

***The birth of Protestant education in East Africa:
sampling Johannes Ludwig Krapf (1810–1881)***

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Abstract

Christian education, as in the Latin *educatus sum*, is basically to nourish, nurture and guide everyone in the truth of the Gospel regardless of age, gender, denomination, status and/or background. In this article I intend to highlight how Christian education (and theological education in general) was shaped and reshaped by the pioneer Protestant missionary in East Africa Johannes Ludwig Krapf in the nineteenth century. Krapf tried to carry out his role despite the challenges that he faced. In view of this, the article attempts to show the importance of various methodologies in Christian/theological education, including biblical translations, working closely with the local people and the use of schools as mediums of Christian/theological education. The history of Protestant Christianity as it was propagated by Krapf shows that early theological education in Africa was problematic because its pioneers had to devise different approaches as the context demanded. This article is based on the premise that since the Church is always a teaching community, the early missionaries' work in Africa was a teaching ministry right from its inception. In this article, I therefore seek to demonstrate that even though there is room for improvement, Christian/theological education in Africa today should follow the same trajectory that was propounded by Krapf and others. As we seek to reconstruct our African history, Krapf's pioneering efforts of indigenisation will have to be brought back to our agenda.

Introduction

The first stage of Christian education in East Africa can be traced to the brand of Christianity that arose from the Portuguese prowess of the fifteenth to seventeenth century.ⁱ The Portuguese, who were the first European missionaries to arrive in Africa, brought Christianity to Africa under the auspices of the Papal of Rome. This is evident from the words of TA Beetham who states that priests generally accompanied the expeditions. They “served as Chaplains to the new trading settlements and as missionaries to neighbouring African peoples”.ⁱⁱ Jesse Mugambi states dismissively that the Portuguese mission to bring Christianity to Africa failed because they were not interested in spreading Christianity. In fact, they were not even primarily interested in Africa: “their main interest was trading with Asia, and Africa happened to have been ‘discovered’ while the new sea route via Southern Africa was being explored”.ⁱⁱⁱ

Certainly, the beginning of the Christian Church in East Africa can be traced to that Sunday afternoon, 7 April 1498, when Vasco da Gama anchored off Mombasa near where Fort Jesus stands today. Even though Mugambi stresses that da Gama's main interest was trade, he not only discovered a new route to India and the Far East but also brought a new religious impetus. His motivation and that of his predecessors was to establish an alliance with a legendary Christian King in Africa, Prester John.^{iv} This legendary African King was one whom the people of Europe had heard much about. In the scheme of things, they hoped that an alliance with such a “powerful Christian King” in the heart of Africa might be a great help in the long struggle against Muslim expansion in Africa.^v Accordingly, Vasco da Gama was part of the grand design of the Portuguese king, Henry the Navigator, who worked passionately against the Moors (Black Muslims) who had threatened Portugal and Spain. Henry was

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looking forward to finding an African ruler who was willing to become an ally in the struggle against the Muslims. Even though he had a strong interest in expanding his country's trade, he "privately ... had a desire to spread the Christian faith [read Christian education] in Africa as a way of counter-acting Islamic faith" because he thought that the Christian faith would also have a civilising effect.^{vi}

As he moved from Mozambique to Mombasa, Vasco da Gama discovered that the Muslim inhabitants who were already well established on the East Coast of Africa did not welcome him. He was, however, comforted in being accepted by the people in the port of Malindi who thought the Portuguese could be a possible ally; part of the reason for this was that the ruler of Malindi was involved in perennial conflicts with his more powerful neighbour in Mombasa. Da Gama erected a marble pillar at Malindi to commemorate the friendly treaty that was concluded between Malindi and Portugal.^{vii} This pillar was both a symbol of the sovereignty of Portugal on the East Coast and a symbol of the Portuguese version of Roman Catholic Christianity.^{viii} Malindi remained a very useful ally of the Portuguese occupation in the midst of hostile Islamic forces. Consequently, the Portuguese sent various characters to promote her interests on the East African Coast. These included Francis d'Almeida, Francis Xavier, John Dos Santos, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas and other notable personalities. Mascarenhas was the Portuguese viceroy of India who gave orders for the construction of a Fort at Mombasa.^{ix} He also instructed that the Gospel be taught and preached to the inhabitants, even though Muslim hostility was overwhelmingly strong.^x

This Islamic hostility was particularly evident when, in 1585, the Turk Mir Ali Bey made a dedicated attempt to oust the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean. To achieve this, he preached a jihad against the Portuguese. Interestingly, he got enthusiastic support for his operation. A case in point was on the island of Pate where a Portuguese by the name of John Rebello was dragged around the town and pelted with stones for his refusal to give up his Christian faith. He died from the injuries he sustained. The Portuguese avenged his death by attacking Faza, razing it to the ground, slaughtering the inhabitants (men women and children) and cutting down palm trees. Rebello became one of the early Christian martyrs on the East Coast of Africa.^{xi} The Portuguese's ruthlessness failed to give witness of the Christian faith that they intended to propagate; it also did not help to improve the relationship between them and the local people.

As a "Christian country", Portugal was eager to propagate Roman Catholic Christianity in the midst of Islamic influence. However, as John Gray notes, even though a Cathedral and an Augustinian monastery were established in Mombasa, Christianity did not flourish among the local inhabitants because of the Portuguese's behaviour.^{xii} Their immoral conduct strained their relationship with the local people to such an extent that people were not attracted to the God of Christendom whom they were propagating. John Dos Santos, a Dominican friar who was stationed in the Kerimba Isles and who managed to baptise a nephew of the ruler of Zanzibar in 1591, gives an account of the Portuguese's personal and ethical behaviour which did not reflect Christian maturity:

If a chicken belonging to a Moor [Muslim] enters the dwelling of a Christian [Portuguese] and the Moor asks for it, the Christian answers that the chicken entered his house because it wanted to be a Christian, and cannot give it back.^{xiii}

The same trickery was practised with goats and other animals. According to Nthamburi, the Portuguese were so infamous for their oppressions and frauds that such happenings were nicknamed "Pemba tricks".^{xiv} Additionally, they were known to keep concubines and for being downright cruel and inhuman – behaviours that encapsulated their bid for Christian education. All in all, the Portuguese did not appear to practise, in their daily living, the teachings of the God whom they claimed to be representing. In addition, their version of Roman Catholic Christianity was seen mainly in soldiers and traders – people who portrayed a Christianity that was devoid of a moral underpinning and therefore turned the people away from accepting Christian education.^{xv}

Nevertheless, there were four established places of worship and 4000 Christians in Mombasa in 1624. Even though there were tensions between Muslims and Christians that resulted in perennial wars and the subsequent expulsion of the Portuguese from East Africa by the Arabs, 1 000 baptisms were reported by 1624. After lowering the Portuguese flag for the last time in 1729, Roman Catholic Christianity shrunk.^{xvi} The lack of training for indigenous leadership also helped in facilitating the death of "Portuguese Christianity" on the East African Coast. As a result, the local people seemed to have developed a thin veneer of Christian education and faith, "which could not hold its own in the midst of storm and turbulence that followed".^{xvii} The Portuguese's failure to inculturate or indigenise the Christian faith meant that their brand of Christianity was bound to disintegrate upon their demise. Again, their moral laxity gave a distorted image of Christianity to the local populace. It is no wonder

that by the time the second phase of Christianity began in the nineteenth century, the Christian presence in the area was almost zero.

The second stage of Christian education in East Africa was the brand of Christianity that was propagated by the early missionaries of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. These (nineteenth-century and twentieth-century) missionaries to East Africa, and Africa in general, brought the Christian gospel despite it being clothed in Western attire. African theologians have grappled with this issue since the early 1960s. It is not an overstatement to say that these missionaries “exercised exclusive authority on matters of faith. They alone had the full access to the word of God, and their interpretation was final”.^{xviii} However, this trend underwent a paradigm shift when the Bible was translated into the indigenous languages of the various African communities. Consequently, a yardstick of reference emerged which was outside missionary control. By loosening the missionary interpretive control of the Bible, some African Christians adopted a new hermeneutical technique to exegete the biblical texts within their notion of authenticity.

The second stage also saw the birth of theologies of adaptation, indigenisation/inculturation and liberation, which were energised after the Bible was translated into the indigenous languages of the diverse peoples of Africa. In translating the Bible into the African languages, the Africans were able to discover that the Bible is their story; it has relevant stories such as the Exodus where the oppressed were freed. They could now see that God in Christ did not come to destroy the established rules (read cultures) and patterns of peoples’ lives (Matthew 5:13–17) but to give it a better meaning and to strengthen it. In view of this, African Christianity began to courageously challenge the missionary theologies and sought to install an African Christianity “as experienced by Africans themselves”.

In a similar vein, African Christianity began to challenge oppressive structures in society. These oppressive structures included colonialism, racism, sectionalism, favouritism and other prejudices. In particular, the fourth stage did not only see the birth of adaptation and inculturation theologies, but also the birth of theologies of liberation, which stresses the Exodus motif. Indeed, African theologies have, since the 1960s, emphasised the Exodus metaphor as the dominant motif. African people have been likened metaphorically to the people of Israel on their way from the land of bondage in Egypt (referring to the colonial regime) to the Promised Land (referring to the anticipated liberation) – which can be interpreted to mean the official end of apartheid or, generally, European colonialism. As a motif, it has been modelled on the Exodus event (Exodus 3) where Moses led the Israelites from Egyptian oppression to liberation.

Rev. Dr. Johannes Ludwig Krapf was one of the leading nineteenth-century European missionaries who pioneered Christian education in East Africa especially through preaching and translating the Bible into the local languages of African peoples. In view of this, a survey of his life as a pioneer of Christian education will be considered. At this juncture, it is critical to emphasise that while Western powers (Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Germany) partitioned Africa during the Berlin Conference of 1884/85, it is obvious that Christianity came to East Africa 40 years before colonialism. It is also critical to emphasise that although the explorations of such pioneers as David Livingstone gave a new impetus not only to the missionary cause but also to colonisation, Christian explorers were more concerned about opening opportunities for the evangelisation of the Africans. Certainly, if commerce and civilisation were to accompany such a noble venture, these were interpreted to be a *modus operandi* and not an end in itself. Thus, even though we are concentrating on Ludwig Krapf in this article, there were other outstanding Protestant contributors in the nineteenth century and the twentieth century who, because of space and time, cannot be considered in this article. Krapf’s pioneering role was, however, unique.

Sampling Rev. Dr. Johannes Ludwig Krapf

Johannes Ludwig Krapf was born in 1810 in Germany as the son of a peasant farmer and started his schooling when he was 13 years old. It is interesting to note that he began thinking about how he would later take Christian education to the “heathens” right from childhood. His passion for a missionary vocation was further energised in post-adolescence and made him seek training to gain skills. It is no wonder that after his conversion experience, he offered to be trained as a missionary at Basel and completed his theological studies there. Basel was an important training institution for pietists.^{xix}

Modern Protestantism in East Africa can be said to have officially begun in 1844 when the first Protestant missionary to bring the Christian gospel, Johannes Ludwig Krapf of the London-based Church Missionary Society (read Anglican Church), arrived in the Port of Mombasa in Kenya. Another missionary of the same society, Johannes Rebman, followed him in 1846.^{xx} In 1884, the first administrative Anglican diocese was formed with the name of Eastern Equatorial Africa (combining Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika), with James Hannington as the first diocesan bishop. In 1898 the

Anglican Diocese of Mombasa, which covered all Kenya and Northern Tanganyika, was formed. As the Church grew, Northern Tanganyika was removed from the Diocese of Mombasa, which now covered Kenya only. In 1955, Festo Olang' and Obadiah Kariuki were consecrated in Uganda as the first African bishops of the Anglican Church in Kenya by the Archbishop of Canterbury.^{xxi}

The Evangelical Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) therefore sent a pioneer missionary, Johannes Ludwig Krapf who was from Württemberg in Germany and a Lutheran priest, to Ethiopia in 1837.^{xxii} As an outgoing preacher, he found himself better able to work with the Church Missionary Society (which was London-based) than his Lutheran Church (which did not appear as missionary-minded as the CMS). The CMS had been working in Africa since 1818 and had sent a group of German missionaries to work among the Copts in Egypt.^{xxiii}

Before his arrival on the East African Coast, Krapf first went to Egypt where he spent six months in Cairo learning Arabic. From there, he travelled to Ethiopia with a load of Bibles and in 1837 he landed at the port of Massawa. At the time of his arrival, Ethiopia was a very unstable country where Emperor Negus Negusta was only a nominal ruler while the regional princes ran the show. An example is the Shoa who ruled in Tigre and Asmara. The Galla people, who were making incursions from the South since the sixteenth century, were becoming more and more brutal. The Orthodox Church, which can be described as the only binding force, was not influential enough and instability threatened the country. When missionaries like Krapf arrived, they were regarded by some as potential suppliers of weapons and new techniques. Others viewed the missionaries with suspicion. For example: Three months after Krapf arrived in Adowa, the ruler of Tigre expelled him and his colleagues from the country. Why? The fabricated reason was that the Roman Catholics had already arrived. In view of this, the ruler saw Krapf and Protestant Christianity as of little political and military value when compared with that of Roman Catholicism.^{xxiv}

Following the expulsion, Krapf's bid to spread Christian education and thereby win as many converts as possible to the God of Christendom did not die. With other compatriots from CMS such as CW Isenberg and CH Blumhardt, Krapf decided to go to the territory of one of the other rulers, Sahela Selassie of Shoa. He later returned to Europe to have books on the situation in East Africa printed.

Methodology

A relevant question to ask is what kind of working methodology Krapf and other pioneer Christian educators in East Africa used in their discourses. In turn, this leads one to wonder: Are their methodologies relevant in Africa today? Can they inspire African Christianity in its educational task? And can these approaches aid Africa in its postcolonial reconstruction phase? A brief look at seven approaches will suffice.

Translating the Bible into local languages

The translation of the Bible or portions of it marked Krapf's major methodology in his version of Christian education (or theological education for that matter). Specifically, his approaches included: translating the Bible into Ethiopian languages, teaching Hebrew to young Ethiopians and setting up small schools to enable Ethiopians to study the Scriptures in order to come to a more Bible-based form of Christianity. A thought-provoking concern is: Who helped with the translations? On 7th March 1804, the urgent need for Bibles in England, Wales, France and Germany was laid before a meeting in London that was attended by 300 people from all the churches in England. In turn, these 300 people founded the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). As it turned out, the society's board membership consisted of lay people: 15 Anglicans, 15 Free Church representatives and six foreigners who were living in London. BFBS had three secretaries: one Anglican, one Baptist and one German Lutheran. The Society's aim was to distribute the Holy Scriptures to everyone in the world in a language that they could understand and at a price that they could afford.^{xxv} In time, the Bible Society became the institution where all Christians could work together.

With regard to Ethiopia, BFBS managed to publish a New Testament in Amharic (the language of a large part of the Ethiopian people) in as early as 1824. It was later printed in Ge'ez (Ethiopic), the church language that only the clergy understood. Krapf and his colleagues used these editions together with the Arabic Bible as a working methodology. In particular, Krapf's colleague Isenberg worked on a translation of Luke into the Tigre language and on an Amharic dictionary and grammar. As fate would have it, the Ethiopians were very interested in these editions of the Bible.

Krapf's methodology of first learning the language of the local people before engaging on his mission with them is clearly evident in every region of East Africa where he visited. An example of this: On his arrival in Mombasa in Kenya in 1844, after leaving Pemba and Zanzibar (1842-43), Krapf

began his education mission of his Protestant ministry with a passion to study Swahili (which is the trading language of over 130 000 people in East and Central Africa). He also learned other East African Coast languages such as the Nyika (also called Duruma). Due to his knowledge of the Arabic language, the Arab sheiks and Wanyika chiefs helped him.^{xxvi} In turn, his interests in studying the local languages of the local people helped him to avoid the ethnocentrism which characterised most of the nineteenth-century European missionaries.

Thus, right from the initial stages of planting Christianity in East Africa, missionaries placed importance on studying African languages and translating scriptures into vernaculars. An example of Krapf's first version of Genesis, which was translated in 1844 and published in the first volume of Proceedings of the American Oriental Society in 1851, reads:

1 Genesis 1:1–5 Mooanzo alioomba Mooigniazimoongo oowingo na n'te
2 Yalikooa n'te aina oozone na toopoo; yalikooa keeza katika shimo na roorkhoo ya
Mooigniazimoongo yali ikipepea katika madjee
3 Alinena Mooigniazimoongo; iwa nooroo kooa ikawa nooroo
4 Akaona Mooigniazimoongo, nooroo kooa endjema, akapambanooa baina ya nooroo na keeza
5 Akaita Mooigniazimoongo, nooroo m'taka, na keeza oosikoo. Yalikooa magribee na
soobookhee sikio modija

The problem with Krapf's translation is that he adopted the typically English writing *oo* for the *u* sound, which would have been written *u* in the German as in modern Swahili. Nevertheless, these translations (most of which were sent to Bombay for printing because it was cheaper) were used in literacy classes long before more polished documents were prepared.^{xxvii}

Schools as mediums of Christian/theological education

Upon reaching Ankobar (the capital of the Shoa) which lies in the centre of present-day Ethiopia, Krapf was warmly welcomed by King Sahela Selassie. In the encounter, Krapf discovered that Selassie preferred European craftsmen and doctors to missionaries, but he nevertheless gave him permission to open a small school which also acted as the centre of Christian/theological education. He gathered five pupils with great difficulty.^{xxviii} Even though the Orthodox priests went to him to obtain Bibles, they did everything they could to prevent members of their congregations from enrolling in Krapf's school.

As a "diplomat", Krapf was able to convince Emperor Theodorus of Ethiopia to see the logic behind his version of education. Consequently, Theodorus approved of Krapf's craftsmen on condition that they included a gunsmith and an architect. However, Krapf could not go far south because Emperor Theodorus was still at war with the Galla (Oromo). The craftsmen helped Emperor Theodorus to build roads, bridges and houses. Krapf seized this opportunity to bring in three shipments of Bibles to Ethiopia, thereby taking his Protestant version of Christian education a notch higher. Although Emperor Theodorus became a tyrant who arrested all Europeans and committed suicide in 1868 when a British expeditionary force from India came to free them, Krapf succeeded in introducing his Protestant version of Christian education by using schools as mediums of Christian/theological education.^{xxix} He himself was a trainer who trained technicians in Basel. As in the African system of education, Krapf did not dichotomise between the secular form and the sacred form of education, but let both run concurrently.

On the whole, Krapf's educational model was one of his major legacies that he bequeathed to the missionary societies that followed later. His methods and approaches were well reflected in the International Conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, from 14 September to 21 September 1926. Le Zoute Conference, which was held under the auspices of the International Missionary Council, influenced the African missions in Africa in the formulation of their education policy. The Conference stated in its preamble:

The true friends of Africa wish that the Africans should remain Africans, maintaining a proper pride in their own heritage.^{xxx}

The Conference tried to spell out the intention of the missions' involvement in education for Africans. For the Conference, sound education involved:

Character development based on religion ... colouring every educational activity. Hygiene and health should be emphasized, not only in the practice of the school and home, but in the reading, writing and arithmetic of the school. Agriculture and industry should be taught in classroom and field workshop.

The building of a sound home life and the value of recreation should be taught both by precept and practice.^{xxx1}

Furthermore, in considering schools as mediums of Christian/theological education, the CMS later transferred its Divinity School, which was founded in 1903 at Freretown on the East Coast of Africa to Limuru in 1930. In 1946, plans were made to transfer the Divinity School from Limuru to a site closer to Nairobi. Accordingly, Canon Capon (who was the principal at the time) proposed that the issue of joint theological training across various Protestant churches should be raised once again. As it turned out, Capon's bishop did not agree with his idea of transferring St Paul's Limuru to the capital city of Nairobi. When more land was acquired for the theological seminary, it remained in Limuru. Limuru Divinity School, which was initially an Anglican theological institution, became an ecumenical theological college in 1950 when a constitution was drawn up and subsequently ratified by the College Council on 5 July 1957, making it an institution offering theological education.^{xxxii} Today, it has been renamed St. Paul's University, Limuru, after the Kenyan Commission of Higher Education granted it a charter to operate as a private ecumenical (read Protestant) university in 2007. St Paul's Limuru, which is jointly owned by various Protestant churches (Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Reformed, among others) compares well with the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa (FEDSEM), 1963–1991, which resulted from the merging of a number of English-speaking denominational streams in South Africa (Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist). It ceased to exist in the early 1990s.^{xxxiii}

Other developments were that the missionaries introduced both agricultural education and modern medicine in schools. As the number of Christians grew, the missionaries discouraged converts from visiting traditional medicine men. However, this did not work because traditional medicine (or herbal medicine) remains in Africa to this day. The aims of Methodist missionary education were fourfold: (1) academic training, (2) artisan training, (3) health training and (4) evangelical training.^{xxxiv} The need for teaching good agricultural methods was fuelled by the desire to be self-supporting, especially where a mission had acquired a large piece of land around the mission centre. For example, the East African Scottish Industrial Mission, which was the first British missionary group to arrive in Central Kenya in 1898 and was later renamed the Church of Scotland Mission (CSM, read Presbyterians), had over 3 000 acres of land at Thogoto. Rev. Thomas Watson headed it and its first mission was set up in Tumutumu in the Nyeri District in 1908.^{xxxv} Africans, however, regarded agricultural education with suspicion because they feared a conspiracy between the settlers and the missionaries to prepare and use them as cheap labour in the European plantations. Again, the forceful take-over of clan lands by the missions did not make them better disposed towards accepting agriculture as part of the curriculum. In the end, lack of interest resulted in its decline in the school curriculum, even "though traditionally every school had a garden".^{xxxvi}

The formal education that was introduced by the missionaries in accordance with Krapf's legacy contrasted with the traditional African education, which was informal, utilitarian and practical. It consisted of handing down to successive generations the arts, folklore, myths and traditions of the community. Generation after generation were taught what held the society together. Its practicality can be seen in the fact that it included being initiation into the mysteries of the community after a person had undergone the relevant rites. To this end, the senior members of the society took it upon themselves to inculcate the societal moral values in the younger members. Thus, in introducing formal education, post-nineteenth-century missionaries can be viewed as supplementing the already existing form of education and not replacing it.

Interest in knowing the local people

Another important methodology that greatly aided Krapf's bid to impart Christian/theological education in East Africa was his passionate interest in gaining knowledge about the local communities. By seeking to know his audience, Krapf demonstrated that he was a good communicator who had to understand his context. As Pope John Paul II said: "... teach Latin to the youth, it is not enough to know Latin, it is important to know the youth".^{xxxvii}

Ludwig Krapf was especially interested in knowing more about the Galla community. Could they be the great non-Christian people who lived in a still unknown part of Africa to the south of Ethiopia? And if so, could the Galla with their Oromo language be the key that would open the door to this vast area to the South? He wondered. Then he started a little school in Ankobar, for both the Shoa and the Galla who lived there, with the hope of learning the language. This resulted in him being able, in 1839, to publish a draft translation of John's Gospel into Galla. He called it *tentamen imbecillum*^{xxxviii} (in Latin) and on the title page, he gave full credit to a Galla helper named Birkius. By

recognising that he (as a European missionary) had various limitations and hence sought to depend heavily on mother-tongue auxiliary translators, Krapf demonstrated his competence as a translator. Armed with this dynamism in translation, where he worked hand in hand with the local people, Krapf was able to translate Luke, Matthew, Mark, the Acts of the Apostles and Genesis into Oromo, the language of the Galla.^{xxxix}

Acting as interpreter and adviser to the King of Shoa

Another critical method that Krapf and other pioneer Christian educators in East Africa used in their efforts to propagate Christian/theological education was that of interpreter and advisor. When the British trade delegation went to talk with the Shoa King in 1840, Krapf acted as interpreter and advisor to Sahela Selassie and was given a silver sword in recognition of his good efforts.^{xi} This acceptance to serve as an interpreter and an adviser had positive implications for Christian/theological education to the local people in that he was taken seriously. Because of this, he was able to propagate his teachings easily as he was widely accepted in the locality. In his discourses, he married Christian/theological education with secular education without causing tension or problems because “his education” was regarded as a necessity in the light of his advisory and interpretative roles.

Raising missionary enthusiasm in Europe through publications

Another important methodology that Ludwig Krapf used in the education mission of his Protestant ministry was publications. For example: After leaving the Church Mission Society (read Anglican Church) in 1853, Krapf returned to Europe. Although he had achieved a lot (as noted above), he had managed to baptise only two persons, his first child and a dying cripple person named Mringe. He could also boast of Abbe Gunja, a Giriama outcast, who remained a faithful disciple.^{xii}

In Europe, Krapf wrote his famous book *Travels, researches and missionary labours*, which inspired the Methodist Church to start their work in Kenya. Apart from raising missionary enthusiasm, especially among the Protestants in Europe, Krapf offered to help the Methodists in the earlier stages of their work. How did he do this? In 1862 Krapf returned to Mombasa to help Thomas Wakefield, the first missionary of the United Methodists Free Church, to establish a mission station at Ribe. Wakefield went on to open various stations, including Ganjoni (Mazeras), Jomvu and Chonyi. The establishment of the mission station at Jomvu in 1878 was a daring venture since it was in the middle of a Muslim community.^{xiii} Coupled with this, the Arab-Swahili slave owners were a constant threat to the existence of a meaningful Christian presence. Nevertheless, Krapf’s publications were instrumental in raising awareness of the East African plight.

Consistency in his dream

Another methodological approach in his mission was that Krapf held fast to his mission dream even when everything seemed lost. For example, even though he had given up the Galla project, he strongly wanted a “chain” of mission stations right across Africa; he cherished the idea of creating a chain of missions between East and West Africa.^{xiii} For him, Mombasa on the East Coast had to be linked with Bishop Adjai Crowther’s work on the West Coast. In this way, the heart of Africa could be reached with the Gospel and the advance of Islam halted. He thought that Fourah Bay College (in Sierra Leone, West Africa), together with Europe, would supply the skilled power.^{xiv} He felt that, for this dream to come true, it was necessary to venture into the interior. Since the CMS seemed to be procrastinating, Krapf encouraged the Methodists to help him realise his dream (which did ultimately happen).^{xiv}

Krapf’s consistency of thought and practice is evident. An example of this is in 1850 when he tried to set up a station in Kambaland and it turned out to be a fiasco. He lost his porters, his money and his goods as a result; had to travel by night and hide by day; and reached the Coast more dead than alive. Powerful chiefs, tyrannical kings and scheming Arab slave traders made further stations in the interior very difficult or impossible.^{xvi} But despite this discouraging scenario, Krapf soldiered on! Furthermore, after he raised awareness about the East African Coast, Rev. Johannes Rebmann from Württemberg in Germany joined Krapf in 1846. He and Rebmann unconsciously became the “fathers” of modern-day attempts at indigenising Christianity in Africa when they began their work in African languages. Rebmann revised Krapf’s Swahili translations, while Krapf translated John, Luke, Romans and Ephesians into Nyika, the language of the Wanyika. In 1848 Luke, the Heidelberg Catechism and a reading book in Nyika were printed in Bombay, India.^{xvii} Jacob Erhardt soon joined them in 1849. Krapf’s work with his colleagues did not change his dream of “going into the interior” of East Africa to educate people about the Gospel of Christ. Although this was bitterly opposed by his colleague

Rebmann, his dream remained.^{xlviii} As a result of their differences, Krapf and Rebmann later travelled separately into the interior and became the first Europeans to see the snow-capped peaks of Mount Kilimanjaro (Rebmann) and Mount Kenya (Krapf).^{xlix} Such difficulties did not affect Krapf's missionary agenda negatively.

Before he was sent to Africa, Krapf knew that whenever the CMS sent missionaries to tropical Africa, they either died within a few months of their arrival due to tropical diseases like malaria (or for other reasons), returned home ill or did not dare to travel. At one stage, Krapf himself had to return to Europe for health reasons and only went back to East Africa at the end of 1854. However, he did not allow his dream to turn into a nightmare. One of his other ambitious projects, apart from the Galla mission (which he reluctantly abandoned after facing the reality that it was highly exaggerated), was to build another "chain" of mission stations in Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia – the Apostles' Road, a series of 12 mission stations that ran from Cairo to Gondar in Abyssinia and were staffed by craftsmen.¹ Reportedly, a Galla girl played a part in developing these plans. She had been taken back to Europe by a German nobleman and baptised as Pauline Fatme. She came in contact with Christian Friedrich Spittler, one of the founders of Basel Mission. On her deathbed, at 27, she vowed that the Gospel should be taken to the Galla.^{li}

Another point of interest is that upon his return to Germany in 1855 because he was ill and after his subsequent rest at Kornthal in Württemberg, he was still optimistic about the "chain" he still hoped would be established between East Africa and West Africa. He was also optimistic about the Apostles' Road from the north to the south. His consistency of thought and practice was therefore instrumental in his success.

As Ype Schaaf notes, Krapf remained active until his death in 1881. In 1866, despite his advanced age and health, he helped the Ethiopian Debera Matteos to prepare the four Gospels in Tigre for the press. He also worked on editions of the Bible in Amharic and Ge'ez. In 1870 he prepared Luke in Galla with the help of a Galla named Roof and an Ethiopian named Debera Sanab; in 1872 Genesis was published in Galla.^{lii} Clearly, Johannes Ludwig Krapf was a Christian educator who used his linguistic skill to enhance his work. He was a devoted Swabian from Württemberg (Germany) and although he had weak health, he had immense endurance.

Working closer with the local people

Unlike the Portuguese Catholics (noted above), most Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth century, chose to get as close as possible to the African conditions of life through hose-based evangelism. According to oral history, as Krapf was penetrating the interior, Chief Kivoi of Ukambani accompanied him. When he saw a snow-capped mountain in Central Kenya, he asked Kivoi: "What is the name of this mountain?" Chief Kivoi answered: "It is Kirinyaga." Due to pronunciation problems, Ludwig Krapf wrote the name of the mountain as "Mt. Kenya". In other words, he anglicised the name of Mt. Kirinyaga to read Mt. Kenya. Since then, the mountain has been referred to as Mt. Kenya – as Krapf called it. The country was renamed after the mountain.^{liii}

Following the example of Krapf, the secret of the success of the Protestant missionaries to East Africa lay in their ability to work closely with the local people. According to research that was conducted by the Provincial Unit of Research of the Anglican Church of Kenya in 1994, the missionaries:

... lived in a house which was only a better type of traditional hut and on a diet similar to that of the local people. They aroused African initiatives in the evangelisation process. The participation of African evangelists and teachers in the study and writing of African languages and in scripture translation shows the extent to which evangelisation [read Christian education] was accomplished by African catechists rather than Europeans. Besides, the early [Protestant] missionaries were entirely dependent upon the Africans for their safety, food and shelter.^{liv}

Thus the nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries' method of identifying themselves with the culture and the religious discourses of the local people, in accordance with the pace Krapf set, was a big plus for Christian education in East Africa. It gained genuine converts to African Christianity. Dr. TWW Crawford is an example of this. Crawford attempted to identify himself with the traditional system of government and in 1910 he sought to join the Embu Council of Elders with the hope of influencing the society from within. As his entrance fee, "he presented the elders with a Bull and there was a great feast".^{lv} This led to the Embu Elders recognising him as one of their own and his "religion" as part of

theirs. They promised him “that they would now insist on all the people keeping God’s Day and attending service, and that he was to be the leading elder (*Muthamaki*)”.^{lvi}

In a letter to Bishop Peel of Mombasa, which covered more than half of present-day East Africa, CRW Lane (a Provincial Commissioner of the then Kenyan Province of British East Africa) wrote about Crawford on 2 December 1912:

Dear Bishop,

It was some years ago that our valued friends, Dr. and Mrs. Crawford, came into this province and established a station in the Fort Hall district [renamed Murang’a], where in the midst of privations and considerable hardships they carried on a work which has earned the gratitude and admiration of every officer in the Province.

The first occasion on which I saw Dr. and Mrs. Crawford in harness was when I was passing their station en route to a camp at Weithaga. The doctor was attending a crowd of natives [referring to Africans], men, women and children, in all stages of sickness. There must have been at least two hundred at the time waiting to be treated. The number I believe was not exceptional. After spending some time at his dispensary and hospital, I visited the school, which was under the care of Mrs. Crawford. I was struck with the discipline which prevailed and the intelligence of the children, which could only have been brought to light by the devotion and the extraordinary patience of the teacher. I only mention this as an example of the good work done by this devoted couple.

After establishing a station in the Fort Hall district and putting it in excellent working order, Dr. and Mrs. Crawford were transferred to the Embu district, there to continue their good work. Their reputations had gone before them, and so they received a hearty welcome from the natives of the Embu district, though these people had only recently been brought under administration and were of a very primitive nature (sic). The confidence of the natives was soon gained, and people from all parts of the district flocked to Dr. Crawford for treatment. Not only did he give his valuable services to the people, but he unhesitatingly placed them at the disposal of the Government, and many serious cases were sent to him for treatment.

The result of their work is very apparent in the number of natives of all ages who now attend the church and school for instruction, and in the good behaviour of the natives living within a radius of some miles from their station. Dr. and Mrs. Crawford have gained the confidence, affection and respect of every official and native with whom they have come in contact.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) C. R. W. LANE^{lvii}

Even if we do not have records of more such flattering letter(s) on Krapf, we have no reason to doubt his rich legacy that shaped and reshaped the succeeding Protestant ministries in East Africa. Certainly, Crawford’s friendly gestures served the missionaries well. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that not all Protestant missionaries identified themselves with the local people. Dr. Crawford and Dr. Krapf were unique examples. Clearly, their gesture conforms to the incarnation model St. Paul sets out in 1 Corinthians 9:22:

To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some.

In other words, St. Paul acknowledged that in order to reach people, the Gospel should be shared with them on their own level of thinking. This agrees with John V Taylor’s observation. In his book *The growth of the church in Buganda*,^{lviii} Taylor states that many Baganda began to respond positively to Christianity when the pioneer missionaries began to “assimilate themselves to social structure and to look less foreign”.

Some challenges at the family level

Krapf's marriage and his problematic return to Ethiopia

At the end of 1841, Ludwig Krapf decided to travel from East Africa (read Ethiopia) to North Africa (read Cairo). On this journey, he wanted to visit Gondar to see what could be done with the new *aboena* or head of the Ethiopian church. He also wanted to pass through Adowa (in Ethiopia) to explore the possibility of making a new start among the Tigre people; get more Bibles into Malta; and, above all, marry the fiancée of a fellow missionary who had died. Laden with presents from King Sahela Selassie, he set out on his travels in March 1842. Within a few months, he reached the East African Coast via Egypt (although he had been robbed of all he had had with him). Upon his arrival in Cairo, he married the Swiss Rosina Dietrich and returned with her to Ethiopia with a consignment of Bibles and New Testaments. Unfortunately, Krapf and Rosina were prevented from returning to Ankobar. Orthodox priests had convinced King Sahela Selassie to forbid entry to the Protestant missionaries because their pupils, basing themselves on the Bible, were criticising the priests too sharply. In addition, King Selassie saw that he could gain greater political advantage from French Catholicism than from the Protestant German from Britain. This unprecedented turn of events made Krapf think of turning his missionary efforts towards the Galla through whom both Ethiopia and the unknown South could be penetrated; however, the proposal was rejected by the sending body, the CMS. He was, however, able to take the Bibles to the Tigre.^{lix}

Death of child and wife Rosina

Even though Krapf was able to recover a number of old Amharic and Ge'ez manuscripts which he had left at Adowa, he did not succeed in establishing a permanent mission in Adowa. Worse still, he encountered bands of robbers who almost turned his efforts to propagate Protestantism into a nightmare. Worst of all, Rosina gave birth to their first born prematurely, somewhere in the bush. Krapf baptised her Eneba, which means "Tear". Sadly, the baby died a few hours later. Ludwig and Rosina buried their Tear under a pile of stones.^{lx} However, even grave set-backs such as these did not stop Krapf from pursuing his Protestant education mission.

As they moved towards Mombasa (Kenya) from Zanzibar via Pemba, Krapf and Rosina (who was pregnant again) contracted malaria. On 5 July 1844, Rosina died. Krapf was too ill to attend her funeral. The baby died 10 days later. Krapf recovered and hard work seemed to have been his remedy for sorrow. He completed not only a grammar book and dictionary, but also the books of Genesis and New Testament in Swahili. In 1850 these books were printed in Tubingen, Germany.^{lxi}

Honouring Ludwig Krapf

Despite the many "tears" he shed as he struggled to propagate Protestant missionary education, the Rev. Ludwig Krapf's efforts were finally recognised when the University of Tubingen in Germany bestowed an honorary doctorate on him. The basis for conferring this doctoral degree was his research into the ancient Ethiopic manuscripts he had collected.

After receiving his doctoral degree, Dr. Krapf and his wife Rosina did not stop there; he travelled in a leaky Arab ship to Zanzibar, the headquarters of Said (Seyyid) Said, the Sultan of Muscat. Even though slavery and slave trade had been officially abolished, Krapf and Rosina were able to see (as they travelled) that it still flourished in secret. They gathered a lot of information about the unknown peoples in the interior. The British and American consuls of Zanzibar pressed Krapf to begin work on the island among freed slaves, but Krapf was still obsessed with his mission to the Galla people. Krapf's objective to convert the Oromo (Galla) was based on his belief that their population was between 6 000 000 and more than 8 000 000, and he would quip "... to my mind, Ormania is the Germany of Africa".^{lxii} As it turned out later, he was mistaken about their number. He was also mistaken about their ability to reach out to others once they were converted to Christianity. Nevertheless, the sultan agreed to allow him travel to the mainland and even wrote a letter recommending him thus:

This letter comes from Sultan Said [Seyyid] Said with greetings to all our subjects, friends and governors. This letter is written to commend Dr. Krapf ... a good man who wishes to convert the world to God. Receive him well and render him every assistance.^{lxiii}

From Zanzibar, Krapf went to Pemba where he settled for a few months before moving on to Mombasa, Kenya; by 1844, he was in Rabai near Mombasa where it can be said that he inaugurated the Protestant movement in East Africa (as we know it today). As noted earlier, the East Coast of Africa had been visited by the Portuguese who did not leave the lasting effect Krapf and his team would later do. Krapf's working methodology as one of the pioneer Protestant Christian educators in East Africa (Kenya in particular) remained the same as it was in the case of Ethiopia. The decision to confer a doctoral degree on him was therefore indeed a befitting honour.

Critiquing Krapf's teaching methodology

Even though, Krapf can be regarded as the pioneer of Christian education in East Africa, he did not found any educational institution/s that are comparable to Fourah Bay College of West Africa or Lovedale in South Africa. Why did he not see a need for this? Or was the environment too hostile for him?

Krapf is reputedly the person who introduced both the Methodist Church and the Anglican Church in East Africa despite their divergent theological positions. What was he up to? Did he have a "mission without borders" or a "mission without clear doctrinal commitment"? This difficulty is further compounded by the fact that he was a German who worked with English missions. Again, since he was a Lutheran, one wonders: Were doctrinal issues not a concern in missionary education? Or was he an unprincipled missionary operator and educator? In my view, Krapf and Rebmann were truly the fathers of modern attempts to indigenise Christianity in Africa. And although this can be contested on the grounds that the general policy of Protestant missions in the nineteenth century was to start with learning indigenous languages and attempting to translate the Bible, one cannot fail to pinpoint Krapf as a far-sighted and extraordinary genius of indigenisation in East Africa and Africa at large.

Certainly, one cannot fail to remember the works of Robert Moffat of Kuruman and his gallant efforts to translate the Bible into Tswana, nor the work of the Scots and the English missionaries in the Eastern Cape who translated the Bible into Xhosa. Nevertheless, Krapf's pioneering work in East Africa remains unique, especially when we consider the methodological considerations that are mentioned above. One wonders: What would have happened if Krapf did not come to East Africa and served from 1837 to 1872? Would the ongoing efforts in African Christianity have succeeded? Would we have been able to talk about the indigenisation and inculturation of Christianity today? Whichever conclusion we arrive at, it is critical to emphasise that having lived for 71 years (1810–1881), Krapf spent half of his life in East Africa (1837–1872) attempting (like the wise builder in Matthew 7) to lay a firm foundation for the future of African Christianity.

Conclusion

This article began by introducing two stages of Christian education in East Africa, bearing in mind that Africa has become the most Christian continent in the twenty-first century. While the first stage of Christian education was begun by the Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries, the second stage was started by Protestant missionaries (who included Johannes Ludwig Krapf of the CMS) and this second stage had a greater impact. Firstly, this article accounted for the phenomenal growth of African Christianity today as an occurrence that can be traced back to the dedication of pioneer missionaries of the nineteenth century, such as Krapf, who sacrificed their lives for the Gospel. Secondly, this article demonstrated that Krapf and other nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries' methodology of identifying themselves with the local people and learning their languages and culture was a big plus for Christian education in East Africa. This also resulted in genuine converts to African Christianity. Thirdly, since Christianity has from its very inception been a teaching religion, it has a future in Africa in terms of its missionary task. This should be exploited for the good of Africa and we should engage in the education mission of the Church with even greater urgency – just as Krapf and other pioneers of the Christian faith on our continent had done.

Krapf's working methodologies were identified in this article as translating the Bible into the local languages; using schools as mediums of Christian/theological education; having an interest in knowing the local people; acting as interpreter and adviser to the King of Shoa; raising missionary enthusiasm in Europe through publications; being consistent with regard to his missionary dream; and working closer with the local people. These were some of the factors that enabled him to succeed in his educational/missionary task. Krapf's methodology contrasts with that of the Portuguese whose immoral conduct showed "how not to be a good agent of Christian/theological education". For Krapf, his

missionary task was educational – a role he played with great distinction. As he introduced the God of Christendom, he also educated people. Certainly, the modern church in Africa has something to learn from this pioneer Protestant missionary and educator.

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Endnotes

- 1 Gwinyai Muzorewa, *The origins and development of African theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1985), 22.
- 2 TA Beetham, *Christianity and the new Africa* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1967), 7-8.
- 3 JNK Mugambi, *African Christian theology: an introduction* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1989), 22.
- 4 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991, 1995), 1.
- 5 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991, 1995), 1.
- 6 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991, 1995), 1.
- 7 John Gray, *Early Portuguese missionaries in East Africa*, (London: Macmillan, 1958), 3.
- 8 See E Axelson, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1600-1700*, (Witwatersrand, 1960).
- 9 Fort Jesus, which became a contested fort between the Arabs and the Portuguese, was completed in 1595. It was built under the architectural instruction of Giobanni Battista Cairati. It was after this fortification of Mombasa that the ruler of Malindi was appointed by the Portuguese to govern Mombasa as well. As a puppet ruler, all decisions were made by the Portuguese; although he was distressed by the uneven political arrangements, there was nothing he could do about it because his hands were already tied by the prevailing situation. It is no wonder that when he died in 1609, the leadership mantle was handed over to his son, Hasan bin Ahmed.
- 10 John Gray, *Early Portuguese missionaries in East Africa*, (London: Macmillan, 1958), 12.
- 11 John Gray, *Early Portuguese missionaries in East Africa*, (London: Macmillan, 1958), 14.
- 12 John Gray, *Early Portuguese missionaries in East Africa*, (London: Macmillan, 1958), 18.
- 13 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991, 1995), 3.
- 14 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991, 1995), 31.
- 15 Zablon Nthamburi, *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in Eastern Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991, 1995), 1ff.
- 16 Zablon Nthamburi, "Mainline Christian churches: a historical survey" 72-83 in JNK Mugambi and Mary N. Getui (eds.), *Religions in Eastern Africa under globalisation* (Nairobi: Acton, 2004), 72.
- 17 Zablon Nthamburi, "Mainline Christian churches: a historical survey," 83 in JNK Mugambi and Mary N Getui (eds.). *Religions in Eastern Africa under globalisation* (Nairobi: Acton, 2004), 73.
- 18 John Karanja, *Founding an African faith* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1999), 153.
- 19 See Zablon Nthamburi, *A history of the Methodist Church in Kenya* (Nairobi: Uzima 1982), 17ff.
- 20 See WB Anderson, *The church in East Africa 1840-1974* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1988), 5.
- 21 See Church (Anglican) pocket book and diary 2003.
- 22 It is critical to appreciate that the Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799 by the Eclectic Society, which was a small association of evangelical clergymen and laymen in England, with the sole purpose of promoting missions to Africa and the East. With slavery and the slave trade being the principal link between Christendom and the Dark Continent, the CMS wanted to link Africa and Europe with the Gospel because the interior was unknown. Indeed, East African slave trade, largely in Arab hands, was expanding during the period when mission work started. Equally, West Africa was the bloodstained coast where English traders still carried on their accursed traffic in slaves. On another note, most nineteenth-century missionaries were conservative evangelicals or fundamentalists who were deeply concerned about personal conviction. To this end, their theology was basically individualistic, selective, biased, pietistic, unreflective and, to an extent, ethnocentric. The fact that it was ethnocentric can be seen in that it did not have room for cultures outside the British territories. It was prompted by factors such as reacting against the age of Enlightenment, which was seen as an age of no faith and of atheism, deism, rationalism, secularism, doubting, scepticism and excessive materialism. Whatever their weaknesses, the nineteenth-century missionaries (starting with Krapf) were instrumental in the birth of Protestant theological education in East Africa as we know it today. For details, see Julius Gathogo, "The quest for religious freedom in Kenya (1887-1963)" *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, South Africa, XXXIV (1), July 2008.

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- 23 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 69.
- 24 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 69.
- 25 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 42.
- 26 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 72.
- 27 For details, see Rabai to Mumias: a short history of Church of the Province of Kenya 1844-1944 (Nairobi: Uzima, 1994), 1-17.
- 28 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 70.
- 29 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 73.
- 30 "The Christian Mission in Africa," *International Missionary Council*, 1926, 26.
- 31 "The Christian Mission in Africa," *International Missionary Council*, 1926, 32.
- 32 Zablon Nthamburi, *A history of the Methodist Church in Kenya* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1982), 128.
- 33 For details, see Graham Duncan, "The prehistory of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa: a study in ecumenical ancestry," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Volume XXXII (2), 69-97.
- 34 Zablon Nthamburi, *A history of the Methodist Church in Kenya* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1982), 100.
- 35 Godfrey Muriuki, *A history of the Kikuyu, 1500-1900* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), 178ff.
- 36 Zablon Nthamburi, *A history of the Methodist Church in Kenya* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1982), 105.
- 37 John Paul II in Joseph K. (ed.), *Communicating the Gospel message*, (AMECEA: Gaba, 1992), 7.
- 38 Which literally means "stupid draft translation".
- 39 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 70.
- 40 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 70.
- 41 Zablon Nthamburi, *A history of the Methodist Church in Kenya* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1982), 12.
- 42 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," in Zablon Nthamburi (ed.) 1995. *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in East Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1995), 9.
- 43 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya," in Zablon Nthamburi (ed.) 1995. *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in East Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1995), 8.
- 44 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 72.
- 45 Zablon Nthamburi, *A history of the Methodist Church in Kenya*, (Nairobi: Uzima, 1982), 17.
- 46 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 72.
- 47 Zablon Nthamburi, "The beginning and development of Christianity in Kenya" in Zablon Nthamburi (ed.) 1995. *From mission to church: a handbook of Christianity in East Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1995), 8.
- 48 See Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, London, 1899-1916, (Vol. 3), 58.
- 49 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 72.
- 50 The first chain of mission stations was the one where he envisaged to link Mombasa on the East Coast with Crowther's work on the West Coast. In doing this, he hoped to conquer Islam.
- 51 Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 73.
- 52 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 73.
- 53 For details, see CG Richards, 1973, *Johann Ludwig Krapf: missionary, explorer and Africanist* (Nairobi: German Embassy), 52-54.
- 54 Provincial Unit of Research, Church of the Province of Kenya, *Rabai to Mumias: a short history of the Church of the Province of Kenya 1844 to 1994* (Nairobi: Uzima), 8.

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- 55 John Karanja, *Founding an African faith*, (Nairobi: Uzima, 1999), 72.
- 56 John Karanja, *Founding an African faith*, (Nairobi: Uzima, 1999), 72.
- 57 See
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- 58 John V Taylor, *The growth of the Church in Buganda*, (London: CSM Press, 1958), 43.
- 59 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 71.
- 60 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 71.
- 61 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 71.
- 62 JL Krapf, *Travels, research and missionary labours*. 2nd ed. (Cass, London, 1968), 122.
- 63 See Ype Schaaf, *On their way rejoicing: the history and role of the Bible in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2002), 72.