

DECLARATIVE

**LEADERSHIP CONFLICTS IN THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT
PENTECOSTAL CHURCH OF AFRICA: WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO GITOTHUA.**

BY

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This thesis has been submitted for examination and is not to be distributed


**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

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APRIL 1994.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for an degree in any other university.

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To my late father-in-law, Samuel Kamau, at rest.

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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Dedication

To my late father-in-law, Samuel Kananda, who was a member of the A.I.P.C.A.

Samuel Kananda who gave me comfort and peace, his assistance and Word Processing facilities. My wife, Wanjiru Kananda, Wanjohi and Wanjiru for typing and editing. They created an atmosphere which was conducive to my study progress.

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Abbreviations

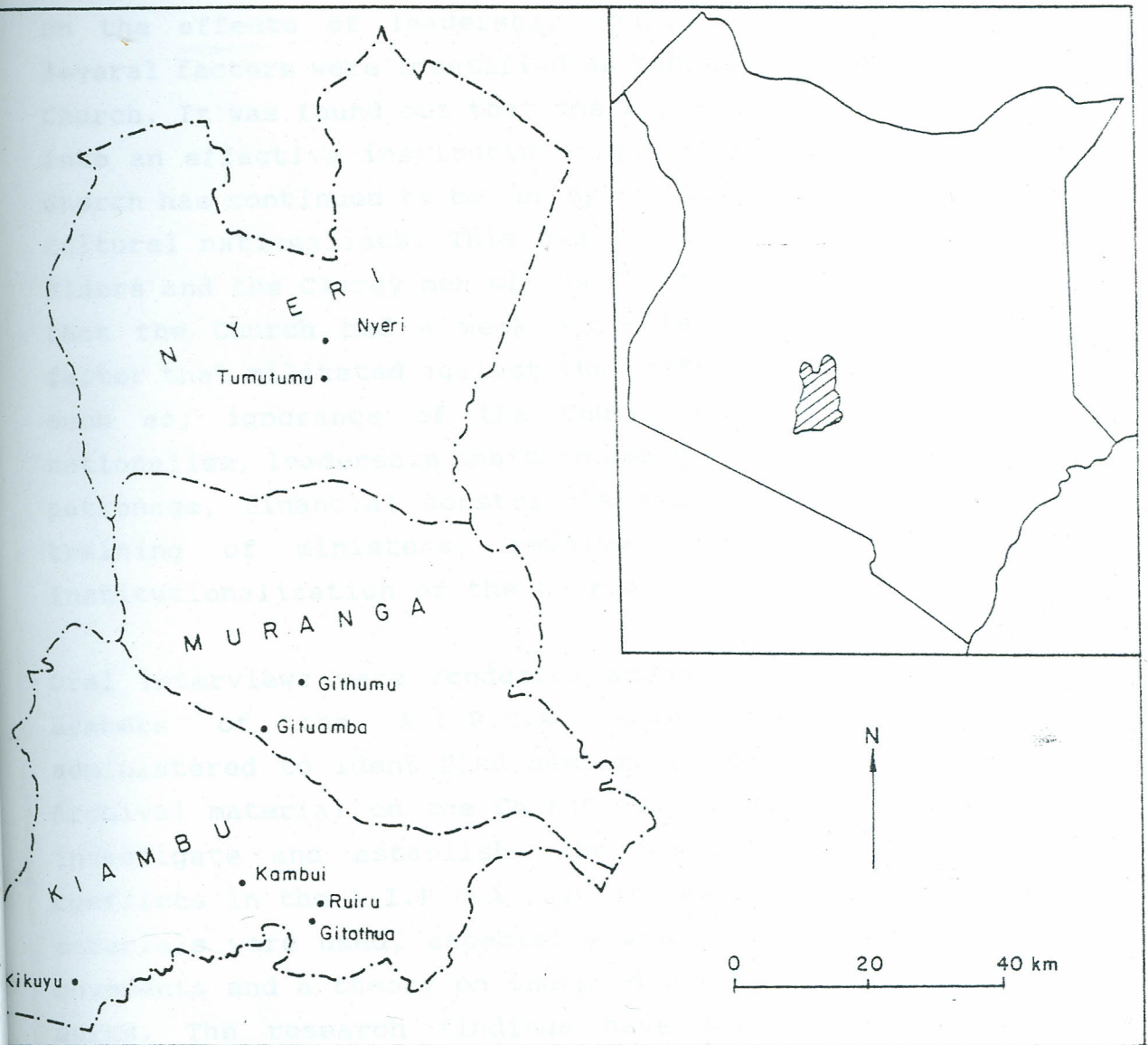
A.I.C.	:	Africa Inland Church (formerly A.I.M.)
A.I.M.	:	Africa Inland Mission.
A.I.P.C.	:	African Independent Pentecostal Church. It was changed to A.I.P.C.A. in 1938.
A.I.P.C.A.:		African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa.
C.M.S.	:	Church Missionary Society.
C.P.K.	:	Church of The Province of Kenya (formerly C.M.S.)
C.S.M.	:	Church of Scotland Mission.
D.C.	:	District Commissioner.
D.O.	:	Divisional Officer.
G.M.S.	:	Gospel Missionary Society.
H.G.M.	:	Holy Ghost Mission.
K.C.A.	:	Kikuyu Central Association.
K.K.E.A.	:	Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association.
K.I.S.A.	:	Kikuyu Independent Schools' Association.
M.P.	:	Member of Parliament.
N.C.C.K.	:	National Christian Council of Kenya (1963 - 1984)
N.C.C.K.	:	National Council of Churches of Kenya (since 1984).
P.C.	:	Provincial Commissioner.
P.C.E.A.	:	Presbyterian Church of East Africa (an alliance of the C.S.M. and the G.M.S. since 1946).
O.C.P.D.	:	Officer Commanding Police Division.
o.i.	:	oral interview

DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Branch : The District level of the A.I.P.C.A.
- Central Board : The body governing the A.I.P.C.A.
- Central Committee : Interchangeably used with Central Board, it is the body governing the A.I.P.C.A. Church.
- Conflict : At odds or inconsistent in perceiving an ideal situation.
- Conservative : In this study, the word refers to the advocates of orthodoxy in the A.I.P.C.A. Members of this group resist any change and want to maintain the original objectives of the Church.
- Cultural Nationalists: Refers to members of the A.I.P.C.A. who want to maintain some aspects of their traditional culture. Most of these were freedom fighters in the 1940s and 1950s.
- Curse : In this study, the word means to announce a prohibition. A curse can also be re-enacted with the same effect as the spoken word. A re-enacted curse is believed to take effect almost immediately but in most cases, a curse causes an effect after the death of the person who announced it.
- Historic Churches: Also referred to as mother or mainline churches, these were the mission churches from which the A.I.P.C.A. seceded.

- Independency : A phenomenon of indigenous churches founded either through schism from historic churches or through African initiative.
- Institutionalization: Establishment of law, practices and polity governing an institution.
- Moderate : Used in the study to mean advocates of change in the A.I.P.C.A. Most of the educated members of the Church belong to this category.
- Schism : Breakaway, also used to mean separatism.
- Sects : Movements of religious protest which separate themselves from other people in respect of their religious beliefs, practices and institutions and often in many other departments of their lives.
- Zeitgeist : Climate of opinion unconsciously affecting thought action.

PART OF CENTRAL PROVINCE SHOWING THE ORIGINAL AREAS OF A.I.P.C.A. IN REFERENCE TO GITOTHUA (A.I.P.C.A.)



Map of Kenya showing the position of Kiambu, Muranga and Nyeri districts)

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the factors underlying the fragmentation of and schism in the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (A.I.P.C.A.). Gitothua church is taken as a case study on the effects of leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. Several factors were identified as behind the conflicts in the Church. It was found out that the A.I.P.C.A. did not develop into an effective institution right from its inception. The Church has continued to be run by the Elders, most of whom are cultural nationalists. This has led to tensions between the Elders and the Clergy men of the Church. It was also gathered that the Church had a weak ecclesiastical organization, a factor that militated against its unity. Contributory factors such as; ignorance of the Church constitution, cultural nationalism, leadership ambition among some members, political patronage, financial constraints and lack of education and training of ministers, revolved around an ineffective institutionalization of the Church.

Oral interviews were conducted among the rival leaders and members of the A.I.P.C.A. Questionnaires were also administered to identified members of the clergy and laity. Archival material on the Church was scrutinized in order to investigate and establish, the possibility of leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A., in its early history. Secondary materials were used, especially works on independent church movements and a theory on independency was derived from such works. The research findings have been presented in six chapters. The background to the problem is discussed in Chapter One. The foundation of the A.I.P.C.A. in 1929 and the reasons for independency in church and school among the Agikuyu are described.

The most significant factor behind independency is identified as the clash between the Agikuyu culture on the one hand and the Western culture on the other. The A.I.P.C.A. was, therefore, founded in protest against the missionaries and their culture.

The effects of the clash between the Agikuyu and western cultures led to the establishment of the A.I.P.C.A. Chapter Two discusses the growth and the development of the Church between 1929 and 1952. Leadership conflicts in the Church are traced to the early 1930s and 1950s. Through a study on the conflicts which took place in the late 1930s in the Church, it was established that the A.I.P.C.A. appealed to the colonial government for assistance in reconciling its leaders. It was thus concluded that from its inception, the Church has never had avenues for resolving conflicts. This was observed in 1977 and 1990, when the Church appealed to the independent government for assistance in reconciling rival factions.

The role of Kikuyu Independent School Association (K.I.S.A.), in the Mau Mau movement that led to its proscription in 1952 is assessed. This involvement in the movement adversely affected the A.I.P.C.A. politically, socially and economically because most of its members and leaders were detained during the emergency period. On re-opening of the Church in 1964, the effects of the Mau Mau rebellion continued to be felt in the A.I.P.C.A. and contributed to the conflicts therein.

In Chapter Three the emerging themes and adjustments after 1964 are explored. Stages leading to the re-opening of the Church are examined. It was observed that the Church was re-opened in an un-coordinated manner leading to disaffection among the leading ministers of the A.I.P.C.A. In this chapter, the ecclesiastical organization of the Church is described and

its weaknesses identified. Factors that led to the formation of rival alliances are examined. A survey of the emergence of rival factions in the A.I.P.C.A. between 1970 and 1982 is given in Chapter Four. The causes of these schisms are enumerated. Weaknesses in the ecclesiastical organization of the Church facilitated its fragmentation into rival factions. The institution of the Chairman was identified as a crucial factor in the conflicts within the Church.

A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua is examined as a case study in Chapter Five. Leadership conflicts in the church developed as an extension of the conflicts in the entire A.I.P.C.A. It was observed that differences in Gitothua would not have escalated to an uncontrollable level if the entire A.I.P.C.A. had been united as an institution. The conflicts in Gitothua, took on the same pattern as the leadership conflicts in the entire Church.

Chapter Six summarises the findings of the study. There have been efforts at reconciliation among the rival groups in the A.I.P.C.A. In spite of this some Elders have persistently defied the authority of the three archbishops and have formed yet another rival group. The chairman of Gitothua is among these elders although it was in his church that the reconciliation of the rival leaders began. In the study, the author concluded that unity in the A.I.P.C.A. cannot be totally realized in the lifetime of the original core of cultural nationalists in the Church.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1:1 Background to the Problem

1:1.1 The Introduction Of Christianity Among The Agikuyu

Christianity in the Central Province of Kenya was spread by five main missionary bodies, namely, the Church of Scotland Mission (C.S.M.), the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), the Gospel Missionary Society (G.M.S.), the Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.), and the Holy Ghost Mission (H.G.M.), (Barrett 1973: 22 and Welbourn 1961: 114). The Protestant as well as the Catholic Missions built churches in their areas of influence and later built schools within their mission centres. As the number of children increased new premises had to be found outside mission. These were called out schools (Sifuna 1987:199). The missions soon gained converts in their churches. In the schools, young people were taught religion, reading and writing in preparation for employment by either the missions or the colonial government. No sooner had the missionaries settled among the Agikuyu than they began to launch an attack on their culture. Muga contends that they taught against polygyny. They refused to baptise polygynists until they put aside all their wives except the first one (Muga 1975: 102). This teaching was against the Agikuyu tradition where polygyny was viewed to be in harmony with the economic, political and social way of life. For the Agikuyu,

such marriages were acceptable because many wives and children through polygynous marriages were regarded as of economic significance. For example, the women tilled the land and grew enough food for the family, while the children helped their parents. However, only the wealthy members of the community, practised polygyny (Kenyatta 1978: 177). Such men were held in high esteem and it was from such a group that leaders of the community emerged.

1:1.2 Reaction of the Missionaries to the Agikuyu Institutions

The missionaries, especially the Protestants, attacked the initiation rite of clitoridectomy. The teaching against this rite began as early as 1906 when Dr. John Arthur took over the leadership of the C.S.M. By 1909, with the support of some African Christians, it was passed that even Christian boys should be circumcised in the hospital without the usual ceremonial accompaniments by the traditional Gikuyu circumciser (Welbourn 1961: 135). For the missionaries, circumcision ceremonies were regarded as un-Christian owing to the nature of the traditional dances that accompanied them. The dances were regarded as immoral because of the wording of the songs used. The words were regarded as sexually provocative to the initiates, but for the Agikuyu they held a special significance, such as the testing of the perseverance of the initiates as well as encouraging them to be brave during the actual process.

In 1915, Dr. H.R.A. Philp of Tumutumu, sanctioned the circumcision of two girls at the hospital but was so revolted by its cruelty that from then onwards, he waged a campaign against the rite. In 1920, the leading Christian elders of Tumutumu declared a prohibition of the rite among the members in the church. The A.I.M. Githumu passed a resolution against it in 1921 (*ibid.*, 136), and the G.M.S. in 1920 (Wanyoike 1974: 72). The C.M.S. took no stand till much later. The Protestant missions believed that the ritual was un-Christian and had to be abandoned.

Between 1928 and 1929 the Protestant missions with Dr. J. Arthur in the forefront, waged a campaign against the ritual. According to Ward, the C.S.M was in the forefront because it had sophisticated medical institutions and was, therefore, the first to become aware about the complications at child birth for those girls who had undergone the ritual (Ward 1976: 134). This campaign gained momentum when one, Elizabeth, died at child birth at Tumutumu and when a girl called Ng'endo was forcefully circumcised at Kambui in 1929, (Kamuyu 1981: 232). In Nyeri, a resolution was passed against the ritual by the C.S.M Church elders and missionaries. In protest against this move, seven church elders immediately left the church (Rosberg and Nottingham 1966: 133).

In March 1929 at Tumutumu, the custom was criticised and its prohibition recommended. Those Christians who defied the order were threatened with excommunication (Kamuyu 1981: 258). The

Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.) and the C.S.M. had a long history of conflict in Nyeri over land ownership by the mission and this prohibition against what in their view was considered to be an old and significant ritual, introduced a new level of bitterness (Rosberg and Nottingham 1966: 131). K.C.A. was a political party launched in Murang'a in 1924. Initially the party fought for the release of one, Harry Thuku, who had launched Young Kikuyu Association in 1921. He had been detained in 1922 after becoming very radical in demanding the rights of the Agikuyu (Ochieng 1985: 118-120). The party also fought against land alienation by both the missions and the colonial government (Rosberg and Nottingham 1966: 87). The association attracted young men educated at, but alienated from the missions. When the missions prohibited the ritual of clitoridectomy, the course of K.C.A. was greatly advanced throughout the Kikuyuland. The party took advantage of this controversy to point out that the missionary was an enemy of the Agikuyu and urged its members to continue with the ritual (Leakey 1952: 89).

1:1.3 The Significance of Clitoridectomy to the Agikuyu

For the Agikuyu, clitoridectomy was an important ritual for many reasons. First, it marked a transition from childhood to adulthood and was, therefore, an important rite of passage (Kenyatta 1978:132). Secondly, it was the societal sanction for girls to be considered of age and, therefore, allowed to get married as no uncircumcised girl could get married. Thirdly, it was during the seclusion period of the rite that

the girls received education on their roles in the society (Leakey 1952: 89). Because of these reasons, the Agikuyu, resisted any attempts to make them abandon the custom. With K.C.A. encouraging its members to resist interference from the missions, a clash between the two was imminent.

1:1.4 *The "Kirore" Issue and the Emergence of "Muthirigu"*

In the C.S.M., the G.M.S., the A.I.M. and later in the C.M.S. congregations, Christians were asked to re-affirm their loyalty by signing a statement against the ritual. Those who signed were henceforth referred to as abolitionists or "Kirore". They put a thumb print on the statement because they were illiterate and for this reason were branded "kirore" in a derogatory manner. Those who refused to sign called themselves "Karing'a" or pure (Anderson 1973: 49). A song called "Muthirigu" emerged and spread like wildfire throughout the Central Province of Kenya. According to Kamuyu, "Muthirigu" was an anthem of resistance against the interference of the core value system of the Agikuyu. The song depicted feelings against foreign domination in religion and politics and aroused socio-political awareness of the Agikuyu (Kamuyu 1981: 282). Christians who refused to sign the statement were excommunicated from their churches and circumcised girls were expelled from mission schools. This, more than anything else, precipitated the Independent Schools' movements where circumcised girls could attend school.

Two movements arose from the controversy, namely, Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (K.K.E.A.), in 1933 (Kamuyu

1981: 26), and Kikuyu Independent Schools' Association (K.I.S.A.), in 1934 (Ndung'u 1969: 135). K.K.E.A. was associated with those Christians who broke from the C.S.M. at Kikuyu and some parts of Nyeri like Tumutumu, while K.I.S.A. was associated with those who broke from the G.M.S. (Rosberg and Nottingham 1976: 126), and had a base at Gituamba in Murang'a. The two movements built their own schools and churches and established their separate associations to cater for the education of their members.

1:1.5 Independency in School and Church

The history of the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (A.I.P.C.A.), begins at Gituamba in Murang'a where one, Daudi Maina Kiragu, had already established two independent schools between 1922 and 1924. These schools acted as the initial operation base of K.I.S.A. In 1932 Christian elders who had defected from the mission churches, led by Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu, asked the C.M.S. in Kahuhia, to train and ordain church ministers for them. They emphasized to the C.M.S. that after training and ordination, their men would not in any way be subject to the C.M.S. influence (Strayer 1978: 151). This emphasis showed that the Agikuyu were determined to be independent of the missions. However, the C.M.S., agreed to train and ordain church ministers on condition that the pastors would become members of the Church of England. The Christian elders declined the offer and looked for help elsewhere.

At Gituamba, Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu in conjunction with Mr. James Beuttah, then working in Mombasa, requested Archbishop Daniel William Alexander of the South Africa Orthodox Church, to train pastors for the A.I.P.C.A and he agreed (Ndung'u 1969: 146). Archbishop Daniel William Alexander was a South African of African ancestry. He had been consecrated a priest in the United States of America (U.S.A.), on 11th September, 1927, by one, Bishop George Alexander Macguire, an Afro-American from Antigua. Bishop G.A. Macguire was the Primate in America and Patriarch in the world of the African Orthodox Church (*ibid.*, 142). Members of the African Orthodox Church preached a "black God" and a "black Christ". They also taught the Afro-Americans among other things, that Africans should liberate the African continent (Cronon 1969: 178). Archbishop D.W. Alexander's teachings were, therefore, compatible with the aspirations of the Agikuyu people in this period. Because of the archbishop's connections with the Afro-Americans, he was under constant police surveillance when he landed in Kenya but was left alone when he kept out of political limelight (Corfield 1959/ 1960: 174). The first seminary was built at Gituamba where the A.I.P.C.A and Karing'a pastors were trained and ordained in 1937. The Church was initially referred to as the African Independent Pentecostal Church (A.I.P.C.). In 1938 the name was changed to the African Independent Pentecostal Church Of Africa (A.I.P.C.A.), in order to give it a more national outlook. Reverend Daudi Maina Kiragu became one of its first leaders.

1:1.6 Causes of Independency Among the Agikuyu

Independency was brought about by a combination of factors. First, the Agikuyu felt that their culture was under a threat of extinction. The prohibition of clitoridectomy as a ritual, gave impetus to independency. Secondly, they felt that they had the right to establish their own policy without interference (Murray 1973: 133). Thirdly, they had a desire to interpret the Scriptures in line with their culture (Parrinder 1969: 149). Lastly, they wanted African leadership free from missionary interference. All these incidents, as well as cultural conflicts between the Gikuyu culture on the one hand, and the Western culture on the other hand, led to the foundation of the A.I.P.C.A. The Church was, therefore, founded in protest against the missionaries and their culture.

1:2 Statement of the Problem

On 14th November, 1952, K.I.S.A. schools and the A.I.P.C.A. by extension, were proscribed by the colonial government because K.I.S.A. members were suspected of having connections with the Mau Mau movement. Members of the Church either lapsed or joined various mission churches. When the Church was re-opened on achievement of political independence in Kenya, its members flocked back to their Church. Despite its re-opening, the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (A.I.P.C.A.), has been plagued with leadership conflicts since 1963. It has been split into three rival factions each led by a rival Archbishop and a rival Central Committee. This trend of

factionalism has followed the same pattern in all the A.I.P.C.A churches.

First, we need to know what forces are behind leadership conflicts in A.I.P.C.A. We need to know the causes of these leadership conflicts. Secondly, we need to know whether the militancy directed against the missionaries and the colonial government during the colonial era by the church members has left an impact on the A.I.P.C.A. Finally, we need to know what role cultural nationalism has played in these conflicts.

1:3 Objectives of the Study

- (i) To identify and describe the main factors that militated against unity that led to a split in the A.I.P.C.A. churches and especially in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua.
- (ii) To examine and analyze the effect of ministerial training or lack of it, on effective leadership in the Church.
- (iii) To investigate and describe the attitude of various members of the Church towards leadership in the A.I.P.C.A.
- (iv) To examine the impact of politics and cultural nationalism on church leadership in the A.I.P.C.A. churches especially in Gitothua.

1:4 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated for verification in this study:

- (i) The A.I.P.C.A. Church has not effectively institutionalized since its re-opening in 1963, hence the leadership conflicts which have extended to Gitothua.
- (ii) Lack of ministerial training for the Church ministers have contributed to leadership conflicts in the Church.
- (iii) Personality factors and intrigue among members rather than regional and religious factors, are behind leadership conflicts in the Church.
- (iv) Political machinations and cultural nationalism are contributory factors to the conflicts in the church.

It can, therefore, be concluded that ineffective institutionalization of the A.I.P.C.A. has led to leadership conflicts in the Church and this in turn has affected A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua.

1:5 Significance of the Study

First, a study on leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. in general and A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua in particular, should contribute towards an understanding of the factors underlying the emerging trends towards leadership conflicts in some Independent Churches in Kenya. The study attempts to identify the causes of these conflicts, and thereby contribute to

knowledge. Secondly, the study should contribute to the already available knowledge on separatism in Independent Christian Churches. Scholars like Barrett (1969), Welbourn (1961) and Anderson (1973), have concentrated on schism from historic churches. This study will concern itself with reasons and causes of conflicts that follow after separatism from the parent church. Thirdly, the study should hopefully provide an understanding of church conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. In view of the fact that the government had to step in to eradicate conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A., a scholarly study on the church should thus provide a better understanding of the church. Lastly, the study should not only be of interest to scholars but also to Independent Churches threatened with schisms due to leadership conflicts.

1:6 Research Location and Population

Apart from the wider survey, the research was undertaken in Kiambu District at A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. The church is one of the parishes that make up the Kiambu branch of the A.I.P.C.A. It is situated in Ruiru Town Council, about two kilometres to the south of Ruiru Town. Within the parish are several churches, namely, A.I.P.C.A. Ruiru Town, A.I.P.C.A. Gitambaya, A.I.P.C.A. Gikumari, A.I.P.C.A. Murera Sisal, A.I.P.C.A. Murera Coffee, A.I.P.C.A. Murera Kihunguro A.I.P.C.A. Kimuri, Ruiru Mills and A.I.P.C.A. Gitothua itself. The total population of the parish is approximately between 3500 to 4000 registered adult members excluding children.

1:6.1 Justification of Location

A.I.P.C.A. Gitothua, was chosen because it has been a centre of activities relating to the African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa. For example, rival elections for officials of the Central Board of the A.I.P.C.A. were held at Gitothua on 15th December 1988, marking the beginning of a rival Central Board and a rival Archbishop. It was also at Gitothua that the first attempts towards reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A. rival groups were made. A study on A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, should, therefore, give us an understanding of what is happening in the A.I.P.C.A. churches. Lastly, the researcher belongs to the ethnic community in which the church is situated and can speak the language fluently. This enabled the researcher to communicate with the members of the church most of whom are either illiterate or semi-literate. The researcher had contacts in the Gitothua church and lived within easy reach of the area.

1:7 Limitations

By the time the research was conducted, A.I.P.C.A. leaders were working towards reconciliation. Some responses tended to reflect this objective because members wanted to depict unity in the church. To correct this distortion, the researcher confined her work to the period before 24th September 1990, and interviewed members and leaders from the three factions. Financial constraints and time factor, hampered the researcher's ability to interview all the leaders in all the 24 Branches of the A.I.P.C.A. Despite these constraints, the

main contenders in the A.I.P.C.A. leadership conflicts, were interviewed. The researcher also found it difficult to meet the respondents on any other day except Sunday afternoons after service. This slowed down the study.

1:8 Research Methodology

Data for this study were gathered through the use of questionnaires and oral interview. These were supplemented with information from archival records as well as secondary work in the library. Questionnaires were administered to identified members of the clergy as well as the laity in the Church. Two types of questionnaires were administered, one for the clergy and the other for the laity. The questionnaire designed for the clergy emphasized on their training, the content learnt and their perception on their role as clergymen of the Church. The questionnaire for the laity emphasized on their perception of leadership in the Church. Both questionnaires questioned the respondents on what they regarded as the causes of leadership conflicts in their Church. Respondents among the clergymen were selected on the basis of their age and status in the Church. This enabled the researcher to interview some of the original members of the Church as well as clergymen who had been ordained recently. Clergymen from the three factions were interviewed to avoid biases. The three rival archbishops were interviewed, as well as three out of the four bishops in Kiambu branch of the A.I.P.C.A.

Members of the laity were selected on the basis of age, academic education and gender. Questionnaires were administered to the youth aged between 18-25 years. These were the educated members of the Church. From this group, the attitude of young people towards the Church leadership was learnt. Other questionnaires were administered to men and women aged between, 30-45 years, 46-54 years, and 55-75 years respectively. Most of these age-groups were illiterate or semi-literate. A research assistant helped record the responses from such members. The researcher also conducted group interviews. From these interviews, the role of cultural nationalism and politics in the Church came out clearly. Several members of the rival Central Boards were interviewed. The reasons behind the rejection of clergymen as leaders of the Church was elicited from them. Pilot survey was conducted before fieldwork and members from the rival groups had been identified. Data collected were classified into two categories, namely, the clergy and the laity. It was further classified into five categories, based on age education, gender, status in the church and factions. Information recorded was analyzed and recorded as a thesis.

1:9 Literature Review

Generally some scholars have tended to confine their research to the development of Protestant Churches in Kenya as well as independency in the colonial period (Anderson 1970, Muga 1975, Ndung'u 1969). They have failed to include the development of Independent Churches in Independent Kenya. Other scholars have

concentrated on the impact of Christianity on African culture. Kamuyu (1981), Kimani Kang'ethe (1990), have studied the impact of Christianity and the Western culture on the Agikuyu. They have not touched on leadership conflicts in our era.

Muga (1975), has identified the reasons behind the rejection of European leadership in Christian churches by the Agikuyu during the colonial era. He lists down these reasons as, the desire to retain their customs of clitoridectomy, polygyny, establish free church movements with independent African leadership, as well as schools where their children would receive education without the interference of missionaries. His work covers the reasons for independency but does not explain why long after these churches have achieved their aims, leadership conflicts should plague them.

Ndung'u (1979), has studied the A.I.P.C.A. His thesis, however, concentrates on the doctrine of eschatology in the Church and does not touch on leadership conflicts in the Church. Another work on the A.I.P.C.A. was done by Kimani Kang'ethe (1990). In his thesis, he concentrates on the encounter between Christianity and African Religious concepts and concludes that the A.I.P.C.A. was founded as a result of the Agikuyu's attempt to rediscover African cultural and religious values which were being eroded away rapidly (*ibid.*, 102). The above works on the A.I.P.C.A. do not touch the most current issues in the Church. This study, therefore, attempts to bridge the gap.

J.B. Ndung'u, provides us with an interesting parallel to the situation in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. According to him both the orthodox (Karing'a), and the abolitionists (Kirore), Christians in Gituamba at first worshipped in the same church at different times. He contends that permission to worship together came to an end when some young men danced "muthirigu" when the abolitionists were worshipping inside the church. A fight ensued and several young men were jailed for 6 months, (Ndung'u 1969: 133). Similarly in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua the two different factions initially shared the church building at different times and in one incident, these members outside the church beat drums and sang different songs while others were inside worshipping. A fight ensued and five people were later jailed for 6 months (*Nation*, 2/10/89). This study attempts to find out whether this militancy in the early history of the A.I.P.C.A. has persisted in the old members unconsciously and has erupted with passage of time.

Murray (in Barrett 1973: 129-130) has studied varieties of Kikuyu Independent Churches. She, like the other scholars already mentioned, traces the reason behind secession from the mission bodies. She concludes that the A.I.P.C.A. was not different from its mother (historic) churches in matters of theology although people who practised clitoridectomy and polygyny are allowed into church membership. She does not include an important and recent phenomenon in the Church namely leadership conflicts.

Welbourn and Ogot (1966), have studied two Independent churches in Western Kenya. They concluded that independency emerged because:

"Mission Churches ceased to be homes where men met face to face" (*ibid.*, 140).

The two scholars further contend that the Africans resorted to independency because they wanted a place to feel at home. Our study examinea the reasons why the A.I.P.C.A. has failed to be a place to feel at home due to leadership conflicts including physical fights.

Sundkler (1961: 100), contends that obsession for leadership is as a result of other underlying factors. His research, which was based in South Africa identified racial discrimination and colour bar as the reasons behind the desire for leadership. He convincingly argues that the church provides the only legitimate outlet for the Africans' strong urge for leadership (*ibid.*, 100). This assertion although relevant in South Africa, cannot be said to be true in some Kenyan Independent churches today because the phenomenon of racial discrimination and colour bar does not exist in our politically independent nation. However, Sundkler's contention that the urge for leadership and the desire for prestige and power may lead to secession should be a pointer to our work.

Lanternari observes that a new church carries within itself contradictions and conflicts which come into full view only when the initial prophetic or messianic phase has been left

behind (Lantenari 1963: 49). The A.I.P.C.A. has been under indigenous leadership and in an independent nation but has been plagued with leadership conflicts. No research has been conducted in this Church to identify the seeds of contradictions within it that led to leadership conflicts and indiscipline among some of its members.

Barrett has studied two hundred church movements in East Africa and has concluded that schisms emerged spontaneously in areas that had been subjected with intensity to missionary activity. Using this premise he has concluded that cultural clash was strongest among the Agikuyu because of intensive missionary activity in that area, hence independency was strongest among the Agikuyu. He further contends that where a tribe had been studiously protected from the shock of culture, for example the Maasai, independency was missing (Barrett 1966: 4). Barrett's work lays emphasis on schism from historic churches, but he does not concentrate on leadership conflicts in independent church movements.

Dirven has conducted a research on the Maria Legio Sect among the Luo. He concentrated on the historical foundation and development of the church which separated from the Catholic Church in 1963. He comes up with a biased conclusion on African leadership in the church. In his work, he concludes that Africans are incapable of effective church leadership and can only succeed if white personnel come to their assistance (Dirven 1970: 197). In his work on the Maria Legio, Dirven

contends that African-White personnel relationship is lacking in Maria Legio, hence poor leadership in the church. This study is an effort to identify other factors underlying leadership conflicts other than the absence of white expertise, to correct such biased conclusions.

We learn from Latourette (1952), that the historic Church prior to the Great Reformation had its own leadership conflicts. Between A.D. 1309-1377, the popes resided at Avignon in France when all the popes were French. This period was marked with rivalries and dissension among Church cardinals. Avignon papacy was followed by the Great Schism for 40 years, a period in which there were two popes, one at Avignon and the other at Rome, each claiming to be the Head of the Church (*ibid.*, 487). In the A.I.P.C.A., there are currently three archbishops each claiming to be the Head of the Church. A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua has been having a multiplicity of pastors and leaders each claiming to be the genuine representative of the Central Board of the Church (*Nation* 8/1/90 & 15/1/90).

Bryan Wilson (1976), observes that the Christian faith is rooted in the sense of history. He concludes that the role and place of religion has been disrupted because the lessons of the past are no longer considered relevant by the modern society (*ibid.*, 3). This research investigates what the history of the A.I.P.C.A. has to offer in our understanding of the conflicts in the church. For this reason the researcher

holds that the A.I.P.C.A. history can be instructive to us. In most of the literature available on Independent church movements, the most glaring gap to knowledge is the lack of systematic investigation on leadership conflicts in these churches.

1:10 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical orientation underlying this study was based on David Barrett's theory on Independency and Reformation in Africa. Barrett applied ideas on sectarianism propounded by Max Weber and Earnest Troeltsch, who had studied the dichotomy of Church and sect. Weber (in Parsons 1958: 145, 152), contended that sects resemble early Christian communities, had few members, developed into a Church and that they emphasize the sovereignty of the local community. Barrett has adopted these views in his research. Troeltsch, (in Wilson 1970: 7), saw in Christianity, a dialectic principle at work with sectarian and churchly strains as alternating forces that had been there since the beginning. This means that the process of schism will repeat itself forever. Troeltsch concluded that sects arose when the Church alienated the poor who break away from it. In the A.I.P.C.A. Githothua, as in other A.I.P.C.A. churches, some members felt alienated and defected from the parent Church. Barrett's conclusion that movements of protest or renewal remain in embryo in historic churches can be seen in the light of Troeltsch's dialectic principle. In the case of the A.I.P.C.A. churches, the conservative members felt alienated and seceded to form the various rival groups. Once

the rival groups had been established, the moderate members in such factions, attempted to introduce new ideas in the church and the dialectic principle continued to operate in the factions, leading to more conflicts.

In his theory, Barrett contends that the failure by the missions to demonstrate the biblical concept of love as sensitive understanding of others as equals, the failure to study or understand the African society, religion and psychology in any depth, together with the dawning of African perception from the vernacular scripture led to Schism in Africa (Barrett 1968: 116). His theory is based on the premise that independency is a societal reaction to mission, arising from a tribal "zeitgeist" or climate of opinion in which Christian missions were believed to be illegitimately mounting an attack against the African traditional society and in particular its basic unit, the family (*ibid.*, 1966: 3). This means that schism in Africa, emerged as a result of three impinging cultures, namely, the traditional, the colonial and the missionary. Using this theory, Barrett concluded that many movements of renewal or protest remain in embryo inside the established churches at varying degrees without the disaffection they represent having broken in schism. In the A.I.P.C.A. the Agikuyu split from the missionary churches because of their attack on its institutions. The recent splits in the A.I.P.C.A. churches may well have started as movements within the Church, breaking to surface as a result of other factors.

Barrett's theory is derived from a study of Independent Church Movements in Africa which have emerged either through schism or through African initiative. His theory is, therefore, applicable in our study of the A.I.P.C.A. in order to establish what seeds of schism therein caused the leadership conflicts. An eclectic approach was, however, taken in order to enhance Barrett's theory. Scholars who have studied independent church movements received our attention, particularly Daneel, Lanternari and Sundkler in order to enrich our study.

Daneel in his work contends that there is a vital connection between leadership in the independent churches and the ever continuing process of schism and fragmentation. He convincingly argues that constant leadership conflicts may eventually lead to schism and defection of individuals (Daneel 1987: 195). The A.I.P.C.A. churches have had such leadership conflicts and defections. The study, therefore, investigates the role of leadership in the fragmentation of the A.I.P.C.A. and conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua.

Lanternari's study on separatism stipulates that a new church carries within itself contradictions and conflicts which come into full view only when the initial prophetic or messianic phase has been left behind (Lanternari 1963: 49). This contention was tested in our study of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, to identify the seeds of contradiction behind disunity in the church and enhance Barrett's theory. The A.I.P.C.A. Church

realized its prophetic phase at the foundation of the Church and the re-opening of the Church, in an independent nation in 1963. Contradictions and conflicts that led to the leadership conflicts in the Church were identified.

Sundkler (1961: 108) contended that educated youth were likely to be malcontent in separatist churches. He argues that they are among the first to notice disorganization in the church and create a lot of problems for church leadership. This is in line with Barrett's contention that education, leading to the ability to read the scriptures in vernacular, led to schism in Africa. The role of educated youth in leadership conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, therefore, received our attention.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF THE A.I.P.C.A. BETWEEN 1929 AND 1952

2:1 The Early History and Development of the A.I.P.C.A. 1929-1952

According to Archbishop Alphaxard Wanjiringi, Gakarara, had been built as an out-school of the Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.), Githumu in 1922. It became the first independent school and prayer house in 1926. This was because parents of the school were dissatisfied with the type of education offered by the A.I.M. They severed relations with the mission and started running the church and school. Parents employed their own teachers who would in their view, offer more desirable education than the type offered by the mission. Sandgren bears out Archbishop Wanjiringi's contention that the nature of education offered by the A.I.M., left much to be desired. He contends that the mission did not have a single trained missionary teacher among the Agikuyu and, therefore, the type of education they could offer was not acceptable (Sandgren 1989: 53).

The first teachers in Gakarara were Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Mr. Ezra Kamau. The two teachers taught for two terms after which the colonial government intervened and sacked them. To

replace them two teachers were brought by the colonial government but parents rejected them and employed one, Mr. Justus Kang'ethe, from Githunguri and a local man, one, Mwangi Wambichu in 1927. Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri, who is today one of the three archbishops of the A.I.P.C.A., became the chairman of Gakarara school in 1922 (o.i., 14.5.91). Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu, Mr. Mwangi Wambichu and Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri from the first independent school, were later to play a significant role in the history of the A.I.P.C.A.

The second independent school that played a role in the development of the Church was Githunguri in Kiambu. It was started by one, Musa Ndirangu, in 1924. The school was started because parents in the area were also dissatisfied with the type of education offered to their children by the G.M.S. Kambui. The controversy over the ritual of clitoridectomy in 1928 precipitated the defection from mission churches by the Agikuyu who wanted its continuity (Anderson 1970: 117). The mission schools refused to allow the children of members who were opposed to signing against the ritual. This led to the foundation of Gituamba Independent Church and School (Ndung'u 1969: 135). Gakarara, Githunguri and Gituamba became the nucleus from which independency in church and school operated.

In 1934 the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (K.I.S.A.) was inaugurated to run the educational affairs of the members of the independent movement (*ibid.*, 135-136). In the same year, at Mahiga in Nyeri, the first officials to the Central

Committee were elected. These were Mr. Johana Kunyiha, the president, Mr. Hezekiah Gachui, the vice-president, Mr. Mwangi Wambichu, the secretary, and Mr. Harrison Gachukia, the treasurer. The committee was set up to establish K.I.S.A. schools. The colonial government demanded the drawing up of a constitution before schools could be started and this was done and approved in 1938 (*ibid.*, 135). Initially, each K.I.S.A. school had a prayer house. Members of the church used to go to the D.C.'s office to collect a permit which would allow them to conduct Sunday services. Mr. Joseph Gitau from A.I.P.C.A. Kahuguini, for example, used to cycle to Kiambu, a distance of over fifty kilometres, to collect such a permit for his church in the 1930s (o.i., 15.3.91). An elder would preach to the other members because the A.I.P.C.A. did not have ordained clergy by then.

2:2 The Establishment and Growth of the A.I.P.C.A. 1929-1952

By 1933, the Christian Elders and those who had defected from the mission churches, eventually discovered that some Christians were defecting back to the mission churches in order to receive the sacraments of baptism and matrimony. This was because their Church did not have ordained clergy to confer the sacraments. The Elders, led by Daudi Maina Kiragu, decided to request the C.M.S. to ordain pastors for K.I.S.A. (Gatabaki, o.i., 24.2.91). A meeting was organized between the C.M.S. and the Elders of the new independent movement which was led by Daudi Maina Kiragu. At this juncture, K.I.S.A. had not been launched as an association. It was left to interested

members to take the initiative. Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu was among such members.

On 13th. October, 1933, some members of the independent movement led by Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu, and the C.M.S. officials met at Kahuhia in Murang'a to discuss the request. The meeting was unsuccessful because the C.M.S. put some conditions to the Elders. The mission agreed to train and ordain pastors for the association on condition that such pastors would be under the C.M.S. The Elders refused to accept such conditions arguing that they wanted a church that was independent of mission control (Strayer 1978: 151). When the Elders failed to get support from the C.M.S., members of the independent movement decided to look for help elsewhere. The late President Kenyatta, sent one Paul Githendu, to inform members about Archbishop Daniel William Alexander, who was the Primate of the African Orthodox Church (A.O.C.), in South Africa (Wanjingiri, o.i., 14.3.91). This is one evidence that the late President Kenyatta and the A.I.P.C.A. had a long-standing relationship.

Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu, Mr. James Beuttah, who was a K.C.A. official and Paul Githendu invited Archbishop Alexander to come to Kenya and train church ministers for the independent movement. Archbishop Alexander agreed to come and train church ministers for the movement. He reached Mombasa on 11th November, 1935 where a reception committee sent by K.I.S.A. awaited him. K.I.S.A. had been launched as an association in

1934 to co-ordinate the educational and religious affairs of those who had defected from the mission churches. The members who received the archbishop, were Jefitha Ngigi, Mwangi Wambichu, Johana Kunyiha, and Willie Jimmy Wambugu (Ndung'u 1969: 145).

On 15th November, 1935, Archbishop Alexander started to train ministers at Gituamba. K.I.S.A. established a seminary in the place because Gituamba was already an established independent school with a stone structure for the accommodation of the Archbishop. The other reason was that Murang'a District was an area that was predominated by K.I.S.A. and the A.I.P.C.A. members. Archbishop Alexander embarked upon the training of nine men into priesthood but five of them dropped out (1938 constitution: 2). During his stay as a trainer of the A.I.P.C.A. ministers, Archbishop Alexander travelled widely throughout Central Province, visiting all the A.I.P.C.A. prayer houses. During his visits, he administered the sacraments of baptism, Holy Communion, and matrimony to members. In a letter dated 11th June 1936, for example, Archbishop Alexander requested one, John Kamau, to prepare a list of neophytes to be baptised (A.I.P.C.A. Kahuguini collection). This list is still held by the church. Archbishop Alexander trained his students practically by taking them to a prayer house every Sunday where they preached under his supervision. The training of ministers was completed in 1937. On 27th June 1937, four men were ordained into priesthood. Three of them belonged to the A.I.P.C.A. These were Rev.

Harrison Gachukia, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu, Rev. Philip Kiande. Rev. Arthur Gatung'u was a member of the A.O.C. (1938 constitution: 2). Archbishop Alexander left Gituamba soon after because of differences with K.I.S.A. over his attempt to affiliate the A.I.P.C.A. Church with the A.O.C.

Once the A.I.P.C.A. had its own clergymen, it began expanding outside the Central Province into such areas as Mombasa and the Rift-valley where the Agikuyu, Embu and Meru communities were to be found. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu emerged as the un-elected leader of the A.I.P.C.A. and travelled widely carrying out his ministerial roles among members. (Ndung'u 1969: 146). Rev. Daudi Kiragu trained and ordained more pastors to cater for the needs of the Church.

According to Daudi Maina Kiragu, by 1950, he had ordained eight ministers in Murang'a, two ministers each in Kiambu and Nyeri and eight ministers in Embu and Kirinyaga districts (Kiragu, n.d., *Kiria Giatumire Independent Igite*: 18). By the time K.I.S.A. schools were proscribed, there were 158 schools and prayer houses in the Central, Coast and Rift Valley provinces (MAC/KEN/35/2-4).

2:3 Early Signs of Leadership Conflicts 1934 To 1952

Between 1929 and 1930 many Christians defected from the mission churches. In Kiambu and Nyeri, most Christians defected from the C.S.M while in Murang'a Christians defected from the A.I.M. and the G.M.S. For those who had defected from the C.S.M., their rapture with the missions had been drastic

and final because they had been subjected to a strong cultural alienation (Rosberg & Nottingham 1966: 113). For those who had defected from the A.I.M. and the C.M.S., some form of tolerance in educational matters was maintained.

The Christians who had defected from the C.S.M. in 1929 felt that there should be a complete break from the missions and refused any relations with them. They wanted to remain pure and sought to assert the rights of the Agikuyu institutions and develop their abilities to decide upon the pace and direction of changes which were affecting them so deeply (Anderson 1970: 119). This group was led by Mr. Musa Ndirangu and was predominantly in Kiambu and later in some parts of Nyeri. The group had split from the C.S.M. where the rupture between the C.S.M. and the Agikuyu had been drastic. The group referred to itself as 'Karing'a', or orthodox to emphasize its rejection of the Western culture including their religion and education. Another group, led by Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu felt that there should be co-operation between the colonial government, missions and the independent movement in educational matters. The group was found in Murang'a and had broken away from the A.I.M. and the G.M.S.

These differences of opinion first began to develop in 1933, when the Kiambu group learnt that under Daudi Maina Kiragu's influence, the Murang'a people had already opened negotiations with the Anglican Bishop of Mombasa about the training of teachers and ordination of pastors (Ndung'u 1969 :119). The

Kiambu group did not want this co-operation. These differences led to the formation of Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (K.K.E.A.), in 1933 and K.I.S.A. in 1934. Mr. Daudi Maina Kiragu maintained that there was need for co-operation between the districts and the development of a National Movement in the form of K.I.S.A. On the other hand Musa Ndirangu wanted a complete break of relations between the Agikuyu and the missions and the colonial government. The bone of contention between K.I.S.A. and K.K.E.A. was over the co-operation between them and the colonial government in matters pertaining to education. The K.I.S.A. main leaders, Johana Kunyha and Hezekiah Gachui, were more interested in religious and educational matters and, therefore, worked with the colonial government (Kamuyu 1981: 450). This dual role, according to Kamuyu, alienated the moderate members of K.I.S.A. from the members of K.K.E.A. Initial relations between K.I.S.A. and the colonial government were cordial. K.I.S.A. wanted to co-operate with the colonial government in educational matters but within a Christian environment outside white control (Rosberg and Nottingham 1960: 126). As early as 1940, we find K.I.S.A. donating bags of potatoes to the government as its contribution towards the Second World War effort (MAC/KEN/35/2-5). The Association would occasionally invite colonial administration to witness drill competitions held in K.I.S.A. schools (DC/KBU/10/2). The relationship between K.I.S.A. and the colonial government became sour when the association was suspected of being pro-Mau Mau.

Archival records on K.I.S.A. indicate that there were signs of leadership conflicts in the Rift Valley Province. In a letter addressed to the Provincial Commissioner (P.C.) Central Province by the Rift-Valley P.C., the author informed his colleague that there was a district split in K.I.S.A. in his area. He warned the P.C. Central Province that two rival chairmen were operating in the area and might go to the Central Province to campaign for support (DC/KBU/2, 10.12.39). He added that one of the chairmen was supported by K.I.S.A. National Chairman, while the other one was not. The most interesting communication on leadership conflicts is between the District Commissioner (D.C.) Kiambu and Kahuguini K.I.S.A. School (MAC/KEN/35/2-4). In one of the letters, the National Chairman of K.I.S.A., Johana Kunyiha, is accused of dictating to the Kahuguini people on how to hold elections and who to choose as their K.I.S.A. chairman (D.C./KBU/2, 22.6.39). In another letter the Vice-Chairman, Hezekiah Gachui, was accused of planning the arrest of the favourite chairman of Kahuguini people (*ibid.*, dated 23.6.39). In another development, a rival chairman of K.I.S.A. who was supported by Kunyiha, requested the D.C. to stop a baptism service by his rival arguing that the pastor officiating in the service had not been authorized by K.I.S.A. (*ibid.*, dated 19.8.39). In a curt reply the D.C. refused to intervene (*ibid.*, dated 19.8.39). The pastor eventually baptised the candidates under a tree because the chairman had not given his consent. The pastor who was prevented from conducting the baptism was Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu (o.i., Ndagutha, 14.6.91). From the communication

between K.I.S.A. and the D.C. it is clear that there were leadership conflicts in Kahuguini. In these conflicts the K.I.S.A. Chairman was in support of an unpopular candidate. There is indication that Kunyiha and Gachui were associated with leadership strife in Kahuguini (DC/KBU/10/2). Amazingly, Kahuguini leadership conflicts continue to plague the church to this day. Their historical roots can perhaps be traced to the late 1930s.

Documentary evidence shows that K.I.S.A. members often appealed to the government to mediate between rival leaders. The researcher sees in this some historical roots in the government involvement in the reconciliation efforts of the A.I.P.C.A. conflicts and leadership rivalry today. From its early inception, the A.I.P.C.A. does not appear to have had effective avenues for reconciling differences among its leaders. In the 1940s the militant leaders within K.I.S.A. were disillusioned with Johana Kunyiha (*ibid.*, 450). Pro-government leadership was ousted from K.I.S.A. in 1948. In Murang'a, a K.I.S.A. leader Perminus Githendu, was accepted by schools to the north of Maragua river while those to the south rejected him (Corfield 1959-1960: 178). The final split in K.I.S.A. occurred in 1950 when Johana Kunyiha and Hezekiah Gachui were replaced by a more militant group led by Peter Gatabaki and Willy Jimmy Wambugu. Later on after the re-opening of the A.I.P.C.A., Johana Kunyiha and Hezekiah Gachui played a role in dividing the clergy by supporting Rev. Harrison Gachukia and Rev. Philip Kiande and marginalizing

Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu (o.i., Wanjigiri, 14.5.91). This early division has been reflected in current leadership conflicts in the church. The pro-government group during the colonial era is in the parent church of the A.I.P.C.A. and tends to be moderate. The radical leaders of K.I.S.A. today constitute the militant factions of the church.

2:3.1 Summary of Leadership conflicts During the Colonial Era

The first signs of conflicts among the group of Christians who had left mission churches were over the nature of co-operation between the defectors and both the mission churches and the colonial government. The differences led to the formation of two associations. These were the K.K.E.A. in 1933 and K.I.S.A. in 1934. The second spate of leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A., took place in the late 1930s. The conflicts were over the institution of the chairman in Kiambu and the Rift Valley branches. They led to splits in the churches concerned. The final and last leadership conflicts took place in 1950. The national chairman of K.I.S.A., Mr. Johana Kunyiha and his Vice-Chairman, Mr. Hezekiah Gachui, were replaced with more radical officials. These were Mr. Peter Gatabaki and Mr. Willy Jimmy Wambugu. The radical leaders involved the Church with the Mau Mau movement and this led to the proscription of K.I.S.A. schools and the Church by extension.

2:3.2 The Structure of the A.I.P.C.A. Between 1929 and 1952

The A.I.P.C.A. was founded in 1929 by the Elders who had defected from the mission churches, alongside the independent

schools (1938 K.I.S.A. constitution: 2). When K.I.S.A. was launched in 1934, the association took over the running of the Church. A report and the constitution of the association published in 1938 refers to the Church as the religious wing of the association (*ibid.*, 4). At the national level, the Church was under the association. It was run by office bearers led by the president, the first one being Mr. Johana Kunyiha and his vice-president, Mr. Hezekiah Gachui. The president was assisted by an Executive Committee. Assisting the president, was the general secretary who handled the secretarial duties. He could be dismissed by the president if found inefficient. A general treasurer was elected annually to look after its finances and supervise the work and funds in the hands of the district treasurers. In the later years the terms president and vice-president were abandoned because the political establishment maintained that there should be only one president and vice-president in the country. The terms national chairman and vice-chairman were adopted. At the district level, district chairmen were elected annually. Their function was to further the activities of K.I.S.A. in educational matters. District treasurers were appointed by the president to look after and be responsible for the finances of the district. Finally there was the Executive Committee elected annually, which consisted of sixteen members drawn from the various districts. The Committee dealt with administrative matters related to schools and also assisted the president in making important decisions (K.I.S.A. Constitution 1938: 6).

K.I.S.A schools were run by a committee under a chairman. Each school had a church wing, where any member could preach because initially, the Church did not have ordained clergy. The chairman of the school was also the head of the church and similarly his school committee was also the church committee. For example, Mr. Wanjingiri was both the chairman of K.I.S.A Gakarara school and also its preacher before he was appointed a Church Reader by Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu in 1937 (o.i., 14.5.91). After K.I.S.A. had organized the ordination of its pastors, administration did not change. There is evidence that pastors had to receive authority to preach from the association through the local chairman (D.C./KBU/10/2). Failure to seek permission meant that a pastor would not be allowed to officiate a service in any K.I.S.A. church. Surprisingly this remains the situation to this day.

At this stage in the development of the A.I.P.C.A., all the ordained clergy held the same rank. There was no hierarchy in the Church because the Church was just like any of the K.I.S.A committees and was administered by the association. The colonial government in proscribing the association's schools did not find it necessary to include the Church because there was the assumption that by detaining the leaders, all the organs of the association would come to a standstill. By the time K.I.S.A. was proscribed in 1952, the A.I.P.C.A. as a Church was not institutionalized. It was an organ of the association. The clergy of the association depended on the good intentions of the local chairman.

2:4 The A.I.P.C.A. Between 1952 and 1963

2:4.1 *The Proscription of K.I.S.A. Schools*

K.I.S.A. schools were proscribed by the colonial government on 14th November, 1952 (MAC/KEN/35/2-5). According to Wanjingiri, the Church as the religious wing was not closed (o.i., 14.5.91). However, most of the K.I.S.A. leaders as well as members of the clergy were detained during the emergency period. The then President of K.I.S.A., Peter Gatabaki and his Vice-President, Willy Jimmy Wambugu were detained immediately after the proscription of K.I.S.A. Other important leaders of the association were detained. Some of those detained included Johana Kunyiha, the President of K.I.S.A. and Hezekiah Gachui, his former Vice-President. Eighty leaders were detained (Gatabaki, o.i, 24.2.91). The ordained clergy who were detained included two out of the three A.I.P.C.A. pastors who had been ordained by Archbishop William Alexander. These were, Rev. Harrison Gachukia and Rev. Philip Kiande. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu was not detained because he was not involved in the Mau Mau movement as openly as the others. His closest associate, Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri, who was then the chairman of Gakarara K.I.S.A. school as well as a Church Leader in the church was detained (Wanjingiri, o.i, 14.5.91).

2:4.2 *The Role of the A.I.P.C.A. in the Mau Mau Movement*

According to most leaders of the Church today, K.I.S.A. and the A.I.P.C.A. by extension, played a significant role in the Mau Mau revolt. Some members of Kenya African Union (K.A.U.), and some former members of K.C.A. were the organizers of the

revolt (Ichugu and Wanjingiri o.i., 5.5.91, 14.5.91). The two informants played significant roles in the struggle. Mr. Wanjingiri who was then a Church Reader, was the official intercessor who prayed for the fighters and was at the same time the advisor to the Mau Mau generals in his area in Murang'a. He would pray for the safety of the freedom fighters before they went for any campaign against the colonialists. He would advise the Mau Mau generals on how to conduct a campaign against their enemies. He carried out these activities when he was still a preacher in his local church. For his role he was detained between 1953 and 1959. Mr. Ichugu, who was then a Church Reader, would assist Mr. Kenyatta and Mr. Koinange organize political meetings in the 1950s. He would survey the venue for such meetings and also assess the attitude of the people in the area toward the two. If he had any reason to suspect that there would be hostility towards Mr. Kenyatta and Mr. Koinange he would cancel the meeting. He also helped oath eligible candidates into the movement. He would identify candidates who were likely to be of assistance to the movement, for example, teachers, medical assistants, chiefs and headmen and even colonial homeguards. Such members would later help maintain the freedom fighters. Ichugu was detained for his activities between 1954 and 1957. Members of K.I.S.A. were also members of the movement. Mr. Gatabaki, the then Chairman of the association, was also a radical member of K.C.A. and therefore an organizer of the freedom movement. He was detained for his role in the movement alongside other K.I.S.A. leaders between 1952 and 1961 (o.i, 24.2.91.).

Another member of the church, Mr. Waira Kamau was the General Secretary of the "Mariika" or age-group Council in 1947. He and Kenyatta organized to raise funds for the establishment of an institution at Githunguri which was intended to house a Primary School, a Secondary School and a Teacher Training College. According to Waira (o.i., 5.6.91), the money was actually meant to fund the Mau Mau movement, but since they could not openly declare what it was intended for, they pretended it was for the institution. In reality, the institution and the Mau Mau movement received funds from the council. For his role in the movement he was also detained alongside other K.I.S.A. and K.C.A. leaders. He remained in detention from October 1952, to October 1961. According to Anderson (1970: 117), relations between K.I.S.A. and the movement were concealed to prevent government action against the schools being taken on political grounds. This is borne out by Gatabaki's assertion that the clergy worked for the movement at night to avoid discovery by the government (o.i., 24.2.91). It was the elders of K.I.S.A., who were actively involved in oathing initiates into the movement. From these facts it is clear that at the time of the proscription of K.I.S.A. and the A.I.P.C.A. by extension, there was no distinct separation between K.I.S.A. and the church as its religious wing in political involvement. K.I.S.A. and the A.I.P.C.A. leaders were politicians struggling to throw off the yoke of colonialism. Members of the association (most of whom were ex-K.C.A. members), were all working towards the achievement of political independence. In the view of some

members of the A.I.P.C.A., this involvement of the Church in nationalist activities left a negative impact which continues to be felt to this day (o.i., 29.3.91).

2:4.3 *The Impact of the Closure of K.I.S.A. Schools*

The proscription of K.I.S.A. as well as the detention of its leaders and the ordained clergy dealt a big blow to the A.I.P.C.A. Church. First, the proscription of K.I.S.A. schools meant that members of the Church had no place to hold their Sunday services in the absence of school buildings. Secondly, the ordained clergy were detained and the few who remained behind were afraid of being persecuted by the colonial government. The colonial government rightly held that K.I.S.A. and Mau Mau were closely related to each other. In his letter to the Colonial Secretary, the governor of Kenya had this to say about the Mau Mau:

In dealing with Mau Mau, we are dealing with a hydra of which K.I.S.A., is one of its many heads (MAC/KEN/35/2-5).

In the same way, the colonial government felt that it was justified in believing that the A.I.P.C.A. was the religious wing of K.I.S.A. By detaining K.I.S.A. leaders, the government rendered the Church ineffective. This was so because without its ordained clergy and leaders, the Church could not operate. Leaders of K.I.S.A., for example, Willy Jimmy Wambugu, were accused of organizing the oathing of pupils in K.I.S.A. schools while some pupils were alleged to be administering oath to each other (Corfield 1959-1960: 171). K.I.S.A. leaders were accused of intimidating children going to mission schools

to abandon the schools and instead join K.I.S.A. schools. There was also the accusation that parents were required to follow Mau Mau religion, which in the view of the government, was represented by the A.I.P.C.A. (*ibid.*, 180). For these reasons the government felt justified in its move of proscribing K.I.S.A. and detaining its leaders.

2:4.4 *The Reaction of K.I.S.A. Members to the Closure*

The closure of K.I.S.A. was not accepted without a struggle according to Wanjingiri (o.i., 14.5.91.). Parents of affected pupils united and hired a lawyer to appeal to the governor to reconsider his decision to close the schools. There is documentary evidence for this contention. In a letter addressed to the colonial governor, the parents denied that there was evidence of subversive activities in K.I.S.A. schools. They argued :

The colonial government wants to break down (the) African's effort to make up for the gap in African Education by their own effort... (MAC/KEN/35/2-5).

The parents denied that children were involved in subversive activities. They further rejected the take-over of their schools by either the District Education Board (D.E.B.) or Missions. They argued that a take-over of their schools would mean that parents had no control on policies taken in such schools. The parents also argued that the schools had been erected on private land and were, therefore, private property. On religion, the parents felt that they had a right to decide the faith of their children. If the schools were taken over by

the missions, they argued the missionaries might pressurise children to join their religion.

Following reasons:

African members of the Legislative Council (Legco.), also criticised the closure of K.I.S.A. schools (*Hansard*: 15.3.52.). W.W.W.Awori, for example, protested against their closure arguing that children were not to blame for the Mau Mau revolt and that there would be congestion in mission and D.E.B.schools as a result of this closure. In spite of all these protests the colonial government did not relent. One hundred and thirty five out of one hundred and fifty eight schools were closed and the remaining ones were taken over either by the missions or by the D.E.B. (*Kenya Gazette*: November 1952). This action further embittered the Agikuyu against both the missionaries and the colonialists. Leaders of the A.I.P.C.A today contend that the closure of these schools is one of the root causes of the conflicts in the Church. They argue that through the closure of their schools, their children were denied a chance to receive academic education in schools of their choice. Instead, they were forced to learn the theological practices of other churches, especially those who joined mission churches. Another group of their children dropped out of school. This in turn meant that most of their children lacked advanced education and as a result could neither be trained as ministers nor become administrators of the Church. When it was no longer possible to conduct church services within the A.I.P.C.A., members reacted in a variety of ways depending on their area of domicile. Some members

abandoned Christianity because they could not attend Sunday services in mission churches. Some informants gave the following reasons:

We had taken an oath against maintaining any form of relations with both the missionaries and the colonialists. Going back to mission churches would have been a breach of our oath (o.i., Ichugu 5.5.91, Wanjingiri, 14.5.91).

Another group especially in Githunguri area contended that they were forced to join either the C.S.M. or Roman Catholic Church, the two predominant churches in the area. Helena Muthithi had this to say about the options:

We were forced at gun point to join either of the two queues, one belonging to the Roman Catholic or the C.S.M. We were not allowed to make our own decision (o.i., 4.3.91)

She decided to join the C.S.M. because the Catholic priests were suspected of betraying people when they went for confession for the sacrament of penance. In fear of repression by the colonial government she decided to join those who were saved because the government did not mistreat such Christians. The concept of individual salvation had spread in the Central Province as a result of the East Africa Revival in the late 1930s (Mambo in Barrett 1973: 111-112). Christians in the mission churches especially in the C.S.M., the A.I.M. and the C.M.S., accepted the concept and many people joined the revival movement. As soon as her Church was re-opened, Helena Muthithi left the C.S.M. and went back to the A.I.P.C.A. but remains saved up to today. Other members especially pupils who could no longer continue with their education joined the

freedom fighters in the forests. A minority of the group became colonial homeguards but were still loyal to the movement. A small group among them were collaborators with the government. According to Muthithi and Gatabaki, the collaborators were unacceptable to the Church on its re-opening because they had caused a lot of suffering to the Agikuyu (24.2.91, 14.3.91). The last group voluntarily joined mission churches. For example, in Nyeri they joined the C.S.M., and Roman Catholic Church. In Murang'a they joined the A.I.M., the C.S.M., the C.M.S, and the Roman Catholic Church. On re-opening they left mission churches and went back to their Church. They joined mission churches because their own had been closed alongside K.I.S.A.schools. They also joined the various churches due to their proximity to their area of residence.

2:4.5 Evaluation and Summary

In summary, we note that the earliest leadership conflicts in the Church between the 1930s and 1950s were over the nature of co-operation that should have existed between K.I.S.A. and both the missions and the government. The radical group, consisting of ex- K.C.A. members held that there should be a complete break with both the missions and the colonial government. The moderate group insisted on co-operation in educational matters. Other leadership conflicts were as a result of alliances formed within K.I.S.A. Leaders of the Association in the late 1930s supported one chairman against another. For example, in Kahuguini the K.I.S.A. Chairman,

Kunyiha supported an unpopular candidate as the chairman of the school, leading to a protracted struggle for leadership in the school-cum-church. These leadership struggles have persisted in Kahuguini to this day.

Several points are worth noting. First, the A.I.P.C.A. was not institutionalized by the time K.I.S.A. was proscribed in 1952. Secondly, in early Church conflicts recorded in the Rift Valley and Kahuguini in Kiambu, K.I.S.A. appealed to the colonial government for intervention in the conflicts. It is clear that government intervention in reconciliation efforts of the current leadership conflicts can be traced to the pattern resorted to in the colonial era, where the Church had always lacked institutions to solve its own problems and had to appeal to the government for assistance.

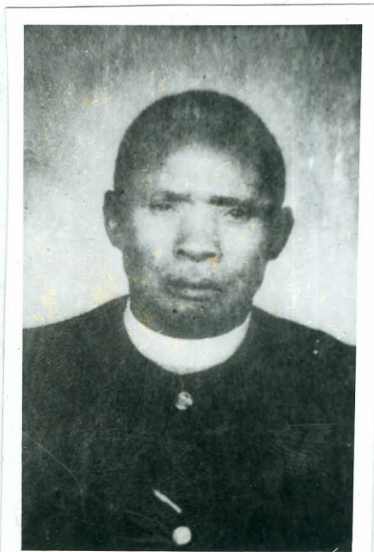


Most Rev. Daniel William Alexander, Primate of South Africa
Orthodox Church. He ordained the first A.I.P.C.A. ministers in
1937.

Harrison Ekshukis who was
Alexander in 1937.



Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu, one of the first ministers of the A.I.P.C.A. He was ordained by Archbishop Alexander in 1937.



Rev. Harrison Gachukia who was ordained by Archbishop Alexander in 1937.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EMERGING THEMES AND ADJUSTMENTS: 1963-1970

3:1 Introduction

The closure of K.I.S.A. schools in 1952 marked the silent period of the A.I.P.C.A. Between 1953 and 1963, A.I.P.C.A. members were either in mission churches or had lapsed. Be that as it may, A.I.P.C.A. members were still determined to re-open their Church should a chance present itself. On achievement of self-internal government on 1st June 1963, and political independence on 12th December 1963, the chance members had been waiting for presented itself. A group of A.I.P.C.A. leaders, namely, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu, Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri, who was then a Church Reader, Mr. Willy Jimmy Wambugu and Rev. Meshack Wachiuri took the first initiative towards the re-opening of the Church.

3:1.1 *The Registration of the A.I.P.C.A. 1963-1964*

The re-opening of the A.I.P.C.A. was slow. According to Wanjingiri (o.i., 14.5.91), Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and himself decided to go to the office of the Registrar of Societies to find out the fate of the A.I.P.C.A. On 20th May, 1963, they renewed the registration of the A.I.P.C.A. after discovering that it was K.I.S.A. as an association that had

been proscribed and not the A.I.P.C.A. as the religious wing. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri registered the officials of the Murang'a branch on the same day. These were, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu who became its Chairman, while Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri became its treasurer. Other officials included Mr. Mwangi Wambichu who was its secretary, Mr. Hiram Mwangi the vice-treasurer, Mr. Samuel Kahura the Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Jason Muhugi the vice-secretary. On the same day, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri also registered the officials of the Kiambu Branch of the Church. The officials were Rev. Harrison Gachukia as the chairman, Rev. Ephantus Waithaka, the vice-chairman, Rev. Javanson Kinyanjui secretary, and Rev. Hakimon Gachathi, the treasurer.

3:1.2 The Re-opening of the A.I.P.C.A. churches

The first service of the entire Church was held at A.I.P.C.A., Gakarara in Murang'a, on 7th July, 1963. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri, officiated at the first service of the church in the school that was a former K.I.S.A. school and church in the 1950s. As soon as Murang'a churches had started operating, Rev. Daudi Kiragu and Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri, informed Rev. Harrison Gachukia of Kiambu about the re-opening of the Murang'a churches. However, Rev. Harrison Gachukia, who had suffered greatly during the colonial period initially delayed in re-opening the Kiambu branch. It was not until Nyeri and Murang'a had been re-opened that the Kiambu branch was re-opened.

On re-opening of Murang'a churches, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu went to Nyeri and held discussions with Rev. Philip Kiande and from there he went to Embu where he contacted Rev. Samuel Gichuki and Mr. Enos Karani. The leaders gradually acted on this information and began organizing their branches. Soon after re-organization had taken place, the A.I.P.C.A. churches were re-opened in Embu and Meru. In Nyeri Rev. Meshack Wachiuri wrote a letter on 10th September, 1963, advising the former A.I.P.C.A. leaders in Nyeri that they should consider reviving their churches (Wamathai 1979: 6). On 16th September, 1963 a meeting was held at Muthinga where Willy Jimmy Wambugu addressed the participants on the need to re-open the churches. After this meeting, Nyeri people organized and re-opened their churches. Once the churches had been re-opened members started flocking back into the A.I.P.C.A. from homes, for those who had abandoned going to church and from the various mission churches for those who had joined these groups. From these facts, it can be argued that the re-opening of the Church was slow and un-coordinated. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu distinguished himself as the most outstanding leader of the A.I.P.C.A although he was not elected as one. At this juncture there was no official leader of the entire Church. It can be argued that the Church was re-opened before an ecclesiastical organization had been decided upon. This omission led to the development of leadership tensions among the members which became fully blown at a later stage.

Mr. George Muthia, Rev. Daudi

Leading personality in the Church.

3:1.3 Steps Towards the Institutionalization of the A.I.P.C.A.

In January 1964, a meeting was held at Kahuguini in Kiambu where discussions on the institutionalization of the Church were held. According to Bishop George Muhia, some of the participants were, Reverends Philip Kiande, Daudi Maina Kiragu, Harrison Gachukia, Nathan M'mukunga, and Simon Njiru as representatives of the clergy. Elders were represented by Mr. Johana Kunyiha, Mr. Hezekiah Gachui, Mr. Elijah Njeru Willy, and Mr. George Muhia, who was then a lay man and the administrative secretary of Kiambu (o.i., 29.4.91). At this meeting the participants agreed that the three first pastors of the Church namely, Reverends Philip Kiande, Daudi Maina Kiragu and Harrison Gachukia, should be consecrated the first bishops. Before the consecration of the three, the Church did not have a bishop. The Central Committee was elected from all the newly formed branches of the Church. The first National Chairman appointed was Mr. Laban Kabunga and his Vice-Chairman was Mr. Tadeo Mwaura (o.i., Kaniu Mukiri, 27.4.91).

Later in the year, a group of the A.I.P.C.A. leaders from Kiambu went to see the late President Kenyatta to inform him about the latest development in the Church. The group consisted of Rev. Harrison Gachukia, Rebecca Njeri, who was an ex-freedom fighter, Rev. Ephantus Waithaka, Rev. Johnson Ichugu, who was then a Church Reader, Mr. Laban Kabunga and Mr. George Muhia. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu from Murang'a, a leading personality in the Church, also attended the function

(Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). Mzee Kenyatta allowed the group to revive their Church on condition that they did not attempt to reclaim their former church and school buildings already taken over by either the D.E.B. or the missions. Furthermore they could not reclaim their land.

The independent government had also inherited from the colonial government some of the institutions formerly owned by K.I.S.A. For example, the land where Kenya Teachers' College had been built was occupied by administration offices and Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.), the then ruling party. Reclaiming their land would have involved a protracted legal battle to acquire all the property lost by the association. The President, however, promised he would request the county and town councils to procure land for the A.I.P.C.A. for building their churches. When land was finally allocated, leaders of the A.I.P.C.A. could not agree on whether they should build schools. This was because it was generally felt that since the country had achieved political independence, schools would be run by the Africans and this was what they had fought for during the struggle for independence. The A.I.P.C.A. surrendered their former schools to be fully managed by the government (Gatabaki, o.i., 24.2.91). Members of the clergy at present feel that the surrender of schools marked the beginning of tensions between them and Elders.

Between 1930 and 1950, K.I.S.A. Elders and chairmen controlled their schools while the clergy were left to deal with the spiritual matters of the members. With no schools to run, the Elders found they had little to do and started the running of the Church alongside the clergy, thus creating tensions between them and the clergy through duplication of roles (Muhia, Gakubia, Ichugu, 27.4.91, 22.3.91, 5.5.91). This was one of the most significant factors which was contributory to leadership conflicts in the 1970s and 1980s. The failure to re-open K.I.S.A. schools also meant that the A.I.P.C.A. children received their education in former mission and D.E.B. schools. In these schools their children were not exposed to their own doctrinal practices. They learnt the theological practices of other churches and due to these influences defected to these churches. Educated children of the A.I.P.C.A. did not follow their parents' religion unlike their peers in the C.S.M (P.C.E.A.), the C.M.S. (C.P.K.), and the Roman Catholic Church. Most of these missions at least retained the sponsorship of their former schools and would thus ensure their church traditions were maintained in line with *The Ominde Report*. The report allowed the former owners of schools to participate in the teaching and preparation of Religious Studies syllabus in their schools (*Ominde Report*, 1964). As a result of this trend, the Church lost its educated members and found it difficult to get people to train as pastors. The Church was also left without many of its youth and eventually became predominantly a Church of the old, the economically disabled and the un-educated. According to Mary

Wambui and Veronica Njeri (o.i., 10.4.91), most members of the Church were ex-Mau Mau fighters as well as ex-detainees. On being released from detention, a big number of them discovered that their land had either been taken away by the homeguards or by their relatives. They had no money and so their children could not receive academic education due to financial constraints. Because of these limitations, such members could not, therefore, support the Church economically. Lack of support hampered the growth of the Church because expansion and training required money. In spite of these limitations and through great sacrifice, former A.I.P.C.A. churches were re-opened.

3:1.4 Development of Rival Groups after 1963

After the re-opening of the A.I.P.C.A. Church in 1963 and 1964, it was generally felt that the Church should have an overall spiritual head. In the 1940s and 1950s, all the A.I.P.C.A. ministers held the same rank but Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu emerged as the most active spiritual leader of the Church. He was actively involved in mobilizing members of the Church in an effort to re-open the A.I.P.C.A. Three names were potential candidates as spiritual leaders, viz: Rev. Harrison Gachukia, Rev. Philip Kiande and Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu.

When the plans for electing the spiritual head were held at the initial stage, longstanding leadership rivalries began to appear among the leaders. Two camps emerged. One was led by Rev. Daudi Kiragu whose closest associate was Rev. Alphaxad

Wanjingiri. The other camp was led by Rev. Harrison Gachukia and Rev. Philip Kiande. Rev. Harrison Gachukia and Rev. Philip Kiande were eventually elected as the leaders of the Church in 1964 through the influence of Johana Kunyiha and Hezekiah Gachui, the first leaders of the Central Committee in the 1930s. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Rev. Harrison Gachukia could not agree about who should lead the Church. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu felt that he should lead the Church because it was through his initiative that the Church had got its first ministers. It was also through his initiative that the Church had been re-opened. He, therefore, refused to be led by either Rev. Harrison Gachukia or Rev. Philip Kiande who had been elected the spiritual leaders of the Church (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). The other group, led by Rev. Harrison Gachukia felt that their election into leadership position in the Church was justified because they were also among the first to be ordained into priesthood alongside Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu. This created a tension between the two groups. Another issue that emerged was that the leaders could not agree on theological practices especially over what liturgy they should follow during the A.I.P.C.A. mass. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu used and trained his pastors to use the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer*, which is referred to as *Thaara*, while Rev. Harrison Gachukia and Rev. Philip Kiande used the Liturgy that had been left by Archbishop William Alexander in 1937. It should be noted that the A.I.P.C.A. Church refers to their Church book of prayer as 'liturgy'. Reverends Daudi Maina Kiragu and Harrison Gachukia, could not agree on the correct

liturgical vestments to wear during various ceremonies of the Church. These differences are still evident in services officiated by the subsequent clergy trained under the original clergymen. There are attempts to unify the Liturgy today but conservative clergymen still continue to resist these changes. Another difference between Rev. Kiragu and Rev. Gachukia was that Rev. Kiragu refused to have lay chairmen in his churches and was actually the branch chairman of Murang'a. In Rev. Gachukia's churches laymen could become chairmen (Wanjingiri, o.i, 14.5.91). After the death of Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu on 7th May, 1969, Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri maintained this principle in his faction. Ironically all the three archbishops today agree that only ordained men ought to become chairmen.

According to Wanjingiri the most devastating conflict between Rev. Gachukia and Rev. Kiragu was over who should lead Kiriti Divinity College in Nyeri (o.i., 14.5.91). After the proscription of K.I.S.A. schools in 1952, Kiriti had been taken over from the association by the C.S.M. (P.C.E.A.). When the Church was re-opened in 1964, the A.I.P.C.A. leaders in Nyeri demanded the return of Kiriti to the Church because it had been their only training institution in the 1950s. Kiriti was eventually returned to the A.I.P.C.A. by the P.C.E.A. after a hot contest between the two churches. According to Ndung'u, the late President Kenyatta had to intervene in the dispute and apparently ruled in favour of the A.I.P.C.A. (Ndung'u 1979: 47). The A.I.P.C.A. members in Nyeri wanted Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu to head the College but both Reverends

Harrison Gachukia and Philip Kiande, who belonged to the same opposing camp refused. On the day the College was handed over to the A.I.P.C.A. by the P.C.E.A., a disagreement arose over the blessing of this institution. The three leaders had agreed that the service should be conducted by the three of them in the open air because the church structure was too small to accommodate the participants. According to Wanjingiri, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and himself were waiting outside for the other two to come out, when they heard Rev. Harrison Gachukia and Rev. Philip Kiande reciting the Church Litany. This meant that they had started the ceremony without them (o.i., 14.5.91). Feeling greatly humiliated, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri left Kiriti. From then onwards differences among the three ministers deepened. Rev. Kiragu worked in isolation while Rev. Gachukia and Rev. Kiande worked together. This, however, did not split the Church in their lifetime. Tensions between the two camps continued to grow and further drew them apart.

Rev. Philip Kiande became the main trainer of the clergy in Kiriti. Around 1969, Nyeri members of the A.I.P.C.A. rejected Rev. Philip Kiande, who at the invitation of the A.I.P.C.A. leaders in Kiambu, moved to A.I.P.C.A., Githunguri where he continued training pastors. Kiriti Divinity College closed down with the departure of Rev. Kiande. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu trained his pastors at Gituamba in Murang'a. After the deaths of Reverends Gachukia on 12th March, 1969 and Kiragu on 25th May, 1969, Rev. Philip Kiande took over the leadership of

the A.I.P.C.A. soon after. He was consecrated the first archbishop in 1970 (o.i., Gakubia, 13.6.91). He worked with the first leaders of the Central Committee with Laban Kabunga as the Chairman, Tadeo Mwaura the Vice-Chairman and all the ordained clergy of the Church. Archbishop Kiande also became the sole trainer of the Church ministers at Githunguri in Kiambu.

The A.I.P.C.A. continued to open up branches in new areas where the Agikuyu, Embu and Meru were residing. After the death of Archbishop Philip Kiande in 1970, Rev. Benjamin Kahihia was consecrated the next bishop of the Church in the same year. Bishop Kahihia had joined the A.I.P.C.A. in 1964 from the A.O.C. and had been ordained a deacon in 1965. Because of this, some original members of the A.I.P.C.A., tended to resent the fact that he had risen this fast in the Church while original leaders were overlooked. According to Ichugu and Wanjingiri, not all the branches of the Church were consulted over who should succeed Archbishop Kiande (o.i., 5.5.91, 14.5.91). They contend that the A.I.P.C.A. leaders from Nyeri, led by one, Muchiiri Kiiru who was the branch chairman of Nyeri, organized Kahihia's enthronement without the consensus of all the members of the A.I.P.C.A. For example in Murang'a, only Hezekiah Gachui, who had been informed about the ceremony by his friend Johana Kunyiha, knew about it (Wanjingiri, 14.5.91). This contention was confirmed by a bishop who belonged to Archbishop Kahihia's faction. He argued that Archbishop Kiande had been rejected by the A.I.P.C.A.

members from Nyeri partly because he had refused to ordain Kahihia, who was then a deacon as a church minister (o.i., 19.5.91). It is clear from our research that the A.I.P.C.A. leadership was riddled with disagreements after the death of the initial spiritual leaders in 1969.

Due to the dissatisfaction with the manner in which the enthronement was conducted, all the branches that had not been informed about the ceremony refused to acknowledge Bishop Benjamin Kahihia as their spiritual leader according to Ichugu and Wanjingiri (o.i., 5.5.91 and 14.5.91). However, for the sake of unity in the Church and also in order to avoid a protracted struggle, the Central Committee led by Mr. Laban Kabunga and Mr. Tadeo Mwaura decided to accept Bishop Kahihia as the leader of the Church. He remained as the only registered head until 1974 when the Church experienced its first split. Bishop Kahihia was consecrated the archbishop of the A.I.P.C.A. on 31st December, 1979. Those who officiated the consecration were Bishops George Muhia of Kiambu, Nathan M'Mkunga of Meru and William Muriithi of the Rift-Valley (o.i., 29.4.91). By this period, another rival group led by Archbishop Wanjingiri was already in existence. For this reason Archbishop Kahihia was only recognized by the parent A.I.P.C.A.

3:2 Ecclesiastical Organization of the A.I.P.C.A. 1963-1970

In order to understand the nature of the leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. , it is pertinent to illustrate how the

Church operates. According to the constitution of the A.I.P.C.A., the Church operates as shown below:

3:2.1 Geographical Units

From 1964, the A.I.P.C.A. began to expand. New churches were opened wherever the Agikuyu, Embu and Meru were to be found in Central, Eastern, Coast, Nairobi and the Rift Valley provinces. Each administrative district in the areas where the Agikuyu, Embu, Meru and the Akamba lived was and still is, a branch of the Church.

3:2.2 Ecclesiastical Divisions

By 1970, before the split of the A.I.P.C.A., the Church had three dioceses and one arch-diocese (Barrett 1973, ed.: 231). These were:

- a) *Northern Diocese*: The archbishop of the A.I.P.C.A., Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia presided over the diocese. It consisted of Nyeri, Nyandarua and Laikipia branches among others.
- b) *Central Diocese*: This consisted of Murang'a, Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nairobi, Mombasa and Machakos branches among others. Bishop George Muhia was in charge of the diocese.
- c) *Eastern Diocese*: This consisted of Embu and Meru branches. Bishop Nathan M'Mkunga was in charge.
- d) *Rift Valley*: This consisted of Nakuru and Narok branches. Bishop William Muriithi was in charge.

After 1974, the A.I.P.C.A. experienced a period of fragmentation in which the parent Church split in three factions. These factions were led by rival archbishops each claiming to be the genuine spiritual head of the A.I.P.C.A. Archbishop Johnson Ichugu who belonged to Mr. Mwaura's faction had eight bishops namely, Stanley Kalulu of Meru, Francis Gichamba of Kirinyaga, Josphat Kariuki of Nairobi, Douglas Mugo of Embu, William Muli of Machakos, Simeon Kamau of Rift Valley, Baptista Mugecha of Nyeri and Daniel Kiongo of Kiambu (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). For his part, Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri had four bishops, namely, Timothy Gakubia of Kiambu, Simon Chege of Murang'a, Joseph Mbugua of Nyahururu and Nehemiah Kabangi of Nyeri (Wanjingiri, o.i, 14.5.91). Finally, Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia, who was in the parent Church, had eight bishops, namely, George Muhia of Kiambu, Nathan M'Mkunga of Meru, William Muriithi of Rift Valley, Joseph Nduati of Murang'a, Suleiman Kimani of Nyahururu, Samuel Gichuki of Embu and Francis Kigunda of Kirinyaga (o.i., Muhia, 29.4.91). Ideally and in proportion to the population of the Church, there should be about ten bishops but due to leadership conflicts, the number of bishops is not proportionate to the population.

3:2.3 Chain of Command

The A.I.P.C.A. was re-opened through the initiative of both the Elders and the clergymen of the Church. Two main bodies were supposed to run the Church in line with the 1938 constitution. The first body was the Central Committee

composed of ex-K.I.S.A. members. It consisted of twenty elected members from all the branches of the Church, as well as seven office bearers. Its function was administrative. The second body consisted of the ordained clergy. It looked after the spiritual life of the Church members.

3:2.3 (i) *The Hierarchy of the A.I.P.C.A : The Priests' Council*

The A.I.P.C.A. hierarchy can best be illustrated by a triangular shaped pyramid. At the apex is the Archbishop and at the bottom of the pyramid are the Acolytes (see fig. one). There are two levels in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, namely, the ordained clergy and the anointed. Starting from the bottom level to the highest status, the following are the different levels of the Church :

The Acolyte: To be an acolyte one should be aged between 12 and 18 years. The work of the acolyte is to assist the priest as an altar boy. The parents of such a boy have to allow their son to join the ministry. This means that a child cannot be allowed to join priesthood without his parents' permission (Mwaura, o.i., 13.1.91).

The Church Reader: Such a candidate has to be over 18 years. His work in his local church is to assist the priest. A Church Reader can preach in the absence of a pastor. He cannot confer any sacraments of the Church.

The Sub-Deacon: He must be over 20 years. He is partially ordained in the sense that he has taken certain vows of the Church and even wears a collar. He can also head a church as

the main preacher but cannot administer the Church sacraments.

The Deacon: Aged over 20, he can baptise small children and also officiate in their funeral service. He can head a Church as the main preacher but cannot confer any other sacraments of the Church.

The Priest or Pastor: He should ideally be over 25 years. He is an ordained clergy and can confer the sacraments of Matrimony, Baptism, and Holy Communion. He celebrates the Church mass and also conducts all the funerals of both children and adults.

The Arch deacon: He is aged between 40 and 50 years. He is in charge of an Arch-deaconry which consists of several parishes. He has the same powers as the priest although he qualifies to become a Bishop. He can ordain pastors.

The Bishop: He should be over 45 years old. He is in charge of a diocese or a branch. He confers all the sacraments of the Church. *The Archbishop:* Aged from 45 years onwards, he is the spiritual head of the Church. He consecrates all the clergy men. He is the head of the Bishops' Synod (Gategethimo, n.d.:5).

To be ordained into priesthood in the A.I.P.C.A., a candidate should ideally pass through the Acolyte and Church Reader stages. An exemption to this rule is extended to the ordained clergy from other denominations who may join the Church as a new member. An ordained person must be a man of one wife. During the period of leadership conflicts in the Church, all these stages were often skipped at the instigation of the

Elders. Members of the clergy in each branch have a council that looks after the spiritual affairs of the Church referred to as the Priests' Council. The chairman of this council is the bishop.

3:2.3 (ii) *The Central Committee or The Central Board*

The Central Board or the Central Committee is the administrative organ of the Church (see fig. two). It consists of seven office bearers and twenty elected members from all the branches of the Church (1970 Constitution). Elections are held annually.

The Executive Committee

Within the Central Committee is an Executive Committee which deals with the management, organization, and disciplinary matters of the A.I.P.C.A. (*ibid.*, clause 6a).

Functions of The Central Committee

The Committee directs and supervises all the affairs of:

- (i) the office bearers and advises them on how to run the Society and relay its special reports to the Executive Committee;
- (ii) the Priests' Council, which co-ordinates the teaching in the entire A.I.P.C.A.;
- (iii) the Women's Council and looks into women's interests from time to time;
- (iv) branch committees which look after the affairs of the Church at district or branch level and
- (v) all moneys spent on its behalf have to be authorized by the Committee.

The Central Committee may suspend any of the committees and convene a general meeting to choose another one. The office bearers who run the Church include :

The Chairman: who presides over all meetings of the Committee and at General Meetings.

The Vice-Chairman: who performs the duties of the Chairman in his absence.

The General Secretary: who deals with all the correspondence of the Church under the supervision of the Executive Committee. In urgent cases he can act in collaboration with the Chairman when it is not possible to consult the Executive Committee. He has, however, later on to inform the Committee at a later date about any action he may have taken.

The Assistant Secretary: who acts in the absence of the General Secretary.

The Administrative Secretary: who acts as the roving ambassador of the Association. He ensures the smooth-running of the churches. He advises the Church on the necessary amendments regarding the manner of worship in various churches of A.I.P.C.A. He reports to the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer: who ensures the safety of the Society's fund. He keeps all the accounts of moneys received, banked and paid out by the Church. He is answerable to the Central Committee.

The Assistant Treasurer: who performs all the duties of the Treasurer in his absence. The office bearers are elected by the Executive Council from among nominated members drawn from every district where the Church has branches. All the office bearers are paid up members (Constitution 1970). Like the

A.I.P.C.A. Church in the 1930s, at the branch level of the Church, is a committee that is headed by a chairman. In every A.I.P.C.A. church, there is a church committee which is headed by a lay chairman. The chairman of the church is above its pastor who cannot make any decisions without the approval of the chairman. This situation has created tensions between the pastor and the chairman.

3:2.4 *Evaluation and Summary*

We observe from our work that first, the A.I.P.C.A. was not effectively institutionalized on its re-opening. This is reflected in the slow and un-coordinated re-opening of its churches from May 1963 to the middle of 1964. Each Branch re-opened at its own pace and without consultations among the leaders in order to decide who should lead the Church. There was no separation of roles between the Elders and members of the clergy. This negligence aggravated tensions between the two institutions which were later to develop into leadership conflicts in the 1970s and the 1980s. Secondly, the A.I.P.C.A. was still experiencing the repercussions of its involvement in the Mau Mau revolt. The detainees on being released found their families had been disoriented economically and could not afford to support their Church. Their children were unemployable because they had not received academic education due to the war. Lack of education meant that the Church drew its members from the un-educated, a factor that would affect the quality of people joining the priesthood. Thirdly, theological practices further divided members. These

differences were as a result of personality factors because of alliances formed between the first ordained pastors of the Church at the instigation of ex-K.I.S.A. leaders. They need not have arisen if the Church had been streamlined into an institution right from its inception in 1929. The Church had operated as a religious wing of K.I.S.A. for so long that the roles of the two were not distinct. Fourthly, the failure to re-open K.I.S.A. schools meant that the responsibilities of ex-K.I.S.A. leaders who had no schools to run were minimal. They began to compete with the clergy for leadership positions in the Church.

The implications in these contradictions appear to be both social and economic. Members of the Church, especially those who had struggled for political independence felt socially deprived. Some of them had been detained only to come back and find their land had been taken by the colonial homeguards. Their children were unemployable by both the colonial and independent government due to their lack of academic education. These factors aggravated the tensions among members and all they needed was an impetus to explode into physical confrontations (o.i., Veronica Njeri, 10.4.91). This group of people felt socially deprived because they could not fit in a society where those who had collaborated with the colonialists were acceptable and given jobs, while their children could not get jobs. Some ex-detainees may have expected some reward from the independent government. When this failed to materialize they sought for other avenues of gaining a sense of

satisfaction. Among other opportunities, they resorted to leadership in the Church, a factor which contributed to conflicts there. In this respect, the struggle for leadership within the A.I.P.C.A. fits in with Daneel's thesis. Daneel (1987: 195), contends that leadership conflicts in some Independent churches are as a result of some individuals' ambitions to lead either in a family or a political system. He argues that when these ambitions are not catered for, then some people resort to the Church which provides an outlet for frustrated individuals. These individuals are in reality reacting to a political system which has failed to provide sufficient scope for leadership. In the A.I.P.C.A., some members fell in this category. It is clear that the independent government did not provide the ex-K.I.S.A. leaders with adequate rewards in leadership hence the rush to acquire leadership positions in the Church.

Seeds of conflicts were first planted by both the missions and the colonial government. The proscription of K.I.S.A. schools marked the beginning of a future struggle between the Elders and the clergy. Failure by the Church to develop into an autonomous institution free from K.I.S.A. also introduced contradictions therein. The period between the proscription of K.I.S.A. in 1952 and 1963, which was the silent period of the Church was the dormant period which marked the germination period of contradictions already planted during the colonial era. The current A.I.P.C.A. Constitution is silent about who should be elected into the Central Committee in regard to

whether a candidate should be ordained or a member of the laity. This ambiguity has perpetuated misinterpretation of the constitution to the detriment of Church unity. Conservative members of the Church argue that the Central Committee should comprise of lay elders because it was K.I.S.A., a committee of elders, which organized the ordination of pastors in the Church in the 1930s. They did this by inviting and maintaining Archbishop William Alexander of South Africa (o.i., Gatabaki, 14.2.91). The members of the clergy on the other hand contend that the first Church elders specifically looked after K.I.S.A. schools while pastors were left alone to conduct the spiritual affairs of the Church (o.i., Muhia, Gakubia, 29.4.91, 13.2.91). The 1938 Constitution certainly indicates that the Church was under the Elders. On re-opening of the Church, K.I.S.A. was not revived but the Central Committee which used to run K.I.S.A. remained. An amendment of the constitution on this ambiguity would clarify the situation and remove the confusion.

Leaders divided the Church

Responses to a question on who should discipline erring members of the Church indicate 96% of respondents believe that the Church Committee is above the pastor. Out of 50 responses from the questionnaires, all but two responded in favour of the Committee of Elders. When the same questions were administered to the conservative members of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, all the members responded that the Church should be administered by the Elders and not the pastors. Moderate members of Gitothua, who comprised young and educated members

answered that only a saved pastor should discipline members because most Elders are polygynists and ungodly and cannot set an example to members. Most of those who responded in favour of the Elders were those who joined the Church before political independence and represented the conservative members of the Church. Their churches were led by conservative chairmen. The response was specifically given by members belonging to Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction. A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua belonged to Mr. Mwaura's conservative faction and was led by a cultural nationalist. The choice of the conservative members of the church was in line with our contention that cultural nationalism among some of the A.I.P.C.A. members was contributory to leadership conflicts in Gitothua and in other A.I.P.C.A. churches.

When the Church was re-opened in 1963 the situation remained the same in that there were weaknesses in the organization of the Church. Rivalries perpetuated by the first K.I.S.A. leaders, divided the Church into alliances on its re-opening. On the one side were Reverends Gachukia and Kiande, and on the other end was Rev. Kiragu. These alliances prepared fertile ground for leadership conflicts and schisms in the 1970s and 1980s. The Church constitution was first prepared for K.I.S.A. as an organization catering for both the educational and religious needs of its members. When only the Church was re-opened in 1963, there was a failure to clarify issues relating to what role the Elders would play in the absence of K.I.S.A. schools. As a result of this, the modified 1970 constitution,

was left open to misinterpretation especially because the role of the clergy vis- a-vis the role of the Elders was not well spelt out. The A.I.P.C.A. constitution becomes another historical root for creating tensions between the clergy and the Elders due to its silence on the overlapping roles of the two institutions. It is clear from our research that seeds of leadership conflicts began to mature as soon as the Church was re-opened. These seeds had been planted right from the inception of the Church when the A.I.P.C.A. failed to develop into an independent institution and had to depend on K.I.S.A., an organization led by Elders.

The Acolytes and Chatch (altar boys) who are not fully ordained, aside to assist the ordained clergy include the sub deacon, Deacon, Bishop, Archbishop.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE A.I.P.C.A.

THE PRIESTS' COUNCIL

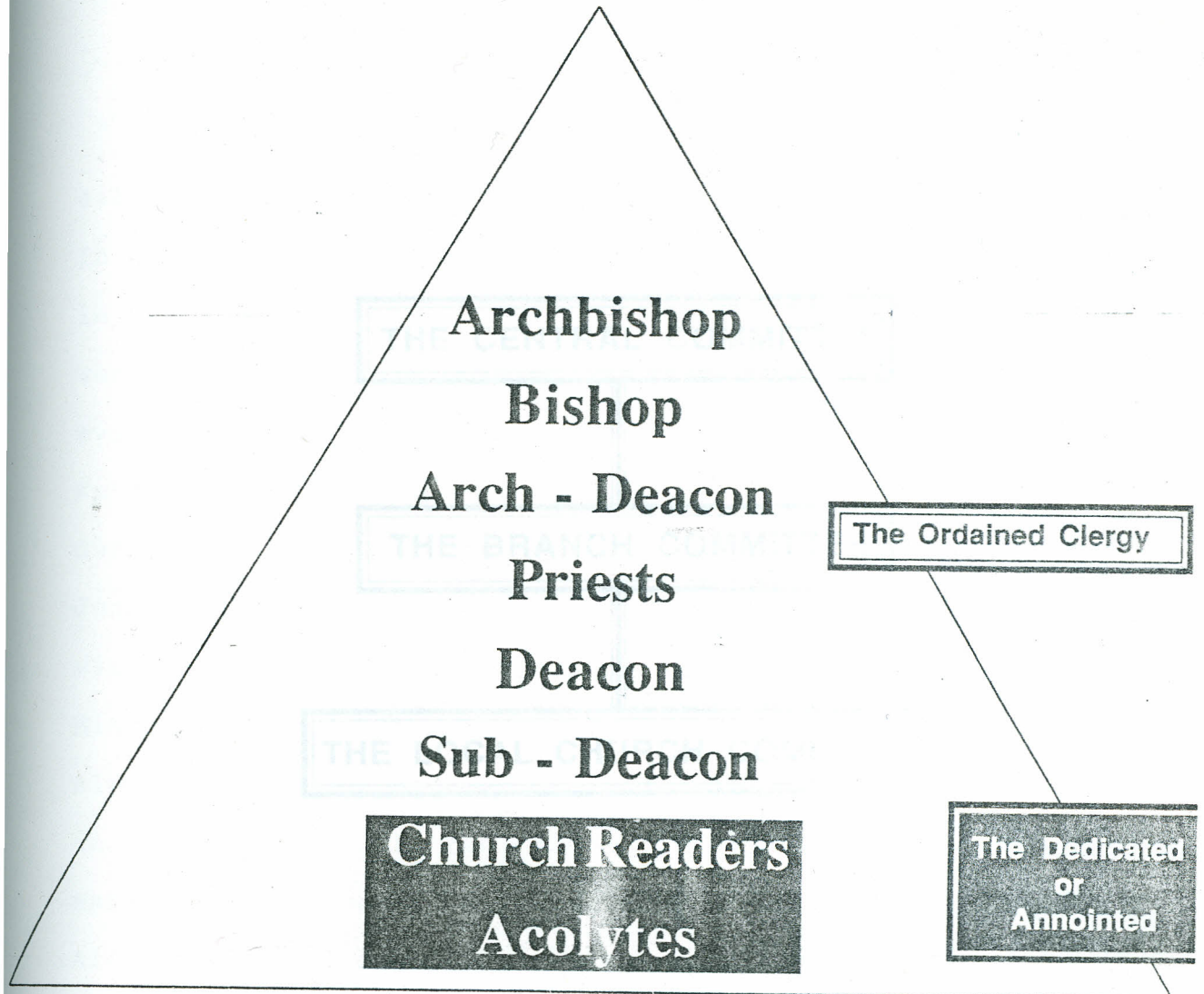


Fig. One

The Acolytes and Church Readers are anointed or dedicated altar boys who are not fully ordained ministers. They are set aside to assist the ordained clergy. The ordained clergy include the Sub deacon, Deacon, Priests going up to the Archbishop.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OR THE CENTRAL BOARD.

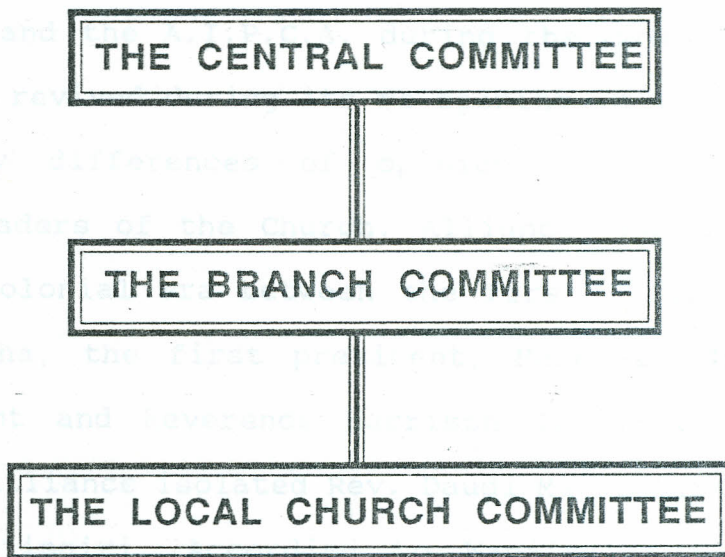


Fig. Two

The local church committee is at the parish level and is answerable to the Branch Committee which is the district level of the A.I.P.C.A. The Central Committee or the Central Board, is the national administrative body of Church.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEADERSHIP CONFLICTS IN THE A.I.P.C.A. BETWEEN 1970 AND 1990.

4:1 Introduction

In Chapter Three we concluded that seeds of schism were sown in K.I.S.A. and the A.I.P.C.A. during the colonial era and were further revived during its re-opening in 1963. This was evidenced by differences of opinion between the first spiritual leaders of the Church. Alliances had been formed during the colonial era between the first K.I.S.A. leaders Johana Kunyiha, the first president, Hezekiah Gachui, the vice-president and Reverends Harrison Gachukia and Philip Kiande. The alliance isolated Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu and Mr. Alphaxad Wanjingiri. According to Wanjingiri, the Kiriti incident in which the two left the Church compound in protest, marked the beginning of a potential schism in the Church. Although the Church did not break into factions, a wedge had been drawn between the Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu's pastors and Rev. Harrison Gachukia's. This would consequently split the Church into factions in future. After the death of the initial leaders, their followers would maintain their leader's stand on certain issues. Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu was succeeded by Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri, while Rev. Harrison Gachukia's side was succeeded by Rev. Philip Kiande and later by Archbishop

Benjamin Kahihia. The Church had not been institutionalized up to this period. There were no regulations on succession, no accredited training institution and the constitution then in use was an adoption of the 1938 one. The ambiguity of this constitution created further tensions between the clergy and the Elders of the Church. The constitution, for example, did not specify whether the ordained clergy could become members of the Central Committee or whether only laymen could. Ex-K.I.S.A. members, most of whom were Ex-Mau Mau freedom fighters, felt socially, economically and politically deprived even after Kenya had achieved political independence. This was because their involvement in the freedom struggle had disoriented their families. Their children could not be employed because they had discontinued with their education when the parents were detained. Many people had lost their land as a result of this detention. The independent government had not apparently rewarded them sufficiently and this made the members feel frustrated. Tensions continued to grow in the Church and would soon break into schisms.

4:1.1 *The First Split of the Church*

According to Bishop Muhia, the first split in the Church was precipitated by the Annual General Elections held at Bahati in Nairobi in 1974 (o.i., 29.4.91). The out-going Chairman of the Central Committee, Mr. Laban Kabunga lost his seat to his Vice-Chairman, Mr. Tadeo Mwaura. Mr. Laban Kabunga refused to accept defeat arguing that he was deliberately removed in order to give way to a more compromising man. This underlines the

seriousness of the struggle for leadership in the A.I.P.C.A. Just before the elections, the Church was making arrangements to build a memorial church in honour of those who had died during the struggle for independence in the 1950s. Both the African Orthodox Church (A.O.C.) and the A.I.P.C.A. had declared their interest to build the Church. According to Bishop Muhia, both groups had requested the late President Kenyatta to procure a piece of land in Githunguri for this purpose (o.i., 29.4.91). The late President Kenyatta advised the two groups to decide who should build the church and advised them against building two churches in the same place. According to Kaniu Mukiri, who was then the chairman of Kiambu County Council, the late President Kenyatta ordered him to convene a meeting at Githunguri. Mr. Kaniu Mukiri, invited the two groups to decide who should build the church (o.i., 27.4.91).

Six representatives from each Church attended the meeting. The A.I.P.C.A. was led by Mr. Laban Kabunga, while the A.O.C. was led by Rev. Arthur Gatung'u. According to Bishop Muhia it was agreed that the memorial church should be built jointly by the two groups. Each group would contribute six million shillings towards the building (o.i., 29.4.91). The bishop asserts that Rev. Arthur Gatung'u informed the participants at the meeting that his Church had its contribution ready and that the Greek Orthodox Church had given him financial aid to expand his Church. Rev. Wanjingiri asserts that Mr. Kabunga and himself opposed this move to have foreign money accepted by the Church

(o.i., 14.5.91). It was this rejection of foreign aid that Mr. Kabunga asserted, was the reason behind his removal from leadership. He, therefore, formed his rival group and invited Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri to join him. Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri had already refused to be led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura in 1970 because the latter was a layman. Rev. Wanjingiri was working in isolation in Murang'a as the chairman of the branch. He further explained this rejection arguing that:

Members of A.I.P.C.A., Gakarara, refused to be led by a polygynous man. Even our leader, Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu, refused to be led by laymen. After his death we regarded this as his last wishes (o.i., 14.5.91).

The Agikuyu, like many other African societies, regard the last wishes of a dead man as binding and a failure to maintain such wishes by those who are left behind would bring an ill omen to the people concerned (Mbiti 1969: 211). However, the honouring of such wishes depended on the age, the social status and the integrity of the person and also on the nature of the wish. Rev. Wanjingiri, therefore, felt obliged to follow the tradition set by Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu. He joined Mr. Laban Kabunga and they formed a splinter group. He became the chairman of the Murang'a branch of the splinter group as well as its spiritual head.

4:1.2 *Early Efforts at Reconciliation*

Efforts to reconcile the two factions were made under the auspices of the late President Kenyatta. According to Wanjingiri, the first meeting was scheduled to take place on

22nd June, 1977 but did not materialize because Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, the Chairman of the Central Committee, failed to turn up (o.i., 14.5.91). Another meeting was organized to take place on 9th July, 1977 in Nakuru State House. The two rival groups each took its representatives to Nakuru. Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia was accompanied by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Bishop George Muhia among others, while Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjigiri had Mr. Laban Kabunga and other supporters. With the late President was the late Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, who was then a Minister of State in the President's office. Worth noting here is that the late President and Koinange had a close relationship with the Church going back to the 1930s. According to Archbishop Wanjigiri, it was the late President who had sent one, Paul Githendu, to Christians who had defected from mission churches to inform them about Archbishop Alexander of South Africa (o.i., 14.5.91). Koinange on the other hand, had been the Principal of Kenya Teachers' College, a K.I.S.A. institution in Githunguri. In the 1950s, the members of the Association had supported the two politicians during the Mau Mau days (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). It was because of these early connections as well as the personal stature of President Kenyatta that leaders of the Church felt confident enough to seek his guidance on their problems.

Several issues were discussed before the late President. The first issue discussed was the acceptance of foreign aid by some leaders in the Church (o.i., Muhia, 29.4.91). Archbishop Kahihia's group was accused of accepting foreign aid from the

Greek Orthodox Church. It was argued that if this money was accepted, then the Greek Orthodox Church would demand a merging of the A.O.C. and the A.I.P.C.A. as well as involve the Church with foreigners (Wanjingiri, o.i., 14.5.91). Bishop Muhia denied the charge and offered to have his bank account investigated. He further argued that no foreign aid could enter the country without the knowledge of the government (o.i., Muhia, 27.4.91).

The second accusation against Archbishop Kahihia's group was over the issue of clitoridectomy. Bishop Muhia was accused of attempting to eliminate the rite from the Church thereby making an alliance with the missions from where the A.I.P.C.A. had seceded. Apparently, in one of the Church seminars Bishop Muhia had suggested that the rite was outdated and should be eliminated from the Church (o.i, Gakubia, 13.3.91). This suggestion had caused disaffection among the participants in the seminar who argued that the Church had seceded from the foreign missions over the issue and so it should be maintained.

According to Bishop Muhia, both Mzee Kenyatta and Mr. Koinange supported him on this issue. The late President reminded the complainants that the government had employed women from diverse ethnic groups some of which did not practise the ritual. For this reason he could not judge the bishop for his suggestion. Mr. Koinange on the other hand supported the elimination of the ritual and dismissed the accusation as

uncalled for. He had a nasty experience in the 1930s and 1940s when a *Muthirigu* verse had been composed mocking him as follows:

Guthoma ti kuhiga, guthoma ti kuhiga,
Mbiyu arathomeire Ruraya oka arahikia
kirigu.

Formal Education is not wisdom, Mbiyu went for education abroad and when he came back he married an uncircumcised girl (Muhia, o.i., 29.4.91).

The last issue discussed was about a case pending in court in which Mr. Tadeo Mwaura had accused Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri of refusing to accept the former's chairmanship. Mr. Mwaura promised to drop the case and also to recognize Archbishop Wanjingiri as a bishop of the Church. The two rival groups promised to reconcile and re-unite as one Church. According to Archbishop Wanjingiri, the late President advised the group to meet at Gituamba in Murang'a on 22nd July, 1977. The venue was chosen because it was the place where the first pastors of the church had been ordained in 1937 and was the ideal place for the reconciliation of its members. The late President chose Johana Kunyiha as the Secretary and Peter Gatabaki as the Vice-Secretary of the reconciliation meeting (o.i., 14.5.91).

On the appointed day, Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri and his group, Mr. Kaniu Mukiri and Mr. Peter Gatabaki converged at Gituamba. Archbishop Kahihia, Mr. Mwaura and their followers failed to turn up. According to Archbishop Wanjingiri, from then onwards he decided to work apart from Archbishop Kahihia. Eventually he consecrated his own bishops. In Nyeri he had Nehemiah

Kabangi, in Kiambu was Timothy Gakubia, in Murang'a was Simon Chege and Joseph Mbugua was in Nyandarua. In the Rift-Valley, Embu, Meru and other branches of the A.I.P.C.A. he ordained pastors to oversee the running of his churches.

Archbishop Wanjingiri informed the researcher that he had seceded from the parent Church because of several reasons. First, he had refused to accept foreign aid from the Greek Orthodox Church. He maintained that the leaders of the parent Church led by Archbishop Kahihia, had received foreign aid and had shared it among three districts namely, Murang'a, Nyeri and Kiambu. Secondly he refused to be led by lay polygynous men. He contended that Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu had forbidden leadership of his churches by laymen. For this reason he refused to be led by such men in honour of and in obedience to his predecessor. Thirdly, Wanjingiri refused to register the Church as a member of the N.C.C.K. while the parent Church wanted to be registered by the Council. He was against the registration because members consisted of former mission churches from whom the A.I.P.C.A. had split. Any association with such churches would have been a contradiction to the objectives of his Church, namely, independence from any foreign missions (Wanjingiri, o.i., 14.5.91).

On the issue of clitoridectomy, Archbishop Wanjingiri argued that since the majority of his followers were conservative, the ritual continued unhampered. Asked by the researcher whether an un-circumcised woman could hold leadership

positions, he had the following to say:

Mburi itari ngirime ndingiruta igongona
 A sheep whose tail has not been clipped
 off can not be used for sacrifice (o.i.,
 14.5.91).

This means that a woman who has not undergone the ritual has a blemish and cannot be accepted as a leader. By 1974, there were two factions in the A.I.P.C.A. The first faction was the parent Church and was led by Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia. His Central Committee was led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Mr. Kaniu Mukiri. The second faction was led by Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri and Mr. Laban Kabunga. Archbishop Wanjingiri's faction continued to open up new churches in all the districts where the Agikuyu, Meru, Embu and the Akamba communities could be located throughout the country. Information gathered shows that this faction was not embroiled in leadership wrangles that marked the other two rival groups. This was because the group opened new churches in areas where none existed before and did not compete for members with the other two groups. Wanjingiri's group had the lowest number of bishops and also the least number of ordinations because he did not compete against anyone but instead opened churches in new places. His faction had the lowest number of members compared to the parent Church. According to a member of the Central Committee, out of an estimated membership of 1,200,000 in the A.I.P.C.A. during that time, Wanjingiri's faction had 200,000 members as compared to Mwaura's 400,000 and Kahihia's 600,000 (Muhia, o.i., 3.6.94).

4:2 Causes of the First Split

The first split of the A.I.P.C.A. was a culmination of tensions that went back to the colonial era, when alliances among the first leaders of the Church had been formed. Generally the split was as a result of *leadership ambitions* among both the Elders and clergymen within the Church. This was underlined by Mr. Kabunga's refusal to accept defeat by Mr. Mwaura, as well as Rev. Wanjingiri's refusal to be led by Mr. Mwaura arguing that the former was polygynous and a layman. *Weaknesses in the A.I.P.C.A. organization* facilitated the split. *Cultural factors* like the ritual of clitoridectomy and the practice of polygyny were not the main reasons behind the split although the splinter groups cited them as reasons. However, the issues caused divisions among some members of the Church especially the conservative members. This is evidenced by the fact that the two institutions are still in practice in all the factions. The acceptance of foreign aid and the registration of the A.I.P.C.A. with the N.C.C.K., cannot be the main reasons behind the split. This is because, it was not until a *loss in election* by Mr. Laban Kabunga, that the split occurred. The registration of the Church with the N.C.C.K. took place in December 1979, and, therefore, could not have led to the 1974 split. Nevertheless, these factors to a certain extent contributed to disunity in the Church because some members were genuinely against any connections with foreigners.

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especially in regard to their own

4:2.1 *Diverse Movements Within the Church*

Barrett in his ice-berg analogy contends that movements within churches are forced to break surface into independency (Barrett 1968:259). This means that movements with diverse views may be operating within a church without leading to a schism but may eventually break away given a favourable climate. In the A.I.P.C.A., the Annual General Elections held in 1974 and the issue of building of a memorial church provided such a climate. Within the A.I.P.C.A., was a group of conservatives composed of original founders of the Church. The majority of cultural nationalists in the Church belonged to this group. Members of this group became the most militant faction during the leadership conflicts in the Church. They participated in the struggle for political independence and resisted change in the Church. The group wants the continuity of the Agikuyu culture, especially polygyny and clitoridectomy as well as the upholding of the liturgy of the Church as taught to them by Archbishop William Alexander of South Africa. The group does not forget to remind the young people about its role in the freedom struggle. The majority of members in this category belonged to Archbishop Wanjigiri's and Mr. Mwaura's factions (Wambiru, o.i., 29.3.91). Although Archbishop Wanjigiri and Mr. Mwaura were rivals, they had certain cultural beliefs in common. First, both accommodated polygynous members in their factions. Secondly, both allowed members to practise clitoridectomy. Thirdly, both believed that the oath they had taken in the 1950s was still effective especially in regard to their association with foreigners.

The second category can be referred to as the moderate group. It consists of members who joined the Church after political independence had been achieved, as well as children whose parents were among the founders of the Church. There are very few original members in the group. The group also consists of the educated members of the Church who would be prepared to accept some changes in the Church, for example, the concepts of salvation and the infilling of the Holy Spirit. For this group the struggle for independence is history and has no place in the current the A.I.P.C.A. development. They want the preaching of what is in their view, the Gospel (Wambiru, o.i., 29.3.91). The group is at loggerheads with conservatives on almost every issue. The majority of these members belong to Archbishop Kahihia's faction. In an interview in a Christian publication, Bishop Baptista Mugecha argued that the youth were not interested in liturgy but in spiritual renewal and salvation (*Step Magazine*, June 1991: 19). This statement emphasizes the differences existing between the conservatives and the moderate members of the A.I.P.C.A. It also means that young people are prepared to accept new teachings in the Church in spite of opposition by the conservative members. It is within this light, that Barrett's contention that movements within churches are forced to break into surface, that we are able to understand the nature of the factions within the A.I.P.C.A. (Barrett 1968: 259). The conservatives and the moderates are the main contenders in the leadership conflicts thus creating Church factions. These conflicts seem to arise from the lack of accommodation of diverse views and values

among members and the rigidity of the conservatives towards any form of change be it religious, social or cultural was the major cause of the first split in the Church. Both Archbishop Wanjingiri and Mr. Kabunga who led the first splinter group were conservatives who resisted any form of change in the Church. Archbishop Wanjingiri argued that he did not believe in the concept of salvation as introduced into the Church by some members. He had the following to say about it:

Salvation as a concept was an invention of Europeans living in Rwanda who after losing their property through theft by the Rwandese introduced the concept in order to recover their stolen goods (o.i., 14.5.91).

For him the adoption of such a concept was to fall into the deception perpetrated by Europeans for their own gain. His faction does not encourage the concept although it is creeping in. He sees the acceptance of such a teaching as a factor that will divide the Church in future. Archbishop Kahihia's faction especially in Kiambu led by Bishop Muhia allows the teaching of the concept in his churches (letter dated 13.5.91). Differences of opinion among leaders already tend to confirm Archbishop Wanjingiri's prediction that the concept of salvation will divide the Church. The conservatives completely reject the concept. The researcher is of the view that the Church is more likely to lose members through defections to churches that allow the teaching of the concept rather than develop into a schism.

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29.4.91, Ichugu, o.i., 5.3.91. At the
Mwaura lost his position as the

to Archbishop Benjamin Ndatia

4:2.2 Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, during the period between 1974 and 1982, two factions were in operation, one led by Archbishop Kahihia and the other led by Archbishop Wanjingiri. The schism had both negative and positive implications. Negatively, conflict by its very nature is not good in a church. Furthermore, the first split set a precedent for future schisms. It also undermined the authority of both the archbishop and the Central Committee. This in turn further weakened the two institutions. Positively, new churches were opened in areas where none existed before. The split also paved the way for the reconciliation of the Church in future. Leaders of the A.I.P.C.A. became aware perhaps for the first time that members were dissatisfied with some of their decisions regarding the running of the Church. Such an understanding would ensure that they did not act arbitrarily in future without consulting members.

was the first

4:3. The Second Split of the A.I.P.C.A. : 1982

The second split of the Church took place in 1982. Like the first one it occurred after the Annual General elections of the Church. In Kiambu the branch chairman who was also the Vice-Chairman of the Central Board, Mr. Kaniu Mukiri, lost his leadership position to one, Simon Kimani Mbitiru. This meant he would lose his national vice-chairmanship (Muhia, o.i., 29.4.91, Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). At the national level Mr. Tadeo Mwaura lost his position as the Chairman of the Central Board,

to Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia. All the out-going office bearers were defeated and replaced with new officials most of whom happened to be clergymen (Muhia, o.i., 29.4.91). This was a historic move in the parent Church because the Central Committee had always been led by Elders. According to Bishop Muhia the clergy had for a long time resented the idea of laymen making important Church decisions without involving them. For example, neither a priest nor a bishop can visit a church of their choice without the permission of the church chairman. This hampers their pastoral work because they cannot plan anything without consulting these chairmen. If the chairmen decide they do not want a certain function in their churches, the clergymen are left with no option but to give in. This state of affairs frustrates them (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91).

According to Bishop Muhia the clergy men, therefore, organized themselves to take over the leadership of branch committees as well as the position of National Chairman. They campaigned for the election of ordained men into leadership positions and won, a situation conservative Church Elders were not prepared to accept (o.i., 29.4.91). The defeated Elders led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Mr. Kaniu Mukiri, refused to accept ordained men as leaders (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). Tadeo Mwaura contended that the elections were unconstitutional (*Nation*, 13th December, 1983). He argued that the Central Committee should be led by the Elders and not the clergymen. The clergy men argued that anyone could lead as long as he was legally

elected by the members of the Church. The two groups could not agree with each other and this marked the emergence of a third splinter group led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Mr. Kaniu Mukiri. The two formed a rival Central Committee and soon convinced conservative clergy men to join them. The third splinter group became the most militant faction of the Church. By 1983, there were three factions all claiming to be the genuine A.I.P.C.A. The first faction was the parent Church, led by Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia. The second faction was led by Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri and the third one was led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura.

4:3.1 The Establishment of Tadeo Mwaura's Faction

Mwaura's group met in Mr. Waira Kamau's house where it was agreed that they should consecrate a bishop and three archdeacons to assist the bishop (o.i., 29.3.91). On 10th June, 1983, Rev. Javanson Kinyanjui, a priest aged over ninety years, was consecrated the first bishop of the faction. Reverends Daniel Kiongo, Joel Kairu and Johnson Ichugu were consecrated as archdeacons. Later on the Central Board led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura decided that a younger man should be consecrated a bishop to succeed Bishop Kinyanjui in the event of his dying. Rev. Daniel Kirugo from Murang'a was consecrated a bishop in March, 1984. Bishop Kinyanjui died soon after and because Bishop Kirugo soon became unpopular among members of the splinter group, it was decided that Archdeacon Ichugu should become the new bishop. He was consecrated on 20th April, 1984 (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). Bishop Kirugo, who held a

Bachelor of Divinity degree, was the most educated clergyman in the Church. He had been recruited from the A.I.C. by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, to train the A.I.P.C.A. ministers for his faction. However, he soon realized that this was not the case and defected from the Church. He started the Kenya Evangelistic Church where he is involved in training evangelists (Kirugo, o.i., 23.7.91). Eventually the group decided to consecrate other bishops in other areas in order to effectively oppose the other factions. The following were consecrated as bishops: Petro M'iturikia of Meru who later died and was succeeded by Solomon Kalulu; Francis Gichamba of Kirinyaga, Josphat Kariuki of Nairobi, Douglas Mugo of Embu, William Muli of Machakos, Simeon Kamau Muturi of Rift Valley, Daniel Kiongo of Kiambu and Baptista Mugecha of Nyeri. Archbishop Johnson Ichugu became the spiritual head of the faction led by Tadeo Mwaura.

The emergence of the third splinter group marked the beginning of mass indiscriminate ordinations of pastors as well as the physical confrontations between rival factions. During such mass ordinations as many as twenty people were ordained without any form of training and regardless of the candidates' moral integrity. Reasons for the ordinations were given by informants:

We were recruiting soldiers to fight against our rivals in order to capture as many churches from them as possible and we naturally chose the bravest (o.i., 26.9.91).

This means that the more the ordained priests a faction had, the more it would manage to fight against its rivals. Priests thus ordained were selected not because of their moral integrity or personal vocation, but on the basis of their courage to fight with rivals. Another priest had this to say on being asked why he had skipped the usual stages of the A.I.P.C.A. hierarchy:

In order to fight against my rival pastor in the church on the same level, the church committee decided that I should skip two stages, namely, Sub-deacon and Deacon (o.i.19.3.91).

The informant came from A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, a church which had to go to the local D.C. for arbitration due to constant leadership conflicts therein.

The consecration of Bishop Baptista Mugecha was a masterpiece of intrigue according to Archbishop Ichugu. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction decided to consecrate Rev. Mugecha a bishop in order to offer a challenge to Archbishop Kahihia in Nyeri. Rev. Mugecha's planned consecration developed some complications because Archbishop Kahihia had alerted the provincial administration about the function. The function was subsequently declared illegal by the civil administration and the venue was heavily guarded by armed police. The faction decided that the ordination would still take place in spite of opposition. In order to divert the attention of the police from the venue Archbishop Ichugu had the following to say:

We used Mau Mau tactics of diverting attention from the real venue. We publicised the venue of ordination as

Giakanja in Nyeri but only a few people knew the real venue (o.i., 5.5.91).

He further explained that during the Mau Mau oathing ceremonies in his area, one venue would be publicised in order to reach the ears of the colonial government. Soldiers would be rushed to the venue only to find the place deserted. Meanwhile the oathing would be taking place in a secret place uninterrupted. This was the situation during Bishop Mugecha's consecration. To further confuse the situation, Archbishop Ichugu and his group drove to the publicised venue and remained in their cars. Bishop Mugecha's consecration was conducted without any interference. He later showed up at Giakanja already a consecrated bishop and completely dressed in a bishop's regalia much to the disappointment of his rivals.

The consecration of Bishop Mugecha was a trump card for Ichugu's splinter group. He became so militant in Nyeri that by January 1990, he had captured 116 out of 126 Churches in Nyeri from Archbishop Kahihia (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). Within no time the faction had a total of nine bishops, the same number as the parent Church led by Archbishop Kahihia and certainly higher than Archbishop Wanjigiri's faction. It had the largest number of untrained but ordained ministers. This faction consisted of ex-Mau Mau freedom fighters who were not afraid of confrontations in their attempt to win members from their rivals. These actions would develop into leadership wrangles as members fought in support of their leaders.

4:3.2 Reaction of Existing Factions to the New Faction

The other two rival factions reacted differently to the formation of the third splinter group. In Kiambu Bishop George Muhia who was incharge of the Central Diocese, suspended the pastors who had joined Tadeo Mwaura's faction. Reverends Johnson Ichugu, Joel Kairu, Joshua Ndung'u and Daniel Muniu were suspended (letter dated 16.3.85), with the full support of Archbishop Kahihia (letter dated 20.3.85). The suspended pastors rejected the suspension arguing that they were no longer under Bishop Muhia's jurisdiction (letter dated 11.4.85), because they had defected to Tadeo Mwaura's faction. In Nyeri Archbishop Kahihia faced the greatest challenge of his leadership from Bishop Mugecha. The opposition became so stiff that he severally appealed to the government to act against the rival groups arguing that they were associated with certain politicians (*Daily Nation*, 27.1.90). In Murang'a Archbishop Kahihia's group led by Bishop Nduati was challenged by Bishop Kirugo, belonging to Mr. Mwaura's faction. He attempted to capture some churches in the area. The D.C. of Murang'a had to arbitrate between the two (*Daily Nation*, 26.6.89). Before the emergence of the third splinter group there was only Archbishop Wanjingiri to contend with. New opposition marked the beginning of leadership conflicts in the area. In the Rift Valley, Bishop Muriithi was in control although rival groups opened up churches in the area. All the other branches of A.I.P.C.A. followed the same pattern. There were three rival factions in the areas and each rival group had its own churches and clergymen. Archbishop

Kahihia attempted to end the Church wrangles by appointing a probe committee which was supposed to look for ways of uniting the Church but it never took off because members of the team were all from his group. The rival factions, on learning about the committee, dismissed it as not being binding to them (*Daily Nation*, 27.1.90). Archbishop Wanjigiri's faction was different from the others because it remained free from the in-fighting that marked the other two factions. He was already the chairman of his faction and members were used to having ordained clergy as chairmen in some of their churches right from the days of Rev. Daudi Maina Kiragu who had refused to be led by laymen. Archbishop Kahihia's attempt to adopt this had led to the emergence of the third splinter group.

The emergence of the splinter

The period between 1982 and 1990 marked the most critical history of leadership conflicts in the Church. The splinter group led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Archbishop Johnson Ichugu was both conservative and very militant. This group had always been lying dormant in the Church waiting for precipitating factors to enable it to break away and form a faction. Mr. Kabunga and Archbishop Wanjigiri had already set a precedent by seceding from the parent Church and forming a splinter group. Mr. Mwaura's faction was still steeped in cultural nationalism. Most of its leaders had participated in the Mau Mau freedom struggle and resisted any attempts to change the Church. Bishop Mugecha's observation in *Step Magazine* that ex-K.I.S.A. leaders who took over the reigns of the A.I.P.C.A. continued with old aspirations forgetting the socio-economic

and political changes in the country must be understood in this light (*Step Magazine*, June 1991: 19). There were no enemies to fight after political independence had been achieved and so this militant faction diverted its energies toward proponents of change in the Church. The faction led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura upheld the Agikuyu institutions of polygyny and clitoridectomy and indeed most of the chairmen in the faction are polygynous and certainly practise clitoridectomy. The parent Church on the other hand was prepared to accept change. These conflicting views and values among members further increased disunity in the Church.

4:3.3 *Causes of the Second Split*

The emergence of the third splinter group in the A.I.P.C.A. marked the beginning of physical confrontations among the members of the Church. The second split was brought about by a combination of factors. Briefly, these were, weaknesses in the ecclesiastical organization of the Church, cultural nationalism, ignorance of the constitution, leadership ambitions among members, conservatism of some members of the Church, political patronage among members of the Church, financial constraints among members of the Church, lack of academic education and finally, lack of theological training of the A.I.P.C.A. ministers.

4:3.3 (i) *Weaknesses in the Ecclesiastical Organization*

The immediate cause of the split was the weaknesses in the ecclesiastical organization of the Church. This was evidenced by the ambiguity of the Church constitution in matters

pertaining to eligibility of clergymen into leadership positions in the Central Committee. The 1970 constitution stipulates that the Priests' Council is one of the many committees of the Association and is under the Central Committee (Clause 7/3 of 1970 Constitution). It does not clarify whether the clergy or the laity qualify to be members of the Central Committee. During the 1982 annual elections, the Elders of the Central Committee lost their positions to ordained men and refused to acknowledge them as leaders.

The Elders argued that the elections were unconstitutional because the Board had always been led by them and not the clergy. They formed a rival Central Board and started a rival faction. A small number of ordained men joined the splinter group and embarked upon ordaining priests for the faction. The Elders, according to Gatabaki, refused to be led by ordained men because it was through their initiative that the first priests of the Church had been ordained in the 1930s. In their view, the Elders were, therefore, the more deserving leaders of the Church and not the clergy (o.i., 14.2.91). Members of the clergy on the other hand held that between 1930 and 1950, the chief role of the Elders, was to run K.I.S.A. schools while members of the clergy dealt with spiritual matters. The informant argued that since the schools were not re-opened in 1963 alongside the Church, then clergymen should be left alone to run the Church (Muhia, o.i., 29.4.91). The conservative members of the Church were not prepared to listen to this contention and decided to form a splinter group. Most young

people interviewed seemed to have rejected leadership by Elders. They gave the reason for rejecting leadership by Elders as :

Most Elders elected to chairmanship are ungodly polygynists who have failed to manage their own homes. We want godly men with only one wife, according to I Timothy 3:1-13 (o.i., 1.4.91).

The Scripture gives the qualities of a good leader who must be above reproach and must be faithful to his one wife. The youth argued that they needed exemplary leaders who would encourage them to marry in Church. They felt that polygynous leaders could not advise them to do what they had not done themselves. A member of the clergy informed the researcher why in his view, Elders were not suitable as leaders and argued along the same lines as young people:

Most Elders are ungodly polygynists who are likely to be influenced by politicians to divide the Church. Their desire for leadership is purely political and materialistic (o.i., 29.4.91).

Through participatory method of research, the researcher discovered that most chairmen of the A.I.P.C.A. churches do not respect their ordained men. In one instance, a chairman shouted at a bishop to shut up after he had been requested to address the congregation in a few words. The chairman took over half an hour in his address and members of the church started leaving before the service was over. On witnessing such disrespect, members also develop insubordination to pastors and the end result is a general lack of discipline. It can be argued that the institution of the chairman has contributed to leadership conflicts in the Church.

Responses from questionnaires administered to the clergy, on the causes of leadership conflicts show that over 85% of them believe that lay chairmen are to blame for disunity in the Church. All the bishops interviewed concurred with the view that un-ordained chairmen are behind many of the leadership problems in the Church. It was the first National Chairman, Mr. Laban Kabunga, for example, who started the first split. No pastor prior to this had seceded independently. In the second split, it was also the National Chairman, Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, who split off to form a splinter group. For these reasons, most clergymen feel that they should be chairmen of their churches. They also feel that laymen might seek leadership positions due to such other motivations as political and financial considerations. Clergy men argued that some chairmen are campaigners for politicians during the general elections. A case in point is that in which a chairman and his vice-chairman supported different politicians and were their main campaigners. In that particular church the two attempted to garner support for their candidates and great rivalry was created among the church members. Physical confrontation was averted when the bishop of the area demanded a resignation of the two before he would visit the church for any function (o.i., 29.4.91). It has been claimed that some chairmen attempted to intimidate pastors to support candidates of their choice (o.i., 1.4.91). Pastors who refused to do so were accused of supporting a rival candidate and in order to frustrate them, chairmen organized a defection to a rival faction. This led to leadership conflicts because some members

would refuse to defect in support of their pastor, while yet other members would agree with their chairman. The church would split into as many factions as there were political rivals.

4:3.3 (ii) Cultural Nationalism

In his research on Leadership and Fission Dynamics in Southern Shona Independent Churches, Daneel (1988: 154), contends that leaders of schismatics can use less honourable motivations for schisms, for example, capitalizing on anti-European sentiments. He further argues that the leader's success in winning a following hinges to some extent on the persuasion of potential followers that the new Church is going to be both more biblical and more African than the parent body (*ibid.*, 155). In the case of the A.I.P.C.A., rival leaders argued that their factions were going to be more African and would be free from foreign affiliations. They also argued that the Agikuyu institutions such as polygyny and clitoridectomy, would be maintained. This phenomenon was in the A.I.P.C.A., especially in Tadeo Mwaura's splinter group. Among other things, leaders of Mwaura's faction would whip up the Mau Mau memories among aged members. For example, five women were reported in the *Standard* Newspaper as saying:

We are ex-Mau Mau and completely reject Archbishop Kahihia's leadership, we would rather die than submit to him (*Standard*, 18.1.91).

The researcher met the five women in Gitothua, who admitted having made the statement. They contended that they had been angered by young people in their local church for defecting to a rival Archbishop. In their view, Archbishop Kahihia's

faction was unacceptable because it was registered with the N.C.C.K. They explained that they were trying to emphasize their courage and ability to withstand any confrontation with the young members. They had survived colonial brutality during their involvement in the Mau Mau revolt and could deal with young members fearlessly if the need to do so arose (o.i., 17.2.91). It was this same group of women which re-enacted the Agikuyu traditional curse against their rivals within a church compound as will be discussed in Chapter Five. From such an incident, it can be argued that cultural nationalism among some members contributed to disunity in the A.I.P.C.A.

Interference of the Church with the A.I.P.C.A.

Allegations about N.C.C.K. interference with the Church were made by leaders who argued that the Council was behind the conflicts in A.I.P.C.A. (Wanjingiri, o.i., 14.5.9). Rev. Kariuki and Mr. Gatabaki who belonged to Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction, concurred with this view arguing that the Council consisted of ex-mission churches which were controlled by foreigners. For this reason because of aligning with the N.C.C.K., Archbishop Kahihia was accused of selling the Church to foreigners who were against the government. In 1988, Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's group revoked the registration of his faction with N.C.C.K., arguing that it was foreign-controlled and against the government. Ironically the registration of the A.I.P.C.A. took place at Kanamai in Mombasa in December 1979, during a Church seminar with the full approval of Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, who was then the National Chairman of the Central Committee (Muhia, o.i., 29.4.91). It was only after Mr. Mwaura

had lost his leadership position, that he became critical about the Council in order to justify his splinter group. The exact nature of N.C.C.K. interference is not clear in the minds of many Church members. Some of them argued that they had been told about the interference by their leaders and particularly by their chairman (Muthithi, o.i., 14.3.91). It should be noted that the accusation against the N.C.C.K. was generally given by Mr. Mwaura's faction to justify their rejection of Archbishop Kahihia's connection (letter dated, 10.1.91).

4:3.3 (iii) *Ignorance of the Church Constitution*

Ignorance of the Church constitution among both pastors and members contributed to leadership conflicts in the Church. Responses to questionnaires administered to both groups indicate that over 80% of the laity have never read the constitution, 20% of those who have read it are members of the Church committee. Out of the members of the clergy who responded, 15% have never read it, while 20% read it before 1989, 65% read the constitution after 1989 when leaders began to cite it as justification for their secession. This ignorance was exploited by leaders who would quote it to members out of context. Another complication that emerged from the constitution was that it was written in very complicated legal language and in English. Considering that the majority of the Church members are either semi-literate or illiterate, it is most likely that even those who read it only understood its meaning partially.

4:3.3 (iv) Leadership Ambition

Leadership ambition was identified by the majority of A.I.P.C.A. members as another significant cause of disunity in the Church. Out of those members of the clergy to whom questionnaires were administered, 84% chose this response. Archbishop Ichugu argued that ungodly men with leadership ambition caused disunity in the Church. He contended that such men only wanted to lead because of the benefits they received from their positions. For example, a chairman of a church controls all the financial affairs like banking, payments of services rendered to the church and organizes building and the maintenance of church structures.

There is also prestige in leadership. Chairmen in the A.I.P.C.A. churches have special seats in front of the congregation elevated to show their status in the church. A chairman is so powerful that his decision cannot be questioned even by a bishop. For these reasons such leaders cling to power even when they are unpopular. In the *Daily Nation* dated 3rd July, 1989, Archbishop Kahihia blamed power-hungry leaders for the divisions in the Church. Of all the members of the laity who responded, 66% chose leadership ambitions as a factor behind disunity. Oral interview of lay members was even more instructive. A group interviewed had the following to say:

Ex-Mau Mau members who lacked government positions flocked into A.I.P.C.A. to garner support from members. They want to lead the Church to satisfy their hunger for leadership (o.i., 26.3.91).

The group argued that such people are former cultural nationalists who are used by politicians as campaigners. They resist change and are against the concepts of salvation and the infilling of the Holy Spirit, which the informants believed in. Another group interviewed contended that in order to satisfy their leadership ambitions, some pastors and chairmen engaged in intrigues to acquire positions. The group contended that pastors would transfer their allegiance from one rival leader to another if they were promised promotions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church. Chairmen organized ordinations of pastors at night and secret meetings were held in chairmen's houses for such functions (o.i., 1.4.91). This in part explains the multiplicity of pastors in A.I.P.C.A. churches today. The editor of the *Daily Nation* in an editorial correctly concluded that leadership rivalry is caused by leaders who are encouraged by their followers, as well as personal ambitions of the contenders for power (*Daily Nation*, 16.1.90). Such ambitious leaders left no room for reconciliation because to reconcile would end their leadership positions.

4:3.3 (v) *Conservatism of Some Leaders*

Another factor that contributed to leadership conflicts was the conservatism of some leaders. This conservatism led to a rigid resistance to social and religious change by the conservative members of the A.I.P.C.A. For this reason, the cultural nationalists found themselves in conflict with young people in the Church. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, new Christian movements of renewal or Charismatic groups, emerged

throughout the country. They laid emphasis on the concepts of individual salvation and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, together with the practice of speaking in tongues. All the churches were affected by the movements, although the concept of individual salvation had always been taught in ex-mission churches like the P.C.E.A. and the C.P.K., among others. Pentecostal practices began creeping into the churches. Even the Roman Catholic Church was not spared by this concept. Around and within the environs of the A.I.P.C.A., the Renewal Movements were represented by among others, "Kanitha Wa Atumwo" or The Disciples' Church, Deliverance the Church and the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya. These concepts appealed to young people from all denominations and the A.I.P.C.A. youth were not left out. The two concepts were new in the Church and as is to be expected the conservative members rejected the teachings outright. Those who adopted the concepts eventually started challenging their leaders to repent and join them to the dismay of these leaders (o.i., 1.4.91). Adoption of these concepts became so widespread that in Kiambu, for example, a bishop had to caution members about the introduction of the practice of speaking in tongues in the Church but he allowed the concept of salvation (circular dated, 13.5.90).

Both Archbishops Wanjigiri and Ichugu rejected the concepts although there were some members in their factions who adopted them. Such members were given an option of either recanting or leaving the Church (Wanjigiri, o.i., 14.5.91). Interviewed about his stand on these concepts, Archbishop Kahihia said that he was prepared to accept the concept of salvation but

not the practice of speaking in tongues. Those of his followers who insisted on speaking in tongues risked excommunication (o.i, 31.7.91).

Members of the Church who were tired of fighting with their leaders defected to churches that allowed the concepts while some chose to stay and persevere constant criticism. Bishop Mugecha of Nyeri, for example, said he chose to stay and be an agent of change. He argued that there would never be spiritual reconciliation in the Church as long as the old members remained conservative (*Step Magazine*, June 1991: 19). What the A.I.P.C.A. may need to come to terms with is that it cannot remain untouched by socio-political and economic changes that have affected the society as a whole including its trends in religious beliefs. Charismatic Renewal has penetrated even the rigid Roman Catholic Church and has been accommodated to prevent defection from the Church. The A.I.P.C.A. Church leaders and members differed in their attitude towards the two concepts and this further widened the gap between the factions. Barrett contends that the idea of independency seems to pass from one tribe to the adjacent one (Barrett 1966: 4). Pentecostalism from Charismatic Renewal groups around the environs of the A.I.P.C.A. has penetrated the Church. This has further divided the Church because some members have openly defied their leaders who oppose the concepts. Barrett's prediction that the *zeitgeist* will continue to grow for several decades in Independent churches can be seen in this light (*ibid.*, 5). He contends that as religious tensions grow

so will the chances of separatism and predicts that two thirds of all tribes in East Africa will have separatist churches by the end of this century. In the A.I.P.C.A. some of these tensions include introduction of new concepts and the rejection of the same by conservative members.

4:3.3 (vi) *Political Patronage*

Political interference in the Church by the secular domain has been identified as another factor militating against unity in the Church. Responses to the questionnaire indicate that 25% of members of the clergy think that politicians were to blame for disunity in the Church. Oral interview corroborated this contention. Archbishop Ichugu contended that politicians knew that the majority of the Church members fought for independence and were ex-Mau Mau. They, therefore, fanned conflicts among members in order to get votes during elections. Ex-Mau Mau members are known to be militant and fearless and were used as campaigners to garner support on their behalf (o.i., 5.5.91). Such chairmen were given money to campaign for politicians and could not afford to lose their leadership positions lest they lose this privilege. Bishop Muhia concurred with Archbishop Ichugu's view arguing that he had lost popularity in Kiambu for refusing to support a certain politician as demanded by his branch chairman (o.i., 29.4.91). He had argued that he would work in co-operation with the current Member of Parliament (M.P.) and would not influence the election of any candidate. Because of his stand he was accused by Mr. Mwaura's faction of selling the Church to the denomination of the current M.P., which is the P.C.E.A.

Another bishop contended that politicians who were aware of the problems in the Church exploited these divisions by pitting one rival faction against another (Gakubia, o.i., 13.3.91). This further divided members of the Church. All the rival bishops agreed that politicians in Kiambu and elsewhere had taken advantage of the problems in the Church to get votes from members. Only 15% of members of the laity identified politics as a factor contributing to disunity in the Church. Most of these were young people who implied that most chairmen were agents of politicians. They contended that they resented being forced to entertain politicians by their chairmen. They felt that leaders who were agents of politicians could not lead the Church effectively without mixing their roles (o.i., 1.4.91). The disparity between the number of clergymen and laity identifying politics as a cause of disunity can perhaps be explained by the fact that most members of the laity are ex-Mau Mau politicians. To them the A.I.P.C.A. and politics are one and the same just as it was in the 1950s. The clergy on the other hand do not want to combine their work with political intrigues.

4:3.3 (vii) *Financial Constraints*

Financial constraints was given by respondents as another contributory factor to leadership conflicts. According to an informant, most members of the Church are economically disabled. Their leaders tend to fight over the meagre contributions given by members who in turn question the manner in which their money is used. This eventually leads to disaffection and conflicts (Waweru, o.i., 9.5.91). Such

leaders who were not accountable to members would be thrown out of their positions but would resist expulsion which would lead to conflicts. If young people were involved in expelling such a leader, then physical confrontation might be used (o.i., 1.4.91). The clergymen of the Church are not salaried because there are no funds in the A.I.P.C.A. It should be noted that pastors receive a third of contributions given every Sunday for services rendered to the congregation. For this reason, the more the members there are in a church, the higher will be the share. Many of the conflicts in the Church were as a result of leaders and pastors fighting for members from rival factions for material gain (Gakubia, o.i., 13.3.91). Most pastors are either employed in the private sector or are self-employed. Responses reveal that most members would like their pastors to be salaried. Over 85% feel that pastors should be salaried so that they can take their duties seriously. Of all the members of the clergy who responded to a question on whether they would agree to be transferred to another district, 90% said they would not agree because it would be difficult for them to support their families at a distance without a fixed salary. Pastors of the Church have to serve in churches near their homes or their places of work in order to support their families through gainful employment. This means that they hardly get time to prepare their sermons and neither can they get time to counsel members of their churches.

4:3.3 (viii) *Lack of Academic Education*

Lack of academic education is contributory to leadership con-

flicts in the Church. Waweru and Gatabaki felt that preachers should be well educated and trained (o.i., 9.5.91, 29.3.91).

One informant had the following to say about this:

Uneducated pastors strive to fulfil the wishes of those who helped ordain them, they cannot preach effectively lest they anger their benefactors. (Wambiru, o.i., 1.4.91).

The inference here is that because such pastors are ordained through the recommendation of the Elders, then they owe their allegiance to them. Their efforts are geared toward self-survival and so they have to do what their Elders want. These allegiances hamper the prophetic ministry of the Church. The prophetic ministry involves a total commitment to the poor and oppressed, a criticism of social evils in a society and suggestions on how to resolve such problems (Tutu 1973: 36). An informant argued that pastors of the Church should be educated so that they can relate the Gospel of Jesus Christ to issues that are affecting the contemporary society (Kang'ethe, o.i., 1.5.91). Lack of education and theological training limits Church growth because its pastors are not comfortable preaching outside their ethnic group and neither can they address themselves to national issues affecting the society. They also feel uncomfortable preaching to the educated members of their Church. The majority of the A.I.P.C.A. ministers lack formal education and because of this, have not been exposed to reading materials that would enrich their ministry. This limitation has an adverse effect on their preaching according to a group of young people interviewed. They argued that their pastors preach an impoverished Gospel that lacks

perspective and retards their spiritual growth. This forces them to look for fellowship in other denominations (o.i., 1.4.91). Young people who criticise this kind of pastor find themselves in conflict with conservative members who go to church as a formality and not because they want to benefit spiritually. Due to their critical attitude towards their leaders, educated members are regarded as a threat to both the Elders and some pastors of the Church. Lack of academic education means that very few members can qualify to receive ministerial training in accredited theological institutions. Most members of the laity supported the idea of formal education for their pastors. Only 20% of them thought that education was not important. They implied that as long as the pastors could read the Gikuyu Bible, then formal education was not important. An examination of these respondents revealed that they were aged between 45 and 75 years and had only received meagre academic education. They could not see the relevance of education for effective priesthood. The same respondents were against the idea of having young people as leaders because according to them, young pastors and youth could be influenced by outside forces to oppose the older Christians in the Church.

4:3.3 (ix) Lack of Theological Training

Lack of theological training has contributed to leadership conflicts in the Church to a certain extent. Lack of theological training hampers a pastor's administrative and pastoral roles. A question on the roles of a pastor showed that most of them believe that their chief responsibility as

clergymen is to preach the Gospel. All those who responded gave this response and only about 10% added that they also had a duty to counsel members. All members of the clergy interviewed agreed that training is an important requirement for effective priesthood. Bishop Muhia (o.i., 29.4.91), and Archbishop Ichugu (o.i., 5.5.91), told the researcher that they would be prepared to train their pastors in other Protestant Theological Colleges because they do not have such facilities. Later on the pastors would be trained by the bishops about their Church practices because the Protestant institutions do not teach denominational practices. Most members of the laity believed in the idea of theological training for their ministers. The training of Church ministers was an area that received attention in the A.I.P.C.A. in the initial years. Attempts to train ministers died after the Church had split into factions partly because the former Divinity Colleges were under rival factions and especially because the Church lacked personnel and organization required to continue training. The nature of training offered illustrates the seriousness of the limitations that hampered effective training. It is pertinent at this stage to examine the type of training that was offered by the Church in order to understand the limitations and the impact of this on the ministry.

4:4 Training of the A.I.P.C.A. Pastors

4:4.1 Stages Undergone in Training an A.I.P.C.A. Pastor

The A.I.P.C.A. pastors receive an on - the - job training and

also attend seminars organized by the bishops (o.i., Gakubia, Muhia, 13.3.91, 29.4.91). According to Ndung'u one does not need academic education to be trained as a pastor. What is needed is a recommendation from one's church (Ndung'u 1979: 47). Training into the ministry begins from the age of twelve as an acolyte. From this level the student begins to serve an ordained priest as an altar boy and learns about the A.I.P.C.A. mass. At eighteen the acolyte may be promoted to the position of a Church Reader and can now begin to read the Scriptures for the congregation as an assistant to a priest. As a Church Reader the student becomes eligible to attend Church seminars for further training. After serving for about five years the Church reader is promoted to subdeacon, then deacon, and finally he is ordained a priest of the Church (o.i., Muhia, Ichugu, Gakubia; 29.4.91, 5.5.91, 13.3.91).

4:4.2 *Content of the Church Seminars*

There is no syllabus or prospectus for the training of pastors in the Church because currently there is no Divinity College. Kiriti Divinity College scheme collapsed when Archbishop Kiande was rejected by the A.I.P.C.A. members in Nyeri. He moved to Kiambu from where he continued training of ministers until he died. After his death no training was conducted. During the period in which leadership conflicts increased significantly, no training was done because each faction conducted its affairs independently. Before the split of the Church, training of pastors used to be conducted at Githunguri by the late Archbishop Philip Kiande and also in Murang'a by

the late Bishop Daudi Maina Kiragu (o.i., 29.4.91; 5.5.91). For drawing the content, oral information as well as lecture notes used by the late Archbishop Kiande will be used in the absence of a syllabus.

A pastor who went through this training informed the researcher that he attended Church seminars for a total of three months scattered within a period of one year. Each seminar lasted one week. During the seminars, he learnt how to celebrate the A.I.P.C.A. mass and how to preach the Gospel (Rev. Njoroge, o.i., 19.5.91). Responses to questions administered on the type of training pastors received during seminars confirmed the informant's claim on the training given. Lecture notes given by the late Archbishop Kiande, who used to train pastors at Githunguri in Kiambu show that a student learnt the following content:

(I) Church History

The history of Christianity was taught in brief, beginning with the Church in the Book of Acts going down to the beginning of Orthodoxy after the East-West Schism in A.D. 1054. The purpose of this history is to trace the connection between The Greek Orthodox Church and the A.I.P.C.A. The history on the foundation of the A.I.P.C.A. is taught.

(II) Doctrines of the A.I.P.C.A.

Instructions on how to conduct the Church mass were taught and also how to conduct ceremonies like opening of a new church. The sacraments of the Church are taught as well as the method of conferring them.

(III) Theology

Specific texts from both the Old and New Testaments are taught. These include biblical verses justifying the sanctity of the altar, for example, *Leviticus 15: 19-33*. In these verses, a woman's uncleanness is defined and for this reason she cannot preach in the Church due to her ritual uncleanness. *The Gospel of St. Luke* as well as the Life of Jesus in the four Gospels is taught (lecture notes May 1978 to April 1979). Basically these are the main areas taught to students who wish to be ordained into priesthood. Members of the clergy who have received the most intensive training have attended a cumulative total of six months scattered over a period of between one to two years. Lack of ministerial training as well as lack of academic education seems to be a phenomenon among Independent Churches. As noted by Monicah Wilson, Independent Churches tend to appeal to uneducated masses who cannot feel comfortable in historic churches which are regarded as homes for the elite (Wilson 1971: 127). Due to this deficiency the churches are prone to leadership conflicts and schisms. The researcher is of the view that in the A.I.P.C.A., there is a correlation between education and the leadership conflicts that have divided the members.

4:5. Summary and Conclusion

In summary, leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. and the disunity that marked the Church were brought about by a combination of factors. First, the most significant factor was weakness in the Church's ecclesiastical organization.

Secondly, leadership ambition among members caused disunity in the Church. Thirdly, the conservatism and cultural nationalism among some members caused disunity in the Church. Fourthly, there was political interference in the Church by current M.P.s in areas where the A.I.P.C.A. is predominant, leading to conflicts. Fifthly, financial constraints of the Church contributed to conflicts in the Church. Sixthly, lack of formal education among most members brought certain limitations that facilitated disunity in the Church and finally, lack of theological training had its own dynamics in the Church problems. It can be argued that weaknesses in the ecclesiastical organization of the A.I.P.C.A. facilitated the fragmentation of the Church.

had a longstanding relationship with
to the 1930s

Leaders of the A.I.P.C.A. visited the late
to seek his guidance on their problems

CHAPTER FIVE



The late President Jomo Kenyatta and the late Mbiyu Koinange had a longstanding relationship with the A.I.P.C.A. going back to the 1930s



Leaders of the A.I.P.C.A. visited the late President Kenyatta to seek his guidance on their problems.

CHAPTER FIVE

LEADERSHIP CONFLICTS IN A.I.P.C.A., GITOTHUA

5.1 Introduction: The Founding and Development of Gitothua

The site where A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, stands was first consecrated by Bishop Timothy Gakubia, on behalf of Bishop George Muhia, in 1974 (Gakubia, o.i., 13.3.91). The site had been acquired by the members through the assistance of one, Mr. Waira Kamau who had once been the Member of Parliament for Githunguri constituency. A wooden structure was put up and by 1976, the church was in operation. The first chairman of Gitothua was, one, Mr. Samuel Kimani. It was through his effort that the structure had been put up. The initial membership of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, ranged between fifty to a hundred adult members. When Mr. Tadeo Mwaura formed his rival group in 1982, Gitothua, a church built by conservative members of A.I.P.C.A., joined the faction. In 1983, members of the church, with the assistance of the Hindu Community in Ruiru and Mr. Waira Kamau, started to build a permanent stone structure. However, members were unable to complete the structure due to financial constraints. In anticipation of further assistance towards the building of the church, Mr. Waira Kamau was made a member of Gitothua in 1987 during the chairmanship of one, Mr. Benson Ndung'u Jamaica (Jamaica,

o.i., 1.5.91). After a short time, Mr. Waira Kamau was elected the Assistant Secretary of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua Church Committee in 1987. Around the time that Mr. Waira Kamau joined the church, the membership grew to between three and four hundred members probably because he influenced most of his workers to join the church. The other reason for the increase in numbers was an increase in population in Githunguri ranch where the church is situated.

5:1.1 Conflicts and Divisions in the A.I.P.C.A. Churches

Leadership conflicts in all the A.I.P.C.A. churches took on the same pattern. There were three rival factions in all the branches of the Church. The first faction was the parent Church from which the other two had split and was headed by Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia. In the Kiambu branch of the A.I.P.C.A., Bishop George Muhia was Archbishop Kahihia's representative. The second faction was led by Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri, whose representative in the branch was Bishop Timothy Gakubia. The third faction was led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura whose overall spiritual head in all his churches was Archbishop Johnson Ichugu. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's representative in Kiambu was Bishop Daniel Kiongo. Allegiance to either of the three rival leaders, depended upon several factors. First if a chairman was friendly to one rival Archbishop, then his church would be under that leader's faction. Secondly, if the church structure was put up by members of a particular group, then that faction had an upper hand in the affairs of that church. Finally, the strength of a rival Archbishop in a

particular branch determined the number of churches he had in that area. A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, was built by conservative members of the A.I.P.C.A. and belonged to the faction led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Archbishop Johnson Ichugu.

5:1.2 *Leadership Conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua*

The general trend of leadership conflicts experienced in the A.I.P.C.A. churches was a reflection of the squabbles among the rival leaders. Conflicts in Gitothua were facilitated by the existence of rival factions in the A.I.P.C.A., without which it would have been impossible to defect to rivals. The beginning of leadership conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, can be traced to 1988, when Mr. Benson Jamaica, the then chairman of the church committee, lost his position to Mr. Waira Kamau. Mr. Jamaica referred to his removal as unconstitutional because of the manner the election of the new chairman was conducted (o.i., 1.5.91). He contended that members of the church were asked to declare a vote of no confidence in him through the raising of hands in August of that year. Constitutionally, he should have been removed through the normal process of conducting church elections in November of every year (1970 Constitution, Clause 6b). He argued that he was removed in order to give room to Mr. Waira Kamau, who as the civic councillor of the area, feared that Mr. Benson Jamaica might influence voters in the church not to elect him during the civic elections (o.i., 1.5.91). It was through this alleged unconstitutional election that Mr. Waira Kamau, became the chairman of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. In protest against his

removal from his leadership position, Mr. Benson Jamaica left A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua and joined A.I.P.C.A., Ruiru town church.

After Mr. Waira Kamau became the chairman of the church, he organized the completion of the stone structure which had come to a standstill due to financial constraints. According to an informant, Mr. Waira Kamau suggested that he should complete the work at his own expense and later members of the church would reimburse his expenses (o.i., 11.3.91). The members agreed to this condition and Mr. Waira Kamau went ahead and completed the structure. On completion he requested the members to reimburse his expenses. Members were prepared to do this but the amount of money demanded appeared inflated to them. An argument ensued over this, especially because no receipts were produced to prove that the amount of money claimed had actually been spent. Most of the people who questioned this had been young members of the church. This event marked the beginning of a tussle between the chairman and the young people (o.i., 1.5.91.). Worth noting here is that A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, is erected on a piece of land Mr. Waira Kamau helped his constituents purchase during his stint as the Member of Parliament for Githunguri constituency. He is currently the civic councillor of Githunguri ward in which A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua falls. Mr. Waira Kamau is also the General Secretary of Githunguri Ranch, which is jointly owned by a land buying company. Most members of the church are share holders of the ranch and, therefore, live there, while a significant number of members work on Mr. Waira Kamau's farm.

The picture one gets here is that most members of the church owe a lot to their chairman and would be expected to be subservient to him. Unfortunately, this was not the case, a factor that divided the Gitothua members into two distinct groups. One group consisted of a moderate group of young, educated and middle-aged members. The group often questioned some decisions made by their chairman. The other group was made up of conservative elderly members who fully supported their chairman.

5:1.3 Disaffection Among Some Members of Gitothua

The moderate group consisting of young educated and middle-aged members was the first to become disillusioned with the chairman. The group contended that they became dissatisfied with the chairman's leadership for several reasons (o.i., 1.4.91). First, the youth argued that he was dictatorial and acted without consulting church members in financial matters. For example, they alleged that whenever any repair or construction was required in the church, members would authorize such repair. They would identify specific carpenters known for their workmanship and reasonable charges, but the chairman would quickly bring his own workers who would charge exorbitant rates. He would then as the chairman and the person in charge of banking all the church funds, pay himself without producing the receipts (o.i., 1.4.91). Secondly, young people resented their chairman for constantly reminding them that it was the elderly members of the church and not young people, who fought for political independence in the 1940s and 1950s.

Young members felt that this was an implication that the church belonged to elderly people and that young people had no role in it. They felt that the struggle for political independence while important, was a past event which should not be over-emphasized at the expense of the preaching of the Gospel. Thirdly, they resented political addresses in the church, especially around election period. They were unhappy that during election campaigns, their chairman often called upon the church choir to entertain people attending such campaigns. Fourthly, they contended that educated people in the church were regarded as a threat to both the chairman and elderly people in leadership positions. This was because they would question certain decisions made and would openly criticise their leaders if they discovered inefficiency. Fifthly, young people argued that visitors to their church were mistreated by their chairman. Young people were constantly accused of "selling" the church to foreigners, thus inciting elderly members who have an inherent dislike of Europeans, against young people. Lastly, they felt that they did not have the freedom to organize their recreational activities. Young people had, through their own initiative, established a volley-ball pitch in the compound. They would go for matches on Saturday afternoon for relaxation. No sooner had this been established than they were accused of accepting the assistance to buy a ball and net from a certain politician who wanted the chairman to lose his seat during the civic elections. The game was instantly forbidden in the compound. Young people contended that they had rejected their chairman

because they wanted the freedom to run their affairs without interference. For these reasons a large group of members of Gitothua church, consisting of young and middle-aged members, decided to expel their chairman from leadership (o.i., 1.4.91).

5:1.4 *The Expulsion of the Chairman by Some Members of Gitothua*

On 30th April, 1989, young and middle-aged members of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, passed a vote of no confidence in their chairman and expelled him from leadership. Mr. Benson Ndung'u Jamaica, the former chairman of the church, who was then the assistant chairman of Ruiru Parish announced the expulsion in the church (o.i., 1.5.91). Copies of letters expelling the chairman were sent to the chairman of the Ruiru Parish, Mr. Paul Ngugi, the chairman of Kiambu branch belonging to Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction, Mr. Kaniu Mukiri, and Bishop Daniel Kiongo who was in-charge of the Kiambu Diocese. A woman, one Damaris Wanjiku, was requested to act as the chairperson until annual elections would be held in November 1989. After deliberating on the situation in Gitothua, the Kiambu Branch Committee decided that in order to avoid confrontations, neither Mr. Waira Kamau nor Mrs. Damaris Wanjiku, should head the committee. The Committee, therefore, placed Gitothua church, directly under the leadership of the Kiambu branch chairman, Mr. Kaniu Mukiri (o.i., 11.3.91). According to an informant, the chairman, Mr. Waira Kamau left the church and did not attend Sunday services for three

months. He made a comeback in September through the influence of his supporters in the church (o.i., 1.4.91). A firm supporter of Mr. Waira Kamau, contended that he had been expelled through political machinations. He argued that a certain politician had influenced young people to expel Mr. Waira Kamau so that he would lose the support of church members during the civic elections. Mr. Waira Kamau had refused to support that particular politician, hence the revenge against him (o.i., 19.3.91). Elderly members of the church concurred with this contention and supported Mr. Waira Kamau, as the chairman of the church (o.i., 19.3.91). Mr. Waira Kamau was of the same view as the elderly members that his political enemies were responsible for the defiance witnessed among the youth in his church (o.i., 6.6.91). The politician in question was accused of being a former colonial collaborator and hence an enemy of the genuine freedom fighters represented by Mr. Waira Kamau and his supporters. Such an allegation aroused the memories of the elderly members about their suffering in the 1950s and greatly caused a rift between them and the young generation.

(o.i., 1.4.91) The Informant said that the expulsion of Mr. Waira Kamau marked the beginning of a division in Gitothua. On the one hand was a group of youth and the pastor in charge of the church, Rev. Charles Thuo, and on the other hand were elderly members and a Church Reader, Mr. Patrick Kariuki, supporting Mr. Waira Kamau as the chairman. Although he had left the church for a period of three months, Mr. Waira Kamau continued to have some support, especially

among the elderly members. It was this group that constantly found itself at loggerheads with the youth and middle-aged members. The National Chairman, Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, supported Mr. Waira Kamau as the chairman of Gitothua and declared his expulsion as unconstitutional. From then onwards, the pro-Kamau group continued to recognize Mr. Waira Kamau as the Chairman of Gitothua church. Worth noting here is that Mr. Waira Kamau was also a member of the Central Committee headed by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura. He was the administrative secretary of the Committee. His rivals in Gitothua felt that he was using his position to influence Mr. Tadeo Mwaura against the youth. It was because of this ruling by the National Chairman that young people in Gitothua were further alienated from their local chairman. They felt that no one had listened to their grievances (o.i., 29.3.91).

5:1.5 Suspension of Church Readers and the Pastor in charge of Gitothua

According to one Church Reader, Gitothua church had remained reasonably calm during the absence of the former chairman (o.i., 1.4.91). The informant contended that the Chairman had returned to the church in anticipation of the church annual general elections because he wanted to be re-elected. On the chairman's return, events in Gitothua took a dramatic turn as far as church unity was concerned. During the period of their chairman's absence, the youth had invited one, Bishop Daniel Kirugo from Murang'a to come and minister to them on a Sunday. Bishop Kirugo was the most educated clergyman in the entire

A.I.P.C.A. Church and held the ambitious hope that he would be the main trainer of the A.I.P.C.A. ministers. He accepted the invitation to Gitothua and brought with him several American theologians who were going to assist him start a Divinity College for the A.I.P.C.A. in Murang'a. Soon after this visit, the young people were accused by the pro-Kamau group of selling the church to Europeans. This allegation was taken to the National Chairman, Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, who immediately suspended the three Church Readers namely, Mr. Wambiru, Mr. Kiarie, Mr. Kariuki and Pastor Thuo from preaching in Gitothua (o.i., 11.3.91). They were also accused of being behind the expulsion of their chairman.

5:1.6 Court Injunction Against Six Members and its Effect

Soon after the suspension of the Church Readers and the pastor, the Central Committee was advised by the chairman of Gitothua, Mr. Waira Kamau, to take some of the Church Readers to court. Four of them, including two ladies, who were members of the church committee, but opponents of Mr. Waira Kamau, were also included in the group. On 8th October, 1989, a court injunction was taken requesting the court to prevent six members of Gitothua from participating in church affairs. Among the six was the secretary of Gitothua church committee who was taken to court with her two-month old baby. The six accused were Mr. Joseph Kiarie, Rev. Charles Thuo, the pastor in charge of Gitothua, Mr. Benard Wambiru who was a Church Reader, Mrs. Damaris Wanjiku, who had been elected as the acting Chairperson of Gitothua during Mr. Waira Kamau's

expulsion, Mrs. Mary Muthoni, who had been the secretary of the church committee and Mr. Joseph Njuguna, who was a Church Reader. According to one of those who had been suspended, they did not go to church for six months. This was in compliance with the court order which had warned them about the danger of entering the church compound before the injunction in the court was heard (o.i., 11.3.91).

In reaction to the action taken by the Central Committee, some members of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, refused to accept any preacher sent by the Central Committee to the church to minister to them. For example, the National Chairman himself and a pastor he had brought with him were prevented from entering the church by the members (*Daily Nation*, 22.9.89). Rev. Benjamin Guchu was locked out of the church, while another pastor who had been invited by the supporters of suspended members, conducted the service inside (*Daily Nation*, 16.10.89). In another incident, the National Chairman and Archdeacon Simon Kibandi were heckled by members when they attempted to enter the church (*Daily Nation*, 31.10.89). Young and middle-aged members of Gitothua had an upperhand in the church. It was the pro-Kamau group which was occasionally locked out of the church and had to conduct their service outside the building.

Tensions between Mr. Waira Kamau's supporters and the rival group continued to grow especially after an incident in which six people were sent by the Central Committee to confiscate

musical instruments used by the youth choir. The people sent to do this had come at night and asked a Church Reader who lived in the compound to open his house and surrender the items. The Church Reader refused to do so and the group broke into his house and took the instruments. The police were alerted by neighbours and immediately went to the scene. Securicor guards who had been hired by the group to prevent people from entering the compound to assist the Church Reader were arrested together with some of those who had broken into the house (o.i., 1.4.91). The following Sunday, on 1st October, 1989, no service was held in Gitothua because members of the church had converged at Ruiru Police Station to record statements. The rivals almost fought at the police station as they waited to record statements (*Daily Nation*, 2.10.89). No one was taken to court for this incident because the Central Committee agreed to reconcile the rival groups. This incident seriously undermined the chances of reconciliation between young people and Mr. Waira Kamau's supporters, because the youth saw the move as an attempt to intimidate them. By confiscating the musical instruments, young people felt that their former chairman wanted to weaken their group which he believed was opposed to his leadership (o.i., 1.4.91).

The period in which the six members of Gitothua were under suspension, and later, serving their term of imprisonment, marked the most critical period of leadership conflicts in Gitothua. Members who supported the six argued that no preacher from outside should be allowed to preach in Gitothua

until the case in court was over. To prevent the pro-Kamau pastors from preaching in the church, the youth started spending Saturday nights in the building so that in the morning they would chase away such pastors (o.i., 1.4.91). Only members loyal to them would be allowed to enter the building. For example, Archdeacon Joseph Ndung'u who was pro-Kamau was thrown out of the church. The worshippers had earlier gathered stones ready for combat should anyone attempt forceful entry into the building (*Daily Nation*, 20.11.91).

As a result of frequent physical confrontations, some members of the church decided to defect to a rival faction headed by Archbishop Kahihia (*Daily Nation*, 11.12.89). Letters of defection to Archbishop Kahihia were copied to Bishop Muhia who belonged to the faction and was in charge of Kiambu Diocese, the D.C. Kiambu, and the Officer Commanding Police Division (O.C.P.D.), Kiambu (o.i., 11.3.91). This move was highly opposed by Waira Kamau's group who argued that the church had been built by the faction led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Archbishop Johnson Ichugu (letter dated 10.1.90). Mr. Waira Kamau accused the group of selling the church to the N.C.C.K. through their defection to Bishop Muhia. He contended that Kahihia's faction was registered by the N.C.C.K., which is regarded by conservative members of the A.I.P.C.A., as a movement related to churches of former missions. The N.C.C.K is also regarded as a movement which is against the government (letter dated 22.10.90). The conservative members feel that the A.I.P.C.A. Church, should not criticise the government

because it was through their involvement in the struggle for independence that the country had acquired its political independence.

5:2 Vain Efforts at Reconciliation in Gitothua

Concerned with the frequent physical confrontations in Gitothua, the Ruiru Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.) officials, decided to arbitrate the rival factions. They invited the rivals, including the five suspended members to a meeting to be held within the church compound, in an effort to reconcile them. According to an informant, this action by the K.A.N.U officials, was regarded as highly irregular by the parish chairman. He argued that no visitor, should organize a function in any church within a parish, without informing the parish chairman and his assistant so that they can also attend and monitor the activities of such visitors (o.i., 1.5.91). On 16th December, 1989, the K.A.N.U. officials went to Gitothua to reconcile the rival groups. On arrival at the venue, the K.A.N.U. officials were chased away by pro-Kamau supporters (*Daily Nation*, 18.12.89). According to some informants interviewed, some elderly women associated with the pro-Kamau group, re-enacted an Agikuyu traditional curse against their rivals. The curse consisted of baring their nakedness to their rivals and throwing their urine to the offenders. This form of curse was regarded by the Agikuyu as either maiming or fatal (o.i., 1.5.91), and was feared by many people in the past (Mbiti 1969, 155). The reconciliation meeting was not held as planned due to the fracas that ensued.

In the latter part of January 1990, Mr. Waira Kamau took the suspended members to court for defying the court order by attending the meeting in Gitothua. Five of them, including a mother and her two-month old baby, were jailed for six months for contempt of court (o.i., 11.3.91). One Church Reader escaped imprisonment because his name had accidentally been left out in the charge-sheet. The imprisonment of the five, increased the resentment of most members of the church against their Chairman. The pro-Kamau group was greatly outnumbered by members who had defected to Archbishop Kahihia's faction and was thus chased away from the church building. The D.O., Thika, and the D.C., Kiambu, also attempted to reconcile the two rival groups but failed because the imprisonment of the five members, created an enmity between them. This situation is noticeable to the present day. The pro-Kamau group declared a war against Archbishop Kahihia's faction in their church and wanted to evict them from the church (*Daily Nation*, 7.1.90). The police had to constantly intervene as members engaged in a verbal war in order to avert a physical confrontation. In an effort to prevent a Church Reader from going to the altar to conduct a service, a woman tore the preacher's cassock on Sunday 7th January, 1990 (*Nation*, 8.1.90). On that day, rival groups beat drums and sang different songs making the church a chaotic place. The next Sunday, fighting erupted between the two rival factions leaving about twenty people injured. The police had to intervene in the fracas. The confrontations became so constant that the Editor of the *Daily Nation* described Gitothua Christians as too warlike to be called

Christians (*Daily Nation*, 16.1.90). In another incident five women in Gitothua vowed they would rather die than submit to Archbishop Kahihia's leadership. They argued that they were ex-Mau Mau and would fight Kahihia's group to death (*The Standard*, 18.1.90). Such a statement underlined the extent to which some A.I.P.C.A. leaders were prepared to whip up nationalist feelings among their conservative supporters in order to garner support for themselves.

Following a spate of clashes among members in Gitothua, the D.C., Kiambu, threatened to close the church unless they reconciled. He also warned Mr. Waira Kamau and Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, to keep off Gitothua arguing that Mr. Tadeo Mwaura was not even registered as the National Chairman of the A.I.P.C.A. by the Registrar of Societies. This underlined the government's stand that Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction was not recognized (*Nation*, 19.1.90). It should be noted that only the parent Church led by Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia was legally recognized by the government as the genuine representative of the A.I.P.C.A. During the period of the splits, the factions led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri did not send their yearly returns to the registrar's office because their factions were not registered. The factions were, therefore, operating illegally.

5:2.1 *The Closing of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua*

As a result of the frequent physical confrontations among the members, the D.C. of Kiambu, convened a meeting at Gitothua.

On 20th February, 1990, the D.C. and members of the church converged at Gitothua for reconciliation. The D.C. asked the two groups to decide the fate of their church. The group loyal to Archbishop Kahihia suggested that elections be held in the D.C.'s presence to elect a new Chairman but the pro-Kamau group refused and suggested that the church should be closed (o.i., 1.5.91). The members were so tense that the D.C. found it difficult to control them. It was during this tense moment that the D.C. ordered a member, one Joseph Mwaura, to shave his goatee, an action that was to precipitate a national debate which involved some Kenyan teachers on the one hand, and the Attorney General's office on the other hand (*Nation*, 25.1.90 & 7.4.90). Mr. Joseph Mwaura, is the headmaster of Githunguri Ranch Primary School and is also the current secretary of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. It was in his capacity as a teacher and, therefore, a civil servant, that Mr. Mwaura was ordered to shave his beard by the D.C. The D.C. is administratively, the head of all the civil servants in his district. Mr. Mwaura filed a case against the D.C. of Kiambu for the embarrassment he had been subjected to. He was supported by the Kenya National Union of Teachers (K.N.U.T.), in reaction to an order by the Teachers' Service Commission that he should withdraw the case and send a photo showing his clean shaven face (*Daily Nation*, 7.4.90).

When the members failed to reconcile, the D.C. was left with no option but to close the church on 20th. February, 1990. According to him, the problem in the church was caused by

leaders clinging to power even after they had been rejected by the members (*Kenya Times*, 27.6.90). After he closed the church, he allowed the members of Gitothua to worship elsewhere to avoid confrontations. The pro-Kamau group moved to Waruguru Nursery School, while Archbishop Kahihia's group worshipped in a shelter within Gitothua compound. Waira Kamau's group moved with Mr. Patrick Kariuki, who was then a Church Reader, while the other group had Rev. Charles Thuo, the pastor. Within no time Mr. Kariuki was ordained a pastor, skipping two of the stages he ought to have undergone in accordance to the A.I.P.C.A. ecclesiastical hierarchy.

5:2.2 Rival Factions in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua

A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua had split into two factions. The first consisted of the elderly pro-Kamau group which belonged to Tadeo Mwaura's and Archbishop Ichugu's faction. The second group consisted of young and middle-aged people who had defected to Archbishop Kahihia's faction. Most of the pro-Kamau group were cultural nationalists who were also ex-Mau Mau members. They believed that their church committee should be led by Elders and that young people should not be represented because they were easily influenced by outsiders, for example, Europeans and N.C.C.K. (o.i., 19.3.91). Questionnaires administered to the pro-Kamau group confirmed this. Out of the total number of respondents to whom the questionnaires were given, 90% of them thought that young people should not be represented in the church committee and neither should they become pastors. They indicated that

pastors aged between 45 and 60 years would be preferable because they were mature and not easily influenced. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's group constantly reminded young people that the members of the group had fought for political independence and should, therefore, be respected. On the ritual of clitoridectomy investigations revealed that the children and grandchildren of the elderly members had undergone the ritual. They informed the researcher that it was still in practice although it was done in secret (o.i., 19.3.91). Secrecy was maintained because through the D.C.s, the D.O.s and the local chiefs, the government criticised the ritual as out-dated and advised against its practice. The continuation of clitoridectomy among the members of the church emphasized the rigidity of the conservative members in maintaining their old traditions. It should be noted that the ritual is slowly dying away, especially among the educated members of the Agikuyu community but has persisted among the members of the A.I.P.C.A.

The second group consisted of young and middle-aged members who were reasonably educated. They made up about 60% of the church population in Gitothua (o.i., 1.4.91). They had defected to Kahihia's faction because Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction had failed to listen to them. According to a youth group interviewed, they had also defected because they wanted the freedom to organize their own affairs, for example, choirs, games and other desirable forms of recreation without interference by the Elders (o.i., 1.4.91). They argued that

they had no freedom to express their views and this frustrated them so much that they had resorted to violence in order to be listened to. The group felt that the institution of the chairman was retrogressive especially when the leader was ungodly. They argued that only "saved" clergymen would prevent moral decay in the Church. In their view, a church should be led by saved clergy men because they would only preach the Gospel and not cultural nationalism (o.i., 1.4.91). They argued that while they could do without a chairman, they could not do without a pastor. Young people in Gitothua, held that pastors should not only be young and educated but also saved Christians in order to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ effectively. The group wanted the freedom to preach and introduce the concept of salvation in Gitothua, something which was highly opposed by the elders and viewed as against the teachings of the A.I.P.C.A.

Young women in the church felt that they had no role to play because they were not allowed to organize a fellowship exclusively for women, for Bible study or to discuss issues affecting them (Wangui, o.i., 29.3.91). The A.I.P.C.A. beliefs forbid women from carrying out priestly roles because in the view of the Church, a woman is ritually unclean. A pastor should always lead them if they decide to have a fellowship. Priestly roles in the A.I.P.C.A. are a monopoly of men, to the dismay of some educated men and women members of the Church. In the view of the young women in Gitothua, this regulation discriminates against them. In the A.I.P.C.A. churches, women

are relegated to washing the floor of the church, except the altar, which they must not approach because they are regarded as ritually unclean at all times. While women can play administrative roles at the local church level, they are not represented at the national level, a factor that some young women and men criticise as discriminatory. Surprisingly, all the elderly women interviewed did not notice this discrimination, perhaps because the Agikuyu tradition is patriarchal and the woman has to be subservient to the man (Kenyatta 1978: 9). Young women in Gitothua joined the rival group led by Archbishop Kahihia anticipating the freedom to make their own decisions. In Kahihia's faction represented by Bishop George Muhia, there was a Women's Council which looked after the socio-economic welfare of the women. Members of the council were encouraged to be self-reliant in financial matters and carried out charitable activities such as educating orphans and children of single mothers. They jointly owned buildings which they rented out and also carried out money-generating activities such as embroidery and knitting. The items made would be sold, thereby assisting women improve their socio-economic welfare. The bishop also organized seminars for women in his diocese and this was appreciated by women members. For his development-conscious activities, Bishop Muhia was accused of ordaining women by the rival groups (Muhia, o.i., 29.4.91). For this reason Gitothua women thought they might receive a better deal in Kahihia's faction. Worth noting here is that the current the A.I.P.C.A. Central Committee consisting of twenty seven members does not have a

single woman as a representative of women in the Church, and yet women are a majority in the Church (o.i., 11.5.91). This state of affairs underlines the conservatism of the A.I.P.C.A. where women's issues are concerned. Ironically, women are to be found within the vicinity of the venue of the Central Committee busy cooking meals for the participants. Some women in the Church are of the view that women should be allowed to articulate their own issues, arguing that representation by the Elders may retard women's development in the Church.

5:3 Reasons for Leadership Conflicts in Gitothua

In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, the rival groups had *conflicting leadership notions* which were difficult to reconcile. Young people wanted freedom to articulate their own issues without interference by the church elders, through participation in the Church Committee. The elderly people on the other hand, held that young people should not be represented in the Committee due to their immaturity. These *differences of opinion* resulted in wrangles and conflicts in Gitothua. Lee and Marty contend that if conflict is enhanced and uncontrolled, a beast will be turned loose in the street. They give communism as an example of the danger of conflicts (Lee and Marty 1964: 175). In Gitothua conflicts were not reconciled and this led to physical confrontations between the rival factions. Charles Glock on the other hand argues that conflict turned loose to eliminate differences or evils, brings with it the unlovely face of violence and all its problems (Glock in Lee and Marty 1964: 177).

In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, a failure to come to a compromise by the members led to conflicts and violence. We hold that the A.I.P.C.A. churches especially Gitothua, attempted to use violence to resolve their differences, a factor that only served to separate the members of the church further. Violence occurred in Gitothua and in other A.I.P.C.A. churches because there were no institutions to help resolve differences. This shortcoming may be attributed to the weak ecclesiastical organization of the Church.

In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, several factors were revealed as the main reasons behind leadership conflicts in the church. First, the conservatism of some members of the church, coupled with their cultural nationalism led to conflicts among members. Conservative members were resistant to change and could not reconcile with the moderate members consisting of young and middle-aged members. This intransigence among conservative members led to wrangles and conflicts in the church. Secondly, leadership ambitions among some of the leaders in Gitothua, also contributed to the wrangles and conflicts in the church. This phenomenon was observed in all the A.I.P.C.A. churches. In Gitothua, the chairman was not prepared to relinquish his position to young members, who felt that only godly men and women ought to lead the church. Lastly, political interests contributed to the disunity and conflicts in the church. Behind the leadership ambitions among some members in Gitothua, was a desire to remain in power in order to protect political positions held by some leaders in

the church. Rival groups in the church accused each other of supporting different politicians in the constituency, and this fuelled the rivalry even more.

Lanternari asserts that a new Church carries within itself contradictions and conflicts which come into full view only when the initial prophetic or messianic phase has been left behind (Lanternari 1963: 49). He gives examples of such problems as ownership of land, building of sites or the bitter conflicts of choosing a successor to the first one (*ibid.*, 49). The A.I.P.C.A. realized the prophetic phase with the attainment of political independence and the subsequent re-opening of the Church. Seeds of contradiction emerged after the death of the first leaders when succession brought about dissent in the Church. This was evidenced by the rejection of clergymen as leaders by the Elders of the Church leading to a schism, for example, in 1982. Even the ordination of the first Archbishop of the Church was not agreed upon by all the members as already discussed in Chapter Four. In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, leadership conflicts between two groups arose over the election of an acceptable Chairman of the church. The seeds of contradiction in Gitothua can be traced to the institution of the chairman. The construction of the church building had also created its own conflicts when a group of members questioned the amount of money demanded by the chairman. We, therefore, hold that Lanternari's assertion was justified as far as our case study is concerned.

5:3.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, leadership conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua were brought about by a poor ecclesiastical organization of the Church as a whole. Problems in Gitothua emerged and reached the confrontational stage they were in, because the entire A.I.P.C.A. was fragmented into rival factions. The conservatism of some members in the church coupled with their cultural nationalism as well as the youth's impatience to introduce change in the church, also contributed to the conflicts in the church. Behind the scenes were leadership ambitions among some members brought about by political considerations. The conflicts in Gitothua were a reflection of what was generally happening in all the A.I.P.C.A. churches in the country.

The conflicts had both negative and positive effects in the church. Negatively, violence in the church led to the destruction of the altar by the youth group as they sought to resolve problems therein. The altar of the A.I.P.C.A. is held as a sacred place and should only be approached by ordained men (o.i., 19.3.91). Young members of the church admitted to the researcher that they had demolished the altar but argued that they had done this because it had already been defiled thrice. The first defilement had taken place when the current Chairman, Mr. Waira Kamau, had brought unordained carpenters to transfer the altar from the old wooden church structure to the newly built stone one. They argued that ordained personnel ought to have been used to do this. The second defilement took

place when some painters, also brought by the chairman had used the altar as a ladder to paint the front area of the building. Lastly, the chairman's son in a drunken stupor had fallen asleep on the altar thus defiling it. The group argued that the pastor of the church had even covered the defiled altar in a black cloth as a sign of uncleanness after the first and second defilement and had reported this to the bishop. They argued that the altar ought not to have been returned to its place until it had been re-dedicated afresh by the bishop of the area (o.i., 1.4.91). Archbishop Ichugu agreed with the young people that if the allegations by the youth were true, then the altar was defiled and needed a cleansing ceremony before it could be used (o.i., 5.5.91). However, the defiled altar should not have been destroyed because it only required re-dedication by a bishop to become usable again. Elderly members of Gitothua hold that young members defiled the altar by destroying it and must be cleansed before they can be accepted back in the church.

Conflicts in Gitothua led to mass defections from the church. All the young people as well as middle-aged Christians left the church and joined other churches where they thought they might be appreciated. Only the aged members who had supported their Chairman remained behind. Through a directive from the Kiambu D.C., Rev. Charles Thuo, the young pastor who had joined the youth group and had been jailed for six months remained in Gitothua. To date he has not been accepted by the elderly members who continued to show their rejection by

refusing to receive the emblems of Holy Communion from him. The elderly members argued that they did this because he had been against them during the conflicts and had not been cleansed after his imprisonment which had also defiled him. They argued that he must apologize to them and also be cleansed before they can accept him (o.i., 19.3.91). It should be noted that cleansing in the A.I.P.C.A. consists of anointing the unclean person with oil by either a pastor or a bishop (o.i., 19.3.91).

Conflicts in Gitothua caused enmities in some homes because young people had defied their parents over who should lead the church. During the physical confrontations in the church, young people had actually assaulted their parents in anger. Conversely, the elderly women in the church re-enacted the Agikuyu traditional curse against the youth. Although deep down the youth did not believe that the curse would take effect, the action had further widened the gap between them and the elderly members. Furthermore, in the view of the researcher, the re-enactment of the traditional curse by Christians in Gitothua was a contradiction of the very tenets of Christian faith. The curse only served to demean those who performed it.

Positively, conflicts in Gitothua and in the other A.I.P.C.A. churches aroused the conscience of the entire A.I.P.C.A. leaders on the need to reflect upon the possibility of a reconciliation.

Lee and Marty have contended the following on conflicts:

If conflict disappears there will be no reform, no revolution, no self-purification and examination of motives, no progress or setting of new goals, there will be only untested tolerance which holds everything is true because nothing is true...(Lee & Marty 1964: 173).

Conflicts in Gitothua, and the other A.I.P.C.A. churches paved the way for the reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A. factions. It was because the leaders recognized the need to reconcile conflicts amicably, that the first steps towards reunification of the Church were taken.

from entering Gitothua by a splinter group.



Rev. Charles (right), of A.I.P.C.A. ... his presiding authority from Rev. ... defecting to Archbishop ...



Mr. Tadeo Mwaura (left), the leader of a splinter group of the A.I.P.C.A. and Archdeacon Simon Kibande (middle) are barred from entering Gitothua by a splinter group.



Rev. Charles Thuo (right), of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua receives his preaching authority from Rev. Ebrahim Mbutia after defecting to Archbishop Kahihia's faction.



Mr. Joseph Mwaura, a member of Gitothua, puts his hand up to contribute his ideas during a reconciliation meeting convened by the D.C. of Kiambu.



Mr. Joseph Mwaura, a member of Gitothua, is seen in a toilet. Gitothua washers later filled the toilet with water. The D.C. of Kiambu, Mr. Mwango (standing in the middle), orders Mr. Joseph Mwaura (left), to shave his goatee.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6:1 Towards Reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A.

6:1.1 Introduction

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Archbishop Ichugu and Bishop Mwangi rep

Mr. Joseph Mwaura, shaves his goatee without water, behind a toilet. Gitothua members later declared the toilet defiled and demolished it.

Mwaura's faction was the most violent

This was probably because it was led

majority of the members were former M.

who were not afraid of confrontation.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6:1 Towards Reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A. Leaders

6:1.1 Introduction

Leadership conflicts in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua were a tip of the iceberg. The A.I.P.C.A. Church was riddled with rival factions each competing to win members from the other. In Nyeri, there was a competition between Bishop Mugecha and Archbishop Kahihia. Bishop Kabangi belonging to Archbishop Wanjigiri's faction, kept a low profile and for this reason had the lowest number of churches in Nyeri. Bishop Mugecha, belonging to Tadeo Mwaura's faction had managed to win 116 out of 126 A.I.P.C.A. churches in Nyeri from Archbishop Kahihia (Ichugu, o.i., 5.5.91). More often than not physical violence was used among rival members as they fought in support of their leaders. In Kiambu, Bishop Muhia had to contend with Archbishop Ichugu and Bishop Kiongo representing Mr. Mwaura's faction on the one hand and Bishop Gakubia, belonging to Archbishop Wanjigiri's faction, on the other hand. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction was the most violent of all the factions. This was probably because it was led by a layman and the majority of the members were former Mau Mau freedom fighters who were not afraid of confrontation. In Murang'a, Bishop

Nduati, who belonged to Archbishop Kahihia's faction had to contend with Bishop Kirugo and Bishop Muli from Tadeo Mwaura's faction. According to Bishop Kirugo, his consecration to a bishop was very tense. Men armed with bows and arrows had to surround the church where his consecration was taking place to keep off Archbishop Kahihia's faction from interfering with the ceremony (o.i., Kirugo, 23.7.91). Even here, Archbishop Wanjingiri kept a low profile as was the case in Nyeri and continued running his faction without competing with anyone.

As a result of these conflicts, some members of the Church had defected to other churches while others remained within the rival factions of the A.I.P.C.A. Those who defected to other churches did this for several reasons. For example, young people defected to Charismatic Renewal churches because they wanted the freedom to adopt the concepts of salvation and the baptism in the Holy Spirit, together with the gift of speaking in tongues (o.i., 29.3.91). Another group defected to mainline churches like the P.C.E.A., the C.P.K. and other churches because they had recreational facilities and accommodated ideas from their youth. Another group defected to the Roman Catholic Church because the church had similar sacraments with the A.I.P.C.A. and they were tired of the frequent conflicts in their former church (o.i., 1.4.91).

6:1.2 *Attempts at Reconciliation*

Tired of frequent leadership conflicts in the Church as well as in their own factions, the three rival leaders, namely, Mr.

Tadeo Mwaura, Archbishops Benjamin Kahihia and Alphaxad Wanjingiri, met together and decided to re-unite. This took place in May 1990.

According to Archbishop Kahihia, first they realized that although they had been fighting, none of them had ceased being a member of the A.I.P.C.A. by registering a new church (o.i., 31.7.91). Secondly, they realized that the reputation of the Church was at stake due to the negative publicity given by the conflicts within it. They realized that negative publicity of the Church might lead to its de-registration. According to Archbishop Ichugu, they realized that the institution of the chairman as well as hunger for power and economic benefits by leaders, was contributory to conflicts in the Church (o.i., 5.5.91). He contended that the government informed the leaders that it was tired of the frequent conflicts in the Church. The government, therefore, advised them that the A.I.P.C.A. should be led by the three archbishops instead of ambitious chairmen.

The three archbishops held another meeting in August 1990, in which they agreed to reconcile. According to Archbishop Wanjingiri, he insisted on several conditions before he could unite with the others. First, he insisted that Archbishop Kahihia's faction withdraws from its registration from the N.C.C.K. Secondly, he wanted a reconciliation ceremony to be held at A.I.P.C.A. Gituamba because:

Before the late President Kenyatta died he had advised us to reconcile at Gituamba. We had to honour the wishes of

our departed leader to avoid his curse.
(o.i., 14.5.91).

Archbishops Kahihia and Ichugu accepted these conditions and the Church withdrew its registration from the N.C.C.K. the immediately (*Nation*, 14.9.91). The P.C. of Central Province was requested by the three leaders to meet them and he agreed to do so (*Nation*, 14.9.91). They met in the P.C.'s office and agreed to elect Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia as the Chairman of the Central Committee and also as the overall spiritual head of the re-united Church. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura was elected the Vice-Chairman while the other two archbishops were to become Archbishop Kahihia's assistants in leading the Church. It was agreed that each of the three rival archbishops should appoint seven people from their factions to constitute a joint Central Committee.

6:1.3 *The Reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A. Leaders*

Steps towards the reconciliation of the rival leaders were first realized at A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua on 14th September, 1990, when the church was re-opened six months after its closure. All the rival leaders and two of the three archbishops attended the re-opening ceremony as a sign of unity. Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia, who was indisposed was represented by Bishop George Muhia of Kiambu. The three leaders publicly declared the merging of the three factions into one. The leaders also visited President Moi to assure him of their reconciliation (*Nation*, 2.10.90). The actual ceremonial reconciliation took place at A.I.P.C.A., Gituamba

on 24th February, 1991, where the anointing of all the bishops of the Church took place. The researcher was an eye witness to the ceremony. Archbishop Wanjigiri as the oldest clergyman, anointed Archbishop Kahihia and he in turn was anointed by him. Archbishop Kahihia anointed all the other bishops as a sign of recognition of all the bishops by the Church. The government was represented by the P.C. Central Province. Mr. Kuria Kanyingi presented the three archbishops with a new car from the President to commemorate the occasion. The reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A. leaders was a great relief to the government. This was because the A.I.P.C.A. was the only Church in the Province that was not critical of the government. Some leaders in the Church felt that their leaders were presented with the car because of their loyalty to the government and were not pleased with this. They felt that the A.I.P.C.A. should also criticise social ills affecting their members alongside other Christian churches.

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From then onwards, a long path towards reconciliation began. Preparation of the Church oil at A.I.P.C.A., Ngarariga in Kiambu, marked the first ceremony by a re-united Church. Previously, each faction used to prepare its own oil for its own churches. According to the teachings of the A.I.P.C.A., all the oil used for anointing the sick, cleansing the ritually unclean, ordaining priests, consecrating bishops and confirming members should be prepared in one place by all the bishops and clergy men of the Church just before Easter (o.i., 5.5.91). The oil is later distributed to all the A.I.P.C.A.

churches for use. For the first time in over seventeen years the oil used in all the A.I.P.C.A. churches was prepared by a re-united Church.

The Church continues to strive towards reconciliation but this has not been an easy task. In Kiambu, for example, the Branch Committee is riddled with dissent and intrigues so much so that the D.C. has had to arbitrate among the leaders unsuccessfully. He is currently the acting chairman of the branch because members cannot agree on who should lead the Branch Committee. The bone of contention is whether the branch should be led by an ordained man or by an Elder, a conflict that has already been discussed in our work. In Murang'a, tensions exist between Archbishop Wanjingiri and an ex-Kahihia man, Bishop Nduati. The problem here is over the division of Murang'a churches among Bishops Chege, Muli and Nduati. Before the reconciliation Bishop Nduati had the majority of churches under him and accommodated the teaching of the concepts of salvation in his churches. As already discussed Archbishop Wanjingiri and his faction did not allow this. Members of the faction that was formerly led by Bishop Nduati, are unhappy about falling under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Wanjingiri's leadership because they fear an interference in their faith. For these reasons, Murang'a cannot claim to be united. If the situation in Kiambu and Murang'a are anything to go by, then unity in the Church is not forthcoming in the near future because events in the two districts have tended to influence all the other branches of the A.I.P.C.A. For

example, it was in Kiambu that the schisms of the Church began. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Archbishop Wanjigiri, both from Murang'a led two out of the three factions of the Church.

6:1.4 Reconciliation of Gitothua Members

In the case of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, reconciliation at the national level meant that the rival members could now worship together. Mr. Waira Kamau remained the chairman of the church, to the disappointment of the young people who chose to leave Gitothua rather than accept his leadership. The two rival pastors, Rev. Charles Thuo and Rev. Patrick Kariuki became the pastors of the church. However, Rev. Charles Thuo continued to be rejected by the elderly church members and eventually requested a transfer from the church. By the time this research was completed, only about fifty elderly members were attending church service at Gitothua. Most members who had left Gitothua chose to remain where they were. It can be argued that the reconciliation of the members of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua failed because the two rival groups did not come to a compromise over their demands. The elderly members wanted an unconditional apology from the church youth while the youth continued to reject the chairman of Gitothua church who had the support of elderly members.

6:2 Summary and Conclusion

The study investigated leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. churches with special reference to A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. It aimed at identifying and analyzing the reasons behind the

disunity and schisms in the A.I.P.C.A. churches. The impact of leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A., on A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, was examined. The ecclesiastical organization of the Church from its inception, was examined in order to establish to what extent ineffective institutionalization of the A.I.P.C.A. had contributed to the on-going leadership conflicts. The method used involved a study on early leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. from its inception in 1929 going through to the 1950s, when as a religious wing of K.I.S.A., the Church was proscribed alongside the association. The purpose of this was to establish to what extent early leadership conflicts could have influenced the current leadership conflicts.

In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, physical

The role of cultural nationalism in the Church was investigated in order to establish to what extent the factor had contributed to disunity in the A.I.P.C.A., especially in A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. A number of facts emerged out of this investigation. It was demonstrated that the ecclesiastical organization of the A.I.P.C.A. right from its inception in 1929, had certain weaknesses that left the Church open to disunity and conflicts. From the 1930s, the Church was run by K.I.S.A. Elders as the religious wing of the association. The A.I.P.C.A. churches were dependent upon K.I.S.A. schools and were run by the Elders. The A.I.P.C.A. clergy men were, therefore, dependent upon the good wishes of the chairman of the local K.I.S.A. school. The A.I.P.C.A. did not develop into an institution on its own apart from K.I.S.A. This situation

provided and created fertile ground for leadership conflicts between the Elders and the clergy men. On re-opening in 1963, the 1938 constitution which was first prepared to run K.I.S.A. schools, was adopted wholesale into the eventual A.I.P.C.A. 1970 constitution. The chairman of the local A.I.P.C.A. church, continued running the local church while the clergymen played subservient roles. The institution of chairman soon became a power to reckon with in the Church. An attempt by the clergymen to assert themselves as the overall leaders of the Church in the 1970s and 1980s led to the first and second splits of the A.I.P.C.A. It was also revealed that the Church lacked avenues for resolving conflicts.

In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, physical confrontations and disunity ensued when a group of members led by their pastor challenged their chairman. Lack of institutions to resolve differences among members, coupled with the existence of rival factions led to the defection of some members of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. It was established that most chairmen of the A.I.P.C.A. churches encouraged political interference in the Church by politicians in areas where the Church was dominant. They did this through political patronage to certain politicians. Such politicians fanned rivalry and disunity in the Church. A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, was an example of such a situation where rival factions in the church supported different politicians.

It was revealed that leadership conflicts in the 1930s and 1940s were as a result of alliances that developed among

K.I.S.A. leaders. These alliances divided the A.I.P.C.A. into two groups, namely, the conservative and moderate camps. The first camp was the conservative group which comprised cultural nationalists, the majority of whom were involved in the Mau Mau revolt. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjigiri, who led two of the three factions were conservative in outlook. It was the conservative group led by Mr. Tadeo Mwaura, that was behind the leadership conflicts and disunity in the A.I.P.C.A. It was because of the conservatism of leaders belonging to this group, that Mr. Laban Kabunga split from the parent Church in 1974 and formed a splinter group with Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjigiri.

The second camp consisted of moderate members in the parent Church, who were prepared to accept change in certain issues. The leader of this group was Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia. The alliances formed during the colonial days, were reflected in the leadership conflicts of the 1970s and 1980s. The conservative and moderate members of the A.I.P.C.A. were in direct conflict with each other with the conservative group playing the most militant part. Cultural nationalism among some members of the A.I.P.C.A. divided the Church into two movements, namely, those who fought for political independence and those who did not. The study revealed that old Mau Mau enmities were revived during the period of leadership conflicts. This led to the development of a radical conservative group referring to itself as "Indi ya Mahindi", which literally means independent to the marrow of their

bones. The group wanted the maintenance of the A.I.P.C.A. traditions and doctrinal practices in their original form as introduced in the 1930s.

In contrast to this group, was a group that was regarded as supporting the colonial collaborators during the struggle for political independence. The group was moderate and accepted change in the Church. In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, the chairman of the church and his supporters belonged to the conservative group, while the rival faction belonged to the moderate one. The two groups were diametrically opposed to each other. The study demonstrated that cultural nationalists and politicians had always used the A.I.P.C.A. to advance their policies. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Church was deeply involved in the Mau Mau revolt. In the post independent period, the Church was used by the politicians to enhance their popularity among the Agikuyu, Embu and Meru peoples.

6:3 Review of the Situation in the A.I.P.C.A.

With regard to the most significant factor underlying the leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A., the study identified a weak ecclesiastical organization as the pivot around which all the other factors revolved. From its inception to the current period the Church failed to develop into an autonomous institution independent of its Elders. This dependence became a potential seed of contradiction between the Elders and the clergymen of the Church. The Church chairmen institutionalized themselves as the overall leaders in direct conflict with the

Priests' Council. Conflicts in the Church led to disunity and fragmentation of the A.I.P.C.A.

As a result of conflicts in the Church, financial constraints developed, leading to the negligence of important aspects like ministerial training. The Church ministers were unsalaried, a factor that resulted in a lack of commitment and the negligence of administrative and pastoral roles on the side of the ministers. The splitting of the Church into factions led to a general indiscipline which spread to all the A.I.P.C.A. churches. A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua was a reflection of the general trend of leadership conflicts that marked the Church.

The eclectic approach in this thesis was found useful in the study. Barrett's theory on Independency led to the identification of both the dormant and active movements within the Church. Such movements included the conservative and the moderate groups. The movements broke into surface in 1974 and 1982 leading to schisms in the Church. It was thus possible to understand the spread of the concepts of salvation and Pentecostal emphases in the A.I.P.C.A. using the theory of independency. These concepts were identified as new factors that may well continue to widen the differences of opinion between the conservative and moderate members of the Church. In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, the concept of salvation was discovered to have been opposed by the older conservative members but was popular among the moderate young people. This further divided the members of the church. Daneel's contention that there was a connection between leadership and the process

of fragmentation in some independent churches was a pointer to our work. It was demonstrated in this thesis that leadership ambitions among some members of the Church led to the first and second schisms of the A.I.P.C.A. In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, as in the other A.I.P.C.A. churches, leadership ambitions among some members led to conflicts and disunity in the church. The clinging to power by a church chairman in A.I.P.C.A. Gitothua, led to violence and defection from the church by some members.

Sundkler's observation that educated youth in independent churches, were the first to notice and criticise disorganization in such churches, was found credible. In A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, the youth were in the forefront during the conflicts. Violence was sparked off by this group when it became increasingly clear that no other avenues of resolving differences existed. Seeds of contradiction planted from the inception of the A.I.P.C.A., were identified in line with Lanternari's contention that a new church carries within itself seeds of contradiction. Such seeds in the Church included a weak constitution in matters pertaining to succession to leadership positions. These seeds fully blown led to the schisms in the 1970s and 1980s.

6:4.1 *Forecasting Ahead*

This study confined itself to leadership conflicts in the A.I.P.C.A. churches with special reference to A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua. This being the case, it may be necessary for a

comprehensive study on leadership conflicts in other independent churches in Kenya to be made. This will increase our knowledge on the phenomenon of schism that appears to have taken root in independent Christian churches. Barrett's prediction in his work conducted in 1967, on the increase of schisms in East Africa in the next decade would be examined through such a study.

To reduce the schismatic behaviour of the A.I.P.C.A., the Church will need to look at certain issues urgently. First, the ecclesiastical organization of the Church should be strengthened. This can be done by amending the 1970 constitution, which in reality is the 1938 K.I.S.A. constitution. The roles of the Priests' Council and the Church Elders should be clearly defined in order to reduce the duplication of roles by the two and thus remove tensions between the two institutions. At the local church level, the pastor should not play secondary roles to the chairman. He should be the leader in both the spiritual and administrative spheres. The institution of the chairman should be subsidiary to the clerical office. The annual general elections of the Church are too frequent for elected officials to have made any impact within such a short period. The term of office should be increased to a longer period of time in order to facilitate effective completion of projects a committee may have started. Ideally, the local pastor or bishop should head all the committees at the local church and national level. Secondly, women and youth should be involved in decision-making

processes at the local church and national level. Involvement of women will enable them to articulate issues affecting them, for example, their socio-economic development. Women who are economically comfortable will educate their families and the Church will be able to acquire educated ministers in future. The majority of the A.I.P.C.A. members are women and it is only fair that they should be given a chance to participate in the development of the Church. The youth on the other hand constitute the educated members of the Church. They should be allowed to participate in decision-making in order to be able to organize their leisure time. It is from this group that Church ministers can be trained. This study revealed that cultural nationalism and conservatism of some members encouraged discrimination against women and youth. Tolerance and acceptance of change should be encouraged for the Church cannot exist in isolation. For these reasons, it is recommended that the Church co-operates with other Christian churches by registering with the existing Christian organizations.

Thirdly, the A.I.P.C.A. Church should encourage the socio-economic development of its members. Bishop George Muhia's efforts to assist women should be emulated and not criticised. Fourthly, education and training of the Church ministers should receive paramount attention. This will give the ministers confidence to preach in wide contexts, including to different ethnic communities. Educated ministers will not only be able to conduct their pastoral duties efficiently but also

be able run the Church affairs confidently. Fifthly, the A.I.P.C.A. should devise ways and means of generating more funds than it does at present. This will enable the Church to pay its ministers and also sponsor some of its educated members into the existing Protestant theological institutions. Only God-fearing men, with a vocation to the ministry of priesthood should be trained and ordained as pastors in the Church. This will reduce patronage to church chairmen and improve the administration of the Church. Lastly, members of the Church holding leadership positions should be neutral in the political arena and must not be seen to favour certain politicians. They should not attempt to influence members to support particular politicians.

6:4.2 Post-Script

By the time this thesis was completed, the chairman of A.I.P.C.A., Gitothua, Mr. Waira Kamau, had denounced the authority of all the bishops of the Kiambu branch. By so doing, he defied the Central Board headed by Archbishop Benjamin Kahihia. With him, was the pastor in charge of Gitothua, Rev. Patrick Kariuki, who aligned himself with his chairman. According to an informant, the main reason for this new conflict was the election of clergy men as members of the Kiambu branch committee. Mr. Waira Kamau and some Elders were left out during the election of the officials. They felt that Elders and not clergy men, should have been elected into the committee. They, therefore, defied the new committee and formed their own rival committee. The new rival committee is

headed by one, Mr. Wanyoike Thungu, a former member of the Central Board and formerly belonging to Archbishop Kahihia's faction. The new rival, has fifty churches in Kiambu. Mr. Waira Kamau, is the treasurer of the group. The group, which refers to itself as, "The Committee of Twenty Four Members", in reference to the number of members in the committee, has written to the Archbishop and the three bishops in Kiambu. These are, Archbishop Johnson Ichugu, Bishops George Muhia, Daniel Kiongo and Timothy Gakubia. The Committee of Twenty Four informs the four clergymen that they should not conduct services in any of the churches belonging to the rival committee.

As a sign that the Committee of Twenty Four is prepared to form another rival group, they consecrated two bishops and two archdeacons on 8th March, 1992. Some pastors in the fifty churches belonging to the new group, are prepared to join the new group because it is generally believed that the A.I.P.C.A. churches belong to the Elders. To all intent and purposes, it can be concluded that the reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A. leaders was nothing more than a superficial agreement which has started to break. The researcher is of the view that the reconciliation of the A.I.P.C.A., will not be achieved in the lifetime of original core of cultural nationalists in the Church.



Rival leaders of the A.I.P.C.A. and the P.C. of Central Province attend a reconciliation service at Gitothua. Left to right: Bishop George Muhia, Archbishop Johnson Ichugu, P.C. Central Province, Mr. Victor Musoga, Bishop Baptista Mugecha, Mr. Kuria Kanyingi and Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri.



Rival leaders of the A.I.P.C.A. join hands as a gesture of reconciliation in Gitothua. From left to right: Bishop George Muhia, Archbishop Alphaxad Wanjingiri, Bishop Baptista Mugecha, Mr. Tadeo Mwaura and Mr. Waira Kamau.

Tadeo Mwaura.



The P.C. Central Province, re-opens Gitothua church. Looking on from left to right: Rev. Charles Thuo, Rev. Patrick Kariuki, Bishop Baptista Mugecha, Mr. Waira Kamau and Mr. Kuria Kanyingi.



The A.I.P.C.A. rival leaders reconcile before the president. To the left of President Moi is Archbishop Wanjigiri and to his right is Archbishop Kahihia. On the extreme right is Mr. Tadeo Mwaura.



The A.I.P.C.A. leaders chat with President Moi after reconciliation.



President Moi is presented with a boquet during a Church ceremony at A.I.P.C.A. Muthuaini in Nyeri. Archbishop Kahihia introduces Archbishop Ichugu(left), Archbishop Wanjingiri.

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Rt. Rev. Timothy Gakubia	62
Rev. Daniel Munia	66
Rev. John Kimani	37
Rev. Patrick Kariuki	40
Rev. Charles Thuo	33
Rev. Samuel Mbugua	32
Rev. Joseph Gichia	65
Rev. Isaac Njoroje	43
Rev. Doran Ndegwa	50
Rev. John Kariuki	35
Mr. Peter Ndung'u	30
Mr. James Kaxau	20
Mr. Bernard Nambiru	27
Mr. Paul Ngugi	45
Mr. Ibrahim Ndagutha	65
Mr. Hanu Mukiri	70
Mr. Vaira Famau	74
Mr. Peter Gatabaki	82

LIST OF INFORMANTS

<u>NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>
1. Most Rev. Benjamin Kahihia	68	Nairobi	1991
2. Most Rev. Alphaxad Wanjingiri	92	Gakarara	..
3. Most Rev. Johnson Ichugu	73	Mang'u	..
4. Rt. Rev. Daniel Kirugo	45	Thika	..
5. Rt. Rev. George Muhia	60	Kiamwangi	..
6. Rt. Rev. Timothy Gakubia	62	Murera	..
7. Rev. Daniel Muniu	65	Githunguri	..
8. Rev. John Kimani	57	Kandara	..
9. Rev. Patrick Kariuki	40	Gitothua	..
10. Rev. Charles Thuo	30	Gitothua	..
11. Rev. Samuel Mbugua	32	Kimuri	..
12. Rev. Joseph Gichia	65	Ruiru	..
13. Rev. Isaac Njoroge	42	Thika	..
14. Rev. Joram Ndegwa	50	Murera	..
15. Rev. John Kariuki	55	Kahugui	..
16. Mr. Peter Ndung'u	30	Murera	..
17. Mr. James Kamau	20	Murera	..
18. Mr. Benard Wambiru	27	Gitothua	..
19. Mr. Paul Ngugi	45	Githunguri	..
20. Mr. Ibrahim Ndagutha	65	Kahuguini	..
21. Mr. Kaniu Mukiri	70	Githunguri	..
22. Mr. Waira Kamau	78	Gitothua	..
23. Mr. Peter Gatabaki	82	Githunguri	..

<u>NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>
24. Mr. Tadeo Mwaura	88	Kabati	1991
25. Mr. Samuel Ndirangu	45	Githunguri	,,
26. Mr. Joseph Gitau	80	Kahuguini	,,
27. Mr. Simon Mubiu	85	Kahuguini	,,
28. Mr. Waiganjo Ndagutha	66	Kahuguini	,,
29. Mr. Jeremiah Ng'ang'a	70	Ruiru	,,
30. Mr. Peter Maina	22	Ruiru	,,
31. Mr. Peter Njane	25	Ruiru	,,
32. Mr. Benson Ndung'u Jamaica	52	Ruiru	,,
33. Mr. Joseph Mwaura	50	Ruiru	,,
34. Mr. Paul Ngugi Mwenda	57	Ruiru	,,
35. Mrs. Mary Muthoni	49	Ruiru	,,
36. Mrs. Teresia Wanjiku	41	Ruiru	,,
37. Mrs. Milka Wanjiku	50	Ruiru	,,
38. Mrs. Mary Njoki	47	Ruiru	,,
39. Mrs. Elizabeth Wanjiru	73	Gitothua	,,
40. Mrs. Elizabeth Wanjiku	75	Gitothua	,,
41. Miss Margaret Wangui	28	Gitothua	,,
42. Miss Mary Njoki	26	Gitothua	,,
43. Mrs. Mary Wanjiku	50	Kimuri	,,
44. Mrs. Helena Muthithi	86	Kamuhege	,,
45. Mrs. Hannah Wambui	60	Murera	,,
46. Mrs. Naomi Gakubia	62	Murera	,,
47. Miss Veronicah Njeri	19	Murera	,,
48. Mrs. Mary Wambui	47	Murera	,,
49. Miss Josephine Wanjiku	20	Murera	,,

<u>NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>
50. Miss Miriam Wambui	19	Gitothua	1991
51. Mr. Joseph Mwaura	50	Gitothua	„
52. Miss Felister Maina	26	Gitothua	„
53. Mrs. Eunice Maina	37	Gitothua	„

those : To receive formal education

means "received formal education"

Igongona : Means a sacrifice

Indi Ya Mahindir : Literally means "the

the bones. A group

faction espousing

the expression.

Itari : The verb comes from

means "that which has

which has not".

Kanika wa Atoswo : Literary means the

is incorrectly referred to

Church". The book is

"The Apostles' Church"

Charismatic Episcopal

in the Central Province

Karing'a : Pure or orthodox

those who refused

clitoridectomy

Kirigu : An uncircumcized girl

Kirore : A corruption of the K

In the study it

GLOSSARY OF VERNACULAR TERMS

- Kuhiga : To have inked.
- Gucoka : To come back from a place. In the study, "Oka", means "when he/she came back".
- Guthoma : To receive formal education. "Athomeire", means "received formal education".
- Igongona : Means a sacrifice offered to God.
- Indi Ya Mahindi: Literally means independent to the marrow of the bones. A group of Mr. Tadeo Mwaura's faction emphasized their conservatism using the expression.
- Itari : The verb comes from the verb "iri", which means "that which has". "itari" means "that which has not".
- Kanitha Wa Atumwo : Literary means the "Church of the Sent". It is incorrectly referred to as "The Disciples' Church". The most correct translation would be "The Apostles' Church". It is a new Charismatic renewal sect, predominantly found in the Central Province of Kenya.
- Karing'a : Pure or orthodox. In this study used to mean those who refused to sign a pledge against clitoridectomy.
- Kirigu : An uncircumcised girl.
- Kirore : A corruption of the Kiswahili word "Kidole". In the study it is used to mean

"abolitionist", meaning those who agreed to sign the pledge against clitoridectomy.

- Kuhiga : To have inborn wisdom. "Ti kuhiga" means "to lack wisdom"
- Kuhikia : To get married. In the study, "Arahikia", means "he got married to".
- Riika : Age-group.
- Mariika : Age-groups.
- Mburi : A he-goat. the word is also used to mean a sheep.
- Muthirigu : A song adapting the coastal "mzelego" tune, sang by the Karing'a to mock abolitionists, missionaries and the colonialists.
- Ngirime : The word comes from the verb "kugirima", meaning "to chop off". The Agikuyu chopped off the tail of a newly born sheep because they believed that the chopping facilitated a speedy fattening of the sheep.
- Ruraya : A corruption of the Kiswahili word "Ulaya", it means Europe or Abroad.
- Thaara : The Anglican Common Book of prayer.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CLERGY

5. Is ministerial training _____

A.I.P.C.A.?

Name: (optional) _____ Age/Riika: _____

Sex: _____ Marital status: _____

Education: _____ Status in the Church: _____

1. When did you become a member of the A.I.P.C.A.?

(a) before 1963

(b) after 1963

2. What made you become a member of the A.I.P.C.A.?

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

3. When did you become a pastor/archdeacon/bishop? How long did your training take? Where were you trained?

4. Is academic education necessary for one to become a clergyman?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If yes

(a) Why is it important?

(b) What level of academic education would be acceptable?

If no

Why is it not important?

8. In your view, how is a person...

5. Is ministerial training of clergymen necessary in the A.I.P.C.A.?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If yes

(a) Why is it necessary?

(b) How long should training take?

If no

Why is it not necessary?

6. Can an A.I.P.C.A. pastor be trained in any of the Protestant Theological Colleges?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If no

Why may he not be trained?

If yes

Why may he be trained there?

7. When did you first read the Constitution of the A.I.P.C.A.?

(a) before 1989

(b) after 1989

(c) I have never read it.

If (c) why have you never read it?

8. In your view, how is a person appointed/chosen to become a pastor, or archdeacon or bishop?

Pastor: _____

Archdeacon: _____

Bishop: _____

9. Should the clergy be salaried only or should they be allowed to participate in gainful employment as well?

Explain your choice of answer.

b) Education

c) Ethnic affiliation

d) Other

10. Should a pastor engage in politics?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If no

Why shouldn't he engage in politics?

If yes

Why may he engage in politics?

11. Should women be ordained into priesthood?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(i) If no, why not?

(ii) If yes, why?

12. What are your responsibilities as a clergy of the A.I.P.C.A.?

13. What are the requirements necessary for one to become a pastor of the A.I.P.C.A. ? Tick as appropriate

a) Age

b) Education

c) Ethnic affiliation

d) Other

Explain the reason for your choice.

14. Does the A.I.P.C.A. evangelize all parts of Africa as the name implies?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If no why doesn't it?

15. Would you agree to be transferred to any of the 22 branches of the A.I.P.C.A. as a pastor?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If no why not?

16. Who should discipline erring members of the church?

17. Who should reconcile disagreeing pastors of the church?

18. Should the clergy be appointed into the Central Board of the A.I.P.C.A.?

19. What qualities do you look for in a member of the Central Board of the A.I.P.C.A.?

(a) _____

(b) _____

(c) _____

(d) _____

(e) _____

20. Should the clergy retire after reaching a certain age?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If yes

Why?

If no

Why not?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHURCH MEMBERS (LAITY)

(a) young, between 25-30 years for men

(b) old, between 40-65 years for men

Name: (optional) _____ Age: (Riika) _____

Sex: _____ Marital Status: _____

Education: _____

1. When did you become a member of the A.I.P.C.A.?

- (a) before 1963
- (b) after 1963

2. What made you become a member of the A.I.P.C.A.?

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

3. What roles do you play in the church?

- (a) choir member
- (b) church elder
- (c) Sunday School teacher
- (d) ordinary member
- (e) name others if any

4. Have you ever read the Church Constitution or has it ever been read to you?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

If yes

(i) When did you first read the constitution?

(ii) Did someone read it to you?

If no

Why have you never read it?

5. How old do you think a pastor, bishop should be?

(a) young, between 25-30 years for pastors, 40-50 for bishops.

(b) old, between 40-65 years for pastors, 65-80 for bishops.

If young

(i) why should he be young?

(ii) should he retire after a certain period of service?

(iii) at what age should such a retire be?

If old

Why should he be old?

6. (i) Should the clergy have received academic education or not?

(a) Yes

(b) not very necessary

(c) No

(ii) Why?

7. Should they be trained as church ministers or ordained due to their knowledge of the Bible?

If trained

(i) Why should they be trained?

(ii) How long should they be trained?

If untrained

Why shouldn't they be trained?

8. Should the clergy be single or married?

If single

Why should they be single?

If married

(i) Why should they be married?

(ii) How should they support their families?

9. Would you accept an A.I.P.C.A. pastor from any of the 22 branches of the Church become your pastor?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If yes

What would make you accept such a pastor?

If no

What would make you reject him?

10. What are some of the qualities you expect in your pastor?

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

11. Should a woman preach in your church?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If no, why not?

12. How old should a church elder be?

- (a) young, between 18-30 years (b) between 35-70 years

If young

Why should an elder be young?

If old

Why should they be old?

13. Should young people be represented in the Church Committee?

- (a) Yes (b) No

If yes

Why should they be represented?

If no

Why shouldn't they be represented?

14. Should a woman be a member of the Church Committee?

- (a) Yes (b) No

If no

Why not?

If yes

Why?

15. Who should become the chairman of the Church Committee?

Tick the appropriate answer.

- (a) a person who has always been a member of the A.I.P.C.A.
- (b) a person who has joined the A.I.P.C.A. after independence.
- (c) any capable member of the church regardless of age, sex or education.
- (d) an old member of the church who knows the Agikuyu culture well.

If (a) why? If (b) why? If (c) why? If (d) why?

16. How many terms of service should one serve as the chairman of the church?

- (a) as many as possible.
- (b) 2-3 terms.

If (b):

Why should the term of service be limited?

If (a):

Why should the term of service not be limited?

17. Who should discipline the erring members of the church, the pastor or the Church Committee?

(a) Pastor

(b) Church Committee

Why the pastor?

Why the Church Committee?

18. Who should reconcile members of the church with the pastors or with other members?

(a) the Bishop

(b) the Archbishop

(c) the government

(d) Church elders

Why?

19. In your view why do you think there are disturbances in the A.I.P.C.A.?

20. In your view how can these conflicts be solved?
