

# Central Kenya Conference

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Central Kenya Conference is a part of East Kenya Union Conference in the East-Central Africa Division of Seventh-day Adventists.

## Introductory Background

The Central Kenya Conference of Seventh-day Adventists is currently headquartered at Karura along Limuru Road in Nairobi County, right on the border with Kiambu County. Karura is the traditional birthplace of the Seventh-day Adventist work in Central and Eastern Kenya which commenced with the work of Walter W. Armstrong in 1933. Armstrong (1895-1970) was appointed the first superintendent of the Central Kenya Mission. Prior to coming to Nairobi, Armstrong was in charge of the Kenya Mission which, at that time, was based in Nyanjwa in Kisii.<sup>1</sup> After a frustrating search for land in various places in Kikuyu Country, the Karura property was secured from the trustees of a deceased settler farmer, and it was just six miles outside Nairobi.<sup>2</sup> Across the fence was Gachie Village, making Karura, which name came from a nearby river, the perfect place to launch into the vast territory.

Officially, the territory of the Central Kenya Mission covered the “Kikuyu and Ukamba provinces, and that portion of the Northern Frontier province lying north of the equator.”<sup>3</sup> This was basically the rest of Kenya other than South Nyanza where the Adventist faith had been introduced back in 1906. To cover this vast territory, Armstrong was assisted by three evangelists from Gendia, namely Jeremiah Oigo, E. Owino, and Mordecai Ating’a.<sup>4</sup> He dispatched Jeremiah Oigo to Kamba County in Eastern Kenya, remaining with the other two to tackle the densely inhabited Kikuyu country.

Oigo endured great hardships to establish the Gospel work among the Kamba, who did not trust people from other communities. Thinking of him as a spy for the colonial government, they offered very little assistance, if at all. He sometimes slept in a filthy chicken house, sometimes in grain baskets, or even on the roadside in the open, and almost always without food.<sup>5</sup> Ating’a and Owino also endured great difficulties, including severe illness, one of them coming down with tick fever after sleeping in a tick-infested hut.<sup>6</sup>

Armstrong himself was often ill, sometimes for months, and he even had to leave Kenya to recuperate in England. On hand to help when Armstrong was indisposed was Pr. Spencer G. Maxwell, the superintendent of the East Africa Union (EAU), who made all the administrative decisions for the new mission. In fact, part of the decision to move the offices of the EAU from Nakuru to Nairobi in 1937 was partially informed by the issues at Karura. The first meeting of the EAU took place at Karura in March 1937,<sup>7</sup> and this was the start of a very close working relationship between the EAU and CKC.

In 1939, ill health forced Armstrong to return to England permanently.<sup>8</sup> Armstrong had been in Kenya for a total of 19 years, and back in England, he continued in ministry.<sup>9</sup> In his place came H. A. Matthews who continued where Armstrong had left. Armstrong had started a school and built a permanent church by the time he returned to England. Matthews had been in charge of Kanyadoto Mission in South Nyanza,<sup>10</sup> where Armstrong had spent the first eight years of his ministry in Kenya (1920-1928).

Matthews remained at Karura until 1942 when D. M. Swaine took over.<sup>11</sup> Swaine, who had been at Kamagambo before coming to Karura, remained until 1944 when W. C. S. Raitt replaced him. Raitt had been the pioneering missionary at Kenya Coast Mission at Miritini and Changamwe in Mombasa.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, World War II was fully underway, making communication with Europe very difficult. In June 1941, the General Conference made the decision to have the East Africa Union moved from the Northern European Division to the Southern African Division.<sup>13</sup>

## Mission Work in the Lower Eastern Region

As previously stated, Jeremiah Oigo was sent to pioneer the work in the lower Eastern region (Ukambani). On his arrival at Ukambani, he was received by a man named Jonathan Kitaka Sila at his home at Kitooni in Masii.<sup>14</sup> Sila introduced Oigo to his fellow elders Jeremiah Kimuyu, Moses Kyuli, Mulwa Kulanga, John Kithoi Mauta, and Daniel Muasya Ngwili who became the first converts in Kitooni, Masii.<sup>15</sup>

In 1936, Spencer Maxwell, who was then the president of the East Africa Union Mission, arrived to boost the work of Oigo. He joined the elders, and they built a mud church on Mutava Wambua's land with the help of Daniel Muasya Ngwili, Jeremiah Kimuyu, and Joseph Kulanga. In 1939, Mutava Wambua demolished the church when he left the Church, claiming back the land he had donated to the Church.

By this time, Oigo had already identified land at Mutitu where he built yet another church and school. Later in 1944, when W. C. S. Raitt took over the Mission at Karura, he moved to Kitooni and negotiated with Uvaa Ngovi and Kimee Uvaa for land to build another church. They donated land, and members built a church made of bricks and iron sheets which Raitt had brought from Karura. This building is today used as the Grade Four classroom at Kitooni SDA School. Oigo left Kamba County in 1944, and in his place came Paul Mutheke from Nzaini, who was appointed the first local pastor. The Adventist message soon to other parts of lower Eastern:

Mutitu, Mbooni, Musoa, and Kitui, among other areas.<sup>16</sup>

## Developments at Karura

At Karura, Raitt oversaw the expansion of the mission with more reach into Central Kenya. By 1946, Karura Mission had four new schools with nine teachers and three evangelists.<sup>17</sup> By 1949, a new school for girls was ready at Karura in addition to the regular school.<sup>18</sup> Ms. Thea Nielsen took charge of the girls school early in 1950.<sup>19</sup>

Evangelist Parmenas M. Nduki was appointed the head teacher at Karura while Andrew Gathemia Ndiang'ui was in charge of the dispensary at Karura. The dispensary was then closed by the government because of suspicion that Gathemia was treating Mau Mau at night.<sup>20</sup>

Andrew Gathemia had trained at Tumu Tumu as a nurse before he joined the Adventist Church through VOP lessons. After he was baptized, the Church sent him to Kendu to complete his medical training. After the closure of the Dispensary, Gathemia was then placed in charge of the Voice of Prophecy Bible Courses managed from Cape Town, but which became rather popular in Central Kenya.<sup>21</sup> Parmenas Nduki left for the Ciakariga School in January 1950, but he became the radio voice for the Adventist radio program in the state broadcaster.<sup>22</sup> His program was broadcast fortnightly.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, Paul Nyamweya took charge of the work among the Kamba, taking over from Jeremiah Oigo, who returned to the Kenya Mission in Nyanchwa. He was assisted by evangelist James Ndaa Tuna.

At the end of 1952, Raitt left Karura to serve as the Publishing secretary at the Zambesi Union Mission in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).<sup>24</sup> He was also placed in charge of VOP for which Karura had become very well known.

## Formation of the Central Kenya Field

In 1953, the Central Kenya Mission Field (CKMF) was organized. Pr. Robert J. Wieland was the first president of this new field, with Margaret Gwen Clarke serving as the secretary-treasurer.<sup>25</sup> The CKMF became the largest field in all of Kenya, comprising of the entire Kenya colony with the exception of the South Nyanza District and the Maasai province (south of Rift Valley).<sup>26</sup> It had four Mission Stations – Karura in Central Kenya, Chebwai in Broderick Falls (Webuye) Western Kenya, Kenya Coast based in Chagamwe, Mombasa and Kipsigis Mission based in Kabokyek near Kericho.

In 1953, American Ben D. Wheeler from Georgia was appointed the director of the Karura Mission, taking over from Raitt.<sup>27</sup> This appointment came at the height of the Emergency which had been declared on October 20, 1952, following hostilities associated with the nationalist terror group named Mau Mau. The governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, declared the Emergency after violent actions, most notable of them being the murder of

Senior Chief Waruhiu wa Kung'u. The chief was shot dead at close range at Gachie, just across the fence from the Karura Mission plot.<sup>28</sup> Due to the vulnerabilities of European missionaries working in Karura, the Central Kenya Field offices were moved to Simla House on Victoria Street (presently Tom Mboya) in Nairobi's central business district.

The Emergency seriously complicated the Adventist work in Central Kenya. The Mau Mau forced Christians to renounce their faith and take their oath. Many churches were shut down and missionary activity scaled down particularly when they began indiscriminately targeting Europeans, missionaries included. To enhance the work, the Adventist Church turned to the Voice of Prophecy (VOP) Bible correspondence courses, which created a silent yet powerful avenue for evangelism. By 1954, Ben Wheeler had recruited over 500 people of Central Kenya enrolled in Bible courses, one of whom was Margaret Kenyatta, the daughter of incarcerated nationalist leader Jomo Kenyatta.<sup>29</sup> The following year, 1955, the Lesson Quarterly in Kikuyu language was produced at the Advent Press (now Africa Herald Publishing House) at Gendia.<sup>30</sup> Together with the Kiswahili language magazine *Sikiliza*, the Gospel work prospered in Central Kenya despite increasing hostilities.

Seeing the potential of the VOP, the EAU took over the administration of the courses in 1955.<sup>31</sup> By 1957, some 12,144 students had been enrolled, and 1,654 completed the course. At the end of that year, 40 students had been baptized with dozens more being prepared for baptism.<sup>32</sup> The EAU then employed five fulltime VOP follow-up workers in the Central Kenya Field and also had VOP secretaries in each of the Mission Stations.<sup>33</sup>

In 1958, the flagship church at Chalmer's Square, Shauri Moyo, was completed and dedicated. The Central Kenya Field also moved offices from Simla House to Chalmer's Square.<sup>34</sup> The Karura Mission plot was largely inhabited by the school and the local church there. Meanwhile, Central Kenya continued to be impacted by the VOP radio broadcasts, which were aired 32 times in a year. The highlights of the broadcasts were the music, which had been arranged in Kiswahili and professionally recorded by the King's Heralds. People from other denominations were quickly drawn to the VOP radio broadcasts.<sup>35</sup>

Robert Wieland continued in the position until 1962 when Alfred H. Brandt was appointed to replace him. Earl G. Olsen also took over as secretary-treasurer.<sup>36</sup> By this time, the CKF had 28 churches and 2,560 members within the four Mission Stations. At Karura, Fred K. Wangai had taken charge while P. D. Bakker was administrator of the Kenya Coast Field.<sup>37</sup> Zephaniah Oyier was in charge of the Kipsigis Mission while Chebwai remained without a director since the previous one, L. D. Browne, had left.

Brandt served from 1962 to 1964. In 1964, P. D. Bakker took over. Prior to coming to CKF, Bakker had served in the Kenya Coast Mission. The secretary-treasurer remained Ezekiel Erastus Omutamba, who had replaced Olsen. By 1967, the CKM had 45 churches with membership standing at 3,684.<sup>38</sup> In 1968, American F. L. Bell took charge at the CKM. Walter O. Matoya replaced Omutamba as secretary-treasurer. By this time, 10 more churches had been added to the fold, with membership standing at 4,399.<sup>39</sup> Prior to coming to CKF, Bell was the secretary-treasurer of the South Kenya Field.<sup>40</sup>

Bell worked at the CKF for less than a year, leaving in 1969, and Pr. Fred K. Wangai took over. Wangai had been the Mission director at Chebwai in Western Kenya. He became the first African to run the CKF in its 16-year history. Matoya remained the secretary-treasurer. By this time, there were 59 churches with 5,257 members.<sup>41</sup> The following year, Matoya was replaced by F. N. Pottle, who had been the secretary-treasurer of the South Kenya Field in Nyanchwa.<sup>42</sup> On November 26, 1970, Reuben K. Yeri a Giriama from Kenya's Coast took over the CKF from Pr. Wangai.<sup>43</sup> Changes in the EAU saw Wangai appointed the administrative secretary at the Union.<sup>44</sup>

In 1976, Chalmers Square, which had been the home of the CKF from 1953, was renamed Butecho Square in the ongoing "Africanization" which saw many European street and place names changed to African names.<sup>45</sup> In 1977, Elijah Njagi became the executive director, replacing Yeri. By this time, there were 85 churches with a membership of 10,505.<sup>46</sup> In 1979, the CKF moved from Butecho Square to Karura, the traditional birthplace of Adventism in Central Kenya. By this time, the number of churches had risen to 105 and membership now stood at 16,212.<sup>47</sup>

## Creation of the Western Kenya Field

In 1981, the CKF was split to create the Western Kenya Field. This reduced the number of churches in the CKF to 55 and membership by nearly half to 8,431.<sup>48</sup> Pr. Aggrey Juma Kutondo<sup>49</sup> was elected as the first executive director of Western Kenya Field. This new field had no offices, forcing them to operate from his house (he lived near present Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital), hosting the secretary-treasurer (P.K. Obegi) and the receptionist.<sup>50</sup> Kutondo was the former Sabbath School, Stewardship and Development director at the East Africa Union.<sup>51</sup> Later, the office was moved to the Eldoret Central Seventh-day Adventist Church which hosted the office until 1983 before they moved to its own premises in 1984. Meanwhile, in 1982, the global church started the mass evangelistic program known as the "1000 Days of Reaping," which commenced on September 18, 1982, and ended on June 15, 1985.<sup>52</sup> This led to a near doubling of numbers within the period.

The Western Kenya Field remained with the following administrative districts: Baringo, Bungoma, Elgeyo Marakwet, Kakamega, Kericho, Nandi, Olenguruone Division in Nakuru, Trans Nzoia, Turkana, West Pokot, and Uasin Gishu.<sup>53</sup>

## Creation of the Kenya Coast Field

The "1000 Days of Reaping" in 1985 led to tremendous growth of membership across all Fields. This fact, coupled with the vast geographical coverage, made it necessary to reorganize the CKF. In 1986, the Coast Kenya Field was organized to take care of the mission activities in part of Eastern and North Eastern provinces. Reuben Kamundi was elected as the first executive director. They took with them 28 churches and membership of 2,128.<sup>54</sup> The following year, 1987, J. Ngila Kyale took over from Njagi. He had previously served as the Lay Activities director at the EAU. By this time, the CKF membership had risen to 17,095 based in 105 churches.<sup>55</sup> On October

17, 1988, Kyale was elected the EAU president during the Eastern Africa Division year-end meetings held in Nairobi, replacing C.D. Henri.<sup>56</sup>

### Creation of Central Kenya Conference

After the departure of Pastor Kyale, the CKF remained without an executive director. After a while, Pastor E.E. Njagi returned to his previous position as executive director. In 1988, the CKF made a request to the EAU to consider the reorganization including its boundaries.<sup>57</sup> In 1989, the CKF finally attained Conference status 36 years after it was first organized. The CKC became only the second Conference in Kenya after the South Kenya Conference, which had been organized in 1981. The CKC now comprised of the following government administrative districts: Isiolo, Kajiado, Laikipia, Marsabit, Nakuru, and Samburu while the administrative provinces were: Central, Eastern, Nairobi, and parts of Rift Valley. These government administrative units changed to counties after the promulgation of the Constitution Kenya in 2010.

After the creation of counties, the CKC presently comprises of 16 counties in Kenya covering a geographical area that has close to 50 percent of Kenya's land mass.<sup>58</sup> The counties in there are: 1. Nairobi, 2. Kiambu, 3. Machakos, 4. Makueni, 5. Kitui, 6. Muranga, 7. Nyeri, 8. Meru. 9. Kirinyaga, 10, Embu. 11. Tharaka Nithi, 12. Samburu 13. Marsabit, 14. Isiolo, 15. Wajir, and 16. Mandera.<sup>59</sup>

## Current Territory and Statistics

Central Kenya Conference's membership as of this writing stands at 144,690 members, 1,216 churches, and 231 pastors<sup>60</sup> drawn from diverse political and religious background serving in different pastoral districts. The pastors here refer to "...those pastors appointed by the conference to oversee the affairs of the local church or district."<sup>61</sup> The current membership, pastors, and churches are drawn from the four administrative units of the Church that constitutes the huge conference.

1. After the realignment, the Central Kenya Conference now hosts a national population of about 6,994,058 per the last (2019) census<sup>62</sup> and a membership of 37,984, 50 pastors, 237 churches, and 426 Companies. The Conference covers part of the following counties: Kiambu, Murang'a and Nyeri, part of Laikipia, Nairobi and Nyandarua.
2. The East Nairobi Field (ENF) realigned from the Central Kenya Conference will have its headquarters in Syokimau in Machakos County, which constitutes Kitui, Machakos, Makueni, and Part of Nairobi counties respectively. ENF has a population of about 3,883,112, with SDA members numbering 43,555, 69 pastors, 296 churches, and 390 companies.

3. South Nairobi Kajiado Field (SNKF), the second entity from CKC, will have its headquarters in Rongai in the pastor's house that was improved. It will host the three officers, the departmental directors and the office secretaries. This territory covers part of Nairobi, Machakos, and all of Kajiado County. SNKF has a population of about 2,044,760 with 17,818 SDA Church members, 26 pastors, 144 churches, and 155 companies.
4. The third entity is North East Kenya Field (NEKF), with its headquarters in Meru County. Its territory extends through Embu/Mbere, Kirinyaga, Isiolo, Marsabit, Meru, and Tharaka Nithi counties. It has a population of about 3,200,363 and 22,669 members, 50 pastors, 317 churches, and 237 companies.

## Further developments at the CKC

In 2013, the membership of CKC had grown, and the Executive Committee requested the Kenya Union Mission (KUM) to consider reorganizing the Nakuru Station into a Conference.<sup>63</sup> Six years later, Central Kenya Conference made another request to East-Central Africa Division to reconsider realigning the Conference into four entities: Central Kenya Conference, East Nairobi Field, South Nairobi Kajiado Field, and North East Kenya Field. The process was initiated by the Central Kenya Conference Executive Committee through East Kenya Union Conference to the East-Central Africa Division.

## Crisis at the CKC

In 2019, the CKC made news locally and internationally when a group known as the Nairobi Cosmopolitan Conference (NCC) challenged the predominance of the CKC in the geographical territory.<sup>64</sup> Trouble began during the CKC Quinquennial elections of 2015, which did not go according to the plan of certain individuals who had contested certain positions. Their candidature or that of preferred candidates did not bring the desired outcome, prompting accusations of bias in the choice of delegates. Delegates had been selected in the usual manner, and the Conference defended itself by saying that it had no direct control of the process which is carried out in the local church.

They then formed a parallel Conference using the Church's official logo in their letterhead and documents, and they began an affiliation drive, causing lots of confusion in many churches. They publicly accused the CKC of corruption, nepotism, and tribalism, accusations that were carefully debunked but not before they had caused lots of embarrassment to the Church. Efforts to have conciliatory dialogue with the protagonists fell through. It then became necessary to separate them from the Church, but the process to disfellowship them from the Nairobi Central Church by the church pastor caused a fiasco in the mainstream and social media, culminating in the closure of that church at the start of the Campmeeting 2019.<sup>65</sup> When they were eventually disfellowshipped, they moved to form new congregations while trying to convert existing ones into their organization.



Prior to that, they had lost the court battles against the Church including one brought against them for using the Church's official logo in their documents without permission. The initial excitement about the NCC eventually died down. The CKC has since formed three new fields - the East Nairobi Field, South Nairobi Kajiado Field, and the North East Kenya Fields.

## List of Presidents

The Field presidents who have served are as follows: Robert J. Weiland (1953-1961); A. H. Brandt (1962-1963); P. D. Bakker (1964-1968); Dr. Fredrick K. Wangai (1969-1970); Reuben K. Yeri (1971-1977); and Conference Presidents: Dr. Elijah E. Njagi (1977-1986 and 1989-1991); Joseph N. Kyale (1986-1988); Festus Njagi (1991-1995); Francis N. Njoroge (1995-1997); Paul M. Muasya (1997-2000); Dr. John G. Macharia (2000-2005); Peter M. Ndeto (2005-2010); Franklin N. Wariba (2010-2013) and John K. Ngunyi (2014- ).

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### SOURCES

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*The Advent Survey*. December 1, 1933; May 1, 1935; June 1, 1935; April 1, 1937; January 1, 1940; October 1, 1941.

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## NOTES

1. *SDA Yearbook* 1932, 194.
2. *The Advent Survey*, December 1, 1.
3. *SDA Yearbook* 1936, 163.
4. Ibid.
5. *The Advent Survey*, May 1, 1935, 1.
6. *The Advent Survey*, June 1, 1935, 1.
7. *The Advent Survey*, April 1, 1937, 3.
8. *The Advent Survey*, January 1, 1940, 8.
9. In 1946, he became the President of the South England Conference and, in 1950, he became president of the British Union. Again, due to ill-health, he retired in 1958. He passed on to his rest in 1970. (*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 1996).
10. *SDA Yearbook* 1940, 170.
11. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, September 1, 1943, 2.
12. *SDA Yearbook* 1935, 151.
13. *The Advent Survey*, October 1, 1941, 3.
14. The story is narrated on March 6, 2019, by the grandson of the late Jonathan KitakaS ila, Tobias Mumo Kitaka, a Master guide Masii Seventh-day Adventist School Church.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. *SDA Yearbook* 1946, 169.
18. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, December 1, 1949, 6.

19. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, February 15, 1950, 2.
20. Fred K. Wangai, interview by author, Nairobi, May 6, 2021.
21. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, February 15, 1953, 3.
22. Known then as the "African Broadcasting Service," they gave time slots to various denominations to broadcast. The Adventists had their time slot. The ABS later became the Kenya Broadcasting Service before changing their name to the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of Kenya, and then back to the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation today.
23. Ibid.
24. *Southern African Division Outlook*, January 15, 1953, 8.
25. *SDA Yearbook* 1954, 183.
26. Ibid.
27. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, April 1, 1954, 3.
28. Evanson N. Wamagatta, *Controversial Chiefs in Colonial Kenya: The Untold Story of Senior Chief Waruhiu wa Kung'u (1890-1952)*, (Lexington Books, 2016): 140.
29. *ARH*, April 28, 1955, 24.
30. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, September 15, 1956, 6.
31. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, January–March 1959, 42.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. *SDA Yearbook* 1959, 170.
35. *Southern Africa Division Outlook*, January–March 1959, 42.
36. *SDA Yearbook* 1963, 201.
37. Ibid.

38. *SDA Yearbook* 1967, 255.
39. *SDA Yearbook* 1968, 268.
40. *SDA Yearbook* 1967, 264.
41. *SDA Yearbook* 1970, 289.
42. *SDA Yearbook* 1970, 291.
43. *ARH*, Jan. 21, 1971, 20.
44. *SDA Yearbook* 1972, 93.
45. *SDA Yearbook* 1977, 108.
46. *SDA Yearbook* 1978, 110.
47. *SDA Yearbook* 1980, 110.
48. *SDA Yearbook* 1982, 80.
49. Aggrey Juma Kutundo was the first executive director of the WKF, and this was before his appointment as the East African Union, Stewardship, Development, Lay Activities and Sabbath director.
50. Pr. Aggrey Kutondo, interview by author, April 13, 2021.
51. *SDA Yearbook* 1981, 127.
52. *ARH*, August 26, 1982, 1.
53. Minutes 10/81 Territory For Central Kenya and Western Kenya Fields. VOTED: The following territories for both the Central Kenya Field and Western Kenya field.
54. *SDA Yearbook* 1987,65.
55. *SDA Yearbook* 1988, 64.
56. *ARH*, Nov. 10, 1988, 6.

57. Minutes 13/88 Field Boundaries Re-Organization. VOTED: To receive and record the commission's report from EAU recommending CKF to be reorganized with its present boundaries.
58. 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census Volume I: Population by County and Sub-County (accessible online knbs.or.ke)
59. *SDA Yearbook* 2020, 48.
60. Central Kenya Conference, secretary's quarterly report first quarter 2020 submitted to East Kenya Union Conference of Seventh -day Adventist Church.
61. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual*, 19<sup>th</sup> Edition, Revised 2015, (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2016), 19.
62. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists retrieved on August 24, 2017. "Office of Archives, Statistics and Research"  
<http://www.adventistdirectory.org/View AdmField .aspx?AdmFieldID=CKCY>.
63. Minutes 1348/13 KKC Realignment/Conference Status. VOTED: To adopt the survey team report from KUM to reorganize Nakuru as Central Rift Valley Conference from Central Kenya Conference.
64. Godfrey K. Sang, "Whose Church: Ethnicity Identity and the Politics of Belonging in the Adventist Church in Kenya" in *Spectrum Magazine*, published online 2019, <https://spectrummagazine.org/> (Part-1-6).
65. Ibid.

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