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Volume 12.1 1993

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Africa Journal Of Evangelical Theology

Consulting Editors:

Dr Tokunboh Adeyemo, AEAM General Secretary, Nairobi, Kenya

Dr. Victor Cole, Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology, Nairobi, Kenya

Dr Titus Kivunzi, Principal, Scott Theological College, Machakos, Kenya

Rev Isaac Simbiri, General Secretary, Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya

Dr Josephat Yego, Deputy Principal (Administration), Jomo Kenyatta University

College of Agriculture and Technology, Kenya

Editorial Committee: Jacob Kibor, Titus Kivunzi, Julius Muthengi, Mark Shaw

Subscription Services: Jeanie Lowery, Christine Mumo

Editorial Assistants: Lois Shaw, Julie Zimmerman

Purpose: AJET is published twice a year by the staff of Scott Theological College, Machakos, Kenya, on behalf of the ACTEA Consortium of Theological Colleges, in order to provide African evangelical theological educators and students with articles and book reviews related to theology and ministry.

Editorial Policy: We welcome previously unpublished articles and book reviews from an evangelical perspective. Material should be typed, with endnotes, and submitted to: The Editor, AJET, PO Box 49, Machakos, Kenya. Please include address on all manuscripts. We regret that manuscripts cannot be returned.

Subscriptions:

Annual rates (rates for three-year subscriptions supplied on request)

Kenya (surface): Ksh 200/=

Africa (airmail): US\$11

Europe (airmail): US\$14

Americas, Far East, Aus/NZ (airmail): US\$16

Back issues per copy: Kenya 50/-; Africa \$5; Europe \$6; USA etc \$7. Orders, renewals, and changes of address should be directed to: AJET Subscriptions, PO Box 49, Machakos, Kenya. Cheques should be made payable to "AJET".

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AJET is indexed in *Religion Index One: Periodicals*, published by the American Theological Library Association, Chicago, available on line in the ATLA Religion Database through BRS Information Technologies (Latham NY), and DIALOG Information Services (Palo Alto CA). AJET is also indexed in *New Testament Abstracts* (Cambridge MA). The opinions expressed in the articles and reviews are those of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors or sponsors.

Keeping Both Eyes: The Value of Church History

An AJET Editorial

A popular Russian proverb warns that “He who dwells on the past loses an eye; But he who forgets the past loses both eyes”. Most of us can readily agree with the point made by the first half of this old proverb. Perhaps we have known leaders or teachers who never had a new idea or seemed to replay the past over and over again at the expense of a meaningful engagement with the present. No thinking African Christian wants to be irrelevant by becoming obsessed with the past.

But be careful to read the last half of the proverb. Those who neglect the past in an attempt to stay “current” suffer a worse fate than those who dwell on the past. To forget the past is to lose both eyes. Rather a severe price to pay for indifference to history but the old adage should be a wake up call to the church in Africa. The lack of interest in African church history in many of our churches and schools is cause for alarm. We are losing our eyesight as we lose our hindsight.

But is the adage to be trusted when it warns us that neglect of the study of history is to run the risk of losing our theological and Biblical vision? What does the adage mean when it says that those who forget the past lose both eyes? Very simply the proverb is reminding us that we can lose our ability to see with understanding. Like an uninformed tourist cruising through a game park with no background in African mammals, the African Christian without an historical consciousness may look at a lot of things in the present but see and understand little. A lack of historical sense in the church can produce a shallowness in our understanding of the Bible, our culture and our own identity as a church today. The Bible has good reasons in mind when it commands us to “be careful not to forget the Lord, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery” (Deut. 6:12). The healthy church joins in the pledge of the psalmist: “I will

remember the deeds of the LORD; yes, I will remember your miracles of long ago" (Psalms 77:11).

What is needed is a generation of leaders in Africa who can use the past creatively without dwelling on the past obsessively. The pastor who hears about the latest cult and links it with the false teachers of previous centuries; the biblical exegete who has combed through the commentators of the past; the apologist who strings his bow with the arrows of historical awareness as part of the defense of the faith—these are the ones who add richness to the church because of their wise use of Church history. Such pastors, apologists and exegetes are needed by the Church in Africa today.

The articles in this issue are aimed at helping African Christians to grow in their awareness of African Church History. Richard Pierard presents us with the story of German missions in East Africa in World War I. James Ndyabahika looks at the East African Revival and offers a positive evaluation of its impact. J.W. Hofmeyer examines the maturing of the Church History Society of Southern Africa—a useful vehicle for increasing the historical awareness of our leaders and churches. Finally, Musa Gaiya shows how useful Church history can be for the African Church by looking at the history of a Bible translation—the Hausa Bible of 1980. Every denomination and language group in Africa would benefit from a better understanding of the history of the translation of the Bible into their vernacular. Such translations may well be the most important factor in the rise of Christianity on this continent in the last two centuries. A number of useful reviews rounds out this particular issue of AJET.

We hope you enjoy this issue. We also hope that while you read these articles you will deepen, if just a little, your awareness of and appreciation for Church history. In so doing you will take one step closer to a two-eyed faith that is relevant without being superficial.

Contributors to this Issue

- Dr Richard Pierard is a Professor of History at Indiana State University in the United States. He is also the Secretary-Treasurer of the Conference on Faith and History, a North American society for Christian historians. He is the author of many books including a recently published survey of Church History from Moody Press.
- Rev. James Ndyabahika is a lecturer in General and African Church History at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. The author of a number of articles, Rev. Ndyabahika is an ordained priest in the Anglican Church of Uganda.
- Dr J.W. Hofmeyr is a professor of Church History at the University of Pretoria in the Republic of South Africa. His articles have appeared in a number of publications. Dr Hofmeyr is also the General Secretary of the Church History Society of Southern Africa. An earlier version of this article was published in June 1991 in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* (Vol. 17, No. i), the journal of the Church History Society of Southern Africa.
- Mr. Musa Gaiya is a lecturer of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos, Nigeria. He is currently completing his PhD in African Church History. The author of many articles, Mr. Gaiya is also an assistant pastor of an ECWA Church in Jos.

Allied Treatment Of Protestant Missionaries In German East Africa In World War I

Dr. Richard V. Pierard

The fate of German missions during and after World War I is a neglected topic in African Church History. Dr. Pierard surveys the work of German missions from 1885 onwards and notes that despite the destructive disruption of war the work of missions continued. Beyond the regrettable treatment suffered at the hands of the Allies by many German missionaries and their African colleagues a spirit of maturity and indigeneity developed in many of the churches founded by German societies. Additionally a new internationalism emerged within protestant missions to oppose the misguided patriotism that threatened the growth of the African church and the integrity of the Gospel.

Most people in the missiological community are aware of the significant work of Protestant missionaries from Great Britain and North America in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands during the nineteenth century, but the story of German involvement is much less known.¹ Actually it reaches back to the year 1706 when two missionaries trained at the center of Pietism in Halle were sent to work in the Danish commercial enclave of Tranquebar in South India. Moreover, the endeavor of the Herrnhut or Moravian Brethren in various parts of the world during this century was the most extensive outreach since that of the Nestorian Christians in Asia between the fifth and twelfth centuries. Under the influence of the neo-pietistic *Erweckung* (revival), around ten different German Protestant mission societies were formed in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Their headquarters were located in various cities, from whence they drew their names, and they appealed to a wide constituency for support. Some were ecumenical (United Church—Lutheran and Reformed), others were confessional Lutheran, and still others (formed later in the century)

were faith missions, that is they sought support from Christians regardless of their church affiliation.

The societies labored in Africa in the Gold Coast, Togo, Cameroon, South Africa, Southwest Africa, and East Africa. There were also noteworthy works in Turkey, the Middle East (Syria, Palestine, and Egypt), North and South India, China, and Indonesia. When Germany entered the ranks of the imperial powers in 1884-85 by proclaiming "protectorates" over Southwest Africa, Togo, Cameroon, Tanganyika, and a number of places in the South Pacific, the mission boards expanded and/or redirected their efforts toward their country's new overseas possessions. At the same time, several more societies were created (the total reached thirty) while the amount of workers multiplied. In 1885 an umbrella organization was formed, the Standing Committee of German Protestant Missions, which worked behind the scenes to deal with the government on missionary matters and to mediate differences between the societies. In 1911 the 1,417 German workers comprised 6.7% of the total Protestant force from Britain, Europe, and North America that were engaged in evangelism, church planting, and social ministry in other parts of the world.²

Scholars of German missions have debated extensively just how much of a role the missionaries and their leaders back home played in advancing colonialism, but space precludes any substantive discussion of this.³ For example, was missionization automatically the concomitant of colonization? What did missionaries mean when they talked about the "spiritual conquest" of the German colonies? How did missions distinguish between "evangelization" and "civilization?" Did the missionaries' educational program lead to the goal of "discipline, authority, and subordination?"

Regardless of how one may respond to these issues, it is clear that after thirty years of imperial rule mission works in the German overseas possessions were thriving. In addition, the colonies in many respects had become "closed markets." Although in most locales missionaries from British and American boards continued to operate already existing stations, few were able to open new ones.

War Comes to the Colonies

On August 5, 1914, the day after the British entry into the European conflict, the decision was made to launch military operations against the German overseas territories.⁴ This was allegedly to protect British seapower by eliminating the German system of colonial communications (cables and radio transmitters) and

coaling stations that would support naval operations and threaten the security of the Dominions. The Germans, however, had expected the implementation of the Berlin Act of 1885's provision which implied that countries holding territories in the central strip of Africa running between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans could proclaim the neutrality of these in event of a European war. The Berlin agreement also provided for free trade, freedom of religion and worship, and special protection for missionaries and explorers in the region.

Unfortunately, such was not to be the case, and the Allies moved swiftly to conquer the German Pacific and African possessions. By October 1914 the Japanese had seized the Kaiowchou enclave in China and the islands north of the equator, the New Zealanders Samoa, and the Australians New Guinea and other Pacific islands. In Africa French and British troops overran Togo in August 1914 and Cameroon in February 1916 and divided the territories between them, the larger parts going to France. After first suppressing an Afrikaner rebellion, South African troops captured German Southwest Africa in July 1915.

The most arduous and dramatic colonial campaign was in East Africa. The German colonial militia, led by the brilliant and resourceful Colonel (later General) Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, tied down a large number of British and colonial troops. The Tanga operation in November 1914, conducted by Indian and other forces from the Empire, was one of the more notable disasters in British military history, and there were tensions between the British and Belgians over the conquest of the northwest region, Rwanda and Burundi. The German units then carried on a guerrilla-style operation in the back country and were chased by a British force five to ten times their size, which by February 1916 was under the command of General J. C. Smuts from South Africa. Although by the end of that year most of German East Africa was under the control of Britain and Belgium and Smuts had left for England, Lettow-Vorbeck moved into Mozambique and conducted a hit-and-run campaign while living off the land. Now pursued by the King's African Rifles, he led his band back into Tanganyika and then advanced into Northern Rhodesia, where on November 25, 1918, two weeks after the Armistice, he surrendered.⁵

Treatment of the Missions

In West Africa, both in the British Gold Coast and the conquered German possessions, missionaries of German nationality were forcibly repatriated and many of the able-bodied men were interned, ostensibly to insure that they did not

eventually end up in their country's army back in Europe. A similar policy was followed in Egypt, India, and the Pacific islands. In Southwest Africa, however, they were allowed to continue their work. This was also the case, with some exceptions, in the Union of South Africa, China, Japan, and the Dutch East Indies. In East Africa the picture was more complicated because of the effective resistance put up by the German forces. Here six Protestant societies were active—the Moravian, Berlin, Leipzig, Breklum (Schleswig-Holstein), Neukirchen, and Bethel missions. The German Seventh-day Adventists also had a small work on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. Of the three Roman Catholic orders working there, only the Benedictine fathers of St. Ottilien were German in origin.⁶ The Black Fathers (Congregation of the Holy Spirit) and the White Fathers (Society of Missionaries of Africa) were both French orders.

The Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society which ministered among the Chagga people in the foothills of Kilimanjaro had a staff of 29 missionaries working in 16 stations. All of these were soon behind the British lines. Many of the males of military service age were conscripted into the German militia and eventually ended up in prisoner-of-war camps, but a few were allowed to continue their labors down to the end of the war and were repatriated in 1920. The number of active stations steadily decreased as workers were removed or subjected to severe restriction of movement. Throughout the war they were unable to receive financial support from the homeland, but Lutherans in the United States did send some help.

The Bethel Mission's work in the Rwanda area south of Lake Victoria continued undisturbed until spring 1916 when Belgian forces moved into the area and the missionaries were repatriated. However, the mission's other field in Usambara remained more or less operational throughout the war, but many of its workers had been drafted into the German forces and in 1917 the British interned all males under the age of 45. The Breklum and Neukirchen stations in Burundi were also abandoned at this time, but in 1917 the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) assumed the care of a Bethel station as Bukoba on the western shore of Lake Victoria.

In the Southern Highlands, the Lutheran Berlin Mission and the Moravians had thriving educational works. After the outbreak of war, many of the missionaries provisioned the German troops, and some even smuggled propaganda across the border into Nyasaland to foment African unrest. The latter came to a head in the celebrated John Chilembwe uprising in 1915. The following year the Allies subjected German East Africa to a three-sided

coordinated attack—Smuts from the north, the Belgians from the west, and General Edward Northey from the southwest. When Northey's forces occupied the region between Lakes Nyasa and Rukwi where the German works were clustered, they rounded up the missionaries and transported them to Blantyre. After this, the men were separated and sent to detention camps in Tanga, Mombasa, and Egypt, while the women and children were taken to South Africa. Many of the indigenous Christians continued to perform ministerial functions, but conditions among the Africans deteriorated as European demands for labor service increased. The Scottish missionaries in Nyasaland, both the Church of Scotland's Blantyre Mission and the United Free Church's Livingstonia Mission, together with the Anglican Universities Mission to Central Africa, then occupied the war zone. In the early postwar years they rebuilt the shattered mission enterprises.⁹

Other mission works, for example, the Berlin operations in Dar es Salaam and the region west of the capital and the Moravian field at Urambo northwest of Tabora, were also dislocated. The Berlin missionaries at all but one station were imprisoned, while the Moravian workers were interned by the Belgians in 1917, removed through the Belgian Congo, and repatriated later that year.¹⁰

It should not be forgotten that early in the war the Germans themselves arrested British missionaries and exploited their African converts for labor and portorage. CMS and UMCA missionaries had already initiated enterprises in Tanganyika before the German takeover in 1885, and those who were working in districts under German military control experienced significant losses until British forces occupied these areas.

Emergence of African Leadership

One of the most unfortunate by-products of the war was that African Christians suffered at the hands of both sides. They were forced to work as carriers and laborers, while the staffs of schools and churches were often interned. Many of the Christian communities declined or passed out of existence. Traditional religious practices revived in some places and Islam made substantial gains, especially in the north and along the coast.

On the other hand, a number of indigenous Lutheran pastors and other leaders took advantage of the situation to assert themselves. The best-known was Martin Ganisya, who was ordained by the missionaries before they departed and led a noteworthy congregation in Dar es Salaam. In Usambara a group of seven

“shepherds” was named to run the Shambaa church during the missionaries’ absence. Lutheran teachers in the Kilimanjaro region labored unpaid for six years and their endeavor thrived.

Another example was a Haya man, Andrea Kadjerero. He was baptized by the Anglicans in Uganda in 1906 and then worked with the German missionaries in Bukoba. When they were interned in 1916, Kadjerero secured Anglican assistance for the work together with a group of African lay leaders. Since he had also learned some rudiments of medical care, he combined the preaching of the Gospel with care of the sick. Kadjerero regarded the Evangelical Church in Bukoba as very much the work of his fellow catechists and leaders, and in 1929 he became the first African pastor in this mission church.¹¹

In the Bethel Mission in Tanga Province Luka Jang’andu essentially carried on the work when most of the missionaries were forced to leave. In 1921 the remaining ones, who had been looking after mental patients, were expelled, but before departing they ordained Jang’andu and six others who had essentially been doing the work of pastors during this time. When the missionaries returned, they found it difficult if not impossible to restore the authority they once exercised over the African leaders.¹² The indigenous church principle had taken root in Mandatory Tanganyika, and after World War II the Lutheran church in Tanzania would become a thriving institution.

The Internment of Missionaries

The major British internment camp was at Ahmednagar in India.¹³ Although intended for civilians of German nationality who lived in India, many of the East African missionaries were taken there as well or to the other Indian camp at Belgaum. The men of military age were segregated from the older ones and placed in a “prisoner of war” compound, and family units were often separated. In 1916 the *Golconda*, a small and antiquated steamer, made two harrowing voyages to Europe repatriating women, children, and aged civilians from India.

Typical of the experiences which the East Africa missionaries underwent was that of the senior Leipzig worker, Johannes Hofmann. He had first gone to Africa in 1886 and now directed the mission among the Wakamba in southern Kenya.¹⁴ On August 14, 1914, the district commissioner informed him that Great Britain was now at war with Germany but he would be left undisturbed providing he did nothing to aid the enemy of British East Africa’s colonial ruler. (The territory was officially renamed Kenya in 1920.) Hofmann replied: “Being a minister of

religion in this country and therefore under the obligation to teach the people loyalty to their government, I would not regard it as in keeping with my position to do anything which is harmful to this country and I pledge not to do so." On September 4 the D.C. instructed Hofmann that he might not leave the district without his permission, must not attempt to communicate with "the enemies of England," and was to channel all correspondence to the German mission society through his office. The missionary dutifully responded: "I beg to affirm that I shall be fully obedient to these orders and to assure you that even without this warning I would not have acted against them."

Still feeling secure in his position, Hofmann on November 2 wrote J.H. Oldham in London, who had just offered the help of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland to the German boards in order to sustain the international fellowship and cooperation that had begun at the Edinburgh conference in 1910:

We enjoy the confidence of the Government, which we have always wished to justify, and so the declaration of the missionaries, that they should not in any way assist the enemies of the country in which we reside, nor give any information to the same, or leave our District without permission, has been considered by the authorities as sufficient guarantees for our proper behaviour.

Their only hardship was an inability to get letters through to the home committee in Leipzig. He asked Oldham to tell the board how they were doing and there was no possibility of communication with their colleagues across the border in German East Africa.¹⁵

In spite of these assurances of loyalty, the British authorities abruptly expelled Hofmann from the territory on December 2 and transported him to India. Since he was over 45 in age, he was placed in the civil detainees camp at Ahmednagar and some months later was moved to Belgaum where he was named pastor ("chaplain for the evangelical inmates") of the camp. In a valiant effort to preserve the work, he wrote to the field director of the Africa Inland Mission requesting that one of its missionaries in the Machakos district "pay a visit to our people and give them some spiritual help and comfort from time to time." The AIM acceded to his wishes and sent a few people there. The Leipzig Mission offered to sell the property to the AIM, but the British government forbade any

negotiations and instead confiscated it and auctioned off the movable assets. Eventually the AIM did take possession of the station.

The Moravian Archives in Herrnhut contain numerous letters from interned missionaries and reports of their treatment that were submitted later. For instance, at the outbreak of the war the Nyasa mission had fourteen (male) missionaries, four non-ordained "brethren," and one nurse on its staff. Four of them were drafted into the German forces and the others were deported in June 1916. One man died of wounds in a military hospital and another of disease while en route to internment. As mentioned earlier, the women and children went to South Africa and were housed in a facility near Bloemfontein until their repatriation in 1919. The final destination of the men was Egypt, and they did not return to Germany until fall 1919.¹⁶

Traugott Bachmann, a veteran of over two decades of service in the Nyasa mission, prepared a lengthy report of his 42-month confinement which clearly reflected the bitterness that had developed between the Christian communities of the warring nations.¹⁷ He told of Dr. James Hetherwick of the Scottish Blantyre Mission who, when he met with the interned missionaries, was "cold, stuffy, and hardly opened his mouth." When he gave a sermon referring to the Germans as "Huns," Bachmann commented that these people were "first Englishmen only then were they Christians." He then lamented that upon their removal to Mombasa no Protestant Christian or missionary visited the group, although the Catholics cared for their fellow believers.

Finally, he was taken to Egypt where in the Tura military camp the captives endured "abominable" conditions and the English commandant said "the missionaries are the most dangerous of all the people." He then was put in the civilian camp at Sidi Bishr where conditions apparently were better. He described how he had come to "hate" the English and said that if he were a man of God like in olden times, he would have called down fire from heaven upon them. After expounding at length on the evils of English mission policy, Bachmann affirmed that his experiences of mistreatment had made him a patriotic German. God would use this humiliation to enable the Germans to do great deeds of service for him and others. "We will first be nationalists, that is care for our own people and then we will be true, not credulous, internationalists who will serve our neighbors."

On the other hand, the German missionaries suffered from a nationalistic outlook of their own. To cite one example, in May 1915 the German Colonial Secretary Wilhelm Solf sent a telegram to Herrnhut congratulating the society on

the twenty-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the first Moravian missionaries in Dar es Salaam and praised them for being “courageous and indefatigable champions” (*Vorkämpfer*) for Christian convictions and German *Kultur*. Both the directors of the Moravian church and mission society co-signed a response expressing joy that after more than 150 years of missionary work in all parts of the world, “we were able to direct our efforts to the natives of our own German colonies.” They were “confident that the foundational work of German colonization and missions during the last generation will continue to be blessed, and we commend our beloved fatherland and its colonies, as well as the total work of German missions, to the protection and blessing of God.”¹⁸ The internationalism that supposedly was the hallmark of Protestant missions had been consumed in the fires of war.

The Confiscation of Mission Properties

As the Allies took over the German possessions and expelled or interned the missionaries both there and in their own territories as well, the question of what to do with the mission properties became a critical one. The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh had set forth the vision of a world-wide Protestant Christian community, and through its Continuation Committee headed by John R. Mott, a program to make this a reality was to be developed and implemented.¹⁹ But the outbreak of the World War in 1914 pitted Christians against Christians and shattered the ecumenical dream. A few people like J.H. Oldham sought to uphold the ideal of missionary freedom and render assistance to the “orphaned” German missions, but the tide of public opinion in the Allied countries was running increasingly against this.

Meanwhile, the Germans had become strong exponents of the “supranationality” of missions, the principle that both the Christian church and its missionary enterprise comprised a movement that transcended national boundaries. This phrase came to be used in missionary circles during the war years, but Allied government figures viewed the German mission assets essentially as “alien” property which they intended to keep for themselves. Then the nascent ecumenical movement suffered an apparent mortal blow when the United States entered the war. Oldham and Mott had tried desperately to hold the missionary movement together, but in July 1917 the executives of the German mission agencies publicly repudiated Mott who was a close friend of President Woodrow Wilson.²⁰

Actually, the efforts of Oldham, Mott, and other missionary statesmen to maintain international solidarity were not as futile as it appeared on the surface. When the victorious Allied figures gathered in Paris after the Armistice to draft the peace treaties with their vanquished foes, they had already decided to confiscate all foreign properties belonging to German citizens and use the proceeds from the sale of these to satisfy German debts to nationals of the Allied governments. This action would have meant the total destruction of the German missionary endeavor. However, the British and American mission forces combined efforts to lobby the peace negotiators. Mott, Oldham, and others who had connections in high places worked quietly behind the scenes to persuade the delegates to include a clause protecting mission assets.²¹ The result of their labors was the inclusion of Article 438 in the Treaty of Versailles which stipulated:

Where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present Treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes. [The Allies] will hand over such property to a board of trustees . . . composed of persons holding the faith of the Mission whose property is involved.²²

This essentially preserved the German missionary operations.

The Missionaries Return

With the establishment of the League of Nations mandate in Tanganyika in 1920 all remaining German citizens were expelled; the last ones left in 1922. In accordance with the provisions of Article 438 other mission societies took over the German works—Livingstonia the Moravian and the UMCA the Berlin society's field in southern Tanganyika, the CMS the Bethel Bukoba enterprise, Methodists the Neukirchen work, and American Augustana Lutherans the Leipzig field. In 1922-23 the English CMS saw its resources stretched too thinly and turned over its main work in Tanganyika to the Australian CMS and transferred the Bukoba stations to the South African Wesleyan Methodists. However, the

latter caused so much resentment among the African Christians that the Methodists withdrew in 1927 and the Germans resumed their work in Bukoba.

As passions cooled the old German boards began to reclaim their fields of endeavor and by 1930 they had all returned. Some of the old and new groups even worked alongside one another.²³ Then, the coming of the National Socialists to power in Germany brought a new and even more ominous cloud over the mission enterprise in East Africa, and eventually it would be left destitute as the Nazis banned the export of foreign exchange to provide for missionary work in all the German fields.²⁴

However, this time around, the ecumenical basis of missionary endeavor was stronger. The mistakes of the old nationalism which had so vitiated the enterprise were not to be repeated to such a measure in World War II. Besides, the German works were far weaker than before World War I, and there were no longer any German colonies which were tempting objects of conquest. It was clear that nationalism was the enemy of effective Christian missionary work, and the Protestants now had to learn the lesson which the Roman Catholics already had, that in order to be successful the effort had to be rooted in the people themselves, or to put it in theological terms, it had to be indigenized and contextualized.

NOTES

NB: An earlier version of this essay was presented at the Tenth Annual Pan-African Studies Conference, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana, U.S.A., 16 April 1993.

¹Although an enormous monographic literature on German Protestant missions now exists and it continues to grow steadily, the best historical survey is still the two-volume work by Wilhelm Oehler, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission* (Baden-Baden: Wilhelm Fehrholz, 1949-51).

²Arno Lehmann, "Der deutsche Beitrag," in Gerhard Brennecke, ed., *Weltmission in ökumenischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Evang. Missionsverlag, 1962), 165. In the 1920s the German percentage of Protestant missionaries fell to 2.5% but by 1936 it had risen to 5.6% (1,561). After World War II the proportion remained steady at 2.5%.

³For an introduction to the question see Horst Gründer, *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus 1884-1914* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1982).

⁴The details of the conquest are recounted in William Roger Louis, *Great Britain and German's Lost Colonies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 36-76.

⁵The colorful general's reminiscences, Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, *East African Campaigns* (New York: Robert Speller, 1957; original edition, 1920), make fascinating reading.

⁶J.H. Oldham, "German Missions", *International Review of Missions* 8 (October 1919), 459-78, provides considerable information about the German societies. See also C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958), 4:26-33.

⁷Paul Fleisch, *Hundert Jahre lutherischer Mission* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evang.-luth Mission, 1936), 343-46.

⁸Joachim Wolff, *Das Kreigerleben der deutschen evangelischen Mission* (Tübingen: Privately printed, 1932), 26.

⁹Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 136-46; John McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 221-26.

¹⁰Groves, *Planting of Christianity*, 4:30-32.

¹¹Bengt Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania* (London: C. Hurst, 1980), 25-30; T.O. Ranger, *The African Churches of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), 23.

¹²See the discussion in John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 255-61; and M. Louise Pirouet, "East African Christians and World War I", *Journal of African History* 19:1 (1978), 117-30. Sigvard von Sicard, *The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania* (Lund: Gleerup, 1970), is a helpful introduction to the backgrounds of East African indigeneity. Ranger, *African Churches of Tanzania*, 10, recounts that the

Africans in the church in the Mlalo district of Usambara believed that during the period of wartime control their church had prospered as never before.

¹³Wolff, *Kriegserleben*, 11-12.

¹⁴This account is drawn from the correspondence in the file Afrika, Kamba Mission, Kreisgerlebnisse der Missionare, 1914-18, Leipzig Mission Archives, Leipzig; and the centenary history by Paul Fleisch, *Hundert Jahre lutherische Mission*, 242, 263-65.

¹⁵Joseph H. Oldham (1874-1969) was secretary of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference and the recognized leader of missionary cooperation in Great Britain. Keith Clements is currently preparing the definitive biography of him.

¹⁶Adolf Schulze, *200 Jahre Brüdermission* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1932), 2:625-26.

¹⁷M.D.q.8.2, Nyasa. Moravian Archives, Herrnhut. All quotations are from this document.

¹⁸M.D. D.a.1, Correspondence with the Foreign and Colonial Offices, Moravian Archives, Herrnhut.

¹⁹Mott (1865-1955) was the primary personality in the international missionary enterprise and the emerging ecumenical movement. Founder of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and the World's Student Christian Federation and a top official in the YMCA, he traveled throughout the world promoting Christian cooperation. He was the one most responsible for convening the Edinburgh conference and presided over it. The principle biography is C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott 1865-1955* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).

²⁰This problem is examined in Richard V. Pierard, "John R. Mott and the Rift in the Ecumenical Movement During World War I," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 23 (Fall 1986), 601-20.

²¹W. Richey Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth-Century Background* (New York: Harper, 1952), 184-86.

²²*The Treaties of Peace 1919-1923* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1924), 261.

²³A useful contemporary account of the state of the missionary works in Mandatory Tanganyika is Julius Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future* (London: World Dominion Press, 1934).

²⁴ The economic crisis that threatened German mission with total ruin is described in Arno Lehmann, "Die deutsche Evangelische Mission in der Zeit des Kirchenkampfes," *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* 31 (August 1974), 105-10.

The Revival Movement In Uganda: An Evaluation

Rev. James Ndyabahika

Answering critics of the East Africa Revival the author retells the story of this powerful awakening and examines the theology proclaimed by the Revival Movement in Uganda. He examines the teaching of the movement on Christ, conversion, the Spirit and the Word. He concludes that "critics need to be reminded that the revival movement is the work of God. Since Pentecost, God has been using revivals in spreading Christian renewal throughout the world. In this regard, the Revival Movement is not outmoded in our generation."

Introduction

In recent years, the Revival Movement (also known as the East Africa Revival) has been attacked from many quarters. Psychologists have directed their criticism at it saying that it employs emotional and brain-washing tactics; Liberal theologians have condemned it on the ground that its teaching is superficial and that it emphasizes partial truth; and sociologists have accused it of a social negativism.¹

Although the style of these attacks and accusations seemed harsh and biased they have helped the movement reform some of its less healthy aspects.

Our purpose in this article is to explore four aspects of the Revival movement in Uganda. First we shall briefly look at the historical growth of the Revival Movement that spread through Uganda igniting the country with religious fervour.² Secondly we shall discuss the understanding of Jesus Christ and the cross in the revival movement. The *Balokole* (saved ones)³ that in order to be a Christian, one has to accept Jesus Christ as his or her personal Saviour and this cannot be achieved without a clear understanding of sin, repentance, salvation and daily victorious living.⁴ After repentance, they receive new life and go with new joy and fresh testimonies to tell other people about it. In his own way, Bishop Kibira refers to this new experience when he stresses that the only way to

be saved is to “go back” to the Bible and to the Apostolic faith.⁵ Thirdly, the work of the Holy Spirit and its impact on the Movement will be noted. Finally the centrality of the Bible in the Revival Movement will be explored. This last point is essential to understand the revival for as Dr. Joe Church reported: “The Bibles were used till they fell to pieces.”⁶

The Meaning of Revival

Festo Kivengere, spokesman of the *Balokole* Revival, gave a fitting description when he stated that a revival is not technique. It is a movement that cannot be contained, a renewal within renewal. Revival is an attitude towards the Lord, towards the Bible, towards the fellowship and towards the Spirit.⁷ In terms of changed lives, the *Balokole* have acquired a reputation of high moral character for diligence and honesty.⁸ Byabazaire adds that Revival is a movement of spiritual re-birth within the Church.⁹ When a Church that is slumbering is reawakened, God makes stubborn hearts bow, old things new, kingdoms of darkness are destroyed, and persons of all ages are filled with a new peace.

A Revival is the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the individuals enabling them to renew their commitment to the Lord Jesus Christ who in turn commissions them to witness to their country people and share with them the Pentecost experience they have achieved.

Revival renews true holiness. Nothing sinful can co-exist with God’s people who experience God’s holiness. The emphasis on “holiness” in the Revival Movement originates from the Keswick convention founded in 1875 in Britain in the wake of the Moody Revival.¹⁰ The Keswick Conference became the meeting place for the Evangelicals and its emphasis on Bible Study, evangelism, mission, personal piety and victory over sin had a wide influence not only in Britain but to the world at large. In Britain it represented a profound and clearly identifiable school among the Anglicans. Of this, Stanley has written that it: “implanted in them a hunger for personal holiness and an expectation of revival as a norm which Christians should constantly be seeking to realize.”¹² Commenting on Moody’s teaching, Anderson says:

Moody stressed that a man may be converted immediately, instantaneously. A man needs only to believe in Christ; when he believes in Christ, he can see in the Bible the promise, “whoever calls upon the

name of the Lord shall be saved.” So he is sure he is saved. And automatically there is a revolution in his life. The old habits die away.¹³

The Moody and Keswick teaching took for granted a conservative view of the scripture yet explicitly avoided any controversy. Today, the Keswick tradition continues in Uganda at the annual Keswick convention which began here in 1970.¹⁴

In summary the true marks of revival include: 1) an awareness of God’s presence; 2) a new knowledge of the truth of the gospel; 3) a profound awareness of sin leading to deeper repentance and heartfelt embrace of the glorified, living and pardoning Christ; and 4) open and honest fellowship between Christians.¹⁵

The above marks of a true revival seem to validate the Revival movement in Uganda. Joe Church, a prominent early leader of the revival, adds that at the beginning it was a lay-led movement endeavouring to restore vitality in the Church.¹⁶ Joe Church was representing a Mission which had little “clerical flavour” and never stressed the sacramental side of worship.¹⁷ In fact, there can be no community movement unless the individuals are revived. In this regard, in revival, there are sets of shared convictions, biblical in character and Christian faith in practice. We can find all these features in the Revival which started in Rwanda before it spread first across Uganda, then into Kenya, Tanzania and other parts of Africa and even the world in the early decades of this century.

Historical Development Of The Revival Movement In Uganda

The *Balokole* Revival is not a sect or an independent church. It is not schismatic or subversive ecclesiastically and politically. It is a church movement operating within the Mainline and Evangelical Churches.¹⁸ A review of the story of the Revival movement helps us to see this clearly.

Between 1875-1892, many people had joined the church but apparently without real commitment. They had become Christians because that was a profitable thing to do. Furthermore, the large influx of new members precluded the kind of individual care and nurturing that was possible in the earlier days when Christian believers were only a handful. Although the Church in Uganda was growing, its spiritual foundation was shallow.²⁰ In this regard, the root of the Revival Movement in Uganda goes back to the days of George Pilkington in the last decade of the 19th century. Pilkington, whose leadership was strongly coloured by the model of D.L. Moody’s revival, was converted while a student at

Cambridge University. Although a very young man he became a devoted and dedicated evangelist.

When he came to Uganda in 1890, Pilkington found much he disliked in the Church. For example, he expected the Baganda Churchgoers to abandon *Waragi* (banana liquor), stealing and other non-Christian habits. He believed the mass movement to Christianity could not survive without a deep work of the Spirit and the true conviction of sin and repentance. His fellow missionaries too, were hard to live with. Pilkington was deeply troubled and was contemplating resigning from the mission field unless some dramatic changes took place. He confessed that he used to absent himself from the prayer meetings held amongst the missionaries.

At the beginning of December 1893, Pilkington felt it necessary to withdraw to seek personal renewal. This came after a period of three years of Bible translation“ when he retired to the island of Kome in Lake Victoria in order to reconsider his vocation and calling.”¹⁹ After a time of prayer, fasting and Bible study, he learnt the great secret of the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit which enabled him to re-dedicate his life to Jesus Christ. Immediately, on his return to Mengo - Kampala, he organised a week-end prayer meeting through which a great Revival broke out.²¹ Pilkington and his fellow missionaries began to put things right. Hundreds of people repented of their sins, they re-dedicated their lives to Jesus, and after being re-baptized by the Holy Spirit, they went out to speak to their neighbours about the saving grace of Jesus Christ. One of the most well known Ugandan evangelists was Apolo Kivebulaya who went as a missionary to Mboga in the present Republic of Zaire.²² Others went to Sudan.²³

By 1910 Revival had spread through Uganda and spilled over into Kenya,²⁴ where it was strong among the Anglicans, the Presbyterians and a few Roman Catholics. The impact of this revival was temporary and localized. Despite the initial impact it had on the Church, by the 1920s there were serious weaknesses to be observed in the Anglican Church in Uganda. Commenting on this, Joe Church writes of how

The crowds of people flocked up to communion on Sunday with no idea what they were doing and how large number of baptised Christians who were going back to Polygamy and witchcraft and to the Worship of evil spirits. Christianity had just become a veneer to cover it all up and in many cases the only difference between pagans and Christians was that the pagans sinned openly and the Christians hid it.²⁵

Many factors contributed to this deterioration. The Protestant Church in Uganda was taken as the established religion. According to historical records in Uganda, the Bishop of the Anglican Church ranked third after the Governor and the Kabaka.²⁶

Anglican baptism followed by education, became the accepted route to social and political advancement. In the context of intense Protestant and Catholic rivalry, the Catholics' policy of mass baptism prompted the Anglican to follow suit and thus accelerated the spread of "too many dummy Christians" throughout Uganda. No matter how peopled lived, baptism was a ticket to heaven.²⁷

Social upheavals also made life very difficult to some people. When the Railway linked Uganda with Kenya, a cash economy substituted the traditional bartering system and people were forced to work. At the beginning, lay evangelists preached the gospel voluntarily. However, as money gripped Uganda, the evangelists began to demand wages saying that "the labourer deserves his wages" (1 Tim. 5:18). Frictions also developed not only between the clergy and the laity, but also among the missionaries over the appointment of Willis as the new Bishop of Uganda.²⁸ When worldliness crept into the Church it brought in spiritual relapse, drunkenness, immorality, concubinage, belief in witchcraft and ancestral worship. Lastly, when the Church passed into the second generation in the late 1920s, the Churches began to show signs of spiritual malnutrition, stagnation and numerical decline.

The endeavour on the part of the church to revive those who had fallen below the standards of true Christianity centered around the need to be "born again." In this regard, most of the critics of the spiritual decline of Anglican Church in Uganda came from Rwanda Mission of Church Missionary Society which came into being in the early 1920s as an attempt to stand as a conservative evangelical group, committed to challenge modernism, formalism and liberal theology. The CMS Missionary in Uganda did not welcome these self-appointed critics of the Church Missionary Society.

It is important to note that the Rwanda Mission differed significantly from the Church Missionary Society. The evangelical group which held the CMS as their missionary society were alarmed at some of the doctrinal loopholes which allowed liberal theology into the mission. After discussion with the CMS, a decision was reached to form the Rwanda Mission within the CMS. Its members were significantly touched by the Keswick convention and its teaching on holiness. Commenting on this, Stanley says:

The Rwanda Mission originated in the aftermath of the controversy which resulted in the secession of a large number of conservative evangelicals from the CMS. The Rwanda Mission was anxious to retain its ties with the CMS, but only on condition that its conservative doctrinal basis was safeguarded. The Mission was satisfied that it had received from CMS 'full guarantees' to safeguard the future of the mission "on Bible, Protestant and Keswick lines."²⁹

The Bible was taken to be supreme in all matters concerning salvation. All missionaries of the Rwanda Mission were loyal to it and they put their whole trust in it. Their theology was Orthodox, Biblical and Christocentric. These were the people who planted the Church in Kigezi - Uganda.

The growth of the *Balokole* ("Saved Ones") Revival Movement in Uganda

The Revival Movement in Uganda is part and parcel of the Movement widely known as the East African Revival whose origin goes back to Gahini - Rwanda, where two co-workers, a European and an African longed to witness in the Church for Jesus Christ. They were soon joined by others for prayers, fasting, Bible study and walking in light; sometimes in small groups and sometimes in fellowship. A person became a member of this movement by accepting Jesus as Lord and Saviour leading to a daily walking in His foot-steps. Assurance of salvation came through a deep religious experience which resulted in spontaneous confession of sins. Expressions such as running, jumping, weeping, trembling and groaning were observed.³⁰

The exact starting time of the movement is not clear. Several sources mention 1928.³¹ others mention 1929, while others take 1930s as the time of the outbreak of the movement.³² Barrett, an ardent friend of the Revival, is of the opinion that since 1927, the Revival Movement has been spreading with power.³³ On this note; Kivengere is right when he says that it spilled over across tribal and national boundaries into all parts of Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Ethiopia.³⁴ Gehman adds that through the revival teams, the brethren preached from place to place the saving message of Jesus Christ and the movement has remained a force within the life of many Christian churches throughout East Africa.³⁵

The movement spread and grew fast before the start of the Second World War in 1939 and after it in 1940s. From Rwanda and Uganda teams of the Revival Movement carried the saving message to a thirsty world: South Africa (1944), Great Britain (1953), France and Switzerland (1953), Israel (1953) and Brazil (1958).³⁶ Those who did not become missionary evangelists carried out their missionary outreach in schools, homes, market places, parks, prisons and other places where people were gathered.

It is significant to note that the Revival Movement which has continued to spread did not become a separate sect. The *Balokole* have remained exemplary Christians within the Church except in some parts of Kenya and Tanzania. In the Anglican Church of Uganda, the credit goes to the great wisdom of Bishop Stuart who prevented an external breaking of the Revival from the Church. The *Balokole* and non-*Balokole* came to recognise and accept the Movement as part and parcel of the Church for the sake of unity. The *Bazukufu* (re-awakened) in Buganda and the Trumpeters or Praisers in West Nile have remained as the “salt” and the “light” within the Anglican Church of Uganda. The use of the metaphor “salt” is not difficult for the *Balokole* to understand. Jesus Christ defined it as one of the main spiritual features of his followers who were commissioned to go into the world to preach the “good news” about the coming of the Kingdom of God. The ability of salt to prevent good things from spoiling and to make them tasty corresponds to the Christian vocation to bring the world to a healthy moral state and to purify it from all evil and decay through works inspired by the Holy Spirit. A Christian who abides in the power of the Holy Spirit possesses a tremendously auspicious and grace-creating energy. Thanks to the “salt” (Matt. 5:13); “light” (Matt. 5:14); “good leaven” (Matt. 13:38); spiritual beauty; truth; and holiness which have penetrated into human society, transforming many souls and making people worthy members of the Church, of their nations and of the world as a whole.

In terms of duration, the Revival Movement continues to this day as a movement of renewal in the Church. Over the years, the movement has given a lead in the creation of African Christian hymns, making use of traditional patterns of singing with a variety of instruments. Although the Movement faced challenges and threats over the years, no doubt it is God’s work. God who started it will, no doubt, bring it to completion.

General characteristics of the *Balokole* Revival

The general characteristics of the *Balokole* Revival are not far from those found in almost all other pietistic movements. The *Balokole* believe that the essence of Christianity consists in a personal relationship of the individual with God. They assert that one should receive personal assurance of salvation through the power of the Holy Spirit. They are against drinking beer, smoking, immodest dress and excessive ornamentation of the body. They emphasize the second birth and the fellowship between those who share such experiences. They believe in the priesthood of all believers. They have created three more distinctive characteristics; repetitive singing in choruses and dancing; public confessions of sin; and giving testimonies wherever they happen to be at any time.³⁷ Another trademark of Revival is “walking in the light” by which is meant both a following of the word of God as well as being transparent to one another. For members of the Revival this was the solution for exposing the deceitfulness and subtle attacks of the devil. Transparency, is a process of constant cleansing in the precious blood of the lamb of God. Ngorogoza gave his correct observation when he stated that some of the people who feared to repent shook until they lost their balance.³⁸

Christ And Conversion In The *Balokole* Revival

Phrases such as “Jesus touched me”, “I have accepted Jesus Christ as my personal Saviour” or “I am saved” are frequently on the lips of the *Balokole* Brethren.³⁹ The Revival Movement attempts to be Biblical and Christocentric in its teaching and preaching (John 3:16, Eph. 2:6-10). It emphasized the descending line that God comes in Jesus Christ and the ascending line that humanity is brought to God by Jesus Christ. Outside observers who are familiar with the Movement have been impressed with its orthodoxy and Christocentric tendencies. Fallers in 1964 observed that the *Balokole* Revival Movement was a Movement “bent upon rescuing the Church from decadence and worldliness.”⁴⁰ God who is holy is uncompromisingly opposed to sin. By sin, people are tainted and alienated from God in time and eternity. However, when they repent, they are restored to the family of God.

The *Balokole* teaching on sin, repentance and public confession offers a spiritual release, powerful enough to enable the people in Uganda to make an uncompromising break with their traditional beliefs and practices. The message

of revival makes it clear that sin could be removed by the blood of Jesus. Concepts such as “Calvary love”, forgiveness and salvation are prominent in their preaching and teaching. These motifs come out more clearly in the Conventions. The Conventions have been the source of great spiritual inspiration for many thousands of Christians. A theme for the Convention is chosen according to the prevailing needs or problems of the country and the preachers centre their messages along the theme. The first three conventions held in Kabale every ten years since 1935 had only one theme, “Jesus Satisfies”, as a statement (1935), as a question mark (1945), and as an exclamation mark (1955).

Let it be stressed that to the *Balokole*, the cross of Christ is a place of humility. Jesus at the cross defeated Satan and met the needs of the world. Jesus on the cross brought mankind back to the depth of the divine milieu. The cross brought reconciliation between people and God and between fellow human beings. “Once we have fully grasped the meaning of the cross, we are no longer in danger of finding life sad and ugly.”⁴¹ In this vein, when Jesus forgives people their sins, he works spiritual changes that lead to good physical effects. The work of Christ also stresses the eschatological hope, namely, the return of the Lord Jesus Christ and the advent of God’s judgement.

Conversion comes through repentance of sins and personal faith in Jesus Christ as a means to personal salvation. Salvation is conceived in spiritual terms as an attainment of eternal life in heaven. Tom Tuma asserts that Salvation was the central teaching in the early periods of the Church in Uganda. This doctrine was understood as the acceptance of Christianity followed, on their death by going to heaven. He went on to say that “Heaven was always contrasted with hell which was said to be the place where the non-Christians would go to be burned by an everlasting fire.”⁴²

While Samuel Kibicho is of the opinion that there is salvation outside of Christ through African Traditional Religion,⁴³ the *Balokole* believe that this is contrary to Biblical teaching. Together with other Evangelicals they emphasize that salvation is not found partly or fully outside Christ.⁴⁴ Salvation in Christ is a gift. God in Christ makes provisions for it.⁴⁵ In this regard, there is no other way to salvation. As Peter puts it: “Salvation is in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved” (Acts 4:12). From the beginning to the end salvation is the work of God’s grace, through Christ. God came to humanity (Jn. 3:10) in order that humanity may be brought to God. It is a primary axiom of the *Balokole* that it is God who saves. In this vein, the prophetic Christ of Islam, the revolutionary Christ of Liberation Theology or the

silent Christ of African Traditional Religion is not recognised as the Saviour of the world.⁴⁶

According to *Balokole* understanding, Salvation means a close relationship with God through Jesus Christ. In Magesa's words: "Salvation is like an open door leading into a room of festivity, or an avenue leading to a garden of fulfillment and contentment."⁴⁷ This is in agreement with the words of our Lord, Jesus Christ who said "I am the door, if any one enters by me he will be saved, and he will go in and out and find pasture" (Jn. 10:9). Understanding salvation as a once for all event contradicts Biblical teaching. Salvation may be understood in a progressive form: salvation as a past event (we were saved), as a present experience (we are being saved) and as an injunction that takes into account the future dimension (we shall be saved). If the past, present and future aspects of salvation are not strongly emphasized, *Balokole* revival is endangered. Salvation goes forward in a growing knowledge of God and enjoyment of his fellowship.⁴⁸ Admittedly, people are saved through Christ alone. Schonherr speaks to the same point when he says, "There is no other way of salvation, no African, Asian, American or European way, because there is no other Saviour beside Christ."⁴⁹ The point is that, the work of Christ can be understood only in the context of creation, fall, incarnation, death, resurrection and consummation (Jn. 1:-4; Jude 24; Lk. 1:26-38; Jn. 24:25-31). Christocentric revival recapitulates these aspects of Christ's life, actualizes the Church and anticipates the Kingdom.

A highly distinctive greeting of the *Balokole* is Christocentric in nature: the opening words of the chorus *Tukutendereza Yesu* (We praise you Jesus). This is faith in and through Jesus Christ. The greeting is usually followed by singing the entire chorus which is always in the Luganda language.

Tukutendereza Yesu (We praise you Jesus)
 Yesu Mwana gwendiga (Jesus the lamb)
 Omusaigwo gunaziza (Thy blood cleanses)
 [or Glory, glory hallelujah, Glory, glory to the lamb]
 Nkwebaza Mulokozi Oh, the cleansing blood
 [I thank you Jesus has reached me].⁵⁰

The *Balokole* have taken this song as their own which is a translation from the English hymn "Precious Saviour, Thou hast saved me." Finally, all the points we have raised cluster together in a single whole in Jesus Christ to tell the gospel story. The gospel has to do with the creation of a good world, its falling away

because of sin, the triumphant destruction of the power of sin and death through the death of Jesus, the re-creation of the world demonstrated by His resurrection and the anticipation of the consummation when the work of Christ will be completed. In a nutshell, this is the gospel that the *Balokole* emphasize, a gospel of substitution for sins and hope for the world. Without Christ, none is right with God and none has the right to come near God (Jn. 1:18). The sinner is made just because of the salvation event on the cross. In light of these, the Cross is the focal point of salvation.

The Holy Spirit In The Revival Movement

Although there has been some excesses in the course of the Revival in Uganda, the following are some of the distinguishing marks of the work of the Holy Spirit which are clearly present and the writer is able to conclude that what was and is taking place is undoubtedly from the Spirit of God.

Revival is the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit on men and women who dedicate themselves wholly to God's service. For this reason the *Balokole* strive to maintain the unity of the bond of peace (Eph. 4:3). This means, they take active steps to avoid division and friction between Christians. They refrain not only from being divisive, but also being passive. They strive to take active steps to keep Christians in the unity of the Spirit.⁵¹

While purification is the work of God's grace in a human soul, sanctification involves cooperation with God and this is impossible unless grace is combined with obedience. According to Kinoti, Christ sets the committed Christians free not only from the bondage of Satan but also from the bondage of harmful habits. Consequently, they cultivate the habit of constant repentance of sin and try to imitate Christ through the enabling power of the Holy Spirit. They are saved by Jesus Christ, the Son of God. In actual fact the Holy Spirit creates faith in them. He creates certitude in their hearts on the basis of good and sufficient evidence.⁵² They affirm that what is taught by the Holy Scriptures is taught by the Holy Spirit.

The object of the Bible in each of its pages is to point the *Balokole* to Jesus, and the goal is carried out on the subjective level by Jesus' spirit. Jesus said "But when the Counselor comes, who I shall send, to you from the Father, even the spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness to me" (Jn. 15:26).

The Holy Spirit continues to help them to understand the Bible, to preach the gospel and to pray to God. It is the Holy Spirit who initiates, continues and completes this work in every believer. They remind the mainline churches in Uganda that the main task of the Church of Christ is to bring its members out of the state of the "old nature which belongs to the former manner of life" (Eph. 4:22) to the state of the new nature, created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness, so that the whole world may be transformed into the dwelling Kingdom of God where God can be everything to everyone (1 Cor. 15:28).

They are aware that the task of teaching and discipling all nations (Mt. 28:19-20) is a very difficult one. Yet by the suffering and death of Jesus Christ they are called and challenged to witness inside and outside themselves and by overcoming evil they promote the expansion of the Kingdom of God.

In their understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit they do not magnify the doctrine of the Holy Spirit that goes beyond the Bible. They do not talk more about the Spirit than about Christ. Their growth in spiritual wisdom and the knowledge of God is the result of the work of the Holy Spirit upon their lives and minds through the scriptures and spiritual wisdom and the knowledge of God is the result of the work of the Holy Spirit upon their lives and mind through the scriptures and no spiritual understanding is possible apart from this activity. The witness of the Holy Spirit is the effectual reason why the Bible has received final authority in all matters of faith and practice by the *Balokole* who are the special children of God.

To be born again with a new heart and a new nature is to be born of the Spirit. This is an inward change and a new birth from above. For example, Festo Kivengere, who was "a notorious drunkard" was rescued by the cross when he received Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour.⁵³ In this manner, if they testify that they are born again into God's family, then God's Spirit dwells within them.

The Spirit speaks in scripture. In as much as the Holy Spirit is given to the Church, believers must acknowledge the illumination of the Holy Spirit in the life of the whole Church. He gives the mind to see and hear His Word and understand the message effectively. Hearts must be prepared for the reception of divine truth. Weeping and shaking, dancing, singing and others actions are regarded as the outward signs of the work of the Holy Spirit. Emphasizing this, Kivengere said: "Imagine people lying on the ground weeping and crying and shouting and shrinking in the church."⁵⁴ The prayer of the *Balokole* is: "Open our eyes that we may contemplate the wonders of your law." (Ps. 119:18).

Briefly stated then, the *Balokole* Revival fellowship is an attempt to restore the New Testament Christianity of the Apostolic Church. Langford-Smith states:

It would seem that the Spirit is bringing us back to more of a New Testament life and expression; to a simplicity, clarity and boldness in faith and witness, so easily lost in the complexities of ecclesiastical administration and theological research. But much simplicity does not necessarily imply shallowness or immaturity; on the contrary, it may well make possible true spiritual depth and growth.⁵⁵

Among the results of the *Balokole* Revival are: the accession of new members to the churches; increased number of candidates for Church Ministry; a new spirit of missionary work; social purity and sobriety; filthy and indelicate languages disappearing; pure speeches restored; and in place of swearing and blasphemy, one hears prayers and praises.⁵⁶

The Bible In The Revival Movement In Uganda

The fact that the *Balokole* Revival Movement is rooted in the Bible means that the Bible is the major source of their teaching and preaching. In fact the Bible is the most widely read book in Uganda and the most influential document that communicates with people the revealed truth. Without the New Testament the Old Testament is not fully intelligible. The relationship between the two is well summarised in the statement that the Old is revealed in the New and the gate to the Tree of Life closed in the Old Testament is opened forever in the New Testament. Many of the *Balokole*, both in rural and urban areas, have a copy of a well-used Bible. It is the most prized religious symbol in their respective homes. In some homes it is on the top shelf all by itself. If they do not possess a complete Bible, they at least have the New Testament in their own language or in the language they can understand.

Bishop Kivengere stressed that although the Bible was historically and culturally strange to the Africans yet it is the book which has brought more meaningful change than any other book. He went on to say that "it is a book full of revolutionary ideas." If you read it very carefully, you begin to protest against all categories of evil. In it there are such statements as: "hate evil" (Amos 5:15); "flee from evil" Ps. 34:14); or "hate the devil" (James 4:1) or "put to death

earthly passions” (Col. 3:5). He concluded emphasizing that these and many other statements are of revolutionary intent.⁵⁷

All *Balokole* without exception hold to *sola scriptura* the conviction that the Bible alone is the written word of God and the only source of theological information. *Sola scriptura, solas Christus, sola fide* - Scripture alone, Christ alone, faith alone are the watchwords of *Balokole* theology.

The Bible’s main purpose is to draw sinners to Jesus as their Saviour (Jn. 3:16), and the *Balokole* need to gaze upon him with such desire that through the Holy Spirit he comes alive to meet them and fill them with himself. The Bible is God’s message to which they go in order to feed their hungry souls. For this reason, it is milk to nourish, meat to invigorate and water to cleanse. Through it God speaks not only to their minds but to their whole personality. Through it they find joy and delight in the warmth of God’s love. Through it they encounter the word of God which is challenging, stimulating and exciting. Historical investigations and hermeneutical inquiries have demonstrated to them that scripture is Christocentric. Thus their theology is Biblical, christological, pneumatological and soteriological. In this regard, they do not take the Bible lightly but carefully investigate the text. Christ is the hermeneutical guide to the meaning.

The authority of the Bible is the watershed of their conviction and the basis of their decision making. Scripture constitutes the revelational data and to the *Balokole* it is the only deposit of the divine truth for moral and spiritual welfare of all people. Behaviour patterns are challenged and emotions and wills are touched. Thus, by the scriptures, God speaks to them (Ps. 33:4).

In a very timely reminder, professor Mugambi points out that the Bible contains Good News which cannot be hidden especially when it is about the coming of better times for the people of the world.

If the Bible had not been the book of God, men would have destroyed it long ago. Emperors, Popes, Kings, Priests and Rulers; all tried their hand on it, they died but the Bible still lives. For this reason, acceptance of this Good News dictates that those who accepted it are compelled to share such message “Euaggelion” with other people. The work of God which they have to share is a stimulus which offers not only healing but also fulfillment and sets believers in search of the living God. Where scripture speaks, the *Balokole* speak because they are ambassadors of God’s word. Where scripture is silent, they are silent.⁵⁸ This means the

Bible is the objective standard by which subjective opinions are to be judged. At any rate, it is the best companion of all *Balokole* because of the great impact it has made in their lives. Thus, they respond in worship and praise.⁵⁹

While the Bible has a normative authority shared by nothing else, it does not rule out reason, tradition and conscience. In fact, it is accepted as a library of 66 books which may not be easily understood.⁶⁰ As a loaf of bread, the Bible needs to be cut into slices for daily consumption. Spelling out this task more correctly McDowell maintains that there is no book which has been chopped, knived, sifted, scrutinized and villified as has the Bible. He went on and asked what book on philosophy, religion, psychology, classics that has been subject to such mass attack as the Bible? In spite of all these, he concluded that the Bible is still loved by millions, read by millions and studied by millions.⁶¹

The *Balokole* read it as intelligent people in the modern society. Although it is a library of books with a wide variety of authors and challenging themes, yet behind it lies a single divine author with a single unifying theme. They are aware of the reminder of the Apostle Paul to young Timothy that from childhood he had been acquainted with sacred writings which were to instruct him for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus (2 Tim. 3:15-17). From a slightly different perspective, it is to this same issue that Martin Luther contended: "just as a mother goes to the cradle only to find the baby, we go to the Bible only to find Christ."⁶²

The "*Balokole*" study the Bible and they are frequent users of scripture reading materials and helps.⁶³ Daily Bible reading is crucial to them because through it they discover the fundamental truths about God. Through it they get their marching orders from the Lord not from the voices of men. They are called upon to defend their faith against oppositions and their chief weapon is the Bible. It is the word of the Spirit with which they combat hostile ideas. In this regard the Bible's inherent beauty and spiritual worth possesses their minds and souls so that their feet are guided by its light and their hands are better equipped for spiritual warfare (Luke 11:28).

They believe that the Bible has a practical purpose and that is moral rather than philosophical or intellectual. They accept also that the supreme purpose of the Bible is not scientific but salvific. Salvation to them is freedom from sin and is understood in terms of holiness and righteousness. At a synod which met on 22 January 1935 at Namirembe, the subject of concern was the necessity of the new

experience and the new birth. Three questions were offered for consideration: 1) What is the cause of the coldness and deadness of the Uganda Church? 2) The Communion service is being abused by those who are known to be living in the sin yet are allowed to partake. What should be done to remedy this weakness? 3) What must be done to bring revival to the Church of Uganda?⁶⁴

In the light of this, all Christians were asked to re-examine themselves and some questions were drawn up for this exercise: 1) Do you know salvation through the cross of Christ? 2) Are you growing in the power of the Holy Spirit, in prayer, in meditation and the knowledge of God? 3) Is there a great desire to spread the Kingdom of God by example, and by preaching and teaching? 4) Are you bringing others to Christ by the individual searching, by visiting and by public witness?⁶⁶

Several people were asked to conduct Missions and to do visitation and witnessing. The response was favourable within the Church of Uganda. And the *Balokole* teams conducted missions at Kako, Hoima and in other places all over Uganda.

A quick glance in the hymn book which was written purposely for the *Balokole* in 1954 reveals the extent to which the Bible is significant in their worship and praise.

Kitabo Kya Ruhanga	Holy Book of God
Ninkikunda ne kyange	I love it because it is mine
Kingambira amazima	It speaks the truth
Kundi amunyabibi. ⁶⁷	That I am a sinner

This is not a direct or original translation, but it only depicts the understanding of the Bible by the Movement in Kigezi - Uganda. This hymn is taken from Golden Bells (Hymn 580, tune 349).

In summary, for the Revival brethren the Bible is a living book which speaks relevantly to them in the language they understand. The living Christ in the Bible speaks living words to living persons in living situations. It speaks to them and they do something about it. It convicts them and they repent.⁶⁸ For this reason, a regular contact with the Bible is essential and significant to the development of Christian life and Christian programmes. Thus, the Bible is the best companion to the Revival Brethren in Uganda in all circumstances.

Conclusion

Criticisms of the Revival abound. Some accuse it of being out of touch with the times. Others speak of hyper-emotional tactics. Still others state that its teaching and preaching is narrow and that its decisions made during the revival meeting are not genuine and lasting. Such critics need to be reminded that the revival movement is the work of God. Since Pentecost, God has been using revivals in spreading Christian renewal throughout the world. In this regard, the Revival Movement is not outmoded in our generation. On the contrary, there has been more renewal movement and mass evangelism in our time than ever before in human history. The misuse of a method does not necessarily invalidate the method properly utilised.

The writer joins Bishop Kibira in saying; We may only wish that the Lord sustains the East African Christian faith in Him and that the “glory, glory hallelujah” chorus sung all over that country may be sung until the Lord of the Church comes.⁶⁹

Notes

¹Eric Routley, "Evangelism and Modern Man" *Christian Century* (1959) 799-801; W.G. Mcloughlin, "The Revival of Revivalism," *Christian Century* 76 (1956) p. 743; Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity: 1950 -1975*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p. 53; A. Miller, "When Revival Strikes" *Leadership* (1991) p. 24-25.

²Benon Turyahikayo-Rugyema, *Philosophy and Traditional Religion of the Bakiga in South West Uganda*. (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1983) p.109-110.

³This word *Revival* is central in the vocabulary of the *Balokole*, a Luganda word for "Saved One" or *Abaka* a Kinyarwanda word for those ones on fire. *Abaishemwe* a Runyankole word for the "Saved Ones." Other areas in East Africa have similar words relating to the "Brethren," e.g. *Jo Mowar* in Luo, *Wakufu* in Swahili, *Ahonaku* in Kikuyu. The writer is adopting the now widely used word *Balokole* for all the "Saved Ones."

⁴Hannah T. Kinote, "Christology in East African Revival" in J.N.K. Mugambi and Laurenti Magesa (eds), *The Church in African Christianity*. (Nairobi: Initiatives) p. 67; Eresto Muga, *African response to Western Religion*. (Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1975) p. 150.

⁵Josiah Kibira, *Church Clan and the World* (Uppsala, 1974) p. 99.

⁶Joe Church, *Quest for the Highest*. (Exeter, Paternoster Press, 1939) p. 114.

⁷Festo Kivengere, "The Revival that was and is" *Christianity Today*. 20 (1976) p. 874.

⁸Richard Gehman, "East African Revival," *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* (1986) p. 36; Mark Winter, "The *Balokole* and the Protestant Ethic - A critique," *Journal of Religion in Africa* (1983) p. 39.

⁹Deogratias M. Byabazaire, *The Contribution of the Christian Churches to the Development of Western Uganda 1894-1974*. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978) p. 45.

¹⁰J.B. Webster, *The African Church among the Yoruba*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) pp. 43-44.

¹¹W.B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*. (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1988) p. 37.

¹²Brian Stanley, "The East African Revival - African Initiatives within a European Tradition" *Churchman* 92 (1978) p. 10.

¹³Anderson, p. 37.

¹⁴Anne Coomes, *Festo Kivengere* (Eastborne: Monarch, 1990) p. 264.

¹⁵Dorothy E. W. Smoker, "Decision-making in East Africa Revival Movement Groups" in David B. Barrett, *African Initiatives in Religion* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1971); Harbert Carlson, "The Holy Spirit and Revival," *Churchman* (1964) p. 82.

¹⁶Church, p. 194.

¹⁷Coomes, p. 43.

¹⁸Catherine Ellen Robins, "A study of Social change: Sectarian Withdrawal in the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda," *Occasional Research Papers*. Makerere University (1978) p. 5

¹⁹Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. (London: Longmans, 1952) p. 184.

²⁰Stanley, p. 6

²¹Tom Tuma, *Building a Uganda Church*. (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980) p. 33.

²²John V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*. (London, 1958) p. 100; N.Q. King, "The East Africa Revival Movement and Evangelism," *Ecumenical Review* 20 (1968) p. 159.

²³E. Twesigye, "The Revival Movement of Uganda up to 1914," *Occasional Research Papers*. Makerere University (1975) p. 5.

²⁴F.B. Welborn, "The Uganda Church and other Christian Movements" in Tom Tuma and P. Mutibwa. *A Century of Christianity in Uganda* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1978) p. 128.

²⁵Church, p. 21.

²⁶Kevin Ward, "Catholic Protestant Relations in Uganda: A Historical Study," *African Theological Journal* (1984) p. 178.

²⁷James Katarikawe and John Wilson, *East Africa Revival Movement*. (M.Th. Thesis: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1976) p. 24.

²⁸Richard Gehman, "East Africa Revival" *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* (1986) p. 37.

²⁹Stanley, p. 10.

³⁰Max Warren, *Revival and Enquiry*. (London, 1954) p. 118-121.

³¹M. Rostedt, "The Revival Movement in East Africa," *Africa Theological Journal* (1982) p. 66.

³² Church, p. 22; Hastings, p. 52; Ward, p 113; Rugyema, p. 103.

³³Barret, p. 82

³⁴Kivengere, p. 875.

³⁵Gehman, p. 44.

³⁶Kinoti, p. 61.

³⁷D.J. Stenning, "Salvation in Ankole," in Mr. Foster and G. Deitrlein, *African Systems of Thought*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) p. 258.

³⁸Paul Ngorogoza, *Kigezi and its people*. (Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1969) p. 118.

³⁹Magesa, p. 238.

⁴⁰Lloyd, Fallers, *King's Men*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 136.

⁴¹John T.B. Franzen, *Real faith for real people in a real world*. (Washington: Shiver Mountain Press, 1977) p. 136.

⁴²Tuma, p. 61.

⁴³Samuel G. Kibicho, "The continuing of the African Conception of God into and through Christianity with the Kikuyu Conception of *Ngai* as a case study," *Utamaduri: Journal of African Studies in Religion* (1980) pp. 9-19, especially pages 1 and 18.

⁴⁴Norvald Yri, "Luther on Biblical Salvation: The hermeneutical key in his understanding of the Gospel," *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* (1983) p. 16.

⁴⁵Tokunboh Adeyemo, "Is Everyone Saved?" in *Lion Handbook of Christian Belief*, (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1982) p. 418.

⁴⁶Laurenti Magesa, "I am Saved: The Ethical Dimension," *African Ecclesial Review* (1990) p. 81.

⁴⁷N. Langford-Smith, "Revival in East Africa," *International Review of Missions* (1954) p. 81.

⁴⁸Editorial: "What is African Evangelical Theology?" *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* (1983) p. 2.

⁴⁹Hartmat Schonherr, "Concept of Salvation in Christianity," *African Theological Journal* (1983) p. 162.

⁵⁰John S. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology*. (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 136.

⁵¹Church, p. 110.

⁵²Kinoti, p. 67.

⁵³Coomes, p. 102.

⁵⁴Kivengere, p. 875.

⁵⁵Langford-Smith, p. 81.

⁵⁶Byabazaire, p. 45.

⁵⁷Festo Kivengere, "Once again I am up and about: Praise Him", *African Voice*, (January-February 1987) p. 1.

⁵⁸J.N.K. Mugambi, *The Biblical Basis for Evangelization* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1989) p. 7.)

⁵⁹Kivengere, p. 875.

⁶⁰Johanna Mbogori, "How the Bible is used in Africa", in Kenneth Y. Best (ed), *African Challenge*. (Nairobi: All African Conference of Churches, 1975) p. 112.

⁶¹John McDowell, *Evidence that Demands a Verdict*, Vol. 1. (Bernadino: Here's Life Publishers, 1972) p. 23.

⁶²David Field, "The Bible and Christian Living" in David and Pat Alexander, *Concise Bible Handbook*. (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1973) p. 12.

⁶³Zeb Kabaza, "Lessons from the East African Revival," *Involvement* 1 (1991) p. 24.

⁶⁴George K. Mambo, "Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya" in David B. Barret (ed) *Kenya Church Handbook*. (Nairobi: Evangelical Publishing House, 1963) p. 116.

⁶⁵ Gehman, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶Patricia St. John, *Breath of Life*. (London: Norfolk Press, 1971) p. 114.

⁶⁷Hymn, p. 94.

⁶⁸Kivengere, 1976:875.

⁶⁹Kibira, p. 57.

The Church History Society Of Southern Africa: Indeed Coming Of Age

J. W. Hofmeyr

The Church History Society of Southern Africa has undergone some significant developments in its twenty three year history. The author reviews the founding of the society and some of the significant themes and issues that it has addressed over the years. He closes his article with a discussion of some of the ongoing tensions within the society and possible options for the society in the future if it is to reach its full potential.

Introduction

The year 1993 marked the twenty third year since the founding of the Church History Society of Southern Africa (CHSSA). Reflecting on the history of an organization always proves to be a worthwhile and valuable exercise, not only for looking back but quite often to look ahead. It is precisely these aims that I have in mind when I wish to trace some of the major developments in the history of the CHSSA.

Some developments and tendencies

The history of the foundation and establishment of the CHSSA is an interesting one and it reflects some of the dilemmas with which the society is even to this day struggling. At the beginning of the seventies, to be exact during May 1970, the first official overtures were made to get people interested in the idea of

founding a church historical society. After J.A. Stoop and C.F.A. Borchardt, both attached to Unisa, got B.J. Marais from the University of Pretoria and F.G.M. du Toit, the Pretoria archivist of the Ned. Geref. Kerk, interested in the idea, correspondence was transmitted between T. N. Hanekom from the University of Stellenbosch and C.F.A. Borchardt. On 26 May 1970 Hanekom replied to these overtures in a letter and mentioned that already during 1969 the “Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns” as well as the “Council for Social Research” requested that some structure ought to be found to stimulate the subject of church history in the South African context. He mentioned in his letter that he wished to raise some issues at the forthcoming meeting: the possible establishment of a church history study group within the “Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie”, the drafting of a constitution and the establishment of an annual publication. Hanekom was in agreement with Borchardt about inviting members of the three Afrikaans speaking churches. He also raised the possibility of inviting representatives from the English speaking churches at a later stage. Though one can accept it that the “Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie” did raise the possibility of a society for church history, no concrete initiative was eventually taken by Hanekom but rather by Stoop and Borchardt (Correspondence 1970).

On the afternoon of 4 June 1970 an informal meeting was held. Issues on the agenda were the desirability of such a society, its relationship with the “Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie”, a preliminary constitution and practical matters related to the official establishment of such a society. Such matters included the compilation of a list of possible members, the arrangements for a founding meeting as well as for a possible first conference, and the election of a preliminary management committee. Unfortunately no minutes of this meeting could be traced.

Eventually invitations were sent out for interested parties to attend a founding meeting on 1 October 1970 at Bourke House, Muckleneuck, Pretoria. Twenty one people attended this meeting and our society was officially founded. The constitution was finalized, and membership fees of R10,00 per year were decided upon for full members and R5,00 for associate members. A provisional arrangement was entered into with the South African Historical Society to publish papers read at conferences, as well as other articles, in their South African Historical Journal. It was also decided to compile a register of research work being done in the field of church history.

At the 1971 meeting it was decided to become an affiliate member of the “Commission International d’Histoire Ecclesiastique Comparee” (CIHEC) a society which at that stage had a membership from more than twenty countries.

And so the business of the CHSSA got underway. To refer to each and every major decision taken in the course of the society’s history is naturally impossible. I would therefore rather highlight some of the major developments and broader tendencies in the course of its twenty three years’ history.

The broad aim of the Church History Society of Southern Africa, according to the current constitution, is to further research and support publications in church history and related subjects. The goal of the CHSSA is to be attained by arranging conferences, publishing papers and communications, corresponding with similar foreign societies, inviting experts to read papers in the field of church history and related subjects, and sustain any other legitimate methods which may serve to attain this goal.

As regards the operation of the society, the constitution stipulates that as far as possible a church historical conference will be held annually and will be open to all interested persons. Papers will be presented by members of the society or guest speakers. The business meeting of the society determines the venue, date and theme of the conferences, elects a secretary for a period of three years, and appoints a chairperson and vice-chairperson annually who are responsible for the arrangements for the following conference.

With reference to membership, the constitution defines some stipulations which serve only as a guideline and may be amended by the society according to circumstances and need not be applied rigidly. It stipulates that all persons who hold a Bachelors degree in theology are eligible for membership of the society.

Furthermore persons holding a Masters degree in History or any other subject related to Church History, History of Missions, History of Doctrine or Church Polity, or anyone with a specialized interest in the above mentioned subjects may be considered for membership in the society. New members are proposed in writing by a current member, following which a decision is made by an official business meeting. Membership ceases when a member resigns or when he or she is more than six months in arrears with membership fees.

In the course of its twenty three years of existence, twenty conferences and general business meetings were held besides the founding meeting. It proves to be an interesting exercise to focus on *inter alia* the different venues and the topics addressed at these conferences and to try and discover some tendencies.

The first two conferences, i.e. 1970 and 1971, were held at the beginning of the calendar year, it was for understandable reasons decided not to arrange a meeting for early 1972 but rather to start this new cycle at the beginning of 1973. As regards venues it is interesting to note that four conferences were held in the Stellenbosch-Somerset West area. Two meetings were organized in Bloemfontein but only after the establishment of the theological faculty of the Ned. Geref. Kerk at the University of the Orange Free State. In Natal two conferences were put up at the University of Zululand near Empangeni, whilst the rest took place in the Transvaal: three at Potchefstroom, four at the University of Pretoria and six at the University of South Africa in Pretoria. It is clear that in spite of many practical and financial considerations an attempt was made to move around and not to tie the society to one area or institution.

With reference to the themes of the different conferences, some tendencies can be discerned and some specific areas of interest did recur. Conference themes were constantly prepared by the five odd study groups within the society. Right at the beginning of its history at two consecutive occasions in 1970 and 1971 the society addressed the status of church historiography in South Africa and the relationship between secular history, church history and salvation history. At further occasions, issues relating to theory, philosophy and methodology were addressed. In 1975 the African context received extensive coverage, and in 1976 South African church historiography.

In 1983 it was once again the historiography of the mainline churches in South Africa which came in focus and, in 1988, a major conference and workshop was held on current church historiography and related developments in the Third World, and in the subcontinent. At the 1991 conference the issue of interpretation and re-interpretation received attention. Various other relevant historical topics were also highlighted. Issues such as ecumenism (1981 and 1987), liberation (1983), social involvement (1986), violence (1990), church and state (1980), pietism and evangelicalism (1982) and reconciliation (1978) were addressed. In the meantime, various aspects of church polity such as the relation between Scriptures, Calvin and the Reformed Church order (1977 and 1984) and the various systems of church government (1989) were also focused on. Some general topics like the French Huguenots (1973), Calvin and Luther (1974) and post war developments in the South African churches (1979) also received the attention of the society. Since 1981 it was decided to add responses on papers in the programme and this definitely contributed to the higher standards attained. In conclusion it can be said that as regards the conferences, there is also a

willingness to address topical and relevant issues of our times as well as issues related to philosophy, theory and method. Furthermore, it also seems as if a rising line of openness to some discussion and re-interpretation can be detected in many papers. Sadly not enough of this has been worked through in the contributions of individual members of the society (Minutes 1970-1990).

As regards the management of the business of the society, the general guideline followed was to elect a chairperson and vice-chairperson from the inviting institution which meant that the society was lead by people representative of some part of South Africa. As no conferences were held at any of the English universities it meant that most of the office-bearers came from an Afrikaans and a Reformed background. It must however be added that, because of the fact that these office-bearers were primarily responsible for organizing and chairing a specific conference, they eventually did not necessarily play a major role in deciding the direction of the society.

It was more specifically the secretaries of the society who handled the day to day business and who exerted most influence on the ongoing developments of the society. In the course of the twenty three years of its history seven individuals acted as secretaries or assistant secretaries, the latter position which was created in 1984 and in 1986 changed to a member and publication secretary over against the secretary for correspondence and minutes. The different secretaries were C.F.A. Borchardt (1970-1974); A.M. Hofmeyr (1974-1977); C.J. Botha (1977-1979); J.W. Hofmeyr (1979-1985); c. Landman (1984-1991); D.P. Whitelaw (1985-1988 and C.F.A. Borchardt (1988-date), the last two as publication secretaries. Except for A.M. Hofmeyr it is clear that the business of the society was very strongly run from Pretoria and, except for C.F.A. Borchardt's second term, very much from within Unisa. This implied that Unisa primarily provided the infra-structure for the well-being of the society, and, through the very able and constant co-operation of Mrs. A. Smit, a departmental secretary, Unisa was able to handle all these responsibilities. In the course of the society's history there was at least one non-Afrikaans and not-Reformed office-bearer and one woman who partook as office-bearer. Both of them were very well received by the membership.

Broad guidelines for the election of honorary members were formulated at the 1988 annual conferences of the society. In the case of a person being a member of the CHSSA, he or she must have made a long and meritorious contribution to the CHSSA as well as to Southern African church historiography. In the case of a person not being a member of the CHSSA but who is a South African citizen, he

or she must have made a contribution to South African church historiography and must have received both national and international recognition for his or her work. In the case of a person not being a South African citizen he or she must enjoy international recognition of his or her research and must show a special interest in South African church history.

Up to the present, nine different academics have been elected honorary members of the society i.e. J.N. Jooste, G.D. Scholtz, F.A. van Jaarsveld, J.A. Stoop and H.A. Oberman.

The society regarded international relations as of great importance but no major strides were made in this regard. Only on two occasions in its history did the society have the opportunity of being a co-host to foreign speakers. In 1973, Prof. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink from Leiden (Netherlands) addressed the society on "St. Bartholomew's Night". In 1991 the society had at its annual conference Prof. H.A. Oberman from Tucson (Arizona, U.S.A.) as guest. This invitation was initiated by the Universities of South Africa and Pretoria, but as from the beginning his visit was planned to coincide with the annual meeting of the society.

Though D. Crafford suggested at the annual business meeting of 1973 that the CHSSA should consider membership of the "Society for African Church History," it was eventually decided that individual members should rather apply for membership. As for the rest of Africa there is virtually no contact with fellow church historians except for the contacts by individual members. Two of the members of the society, J.W. Hofmeyr and M. Donaldson, have however had some contact with the "Working Commission of Church History in the Third World" and its African subgroup.

The level of involvement in other international professional societies in the field of church history is also very low. Once again only a handful of individuals in the CHSSA would be members of some of these societies.

After having been a member of CIHEC since 1971, it was decided in January 1978 to discontinue its membership primarily for financial reasons. However as from 1980 attempts were made to rejoin CIHEC again after W.H.C. Friend, the newly elected president of CIHEC, in a letter dated 15 December 1980 to J.A. Stoop put it as follows: "While I am writing, I wonder if you have ever thought of forming a South African sub-commission of the CIHEC...the officers of the sub-commission would have to be carefully balanced by race and tradition; and it would probably take a bit of time to get through." Sadly enough this attempt never materialized (Correspondence 1980).

Not only did the society try to build relations with international societies of a similar nature, it also attempted to establish contact with and explore possibilities of co-operation with, for instance, the South African Historical Society. In 1987 the annual conference of the Church History Society of Southern Africa decided to make initial contacts, to inform the South African Historical Society (SAHS) of its interest in exploring fruitful means of co-operation and to request that society to suggest as how to proceed. Some possibilities were considered by the CHSSA, such as a congress to be planned by the two societies to take place at the same venue, the one succeeding the other, enabling persons to attend both if desired. Further, by means of careful planning it might be valuable to consider a combined conference where a theme or event of mutual interest could be studied. In a written reply dated 11 June 1987 from the president of the SAHS, Prof. John Benyon conveyed a positive feeling toward this suggestion: "Obviously, however, it is the practical possibilities that flow from such mutual 'positive feeling' that are of immediate concern. Such possibilities can, I suppose, only emerge when we are both well-informed of the nature of each other's organization and activities" (Correspondence 1987). Though nothing further has transpired officially, the doors are wide open and some individual members of the CHSSA have in the meantime taken up membership of the SAHS.

The road ahead

As regards the road ahead, there is possibly something to be learnt by the CHSSA from the experiences of the societies which were formed to promote the study of secular history in South Africa.

We very briefly refer to some of the highlights in this history. In 1956 the "Historiese Genootskap van Suid-Afrika" was founded, with the aim to encourage the study of history among a wide range of people, but particularly among high school pupils, university students and the general public. By 1960 disillusionment had set in in some circles of the "Historiese Genootskap" at its failure to cater for the needs of the professional historian. This society was criticized for allowing itself to be dominated by primarily Transvaal teachers' organizations and the University of Pretoria, for favouring Transvaal writers in the allocation of space in the society's journal *Historia*, as well as for the fact that the journal had not earned recognition at international level. It appeared as if that society had forfeited the confidence of many professional historians in South Africa, and especially those at the English-speaking universities.

Increasing numbers of leading Afrikaner historians came to the conclusion that positive steps be taken to draw English-speaking academics into a national professional organization. Eventually the South African Historical Society (SAHS) was founded in 1965. Conferences which were held biennially first focused on methodological issues and the development of new approaches to history, but gradually began to reflect more directly on recent developments in historical scholarship: the history of frontiers, African societies and race relations, slave and free blacks, rural, urban and regional history, demographic history, culture and ideology. In general the principle of bilingualism was scrupulously observed. The founding of the SAHS could be seen to be part of the endeavour by Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans in the post-republic period to find each other (Saunders and Le Cordeur 1986:7-23).

In later years a new work group was founded at Wits called the "History Workshop." The aim was to provide for the study and the promotion of radical and revisionist historiography.

Some other issues as regards the future also need our attention. The role of women and blacks in the CHSSA is not extensive though not negligible. Although women members of the CHSSA have not organised themselves in a formal subgroup such as is happening in the American Society for Church History (with their subgroup called "Women in Theology and Church History"), they have at various occasions delivered papers at annual conferences and one of them (C. Landman) has been secretary of the CHSSA from 1984 to 1991. A small number of blacks have in the last six years become members of the society. However, there seems to be some discomfort amongst them about the somewhat exclusive Afrikaans and Reformed character of the society.

As regards an archive by and for church historians the collection of documentation of the CHSSA is still fairly thin and sketchy and it calls for serious organization, classification and inventorisation. Materials currently available largely relate to five different categories: firstly, the minutes generated by the annual conferences; secondly, the financial records and reports reflecting the material image of the society; thirdly, the correspondence relating to the establishment and expansion of the society; fourthly, published volumes of conference papers; and finally, the miscellaneous items on the general business of the CHSSA. Though a decision was taken in 1982 to deposit these documents with the church archives of the Ned. Geref. Kerk in Pretoria, it has as yet not been implemented.

In 1989 the annual publication of the society which was merely a collection of papers delivered at conferences, was changed into a biennial journal. With the aim to qualify with the Department of National Education as an accredited journal and naturally also to enhance its standard, it was decided to broaden the editorial board of the society's journal so as to include some internationally acclaimed academics such as W.H.C. Frend, W. van't Spijker, M.E. Marty and H.A. Oberman.

Some serious discussions in an individual or corporate context have taken place among members of the society on the status of the subject of church history in South Africa during the last decades. South African church history has for very long been plagued by polemic and apologetic historiography. To prove this one has only to cite the views of a couple of members of the society. T.H. Hanekom identified four dominant characteristics of South African church historiography: denominationally oriented, culturally shaded, ethnically restricted and geographically bound. C.W. Cook in 1970 outlined the position of English church historiography, and stated that the isolation as well as the variety of settlements and approaches ought to be noted. E. Brown stated in 1969 that in South African church historiography every church distinguishes and separates itself from the next. Consequently the need for a new and comprehensive view on South African church history has very clearly been emphasized by members of the society.

Cook stated in 1970 that South African church history has to be regarded not only denominationally but also as inseparably part of the "okumene." Brown in 1969 felt that the church needs a comprehensive history to tell its story in one bold stroke and with theological insight and judgment.

In recent years an increasing number of church historians have become aware of the importance of a philosophical and scientific theoretical reflection on their subject as a discipline. Formerly few questions had been asked concerning the ongoing development of this subject in the subcontinent of Africa. The question has also been raised as to whether the traditional approach to church history, or the European approach in which most South African church historians were trained, is still relevant for the practice of this subject in the African context. Practical realities have forced church historians to reformulate the needs of their task.

A weighty question with which church historians currently struggle is as to whether their subject should be practiced as a theological discipline or whether it should be secularized. Most church historians in South Africa are however agreed

that church history should be scientific, critical and as far as possible objective and that the church, as the object of study, should be examined honestly and theologically. No consensus has however been reached concerning a paradigm whereby a scientific theological method can be achieved. Progress towards a new methodological paradigm has however been made in that the object has been determined, as well as the norms whereby the history of the church can be tested and judged, namely, by the scriptures.

Conclusion

The current outlook for the CHSSA is in some ways hopeful, in some ways not. Some of the problems which urgently have to be faced are the following: the society is in spite of the initial and recurring pleas and even attempts for a representative membership still not truly representative of both the ecclesiastical and cultural spheres. Furthermore there appears to be some lack of understanding between the different schools of thought represented in the society. This was first reflected by the drift of members of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika from the CHSSA. Since then also the wish of the work group for church polity to have a plenary session at every annual conference was perceived by some to be too prescriptive. A sensible way however out of this apparent dilemma is the newly created forum sessions which were implemented for the first time at the twenty first anniversary conference in 1991.

Another example of a lack of understanding is the great emphasis which is still placed on denominationalism in spite of the fact that right from the beginning and in the course of the twenty one years of its history there was also a definite plea for an ecumenical openness. The society has, in spite of the fact that it had in some way come of age, possibly reached a very critical phase in its history. The choice is either to move towards a position of greater parochialism, exclusivism and particularism or otherwise to develop a greater level of respect and understanding for one another.

Eventually the only hope for a fairly representative, understanding and relevant academic society lies in the ability of the individual membership and the society as a whole to state that nobody embraces the whole truth, that there could be a different view on any specific issue to that of a particular individual or group and, finally, that mutual understanding, respect, openness and co-operation prove to be enriching rather than suffocating. Sadly enough, the subject of church history will be the loser if these aims cannot materialize.

In practical terms, and analogous to the history of those South African societies founded to study the subject of secular history, there are basically three possible options open for the CHSSA.

It either has to return to a primarily exclusivist orientation, like the “Historiese Genootskap,” or otherwise it should move boldly ahead towards a more inclusive organization like the “South African Historical Society.” On the other extreme, there is the option like that of the Wits-based “History Workshop” with its emphasis on radical and revisionistic history. Personally I favour the middle option as the most sensible. This entails an endeavour to find each other and to build a society embracing all professional church historians and bridging all ecclesiastical, cultural and ideological barriers.

Instead of forming a new society if the current one does not fully satisfy all our particular needs, shouldn't we consider in our “wisdom” — after all have we not to some extent come of age — to redevelop our society to embrace a broader and more open outlook upon matters, and especially by using forum sessions to provide for different needs?

Apart from these laudible reasons, the lack of money and time point towards re-organising the old society rather than forming a new one which, after all, may not be able to get off the ground.

Since 1991 a number of developments have taken place in the Church History Society of Southern Africa that shed light on the direction the CHSSA should take. Something of a new maturity is developing among church historians in the subcontinent of Southern Africa. The Church History Society of Southern Africa is possibly the best barometer for this. A real chance existed for this society to split up in two or three smaller societies serving the needs for each of the ideological and parochial main groups that have co-existed in this society. Though it is still early in the re-organisation of this society, there is indeed some reason for optimism.

The choice was either to move towards a position of greater exclusivism, parochialism and particularism or otherwise to develop a greater level of respect and understanding for one another. The only hope for a fairly representative understanding and relevant academic society indeed lies in the ability of the individual membership and the society as a whole to state that nobody embraces the whole truth, that there could be a different view on any specific issue to that of a particular individual or group, and, finally, that mutual understanding, respect, openness and co-operation prove to be enriching rather than suffocating. There are already very clear indications and even decisions that the society is

following the later route which means that in some ways after 23 years of existence, a greater maturity is growing. Furthermore, new and important ties are being forged with church historians in the neighbouring countries as well as elsewhere in Africa and the rest of the world.

I wish to conclude with the very apt remarks of Jaroslav Pelikan when he was asked to write a forward for the centenary publication of the American Society for Church History: "We who spend our lives on the past are understandably hesitant about projections for the (future), and I intend to take no such risks...the field of church history will also continue to be what it has been: continuity - cum - change will be a quality that it not only describes but manifests" (Bowden 1988:xi). What exactly the future holds for the Church History Society of Southern Africa cannot be stated outright. There are however indications that it is indeed coming of age.

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A History Of The Hausa Bible: 1980 Edition

Musa A. B. Gaiya

The Hausa Bible of 1980 is a notable publishing event in the history of Bible translation. The author tells the story of the leading personalities responsible for this translation and recounts the many challenges faced. The author also points out that this landmark achievement should not obscure the fact that the sub-groups under Hausa hegemony have mother tongues that should not be neglected. "No language can substitute for the mother tongue . . . [In] the case of the 1980 edition of the Hausa Bible, care was supposedly taken to express the message in a way that non-Hausa speakers can readily understand, since for the non-Hausa in Northern Nigeria the Hausa language is his second or even third, if not fourth language. Real Hausa, whether Sokoto, Bauchi or Kano, for most of them is often out of reach."

Introduction: Mastering the Hausa Language

This publication is a landmark in both the history of Christianity among the Hausa speaking communities of Nigeria and the history of literature written in Hausa....inevitably evangelism lies at the heart of the missionary impulse; and, in the process of Christian proselytisation...the rendering of God's recorded word into the relevant local language, the history of translations of the Holy scripture is now approaching nothing less than its 150th anniversary - a remarkable record in the context of the African continent. (*West Africa*, 15th June, 1981. p. 1356)

Thus ran an excerpt from a review of the new Hausa Bible which appeared in 1980.

Unlike the Yorubas, Igbos and perhaps other major tribes in Nigeria, the Hausas, predominantly in the northern part of Nigeria, had no Sierra Leoneans of Hausa origin to initiate missionary work among them. The two Hausa ex-slaves emancipated in Trinidad who came to Badagry in

1837 were apparently more interested in trade than Christianization of the Hausa people.¹ The first written Christian material in Hausa was the Lord's prayer translated in 1843 by J. F. Schön, described as an "assiduous and yet subsequently neglected linguist."² James Frederick Schön had worked in Sierra Leone before joining the team on the ill-fated 1841 Expedition. Schön, a man "with special linguistic gifts,"³ would receive "the D.D. of Oxford in 1884 for his linguistic work."⁴ This honour was conferred on him at the initiative of Robert Cust, Britain's leading African language scholar at that time and also the author of *Modern Languages of Africa* (1883), and honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.⁵

However when the Niger Mission was founded in 1857 and headed by the Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther (later Bishop), the desire of Crowther was not to evangelize the Hausa people primarily but to bring the Gospel to "the large heathen population in the North"⁶ Nonetheless in 1877 he sent to England, to work with Schön on Hausa, a Sierra Leonean clergyman of Hausa-speaking parentage, T. C. John, who had joined the Niger Mission in 1865 at Lokoja. Earlier Crowther had sent £100 to Schön to meet part of the cost of publishing a Hausa dictionary.⁷ It is reasonable to suggest that Schön had published portions of the New Testament by 1857, which was helpful in the publication of the whole New Testament in 1880.⁸ It is also possible that Schön's work in Hausa, as with his translation work in Igbo,⁹ became unsatisfactory because of the manner in which he learnt his Hausa, that is from ex-slaves in Freetown.¹⁰

A further thrust in the study of the Hausa language began with the first serious attempt to evangelise the Hausa people of Northern Nigeria by the Sudan Party who came to Nigeria in the 1890's under the leadership of G. W. Brooke. Brooke had calculated "that within six months much of Northern Nigeria would be converted."¹¹ The Sudan Party failed to achieve its objective, and could not record any conversions before members of the party either resigned or died or were invalidated home. However, the Sudan Party bequeathed to subsequent missionary groups a rather significant legacy: the notion that the conversion of the Hausas was the key to the evangelisation of Northern Nigeria.

The view in vogue at that time about the Hausa people was that they were nominal Muslims, a view that was further authenticated by Canon Robinson, a "Professor" of Hausa at Cambridge University after he had visited Kano in 1895. Robinson had reported to the CMS Headquarters at Salisbury Square in 1895 a "favourable view of the readiness of the Hausa to receive Christian teachers; in Kano the Emir had met him at the gates with gifts; the most learned malams were

put at his disposal and the latter were, of their own volition, anxious to translate the Bible which, they said, the people would most gratefully buy.”¹²

Before this time, in 1891, the Hausa Association had been formed for three reasons: 1) To enable Englishmen to study Hausa; 2) to make available to the Hausa copies of the translated works which included the Gospels; and 3) to establish a college in Liverpool where Hausa could study English and Englishmen, Hausa.¹³

This Association was formed in honour of J. A. Robinson, an important member of the Sudan Party who is said to have translated some portion of the Bible into Hausa before his death.¹⁴ Out of the Hausa Association came the Hausa Party in 1895 with the aim, apparently, of translating the Bible into Hausa and the establishment of a missionary college in Kano.¹⁵ This explains the march of the missionaries to Kano in 1900.¹⁶

The Hausa Bible of 1932

Prominent among members of the Hausa Party was Dr. Walter R. S. Miller, described as “the best known white man in Northern Nigeria” until his death in 1952.¹⁷ He it was that began, with the help of other missionaries, to translate the whole Bible into Hausa in 1910. By 1920 the whole of the New Testament had been translated.¹⁸ Dr. Miller moved out of Zaria City, having been compelled by varied circumstances to found Wussa about two kilometers away on a piece of land donated by Limand,¹⁹ a Muslim teacher. Afterwards, Dr. Miller was transferred to Kano, and with him went his typist Mallam J. I. Umaru. Here Dr. Miller finished the translation of the whole Bible, which was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1932.²⁰ This was the first Hausa Bible.

As can be seen, the 1932 edition of the Hausa Bible was almost entirely the handiwork of European missionary translators using local informants, such as Mallam Fate, a Hausa Christian, and Mallam Bello, a Muslim. Among European missionaries who helped Dr. Miller were the Revs. W. A. Thompson (a West Indian), C. Wedgewood and C. P. Bargery.²¹ This team of translators used the Revised Version to translate from, while the informants used the Arabic Bible to give the appropriate words in Hausa. There is no indication that the Hebrew or Greek texts were used.²²

Due to this glaring deficiency of the 1932 edition of the Hausa Bible, a team of translators was set up by the United Bible Societies in conjunction with the Nigerian Bible Society in July 1969. The translation work was done section by

section. Firstly the Old Testament, excluding the Psalms and the Apocrypha, was done by a team of translators in Zaria (where Dr. Miller began his translation). The Psalms and the New Testament were translated by Mr. Sanderson, an SIM (Sudan Interior Mission) missionary then in Kano, while the Apocrypha was translated by Rev. Fr. Joseph Kenny, O. P.

Translating The Old Testament

The Old Testament books apart from the Psalms and the Apocrypha were translated by a team made up of young Nigerian church leaders and theologians, namely the Rev. D. N. Wambutda (who was Secretary of the team until his resignation in 1973), The Rev. Chisawa Kaburuk, who joined the team in 1969, and Mallam Paul Yusufu, the Sarkin Wusasa, who was the chief informant.²³ H. Peacock represented the United Bible Societies.²⁴ The team was stationed in Wusasa. It was set up to do direct translation from the original languages using other assistance. It aimed at producing an equivalent of the English *Good News Bible* (then only in New Testament form) both in its faithfulness to the Hebrew and in its simple and natural but up-to-date Hausa.

By the time the Rev. D. N. Wambutda left to take up an appointment with the Institute of Church and Society at Ibadan, the bulk of the work had been completed except for a few chapters in I Kings and II Samuel, parts of Isaiah and Song of Solomon.²⁵ Wambutda's departure almost ruined the work, not only because he was the secretary and later treasurer of the group, but more importantly because of his knowledge of the biblical languages and his good "middle belt Hausa."²⁶ Peacock described the work after Wambutda had left as having been "in an awful mess now" and he added "Wambutda's leaving has put us in quite a bind." He even suggested scrapping the project unless someone was found capable of replacing Wambutda.²⁷

The project was not scrapped after all. Wambutda agreed not only to help in the translation but to serve as a revising editor while continuing in his job at the Institute of Church and Society.²⁸

Meanwhile a Review Committee had been set up in Kano made up of two experienced SIM missionaries, Miss Helen M. Watkins and Miss Ruth Warfield. The Committee was to insure that an up-to-date, quality (Kano) Hausa was maintained and that the whole of the translation work was in line with the recommendation of the Hausa Language Board.²⁹

The whole operation with respect to the Old Testament followed a well organized but complex plan. The Hausa translation team at Wusasa would do the draft, check through for possible errors, then send it to the Review Committee in Kano. That Committee would see to the quality of the Hausa. Then Paul Yusufu would read the Reviewers' comments and make suggestions, and pass it to Wambutda in Ibadan who would read everything as a reviewer himself. Wambutda would write his suggestions and changes on the text before sending the work back to Paul Yusufu at Wusasa. Yusufu would note Wambutda's comments and suggestions periodically. From such a discussion, the final draft would emerge which would be typed and prepared for the printers.³⁰ No doubt this was a cumbersome exercise but it was essential to ensure accuracy and a satisfactory work.

The Rev. Maikudi Kure of Tofa Bible School joined the Wusasa Old Testament team in 1974 to replace the Rev. Wambutda, even though the latter continued to assist as an editor until 1975. An asset to this team was Emmanuel Nandi, an Ibo typist who typed all the drafts and copies that were finally sent to the printers.³¹

The work of the Old Testament translators came to an end on 31 December 1975.³² By this time the Rev. Chidawa Kaburuk had left for the United States for further studies.³³ Meanwhile Yusufu continued to assist Kure in making the final draft until October 1974.³⁴ In the same month Kure and Nandi moved to Kano to join the Review Committee to put the finishing touches on the OT drafts.³⁵ The OT books were not ready for the printers, however, until 1977.³⁶

The Psalms And The Apocrypha

The work on the Psalms was begun by Mr. Sanderson using *Today's English Version* as a model.³⁷ But like his work on the New Testament (see below), Sanderson's work on the Psalms was unsatisfactory. The Rev. Fr. J. Kenny, O.P., who had just finished a Ph.D. in Islamic studies at St. Andrew's and who at that time had been designated by the Roman Catholic Church to take charge of the Hausa translation, had Sanderson's draft sent to him to revise.³⁸ He completed this job in 1970.³⁹

In 1971 the Roman Catholic Church began arranging with United Bible Societies to undertake the translation of the Deutero-canonical books.⁴⁰ Fr. Kenny was to lead the team. On Fr. Kenny's team were Mallam Musa Nahann Danjuma and Emmanuel Musa, both Hausa (Maguzawa).⁴¹ The conditions laid for the final publication of the Apocrypha were as follows: 1) They would appear

between the Testaments; 2) Additional cost of publishing the Bible with the Apocrypha would be born by the Church/Churches requesting the publication, namely the Catholic and Anglican Churches; and 3) The churches concerned should make a formal request to the Bible Society of Nigeria for the publication.⁴²

The implication of this was that two editions of the Hausa Bible would be published, one with the Apocrypha and the other without it.

The draft of the Apocrypha was finished in 1975 and sent to the team of editors in Kano who made the following suggestions and recommendations to Joseph Kenny for final corrections: 1) That the meaning should always be preferred to the form. The translation should be meaningful to a 25-35 year old person who had exposure to Christian religious terminology; 2) Words having Arabic derivation should be translated with native Hausa words; 3) In Tobit 1:1 the Hausa word for lineage and descent should fit the situation - Words like *Tsatson, gida, kabila, Kaka, Jika* should be used with the context in view; and 4) Kano Hausa should be preferred to any other Hausa.⁴³

Finally Fr. Kenny suggested the publication of 5,000 - 10,000 copies of the Hausa Bible with Apocrypha, with costs borne by the Roman Catholic Church and other churches interested.⁴⁴

The New Testament

Mr. Cyril Sanderson was mainly responsible for the new translation of the New Testament called *Linjila*,⁴⁵ which was published in 1971 with a green cover.⁴⁶ Due to disagreements over the translation of many important concepts a committee of reviewers was appointed by the churches in Northern Nigeria. Prominent among the reviewers were the Rev. Peter of the SUM (Sudan United Mission) and Mallam Paul Yusufu.⁴⁷ A new *Linjila* emerged out of this committee's effort and was published with a black cover in 1974. This translation made some improvements on Sanderson's but it also contained controversial renderings. Perhaps the first person to challenge the translation renderings was G. Bishop, an SIM missionary in Zinder, Niger Republic. One such rendering was the retention of the word *Hanzari* for "defense" instead of *Kariya*, as is contained in the Old Testament. Another word translated wrongly was Sea of Galilee, rendered *Tabki*, a pool.⁴⁸

The new *Linjila* was sent to the Review Committee in Kano for re-working. After going through this edition, Watkins discovered further inconsistencies and

shortcomings which she reported to Philip Stine thus: 1) Much of the text is so worded as to depend on intonation for understanding. Elliptical sentences abound, and many words are left out. To a Hausa, reading with proper intonation this would cause no difficulty, but to many readers either newly literate or those whose mother tongue is not Hausa it will cause much difficulty; 2) Words spelled in different ways, i.e. *Saan nan* (correct) is also spelled *Sannan* and *Sanan*. The latter ones are heard in slurred informal speech only, never written; 3) Kano dialect is not maintained, mixed with other dialects in some passages e.g. *Kashegari* (Kano) and *Washe-gari* (another dialect); 3) Different plurals for the same word *laifi* written both *Laifofi* and *Laifuffuka*; both are correct but must not be mixed; 4) Inaccurate idioms e.g. Hausa does not say "God can"; they say that carried the sense of the possibility of inability. Instead they say "God has the power." The first is used all throughout the Linjila. Additionally, Hausa do not begin a sentence with *Kuma* (and) a feature found in the linjila; 5) Old spelling brought up to date e.g. *nan danan* for *nan da nan*; 6) *Komai* for *Kome*. The Hausa do not usually write *Komai*. In spoken Hausa it is reserved for anger and disgust; 7) Some obsolete and unusual Hausa words are used which only a native born Hausa can detect; 8) Many English words or Anglicized words are used, which are common in Nigeria but not in other West African countries where Hausa is spoken. They are unnecessary where there are common Hausa words understood by all.⁴⁹

There were many other mistakes or mistranslations but perhaps of less fundamental importance. On receipt of the report, Stine directed that all the comments made by Watkins be incorporated before the New Testament was printed with the whole Bible.⁵⁰ This was done and the Hausa New Testament manuscripts reached the printers in London on 1 November 1977.⁵¹

The Rev. Maikudi Kure further rendered an invaluable service by preparing the glossary (with the help of Mrs. Maryamu Ishaya, a "middle belt" person) and the index for both Old and New Testaments and putting hooked letters in these texts.⁵²

Finally, when the work on the Hausa Bible was finished it was recommended that 20,000 copies should be published with the Apocrypha and 100,000 without them.⁵³

The Unfinished Task

The 1980 Hausa Bible was a great achievement. But it cannot be the whole story of Bible translation for Northern Nigeria. While the translation was originally meant to facilitate proselytization in the particular cultural context of the Hausa, we know for certain that by 1960 most of the Christians in Northern Nigeria were from the "middle belt" peoples, not the Hausa. There is no doubt that such cultural groups desired the Scripture in their mother tongues. This desire can be seen in individual attempts, one of which was that of Barnabas Gwa Gwompwel, called "Barnabas Gowon" by G. F. Hansford of the Technical Studies Department, Institute of Linguistics, Jos. Gwompwel is said to have translated the whole of the New Testament into Ngas shortly before his death in 1973. In 1974 the United Bible Societies were considering publishing 3,000 copies of Gwompwel's Ngas New Testament.⁵⁴ It was published by the Nigerian Bible Translation Trust in 1977.⁵⁵

By 1980 when the new Hausa Bible was published, only three 'middle belt' languages had the whole Bible or portions of published.⁵⁶

Language	Date of Publication
Igala	1970
Nupe	1953
Tiv	1966

Northern Nigeria Languages in which only the New Testament has been published include those listed below:

Language	Date of Publication
Agatu	1984
BaatonunKwara	1977
Berom	1984
Bura	1937
Ebira	1981
Eggon	1975
Gbagyi	1956

Idoma	1970
Igede	1980
Jju	1982
Jukun (Takun)	1980
Kamnwe (Higi)	1975
Kuteb	1985
Longuda	1978
Mambila	1977
Ngas	1977
Rubassa	1972
Tangale	1932

There is no doubt that the “middle belt” languages were neglected for a long time. This perhaps may be due to the obsession of early missionaries with the conversion of the Hausa Muslim as pointed out by Meyer.⁵⁷ The consequence of this neglect, to our mind, was the delay or absence of an indigenous Christianity in these areas. Sanneh has pointed out the importance of the development of vernacular language for indigenization; “missionary adoption of the vernacular, therefore was tantamount to adopting indigenous cultural criteria for the message, a piece of radical indigenization....”⁵⁸ This is because the mother tongue is the language of the heart in which culture and religion are expressed and assimilated, as Smith has said:

Men need two kinds of language, in fact: a language of the home, of emotion, of unexpressed associations and a language of knowledge, exact argument, scientific truth, one in which words are world-current and steadfast in their meanings. Where the mother tongue does not answer both needs, the people must inevitably become bilingual; but however fluent they may succeed in being in the foreign speech its words can never feel to them as their native words. To express the dear and intimate things which are the very breath and substance of life a man will fall back on the tongue he learnt, not at school, but in the house - how, he remembers not. He may bargain in the other or pass examinations in it,

but he will pray in his home speech. If you wish to reach his heart you will address him in that language.⁵⁹

Conclusion

It may be safe to postulate here that a close study of the effects of the use of Hausa language as a language of catechism and liturgy in the “middle belt” might be revealing. It might show the degree of superficial Christianity in this area. Thus it is possible that the missionary selection of Hausa was to unify many of the tribal groups in the North, but the extent to which that resulted in the creation of a monolithic North is another matter. For example the Plateau tribes have always asserted their independence from Hausa/Fulani hegemony.⁶⁰ Thus Hausa language hegemony in this vast area may not necessarily be in the best interest of these other peoples. How far do the local pastors who are perhaps trained in Hausa Bible Schools really understand the Hausa to communicate in it effectively is difficult to say. But we may conclude that, no matter what, no language can substitute for the mother tongue. In spite of this fact, in the case of the 1980 edition of the Hausa Bible, care was supposedly taken to express the message in a way that non-Hausa speakers can readily understand, since for the non-Hausa in Northern Nigeria the Hausa language is his second or even third, if not fourth language. Real Hausa, whether Sokoto, Bauchi or Kano, for most of them is often out of reach.

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- ¹ Christopher Fyfe, *A history of Sierra Leone*. (London:1971) p.8.
- ² *West Africa*, 15th June, 1981. p. 1356.
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- ⁵ *West Africa* op cit.
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- ⁹ G.O.M. Tasié op cit.
- ¹⁰ E.P.T. Gramton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* (London:1979) p. 18.
- ¹¹ E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary impact on modern Nigeria 1842-1914* (London:1966) p. 121.
- ¹² *Ibid.* p. 124
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 125.
- ¹⁶ For details see Ayandele op cit. pp. 132-144.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 126.
- ¹⁸ D.N. Wambutda, "A very brief history of Hausa Bible" in *Nigeria Christian*. 5:3. p. 5.
- ¹⁹ Crampton op cit. p. 133.
- ²⁰ D.N. Wambutda. op. cit..
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Philip Stine to U.B.S. A/12 Hausa. 29 Jan 1973.
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- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
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- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
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- ³² E.W. Bunkowske to M. Kure. 27 Aug 1973.
- ³³ P. Stine to B.S.N. 23 July 1974.
- ³⁴ M. Kure to Bunkowske. 24 Oct 1974.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.* See also P. Stine to Nandi. 17 Oct 1974
- ³⁶ Bunkowske to B.S.N. 16 May 1977.
- ³⁷ Stine to Fr. Kenny A/12 Hausa. 15 Aug 1971.
- ³⁸ P. Stine, Heber Peacock report A/12 Hausa. Aug 1971.

- ³⁹ Father Bede Jagoa to Dr. Peacock. 1970.
- ⁴⁰ P. Stine to Fr. Kenny A/12 Hausa (5). 15 Aug 1971.
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- ⁴³ Eugene W. Bunkowske to J. Kenny. 29 Sep 1975.
- ⁴⁴ Report by Eugene W. Bunkowske, Peacock, Federau and P. Stine to Bible Hausa (London).
- ⁴⁵ P. Stine to Mr. N.L. Krarup of Radio Voice of the Gospel, Jos. 1972.
- ⁴⁶ P. Stine, Heber Peacock report A/12 Hausa. Aug 1971.
- ⁴⁷ P. Stine to Krarup. op cit.
- ⁴⁸ Mr. G. Bishop to Helen M. Watkins. 6 June 1974.
- ⁴⁹ Watkins to Stein. 5 Jan 1975.
- ⁵⁰ P. Stine to Old Testament translators. 4 Feb 1974.
- ⁵¹ Bunkowske to M. Kure. 22 Nov 1977.
- ⁵² Stine to Watkins. 24 July 1974
- ⁵³ Richard Faith to Bunkowske. 1977.
- ⁵⁴ G. F. Hansford to Rev. David Cohen. 14 Feb 1974. See also the Rev. Cohen to G. F. Hansford. 5 Mar 1974.
- ⁵⁵ Nigerian Bible Translation Trust (N.B.T.T.) publication. 1986.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Lysle. R. Meyer "T.J. Bowen and Central Africa: a Nineteenth Century Missionary Delusion," *The International Journal of Africa Historical Studies*. 15:2 (1982).
- ⁵⁸ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message*. (New York:1987)p.3.
- ⁵⁹ Quoted in Lamin Sanneh. op cit. p.108.
- ⁶⁰ See J.H. Harrison. "Plateau Societies' Resistance to Jihadist penetratism" in Elizabeth Isichei (ed) *Studies in the History of Plateau State, Nigeria*. (London:1982).

Training TEE Leaders: A Course Guide

Margaret Thornton, editor

(Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1990) Ksh 60/=; 108 pages

This useful new book is directed toward the basic training of TEE group leaders. The editor states "Our primary purpose is that it should be an outline for courses in group leadership training" (p. 1). Since the book is intended as a course guide, it is divided into twelve teaching units plus an introduction.

The introduction details the book's purpose and origin, offers suggestions on how to use it, a proposed course outline, and a definition of selected terms. The book also has appendices on self-teaching materials, guides for evaluation of group leaders, and methods of testing and grading TEE students. The concluding section is an annotated bibliography of significant books on TEE which should be included in a programme's library.

Six initial teaching units provide an introduction to TEE for "basic students." Two of these deal with background information on "What TEE Is All About" and "Self-Teaching Materials in TEE." One unit provides information beneficial for understanding adults as "The Learners." Another identifies the roles which may be assumed by members of "The Group" and seven factors affecting the characteristics and roles of "The Group Leader" and his/her responsibility in preparing for and planning "The Discussion Meetings."

Three outstanding and very practical units follow the six introductory ones. The first is on "Writing Questions for Discussion" which helps a leader prepare questions and evaluate their appropriateness to the lessons learned. The next unit identifies the stages involved in "Leading Discussion," and touches on practical problems found in group discussions. The training received in these two units is immediately followed with a unit requiring the student to put into practice that which has been learned. Throughout each of these units there is a very strong emphasis that the "leader/enabler" should encourage the students to apply what is being learned and to become all that Christ would have them to be, rather than an emphasis merely on knowing and obeying what the Bible teaches. Two concluding units provide ideas for administrators on "Assessment of Group Leaders" and the "Administration of TEE Programmes" on different levels. The final teaching unit is more a spiritual letter of challenge and encouragement to the prospective leader.

Training TEE Leaders meets a legitimate and long felt need of many TEE administrators in Africa. The development of quality leader training programmes will be greatly enhanced by the use of this course guide.

Especially helpful is that each teaching unit is structured with: (1) lesson aims, (2) notes for the trainer, (3) topics to be presented or discussed, (4) suggested questions for discussion, and (5) suggested additional reading materials. Various methods of teaching are used, or are recommended for use, in the training programme, including (1) presenting material which may be new to the students followed by question and answer, (2) introducing a question to be followed by discussion in a plenary session, and (3) assigning personal/practical tasks particularly in regard to writing discussion questions, planning and leading a discussion group followed by critique. This variety of approaches provides useful models for prospective leaders to use in their own groups. It also helps prevent repetitious presentations by those leading the training.

This Guide is also to be commended for the excellent quality of material provided in the sections on adults as learners, on roles assumed within a group, and on group dynamics. A final very valuable aspect of the Guide is the practical supervised development and use of discussion questions in leading a time of group interaction.

Based on seven years of experience in training prospective TEE leaders in Africa, this reviewer considers this book to be an immense contribution to TEE in Africa. At the same time, there are points at which the book could be improved, especially if it is ever issued in a revised edition. First, since this is a "course guide," the omission of certain topics from the course is surprising. For example, no Scriptural foundation is laid for the extension method of education, and very little is said in the introductory units on the history and philosophy of TEE as an educational method.

Secondly, the unit, "What TEE Is All About" seems to perpetuate the early confrontation between non-residential and residential theological programmes. Having been a part of both approaches, this reviewer believes we need to emphasize the validity of both for the training of church leaders. The two should be presented as complementary rather than as in conflict, with one better than the other.

Thirdly, this "course guide" lacks a direct emphasis on the difference between "teaching" and "learning." This reviewer was amazed to discover that only a fleeting reference was made to the fourth chapter of Fred Holland's book, *Teaching Through TEE*. A unit on teaching and learning is essential for the

training of good leaders to better enable them to know how to lead. It also would add emphasis to the need for the student to apply the lessons being learned to his/her own life. It could also serve as a lead-in to the unit on "The Group Leader."

Fourthly, "The Group Leader" is one of the weakest units in the book, because it overemphasizes the role of the leader as "learner" instead of "educator." A more balanced approach is needed to the role of the TEE leader, since in some ways the position presupposes an educator, one who has been trained training others. At time a "leader" must temporarily become "teacher," and this seeming conflict needs to be realistically dealt with in "basic" training. In addition the unit's primary emphasis is on the work of the group leader. The character, qualifications and administrative abilities of a good TEE leader are relegated to an appendix.

A fifth area for improvement would be the order of presentation, the format, and the content quality of the units. A future edition should more accurately reflect logical sequencing of subject matters. In this edition, the units on "What is TEE" and "Self-Teaching Materials" are separated by units on the learners, group, and leader. Although each unit's structure is basically the same, there is no consistent format. One or more segments may be omitted. One structural aspect omitted most often is that of "practical assignments" for the students. Recommended readings, written assignments, or other suggestions would be useful for the instructor.

Concerning the quality of content, while some units have a great deal of information, others are too brief. Such conciseness appears to assume greater knowledge on the part either of the course leader or of the student than may be the case. In some instances the reader must refer to an appendix to find any information on the topic being presented. For example, in the unit "Leading Discussion," the section "Some Practical Problems" presents five questions but no helps are given for answering them. One of these questions lists seven types of problems encountered in group discussions without defining or explaining the terminology used. Would the average participant in this course understand the terms "joker" or "tangent" as used in the context of discussion groups?

Finally, the units on "Assessment of Group Leaders" and on "Administration of TEE Programmes" as presented there would be more effective in an "advanced course" for TEE administrators. These units contain quality information but are more advanced than necessary for a "basic course." In such a course, prospective leaders need to know that they will be evaluated, and why, how and when it will

occur. The assessment process should be presented from the standpoint of the method used by the programme rather explaining different methods which may be used. Similarly the unit on administration needs to be made applicable to each individual programme. The "basic" student needs fundamental instruction on the local programme's administrative and academic policies and procedures.

For TEE programmes in Africa this book is an excellent place to begin in providing practical helps to enable administrators to improve the quality of their programmes. This reviewer would strongly recommend that every TEE administrator study and make frequent use of this book. Much of the material will also benefit non-TEE group leaders. Religious education courses in residential schools could make use of its material in adult education classes or in a class that deals with different methods of teaching and learning. This book would also be a valuable textbook for any residential theological school course on TEE, and should be in the library of every residential school.

Ray Davidson, MDiv
Nigerian Baptist Convention TEE
Kaduna, Nigeria

Bridging the Gap: African Traditional Religion and Bible Translation

edited by P. C. Stine and E.R. Wendland

UBS Monograph Series No. 4, (Reading UK/New York: UBS, 1990), 226 pages

The Cultural Factor in Bible Translation: A Study of Communicating the Word of God in a Central African Cultural Context

by E. R. Wendland

UBS Monograph Series No. 2, (London: UBS, 1987) 221 pages

Language, Society, and Bible Translation

by E. R. Wendland

(Bible Society of South Africa, 1985) 261 pages

Do not be put off by the specific reference to Bible translation in these titles. Although the books focus on contextualisation in Bible translation, anyone engaged in Christian communication can profit greatly by reading what the authors have to say. The titles are a clear indication of their intention: all three volumes explore that socio-cultural gap between the biblical religious context and the African traditional religious context which is a major concern of all Bible translators, and indeed the concern of all contextualisation efforts and discussions. The specific approach of each volume will be considered separately.

Dr Ernst Wendland, the principal author, is a seminary professor in Lusaka, has a doctorate in African literature, and has published several books on the cultural problems of Bible translation. He has long experience in Central African cultures: he grew up in Zambia; he teaches seminary in Lusaka; and he has worked extensively for Bible Societies as advisor to the Chitonga (Zambia) and Chichewa (Malawi) Bible translation projects. He has a longstanding interest in broad-based missiological concerns, and his many years of living, teaching, and translating in Central Africa combine to bring a richness of experience to bear on his topic. His deep appreciation for African culture and his serious concern to communicate the Christian message in a carefully contextualised form show through in these volumes.

In each book, Wendland heaps up examples drawn from the Chichewa and Chitonga translation projects, which demonstrate in detail the potential contradictions between specific biblical texts and the cultural assumptions of a

receptor community. This is not done in the broad, general terms often encountered in contextualisation studies. Rather it is a serious attempt to analyse the cultural distance and to devote detailed attention to some specific problem areas. Quality Bible translation requires the translator to contextualise theology, and it should be no surprise that translators have a great deal to say to this topic!

The first book, *Bridging the Gap*, is in two parts: the first part (pages 1-130), written by Wendland, offers an exposition of traditional religion in Central Africa. A major difficulty in African traditional religious studies is that of providing a conceptual framework within which to control the mass of specifics and to draw out some generalisations. Wendland proposes three models which provide such a framework in which to conceptualise traditional religion, and also sets out seven principles under which he proposes "analyzing, organizing, and evaluating the masses of data which are available to work with" (p.71). These chapters provide useful models for students to explore in order to improve their own analyses of traditional religion.

Wendland concludes Part I with a presentation on how the Tonga translation of the book of Job will be interpreted against the background of traditional religion. This is a useful demonstration of the way that receptor culture can interfere with the interpretation of the biblical text. For example, Wendland points out, with reference to Job's discourse in chapter 3, that it is considered vulgar and coarse in the extreme to speak of sexual matters concerning one's parents, and such a person would be despised and possibly socially disciplined (p.115, and see Job 3:10). Moreover, against the background of witchcraft, Job's strong statements could be misinterpreted as being a curse. Such possibilities must put the translator on guard, and must be taken into account when the translation is evaluated.

Part II of this book presents four case studies which explore the gap between biblical world view and specific (partial) world views of four different African societies, by examining the terminological resources of each. Turkana (Kenya) is covered by Krijn van der Jagt; Aloo Osotsi Mojola looks at Luo (Kenya); Lynell Marchese Zogbo considers the religious world of the Godié (Ivory Coast); and Philip Noss devotes his attention to Gbaya (Cameroon). Mojola is speaking of his home-community, and the other three have extensive experience of the societies on which they write. All four are translation consultants with Bible Societies in Africa. The problem of communicating the biblical message "is not just a translational problem but an existential one as well," Mojola concludes (p.171).

The second book, *The Cultural Factor*, is concerned with problems arising in Bible translation from cultural mismatch between the biblical and receptor cultures. Song of Solomon 1:2 ("Oh that you would kiss me with the kisses of your mouth, for your love is better than wine") provides a dramatic opening example of the book's theme. In Tonga culture, kissing is not a cultural expression of love and the verse smacks strongly of western cultural intrusion, of the prostitute and the bar! Whether one prefers to read Song of Solomon as an allegorical poem of Christ's love for the Church(!), or as a song in praise of the deep expression of love in an (ideal) human relationship, if its opening words conjure up associations of promiscuous sex in a booze shop, then the cultural factor cannot be ignored.

Chapters 4 to 6 form the core of the book's attention to translation problems and the contribution that the receptor culture makes. Biblical concepts unfamiliar to the receptor culture is the topic of chapter 4, while Chapter 5 provides a good overview of the difficulties encountered with figurative language, a much more pervasive area of difficulty than often thought. Chapter 6 considers a range of sociocultural matters which affect the interpretation of direct speech quotations. This is a quite disparate group of topics which affect how a translator approaches direct speech. Wendland considers a variety of details which are not given much attention in most discussions on the subject.

Chapter 7 takes the reader through the book of Ruth, with a cultural commentary which gives contrasting assumptions arising from Tonga/Chewa traditional world view, and which could lead to difficulty in clear interpretation of the narrative. The book closes with a brief discussion of the interference which can creep in through a mediating messenger-culture, a topic which will be familiar to students of contextualisation.

The third book, *Language, Society and Bible Translation*, begins with a perfectly normal definition of socio-linguistics, but soon takes off into a tacit definition of Wendland's own, which is then parenthetically revealed to be a synonym for much of what is normally covered by the linguistic term "pragmatics", or "the interaction of significant factors in the extra-linguistic context" (p.17).

Wendland focuses on direct speech quotations in the scriptural text (p. 1-2), and he attempts to link author-intention, reader-response, and text-centred approaches to hermeneutics with his preferred model of communication. In chapters 3 and 4 he sets out how a range of socio-linguistic factors bear upon the interpretation of the text.

Chapter 5 links socio-linguistics with discourse, with the latter defined as units of oral or written organisation greater than the individual sentences. The chapter then shows how socio-linguistics and discourse can be applied to the analysis of Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan woman in John 4:7-26. This is the kind of information too often neglected in commentaries, and even in courses which purport to deal with exegesis of the biblical text. Chapter 6, with short examples drawn from Numbers and Deuteronomy, reinforces the way that receptor culture expectations bear upon the interpretation of dialogue, which is generally much more dependent on the reader making the correct inferences than is narration.

Chapter 7 deals with evaluating the quality of a translation, according to a number of widely recognised criteria. Wendland proposes the four major evaluative criteria: fidelity, intelligibility, naturalness, closeness. These interact with seven additional form-meaning parameters:

- optional/obligatory adjustments
- meaningful equivalence/formal correspondence
- closeness/naturalness
- accuracy/acceptability
- designative/associative meaning
- figurative/non-figurative texts
- text/context

This provides a much more sophisticated set of criteria than is usually applied by theologically-trained people in their evaluation of translations.

In evaluating all three books, one must first say that Wendland's strength in all he writes is the wealth of illustrative material he adduces, first from the biblical text, and secondly from the problems a translation faces in new cultural environments. This supports his continual insistence that quality translation demands careful handling of linguistic and extra-linguistic matters. He repeatedly deals seriously with the non-linguistic contextual factors upon which legitimate interpretation is based, and explores these more relentlessly than many others writing on the topic. The frequent examples from Tonga and Chewa show to good effect how the full resources of the receptor language can be utilised to reveal interpretive nuances of the original. He persuasively demonstrates that translation problems will not go away, and that literal translation simply ignores the severe problems of interpretation which will be encountered. Underlying these discussions is the tacit claim that translation accuracy is not a simple comparative judgement of the "meaning" of the source text with that of the

receptor language text: accuracy cannot be assumed in the absence of an interpretative dimension, and that makes accuracy depend on pragmatic factors.

From a theoretical point of view Wendland's work is weakened by his commitment to handle the substantive issues he raises within the framework of the SMR model of communication: his work would have been stronger--and possibly would have greater impact if he considered the pragmatics issues without prior commitment to any particular "theory" of human communication. However, there is much of value in his insights, and we may hope that future contributions will be presented in a framework that is more flexible and intuitively satisfying.

Wendland's writing style relies too heavily on parenthetical information, which is offered in a variety of typographical or syntactic formats, and which he uses to amplify or qualify so much of what he says. There are a few misprints, and the bibliographies are sometimes inaccurate, but these errors are unlikely to worry most readers.

In conclusion, all three books provide a useful resource for theological lecturers, with their riches in specific examples both of the mismatch of biblical and traditional religious concepts in Africa and of ways in which the gap between these can be bridged. These books are good surveys, thought-provoking for those who know the precepts of closest natural equivalence translation, for those who distrust the same precepts, and above all for those who seek to communicate the Word of God, whether by preaching, teaching or translation. All three books should be on library shelves of theological colleges, and senior undergraduate and graduate students should be expected at least to read extracts. Their value is not in the theoretical framework that Wendland propounds, but in the wealth of specific detail that he discusses, and for this it is worth accommodating to his somewhat idiosyncratic terminology.

Ronald Sim, PhD
SIL/Wycliffe, Nairobi, Kenya

Contextualization: Meaning, Methods and Models
by David J. Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen
(Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989)

If the literature on contextualization is compared to a table full of food, then the banquet has by now grown too large for easy digestion. So much has been written on the subject that the average teacher or pastor finds it difficult to stay in touch with even the most important contributions. In *Contextualization: Meaning, Methods and Models*, David Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen offer a valuable service by providing "tastes" of the banquet. Hesselgrave and Rommen are colleagues on the faculty of the School of World Mission at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. Hesselgrave has contributed many books to the discussion on cross-cultural communication of the gospel; both men have spent their lifetimes thinking and teaching about contextualization and so are well-qualified to write this book.

Contextualization is only an introduction to the subject. The reader looking here for a comprehensive theology and methodology of contextualization may be disappointed. Instead of offering an exhaustive discussion, the authors stimulate the readers' thinking by providing different ways to think about contextualization. They begin by giving the historical framework, examining examples of contextualization from the Bible and from the history of missions, before summarizing the recent debate on the meaning of the word. The biblical and historical surveys are very brief, but the authors are careful to explain that they do not intend "to present a complete history of contextualization . . . , but rather to demonstrate the universality of the problems which make some sort of contextualization necessary" (p. 2).

The authors' second stimulus to thinking about contextualization is a sampling of the work of recent contextualizers. With little editorial critique they introduce the reader to the work of men like Kraft, Nichols, Koyama, Gutierrez, Mbiti, and Kato. The reader is, for the time being, left on his own to reflect on the theology of these men. I found this section to be accurate in its summary of the men I have read, and a good way to get the reader involved in the process of critically evaluating how others have contextualized theology. Occasionally, however, the summaries were a bit too brief for someone unfamiliar with the primary

literature. For example, I have not read the work of José Miguez-Bonino, and I felt I needed a fuller discussion of his thinking in order to analyze it usefully.

The third stimulus to thinking about contextualization is an introduction to "five analytical tools" that provide a standard for evaluating any model of contextualization. The first tool is to examine contextualization based on the contextualizer's understanding of revelation. This is the right place to begin the discussion on how to contextualize, although I felt that the chapter needed a discussion of the Bible's own teaching about revelation. Other tools include examining contextualization from theological, anthropological, hermeneutical, and communications perspectives. Throughout this section the authors use the models of the preceding section to illustrate how to apply the analytical tools. This neatly ties together the different sections, and gives the reader a chance to test his own evaluation of the models. The authors have done an excellent job of gathering the many subjects relevant to a study of contextualization into their discussion of the five tools. They exhibit an impressive command of the literature and provide a biblically-centered approach to using each of the tools.

At the same time, each chapter of this section on tools was almost painfully brief; each was only a taste of five subjects that must be thoroughly studied and digested before contextualized theology can be done or evaluated. In particular, the discussion of context, language and culture seemed too brief to fully equip the reader with an anthropological tool for contextualization. The brevity of this section could also lead to other criticisms. For example, when discussing the theological perspective on contextualization, the authors put various approaches to contextualization on a theological continuum that progresses from Orthodoxy to Liberalism. While I found myself basically in agreement with their conclusions, some readers may feel that the authors have overly generalized in the interest of simplicity. Another section that needed further development was their discussion of how Charles Kraft's use of communication theory influenced his contextualization. I felt that their analysis of Kraft was generally accurate and perceptive, but that some of the issues needed a more detailed discussion.

The final section of the book begins with the authors' own theory of contextualization. As with other parts of the book, their approach is sound, but they only touch on ideas that require more discussion. For example, the authors summarize in just two sentences the process of how the interpreter overcomes his pre-understanding and understands the original intended meaning. The remaining chapters of the book present five examples of "contextualization that is relevant and authentic" among tribals, Indians, Chinese, Muslims, and Europeans. This

section contains a variety of contextualized methods and subjects that will stimulate creative thinking on how to do contextualization.

Among helpful aspects of Hesselgrave's and Rommen's book were the short summaries at the end of each chapter. These bring together the diverse elements of each chapter and skillfully relate the theme of the chapter to the book as a whole.

Contextualization is a useful book to stimulate thinking about how God's eternal, unchanging message can be explained to the different, ever-changing peoples of the world. It solidly defends the integrity and absolute authority of Scripture, and introduces readers to the tools they will need to evaluate and to do relevant and authentic contextualized theology. Libraries of African theological colleges should own this book, and teachers of contextualization, theology, hermeneutics and evangelism should read it. The reader will enjoy bites at the contextualization banquet which will whet his appetite to work toward a more fully developed theology and methodology of contextualization.

Steve Strauss, MTh
Evangelical Theological College
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism

edited by John Piper and Wayne Grudem

(Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1991) 566 pages; \$19.95

The feminist movement has been the cause of much debate in recent years and has had an impact on the Church. Many evangelical men and women have come to rethink their interpretation of Scripture and to conclude that women and men should be treated exactly the same in the Church. These evangelical feminists do not reject the Bible's authority or truthfulness; rather they have arrived at new interpretations of biblical teaching on manhood and womanhood and on the role of women in the Church. They believe that women should be ordained and that no limits should be put on their places of ministry.

Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood is a book written to respond to the arguments of evangelical feminists. The book results from a project of the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood. The Council was formed in 1987 by concerned evangelical pastors, professors and lay people, who stated their rationale, goals and affirmations in the *Danvers Statement* --a document finalized at a meeting in Danvers, Massachusetts in December, 1987 and presented as an appendix in the book. One of the purposes of this book is "to provide the *Danvers Statement* with biblically faithful and culturally informed support and elucidation (p. 403)."

In the preface, the editors state that their primary purpose is to help Christians "recover a noble vision of manhood and womanhood as God created them to be . . ." This new vision is for "Biblical complementarity", a vision which they hope will avoid previous hurtful practices, but which will also avoid the opposite mistakes of evangelical feminists who blur God-given distinctions between men and women. They reject terms such as "traditionalist" and "hierarchicalist" to describe their position, since these terms do not clearly suggest the equality and beneficial differences between men and women.

The book offers contributions from 22 different individuals, including biblical scholars, pastors, and women authors such as Elisabeth Elliot. The contributors seek to demonstrate that the new interpretations of evangelical feminists are unpersuasive and should be rejected. They also want to set forth a positive exegetical and scientific case for true biblical manhood and womanhood.

In order to accomplish this purpose, contributions are offered in five areas. Section One presents a vision and overview of "Biblical complementarity" and of the central concerns of the controversy. Section Two presents exegetical and theological studies of biblical passages and teaching on manhood, womanhood, and the role of women in the Church. Section Three provides arguments from Church history, biology, psychology, sociology, and law on why women and men should be seen as different and treated differently. Section Four presents applications and implications for women in society and the church, and considers how the earlier presentations should be worked out practically.

The book concludes with a point by point critical response to the statement "Christians for Biblical Equality", which was drawn up by seven conservative evangelical scholars in response to the Danvers Statement, and appeared in 1990 as an advertisement in *Christianity Today*. The book takes issue with this statement because its authors deny "that men alone are called by God to bear the primary teaching authority in the church as elders and pastors(p. 406)."

The book is well-organised, well-researched and well-written. It offers a useful point by point discussion of the key issues regarding feminism in the church, and it seeks to clarify what the Bible does and does not say. Numerous quotations are given from current evangelical feminists, and their arguments are dealt with at length. While the book attempts to disarm the feminist arguments, its greatest strength lies in its in-depth expositions of relevant passages and biblical teaching. These expositions alone make the book a valuable contribution.

The book also does a good job at setting forth a balanced but strong affirmation of what true manhood and womanhood are and how men and women complement each other. It reaffirms the important role and responsibility that men have in leading the home and the church, as well as the crucial role that women have in carrying out God's purposes. The authors have done well in presenting their opposition to evangelical feminism while maintaining a spirit of love. Finally, the book gives strong warning to the dangers of evangelical feminism in weakening young people's sense of their unique sexuality.

While the book is directed to the current controversy in America, it is a valuable asset for the Church in Africa--not because it uniquely addresses African issues per se, but because it attempts to set forth a thorough Biblical approach to true manhood and womanhood. Elisabeth Elliot in her contribution refers to the statement by Francis Schaeffer: "Tell me what the world is saying today, and I'll tell you what the church will be saying seven years from now (p. 395)." This can also be true for the African Church. The world is promoting feminism. In the

years to come, liberal as well as evangelical Christians in Africa will be tempted to sing the same song that their brothers in Europe and America have sung. The question is, "Will the Church in Africa be able to discuss and deal adequately with the issues of worldly and evangelical feminism?"

The book is also helpful because it addresses the question of the ordination of women and the role of women in the Church. In Africa, women are already serving as pastors in the Church. Should this be? This book will challenge pastors and denominational leaders to consider the biblical basis and social implications of such a practice. African theological libraries would be wise to secure a copy, and theological educators should use the book in the classroom. The explanations and definitions of manhood and womanhood should be discussed in courses on Christian marriage, and other portions should be used in courses on ecclesiology. Lay persons would also benefit from reading selected portions on the role of men and women in church, in the home, and in society.

Howard Ostendorff, D.Min.
Nairobi International School of Theology
Nairobi, Kenya

The Message of Acts: To the Ends of the Earth

by John R. W. Stott

(Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1990) 405 pages; £9.95

Is the book of Acts relevant to the twentieth-century church? In this study John Stott responds with a resounding yes! This is Stott's third contribution to the *Bible Speaks Today* commentary series, of which he is co-editor. The series aims at providing readable, accurate biblical expositions that clearly indicate the relevance of God's Word to life today. In terms of its stated objective, this volume on Acts has succeeded admirably.

John Stott certainly is not a newcomer to the field of Bible exposition. The richness of his background in the pastoral ministry, in conference speaking, and in writing is evident. His work demonstrates a healthy balance between scholarship and application. Beginning from a solid biblical base, he addresses the down-to-earth concerns of Christians who seek to implement their faith. With 405 pages, *The Message of Acts* is more than a brief survey. The Introduction (pp. 21-37) is long enough to handle adequately the main questions: author, date, purpose, sources, historical reliability. While the material is treated with academic integrity and scholarly interaction, the discussion is presented in a readable, easily followed manner that would not discourage non-theologians from using the book.

Indeed, the overall readability of Stott's work makes it a volume I would readily suggest to Christian friends interested in biblical studies. I would also recommend it for post-secondary theological schools in Africa, where it could serve as a textbook for an English-based study of Acts. The practicality of the volume should not obscure the fact that it is also academically viable, and conversely its intellectual integrity should not imply that Stott's work is only for ivory tower theologians.

Herein lies the strength of *The Message of Acts*: the combination of wide scholarly reading (with appropriate interactions noted in the text or footnotes) and genuine concern for the relevance of the biblical text for the life of today's Christian. Evangelicals have not lagged behind in terms of academic studies of Acts (F. F. Bruce and I. H. Marshall come quickly to mind). Nor has there been a void in terms of evangelical contributions to the study of theology and social ethics. Here in Stott's exposition one finds a powerful combination of these two

elements. Solid biblical exposition gives rise to informed discussion of contemporary issues the Christian must face, such as baptism of the Spirit and charismatic gifts, economic sharing, racial prejudice, and missionary principles.

The Message of Acts is published in paperback form, keeping its cost within reason. At just under £10 it seems to be a good value. Nevertheless, I do wonder how well the binding of such a large paperback might hold up to constant use as a class text. The organization of the material has the "feel" of being the product of someone accustomed to public speaking: Acts is divided into easily grasped sections, and then subdivided into three or four (often parallel) points, much as one might expect in an expository sermon. Applications to relevant issues generally come at the end of a chapter or section.

A few suggestions about the overall presentation could be proposed. First, the map of the "Near East in the First Century AD" (p. 64) strains the eye. It needs a bigger, bolder typeface to make the city names legible. Secondly, I would have preferred that the two-page chronological chart (pp. 19-20) be printed on facing pages rather than front-to-back. Finally, the Preface (p. 11) notes thirteen different issues to be addressed. It would be a help for the reader if the locations of these discussions were indicated. For example, to find the discussion of Paul's missionary principles, one must search somewhat haphazardly before discovering it at the end of the first missionary journey. A footnote in the Preface or a brief list elsewhere would have eliminated this problem.

Stott has traveled widely, and he attempts to focus on broadly-based truths that have universal application. He thus integrates examples from the suffering in Angola and from the East Africa revival. Yet sometimes an uninformed, unexamined western perspective still seems to slip in. One obtrusive example is a reference to "primitive societies" (p. 291). Such slips are, however, uncharacteristic of Stott's writings.

In this volume on Acts, Stott has not broken any new ground in terms of scholarship, but chooses to follow paths already well surveyed. His outline of Acts, for example, is basic and defensible (but undefended). Stott's biblical exposition is solidly evangelical and offers no surprises (though I had never considered the possibility that the Philippian jailer was baptised in his own well). He undertakes to settle some questions, such as the variations among the three accounts of Paul's conversion. For other questions, such as why Paul called the High Priest a "white-washed wall", Stott offers the suggestions of other scholars without committing himself. At times he seems to defend both sides of an issue, as for example when discussing the relative value of the medical language of

Acts. Along with Marshall and others, Stott sees Luke as both historian and theologian. Contrary to some commentators, he opts neither for "Acts of the Apostles" nor "Acts of the Holy Spirit" as expressing the theme of Acts. Rather, basing his thoughts on the introductory comments of Acts 1.1-5, Stott prefers the (admittedly cumbersome) title "The Continuing Words and Deeds of Jesus by his Spirit through his Apostles." All in all, one finds little to fault in this exposition of Acts, even in those areas where one takes different positions on particular issues.

The Message of Acts is a welcome addition to the *Bible Speaks Today* series, and a good acquisition for any theological library or for anyone who has occasion to teach the book of Acts.

Dr Judy Hill, PhD

Bangui Evangelical School of Theology
Bangui, Central Africa Republic

Developing Leaders through Theological Education by Extension. Case Studies from Africa

by Stewart Snook

(Wheaton: Billy Graham Center, 1992) xii, 227 pages; \$7.95

Developing Leaders is a landmark contribution to the literature on Theological Education by Extension and the task of training leaders for the church in Africa. Stewart Snook has rendered us a valuable service with the publication of this study.

Snook has done his homework on TEE. His scope is as broad as Africa; he covers nearly all the known TEE projects. His research is thorough; he isolates as many variables as he can. For once we have a general assessment of TEE from someone who has done lots of "snooping and sniffing." He has been there himself.

I also like the style of this book. His broad statistical surveys are balanced with narrative case studies. The assessment of programmes is balanced with interviews with people. And he has found the practitioners who know what they are talking about: when Kiranga Gatimu or Julie Fehr speak, I listen.

Snook writes as a sympathetic insider. He has spent most of his missionary career involved with TEE in southern Africa. He invested his life in the success of this movement. While some might protest that his deep involvement in the movement skews his objectivity, I would much rather hear from a seasoned veteran than an indifferent outsider.

The chapter on the development of TEE provides a good background to the uninitiated. This material could probably be gleaned from other sources, but Snook gives his research a useful framework by relating it to the whole spectrum of TEE.

I suppose that good research should provoke more questions than it answers, and *Developing Leaders* has certainly done that. Some of the questions I was left with after reading Snook are:

1. *Does TEE indeed produce leaders?* "Success" is defined and measured in this study only in *internal* terms: materials, costs, number of students, and so

forth. However, the effectiveness of TEE can only be measured *outside* the programmes, in the church, the community, and in the overall Christian education endeavour in Africa. It could be argued that a programme which is costly, poorly managed and educationally sloppy--but which produces ten good workers--is more "successful" than a programme that runs like a Swiss watch but doesn't produce any leaders. Snook doesn't address this central question.

2. *Why has Africa not come up with a unified system of TEE?* TEE has been standardized and accredited in Latin America. Why not in Africa?

3. *TEE is a sub-category of what general subject?* Snook takes the position that TEE is a division of adult education, which is a sub-set of education. Unfortunately, "adult education" as defined by the scholarly community is an academic step-child. It had a brief popularity in the 1960s, but it has little clout as an emerging discipline. The literature and research that came out of the adult education movement have contributed little to the art and science of instruction. It would be a mistake to anchor a dynamic movement into a sterile discipline. An idealistic alternative would be to view TEE as a tool to accomplish the teaching component of the Great Commission: making disciples. This would give it scriptural validity, but put it outside the scope of academic legitimacy. Also, it would raise the next unanswered question.

4. *Is "leadership" the desired outcome?* By the world's standards, yes. It is the Holy Grail of the educational community. Leadership! Just the sound of that elusive quality evokes academic awe. But is it scriptural? It seems to me that the primary educational focus of the New Testament is on workers, servants, stewards. The people known in the New Testament as "The Leaders"--governors, Pharisees, emperors--all wore black hats. Why should the Church try to produce more of those?

5. *Does Africa really want TEE?* In practical, realistic terms, TEE in Africa is a sub-set of the missionary enterprise there. It is a function of missions' "Departments of Education". Its worth is decided in terms of dollars and personnel: is this a good spot to place missionaries? As things now stand, if the mission agencies in Africa decide it is worthwhile, TEE will expand and grow. If they do not, it will die. So far the African church has not wholeheartedly embraced TEE. In many cases they perpetuate the programme "because the missionaries think it is a good idea." Why hasn't there been a groundswell of enthusiasm from African churchman for TEE? Perhaps because the concept was transplanted directly from Latin America without regard for African learning

styles. Perhaps because the administrative systems do not fit the African way. Perhaps because it simply was not an African idea.

Stewart Snook has opened up many difficult questions worthy of additional inquiry. This initial study promises to be a benchmark for further research. In the years to come, the literature of Christian education in Africa will refer to "the Snook Study" as one of the milestones in the field. More important than that, Snook's analysis is a valuable contribution to the work of Christ's church in Africa. It is to be hoped that the important questions he has raised will provide the foundation for whole new systems of instruction in Africa.

Mike Henderson, PhD
African Leadership
Indianapolis IN, USA

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