries were depended on the Africans for their safety, food and shelter, and were almost completely subservient to them (Temu, E, 1974;9).

The establishment of British rule in Kenya ushered in new reality in 1890s.
Missionaries became part of the establishment. Their future in Kenya was assured. The new administration gave them the protection they needed to expand to the heavily populated highlands dealing with slave trade without fear of the coastal Arabs. The completion of the Uganda Railway between1989 to 1905 facilitated the occupation of the highlands by European and missionaries. The latter started acquiring large tracts of land. The Muslim coast became a secondary consideration. This triggered conflict with Africans who saw missionaries as intruders and grabbers just like the colonial government. (Temu 1972: 9).

The focal point of the mission was the mission house in which the missionaries gathered their converts in order to teach them western civilization and Christianity. Western Education rather than Christianity is most probably what attracted the Africans to the mission house after the First World War. By 1920's the demand for Africans for education was widespread and the mission house became inadequate to meet this demand. Ironically the mission policy found its chief critics in the majority of Africans who had passed through the mission. Essentially the mission taught and demanded total obedience, neither of which could be reconciled with the nationalism of the Africans led by mission graduates.
Politically the mission became the adjunct of the administration. On the social scene missionaries maintained an essentially Victorian ethic. They were deeply opposed to African cultural nationalism (Temu, 1972: 9). The nationalism united under Kikuyu Central Association in 1925. The Agikuyu broke away from mission schools and set up their own independent school and churches all over central Kenya.

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The loyalists finally confronted with the mission lead structure through education and religion, which finally led to the proliferation of AICs (Temu 1972: 10).

Temu shows that in the initial stages the missionary presence in the coast of East Africa entirely depended on the natives for security food and housing. But this changed immediately after 1890s due to colonial occupation, the motive changed. Putting to question the intention of missionaries (Temu1972, 11).

Mercy Amba Oduyoye argues (Oduyoye1972:470) that the view of Africans on ecumenism differed from that of other parts of the world. The ordinary African had rarely regarded the multiple missionary presence as a problem but looked at it as inevitable things as shauri ya Mungu , a (matter to be left to God.).

Oduyoye (1972,471) states that at national/political independence, Africa Christians churches equally sought independence from mission led churches. But this euphoria soon lost meaning due to Neo-colonialism, Africans never saw the essence of division based on denomination and desired for ecumenism. According to Clement Janda Africans began to emerge from the colonial past of the 1950's under the All Africa Conference of Churches AACC in 1952 Ghana and surface in 1956 .

As a reaction to colonialism and again according to Janda the Roman Catholics and Anglicans formed Sudan Council of Churches (Oduyoye, 1973:470). This was followed by Swaziland, Lesotho, Liberia, Namibia and Uganda. The council was joined by the Orthodox Church in Africa. The council agreed to recognise each other's baptism and joint theological education was among the most visible achievements (Oduyoye 1972: 47).

Evangelicals became more visible in Africa with the establishment of the offices of the Association Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar (AEAM) in 1966 in Nairobi. This movement was seen as denial of structural sin 'and focusing on individual sins. The movement was perceived as anti ecumenism but in actual sense all African churches were evangelical' and 'ecumenical elements' (Oduyoye 1973:472). The other challenge the ecumenical body needed to deal with was to review the responses of movement of

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Christians along, non- denominational lines and those of the AICs (Oduyoye 1973:473). Oduyoye further argued that in 1960, Africa was torn apart by evangelicals' and ecumenicals. Division further emerged on just who was the true Christian was seeking the lost souls of Africa for Christ, and who were after exploiting the wealth of Africa. The AEAM was born in 1966, shortly after the AACC was formed and they looked like antagonists (Oduyoye 1973:485). It is of essence to note that these attempts to unify further divided Africans the more.

1.6.8 Attempts towards a United Native church.

The document on NCCK (NCCK, 2013VIII) argued that the sphere of influence failed because missionaries wanted to go to populated places due to many converts. Some missionaries agreed to establish and respect the sphere of influence where each would work. The aim was to help not confuse Africans on the issue of Denomination and not to waste effort through overlap of preaching to same people by same Missionaries.

This also later failed, due to mobility of converts. Some believers felt that they were denied right to chose the denominations they liked. The other challenge was discipline: If a Christian was punished he/she moved to another mission station and was readily welcomed by the other with even better terms. Despite the criticism spheres of influence played a vital role in evangelization of the populous areas. It also helped to standardize translation of Bible into vernacular languages and brought missions together for fellowship. The mission societies in the field agreed to form committee meetings to agree to work within the spheres of influence to avoid conflicts in the field. Missionaries held meetings that later came up to be known united Missionary Conference of 1913. The first meeting was held in Vihiga in 1907 and attended by FAM, CMS and other missions in Western Kenya. The second meeting was held in Maseno in 1908 the CMS headquarters and the meeting was represented by members of AIM,SDA, CMS and FAM (Quakers). The meeting focused on issues touching on evangelism and translation. The meeting agreed on translation of the Word God among the different dialects of Luo and Abaluyia languages.

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The third meeting was held at Maseno in 1909 and missionaries agreed to work towards a united church. This was discussed at a meeting held in June 1909 in Nairobi. The Arch Deacon of Kivirondo, Ven JJ Willis presented a paper on the need for having a native church in East Africa. He argued that it was important for all mission to avoid unnecessary differences and double standards. The paper proposed common standard of members as Christians, same code of discipline and similar attitude towards African customs and equally recommended a common training of clergy. Dr Henry Scott of CMS supported the proposal of Willis (NCCK: 2013).

A subcommittee was appointed to make a concrete recommendation on the steps towards the formation of a united church. The conference adopted to establish a united self governing, self supporting and self extending Native Church as the ideal of the Missionary work. When the recommendation was sent to the home church in England, the recommendations were not accepted by the home church hence there was a dead- lock for two years (NCCK.2013.4).

This led to the united conference of 1913. The conference proposed to form a federation of missions so long as it agreed on the Holy Scriptures as supreme rule of faith and practice and creeds as fundamentals for Christian belief. The scripture were viewed as Holy, with absolute authority. There was need for recognition of common membership between churches in the federation. Two sacraments were agreed on 2 sacraments, Baptism and Holy Communion and a common form of church organization. The following members ascended to the new constitution CMS, AIM, CSM and UMC. The others such as Quakers, Lutheran mission and Nilotic mission refused to append their signatures to the new constitution. (NCCK 2013,:4). This ultimately led to formation of the NCCK. But of interest to this research is that the agreement was not unanimous which often caused conflict and disagreements.

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Though NCCK is perceived as an ecumenical body not all church members are part of it`. Members often differed on doctrinal matters which could have been dealt with without any conflict.

1.6.9 Conflict and Competition between AIM and CMS in Nandi

Christopher Rutto (1994:70) in his thesis seeks to respond to the coming of Christianity in Nandi as missionaries came into contact with Nandi community. He pays attention to the history of AIC and CPK. He analyses the social and political organization of the Nandi at the beginning of 19th Century showing the reconstruction of the Nandi social identity which later became a tool to be exploited by colonial government for indirect rule to control the Nandi community and became a cause of conflict. (Rutto, 1994, 13). Rutto presents the view that before the coming of missionaries the Nandi community was organized, socially and politically. The community was at peace with itself but the coming of missionaries, positively and negatively changed the way of life in the community, bringing new values that later became a source of conflict (Rutto, 1994, 15).

He also highlights the fact that though the CMS gave land to the AIC in Chebisaas and relocated to Maseno in 1912 the CMS later came back in 1939 following invitations from Chief Elijah Cheruiyot and Pastor Seroney after disagreeing with Gimnyigei who had been promoted as Pastor. (Rutto, 1994, 25). Rutto further highlights that this conflict never stopped rather, it became a constant cause of disagreement emerging in many phases culminating in social and political volatility. Missionaries became source of conflict because instead of fostering peace, they became agents of conflict.

The African revival movement equally failed to reconcile the two major denominations but instead the revival created more conflicts. By challenging the values that were dear to the community such as culture, missionaries destroyed social fabrics what guided the community together. (Rutto, 1994, 57).

Rutto gives an elaborate history of the CMS and AIM when they arrived in Nandi in 1909 and 1913 respectively. He equally highlights the fact that as they arrived in Nandi, they disrupted the mutual and harmonious co- existence, in the community, bringing in new values that divided the Nandi. He also shows areas of conflict between the AIM and CMS. The arrival of the African revival movement never brought neutrality but further

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sided with the CMS worsening the situation further. Accordingly this conflict ends up in divided Nandi into Mosop whose majority were AIC and Aldai whose majority were ACK.

However Rutto's work clearly shows the nature of conflict and competition and the effects of this conflict to the community. The research study hopes to show how this conflict has affected the Nandi community and also show that the nature of all these conflicts are primarily religious issues that originated from missionaries but have been played out in different phases through, church plots, sponsorships of schools and church sponsored health centers, to show political prominence and influence in Nandi between the two denominations. I hope equally to show how this conflict has diminished the churches role of mission by engaging in unnecessary conflict and competition. This shows how Politics exploited the conflict to win either side on their influence, with the ruling political class both in colonial administration and President Moi reign then.

In conclusion, the forgoing review of the related literature is important in pointing out that the functions of missionaries in some instances enhance development. But in other areas, it created conflict amongst themselves and also among the African, putting their main role in jeopardy. Missionaries came with diverse agendas, some of which were economic, social, and political as well as religious, generating conflict in the course of their duty. What emerged clearly from the literature review is that conflict and competition came as soon as the Kenya Uganda Railway was completed. Missionaries came to Africa with divergent political, economic, social and religious backgrounds and played out this conflict confusing the Africans who lived in harmony with one another and dealing with their own conflicts in their own way of life. The thesis therefore seeks to understand the nature of conflict and competition, the effects that came as a result of the conflict and recommend possible ways of creating the lost harmony.

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1.7 Research methodology

Introduction

The research design outlines data collection and analysis in order to answer research questions. A detailed description of the design and the methodology used is given. The sampling strategies and the samples were studied and defended. The methods and tools are explained and data analysis plan included. The integrity of the research which is ethical upheld the study on competition and conflict with special reference to the AIM and CMS in Nandi 1930 to 1980. The study interviewed the church elders of the ACK and In areas where researcher needed assistance respectable elders were used to help discussed together the in an open atmosphere and write the information later to avoid speculation.

1.7.1 Research design

This design is concerned with the qualitative phenomena. For instance, when we are investigating the reasons for human behavior (why people think or do certain things) etc (Kothari 1985:3) .This type of research aims at discovering the underlying motives and desires. It often uses in depth interviews for the purpose. Qualitative research was designed to find out how people feel how they think about particular subjects or institution. Qualitative research is important on behavioral science where the aim is to discover the various underlying factors which motivate people to behave in a particular manner, (Kothari, 1985:3). The method has helped in understanding the cause of conflict and competition and how to look for ways to mitigate reconciliation for harmony of the community.

1.7.2 Archival Materials

Archival material refers to the various publications, records and manuscripts of a seminary, a church congregation an individual or an institution of any sort. In most cases, archrival materials are personal letters minutes of meetings which often present the original or primary materials (Newhall.1970:122). Archives also include animal catalogues, or prospectuses, programs of events such as graduations, opening day

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concerts, news sheets, faulty and publications, histories of seminary and newspapers. Other records also include register minutes of governing council boards, staff meetings, trustee's reports and other official reports, correspondence of all kinds (Newhall, 1970: 123). By using this material therefore enhanced, accuracy and relevance of the information obtained. The research therefore gave much relevant information and the recommendation and findings provided the most probable answers to the researched questions and objectives.

1.7.3 Ethical Considerations

This study took the ethical considerations seriously. The researcher procured permission and research permit from the Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology. Respondents were convinced on the purpose and importance of the study and upon accepting to be interviewed; they were requested to sign the consent forms. These consent forms assured the respondents of confidentiality of all the information they gave as well as their identity would be secured as anonymous by using pseudo names, known only to the interviewer.

The importance of confidentiality in this research was to ensure that respondents are sincere and honest on the information they gave. The researcher also was cautious not to take any advantage of vulnerable groups, offering incentives or threatening the interviewees. Any false presentation of data analysis and result/findings was avoided at all costs. Any form of cheating or stealing other research was avoided. This is would be plagiarism, crime punishable by law. In addition, it erodes the integrity of the victim, leading to serious professional consequences (Mugenda 1999:190).

1.7.4 Sample and Sampling Procedures

This research was required to used sampling procedures so that it may critically understand actual cause of conflicts and competition. In sampling the researcher targeted the right respondence to be interviewed.

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1.7.5 Research Instruments

The interviewer use interviews and questionnaire on particular personalities who have the historical knowledge of the coming of CMS and AIM in Nandi before 1963.

1.7.6.1 Interviews

In the interviews questionnaires were used to address specific research objectives, research questions of the study. Interviews were so friendly such that it was a normal conversation with the respondents as a form of dialogue between the respondent and the interviews. This method was useful in this study because it ensured that all the expected respondents fully participated in this study.

During the interview, the interviewer was keen to read the body gestures and visual expressions of the respondent which communicated either doubt or completely when one does not have an answer. The importance of the interview is as one of the instruments, it "provides in-depth data which is not possible to get through a questionnaire" (Mugenda 1999:83). Also the study chose interview because it provides room for probing where clarity is lacking. Subsequently, the interview ensures high rate of response from respondents interviewed since it is difficult for a respondent to refuse to answer question.

1.7.6.2 Focused group discussions

Focused group discussion (FGDs) was another instrument used in this study. The forced group interview is purposed to "listen and gather information, it is a way to better understand how people feel or think about an issue, product or service" (Krueger and Casey 2000:4). In this case, the issue at hand is their feelings about the conflict, FGDs was done by the researcher with the aim raising the pertinent issues on conflict between the two main denominations and also to ascertain the Genesis of conflict as the variable in this study.

The advantage of the FGDs interview is to permits the gathering of a large amount of information from potentially large groups of people in relatively short period" (Berg, 2009:165) The researcher was able to get new insight from the respondents about the conflict as well as to understand how well the respondents came to their conclusions,

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what were their feelings and ideas about the different views on the subject. Subsequently, the FGDS enabled the researcher to related the information obtained from individual interviews and FGDS interview, whether they are similar or not and why.

1.7.8 Data Analysis

Data collected processed and analyzed. This followed the three steps; editing, coding/classification and tabulation. Editing involved the process of examining the collected raw data to detect errors and omissions in order to correct them. Coding involved assigning numerals and symbols to answers/response in order to be put into limited numbers or categories or classes. That is harmonizing the large volume of raw data ironing out homogeneous groups in order to get meaningful relationship. Finally, tabulation of the classified coded data will be done with the help of statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) from the computer programs. To analyze raw data, it was presented inform of tables, graphs and charts, in order to have an accurate outcome of the research findings and conclusion.

1.7.9 Conclusion

This chapter in summary has explained all the procedures that were used to collect the data. Objectivity was highly emphasized so that the results and findings would be credible and reliably academic.

1.8 Limitation of the study

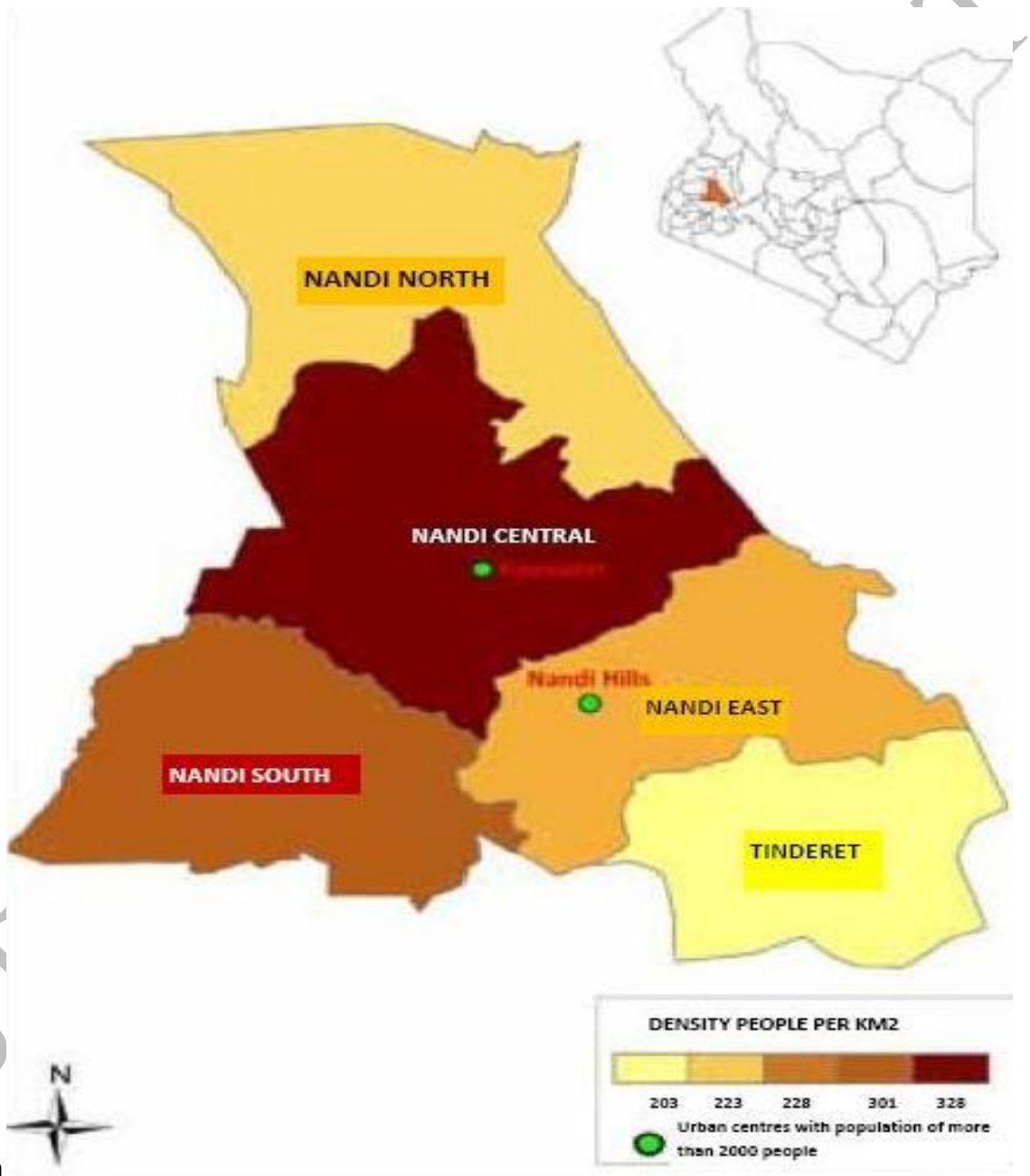
The study concentrates on the AIM and CMS missionary societies within 1930 to 1990. The study was focused on the impact of competition and conflict of AIM and ACK to the Nandi community, especially Kapsabet.

1.9 Scope of study

The scope of study was aimed at researching the nature of the conflict and competition between the AIM and CMS in Nandi community and recommend possible ways to bring harmony between the two main denominations.

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MAP OF NANDI COUNTY



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CHAPTER 2

NANDI COMMUNITY BEFORE THE COMING OF MISSIONARIES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a history of the AIM and CMS in Nandi. It also discusses the socio- religious and political way of the Nandi community, before the coming of missionaries. The chapter also shows how Nandi Community interacted with Christianity. .The chapter focuses mainly on these competitive aspects as they played out in the encounters. The chapter further highlights the overview of mission and the history of AIM and CMS in Nandi.

2.2 Background to the Nandi community

Nandi is a Kalenjin sub ethnic community in the highlands of the Rift Valley, living mostly in the Nandi Hills, in the present day Nandi County. The meaning of the Nandi as stated by Mzee Kiptum Songok (,20th, April2016) was a derogatory term with the meaning of adopting children from other communities and make them part of the community. This term came from Kalenjin sub-groups, it became an accepted term. The other sub-tribe of the Kalenjin are the Keiyo, the Kipsigis, the Tugen, the Sabaoats, the Pokot, Sabei, the Terik and Marakwet. The Kalenjin point their origin to Egypt. Because of need of pasture for the large number of animals moved gradually to Kenya and settled on the highlands where each of the ethnic groups settled later in their present localities (Huntingford, 1954, 1).

Huntingford(1954,1) narrates that available evidence point to the dispersal of the Nandi as having taken place area near Mt. Elgon during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During this dispersion the various Kalenjin dialects, to which the Nandi are part, had developed. Each dialect separated off from the other in successive years. The Nandi are said to have expanded from the South-west corner of Uasin Gishu Plateau to the North East between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The Nandi are neighbors to the Luhya in the west, Luos to the south, Kipsigis to the East and Keiyo to the North.

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2.2.1 Development of Nandi social identity

Three institutions kept the Nandi as an entity in their daily response to social, political and economic challenges, *kokwet*, the *bororiet* and the *orkoiyot.* The colonial administration, the settler and missionaries targeted these institutions for reform as soon as they occupied Nandi. In so doing; they created alternative sources of power and influence which over time developed, into conflicts (Huntingford, 1954: 90). It is this process of political and social interaction that was of interest in our study. This is because some of these key institutions in Nandi lead to the development of conflict, due to interferences and manipulations by the colonial administration.

2.2.2 Kokwet

The "*kokwet*" is a parish of varying size and population whose structure is based on social ties. It is also the name given to the council which handles its affairs. The *boiyotab kokwet* chaired the meetings in which matters affecting the people in his jurisdiction were discussed. As the chair his decisions had to be backed by agreement of the other elders who sat with him in the council. *Kokwet* elders were men with proven qualities of wisdom, force of character, personality and even wealth. It was the duty of this council to carry out civil and criminal cases. The issue of land featured prominently in the list of the numerous disputes they handled. Indeed this council acted as the local authority in the allocation of land for cultivation, grazing and cattle salt-licks (Huntingford, 1954:94).

2.2.3 Organization of the Bororiet

Each *bororiet* had its own council whose activities were wider than those of the kokwet, it including all people in its area. Their council was made up of two *kiruogik,* two *maotik* and the *kokwet* elders from the *kokwotinwek* (parishes) within their area. Single women belonged to the *bororiet* of their parents, whereas the married women belonged to the *bororiet* of their husbands. As mentioned earlier this social unit constituted a fighting force compising of all the warriors and their respective platoons, *siritoiik*. A*bororororiet* could collaborate with another to resist external threats. Any warriors raised for such

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external wars were proportional to the population of each *bororiet*. Although each *bororiet* was independent yet evidence shows that they were not rigid social castes. Thus a *bororiet* like *kapchepkendi* was named *'chebolo* (large bag) because its large size was attributed to its practice of assimilating members of other *bororiet.* One could change his *bororiet* if he wanted so long as he fulfilled certain conditions. The British took away the authority of the *bororiet* and the *kokwe*t and invented rival institutions such as the LNCs (Local Native Council) which were occupied by their appointee. Their status or authority did not carry the honour that traditional institutions had because they were allowed nominal control by the administration. (Huntingford 1954.45).

2.2.4 Orkoiyot

Although the *kokwet* and the *bororiet* councils conducted the affairs of their areas of jurisdiction, the overseer of the community was the *orkoiyot*. His power rested in his alleged ability to apply magic-religical powers into the political and social life of the Nandi hence. He was consulted in matters that affected each *kokwet or bororiet* such as war, planting season or the timing of festivals central to the Nandi. There were a number of *laibons* scattered throughout Nandi but only one was considered paramount. The influence of the institution of the *orkoiyot* in Nandi is more recent in comparison with that of the *bororiet or kokwet*. Huntingford (1954:45) two Maasi1850's of *sawe age-set* took refuge was given in Nandi The two massai became the *Talai* clan and gradually acquired the magical-political role of the ruling *orkoiyot*. As a result the institution of the *Orkoiyot* was a constant target of the colonial rulers in Nandi. The colonial administration later made several attempts to meet him and the 'chiefs' because they thought he was a paramount chief. The administration attributed the poor relations between Nandi and government to him and they assumed that his role was that of a supreme chief when actually he was not (Hunting ford, 1954:46). The era of chiefs and paramount chiefs began in Nandi in 1909.The institution of chiefs and paramount chiefs were alien to Nandi's egalitarian society. The office bearers were given letters of appointment and office staff by the administration (Huntingford 1959:47).

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The government appointees and government created institutions most likely generated conflicts in Nandi social and political life. The society was no longer at ease with itself. The Nandi *kokwet* and b*ororiet* councils and the institution of *orkoiyot* were challenged during the colonial period when new structures capable of competing against age-old allegiances were invented. It was the desire for a new identity to meet their social, cultural and economic challenges that we encounter the conflict in this discussion (Huntingford 1954:47).

The coming of Christianity to Nandi had political, economic and religious objectives. This contributed negatively and positively to the community. Spreading of Christianity in Nandi led to conflict and competition, destroying the harmony that existed then. At this point, the study provides an overview of Christianity in Kenya and in Nandi particularly.

2.3 Overview of Missionary work and Christianity in Africa

Christianity first came to East Africa through the Portuguese under leadership of Vasco da Gama in1496, followed by Roman Catholic missionaries' in1593. As the Portuguese came they started by building Fort Jesus. Thereafter, they started converting the local people at the coast. Diferent scholars vary in opinion on the number of converts in the coast then Barret(1973;21) gives an estimate of 600 converts(Barret,1973:21) Kuhn (2008:9) give an approximate of 1000 converted Christians in Mombasa , Pate and Faza basing on the report from Augustinian Administrator in 1624 to the Arch Bishop with 500 of this in Zanzibar and Kilwa. While Mwaura (2004:160) states that conversion to Christianity at the coast was a complete failure due to poor leadership of catechists and rivalry between the Catholic orders. The second phase of mission took place in the 19th century initially 1844 through Dr Ludwig Krapf, Lutheran from Germany working with the CMS with objective being converting "the unbelieving world"(Baur,1994:224). His monumental achievement was the translation of the Bible to Kiswahili, language spoken by the local people. The exploration and subsequent colonization of East Africa enhanced missionary work in East Africa. As Pirout (1989:132) argues colonial powers acquired territories in East Africa for commerce Missionaries became beneficiaries of colonial occupation. This is because of the colonial government protection to the missionaries. It

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is in this context that Protestant and Catholic missionaries came into the interior of East Africa. The completion of the Kenya- Uganda Railway opened the interior to European missionaries.

There was suspicion and competition among the various Christian groups as well. Anglican and Catholic missionaries detasted other Christian groups and viewed "Christianity as practiced by other denomination as bad as Islam" (Wolf, 1977:162) John Baur (1994:256) observes that there was an agreed rule that the various missions restrict themselves to "separate spheres of influence. However, with time it proved difficult to uphold this agreement due to" growing migration of workers that threatened to undermine the agreed rule…" (Baur, 1994:256).

The CMS came back to Nandi in 1939 after being requested by Chief Elijah Chepkwony and the then Evangelist Reuben Seroney from Maseno headquarters of CMS. This was after disagreeing with Pastor Gimnyigeis promotion to Pastor in June 1930, in charge of Nandi AIM Pastorate (Mckemey.1963.3). From then the Anglican Church in Nandi was managed under Maseno from 1930 to 1970. Later according to minutes of PCC at Barnabas (1959, PC C) they agreed to start an institution to train evangelists in Kapsabet. The training centre was opened in 1963 by Arch Deacon Oywaya of Maseno with Rev Hagai Nyang, Priest of Nandi Hills (PCC Minutes1959). After 1970 the management of Nandi Anglican pastorate was gradually transferred to Nakuru due to political boundaries.

2.4 Historical background of AIM and CMS in Nandi

This section attempts to trace the history of the (AIM) and the CMS in Nandi. This discussion will show how conflict and competition arose between them due to personal differences, missionary policies, administrative influences and the search for new identity in changing circumstances.

2.4.1 The Africa Inland Church

The AIC was founded in Kenya through the work of the African Inland mission (AIM). The latter was an inter-denominational missionary society founded in America in 1895 by

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the Philadelphia Mission Council, later renamed the "Home Council". The council became the administrative arm of the AIM in the ensuing years. The mission abroad was called 'the field' and was given the mandate by the Home Council to form its own council, as a result of mandate, the Kenya field formed the Africa Inland Church (AIC) in 1943 (Gehman2013:152).

Peter Scott Cameroon, the founder of the AIM was born in Scotland in 1867, but his parents moved twelve years later to America where he grew up. Scott had poor health throughout his short life, such that in one incident, he was so ill that many thought he would die. It is during this crisis in his life that he made a pact with God, promising to serve him if his life was spared. In 1895, Scott and a few others in Philadelphia decided to form a mission society with the aim of setting up missionary stations right across inland Africa. (2013:152) In 1895, a small party of six missionaries began their pioneer work in Kangundo among the Kamba who live to the Suth-East of Nairobi. Shortly afterwards, Scott died suddenly, leaving the other five to carry on. They however seemed to have lacked the charisma that Scott had. Charles E. Hurburt arrived from Philadelphia in 1897, so that he could resuscitate that AIM and through him as the Kenya Field Director from 1897, until his resignation in 1926, the mission expanded to other parts of Kenya such as Nandi (Gehman 2013.152).

2.4.2 The pioneer work of the AIM in Nandi

The AIM began its work in 1913 Nandi at Chebisaas station which the CMS had abandoned in 1912. The CMS had just moved to Maseno and leased their former station at Chepsaas to the AIM. Their pioneer work was carried out by Mr. and Mrs. Probst, Miss Christensen and Miss Hansen. The centre of this mission station alternated between Chebisaas and Kapsabet in the period between 1914 and 1924 when the station was finally moved to Namgoi near the government centre. Other leading missionaries of this period included Mr. and Mrs. Mundy and George McCleary in Kapsabet station (Gehman, 2013.153).

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Elijah Cheruiyot Arap Chepkwony, then a clerk at the District Commissioner's (DC) office persuaded the two missionaries to leave Chebisas in 1924 so that they could be accessible to the government support. Chebisas is situated 20 kilometers from Kapsabet which was the head quarters then of the Colonial administration. If they moved to Namgoi they would share government services such as Hospitals and security services. Elijah lived close to Chebisas the pioneer mission station in Nandi. He had first seen the CMS missionaries start work in this area ten years earlier. He went to work in various places in East Africa during which he was baptized by the CMS in Mombasa in 1922. When he came home he was re-baptized by immersion before he could be accepted as a communicant; The AIM practiced adult baptism by immersion. He was appointed a chief in 1932 and he remained a member of the AIM until 1939 when he led a group within this church to start the Anglican Church in Nandi (Gehman 2013. 153).

We have discussed the Nandi socio cultural and political state before the advent of Christianity. The establishment of Christianity in Nandi was not without tension and competition with ATR. The negative reaction towards Christianity among the Nandi in mid 1920s may have been attributed to the fact that the government administration seemed to protect its adherents from the curse invoked upon them by leaders of Nandi traditional religion. In September 1927, these elders organized a meeting to curse the Christians, for rejecting Nandi traditions. They blamed Elijah Cheruiyot, Jeremiah Birir and Joshua Kosut. The trio and other Christians were supposedly cursed by these elders for advocating the rejection of the Nandi way of life. No harm befell them and the Christians attributed their safety from the effects of the curse to the God whom the missionaries were preaching (Gehman, 2013.153). This was an indication of conflict and competition which marked out Christianity from and ATR. Though the curse failed suspicion between the missionary societies and Nandi tradition still remained.

When Bryson, an Australian missionary arrived in 1927. He was assisted by Samuel Gimnyingei, the first AIM pastor from Nandi. Born in Songhor, but had been moved to Ndulele, a part of an area which Kamelilo and Kapchepkendi had been allocated when

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their former lands in Soiin were alienated from European settlement in 1906. Among the other pioneer AIM elders were Joel Arap Malel, and Reuben Arap Lagat from Kosirai, in Mosop, Jeremiah Arap Birir from Kiamarinyin Kaptumo, in Aldai and Willy ArapBoit, from Emgwen, central Nandi (Langley, 1976, 46).

Reuben Arap Seroney and Elijah Cheruiyot were also Bible translators but Samuel Arap Chepkwony appears to have found favour with Bryson. Reuben Seroney came from Kaboi, in Aldai and was the AIM's teacher and evangelist in their first out school in Surungai established in North Nandi, in 1928. Elijah, a clerk in the DC's office from 1920's lived in Koyo, not far from Kaboi, Reuben's home. The other areas in which the AIM launched their first out-schools and stations were Ndulele, in Mosop, the home of Samuel Gimnyingei; Kingwai (or Kosirai) in Mosop, Serem, in Chesumei and Laboret, also in Mosop (Langley 1976, 47).

The AIM like other missions of the colonial period accepted the interdependence between missionaries and the crown since their cultures, goals and endeavors' overlapped, hence usually they were allies". The CMS and CSM enjoyed a special relationship with the government since they were state established. AIM was not supported hence its missionaries had to function on their own (Langley, 1976: 46)

The work of translating the into Bible into Nandi lasted from 1928 to1938, It was carried out by Reuben Seroney, Elijah Cheruiyot and Samuel Gimnyigei and Stuart Bryson. However, while preparations for celebration and dedication were taking place and Bryson was on his way to Australia, a new movement was taking place in the church in Nandi: the birth of the Anglican Church (Grantion, 1971, 38).

2.4.3 The Anglican Church in Coast of Kenya

The CMS was founded in England in 1795 with the aim of spreading the gospel to areas mostly outside Europe and North America. It came to Kenya through the work of two German missionaries employed by the CMS: Ludwig Krapft who arrived in Kenya through Ethiopia in 1844, and Johannes Rebmann who joined him two years later. The

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spread of the CMS began at Mombasa (1844), Rabai (1846) and Frere Town (1875), the later being a centre for freed slaves. It was among these communities of freed slaves that they found not only their first converts but also the first Africans to be ordained to the Anglican ministry in 1885: Ishmael Semler and William Jones. Through these converts, the CMS began their work among the MijiKenda of Kenya's coastal region (Langley 1976:43).

The CMS expanded its work to the interior of Kenya, when the British declared Uganda and Kenya part of her Protectorate respectively, in 1894 and 1895. More missionary societies moved further inland with the building of the railway from Mombasa to Kisumu, by the Lake Victoria in 1905. The missionaries moved gradually further inland: first to the Nyika Plains among the Taita and the Kamba; then in the Kikuyu Highlands near Nairobi, and finally to the western Kenya region where Nandi is located (Langley 1976, 44).

2.4.4 The CMS in Nandi: 1909-1912

The CMS arrived in Nandi in 1909 through the work of two couples: Captain and Mrs.Sysons (recruits from England) and Rev. J.S. Herbet and his wife (formerly of Nassa in Tanganyika). They rented a former government house at Kaptumo in September 1909, whilst they awaited the completion of their own house at Chebisas, twelve miles to the West. By March 1912, this house was ready and the Sysons moved into it whereas the Herberts remained at Kaptumo to learn the Nandi language (Langley, 1976:43) (Rutto, 1994, 37).

At Kaptumo, Herbert enlisted a number of boys whom he could instruct on how to read and write, however the early reports from this station claim that the Nandi had no desire to learn any foreign education other than their own. (Langley, 1976:43)(Rutto, 1994, 38)

Paying them to learn did not work either, because the boys under instruction demanded higher wages before they could attend the classes. Even when the demand was met the missionaries had to begin all over again because the earlier ones had deserted the station.

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The Sysons introduced new farming and artisan skills at Chebisas where they set up a model farm . However this project appears not to have impressed the Nandi at all, hence he made little progress. Cpt. Syson claims that men were not good in using their hands and did not wish to use them unlike the Luo or Abuluhya. So in 1912, the CMS in Nandi, having consulted the representatives of the society, resolved to abandon the Nandi station. They argued that it was not right to leave a missionary in the area where people were unreceptive to their mission, when there were many other areas open to mission. They leased their building to the AIM which began considerable work among the Nandi in 1914 (Rutto, 1994, 39)

However, the Anglican Church came back to Nandi in 1938 after disagreement between some elders led by Rueben Seroney who was an interpreter. He felt that he should have been the Pastor because he was better learned than Gimnyigei. The AIM divided due to promotion of Pr Gimnyigei to Nandi Pastorate. This gave birth to an Anglican church in Nandi in 1939. A request was put to the CMS to start a mission in Nandi by Senior Chief Elijah Cheruiyot sometime in July 1938. His application through the government was approved by the LNC on July 13th 1939 (Rutto, 1994, 40).

The Anglican Church in Nandi came about as a result of the interaction of three parties led by Senior Chief Elijah Arap Chepkwony, Chief Joel Arap Malel, and the office of the African Anglican Council in Nairobi. Chief Elijah Chepkwony came from Koyo in the region of Aldai. He had been baptized by the CMS back in 1922, while working with the KAR, Mombasa. He had first met the CMS at Chebisas in Aldai before their station was abandoned and taken over by the AIM. Elijah's request was supported by five elders: Chief Willy Boit who became a CMS member in Nairobi, Reuben Seroney, a former AIM teacher and pastor, Joel Chemibei an interpreter and teacher at Surungai; Nehemiah Tatkey and William Kurgat (Rutto, 1994, 41).

Elijah's party argued that CMS was their "home" and that their departure from the AIM was a part of this return. The party also claimed that they had a good number of CMS adherents who had been baptized outside Nandi, who wanted their own church The Elijah faction objected to the terms of "church spheres" resolved at Kikuyu conference in 1909

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because the Nandi were not in that meeting to decide on the kind of church they wanted in their area (Rutto, 1994, 46).

The second party was led by Chief Joel Malel who lived in Kosirai, in the region of Mosop. His group included several AIM elders: Jeremiah Arap Birir from Kamainy in Kaptumo; Chief Jonathan Katonon of Location 4; ex- K.A.R worker, Reuben Arap Lagat, from Kosirai, Rev Samuel Gimnyigei from Ndulele and a committee member in the LNC. Isaac Koskei from Kosirai. Their correspondence with the Elijah faction and the ACC (CMS) was done by Reginald Reynolds, the AIM Supt. Missionary in Kapsabet (Rutto, 1994, 47).

Chief Malel's party argued that the breakaway party was escaping discipline and were using the CMS for convenience, rather than out of conviction. They were also optimistic that left on their own Elijah's faction would "peter out" because there was no body of CMS Christians yet in Nandi. They agreed that 35 Christians from three regions left AIM in 1939, though some from one region had since returned. However they feared that, "If Elijah and his people were taken over by CMS… his movement might grow (leading) to an unfortunate denominational rivalry (Rutto,1994,48).

Malel's party requested that the matter be seen in the light of inter-mission agreement regarding spheres in which the CMS would be permitted only to offer pastoral visits to their members within the confines of their mission. However the AIM was not pleased. It insisted that the mission area was rightly there as per the agreement of spheres, conceded upon by the European and American missionaries at Kikuyu Conference of 1913. These mission policies therefore brought conflict not only between the missionaries themselves, but also to the Nandi who saw them divided between Mosop and Aldai, divisions which were not easy to reconcile (Rutto, 1994, 49).

In conclusion, Nandi, just like other African communities, were organized and had their own system of working in harmony with the whole Community. The coming of missionaries created a new order with positive and negative impact to the African

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communities. Chapters 1 and 2 highlight areas of conflict and competition that finally caused unnecessary disagreements which spilt the community along denominational lines.

In the next chapter, the study discussed how incidences of conflict and competition played out in many phases in Nandi. The chapter further examines how it affected relationships in the community. It then recommends ways of bringing harmony and giving more space to the proclamation of the Gospel.

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CHAPTER 3

INCIDENCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN AFRICAN INLAND CHURCH AND ANGLICAN CHURCH

3.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates how incidences of conflict and competition have played out in a number of ways between the ACK and AIC. Hence the chapter focuses on Tendwo, Saniak Kaplelach and Kipngoror Health Centre, where the conflict was most visible. Several factors contributed to competition and conflict. This incidences' showed that culture, politics and missionary influence, among other factors, were the core of conflict and competition.

3.2 Conflict at Tendwo

Tendwo is situated in Emgwen constituency about 10 kilometers south west of Kapsabet in Nandi County. The main dominant churches in this area are the Catholic, Anglican and the AIC. According to Ezekiel Manyim,(5, Feb.2016,Tendwo.Aldai Constituency) an elder of Tendwo , the school began in 1972 as Tendwo Primary School. The school became a source of denomination conflict. It was started as a Nursery School with semi-permanent buildings operated from Monday to Friday. The land formerly owned by the Church of Province of Kenya (CPK) measured one acre. Later Mr. John Letting then an Anglican member donated an additional four acres to make a total of five acres. Mr. Letting joined AIC and demanded that the sponsorship of Tendwo school be changed to AIC because he was the major donor of the land and this stirred major conflict between AIC and ACK. He was rich and politically influential; hence he used his influence to change the sponsorship to AIC.

Consequently, the then political climate fueled the conflict because it was favoring the AIC over the CPK. Later he prevailed again over the District Education board (DEB) to ensure that the sponsorship had been changed to AIC further intensifying the conflict among these two churches.

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The DEB endorsed Leting's request despite protest by Anglican leadership in Aldai Parish. This caused tension between the ACK and the AIC (Daily Nation6.October 1988: p3). According to Mr Tum, (6 Feb. Tendwo, Aldai, Constituency) the AIC was able to own the school because they had close connection the Political leadership of the time which favored the AIC. According Mr. Benjamin Tum elder of the AIC this incidence has always caused tension between the two denominations affecting the day today activities of the community. The AIC and ACK treating each other with suspicion though the many years since the incident took place.

According to Samuel Ngeny,(7 Feb. 2016,Kaboi,Aldai Constituency) this difference between the AIC and ACK never stopped. The two churches ,(AIC and ACK) see each other with suspicion because what was done then was not fair and hence there is need of reconciliation so that the past is dealt with to cultivate a better relationship for future generation. According to Ngeny(7, Feb,2016,Kaboi, Aldai Constituency) there is need to talk about the conflict and help rebuild the bridges so that the two denominations treat cordially each other without any suspicion and perceived enmity.

3.3 Conflict at Saniak

The second case of tension involved Saniak located in Mosop Constituency West of Kapsabet –Nandi County. Saniak Primary School was started in 1980 in Mosop Constituency. According to Daniel Kurgat(8,Feb2016,Saniak, Chesumei Constituency) the lay reader of Kamoiywo Parish, the school started as a community school as well as a day care boarding school. At first, the school was managed by the elites of the community. Their focus was making the School a centre of academic excellence in the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE). Initially the school was co-sponsored by the main denomination, the ACK and the AIC. The land was donated by the community hence nobody claimed ownership of the school farm. Mr. Singoei(10,Feb.2016. Chesumei Constituency) said that in 1988 after the school performed well in CPE, the AIC quietly registered the school under her Church. Accor ding to Mr Singoei (10, Feb, 2016, Chesumei Constituency.) Late 1988, the AIC announced during a Parent's Day that the school was then sponsored by the AIC hence the name changed to AIC Saniak

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Boarding School. The announcement caused resentment from the community especially elders of the ACK who felt that they had been short-changed. This incident caused protest from members of the ACK and supported by Catholic and SDA. In view of the differences between the two denominations, the headmaster convened a meeting which was attended by the District Commissioner (DC) with security personnel and the leadership of the Department of Education of the then District of Nandi, with district security personnel on 10th May1988. During the meeting, there were sharp disagreement and conflict. The elders refused the sponsorship of the school by any church but proposed it to be under DEB (Singoei 10, Feb, 2016, Saniak, Chesumei Constituency). Mr. Sitienei said that when the elders showed their resentment, the state intervened by using the security personnel to arrest 6 ACK members who strongly opposed the move and took them to Kapsabet Police Station to write a statement. Those arrested included Mr. Daniel Kurgat, the evangelist and lay-reader, Charles Tum lay-reader, Benjamin Kemboi, lay reader, Mzee Joel Senende a church elder, Sally Sang and Barnabas Sitienei. These church elders were held at the police station for one week for being disobedient to the DC office. They were accused of disrupting his meeting. They later paid a bond of Ksh. 5000 each. The case took two years. They were later released and the issue was settled outside court. (Sitienei, Feb, 10, 2016, Saniak, Chesumei Constituency). The AIC were finally granted the sponsorship of the School.

Mr. Kurgat (10,Saniak, 2016, Chusumei Constituency) argues that the incident has caused conflict in Saniak area since then to date. The elders, who were arrested for causing disturbances, always remember how they suffered in the cells without their side of the story being heard. One Positive outcome is that, the denominations started schools in the area which perform very well in national examinations in the area. However, the relationship between the AIC and ACK has not been fully healed. The differences can be clearly seen when there are functions of ceremonies or any other social activities of either of the denominations. The atmosphere is typically charged with suspicion and enmity. The difference has been played out in political, social and religious forums to the extent that the differences have been passed down to the present generation. Mr. Kurgat noted

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that though they were members of the community, the arrest of ACK leaders has always been a wound since 1988. The same conflict played out in a political rally in 2007, during elections of the Member of Parliament of Chesumei Constituency. Each denomination nominated a representative from their denomination to compete with the other at the elections. Hon. Elijah Lagat a member of ACK was elected as the MP for the area. His opponent Mr. James Kogo was overwhelmingly supported by the AIC. Such conflicts and competition have dominated public affairs hence the need for research so that an amicable solution can be reached for peace and harmony in the community. (Kurgat, 10, Feb, 2016, Saniak , Chesumei, Constituency).

3.4 Kaplelach Conflict

Conflict at Kaplelach came as resulted of the dispute between AIC and ACK over sponsorship of schools in the newly acquired land by teachers in *Kanetik* Farm, after migrating from Nandi. The conflict such as was common in Nandi was extended to Uasin Gishu County.

Kaplelach is situated in Kiplombe, the Uasin Gishu County. The farm is called Konetick Farm. The farm was bought by teachers in Nandi. President Moi supported the teachers to purchase the land in 1970. According to Mr. Elkana Kalya the Secretary (Kalya, 11.FebmKanetik, Soy Constituency). The leader of these teachers was Mr. John Kurgat, former classmate of former President Moi and a staunched AIC member. The teachers and their families settled on the land from 1971 up to 1980. They gradually sub-divided the land into plots as per the shares they had bought. Majority was the AIC members and few other denominations were included. The acreage was 2264 subdivided to 30 families. The members of the farm donated the public utility plots for schools, dips and one dispensary and business plots. Mr. Kalya(11, Feb. Kanetik Soy Constituency) stated that of the 30 families 20 were AIC members and 2 ACK 2 SDA members and 3 belonged to the Catholic Church and 4 members were not affiliated to any denomination. All of them came from Nandi and were elites of the community. The farm donated the following plots for schools, Kaplelach, Kaplegetet, Ruandet and Kanetick to build schools because of the close connection with the DEB of Uasin Gishu and government

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the AIC sponsored 3 schools and promised the CPK one. In 1986 CPK started developing Kaplelach Primary School. The leaders of the AIC reacted and used the then administration to send the CPK out of the facility. In 1986 Bishop Muge tried to convince the DEB of Uasin Gishu to allow them develop and sponsor the facility but the leaders of AIC refused. Kaplelelch Primary is neighboring ACK and under normal circumstances they could have been the sponsor.

ACK under leadership of the Bishop Muge purchased land neighboring the church and started to build the school and left the plot which had conflicts. The ACK retained the name of Kaplelach and build the schools on the newly purchased land. The AIC plot was not developed until 2006 when it was developed and re-named Kanetick Polytechnic., (Kalya, 11, February, 2016, Kanetik, Kiplombe).

The conflict has never ceased from 1986 to date. The conflict that started in Nandi spilled over to the Uasin Gishu County, due to the migration. It has been intensifying with every time of elections, be they PTA, elections even local leadership which should be based on merit and wisdom. The presence of Kaplelach Secondary and Primary and Kanetik Polytechnic is a reminder of deep rooted conflicts waiting for an opportunity to erupt.

3.5 Kipngoror Health Centre Conflict

Kipngoror is situated in Mosop Constituency in Nandi County. Kipngoror is neighboring Webuye and Nandi-Kakamega Forest. The area is remote and away from the more developed areas in Nandi. The late Bishop Muge with the help of Bread of the World International decided to build a Health Center in Kipngoror in 1989. Mr. Jackson Sambu (11,3,2016, Kapsabet) then, Christian Community Services Director(CCS), development wing of the Anglican Church said that the building of the Health Center was Purposely to assist the vulnerable members of the community. The facility was a private health center which was aimed at subsidizing the cost of medical care which had considerably escalated. (Sambu4, February 2016, Kapsabet).

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During this time Hon. Stanley Metto had just been elected as MP of Mosop Constituency and wanted to show President Moi his total loyalty and also the an undisputed leader of the Nandi. Menwhile, Bishop Muge was knowingly or unknowingly commanding a lot of political clout in the area. He was therefore a political and religious spokes- person of the Nandi and was perceived as disloyal to President Moi. For Hon. Metto to show his influence he had to oppose Bishop Muge at all costs to show the President that he was loyalty to him. (Daily News paper, 10, Jan1989).

The construction of the health center was used as a problem and a point of dispute. President Moi and Hon. Metto used the AIC leaders to fight the ACK and therefore Bishop Muge was perceived as disloyal to the Government of the day. The ACK was perceived then generally as the enemy of the government and therefore the state. Mr. Sugut(5 Feb. 2016 Kipngoror Mosop Constituency) the elder then attended a meeting at Stanley Mettos, Lelmokwo, home. In the meeting Metto stated that Bishop Muge and the ACK were to be forced to respect President Moi by stopping the project from going on. Hon. Stanley Meto, using the government machinery stopped the construction of Kipngoror Heath Center. He mobilized chiefs to stop the construction because; according to him it was an anti Government project. Bishop Muge used his influence to refuse the attempt and proceeded with the construction and completed (Sugut 5 Feb 2016, Kipngoror, Mosop, and Constituency).

The government also constructed a health center called Chepterwai one kilometer from Kipngoror Heath Center as a measure to stop the construction of the Kipngoror health centre and to make the project irrelevant (Sugut, 5, Feb.2016, Kipngoror Mosop Constituency) The AIC Bishop Ezekiel Birech declared that Bishop Muge was arrogant and had to be damned to know that the government was powerful (Daily Nation 10th Feb 1989) Bishop Muge responded the following day stating that the AIC Bishop was a sycophant of a corrupt government. This conflict and responses caused tension and distrust between the two denominations of the area. Even long after the death of Bishop Muge in 1990 and Hon. Stanley Metto 1992 the tension between the AIC and ACK has been abandoned to date .The two health institutions are a constant reminder of the dispute

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and perceived enmity between the AIC and the ACK. Though the conflict is not openly shown as was then, it is still live in the memories of some and still pops up occasionally.

CONCLUSION

It is important to note, that there are various conflicting differences played out in many instances. It is of essence to note that other denominations also compete over followers, but conflict and competition as clearly demonstrated by the AIC and ACK churches in Nandi, and especially between 1930 to 1990,is indeed challenging and calls for more research on this area to map out a solution to this conflicts. The research shows that the government of this period was directly or remotely participant in fueling conflict rather than reconciling the people.

Conflicts and competition as evident in the above discussion began, from differences between two major churches. However the conflict has always played out through projects sponsored by the said churches. Politicians use the opportunity to divide and exploit the differences

The next chapter discusses briefly, the nature of conflicts and competition. It analyzes effects to the and need to bring proper reconciliation to heal the community.

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CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter analyses the findings of the research data to understand the nature and effects of conflict and competition between the AIM and CMS in Nandi. The analysis and findings are based on literature, field interviews and archival data. The research aimed at examining the nature of conflict and competition between the AIM and CMS in Nandi. It sought to investigate the history, nature and effects of this conflict and competition. It also sought to recommend ways to mitigate this conflict that has been a problem in Nandi for a long time and which has been a cause of many disagreements, hatred and court cases negating the original mission of the Church.

4.2 Analysis of the findings

This thesis aimed at examining the nature of conflict and competition between the AIM and CMS in Nandi. The study seeks to investigate the history nature and effects of this conflict and competition and finally it seeks to recommend ways to mitigate this conflict that have been a problem in Nandi for a long time and which has been a cause of animosity, hatred and court cases negating the original mission of the Church.

This thesis traces the background information on the researched topic from Archival written materials. It also draws data from interviews with members of the community who have experienced the conflicts and competition.

To fully understand the researched issues, the researcher reviewed related literature especially focused on the researched area to show the conflict and competition on the subject matter under study. The research study found from the Literature review was that although the missionaries enhanced development, they also were source of conflict and competition amongst themselves and at the same time amongst the Africans. They created conflict in the course of winning converts to their side and hence dividing the community along denominational lines. Conflict and competition came out very clearly

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after the completion of the Kenya Uganda railway due to influx of missionaries to the interior of East Africa, hence competed over converts and other resources especially Land.

The study shows that the missionaries came from divergent political, economic and social backgrounds and had diverse agendas. The missionaries came and played out their differences confusing the Africans who lived previously in harmony with one another.

The other gap that came out clearly was Land. Though missionaries claimed to protect the land for Africans they ended up accumulating a lot of land for themselves. This became a source of conflict between the missionaries and the Africans. The other issue that came out is the attempt to create an inclusive ecumenical body but it failed because the missionaries disagreed on many issues including doctrinal, political and governance. Churches could not agree hence divided further between Evangelicals and Ecumenicals. How then could they unite the Africans? They ended up forming separate organizations NCCK and AEAM.

4.2.1 History of mission work between African Inland Mission and Church Missionary Society in Nandi

According Langley (1976:46), before the coming of missionaries, the Nandi were organized and had their own systems of leadership and adequately managed their social political and religious issues well. Under the structure of *kokwe*t, *bororiet* and *orkoiyo*t the Nandi managed their administrative and religious affairs of the community with ease.

The CMS came to Nandi between 1909 and 1912 and settled in Chebisas under the work of two couples: Captain and Mrs. Sysons and Rev J. S. Herbert and his wife. Herbert stayed in Kaptumo and Sysons went to Chebisas. Within a period of 2 years the families in consultation with CMS left Nandi and sold the station of Chebisas to AIM and left to Maseno claiming that the Nandi were not hard working and co-operative. At the time, there was no conflict between the two denominations.

However, CMS came back to Nandi in 1939 through disagreements of appointment of Gimnyigei as Pastor of Nandi Pastorate against the wishes of Reuben Seroney who then

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was interpreter because he was better educated than Gimnyigei. Mr. Benjamin Songok (interviewed on 7 March 2016 Kapsabet) who was then a youth confirmed this view. Reuben Seroney accompanied by Senior Chief Elijah Cheruiyot, Chief Joel Malel and Chief Willy Boit went to Maseno to invite the CMS to come to Nandi. This was against the wishes of AIM whose sphere Nandi was as earlier agreed by the Kikuyu Conference of 1913. The CMS occupied Aldai which was under Chief Elijah Cheruiyot and also Chief Willy Boit and Chief Joel Malel.

The AIM came to Nandi in 1913. The AIM started a mission station from Chebisas .The CMS had abandoned it in 1912 and left for Maseno. The first AIM missionaries were Mr and Mrs Probst and Miss Christesen and Hansen. In 1925, the station was moved to Namgoi where it is to date after being advised by Chief Elijah Cheruiyot so that they could be near the government services of security and health facilities at Kapsabet. By 1927, when Bryson came to Nandi, there were many converts already in Nandi. The AIC gradually spread to Mosop and Kapsabet.

4.2.2.1 Conflict and competition due to change of traditional structures

From this study it is evident that there were three social organizations and important institutions in the traditional Nandi community before advent of colonialism: the *kokwet*, the *orkoiyot* and the *bororiet.* The most powerful social political unit in the society, probably since the sixteenth century, was the *bororiet*. Each *bororiet* had its own council which deliberated on matters which affected the daily lives of the people in the locality in which it occupied. The *baroriet* council was also involved in the planning of religious festivals though in consultation with the chief ritual expert, the *orkoiyot*, whose influence was strong from the early 18th century. The *bororiet* also consulted *orkoiyot* on matters of economic exploits such as cattle acquisition which were usually increased by raiding their south and western neighbors, the Luo and Abaluhya.When the colonial administration was established, it encouraged the policy of locations. This policy, divided the Nandi into locations, with each location under the occupancy of one *bororiet*

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and its chief or headman being appointed by the government. The allegiance of the chief or headman was mostly to the government, not the *bororiet* council.

Each *bororiet* was set to compete for loyalty towards colonial administration, instead of council or the Nandi traditional structures. This in effect modified the *bororiosiek* from being loose institutions within the Nandi society, into competing factions within a new society: the colonial administration or the churches, represented by the various missions. In this context therefore the churches became part of *bororiet* ***with*** *allegiance from foreign control.* This idea of creating a new structure of denominations confused and destroyed the structure of dealing with conflicts in traditional way. Denominations became another form of "*bororiet."*

4.2.2.2 Colonialism as an Agency of Conflict and Competition

Similarly, what is evident from this study is that the colonial government and its settler-dominated economy sowed seeds of discord by carrying out a number of administrative and economic reforms. Firstly, it fixed administrative borders based on *bororiet* divisions. As early as 1909, the locations were numbered each according to the *bororiosiek* existing in Nandi. Some larger *bororiosiek* had more than one location. Whereas each *bororiet* occupied a different region from the others, they did not consider these geographical regions to be rigid divisions. There was freedom of movement from one *bororiet* to another from time to time. Sometimes, there were amalgamations between the *bororiosiek* and even intermarriages between men and women of the various *bororiosiek.* Their distinctions, therefore, did not create conflict. However, the colonial administration fixed the *bororiet* mobility and confined their existing structures into rigid locational boundaries. In this way, the *bororiosiek* developed the feeling that they were different from each other, hence could not associate. They could not cooperate freely as before in the new situation and thus conflict arose. Some chiefs and headmen received more recognition and preference from the colonial government because they were perceived to be loyal to them than others who were seen as disloyal and uncooperative to the administration. Hence the colonial government divided the community in those perceived as loyal and disloyal respectively.

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The LNC had large representation of the colonial government followed by settlers. The Asian communities had one representative and missionaries represented the Africans. The LNCS therefore determined how resources of land to churches, hospitals and other social amenities were allocated. The churches campaigned to have more of their members in this council because it was responsible for making important decisions regarding allocation of church plots, schools and hospitals. The LNC were often corrupt and Churches could bribe to get them be allocated land even if the land was not theirs legally. This therefore became a source of conflict and competition. The culture of bribery and corruption was systemically introduced to the community.

4.2.2.3 The Missionaries as Agents of Conflict and Competition

Basing on the literature review, missionaries from the major missionary societies then working in Kenya met in Kikuyu, near Nairobi, in 1909, to lay strategies for the evangelization of Kenya. In this meeting, an attempt was made towards a united church. Since it was not acceptable to all parties, they opted for a policy of 'spheres' through which the various mission groups could operate to avoid competition and conflict. This policy led to the zoning of the country with the result that some evangelized single ethnic groups or sub-ethnic groups. The Nandi area was the sphere of the AIM, whereas the CMS were their neighbors in the western part of Nandi, working among the Abaluyia and Luo. When a number of AIM Christians broke away in 1939, intending to join the CMS, the AIM claimed the move was against the policy of 'spheres'. For a while, the CMS accepted the AIM complains but never moved out of Nandi. The CMS entry to Nandi ushered ina denominational rivalry with the AIM. On the other hand, the Nandi saw the conflict as a Mosop-Aldai difference, with the *bororiosiek* living in Aldai identified with the Anglican, and those in Mosop being identified with the AIM.

When the EAR came to Nandi, it divided the two denominations because the AIC missionaries were not in favor of African control of worship at this time. On the other hand, the AIC Africans perceived certain practices of the revival as not in keeping with

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Nandi tradition. They associated public confession with being "childish" just as weeping and emotional outbursts. As a result, they did not welcome the movement the way the Anglicans did. The coming of revival to Nandi from Maseno was situational reactions to the crises that the church had gone through at the period when revival came to the area. The Anglican Church had lost a pastor and pioneer in the person of Seroney and also, the help they had anticipated from the CMS had been inadequate leading to disappointments and frustrations among the Christians.

The LNC (later the African District Council), provided the political platform through which the AIC or ACK could voice their concerns. So the two churches politicized this local government authority to further their religious ambitions since each denomination had acquired the identity of a bororiet and the differences seemed like the old time inter-bororiet feuds which had now found a new setting in the church. Whereas the traditional identity of the bororiet allowed free movement of persons within the bororiet, with some amalgamations occurring without any problems, the newly-found bororiet in the denominations discouraged this development. As in the administration whereby chiefs gave their loyalty to the government, the churches too, discouraged inter-church cooperation by ensuring that their adherents were solely faithful to their denominations and not any other. Although the denomination acquired an identity similar to that of former *bororiet*, it lacked the flexibility with which the traditional Nandi *bororiet* had. The new *bororiosiek* found in the AIC and ACK denominations allowed only vertical relationships to develop. Christians of the two churches were therefore more faithful to their respective missions and not to each other; as such, they missed the strength which the old *bororiet* associations had. The old *bororiet* allowed individual existence in day to day activities but in the midst of external, threats they united and used their combined strength to fight off the enemy.

According to Hastings (1994: 427) in literature review the other factor which created conflict was Land question. Most of the missionaries acquired large tracts of land in the name of developing IGA. For example, by 1910 missionaries owned totaling 90000

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acres. CSM owned 64000 at Kibwezi had also 3000 acres in Kikuyu. The CMS had 1123 acres in Taveta and 1200 in Frere. The Quakers had 1000 acres in Kaimosi, MMS had 6000 acres in Tana River, while Consalata fathers had 3000 acres in Nyeri and another 5000 acres in Mangu. The land question created conflict with Africans who accused the missionaries and colonial government of grapping land which ideally belonged to Africans.

4.2.2.4 Politics and doctrinal differences.

The conflict between the AIM and CMS resolved politics and doctrinal differences. Most of the 15 people interviewed from the 4 areas stated clearly, that politicization of the two churches and doctrinal issues divided the two churches. The point of contentions was not religious issues pertaining to the sacraments, "God" or "beliefs", about defining what "politics" is and what is "religious." The state supported the passive role of the church as far as social issues were concerned. This is because their position supported the status quo. In this context, during the time of President Moi, the ACK looked aggressive and challenged the government. They were perceived to be anti-government and hence President Moi used the AIC which was dominant in Nandi to ridicule the Anglican ACK so as to" lie low" and support the government. The AIC therefore used the state to show their religious power and might in areas that were their sphere of influence after all. Mr Songok (interviewed, in 3rd March, 12016, Kapsabet Emkwen Constituency) a member of AIC noted that the ACK had "pride" and the government had to show that they had to "respect" those in power as the "Bible says" to ensure the ACK supportd the government. The state cultivated Pro-state and anti-state churches and the pro-state Churches were given favors like allowing their sponsorship of colleges, schools and chaplaincies in the university as a token of their loyalties. Other churches such as the ACK were referred to as the anti- State and hence denied 'privileges. In some of the ACK schools best teachers were equally taken away to AIC sponsored schools so that the students failed and the ACK is accused of schools miss- management the Schools.

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4.2.2.5 Ecumenism

According to Bishop Ruto(1994:71) the other nature of conflict was that of ecumenism. ACK was a member of the (NCCK) and AACC and WCC. The movement had a strong leadership from Central Province and has been critical of President Moi's government, whose church was the AIC. The AIC unlike the ACK is aligned to the (AEAM) which disagrees with most of issues of the ecumenical movement. The ACK was viewed as among members out to undermine the government hence arch-enemy of the government of President Moi and by extension enemy of the church which President Moi belonged, AIC. Due to these different ecumenical bodies the churches were suspicious of each other. Another point of conflict was the sponsorship of schools. In Nandi academic institutions were used to gather the audience to minister to and to have relevance in the community. Schools were therefore mediums of evangelization. Acquiring many schools as sponsors was a mark of relevance and influence, Churches thus had to compete for sponsorship and hence a source of conflict and competition between the two churches in Nandi.

The government thus discouraged the ACK from sponsoring schools because they were perceived as anti-government. Such political interferences brought tension and disagreements between the two main churches to date. Generally the AIC held the perception that the Anglicans were proud and came and took over converts that were rightfully theirs. This is surprising given the fact that other denominations' have come to Nandi and claim a significant number of converts. These are therefore the major causes of conflict in Nandi between the AIC and the ACK. Politicians exploited these differences to date to propagate their agenda negatively or positively to their advantage.

The nature of conflict and competition centered on change of traditional structures, colonial subdivision into locations which ended at challenging the administrative structures, political and doctrinal differences and ecumenism. These factors therefore, developed into conflicts between the individual missionaries, and also Africans.

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4.2.3 The effects of conflicts

Mr. Kalya (11, Feb. 2016 Kanetik, Kiplombe) stated that there was deep enmity between the ACK and AIC. He further observed that enmity had been shame and disgrace to the Church. Open disagreements and mutual disrespect between churches have often been a source of concern, making many people to question the essence of Christianity Mr. Elkana Kalya for example explains that the differences have caused suspicion and hatred from the fellow members of the domination to the extent that the members see each other as a competitors and hence an enemy and cannot to be trusted. He explained of two brothers who parted ways because they claimed to no longer have any relationship because they belonged to different denominations. Their family members had to intervene.

The other effect of conflict is seen during election of members to the national assembly especially, in Mosop Constituency. Each denomination elects a different candidate and campaigns for such candidate to win elections. Whoever wins the denomination claimed to have succeeded to elect their own church member, the other members have a feeling of having lost elections for the next five years. This often becomes a source of tension in Aldai. Ngeny (11, Feb.2016 Aldai Constituency) state that, the competition and conflict in the church have caused divisions to those who do not belong to these churches .

The social fellowships have equally been a bone of contention. Elise Bett(10,Feb.2016,Aldai Constituency) now 80 years at time of the research, and former worker of Mothers Union of Nakuru in 1975 – 1983, stated that, the conflict had destroyed social fabric in the community. She lamented that gathering mothers for fellowship was difficult because of suspicion of being influenced, and vice versa. She viewed this as a disgrace to the Churches mission to all people. Hellen Cherambos(11,Feb,Aldai Constituency) stated that there was need to reconcile the community for God's sake so that word of God could be effectively received by the young generation. She further observed that though young people were marrying each other, the church leadership had not embraced mutual co-existence and joint fellowships

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because past acrimonious incidents of conflict. But she was optimistic and her prayer was that the conflict would end with the old generation because the youth had no idea of the genesis of the conflict.

4.3 Conclusion

What we learned from this study through literature review, archival and secondary data is that development of rivalry began immediately after 1939, as soon as the CMS came to Nandi. What is evident was that conflict between the AIM and CMS gradually developed due to several factors. This included introduction of denominations to Nandi, which challenged the existing traditional administrative structure in the community, the *bororiet* and the *orkoiyot*. Churches became another "*Bororiet*" but with deferent values foreign to Nandi community. Secondly, due to the coming of colonial government, the community was divided into locations in the policy of divide and rule. This equally destroyed the existing traditional Nandi mechanisms of dealing with conflicts. The other factor was the formation of LNC stirring competition over resources such as land and government support. The government which had more representatives in the council controlled provision of services such as land and gave land to groups with large representation. This hence became a source of conflict. The missionaries had doctrinal differences. For example CMS was Episcopalian was and AIM Presbyterian. Such difference was crudely played out. As a result conflict ensued between the denominations and the converts in particular. Lastly, in their attempt to form an African United Native Church missionary could still not agree due to foreign influence and doctrinal differences. The alliance of Churches preferred federation of churches but could not be fully accept and the churches endorsed Alliance of Churches but still not all member Churches became members due to suspicions and mistrust between and among the individual Churches. Difference between the AIM and CMS were therefore played out in Nandi. The effects of such conflict and competition as evident in the interviews show that relationship in the community was affected between members of the two denominations. This is evident through competition on sponsorship of schools and hospitals and land cases. A case in point was the Land case of St Paul's Theological College which has been on since 1999 to date between AIC in Kapsabet and ACK.

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CHAPTER 5

5.1 CONCLUSION

The relationship between the AIM and CMS has not changed since 1939. Despite the fact that other denominations came to Nandi, relationship of the two has not changed much even after transformation AIM and CMS respectively after independence. From this study, it is evident that other factors equally played a role as catalyst to the differences. The conflict and competition developed as soon as the CMS missionaries set came back to Nandi in 1939.

As the churches came, they equally became another form of "*bororet*". Instead of bringing harmony, they became a source of conflict. It is evident from this study that politics and competition for leadership played a significant role to divide the two main denominations. For example, in the initial stages, the colonial government gave preferences to the CMS though the area was under the sphere of AIM as agreed in the Kikuyu Conference in 1913. But during the rule of President Moi, he gave more preference to the AIC leading to intensity of the conflict in the 1980 between the AIC and CPK under leadership of Bishop Muge. But before then, the conflict was not widely known.

The other factor is the traditional competition between the *bororiesiek*, especially Aldai and Mosop. The traditional competition existed between the various *bororiosek* and all came together in the face of a common enemy. The coming of missionaries and colonial government exploited this to divide and rule the community, by joining one side against the other. The former of *bororiesek* competition graduated to be conflict and competition along denominational lines and played each denominational against each other.

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From the literature review it appears that as soon as missionaries came to the interior, they had their own conflicts and disagreements due to doctrinal differences, political affiliation, and diverse formats of mission work. The same missionaries could not agree on even a single fact on the issue of a united native church. Instead, they proposed a federation which also did not work, later proposed alliance of churches which failed to attract membership from all denominations. Missionaries played out their differences and conflicts to the new African converts who readily sanctioned them without analyzing its impact on the church, and community.

This research demonstrates that the conflict and competition have not served any advantage to the missionary calling of the church as specified in the Great Commission (Matthew 28:16f.) The church was mandated to preach, make disciples and baptize in the name of the Trinity. The conflict has indeed jeopardized the purpose and mission of the church and it is time to change this narrative.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Canon Samuel Ngeny (interviewed 5, February, 2016) the conflict has not been of any help to the church. Instead, the church should now foster unity and mutual co-existence. The churches should understand the genesis of conflict and competition by seeing it more objectively and seeking solution on how to deal with this conflict and competition which have been in existence for over 75 years. Reconciliation could be done through the following ways,

1. The church leadership should learn to talk to each other and accommodate each other's views and concerns to diffuse suspicion are defused. The leadership of the two churches should guide the flock towards proper reconciliation and healing. This can be done through joint fellowships, open forums between the members of churches.
2. The churches have often been vulnerable to external factors like foreign influences. The church needs to search for viable structures which identify with traditional institutions. This new structure should have identity with the Nandi

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community and should be adopted into the Nandi community so that there is proper reconciliation. Failure to understand the cultural concepts renders proper reconciliation elusive.

3. The church has to be an effective tool to witness and mobilize people towards God. The stigma that is associated with denominations should be removed. This is a fortunate baggage which was inherited from the missionary era.
4. The ACK and AIM should co-exist in harmony with each other and acknowledge others having the same co- function of witnessing. They should accept each other's identity, regarding the other as better than them. The relationship should be free and flexible as the old *boroiret* identity. The two should learn to mobilize each other's strengths against a common enemy Satan and its evil manifestations in the society, and avoid fighting each other.
5. The churches should be conscious of political influences. As Dr. Gitari puts it one of his sermons, the church should rather be very near not very far to the political class. The conflict and competition have always been activated by the political influence in different times. The church should also be wary of political influences which have often caused conflict between the two main denominations in Nandi. Instead the church should not be used to consider other denominations as enemies but partners in mission. The churches should guide the political class on truthfulness, to the mission and purpose of God. The church should always maintain a critical distance with the state on decisive issues and not propaganda. She should guide the political class towards what is honesty and mutual co-existence.
6. The competition should be marked by a struggle to promote "good works in individuals and society." This will benefit the individuals of all churches so that Christians accept to serve God faithfully. Energy of conflict and competition should be redirected towards evangelism to win more souls for Christ than fighting each other over petty differences which are of no value to the primary mission of the church. Focus should be that which offers true spiritual growth of the converts rather than what causes division.

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7. I suggest for further research on conflict and competition between denominations in Nandi so as to guide the church towards proper reconciliation between the two churches and develop a tool to assist accomplishes the desired results.

In conclusion, the leadership of the churches should take lead to guide the church towards true harmony and spirituality and not constant disagreements and hatred which are of no value to the growth of the church.

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INTERVIEWS

1. Benjamin Songok 3rd March 2016 Kapsabet Emkwen Constituency
2. Charles Murgor 12th April Kamoiywo Mosop Costituency
3. Elkana Kalya 11, February 2016 kanetick kiplombe
4. Ezekiel Manyim 2 February 2016 Tendwo Aldai constituency
5. Hellen Cherambos 5th March,2016 Aldai Aldai constituency
6. Japhet Kurgat, 10th, February, 2016 Saniak Emgwen Constituency
7. John Sugut 5th February 2016 Kipngoror, Mosopconstituency
8. Jackson Singoei 10 February 2016 Sanak , Chesumeiconstituency
9. Mariko Rop 10th April 2016 Saniak Mosop Constituency
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13. Samuel Arap Ngeny 20thFebruary Kaboi,Aldaiconstituency
14. Samuel Tum 6, February 2016 Tendwo Aldai Constituency
15. Sally Sang 7th March 2016 Kapsabet Emkwen Constituency

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APENDIX

QUESTIONAIRE

1. How and when did the Anglican Church and African Inland Churches came to Nandi?
2. Has there been any conflict and competition between the two major denominations? From your understanding how did conflict begin?
3. What has been the nature of this conflict?
4. What have been the effects of these conflicts to the community?
5. From your understanding what could be the best way to reconcile this two denominations?

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GLOSSARY

Bororiet: This is a clan named after a totem and they seven clans among the Nandi. These based on same ancestral origin.

Chebolol: Actually "big basket" this name is associated to *Kapchepkendi* clan meaning they assimilate other clans without any problem.

Gutiri mubia na muthungu: means there no differences between a missionary and a settler.

Kapchepkendi: One of the Nandi *bororiet* associated to a woman called Tapkendi

Kiptainik: These mean the leaders or elders who advises the community on social and political matters. They are often selected by the community based on their talents and wisdom.

Kiruogik: These Chiefs who solved cases they played a role of judge in the community with the help of elders.

Kokwet: A region covered by an Elder who has administrative, social, religious and Political functions

Kokwotinwek: It means plural for *kokwet* and is often an area under the Head of regions currently under area under a Chief.

Laibons: another term for *orkoiyot* in Maasai also means a ritual expert.

Maotik: These fore tellers also referred to as prophets and were highly respected in the community

Mlango; Means the door.

Orkoiyot: He is a religious of the Kalenjin and guides the community on social, economic, and political exploits.

Sawe: It means one of the Nandi age sets. Nandi has other seven age sets.

Siritoik: Means a peer group or a platoon of warriors.

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