THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CHRISTIAN
RELIGION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
LEADERSHIP GROUPS IN EAST AFRICA
(KENYA, UGANDA, TANZANIA)

by

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PREFACE

This treatise deals with the impact of Western Christian religion on the development of leadership groups in East Africa. The leadership groups discussed in this treatise concern spontaneous African independent leadership that has emerged in the ecclesiastical as well as in the political arenas as a result of Westernization of East Africa by the Christian missionaries, and other agents of social change operating in the country from the time of first missionary entry into East Africa up to the present time. The period covered in this treatise is approximately from the middle of the nineteenth century, when the first Christian missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, went to East Africa, up to 1966.

The impact of Western Christian religion on the development of leadership groups in East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda) is a historical account of the acceptance of Western Christian religion by the Africans, and the reaction against it, or some aspects of it, by the Africans, as a result of the experiences which the Africans have had with the Christian missionaries in their practice of Christianity.

This is a study of the clash of two cultures -- the European and the African cultures -- and the subsequent repercussions. The purpose of this study is to analyze the nature of the impact of Western Christian religion on African social structure and way of life, with the view to discovering

the reasons underlying the kind of responses that have manifested themselves on the part of the Africans in their encounter and relationship with the Christian missionaries.

Chapter I deals with sociological theoretical analysis which discusses some sociological theories past and present, which explain the rise or origin of religions or religious cults in different societies. In this treatise I have indicated variously in this chapter, where some of these sociological theories of the origin and rise of religions or religious cults appropriately apply, especially in Chapters V and VI which deal with the rise of African independence church movements, and independent political leadership in East Africa.

Chapter II gives the reader the historical background, which is the prelude to the proper understanding of the factors underlying the motives for missionary entry into East Africa, and an account of the conditions in Europe which facilitated the missionary enterprise. It also gives a brief description of the prevailing African religious belief and social structure prior to Western impact.

Chapter III deals with the impact of Christianity on African social structure and the nature of this impact. I have attempted to include in this chapter some details concerning the major characteristics of the African traditional religion and Western Christian religion in order to help elucidate the complexity of the problems involved which have a direct bearing on the nature of the study itself.

Chapter IV deals with the missionary attitude toward African leadership in churches. It shows the past and present attempts by the missionaries to prepare Africans for leadership in churches. I have also shown their failure and success in this effort. This chapter also shows the present efforts on the part of the missionaries to sustain African membership in Christian churches.

Chapter V deals with the impact of Christianity on African church leadership. Here I have attempted to analyze reasons for African independence church movements in East Africa and to show how these reasons have a direct relationship with Christianity and missionary activities. It has been necessary to omit many African independent church movements because of the duplication which would be entailed in including them, as far as reasons for these independence movements are concerned. The lure of Islam as a religion competing with Christianity has also been indicated.

Chapter VI describes how Christianity has been instrumental in stimulating African independent political leadership.

Chapter VII gives the viewpoint and the attitude of the present African leaders about Christianity in East Africa. In presenting the attitude of the present African elite toward Christianity it was necessary for me to contact leaders in the East African governments and to read up to date government official publications and newspapers in order to have a clear understanding of the present attitude.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter I wish to set forth some sociological theories of the origin of religion, as they have been propounded by writers, both past and present, with the view to indicating their relevance to the emergence and establishment of African independence church movements and political leadership in East Africa.

According to Paul Radin in his Primitive Religion, Its Nature and Origin, the origin of religion may be attributed to man's response to a threatening situation in his environment. One aspect of the unfavourable circumstances that may confront man in his primitive stage, is economic insecurity that presents itself before him due to some uncontrollable powerful forces of his environment. To confront such a threatening situation, in his emotional state of insecurity and powerlessness, man resorts to religious fantasies pertaining to the supernatural to cushion his perturbed condition.[1] This theory of Radin's applies to primitive societies but it may also apply to the so-called civilized societies as well.

According to Karl Marx, religion belongs to the realm of ideology. As an ideology, according to Marx, religion is

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[1] Paul Radin, Primitive Religion, Its Nature and Origin, The Viking Press, New York, 1937, pp. 6 — 9.

a political weapon used by the dominating classes in making the masses obey. It is a weapon which makes the superordinate subdue the subordinate. Religion, to Marx, is the opiate of the people. By this Marx meant that any disturbances and tensions that may be present in a society are controlled or kept in check by the religious beliefs and practices in that society, but that "this is done for the benefit of the dominant few, while the creative energies of the great majority are bottled up."[2]

Religion, according to Nietzsche, derives from society. It is an instrument of the weak, suppressed lower classes, which springs from the resentment of the people in the weak lower classes, who revenge themselves against the powerful.[3]

Max Weber, the German sociologist, has his own theoretical position as to the origin of religion or religious movements in societies, which is different from the Marxian and the Nietzschean positions as stated above. Weber maintains against Marx and Nietzsche that religion springs from its own autonomous area. According to Weber neither the necessities of social life nor the imperative needs of the dominating groups

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[2] J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1965, p. 61.

[3] Friedrich Nietzsche, "What is the Meaning of Ascetic Ideals?" (Third Essay) in "The Genealogy of Morals," in The Philosophy of Nietzsche, The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., New York, pp. 128 - 146. The whole section under the title "What is the Meaning of Ascetic Ideals?" is worth reading in particular, and the whole section under the title "The Genealogy of Morals" is worth reading for a wider and general comprehension of Nietzsche's theory of the origin of religion.

can explain the existence or origin of religion. He maintains, therefore, that ultimately religion springs from the meta-physical needs of man. It is important to note here however, that Weber is aware of the non-religious factors which account for the origin of religion.

In his The Sociology of Religion Weber explains the origin of religion in society dualistically. He uses the term "elective affinity" to show the relationship between social classes in society and religion. Dualism refers to the existence of social classes and religion as two separate domains, because according to Weber religion must be explained in its own terms. However, Weber establishes that a social class or stratum may have a world view which defends certain ideologies in society which might be of religious nature. Thus there would be an elective affinity between the world view of that particular social stratum or class and certain ideologies of a religious nature. Thus according to Weber different social classes in society may be the carriers of different religions or religious movements peculiar to their social class because of the elective affinity which exists between the two phenomena as has already been explained above.

Weber points out in his study of the history of higher religions that it is the middle classes in society rather than the low, poor, unprivileged economic classes, that play an important role in religion or religious movements. In this assertion Weber's analysis disagrees with the Nietzschean analysis of the origin of religion as has already been

mentioned earlier. According to Weber the poorest classes have not been very active in religious movements or as the carriers of religion.[4]

With the above stated theories of the origin of religion or religious movements in mind, it is now appropriate to proceed to additional general theoretical statements, pertaining to the emergence of religious movements among native people around the world. Particular attention is given to the religious movements in East Africa, since these are the movements that concern us in this treatise.

There are theories which explain the first beginnings of social inequality in different societies. The theories in this connection which are appropriate for our discussion and which are worth mentioning are those of Gumplowicz, Spencer, Lester F. Ward, and Westermarck.

According to Gumplowicz, who formulated the theory, the origin of social classes is explained by the theory that a division into classes is always originally connected with ethnical dissimilarities and the subjugation of one tribe by an alien tribe. Thus social inequality has arisen through the fusion of different nationalities by means of war: the conquerors form the dominant class in the general community, the conquered the subjected class.[5]

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[4] Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964, pp. 80 - 117. This whole section explains in detail Weber's concept of elective affinity as sketched above. Pp. 118 - 137 deal with the history of higher religions and religious movements.

[5] Gunnar Landtman, The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes, London, 1938, p. 38.

Spencer's theory is that "definite class distinctions do not exist where life is permanently peaceful." Class distinctions are initiated by war through the formation of a slave-class.[6] Westermarck theorizes that "castes are frequently, if not always, the consequences of foreign conquest and subjugation, the conquerors becoming the nobility, and the subjugated the commonality or slaves."[7]

According to Lester F. Ward, one of the effects of the conquest as explained immediately above, "is the subdivision of the amalgamating group into a series of more or less distinct strata, called castes. The conquering race becomes the high caste and the conquered race the low caste. Between them there soon develops an intermediate caste, necessary to the life of the group."[8]

At this point it is important to see how the above stated theories relate to the situation in East Africa. The beginning and establishment of social stratification in East Africa can now be understood in the light of the foregoing theories pertaining to the origin of social class and social inequality. Before European invasion into East Africa there was little that students of society could say about the presence of distinct social strata as can be discerned in the present day Westernized East Africa, because before then there were no

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[6] Gunnar Landtman, op. cit., p. 38.

[7] Ibid., p. 38.

[8] Ibid., p. 102.

such distinct social classes in East Africa. I have ela-
borated more thoroughly on this point in Chapter II under the
title "The Prevailing African Religious Belief and Social
Structure" before Western impact.

The point that concerns us here is that the invasion of
East Africa by the Europeans in the middle nineteenth century
and thereafter introduced a system of social stratification,
in which initially, the Europeans, being the conquering and
subjugating race became the dominant class in the general
community, and the Africans the subjected class. Thus the
British who subjugated the Africans in East Africa formed
the ruling, dominant, and higher class, and the Africans the
lower class. The higher class was composed of British Govern-
ment officials, white settlers, as well as the European
missionaries who entered the country.

The point to note here is that the Africans, now being a
subjugated people, were bound officially or unofficially to
conform to the British pattern of rule in which they were
imperatively and indiscriminately made to absorb certain
elements of Western culture by the British Government officials
and Western Christian missionaires. In this process of
acculturation (which was mainly a unilateral phenomenon, in
that the Africans were absorbing Western culture, while the
Europeans were not absorbing African culture, with the
exception of African languages which the missionaries learnt)
a new religion -- Western Christian religion was introduced --
as well as new Western values. The introduction of the new

monetary economy, for example, was responsible for the acquisition of many new Western values by the African. Also in this process many African values were lost and replaced by the European values. Thus certain aspects of African culture were lost.[9]

The process of Westernization in East Africa which was characterized by the introduction of the new monetary system, literacy, and Christianity, among other elements of Western culture, inevitably was responsible for social change in the African society. The African acquired new tastes and values which necessitated aspiration for the acquisition of these new values and tastes. Among other things, it was now necessary to have money, receive a Western education, and have better clothes, houses, and other conveniences of every day life which would satisfy the needs of the newly acquired Western values. Meanwhile, in this process of social change, the Western Christian missionaries were preaching universal Christian brotherhood and equality among all men everywhere. This equality, of course, was interpreted by the Africans to embrace economic, political, and social fairness and egalitarianism which would put him on the same footing with the Europeans. This African hope, however, was not forthcoming because as I have pointed out, the invasion of East Africa by

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[9] See pp. 102 - 145. The whole of Chapter III in this treatise deals with this subject. The reader will be reminded of this subject when he reads in detail, especially the sections in Chapter III beginning from "The Divisive Influence of the Christian Religion: Denominations -- Protestant Denominations and Catholic" up to the end of the chapter.

the Europeans introduced social stratification in which the Europeans occupied the higher class and the Africans the lower class. Nevertheless, the Africans hopelessly strove to acquire the kind of standard of living which they saw the Europeans enjoying. This was natural since the Europeans were now the Africans' reference group. To acquire the same standard of living was impossible since there already existed a kind of caste system in which it was not easy for the majority of the Africans to overcome the barriers which made social mobility into the higher class impossible.

In the light of the above circumstances the African was left with little choice but to resort to other methods as a means of escape from his frustration and precarious condition. This was necessary also because as I have pointed out, some elements of African culture were being destroyed by Western impact, but nothing more adequate or satisfying as far as the African was concerned, was replacing these destroyed or fast disappearing elements of African culture. African family structure and religious beliefs and practices are some of the examples in point which illustrate the African elements of culture which were being destroyed.[10]

In connection with the foregoing statement above it is important to note what some of the students of religious

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[10] See Chapter III, pp.107 - 145. on "The Mission Schools: Their Proselytization and Education; Their Approach and Methods of Converting People to Church," and on "The Impact on Marriage and Family," and p.128 ff. on alienation of land from the Africans.

movements in modern civilized societies as well as in the so-called primitive societies, observe concerning this phenomenon of religious movements.

J. Milton Yinger in his Religion, Society, and the Individual, theorizes that when religious integration (here he assumes that religion has an integrative function in a society) in any society is weakened, other types of integration for subdivisions of the society in case, tend to emerge, because of the functional necessity of a unifying system of values.[11] Yinger gives the example of nationalism in our time as a phenomenon that has emerged as a result of weakened religious integration in society. In this treatise I have outlined the reasons for the emergence of African nationalism in East Africa in Chapter VI and the reader will see how this analysis explains Yinger's position as stated here.[12]

Yinger outlines the circumstances that are responsible for the weakening of the integrative function of religion in societies, and which may in turn be the cause of the emergence of religious movements in societies. First, he observes that the integrative function of religion is at a minimum (other things being equal) in societies where more than one religion is practised. This first condition for the weakening of the integrative function of religion applies to the situation in

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[11] J. Milton Yinger, op. cit., p. 68.

[12] See Chapter VI, p. 232ff. on "Western Christian Religion as a cause of African Nationalism."

East Africa where after the introduction of Christianity by Western Christian missionaries there were many Protestant denominations as well as Catholicism together with the existing African traditional religion -- all being practised in East Africa at the same time. I have indicated the situation and the concomitant problems which this plurality of religious beliefs have raised, in this treatise, in Chapter II under the sub-title "The Different Missionary Groups: Protestants and Catholics;"[13] and in Chapter III under the sub-title "The Divisive Influence of the Christian Religion: Denominations -- Protestant Denominations and Catholic."[14]

Secondly, Yinger notes that when the "established expectancies" of the members of a society are frustrated, the integrative function of religion in that society may be weakened. By "established expectancies" Yinger means the satisfaction that the members of that society have come to expect. When these satisfactions are denied, he observes, those who feel frustrated may become "more religious." He adds that such members of the society "are more likely to use religion to express their sense of separation and even as a weapon to fight for the establishment of their rights."[15] An example which illustrates this kind of reaction, on the

[13] See Chapter II, pp. 41 - 64.

[14] See Chapter III, pp. 102 - 107.

[15] J. Milton Yinger, op. cit., p. 68.

part of the Africans, to Western Christian missionaires is
the one I have indicated in Chapter V under the title "Church
of Christ in Africa"[16] (an African independent church move-
ment). For other African independent church movements in
this category the reader may see footnote 16 below.

Another African independent church movement which is an
example of the reaction on the part of Africans to Western
Christian missionary teachings as explained in the paragraph
immediately above is "The African Greek Orthodox Church"
which is also analyzed in Chapter V.[17] Yinger gives an
example in North America where the nominally Christian
Indians used the Ghost Dance against white Americans, which
is also an illustration of this second point in our
discussion.[18] The Mau Mau movement in Kenya, East Africa was
also an example of this point under discussion.[19]

Thirdly, Yinger mentions that social change may reduce
the appeal of the ritual and belief systems of a people in a
society, so that what formerly gave one generation "a sense
of a unifying tradition may alienate parts of another
generation who have been subjected to different social and

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[16] See Chapter V, pp. 198 - 202. on "Church of Christ in
Africa;" p. 209 on "The African Christian Church and
Schools," and Legio Maria Movement;" pp. 210 - 211 on
"The African National Church."

[17] See Chapter V, pp. 192 - 197.

[18] J. Milton Yinger, op. cit., p. 68.

[19] See Chapter VI on the "Impact on Political Leadership"
and especially pp. 241 - 244 about the Mau Mau movement.

cultural influences." I have adequately dealt with this point of social change in the foregoing paragraphs where I have indicated how the process of Westernization in East Africa introduced social and cultural change which in turn had consequences in the form of African reaction against white missionaries and European Government officials in their effort to revive or retain crucial African customs.[20]

Fourthly, Yinger further makes the important point that the integrative function of religion is weakened or greatly reduced when a society is sharply divided into classes, or other hierarchical divisions, and this is felt as an oppressive fact. He explains that religion itself may help to prevent a stratification system from being felt as an oppressive fact (the case of classic Hinduism or medieval Christianity are cited as examples) but that "it may not be able to do so in the face of competing value systems derived

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[20] J. Milton Yinger, op. cit., p. 68. I have outlined in Chapter V the African independent church movements which have been formed as a result of social and cultural change which was responsible for some elements of African cultural life being lost or discouraged by Christian missionary teaching. The cases of polygyny and clitoridectomy are noteworthy. In this connection see pp. 182 - 186 on "Clitoridectomy" and "The Kikuyu Independent Churches and Schools;" pp. 186 - 187 on "polygyny" and "The 'Nomiya' Movement;" p. 188 on "polygyny" and "The 'Orthodox Church';" p.188 on "Ancestral Spirits" and "Dini ya Misambwa;" pp. 189 - 192 on "medicine," "polygyny" and "The Society of the One Almighty God;" p. 203 on "polygyny" and "The African Israel Church;" pp. 204 - 207 on "unity and elimination of the multiplicity of Christian denominations in favour of only 'one' faith" and "The African Brotherhood Church;" p. 211 on "ancestor cult" and "polygyny" and "Last Church of God and of His Christ."

from non-religious sources or from some aspect of the religion itself."[21] To quote Yinger the following may be the result of these circumstances:

> If a religion cannot "explain away" the differences in income, power, and prestige on the basis of its own principles, it is less able to serve the function of integrating a society. Those who are most disadvantaged are particularly likely, under these circumstances, to desert the dominant religion and to accept some new religion, or proto-religion as the way to solve their problems. In such a situation, the religious forces are likely to express and even to accentuate the internal tensions of a society as they are to integrate that society. Thus the lower classes were those most likely to desert the emperor worship of Rome in favour of Christianity. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the lower classes and alienated members of the middle and upper classes have been the most likely to leave Christianity for secular salvation of Communism. And in India today, most converts to Christianity from Hinduism are drawn from the highly disadvantaged groups."[22]

The above observation of Yinger's shows a parallel with what the situation has been in East Africa. As I have already explained in the foregoing paragraphs, the social stratification introduced by Western invasion into East Africa put the Africans in the lower disadvantaged social class as compared with the European occupancy of the higher privileged social class. Christianity introduced by the Western Christian missionaries did not "explain away" the discrepancies in income, power, and prestige on the basis of its own principles, existing between the Africans and the Europeans. Thus reaction against Christianity or some aspects

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[21] J. Milton Yinger, op. cit., p. 68.

[22] Ibid., p. 68.

of it, on the part of the Christian Africans was bound to be the result since they were the ones most disadvantaged by the built-in system of the social stratification. Consequently, Africans started autonomous religious movements.

Vittorio Lanternari in his The Religions of the Oppressed -- A Study of Modern Messianic Cults notes that each of the great world religions such as Taoism, Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, "began as a prophetic movement of renewal stimulated by certain given cultural and social conditions in a time of crisis."[23] He observes that by comparing these great world religious movements with the religious movements which in our modern time "prevail among the so-called primitive people," one discovers that one of the key situations which are common to all of them is that "the striving for religious renewal and liberation arises from the rebellion of the masses against the existing official cults imposed by a ruling caste."[24] In colonial East Africa, the official religion was Christianity introduced by the ruling imperial Europeans who occupied the higher social class, as I have already mentioned earlier.

Edward Norbeck in his Religion in Primitive Society, notes that historically the emergence of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and also of the later forms of Christianity,

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[23] Vittorio Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed -- A Study of Modern Messianic Cults, The New American Library (paperback), Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1963, Preface vii.

[24] Ibid., Preface vii.

as religions, "has been correlated with disturbed social
conditions very frequently in the forms of threats to
economic security."[25] He further observes that all rapidly
emerging new religions (he calls them "new" "in the sense
that they represent sharp departures from the past") could
be described as arising from conditions critical to the
welfare of the human beings concerned. This description
applies to the situation and the emergence of African inde-
pendent religious movements in East Africa.[26]

Norbeck notes that "all religious movements of primitive
society have shared the aims of gaining benefits, whether
couched as salvation of the soul, as more earthly boons of
economic security and social equality, or as a combination
of all, but they have sought these ends in various ways."[27]

It is further pointed out by students of religious
movements in societies that salvation sects, for example,
those of the modern United States, have arisen among the
economically and socially least favoured sectors of the
population. This phenomenon is noticeable in areas of the

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[25] Edward Norbeck, Religion in Primitive Society, Harper and
Brothers, New York, 1961, p. 229.

[26] The reader may be reminded to read in Chapters V and VI
and to see how this statement relates to Christian impact
on church leadership and political leadership in East
Africa.

[27] Edward Norbeck, op. cit., p. 230. In this connection read
Chapter V of this treatise, pp. 186 - 188 about the "'Nomiya'
Movement;" p. 188 about the "Orthodox Church;" and especially
p. 188 about "Dini ya Misambwa." Other religious movements
in this chapter are also relevant. They explain and describe
the same point here.

world including Africa, the Americas, Asia, and the islands
of the Pacific Ocean where Europeans have had control over
the native peoples of these various areas. Similar conditions
and situations have obtained in these areas, which have
stimulated the rise of religious movements among the native
peoples of these lands. Conditions and circumstances that
have come about as a result of contact with Europeans and
Americans, include loss of traditional culture with con-
comitant maladjustment to the newly introduced elements of
Western culture, economic distress which has resulted from
alienation of land from the natives by the alien races in
control, and an awareness on the part of the natives, of
the existence of inquality with Europeans and Americans in
social and economic status and privilege.[28]

In East Africa, land alienation, especially in Kenya,
was one of the grievances on the part of the Africans to
the European Government officials, white settlers, and
European missionaries. This grievance was largely responsible
for the organization of the Mau Mau movement, which initially
was a secret political movement but which later acquired the
manifestations of a polito-religious movement.[29]

Generally speaking it may be said that crises such as
may be created by such circumstances as the ones already

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[28] Edward Norbeck, op. cit., p. 231.

[29] See Chapter VI in this treatis, pp. 241 - 244 about the
"Mau Mau Movement."

described in the foregoing paragraphs have in many occasions been met by organized religion. Crises may engender some social disturbance which may in turn create a condition favourable to religious movements in native societies even if these societies are not in contact with Europeans. But it has been noted that all those major native societies of the primitive world which have been in contact with European culture have produced religious movements. The notable exception to this statement is that of Australian natives. This explains the reason why in East Africa, out of the fifteen African independent church movements which I have analyzed in Chapter VI, fourteen are nominally direct Christian offshoots.[30]

The sum total of all the aforementioned theoretical situations in the preceding paragraphs, each in its own peculiar way, produces a response on the part of the native peoples concerned which manifests itself in religious movements which in many instances have been "nativistic movements." Ralph Linton in his article "Nativistic Movements" in American Anthropoligist has defined a nativistic movement as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."[31] It is not necessary in our theoretical analysis

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[30] See Chapter VI, pp. 182 - 212 in this treatise to identify those movements which are Christian offshoots.

[31] Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements" in American Anthropologist, XLV, No. 1 (1943), p. 230. "Nativistic movements" may also refer to secular non-religious movements whose aim it is to uphold indigenous culture.

here to elaborate on this definition, although this would be a very worthwhile attempt. The important point to note in this definition is that members of a native society, who are conscious that there are other cultures, other than their own, which are in close and continuous contact with their culture, and which, due to the process of acculturation continuously threaten their own culture to the point of destroying some aspects of it, or to such an extent that some aspects of it have already been lost or destroyed, as a result of such contact, may resort to nativistic religious movements to defend their culture against such demoralization.

In their conscious organized effort to defend their culture against breakdown, the members of the society concerned select and emphasize certain current crucial elements of their culture and seek to perpetuate them and give them symbolic value. Also they may find it desirable to revive certain selected past elements of their culture. Linton has called the former type of nativism "perpetuative nativism" and the latter "revivalistic nativism." Linton further makes a distinction between what he calls "magical nativism" and "rational nativism." The former is an unrealistic nativistic movement which lays emphasis on the supernatural, and which usually originates when some individual assumes the role of a prophet and those who believe in him as a prophet become his followers. It may have the semblance of a Messianic movement. One of its characteristics is that it is a

movement which appears in many societies in times of stress.[32]
Its basic feature is that it represents irrational flights
from reality in certain respects. It may be either reviva-
listic or perpetuative nativism or both.[33]

The latter, rational nativistic movement, like the
magical nativistic movement, is a conscious religious
nativistic movement which strives to revive or perpetuate
selected elements of culture, as Linton has described these
movements. But unlike the magical nativistic movement,
rational revivalistic nativistic movement is usually asso-
ciated with frustrating situations, and it is an attempt to
compensate for the frustrations of the society's members.[34]
The elements of culture that are revived are symbolical of
a past period when the society was happy or free. The move-
ment does not use magical means to order their condition.
It functions psychologically.

Rational revivalistic nativistic movements, in a
situation entailing adverse conditions, serve to maintain
the dignity of the members of the group participating in the

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[32] Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 232.

[33] The examples of magical nativism in this treatise, in
East Africa, are "Dini ya Misambwa" (especially); "The
Nomiya Movement;" "The Society of the One Almighty God;"
"The African Israel Church;" and "African Church of the
Holy Spirit." My treatment of the "Mau Mau Movement" in
Chapter VI has left out its magical nativistic aspects.
It is also included in this category. For the religious
movements stated here see Chapter V pp. 186 - 188; 188;
189 - 192; 203; 208 - 209.

[34] Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 233.

movement. Rational perpetuative nativistic movements, on
the other hand, are more functional in the maintenance of
social solidarity. In the case of rational perpetuative
nativistic movements, "the elements selected for perpetu-
ation become symbols of the society's existence as a unique
entity. They provide the society's members with a fund of
common knowledge and experience which is exclusively their
own and which sets them off from the members of other
societies."[35] What both the rational perpetuative and
rational revivalistic nativistic movements have in common,
is that they choose realistically those elements of culture,
carefully selected for symbolic use, with the view to the
possibility of perpetuating them under current conditions.

At this point it is appropriate to make a few general
theoretical statements pertaining to the emergence of
nativistic movements. Some of the statements to be made here
are already made or implicit in the forgoing theoretical
analysis of the origin of religious movements, but it is
worthwhile reiterating some of the most salient points
(if the points have already been made) in the form of a
succinct summary.

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[35] Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 233. The African independent
church movements in East Africa which most nearly repre-
sent rational perpetuative nativistic movements as
described above are "The Kikuyu Independent Churches and
Schools" as established under the auspices of the African
Independent Pentecostal Church and the Karinga Educa-
tional Association (African Orthodox Church). See Chap-
ter V, pp. 182 - 186 in this treatise.

If the existing relationship of two societies is
amicable so that the two are satisfied with their current
relationship or dealings with each other, nativistic move-
ments have little chances of emergence. Also if one society
in comparison with the other with which it is in contact is
at a disadvantage, but sees that its condition is likely
to quickly improve, or is actually improving, this fact may
ameliorate the situation so that nativistic movements may
not arise.

The above are conditions which act negatively in the
development and eventual emergence of nativistic movements.
On the other hand there are situations in societies which may
form breeding grounds for the cause and emergence of nativistic
movements. One common and salient cause is the presence of
inequality between the two societies which are in contact
with each other, provided the members of one society are
aware of this inequality. This inequality may emanate from
the attitude of members of one society toward members of
another society, or from a situation in which members of
one society are dominant and those of another are submissive.
It is important to note that even though there is a dis-
tinction between inequality which exists because of the
attitudes of superiority and inferiority on the part of the
two societies involved and the inequality which exists
because of the presence of a situation of dominance and
submission, nevertheless it is true to say that the latter
situation, that of dominance and submission, is concomitant

with the attitudes of superiority, on the part of the one
society, and inferiority on the part of the other.[36]

In the social relationship outlined above, it is a
common observation that nativistic movements occur among
the dominated groups. A good example, among many others,
is the East African case, where colonialism established a
social relationship between the dominating group (the
British) and the dominated group (the Africans). In this
situation the dominated group, or the subjected society,
who are Africans realized that their taking on of European
culture was not improving their social position in some
important respects. The consequence of this has been, on
the part of the Africans, the emergence of organized,
defensive, rational and magical, revivalistic and perpetu-
ative, nativistic religious and secular movements, as a
social response against what Glock in his "The Role of
Deprivation in the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups"
(1964) has called economic, social, organismic, ethical,
and psychic types of deprivation, with the view to overcoming
these types of deprivation and eventually establishing their
own rights separately in independence.[37]

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[36] Ralph Linton, op. cit. Here I am indebted to the analysis
of Linton. Note that inequality based on attitudes of
superiority and inferiority may exist in a situation where
there is no real dominance in social relationships.

[37] C. Y. Glock. "The Role of Deprivation in the Origin and
Evolution of Religious Groups" in R. Lee (ed.) Religion and
Social Conflict, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964,
in David Brian Barrett, Reaction to Mission: An Analysis of
Independent Church Movements Across Two Hundred African
Tribes, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia Uni-
versity, 1965, pp. 33 - 34.

Economic deprivation, according to Glock, refers to differential distribution of resources and limited access to them; social deprivation refers to differential distribution of status and prestige; organismic deprivation refers to that type of deprivation pertaining to physical or mental health; ethical deprivation refers to the dominant values of society which no longer suffice and the society or group seeks a new adequate system of values; and psychic deprivation refers to the feeling on the part of the group that it has been denied the psychic rewards of the material advantages of life.[38]

The African reaction to Western Christian religion, as analyzed in this treatise, in the East African situation, took place during colonialism (and continued even after independence in East Africa because of colonial legacy) at a time when the assumption of Western culture, including adoption of Christianity as the new religion of many Africans, in a superordinate -- subordinate situation, produced circumstances outlined throughout in this section in our theoretical sociological analysis. Due to these circumstances, which produced frustration emanating from deprivation as indicated above, a collective social protest, on the part of the Africans, was necessary as a corrective against the prevailing circumstances and as an avenue through which they could achieve social equality with Europeans.

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[38] C. Y. Glock, op. cit., p. 34.

This African effort necessarily entailed re-evaluation and re-assertion of African values and entity in certain respects. Hence, the emergence and development of African leadership groups in independent religious movements and in independent political organizations. The independent religious and political organizations that I have discussed in Chapters V and VI in this treatise, pertaining to the East African situation, mainly deal with the question as to how they emanated from the teachings of the Western Christian missionaries and how these had their impact on African social, economic and cultural structure.

Now it is appropriate to recall our earlier theories of the origin of religion or religious movements so far as the positions of Marx, Nietzsche, and Weber are concerned and see whether their theoretical positions apply to the situation in East Africa. The theoretical positions of these writers have been explained in the beginning of this theoretical analysis. Here, in this concluding section of this analysis it is worthwhile quoting a few remarks from Marx's writings on religion and particularly on Christianity. Writing on the social principles of Christianity Marx in his "The Communism of the Paper Rheinischer Beobachter" says the following, among other remarks:

> The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice,
> self-contempt, abasement, submission, dejection, in a
> word all the qualities of the canaille; and the prole-
> tariat, not wishing to be treated as canaille, needs its
> courage, its self-feeling, its pride and its sense of
> independence more than its bread.[39]

The religious and political revolution in East Africa as I have analyzed it in Chapters V and VI in this treatise, as the reader will see can be given a Marxian interpretation as the foregoing quotation above intimates. The Marxian interpretation or theory of the origin of religion in society, which in nature is not different from the Nietzschean theory, the reader will recall, says that religion is a weapon used by the dominating classes in making the masses (the proletariat) obey. The Nietzschean theory is that religion is an instrument of the weak, suppressed lower classes (the proletariat), which springs from the resentment of the weak lower classes against the powerful. To corroborate the Marxian and the Nietzschean positions as stated here we can give examples from the East African case by examining a few statements which stand out prominently from independent church movements in East Africa stating reasons for their break away from Christian mission churches or for their establishment. The following statements are pertinent to our analysis:

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[39] Karl Marx, "The Communism of the Paper Rheinischer Beo-
bachter," (extract) in Marx and Engels, On Religion
(Introduction by Reihhold Niebuhr), paperback edition,
Schocken Books, New York, 1964, p. 84.

The "Orthodox Church:" -- "It came into being mainly
as a rebellion against Western Christian European leadership
in churches...."[40]

Dini ya Misambwa (the "cult of the Ancestral Spirits"):
"....The main features of its teaching include independence
and freedom from European control...."[41]

The African Greek Orthodox Church: Sparta, the African
founder of this church states, "....A church established for
all right-thinking Africans, men who wish to be free in
their own house, not always being thought of as boys...."
"As a layman within the Anglican fold my chances of being
heard about the need for reform were very few indeed."[42]

Church of Christ in Africa: "....The Maseno group felt
that their voice was not heard or heeded by the authorities
of the Anglican Church because it was a new movement under
the direction of African leadership...."[43]

Legio Maria Movement: The leader of this movement says:
"One of the main reasons for the success of the African Church
is that we believe we can pray direct to God, even though we
are Africans. We get the key to Heaven from Jesus not from
Rome."[44]

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[40] See the "Orthodox Church," p. 188.

[41] See "Dini ya Misambwa," p. 188.

[42] See "The African Greek Orthodox Church," p. 192.

[43] See "Church of Christ in Africa," p. 198.

[44] See "Legio Maria Movement," p. 209.

The last but not least, is a statement from "The African National Church"[45] which it is not necessary to quote here. I do not wish to bore the reader by quoting any more statements from the religious movements in this treatise. The curious reader is welcomed to peruse the entire Chapters V and VI for additional evidences to prove our point.

The Weberian theory of the origin of religion is relevant here only in so far as his treatment of the relationship of religion and society and particularly of the social stratum which he considers is the major carrier of religious movements, is concerned. As I have already stated, Weber maintained that it is the middle classes in society that are the carriers of religious movements in societies. In the case of the East African religious movements this Weberian theory is true, especially as far as most "leaders" of the religious movements are concerned. But the majority of their "followers" are people in the low social strata. This is true since most of the people in the higher social strata do not want to join the African independent churches; but it is also true to say that these people in the higher classes are still by comparison in the minority when the population as a whole is considered. A statement from the Diocesan General Secretary of the Church of Christ in Africa, the largest African independent church movement in East Africa, shows the

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[45] See "The African National Church," and the two quotations on pp. 210 - 211.

composition of membership as far as social classes are concerned. Writing about the problems of running the church, he says" "Leadership is difficult because educated lots ran away from the church."[46] Usually in East Africa, today, the people who have had the chance of getting a reasonably good enough education occupy the middle class. This means that in the light of the statement just quoted, the membership of the majority of African independent churches is composed of people in the low class (because it is deprived of many educated people) since the statement is characteristic of most African independent churches.

Thus it would seem that as far as the membership of the African independent churches is concerned (the leaders of these churches are in most cases excepted), the Weberian theory as already stated, does not apply.

To conclude this theoretical analysis of our subject I wish to say to the reader that this is a necessary background for and a prelude to the understanding of the impact of Western Christian religion on the development of leadership groups in East Africa. I now introduce the reader to the subsequent detailed chapters which will tell the rest of the story.

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[46] This is a quotation from the letter which the Diocesan General Secretary wrote to the author concerning the Church of Christ in Africa, on December 13, 1965.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
MISSIONARY PENETRATION INTO EAST AFRICA:
REASONS FOR THEIR ENTRY AND PENETRATION

The European commercial revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which preceded the second industrial revolution, had necessitated an industrial revolution, that is, a shift to machine industry, in order to supply the needs of European markets overseas. But the second industrial revolution of the mid-nineteenth century was the machine age which compelled every European country concerned to demand more outlet markets and sources of raw materials to satisfy the needs which the revolution itself had stimulated. Moreover, the second industrial revolution made it necessary for people to withdraw from the land which was their main economic basis of wealth. Thus industry tended to supplant agriculture, and it was therefore necessary to produce more food to still the hunger of the increased population which had withdrawn from the land and which industrialization had produced.

Also, by nature of its own activity, the second industrial revolution created capital which needed more opportunities for investment, and concomitantly wider fields for

the application of the science and techniques engendered and stimulated by the revolution itself. Raw materials which the second industrial revolution needed were lacking in Europe. The new industry with increased machinery and locomotion demanded vegetable and mineral lubricating fuel oils; textile fibers for electrical instruments were needed; rubber was needed for tires; soap was in greater demand; and minerals such as manganese, phosphates, chrome ore, lead, copper, gold and others were demanded.

The foregoing circumstances in Europe, as a corollary of economic development, created industrial or capitalistic democracy which produced the business middle class. This business middle class gained direct or indirect power in those European states where industry had supplanted agriculture as the economic basis of wealth. These "captains of industry," manufacturers of textiles and machinery, bankers and financiers, shipbuilders, and others of their status were able to influence the government, if they found this necessary, in the direction of their own business interests. By the eighteen eighties, the expression "the flag follows trade," was a familiar one.

Thus, there were forces operating in Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century which necessitated the expansion of the national possessions of countries like Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. They saw opportunity in expanding their markets and obtaining raw materials required by the industrial revolution to feed their increasing

population, in Africa and Asia. Colonial expansion overseas required agents or pioneers who could take the initiative and bring about the necessary colonial expansion overseas. But these pioneers had to have sound motives for beginning such a move. Irrespective of whether the agents were German, French, British, Belgian or Italian, they were all impelled by similar influences, actuated by like motives, which were in turn engendered by the identical forces of the industrial revolution of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These forces were economic and psychological. The economic cause was the second industrial revolution with all its corollaries. The psychological cause on the part of each European country concerned involved an integration of racial, cultural, religious, political, and economic ingredients, which together formed a self-conscious nationalism which needed expression through the work of the respective pioneers.

The pioneers of this new colonial expansion of the nineteenth century were merchants, missionaries, traders, explorers, engineers, travelers, scientists, soldiers, consuls, and diplomats.

The principal agents of European impact on the East African life were the alien government -- which introduced new administration that was different from the kind of tribal traditional political organization that the African was used to; the Christian missions -- which introduced new religious denominations or beliefs unknown to the African, and formal

education and schools where reading, writing, and arithmetic
were taught; the trader -- who introduced alien money economy
to the African economy; the European settler -- who having
decided to make East Africa his home, has continuously been
instrumental in influencing the political issues and affairs
which have had strong repercussion on African life; and
finally, the army, where the African has had the experience
in military tactics and the use of weapons in distant lands
and at home, and in meeting the people of different tribes
and getting to know them.

Even though I am only interested in the impact of
Western Christian religion on leadership groups in East Africa,
it is necessary that the reader, at this point of our analysis,
be made well conversant with the various principal agents of
European impact on East Africa. Historically, and in the
incipient stages, the various agents enumerated were the
co-workers of the Western Christian missionaries in East
Africa, and together formed the milieu in which missionary
work has been continued all along to the present day.

Pursuing our historical analysis, it is appropriate
at this point to trace the initial stages of missionary
penetration into East Africa. The reader will recall from
the foregoing that European colonial expansion during the
middle of the nineteenth century and thereafter was given
impetus by the demands of the second industrial revolution
and that a combination of religion and economics united to
necessitate and encourage the colonial expansion which at

this time seemed inevitable. Thus the missionaries, among

other agents of European impact on East Africa, joining

scientists, and explorers, naturally became allies of the

capitalists, traders, promoters and diplomats and worked

with them as pathfinders of the new colonial movement.

European missionary penetration into East Africa was

given impetus and largely made possible by the work and

appeal of explorers, particularly David Livingstone, the

Scottish missionary, who was sent out by the London Missionary

Society "as an emissary of the then-prevailing objective

humanitarianism towards the 'heathen'."[1] Dr. David Living-

stone was first sent out to Bechuanaland in 1841, and he

soon turned explorer. His work was mainly in Central Africa,

but his last and most famous journey of exploration made

him come into contact with East Africa. His actual work

of exploration of the continent of Africa began in the year

1849. In his travels through central-eastern Africa, he

learnt and saw the evils of the then-prevailing slave trade.

He was convinced that this evil of slave trade could be

stopped if European settlement in these areas was encouraged.

He acted upon the conviction that European settlement alone

could introduce and promote the civilization of central-

eastern Africa, and put an end to the Arab slave trade. To

bring about this idea, Livingstone advocated the three C's;

commerce, colonization, and Christianity as three very

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[1] Mary Evelyn Townsend, European Colonial Expansion Since
1871, 1941, p. 57.

important elements to be appropriately introduced into this section of Africa to deal successfully with the prevailing poverty and ignorance among the natives. He saw that if the natives were to be freed from this, commerce should follow Christianity, because commerce would introduce a higher standard of living and thus eliminate poverty, which in his opinion, was the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity.

Thus Dr. David Livingstone saw that it was necessary to establish mission stations in this area of Africa so that these stations should be centres for farmers and traders. The farmers and traders would teach the natives to be economically independent so that it would not be necessary for the natives of one tribe to raid for slaves from another neighbouring tribe so that they could buy guns from the Arabs in exchange for the slaves. Moreover, Livingstone hoped that in this way, the different tribes would learn to work together so that they could resist the violence that existed among them.

David Livingstone thus practically prepared the way for the introduction of commerce, colonization, and Christianity by searching for a route into the interior of central-eastern Africa. Other outstanding explorers who worked in this area of Africa and who also were very instrumental in paving the path for missionaries, colonizers, and traders in central-eastern Africa were Richard Burton (later Sir Richard Burton) and John Hanning Speke whose work of exploration

together extended between the year 1856 and the year 1859;
Captain James Grant (and John Hanning Speke) between the
years 1860 and 1863; Mr. and Mrs. Samuel White Baker 1860 -
1865; Henry Morton Stanley 1871, 1874 - 1877, 1888 - 1889; and
Joseph Thomson, 1883.

It is important to point out at this juncture that
there are very interesting accounts of the work of the ex-
plorers mentioned in the foregoing: their discoveries and
the hardships they endured in their determination to make the
interior of East Africa known to the public of their own
homelands. But we are not here concerned so much with the
detailed accounts of their discoveries and exploration as
interesting as they are. The reader who is interested in
these details may be referred to the detailed accounts of
the discoveries of these explorers and the extensive work
they did in central-eastern Africa, by reading Pioneers of
East Africa, by P. Collister and E. Vere-Hodge, and An
Introduction to the History of East Africa, by Zoe Marsh
and G. W. Kingsworth. Suffice it here to say that David
Livingstone, the greatest of all the named explorers, who
died in 1873 near Lake Bangweulu in Nyasaland (Malawi),
was the one who introduced East Africa to a much wider
public.

In 1857, Livingstone appealed to Cambridge for help
to destroy poverty and ignorance which were handicaps from
which Africans suffered, and which limited their ambitions
to satisfy their immediate material needs. This appeal

resulted in the foundation of the Universities' Mission to

Central Africa which aimed at raising the African standard of

living, and at the same time bringing him into the Christian

fold. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa was

formed by a group of English High Churchmen.

The first Christian missionaires to enter East Africa

in response to the appeals and reasons outlined in the fore-

going were Dr. Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann who belonged

to the Church Missionary Society. Their going to East

Africa preceded the important appeal that Livingstone made

at home. In 1844, Krapf set out from Zanzibar and in 1846

he was joined by the Rev. Johann Rebmann, and together they

started a mission station at Rabai, some fifteen miles inland

from Mombasa, on the coastal part of Kenya. Both Krapf and

Rebmann were Germans.

Before we look at the different missionary groups

that entered East Africa from this period on, it is appro-

priate to examine very briefly the circumstances in Europe

which at the same time prodded the colonial movement, which

was being made feasible through the activity of the various

colonial agents as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Late nineteenth century European nationalism embracing

the economic, political, and cultural ingredients, supplied

the requisite stimulus to missionary activity, trading ventures,

and scientific inquiry in Africa. Consequently, after 1871,

this interest in Africa began to assume a distinctly nation-

alistic character. During this latter part of the nineteenth

century, Great Britian (contrary to the period of the first
half of the nineteenth century, which was a time of social
unrest, when the poor suffered from bad living conditions,
very low wages, very harsh laws, and very long hours of work)[2]
began to enjoy a period of great prosperity, and at the same
time, it developed a wide-spread interest in imperial affairs.
I have already outlined in a nutshell the motives for imperial
expansion during this time. But now it is impoptant to
note that this interest in imperial expansion in Asia, the
Pacific, and particularly in Africa in the last half of the
nineteenth century indicated very specifically the change
from international to the national attitude towards Africa.
It is not only Great Britain that was involved, but Portugal,
the United States of America, Italy, Japan, France, and
Germany also attempted to expand their empire and to increase
their existing possessions in one, or all of the areas indi-
cated above.

In 1876, King Leopold II of Belgium summoned the
Geographical Congress in Brussels which discussed the unlimited
opportunities for economic gain existing in Central Africa.
Upon his invitation, representatives of seven European states
assembled to discuss the opening up of Africa to civilization.
Among the representatives were scientists, explorers, and
travelers. The result of this Congress was the formation

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[2] Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsworth, _An Introduction to the
History of East Africa_, Cambridge, 1961, p. 91.

of the International African Association for the Exploration
and Civilization of Central Africa. It is interesting to
note that the commercial and economic motives were not
mentioned. Nevertheless, this body was to function nationally
through committees formed by each state. It is pointed out
that its machinery is one of the best concrete evidences of
the transition from the mid-century idea of humanitarian
internationalism to the modern reality of selfish nationalism.[3]
Townsend adds that it is significant to note that England
formed her own national committee, having no connection
with the association at all, and that one student of this
conference has suggested that the international character
of the association was but a cloak for furthering nationalistic
ends.

The story of Henry Morton Stanley, who was sent by
James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald to find David
Livingstone in Central Africa, is also significant at this
point. He arrived in Zanzibar in January 1871, and later,
on November 9th at Ujiji, in the Lake Tanganyika region,
he met David Livingstone. At the same time, he discovered
and publicized the vast economic possibilities of the "Dark
Continent," more than anyone had ever publicized it before.
This, together with the already outlined circumstances in
Europe, led to the scramble for Africa by the European
national states. The pace of colonial competition was now

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[3] Mary Evelyn Townsend, op. cit., p. 56.

greatly increased. Then came the Berlin Conference of
1884, and the Berlin Act of 1885 which allowed the partition
of Africa among European world powers.

The chief powers concerned with the scramble for and
partition of Africa at this time were Great Britain, Portugal,
Belgium, France, and Germany. King Leopold II of Belgium
was the person who was most earnest in starting the scramble
as indicated above by the meeting he convened in Brussels
in 1876. Germany under the leadership of Bismarck invited
all European countries to attend the Berlin conference
from November 1884 to February 1885, culminating in the
Berlin Act of 1885. The Berlin Act recognized King Leopold
II of Belgium as sovereign of the new Congo Independent State.
It is important to note that the Berlin conference stipulated
that no African protectorates should be claimed and would
be recognized unless the European power that claimed
protection over it was prepared to effectively manage it
and showed convincing evidence that this would be done.
It was also made clear that slave trade should be destroyed
wherever it still existed.

Thus, the partition of Africa had actually begun.
As far as Africa was concerned, the partition took place
between the years 1879 and 1899, and notably most actively
in the 1880's. But in our analysis we are only concerned
with East Africa, the area which today includes Kenya,
Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar), and Uganda.

Kenya and Uganda were acquired by Britain. Tanganyika was acquired by Germany and became German East Africa, and Kenya and Uganda became British East Africa. This partition was decided by the treaties of 1886 and 1890 in London and Heligoland respectively between Britain and Germany.[4] Thus the 1890 agreement ended the scramble so far as East Africa was concerned, and so far as the rivalry between Germany and Britain in East Africa was concerned. However, later as a result of the First World War, Tanganyika was mandated to Britain by the United Nations as a result of Germany being defeated and thus Tanganyika also came under the influence of Britain after 1918.

Now, after the settlement of the partition of East Africa was completed, the way now lay open for Britain to express and exercise its nationalistic interest in this part of Africa. The reader will recall the motives for this nineteenth century imperial expansion and the enumerated agents of colonialism through whom this expansion could be realized effectively. In the case of East Africa as has been indicated (and this was true in many other areas in Africa), the explorers first opened the way, and their reports aroused the interest of missionaries, geographers, and manufacturers. We are interested in what part the missionaries who entered East Africa played in furthering the interests of European impact on East Africa, with particular emphasis on what the nature of this impact has been on

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[4] Heligoland is an island in the North Sea.

leadership groups in East Africa. To the missionaries, East Africa was now a new kingdom to be won for Christ. Nevertheless, it is important once again to point out that however this newly discovered East Africa was regarded, missionaries, geographers, and traders all desired the same thing, namely, that this new region should be opened to peaceful trade and administration without delay.[5] Moreover, as Mary Evelyn Townsend points out, the missionaires of all nationalities were eager

> to make native peoples German, British, Italian, Belgian, as the case may be; and expansionists of all countries let no opportunity slip to employ missionaries, dead or alive, to advance the "kingdom," not only of God, but of nationalism and of economic power overseas. The Church Missionary Society supplied money to the British East African Company to enable it to remain in Uganda.[6]

With the foregoing as a background, the reader will now be introduced to the different missionary groups that entered East Africa during the period in consideration, and then on to the present day. The foregoing has thus far been a description of the incipient conditions which made it possible for the different missionary groups mentioned below to go to East Africa, and also of why they went there.

THE DIFFERENT MISSIONARY GROUPS: PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS

The two chief explorers of Central-Eastern Africa,

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[5] Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsworth, op. cit., p. 93.

[6] Mary Evelyn Townsend, op. cit., p. 30.

Stanley and Livingstone, were Protestants. Great Britain, too, was officially Protestant. Also, the chief movements to end the African slave trade were by Protestants. These factors accounted for the fact that in the nineteenth century, Protestants had a larger share than Roman Catholics in the planting of Christianity in Africa south of the Sahara, and thus in East Africa.

Missionaries, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, came to East Africa. These were the two major missionary groups of the Christian order that came to East Africa beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century. The reader will recall that the first missionaries to go to East Africa were Krapf and Rebmann who arrived in 1844 and 1846 respectively to start a mission station at Rabai on the east coast of Kenya. They were Protestants of the Church Missionary Society (The Anglican Church). This was the first and most famous of all mission centres in East Africa. The Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church started work in Uganda as a result of Henry Morton Stanley's letter which appeared in the London Daily Telegraph in November 1875, appealing for missionaries. Accordingly, missionaries of the Church Missionary Society began to arrive in Uganda. The first missionaries arrived here in 1877. They belonged to the Church Missionary Society.

The Anglican missionaries were not the only Christian invaders of Buganda (a kingdom of Uganda). In 1879, the first band of Roman Catholic White Fathers also arrived in Uganda

to join the Anglican missionaries. Thus the Roman Catholic missionaries were brought into close contact with the Protestant missionaries in Buganda as both had to stay in King Mutesa's court. Both groups of missionaries aimed at evangelizing the natives of Buganda. But the two leaders of these sets of missionaries, Mackay, the leader of the Protestant group, and Lourdel, the leader of the Roman Catholic White Fathers, did not have friendly terms with each other. Thus, from the beginning, both misunderstood and opposed the teachings of the other. This led to uncompromising acute rivalry between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. Moreover, the two groups found it difficult to foster friendly relations with the Kabaka Mutesa, the then ruler of Buganda who was being threatened by Egypt which wanted to annex Buganda and incorporate it into a greater Egypt, and who unsuccessfully sought help from the missionary groups to avert this danger from Egypt. As the danger from Egypt decreased, the Kabaka became less and less friendly to both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missionary groups. But the rivalry between the two missionary groups continued indefinitely, even up to the present day, although now the two groups are doing their best to promote understanding between them. In the beginning, missionary work in Uganda was made more difficult by the Mohammedan Arabs who were a still greater enemy to both Roman Catholics and Protestants. These Arabs took every opportunity to discredit these Christian missionaries before Mutesa, the Kabaka of Buganda, who thus became

increasingly hostile to the Christian missionaries.

It is also important to note that Mutesa, at this time, was being increasingly confused with the teachings of the European missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, and especially because of the Arab Muslim influence and converts who were also teaching him and his people the dogmas of Islam. Mutesa himself at this time said, "How can I know what to believe? I am first taught by the Arabs there is one God, the English come and tell me there are two, and now I am to learn there are three."[7] The third teaching in his last remark referred to the teaching of the French Roman Catholic priests who arrived in 1879. These priests told the King that the teaching by Mackay, the Protestant leader was false. This fact intensified the old quarrel and disagreement between the two groups of the Christian faith in Buganda. I have mentioned this confusion on the part of Mutesa as a significant point, in that it indicates the divisive influence of the Christian religion in the African society in East Africa, and this has had repercussions on African social structure as will be more properly analyzed and stressed in Chapter III.

The Roman Catholics first went to Zanzibar in 1860, under the leadership of Monseigneur Fava. Later, in 1863, their mission was taken over by the Society of the Holy Ghost.

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[7] P. Collister and E. Vere-Hodge, _Pioneers of East Africa_, Nairobi, 1956, p. 27.

This marks the beginning of active missionary work in the area which is now part of Tanzania.

The East African Scottish Mission (Protestant), which later became the Church of Scotland Mission reached Kikuyu, Kenya in 1898, and the Church Missionary Society in 1899. In 1901, the African Inland Mission (Protestant), settled at Kijabe, Kenya, on the border of the Central and Rift Valley Provinces. The Methodist Missionary Society started work in Meru, Kenya, in 1909. The four mentioned missions formed the Alliance of Protestant Missionary Societies in 1918, and with other missions, the Kenya Missionary Council in 1924. Later, these two bodies were absorbed, in 1942, into the Christian Council of Kenya.[8]

Thus toward the end of the nineteenth century, the East coast of East Africa and Zanzibar had come under the influence of a variety of Christian missionaries. They had rooted out slavery, and in these territories, namely, Kenya, Tanganyika, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, the foundations were being built for a new religion and civilization of western order. Before I begin the analysis of the impact of the new religion on African social structure, it is appropriate at this point to examine broadly the prevailing African religious belief and social structure prior to the introduction of the new Western Christian religion in East

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[8] F. B. Welbourn, East African Rebels - A Study of Some Independent Churches, S.C.M. Press Ltd., Bloomsbury St., London, 1961, p. 113.

Africa. This will acquaint the reader with the nature of the
subsequent impact of Western Christian religion on leadership
groups in East Africa and on the social structure in general.

THE PREVAILING AFRICAN RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE[9]

In pre-European days, East African theologies conceived
the universe as having been created by the Supreme Being, that
is, God. This fact is not difficult to prove, since linguis-
tically, it can be proved by anthropological research that
practically all the various tribes represented in East Africa
have in their languages and vocabularies a proper and distinct
word which designates the creator of the world and of nature --
God. These words which designate God, and which are found
among the various tribes in East Africa have in their conno-
tation the different attributes pertaining to God as the
natives conceived Him. It is impossible in our analysis to
enumerate linguistically the words designating "God" as found
in all the different tribal groups in East Africa, although
I recognize the fact that this would be very useful in proving

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[9] In the presentation of the material in this section I have
used the following sources for reference: John Vernon Tay-
lor, The Primal Vision - Western Christendom and the African
View of Life, S.C.M. Press Ltd., Great Britain, 1963; Lucien
Levy-Bruhl, Primitives and the Supernatural, New York, 1935;
Melville J. Herskovits, The Human Factor in Changing Africa,
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1962. For a description of
African traditional religious beliefs prior to Western im-
pact, see Melville J. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 70ff. Being
an African I have had the extra advantage of using my per-
sonal knowledge in giving as far as possible, the true
picture of African religious belief and social structure
throughout this section.

my point to the reader. Nevertheless, for our purposes it will suffice to give translation to the word "God" as represented in some of the following East African tribal groups: The Gikuyu, the Masai, and Wakamba, "Ngai" (the Supreme Being, the creator and giver of all things); the Luo, "Nyasaye" (the one to whom all human pleading for help is directed, the creator of all things), "Nyakalaga" (protector, helper, one who takes care of people); the Baganda, "Katonda" (Creator, Supreme Being), "Lugaba" (Giver), "Mukumi" (Protector), "Luhanga" (Protector).

Apart from the belief in the Supreme Being, East African religious belief also incorporated in this belief a strong belief in the vitality and forces of nature, both animate and inanimate, material and immaterial. Man in the African world view was inextricably interrelated with the natural order. These forces of nature played an important part in the life of the extended family, the clan, and the entire tribe. These forces and the vitality present in them according to the African world view, as he has experienced them in nature which surrounds him are noticeable in rocks, mountains, rivers, waterfalls, serpents, beasts, great forest trees, the sky, the earth, the wind -- especially powerful wind, the waves -- especially the effect of the powerful winds upon the waves and consequently on sailing boats or ships; rainbow, the sun, the moon, the stars, rain, lightning, death, and so on. This long list of forces of nature could be extended, but for the purposes of our analysis the ones enumerated will suffice.

Moreover, since the African could see the immediate effect of these forces on him in his daily life, for example, the rain nourishing his crops and grass for his livestock; the rivers, giving him water; the sun providing him with light and driving away darkness; the trees giving him shade to ward off the strong heat from the sun, and so on, he attributed these benevolent activities to the Supreme Being, the Creator of all things including man. Thus even though this Supreme Being is not so close to him (he does not see Him), nevertheless, he sees him through these natural forces created by Him that are so close to him and which daily affect his life either benevolently or destructively, whatever the case may be. These forces affect his life benevolently as long as his life is so disciplined that it is in accord with the total moral code embracing the social, economic, and political activities of his closely knit family, clan, and the tribe as a whole. In his world view, these forces are imbued with powerful spirits or souls which are capable of exercising their activities upon man and thus affecting his life. Moreover, it is the Supreme Being that gives command that these forces should act the way they do in everyday life and in their relationship with people. Hence, the African belief in a number of "intermediaries" (powerful forces of nature) as links between man and the Supreme Being, that is, God. These "intermediaries" are not "gods" in the African eye, for this would mean that they too have the attributes of God or the Supreme Being whom the Africans know is the Being that is

responsible for the creation of all things, including the "intermediaries" themselves. The Africans do not think that the intermediaries have equal status with God, for they have not imputed upon them the combined attributes of creator, omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience. The "intermediaries" as the Africans know derive their power from God and so they could not possibly be "gods" in themselves, but simply intermediaries through which the Supreme Being; could be brought into communion with men, could be propitiated or appeased in case He was angry with people because they infracted the moral code and had brought upon them a calamity which should be dispelled, or could be thanked with offerings and sacrifices and prayer as a result of the blessings and well-being He had bestowed upon the people at any point of time.

Western anthropologists, sociologists, theologians, and other students of African culture and religion observing African religious practices as described above, have for lack of a more appropriate or accurate term or word, branded these "intermediaries" "gods" or "lesser gods" and the African one God the "High God" -- meaning that in their terms they know the Africans have "lesser gods" in addition to their High God." I totally and emphatically disagree with these students in employing the term "gods" to describe the African belief in the powerful forces of nature. The reason for this disagreement has already been stated above. It would be, at this point, appropriate to try and examine whether the African belief in the Supreme Being or God has any elements of

monotheism as Western Christians would define the word "mono-
theism" in their religious belief. I have found the definition
given by James O'Connell of the Institute of African Studies,
University of Ife, Ibadan, Nigeria, an adequate one to clarify
the point in question. James O'Connell in his Myth, Monotheism,
and Modernization (mimeograph) says:

> Monotheism itself can be defined philosophically as
> the intellectual acceptance of one God who is infinite
> in power and goodness, who is the Creator - source
> of the world's being, who is the ultimate arbiter of
> good and evil, and to whom adoration is exclusively
> due.[10]

Linguistically, as I have indicated in pages 46 and 47
in this chapter, the attributes of the African God or Supreme
Being embrace infinite power and goodness (for He is "the
Creator protector, and giver of all things"), and Creator
source of the world's being. It is also important to point
out that the African believes that this God is not at the
same time a multiplicity of gods that have these attributes
that have just been indicated. It must be only one God.
But Western observers have pointed out an element of African
religious belief which has something to do with the last sen-
tence in James O'Connell's definition of monotheism, namely,
"one God...to whom adoration is exclusively due." They point
out that since Africans have "intermediaries" (a term that I
accept as more proper than the Western designation "gods"

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[10] James O'Connell, Myth, Monotheism and Modernization,
mimeographed), Department of Political Science, Institute
of African Studies, University of Ife, Ibadan, Nigeria,
Dec. 14 - 18, 1964, p. 1.

which I reject) which they deal with in their religious prac-
tices when, for example they want to commune with God, during
the time they give sacrifices and show reverence to ancestors,
and pray for rain and engage in rituals which pertain to
religious beliefs, they thus worship other "gods" instead of
worshipping the true one God. Consequently, Africans are
polytheistic, not monotheistic, they would declare. I wish
to state here that this conclusion cannot be right. When
Africans give sacrifices to their dead ancestors under a tree,
a rock, or in the open field, or when they pray for rain
facing a mountain or the sky they are not adoring these forces
of nature believing that these forces of nature will give
them the things that they need, but rather they are directing
their prayers, and rituals, to God so that He can offer them
their needs through these intermediaries that they seemingly
direct their prayers and rituals to. In the African eye the
adoration is still principally directed to God, not to the
rock, the mountain, the sky, or whatever other intermediary
the African finds handy to help him commune with God.

According to the foregoing African belief in God and the
concomitant practices directed toward Him, (excluding the
African belief in the intermediaries as links between man and
God) I see no major disagreement between African belief in
God, and monotheism, considering the definition of the latter
as given by James O'Connell.

The Africans knew that these forces of nature around
them are also at the same time places of abode for the Supreme
Being, especially if these forces proved vital in the life

of the people. Hence, although in the African world view, the Supreme Being lives in the sky, nevertheless He has made it possible for people on earth to see his power and works through these forces and in them. Hence the Africans' reverence for the sun, the rain and so on, according as to whether these forces are so important that they can directly or indirectly affect the life of the people, who of course are always in daily contact with them. These forces are much closer to the people than God. Thus God can be approached through these forces or intermediaries. The intermediaries are the messengers of God Himself. They are His helpers in His dealings with men on earth.

In the African world-view there is a very close relationship between God and His creatures, that is, people and all nature that surrounds them both animate and inanimate. Thus the supernatural power (the Supreme Being) is in the African world view inseparable from nature. John V. Taylor in his The Primal Vision clarifies this point and it is appropriate to note here what he says:

> All things share the same nature and the same inter-
> action one upon another -- rocks and forest trees,
> beasts and serpents, the power of wind and waves upon
> a ship, the power of a drum over a dancer's body....
> the living, the dead....all are one, all are here,
> all are now. This experience of the world is not
> limited to the simple peasant. It permeates the con-
> sciousness of African thinkers and writers even after
> long acquaintance with the Western world....No dis-
> tinction can be made between sacred and secular,
> between natural and supernatural, for Nature, Man and
> the Unseen are inseparably involved in one another in
> a total community.[11]

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[11] John Vernon Taylor, op. cit., p. 72.

Also Lucien Levy-Bruhl in his <u>Primitives and the Super-</u>
<u>natural</u> makes a statement which further indicates the African
world-view in a religious sense. He says:

> Although primitives (to use the commonly accepted
> term) can clearly differentiate things that appear
> supernatural from those that occur in the ordinary
> course of nature, they rarely imagine them as
> separate for in them the sense of the impossible is
> lacking. What we should call miraculous appear to
> primitives commonplace, and though it may cause them
> emotion it does not readily surprise them. The
> events which strike their imagination do not actually
> proceed from "secondary causes," but are due to the
> functioning of the unseen powers. The success or
> failure of an enterprise, the well-being or misfor-
> tune of a community, the life and death of its
> members -- all these depend at all times upon powers,
> "spirits," influences, forces innumerable, which
> surround the primitive on all sides, and constitute
> themselves the real masters of his destiny. In
> short, to judge by what he habitually thinks and
> fears, it would seem as if the supernatural itself
> forms part of nature to him.[12]

He further adds that the whole life of the "primitives,"
from birth to death, and even beyond death, is saturated,
as it were, by the supernatural.[13]

The foregoing description of the world-view of primitives
is representative of the East African world-view, especially
before the advent of Western Christian religion.

Apart from the belief in the Supreme Being, creator
of the universe and all the forces, material and immaterial
that are present in it, and which surround the African, there
was also some ancestor worship in pre-European days in East

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[12] Lucien Levy-Bruhl, <u>op. cit.</u>, New York, 1935, p. 5.

[13] <u>Ibid.</u> The word "primitives" refers to any societies
still uninfluenced by modern Western civilization -- a
term accepted only for convenience.

Africa. Ancestor worship implies the belief in the soul or rather souls of men, which retain functional roles after death. These functional roles which are believed the dead play through their souls are believed to affect the souls of men still living. Thus, because the ancestors figure most decisively in the world-view, many ritual practices are directed toward them. "The ancestors are the intermediaries between living human beings and other forces in the universe, who watch over their descendants, and if rightly propitiated, help to prosper and protect them"[14] The intermediaries of the Buganda in Uganda were the spirits of their dead kings who of course were leading powerful respectable people. Thus the people of Buganda gave offerings to their dead kings in order to propitiate them and thus obviate their displeasure at the living.

This practice of giving offerings to the departed was common in families, clans, and tribes in East Africa, in order to maintain good communion and relationship with the spirits of the departed and with God through the spirits of the dead which were thought to be nearer to God than the spirits of the people who are still alive. The practice was accompanied with the kind of rituals which were considered appropriate for the occasion and needs of the living. Thus the people usually chose a place, such as a huge rock or

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[14] Melville J. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 70.

tree or mountain where the sacrifices were made and offerings
given to the departed spirit or to the particular "intermediary"
which was supposed to supply the particular need of the people
at a particular time. Sometimes these sacred places of
sacrifice were at the time believed to be the places of
abode for God. Thus they were the temples where prayers
were said, sacrifices made and offerings given. Closely
intertwined with the practices of ancestor worship and the
rituals pertaining to them there was also belief in magic.

Magic, in the form of amulet, fetishes, medicine, or
compelling force played an important part in the belief
system. It was used as a means of manipulating supernatural
powers to insure health, increase of livestock, success in
mating, increase of the productivity of the soil and crops,
or harm to an enemy. Thus there were professional experts
in the field of magic. There were sorcerers who dealt in
destructive medicines or poisons and they could help their
clients in destroying their enemies. There were also doctors
who had protective medicines and antidotes against spells.
There were also herbalists whose duty it was to heal bodies,
and others were bone-setters who put broken bones and joints
into their proper places and helped heal them. There were
also diviners and seers who being possessed by strong power-
ful spirits were able to help their clients by telling them
what was going to happen to them. If a calamity was inevit-
able, they were able to provide their clients with the requi-
site antidotes against the diagnosed forthcoming calamity.

The diviners depended upon the supernatural power in order
to perform their duties. They used trickery of all kinds to
make their work effective.

Also there were taboos imposed upon the members of a
family, a clan, or a tribe. Taboos were sacred interdictions
laid upon the use of certain words, things, or the performance
of certain actions, or the eating of certain foods. The
infraction of the taboos as established by the family, the
clan, or the tribe by any of their members meant that the
member or members involved would be automatically harmed in
some way. Therefore their infraction by the members was
unthinkable. Thus incest is up to date one of the taboos of
the highest order. Also in some areas women were not allowed
to eat eggs or chicken, for it was thought that to do this
would cause sterility. There were taboos in some areas con-
cerning the eating of certain totems. Closely connected with
the taboos, the Africans also believed in good and bad omens.
There were certain things that would happen to an individual
in his daily life which would indicate good omens and others
that would indicate bad omens. One had to readjust himself
to the signal of either kind in any particular situation
or circumstance in order to cope with the particular problem
with which he was confronted. For example in some areas
an individual may leave his home to go on a journey. If as
he continues his journey he suddenly sees a black wild cat
cross his path in front of him, he would momentarily turn
about and return home knowing it is a bad omen and that the

continuance of·the journey would bring upon him a calamity.
Also akin to the omens are the unusual happenings which the
Africans thought of as incidents to be treated in a special
way. For example, the birth of twins was considered to be
unusual, and the parents and their kin would be happy, but
at the same time, there was fear that if a certain ritual
was not performed pertaining to the birth, the children so
born would be injured or harmed in some way. Consequently,
a ritual would have to be performed to insure the safety
and future welfare of the children and their mother.

The foregoing is a rather superficial description of
the East African religious belief and thought prior to the
advent of the European missionaries into East Africa. I do
not consider it necessary for our purposes to go into the
details of the belief patterns and particularly into the
complicated rituals which were concomitant with the religious
beliefs. Moreover these rituals differ in minor details
from one tribal group to another. Nevertheless, the belief
system as outlined in the foregoing, with the exception of
minor differences in details of the performance of the rituals,
was more or less the same among the different tribal groups
throughout East Africa. What I wish to emphasize in the third
chapter of this analysis is what these various religious
practices meant for the society in East Africa as far as the
functions of these practices are concerned and their consequent
result of forming a solid moral code for holding the family,
the clan, and the tribe, indeed the entire society, together

and providing it with the required religious, economic, social, political, psychological, and familial stability without which no society can survive.

Before leaving the subject of "the prevailing African religious belief" in pre-European East Africa, it is important to state briefly what the social structure (broadly speaking) was like, since it was very closely intertwined with the religious belief.[15]

Religious life in pre-European East Africa was very closely tied up with the economic, social, political, psychological and familial life of the African's acting as one big closely knit kinship group of the family, the clan, and the entire tribe. No single individual could escape the necessary obligations of the whole communal group in the exercise of all the functions of these different but related aspects of life. Each individual was given security and protected within this framework of this total group and the inter-relationship of all these different aspects of life. The education and socialization of the child was similarly directed and controlled within this framework. The child coming of age was introduced into the age of manhood or womanhood by the proper and requisite "rites of passage"

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[15] For a description of East African social structure prior to Western impact, see G. W. Huntingford and C. R. V. Bell, East African Background, Great Britain, 1950; and Franklin Frazier, "The Impact of Colonialism on African Social Forms and Personality," in Calvin W. Stillman, Africa in the Modern World, Chicago, 1955.

including the prescribed initiation ceremonies without which the child's manhood would not be recognized at puberty.

The African family life in East Africa during pre-European times was stable, in that the African family was closely knit and tradition was the dominating power of the family and the society as a whole. East Africans prior to the coming of the Europeans did not live in complete isolation from the outside world. Cultural elements from Asia introduced by Arabs who penetrated inland from the east coast of Africa prove that East Africa had been invaded by Arabs from Asia prior to the European advent into East Africa. The Arabs, before the advent of the Europeans, had penetrated inland and succeeded in converting some natives in East Africa to Mohammedanism. Moreover, because the Arabs were great traders it was necessary for them to communicate with the East African natives in order to trade with them. In doing this they helped spread the Swahili language which originated out of the necessity of the alien Arabs communicating with the East African natives. Trading in slaves and in other merchandise was a further factor which necessitated the ubiquitous movement of the Arabs in East Africa and thus the spreading of the Swahili language. While the African societies in East Africa were comparatively fairly static in the sense of horizontal mobility the Arabs on the other hand being traders were of necessity compelled to travel more widely in their business of trade, making sure they reached the people so that they could exchange the goods they had

with the people. Thus the Arabs did not only trade and spread the Swahili language in East Africa, but they also converted some people to Mohammedanism. Thus, East Africa had contact with the Muslim world prior to the introduction of Christianity by the Europeans. But it is true to say that within East Africa itself it was not possible for the population to experience a high degree of frequent horizontal mobility since good roads and railways which could facilitate this kind of mobility were lacking. This horizontal mobility was experienced only to a restricted and limited degree. It was however made possible after the building of the East African railways and roads, which were introduced by the advent of the Europeans.

In East Africa, generally speaking, with the exception of the Buganda Kingdom and other smaller kingdoms in Uganda, there were no chiefs, either hereditary or elected for the administration of the society in pre-European times. Each village was run by a council of elders consisting of a group of older men belonging to the clan family. No one man had greater power than any other in the running of the clan. But prestige was attached to wealth measured in the number of heads of livestock that the individual had, or in the amount of foodstuff that his land produced, or both; or in the number of wives that one had since wealth also meant that the individual was able to have many more wives than his less fortunate neighbour. Consequently the word of the richest usually commanded greater attention than that of the

comparatively not so rich. He was considered the uncrowned headman of the group. Wisdom which was concomitant with old age was important as a factor in appointing a man as a member of the council of elders or as a headman of the group to which he belonged. There was no self-appointed or elected auto- cratic or dictatorial ruler who ruled over the clan, (the exception was found in the kingdom of Buganda where the hereditary king - the Kabaka - wielded power at his discre- tion). The membership of the council of elders was drawn from the older men of the clan, who by virtue of their age were considered more experienced and wiser in matters of local government. The council of elders was responsible for legal matters embracing the observance of discipline and the adherence to established moral code according to the tradi- tional customs.

The council of elders tried cases of breach of the traditional customs and inflicted appropriate punishment for the violation thereof.

The polygynous joint family was the most important element in the East African traditional society. One of the most important functions of the traditional family system was the education of the child, in the broad meaning of the term. In the family the child acquired the values and learnt the skills and techniques which were part of the traditional African cultural heritage. It was the family that played the primary role in the formal instruction given during rites that prepared the individual to assume the status and obligations

of manhood or womanhood in the society. The tribal life had
a system of social control to direct the life of youth.
Formerly, before European penetration into East Africa, a
person was born into a family and into a status in which he
had to remain. Status in the group was determined by descent
and the position one was born into, rather than by achieve-
ment. It was difficult for one to separate himself from
his group.

When a young man wanted to marry, his father or family
or relatives provided the bride wealth for him, and this
wealth was transferred to the bride's family so that the
marriage was a contract between the two groups - the bride's
parents and the bridegroom's parents. This means that the
parents who provided the wealth had a say as to whom their
son should marry. Their son had to get their consent and his
marriage was not an individual matter but was regulated and
controlled by the family group as a whole. It was the
greatest shame for a girl to have a child before marriage.
No parents could recommend such a girl to be married to their
son. Legitimate children were emphasized as they still are
today.

Women had and still have their share in the division
of labour characteristic in an African home. Polygyny was
recommended because wealth of the family and of the group
was usually greater in proportion to the number of wives.
Women were economically profitable as they helped in the work
of cultivating the fields and in increasing agricultural
production.

Economically, East Africans are an agricultural as well as a cattle raising people. They are engaged in subsistence agriculture and cattle are kept as a symbol of wealth as well as a resource from which dowry may be paid for marriage. This dual economy was the order of the day before the advent of the Europeans. The population of East Africa was and has remained relatively small, and in general the unit of residence is the extended family grouping. Larger aggregates, such as towns or cities were unknown in pre-European days. Land was mainly a free good because there was no pressure of population. Consequently an individual could freely select a plot for a field. Grazing land was freely and communally used by all families of the clan without any restriction. In theory the land, both for pasture and for cultivation, was and in most instances continued to be held by the group as a whole, although individual ownership of fragmented strips of land or plots was allowed within this group.

The majority of the African population everywhere in East Africa was engaged in a subsistence economy. The village remained the traditional centre of African life. The frame of custom was strong. The internal economy of the village was communal. There was little specialization of labor. Only iron workers could be considered specialists. There were canons of sex division of labour differentiating the work of men from that of women. This is still mostly the order of the day in East Africa. Production and the distribution of goods

was a function of the extended family. The exchange of goods
which was mainly the transactions involved in obtaining hoes
and spears, was on the basis of barter. There was no money
in the form of silver, copper, or paper money used in the
exchange of goods. Although there was no currency, cattle
represented wealth and they have continued to be primarily
important as an index of social position. Sheep, goats,
and cattle could also be exchanged for grain and other agri-
cultural production in the distribution of goods. There were
no cash crops as there was no need for them. The economic
life of the individual was enclosed in the framework of the
group. There was very little distinction between the rich
and the poor, in that, chiefs and other important men who
possessed more than others could not do much with their
wealth. They shared their wealth with their relatives in a
typical communal African way of life.

Chapter III

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW RELIGION ON

AFRICAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE[1]

WESTERN CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

COMPARED WITH AFRICAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

THE FUNCTIONS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE SOCIETY

In comparing Western Christian religious thought with African religious thought, I wish to analyze the functions which the practices contained in both these religious thoughts serve in the societies which hold and cherish the respective religious beliefs and dogmas.

Religion is a universal cultural phenomenon. There is no society in the world yet found by anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists that does not have a religion. This being so, a workable definition of religion which would embrace the religions of both the modern civilized societies and the primitive societies is in order. Admittedly, there are many definitions of religion, but for the purposes of our analysis in this chapter, it will suffice to take a definition which suits Western Christian as well

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[1] The sources used in the presentation of the material in this section are E. G. Parrinder, African Traditional Religion, Hutchinson's University Library, Hutchinson House, London, W. I. 1954, and Edward Norbeck, op. cit. For a description of the functions of the various religious practices, see E. G. Parrinder, op. cit., and Edward Norbeck, op. cit., pp. 172 - 175; 179 - 182; 256 - 266.

as the East African traditional religion, these two being

the ones we are now comparing.

Religion, considering what has just been stated above,

may be defined as ideas, attitudes, and creeds that people

hold, and acts that they perform pertaining to the super-

natural.[2] This definition of religion brings in the dis-

tinction between the natural and the supernatural. The mun-

dane phenomena of the ordinary, workaday, everyday life of a

people constitute the natural. The phenomena which transcend

the ordinary mundane life constitute the supernatural. The

Western religious thought regards the supernatural as that

which is extraordinary, mysterious, unknown or unexplainable

in terms of natural or ordinary phenomena, and as such is the

opposite of the natural. As was pointed out in Chapter II

the East African traditional religion was aware of the dis-

tinction between the supernatural and the natural, but in

practice considered the two as one and inseparable. The

notion of the supernatural as distinguished from the natural

is more articulated in Western Christian religious thought

than it is in the African traditional religious thought.

Thus Western Christian religious ideas distinguish between

the religious (the holy, or the sacred) and the non-religious

(the profane). In the African traditional religious thought

the distinction between the "sacred" and the "profane" is

not so clearly articulated. This is so because in Western

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[2] Edward Norbeck, op.cit., p. 11.

Christian religious thought the sacred refers to the super-
natural (God, the Supreme Being), whereas the profane refers
to the natural in the sense that the two words "supernatural"
and "natural" have already been defined and distinguished
from each other above. But in the African traditional
religion the distinction between these two concepts are
negligible at least as far as the functions and practices of
the religious beliefs in the society are concerned.

The above definition of religion is useful in distin-
guishing between the religious and non-religious phenomena.
Another useful definition of religion and which is relevant
for the purpose of our analysis is that given by the French
sociologist, Emile Durkheim. Durkheim has given us a socio-
logical interpretation of religion. Religion, according to
Durkheim, is first and foremost social in nature, significance,
and origin. According to him, it is only the society that is
capable of manifesting the attitude of sacredness as distin-
guished from the mundane things. Thus Durkheim distinguished
the religious from the non-religious. He defined religion
as a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to
sacred things, set apart from mundane things, which served
by means of communal beliefs and ritual to unite into one
single moral community or church the society in question.[3]

The above definition of religion according to Durkheim,
with the exception of the emphasis put on the distinction

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[3] Edward Norbeck, op. cit., p. 18.

between the sacred and the mundane, fits adequately into the
African traditional religious practices, prior to Western
Christian impact, especially when we take into consideration
the social significance of religion in the African society.
This is appropriate at this point, because it is the role of
religion in society which is the core of our present analysis.
Durkheim, in studying the culture of the Australian aborigines,
which he regarded as the crudest in the world, and which he
took as representative of the earliest condition of mankind,
saw in their communal totemic ritual the earliest form of
religion. Durkheim regarded the Australian clan totems as
symbolizing the clans themselves. Thus their collective
worship of totemic ancestors represented an equation of
society with religion, according to Durkheim.[4]

With the above two definitions of religion in mind, it
is now appropriate to examine the role of religion and its
practices in Western Christian societies and in the tradi-
tional African societies, with particular attention to East
Africa as an example of an African society. What makes
religion so important in any society is that it is a set of
beliefs with pragmatic effect in human affairs. It is also
a system of action and interaction among members of a society
with consequences crucial to culture, society and the indi-
vidual in that society.

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[4] Edward Norbeck, op. cit., p. 18

At this point it is necessary to turn to the specific functions of Western Christian religious practices as compared with African traditional religious practices in the East African scene. To do this effectively it is necessary to bring out the salient features of the new religion -- Western Christian religion -- selecting as far as possible only those features of Western Christian religious practices that have had far reaching functional effects in the East African society.

Christianity as introduced to the East African scene had some common features with the African traditional religion. As a matter of fact it may be said that it is partly due to some of the common features which both these religious systems had that the Africans did not find Christianity repugnant to them. The common features which are fundamental to Christianity and to the African traditional religion served as a foundation or a starting point of African acceptance of Christianity as it was introduced to them.

Both Christianity and African traditional religion believe in God, the Supreme Being, the Creator of all things in the universe. Both have methods in their religious practices of maintaining communion with God through sacrifices and worship. Both use religion as a form of social control. Both believe that the soul of man never dies. It persists after death. The Christian belief is that the soul of the righteous, after judgment, will be received in Heaven where the owner will receive eternal life, whereas that of the

wicked will be damned to eternal destruction -- death. The African traditional religion, on the other hand, does not believe in resurrection of the dead and eternal life of an individual, after death, but rather in reincarnation of a dead individual in the form of another individual still living, and particularly in the powerful spirit or soul of a dead person which still has potent functional role which affects the still living. This is a belief which is not fundamental in Christianity, although we find its parallel in Roman Catholics who pray for communion with the souls of Saints.

Both Christianity and African traditional religion believe in the omnipotence of God. Thus man must maintain contact with God who will provide his needs at all times. To do this the African who gives God credit for having created the powerful forces or spirits in the form of nature which surrounds him, finds it meaningful to approach God through these intermediaries (the sun, the mountains, the sky, the rivers, the rocks, the rain, ancestral spirits, etc.) and so directs his prayers, sacrifices and rituals to God through these intermediaries. Exceptionally, in times of crises individuals or people may direct their petitions to God without having to do it through the intermediaries. This is done during times of national crisis such as a bad drought or famine, or during grave personal distress. Before Western impact people did this genuinely believing that God was capable of hearing their appeals and of providing them with the requisite redress.

Christianity, in contradistinction to the African traditional religious belief however teaches that Jesus Christ rather than the ancestral spirits or other intermediaries is the means of direct contact with God. This point brings me to the discussion of some of the differences between Western Christian religious thought and African traditional religious thought with reference to the functions of the religious practices in the society. The foregoing has been a brief statement of some of the features that the two religious thoughts have in common.

African traditional religious world-view, even though in some respects is characterized by features which it has in common with Western European or American Christian religious world-view, as the foregoing has indicated, nevertheless has in some very important aspects features which contrast markedly with Western Christian religious thought. In Western Christian religious thought Jesus Christ is the sole solution to the needs of man. He is the saviour of the world of the European world-view. He is the only object of adoration and prayer that man may engage in. He only is able to solve man's problems, and salvation of the individual from his troubles and sins can only be received through Jesus Christ. Moreover in Western Christian religious thought salvation, righteous living among other men in peace, and commitment and obedience to the commands of Jesus Christ is mainly a matter of individual decision. But in the African traditional religious world-view the story and

attributes of Jesus Christ qua Jesus Christ are out of the picture. Instead there is the understanding of life as a continuous gamut embracing all nature, sacred objects and secular ones -- material or non-material, all forming a wholeness that is worthy of human respect, because it is potent, verile, and alive. Moreover, because of the Africans' closely knit family ties, personality is understood within the context of the community, the clan, and the tribe of which the family is a basic and integral part. Consequently the life of an individual, his well being, activities, and decisions, are regulated and moulded by the entire family, clan, and the tribe. There are no creeds, dogmas, and beliefs of his own choosing, but those prescribed by the entire group of which he is a part.

Thus in the African traditional religion before Western impact there were no religious sects or denominations dividing one group from another. The religious belief was one and common to everybody in the community. The moral code that held the society together was one according to whose practice everyone was supposed to live. Thus even today in those areas where African traditional religion is still potent, importance is attached to ritual as an element of religious belief and practice. Salvation and reward, contrary to Western Christian religious belief, is not awaiting the people who have lived righteously, in Heaven, after judgment; and punishment is not awaiting the unrighteous by death in hell; rather praise and reward are awarded those who comply and live within the

prescribed moral code of the African society here and now, and the deviants are forced to comply now or else appropriate punishments would be inflicted on the culprits to warn them of the dangers of nonconformity. There is a very important difference in this connection between Western Christian religion and the African traditional religion. In the former, an individual who decides to be a non-adherent of any church or denomination in his community has all the wide latitude of freedom to do so. He may be a thorough going orthodox Christian, an agnostic, or a confirmed atheist. If he chooses to be a Christian he will belong to one of the existing number of Christian denominations.

In the African traditional religious belief there is no place for any other ideas about the supernatural but thorough going confirmed belief in the African traditional religious practices with all the myths and rituals pertaining thereto. Furthermore all the people in the family, clan, or tribe must participate in the prescribed religious practices which are designed for the stability and cohesion of the whole community. In Western Christian religious belief participation in the religious practices is optional, not coerced, in that one need not be a church member if he does not choose to. The reader can see that in this connection the African traditional religious belief and practices are likely to be more successful in maintaining unity and the cohesion required in the society than the Western Christian religious belief with a multiplicity of dogmas and denominations which are only responsible for the divisive functions,

separating one group from another because of their religious beliefs. Belief in one thing engenders unity, belief in different things and ideas engenders disintegration and conflict in any society.

There is one very important difference between Western Christian religious thought and the African traditional religious thought, and that is, Christianity in any denominational form today, or as it was before the emergence of denominationalism, has stressed universal brotherhood and love which in principle transcends all ethnic, racial, tribal, or colour barriers among men everywhere in the world. The African traditional religion on the other hand has mainly been a tribal religion whose horizon has gone little beyond the tribal boundaries. So when Christianity was introduced into East Africa it was one of the factors that was responsible for the detribalization process.

The African religious practice of "initiation" whose Western Christian analogue is "baptism" when one is converted and introduced into the Christian fold, is a very important tradition in the African religious belief. This practice is associated with the coming of age (puberty) of African children. But it is also associated with transitional rites which indicate passage of an individual from one place or stage in life to another. Thus there are transitional rites pertaining to the turning points in life from birth to puberty to marriage and to death. Ritual practices of initiation are associated with the life of an African child

beginning the period of pregnancy of its mother, until it is born, and from that time on until the individual dies -- rituals pertaining to him being performed more meaningfully at each turning point of the individual's life as has already been stated above.

So when a woman makes it know to her husband and relatives that she is pregnant this brings joy to the people. Careful attention is given to the woman to ensure healthful and normal gestation and delivery. Spiritually, a sacrifice of thanks would be made to the Supreme Being or to the ancestors, who are believed to have given their approval so that reproduction should take place. Prayers would be offered for the health of the mother and the baby. Medicine would be given to the mother to ensure sound physical health. Taboos against certain foods would be placed upon the expectant mother. She may wear protective amulets to help in easy delivery. Taboo of abstinence from intercourse is placed upon the husband so that the intercourse does not take place between him and his wife for a considerable period during pregnancy and also long after the birth of the child. The strain on the husband due to this abstinence is great, and this makes it necessary for him to take another wife if he chooses to. So bigamy, contrary to Christianity which approves of monogamy only, is not condemned. At least it is important to note that this is better than adultery or prostitution which would be the alternatives to taking another legal wife. This practice is a safeguard against prostitution.

adultery, and sexual promiscuity among the married men, the
unmarried girls and married women. A woman who has a diffi-
cult birth is believed to have this difficulty because of her
sin. She may be accused of theft or of adultery. If she
confesses the name of her lover, this makes birth possible.
This sounds very illogical and unscientific. Nevertheless
the practice of attributing sin to a woman who has difficulty
in giving birth acts as a deterrent against adultery and
fornication on the part of a woman because no woman wants to
die during childbirth because of a delayed birth or prolonged
labour. This prevents her from engaging in adultery and
fornication.

A few days after the birth of the child, the relatives
of the child gather round the child for a naming ceremony
which introduces the child into the family. Prayers are
offered to the Supreme Being, and the ancestors (especially
the dead grandfather of the born child) who are given credit
for blessing the family with the new born baby.

At puberty an African child experiences one of the
greatest occasions of his life. This involves transition
from childhood into manhood or womanhood. The child passes
from childhood into physical maturity. This phenomenon is
accompanied by initiation ceremonies involving considerable
ritual. In preparation for this initiation into adulthood
the preceding years are the time during which the child is
instructed in tribal behaviour, custom, and religious beliefs
which are prerequisites for this transition into adulthood.

This instruction is more pronounced during the initiation ceremonies. These practices are today declining very rapidly due to Western impact. Nevertheless circumcision which is a rite that is involved in this transition into adulthood is still widely practiced by the Bantu tribes in East Africa. It is often the first rite in the process of initiation in these tribes. In some tribes both boys and girls are circumcised. In the case of girls clitoridectomy is performed. The pain that both boys and girls experience during this operation is supposed to prove that they are brave enough to face the responsibilities of adulthood. Enduring and tolerating the pain signifies fitness for adulthood -- manhood or womanhood. Furthermore, in the case of girls at puberty, cliteridoctomy is supposed to reduce the girls' desire for engaging in sexual activities. Since the clitoris is the most sexually sensitive part of a woman's genitals, its removal at puberty would, at least, reduce the desire and thus act as a deterrent against sexual promiscuity before the girl gets married. Sexual intercourse is only permissible in marriage, not outside it. Chastity at marriage is expected and highly prized in girls.

No boy or girl is considered an adult, nor do they consider themselves as such, without the rituals and initiation ceremonies pertaining to this transition. After undergoing all the instructions pertaining to the initiation, the boys and girls enter adulthood well conversant with the moral religious code of the African traditional society in

which they must now play a more important role, living and
acting according to the dictates of the society whose aim
emphasizes harmony with one another and integration of all
the individuals composing it into one whole closely knit
group. The analogy of what has just been described here to
baptism in the Western Christian religious practice is clear.
Before baptism, a Christian adherent must be taught all the
religious beliefs, dogmas, and practices of his religious
denomination. When the individual is well conversant with
these and is ready to show overtly that he is willing to
become a Christian, then baptism takes place and he is
accepted in the Christian community.

Marriage too is an important occasion for an individual.
The next step after transition from childhood into adulthood
is marriage. Initiating boys and girls into adulthood is
to prepare them for marriage which is the next step. Princi-
pally, as explained before, marriage in Africa is a social
affair -- an arrangement that does not only involve the bride
and the bridegroom, but also and most importantly the
two families involved -- the bridegroom's family and the
bride's family. There is always the transfer of wealth in
the form of dowry from the bridegroom's parents to the bride's
parents to act as marriage insurance to guarantee the stability
of the marriage. Should there arise any discord between the
husband and his wife so that divorce becomes inevitable, then
it is incumbent upon the bride's parents to return the dowry
to the bridegroom's parents. It is often very difficult to

do this. So care is taken so that discord does not arise between the husband and the wife. There is always some pressure applied by the bride's parents upon their daughter to live peacefully with her husband. There are wedding rites which introduce a young woman to her husband's family. Usually, there is a big feast at the bridegroom's home. Guests who accompany the bride from her home to the bridegroom's home would be there to witness the occasion. There would be music and dancing. All this is done to initiate the woman into her new home and environment.

Europeans to whom this custom of marriage is alien, have, due to ignorance of the customs and languages of Africa, mistaken this arrangement of dowry before marriage as buying and selling wives. Consquently they have often called it "bride-price" which to the African is an utter misnomer. What I wish to emphasize here is that the social nature of African marriage customs as described above ensures stability in marriage and eliminates successfully divorces which are ruinous to any family. As soon as marriage becomes a matter of individual decision, as it is increasingly becoming under Western impact in Africa, without the families of the future husband and wife being necessarily involved, there is certain to be danger of the disruption and disintegration of the African families due to divorce. Western Christian religious practice of marrying in Church and swearing on the Bible is supposed to be the ritual analogous to the African traditional customs of marriage as described

above, in that this swearing is supposed to be a promise of
the husband to his wife and the wife to her husband that
henceforth they will live together in harmony, helping each
other in a stable marriage. The difference between the two
is that in the case of the African marriage customs there is
group pressure binding on the couple to be married, especially
before Western impact, but in the case of Western European
Christian marriages, at least a wide latitude of freedom of
individual action obtains and there is much less pressure
binding on the couple from their relatives and the group of
which they are a part.

Finally, concerning personal rituals, there is the
ritual pertaining to death. Africans usually see to it that
the departed are given honourable burial to ensure that the
spirit of the dead is in peace and is contented in the world
beyond so that it will not return and be a source of trouble
to the family to which the dead person belongs. Funerals
are held as the last transitional rites introducing a dead
person into the world of spirits. The higher the social
status of the dead person is, the more elaborate and honour-
able his funeral will be. Thus chiefs, for example, are
usually given the best burial. They are usually better
clothed and they are buried with many valuable articles.
Usually, there is wailing and mourning for the dead at the
funeral. As soon as the body is placed in the grave the
wailing and mourning reach their peak, and prayers may be
uttered asking the dead person to depart in peace and to bless

those left behind -- the living. At the funeral there is
usually a lot of entertainment in the way of music and dancing.
Rhythm and song may accompany mourning and wailing for the
dead person. A few days later music and song and dancing
usually supersede mourning and wailing as an antidote to the
sadness that this calamity of death has brought upon the
family of the dead. This helps to cheer up the relatives
of the dead so that they need not be unduly strained by the
sadness that death brings. They are given the impression
of hope that all will be well, now that an honourable funeral
has been held for the dead person. This helps in inducing
the necessary tranquility in the relatives of the dead.

The Western Christian analogue of the African tradi-
tional funeral rites is the Christian worship and prayer
performed at the funeral. At such a funeral the dead would
be given decent burial. But contrary to the African belief
in the potency of the spirit of the departed in affecting
the lives of the living, Western Christian religion empha-
sizes that death as such is simply a temporary phenomenon,
and that the dead person will one day be raised from the
dead, and that provided he lived righteously, he will inherit
eternal life in God's Heaven. Provided the relatives of the
dead are strictly practising Christians this belief gives them
hope that one day there is bound to be reunion with their
dead relative. This reinforces their belief in God and
helps them to strive to live even more righteously among
their fellow men since the thought of losing their relative

forever is unbearable. Christians do not believe in the
spirit of the dead affecting the lives of the still living.
African religious belief does not believe in the resurrection
of the dead. Rather it is the ghost or spirit of the dead
that may return to harm the living or to help them. So
everyone must obey the moral religious code of the society
and be in harmony with God and the ancestral spirits. One's
reward or punishment is received here and now. There is no
reward waiting for one in Heaven, or punishment in Hell after
he dies and is resurrected and judged. The punishment or
reward is not projected to be received at some future date
after death or resurrection. Rather it is received here and
now, and the punishment is inflicted automatically or spon-
taneously by the supernatural upon the culprit's breach in
secret or in the open of a traditional religious taboo, or
in the case of an overt breach of any moral code, the family,
the clan, or the tribe inflicts the punishment upon the
individual involved. This may take the form of some deliberate
physical injury, or in most cases ostracism and neglect of
the individual involved is carried to such an extent that it
soon becomes unbearable and the individual pleads guilty
and seeks forgiveness.

It seems to me that fear of automatic punishment here
and now, by the supernatural, on the occasion of breach of
any religious moral code or the societal moral code is a
much better device in deterring breach of the moral code in
society than the idea that this may not happen now, and that

the punishment may wait until a much later date, even after death, especially if the breach of the moral code is not . detected. The wrong doer may believe that he still has time to rectify the wrong doing, but while he is waiting he may engage in still-more wrong doing, and in this way continue to do more harm to other people and the society. More credit therefore may be given to the African traditional religious belief than to the Western Christian ideology in this parti-cular aspect of the ordering of the equilibrium and stability of the society through social control mechanisms.

The foregoing has been a description of some of the religious practices pertaining to personal rituals and what importance these practices have for African society. Analogy to Western Christian religious practices has also been drawn. In addition to personal rituals there are other rituals which might be termed communal rituals. It is important to note in brief what these communal rituals are and what their function is in society.

The African communal rituals are those religious rites that involve the entire community, or society, rather than those that pertain specifically to an individual or group such as those that I have described above.. The personal rituals which have already been described may also be termed group rituals, or crisis rites, which are ceremonials connected with critical events in the life cycle of the individual, that is, the biological crises of birth, sexual maturity, reproduction, and death. Communal rituals are different from the personal

rituals in that they often involve a much wider society or a bigger group than is found in the case of the so-called crisis rites of an individual. Communal rituals may be called cyclic group rites because they are associated with fixed, cyclic events of direct importance to all members of the society.[5] These cyclic group rites are social in nature and are usually observed at times which correlate with rhythmic changes of nature. These rites usually include rain-making rites, agricultural rites, purification rites, communion sacrifice, and other rites which seek to ask for blessings from the supernatural to foster more abundant luck in hunting, fishing, the gathering of fruits and nuts, and in rich agricultural harvests.

The above named communal rites are social and religious in nature and help to indicate the relationship of religion to the structure of society. These rites with the exception of purification rites, may be observed daily, weekly, monthly, seasonally, or annually, following the cycles of the sun and moon and the seasons of the year. The purpose of engaging in these rites is, for the Africans, to assure themselves of abundant results in their agricultural, hunting and fishing activities, and in continuous increase and welfare of their flocks. They do this by performing magical rituals while at the same time offering prayers and thanks to the Supreme Being by giving sacrifices. The Western Christian

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[5] Edward Norbeck, op. cit., p. 139.

analogue of these African traditional religious communal
rites is meetings held in church every Saturday or Sunday,
or even daily as the case may be, in order that all the mem-
bers of the church in that particular community may commune
with one another and offer prayers and sacrifices to God and
thank Him for the abundant blessings He has bestowed upon
them. In these meetings they ask for aid and blessings from
God. At the same time they may pray for rain, abundant crops,
and other necessities of life.

Thus in the African traditional society there are rain-
making rituals. These rituals are performed at the time when
rain is expected and for some reason it fails to fall. On
such occasions a rain-maker would be called upon to perform
his magical ritual to cause it to fall. The whole clan would
gather and with common sentiments the people would cooperate
with the rain-maker, accompanying him in his magical rituals
with rain-songs, eating, and drinking, and uttering prayers
to the supernatural so that it may rain. Similarly, the
rain-maker may perform magical rituals to stop excessive rain
that causes the crops to rot in the fields.

Agricultural rites are performed at the times of sowing
and harvesting. Like rain-making rites, agricultural rites
are communal ceremonies. They are meant to assure the
ancestors' rich blessings on the crops so that they should
thrive, and that the harvest should be rich and abundant.
The blessing of the spirits of the dead is asked for when
the land is tilled and planted, because these dead ancestors

were the owners and former tillers of the land which their
living posterity have now inherited. If their blessing is
not asked for they may be angered and this may cause poor
harvests and the people may suffer. So communal rites are
performed to ensure the blessing of the Supreme Being and
of the ancestral spirits. Similarly, communal ceremonies
are held during harvests. At this time the people would
make sure that the first fruits of the harvest are offered
to the ancestral spirits and to the supernatural power (the
Supreme Being) before the people are allowed to partake of
the fruits of the new harvest. An elderly man or leader of
the community would specifically take the responsibility of
being the ancestors' representative at the ceremonies. He
would first partake of the new corn and then give licence to
the rest of the community to begin eating the new harvest
after some offering from the new harvest has been given
to the ancestors. He is like the leader of a prayer group
after the fashion of Western Christian religious practice
when a minister of a church leads a prayer and gives thanks
to God for the year's abundant harvests.

Purification rites are communal ceremonies which may
involve only a small group of people on behalf of the whole
community. Some purification rites are performed to cleanse
the people from evil deeds that they have committed. For
example, if a person is known to have killed another in a
fight, or a skirmish, the members of his family, or clan,
will see to it that something is done to fortify the person

involved against the harm that would inevitably be caused by the angry spirits of his dead victim. Consequently, purification rites would be performed on the individual, to give him the assurance that after confession, all would be well with him because the magical rituals performed in this connection have the power of fortifying him against the harmful evil spirits of the dead victim. This effect that the purification rite has on the individual involved also embraces the members of the entire family, clan or tribe. The killer, being a member of these groups, implicates the entire group of which he is a part. His sins are also the sins of the entire group. Hence the purification rites are equally beneficial to the entire family, clan, or tribe. There are other kinds of purification rites, but this one example will suffice. The Western Christian religious analogue of this practice is confessions which individuals or groups are supposed to make in church. When this is done, prayers of forgiveness are offered to God to accept the wrong doers back into the accepted practices contained in the moral code of the church they belong to.

Communion sacrifice in the African traditional religious belief involves social sacrifices in which there is usually some feasting. In this case an animal (a ram or a bull, etc.) is slaughtered, its flesh cooked, and the family or the clan would assemble to eat and commune with one another. This is a sacramental union. Commensality brings the entire family group together so that while the feasting is going on

sacrifices would be offered to the ancestral spirits for their blessing upon the family. This is the way the family communes with the ancestral spirits and the Supreme Being who are responsible for man's well-being on earth. The communion sacrifice of this kind helps to bring the whole family or clan together so that the members can express together their common beliefs and sentiments and encourage one another in participating in the common practices which help to integrate their common values in the society. During the communion sacrifice, before everyone partakes of the food, the blood of the slaughtered animal would first be sprinkled or poured on the ground for the ancestors. This is to give them recognition of their power over men. Western Christian religious practice, which is the counterpart of this African practice, is the Holy Communion, the Eucharist, or Mass.

In the African traditional religion there are no concrete permanent stone buildings which are used as churches or temples where God may be worshipped. Instead, before Western impact, East Africans used sacred trees (under whose feet people would gather for prayers and make sacrifices), and rocks as places for sacrifice. Commonly, many rituals pertaining to the supernatural were performed in the open in a grove or bush or merely in the village.

Religious ceremonies such as the ones described above are part and parcel of political ceremonies in the African traditional religion, since it is the political structure

which provides the peaceful orderly atmosphere in the frame-
work of which all the economic activities (agricultural acti-
vities and animal husbandry) which provide the mainstay of
the people, are carried on.

In addition to the above religious practices, I wish
to state briefly the place and function of diviners, her-
balists, witch-doctors, magicians and sorcerers, and witch-
craft as these are also closely related to the religious
practices in African traditional society.

The main function of the diviner is to diagnose disease
and to provide a remedy or antidote to it. The diviner is
possessed of powerful supernatural powers or spirits, and by
means of manipulating objects and using familiar techniques
of his own he is able to help his clients by providing them
with antidotes against their ill health. Also since he is a
seer and soothsayer he is able to avert a forthcoming calamity,
disease, or ill luck that might befall his client. In other
words, a diviner is a medicine man and can easily also per-
form the functions of a witch doctor. Thus he uses drugs
whose nature and value are usually magical rather than
pharmaceutical. The nature of his diagnosis is spiritual
rather than purely physical. By means of manipulating bones,
nuts, stones, or any other objects that he uses, a diviner is
able to tell fortunes, find lost articles, discover thieves,
reveal the past or predict the future. The diviner knows
that in order to draw correct conclusions he must supplement
his superstitious knowledge with a fund of authentic

knowledge. To do this successfully the diviner carefully
learns all the gossip he hears in his village and studies
the characters of the individuals in the village. Thus he
is well conversant with every important thing that goes on
in the village. In the Western world today, the psychiatrist
is the professional person whose job comes closest to that
of the African traditional diviner. As far as Christianity
is concerned, it is the minister of the church, or priest,
who depends in large measure on divine healing of the sick,
whose practice is in some way similar to that of the African
diviner in that both depend on the power of the supernatural
in healing the sick even though they supplement this with
the use of drugs as the occasion may require. The Christian
Scientist today is a case in point as an example of a person
who believes in religious therapy for illnesses that cannot
be cured by the use of doctors' medicines. In this respect
the Christian scientist is in perfect harmony with the African
diviner who distinguishes between ailments that are obvious
and can be treated simply in ordinary known ways and which
people can handle, and those ailments that are, in the eye
of the African, mysterious and which cannot be cured unless
they have first been explained. This explanation which will
reveal the nature and proper remedy of the mysterious ail-
ments requires special knowledge and skill of the medicine
man -- the diviner.

In harmony with the foregoing African idea of the
importance of religious therapy for certain mysterious

diseases whose cause can only be attributed to the super-
natural, is the African belief that the curative measures of
such ailments lie principally within the realm of the super-
natural. In this respect medicine and supernaturalism are
inseparable in the African religious beliefs and practices.
The treatment provided here is mainly psychological, because
in the case of mysterious diseases alluded to above, the
causes may be attributed to violations of certain moral
rules of behaviour in the society, such as breach of taboo,
failure to meet ritual requirements, and sin as defined by
the society. Hence sin attributed to supernatural cause
must have supernaturalistic cure. Thus the diviner or
medicine man naturally uses psychological methods on the
sick to effect a cure. Modern medicine regards this psycho-
logical therapy as empirically effective. Even though this
may be regarded as "primitive medicine" because it lays
emphasis on supernaturalistic and psychological methods to
bring about a cure, nevertheless as Edward Norbeck says, it
has often had genuine therapeutic value, and it has served
as the foundation of scientific medicine (Edward Norbeck,
op. cit., p. 222). There is therapeutic value in the African
ritual which is not only beneficial to the patient involved,
but also to the whole group participating in the ritual. It
should be pointed out at this point that there are many
similarities between the African practices of psychological
cure of diseases and the practices of modern psychologists
and particularly professional psychiatrists. Moreover, even
though it has not been conclusively proved one way or the

other, students of primitive medicine assume that the positive functions of primitive medicine probably outweigh its negative functions.

African herbalists are also "medicine men." They are specialists in the curative properties of medicines obtained from plants, herbs, roots of plants, and bark of trees. But they also obtain their medicines from mineral and animal sources. Herbalists' medicines are only meant to be curative, but they may be destructive in some cases. The herbalist's intention is to heal bodies. He does not have any evil intentions of doing harm to his patients. There is no doubt about the curative value of the African herbalist's medicine. Europeans in Africa have dismissed the African herbalist's remedies for diseases as purely superstitious. But there are cases known where African medicines have cured certain diseases for which European medicine has failed to provide a remedy. So I think it would be quite a worthwhile attempt for modern Western doctors to engage in research with a view to discovering or proving or disproving the curative or chemical value of the African herbalists' medicines.

Witch-doctors in Africa are specialists whose main function is to heal patients, not to harm them. Disease is usually assumed to have some evil spiritual cause. Death is attributed to some enemy who must be the cause of it. Hence witches are thought of as being the cause of disease and death. The witch-doctor's duty, therefore, is to release from their pains those who believe that they have been

bewitched, and to heal them. The attributes that Western thought has imputed on the African witch-doctors as evil doers who only seek to poison and harm others are wrong. They have failed to distinguish between "witch-doctors" and "witches" who practice witchcraft. Witch-doctors as the name literally indicates, are doctors of those who complain and suffer because they believe that they have been bewitched. Hence their duty is mainly curative. They deal in good magic. They may be diviners as well as herbalists. By means of manipulating their magical charms they may detect witches and discover those who are harming their neighbours. If the witches are discovered, they are asked to confess, and this confession is supposed to break the destructive power of witchcraft. After confession the accused witches are purified and washed with medicine and are warned not to repeat their evil ways, as they are restored to their families. Psychologically, the witch-doctors restore much hope to the sick and especially to those who are mentally disturbed.

Witchcraft is the word used to denote practitioners of destructive and evil ways. It is evil in that its practitioners seek to destroy other people. Most witches are believed to be women, but there are men witches too. Their job is mostly performed at night, but in some areas in Africa night witches are distinguished from day witches, the latter being called "day sorcerers" who use tangible medicine to harm their enemies. The word "wizard" is usually reserved

for male sorcerers as distinguished from "witch." The
wizard usually does his job in the daytime. In some areas
in Africa, such as East Africa and South Africa, as Parrinder
observes, the concepts of sorcery and witchcraft are thought
of as one thing, even though people in these areas under-
stand the many characteristic features of the belief in
witchcraft.

Sorcerers use tangible magical medicines to perform
their evil work. But witches have none of these, instead
they depend on their evil spiritual powers to do evil. Their
work is mainly secretive.

In the African traditional religious belief witchcraft
may be responsible for poor harvests, sterility in human
beings, disease and death in families, and many other troubles.
So there are methods by which witchcraft is combatted, and
these methods as has already been indicated above are employed
by witchdoctors to combat it.

The African magician believes that he uses spiritual
power to perform the job that is before him. Hence the con-
cept of magic as coming within the scope of religion. The
word magic is sometimes used synonymously with the word
medicine. At the same time magic has the connotation of
miracle-working in the sense that by means of magic, material
medical means can be used by a magician to heal patients.
Also by means of magic people can protect themselves against
harm of all kinds imaginable. But magic is protective as
well as harmful. The latter is called "black magic" and its
practitioner is the "black magician," sorcerer or wizard,

who is considered an evil person. Black magicians are
destructive in that they may deliberately use destructive
medicine such as poison to kill other people. As an anti-
dote to their evil practice qualified magicians who use good
protective medicines usually provide other magical means of
combatting disease or any harm caused by black magicians.
In this connection it is important to note the function of
magic according to Dr. Malinowski's definition of primitive
magic in his "Science, Religion and Reality." He says:

> The function of magic is to ritualise man's optimism,
> to enhance his faith in the victory of hope over fear.
> Magic expresses the greater value for man of confi-
> dence over doubt, of steadfastness over vacillation,
> of optimism over pessimism.[6]

Western Christians of the Christian Scientists' deno-
mination, like the African magicians believe in spiritual
or miracle-healing of the patients whose disease cannot be
cured by ordinary medicine administered directly and
physically to the patients.

It is important to point out here that in the African
traditional religious belief witchcraft is an important
phenomenon in the society in that it acts as an agency and
mechanism of social control. The sorcerer, for example,
who is afraid of being detected and accused of sorcery,
together with the fear of concomitant supernatural punishment

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[6] Arthur S. Cripps. "Christian Approach to Primitive Peoples"
in the East and the West - A Quarterly Review for the Study
of Missionary Problems, Vol. 24, 1926, 15 Fufton St.
Westminster, S. W. 1, p. 324.

or punishment by his fellow members of the community, will
be careful to abstain from his evil practices. Also any
person in the African community would strive not to commit
any improper or aggressive acts toward other individuals for
fear that he may immediately become the target of black
magic because the other harmed person will not hesitate to
avenge on him by witchcraft. Moreover there are certain bad
attributes which if detected in any person may be thought
of as being symptomatic of witchcraft. These are such attri-
butes as greed, envy, hatred, jealousy, and so on. Thus
since people do not want to be associated with witchcraft,
(that is, they do not want to be labelled wizards, witches,
etc.) they carefully refrain from showing any maliciousness
toward their neighbours. Thus belief in witchcraft is
effective in controlling behavior in society and in this
respect it acts as a mechanism for social control. I cannot
see an exact analogue of this African religious belief in
Western Christian societies, except, perhaps, the belief
among Christians that they must live righteougly according
to the commandments of the word of God, lest they receive
eternal damnation as a punishment from God after death,
resurrection, and judgment; and also the belief that doing
good is just good per se, and along with earning much pres-
tige, honor, and respect among one's fellow men as a result
of doing these good things, one also escapes the degrading
consequences such as having to go to prison to serve a prison
term as a result of committing acts which are contrary to

good living, moral code of the society, or religious sentiments of one's church (this last one might result in the excommunication of the person involved).

The foregoing analysis introduces me to a brief discussion of the Ten Commandments of God as introduced to the African traditional religious belief by the new Western Christian religion. It is important to note whether there are any elements in the Ten Commandments that are lacking in the African traditional religious belief and which might be considered as purely alien and strange. Also elements which are compatible with the African traditional religious belief should be noted.

The tenets contained in the Western Christian belief in the Ten Commandments are important as most of them have a lot to do with societal stability and social control as I have discussed above and elsewhere in this section of our analysis.

Taking the Commandments into consideration Western Christian theologians might easily say that the African traditional religion deviates from the Christian religious norm as far as the first and possibly the second commandments are concerned because the African traditional religion embraces reverence for the spiritual forces of nature (the moon, the sun, the mountains, the rocks, the rain, etc.) as intermediaries between God and man, as I have discussed in detail in the second chapter of this analysis. But the truth is that the African in East Africa and elsewhere is very much aware of the fact that these forces are not God but

simply intermediaries through which he directly communicates with God. Therefore in his eye they are not gods. This fact has been explained clearly in our analysis. The same thing may be said of "any graven image" stated in the second commandment, and it should be added here that as far as I know, "any graven images" to be worshipped are totally non-existent in East Africa. They have not been a part of African traditional religious belief.

Another African religious practice which a Western theologian might say deviates from Christian religious practice is that concerning the fourth commandment. In the African traditional religion there is no regular single day in the week singled out as a day of rest from work for everybody in the community. This does not mean that Africans do not have recognized holidays during which no one is permitted to work. The fact is, there are such occasions and days when regular day-to-day work is halted and everyone in the family, clan or community is required to remain at home and instead participate in other activities as may be prescribed by the community, or simply, they are supposed to rest at home and do nothing. For example, no one is allowed to go about doing his regular job on the day when a member of the family, clan or community dies or is seriously ill. Moreover, for several days after the funeral ceremonies are over no one is allowed to resume his regular duties until permission is given by the prominent leader of the community. This may be pointed out as a parallel to the Christian sabbath - a day

of rest when there is worship and reverence given to God. There are other occasions too, such as during communal rituals when everyday work is halted and people must participate in the rituals of the occasion in African society.

As far as the rest of the commandments are concerned, the African traditional religious belief is in perfect harmony with these commandments that are so crucial for the stability and social control in any society that uses these ideals. Western Christain religious tenets cannot claim to be superior to African traditional religious belief in this respect. I have pointed out elsewhere in Chapter II the effectiveness of African taboos against such bad practices as incest, killing or harming other people, stealing, lying, and so on. There are sanctions against premarital sexual intercourse, and strict taboos against adultery and fornication. For example, in East Africa married people are careful not to engage in extra marital sexual relations because it is a taboo to do so. Any infraction of this taboo according to the religious belief would result in supernatural punishment and the death of the children of the married person who engages in such extra marital intercourse. Because, naturally, people do not want their children to die, and because the society defines this act of extra marital sexual intercourse as bad and unacceptable per se, people simply refrain from such practices because of the pressure of this taboo and the fear of supernatural punishment. This practice is waning rapidly due to Western impact in East Africa.

It is a pity that under Western impact the African
communal way of life in which everything must be shared by
everybody else in the extended family, clan, and the tribe,
is rapidly breaking. Individualism is taking the place of
communalism and inner-directedness in personality the place
of other-directedness. It is clear to the reader as well as
to me that it is within the framework of communalism and
closely knit familial and kinship groups as a way of life,
that the ideal of "love thy neighbour as thyself" can be
more truly practised and its effect more felt, authority and
respect for parents more honoured than in a society where
individualism allows the practice of self independence and
decision which inevitably fosters nonalignment with other
people's ideals, and spirit of group cooperation. This is
why Africans respect and honour their ancestors so much.

Both Western Christian religion and the African tradi-
tional religion perform the same desirable functions in the
society, fostering social control without which chaos,
disequilibrium and disintegration would take the place of
stability, equilibrium, and integration, in varying degrees.
It should be noted most importantly that even today the two
religions believe in the Supreme Being, according to whose
influence both Western Christian societies and African
traditional societies strive to order their lives in varying
ways as has already been explained in our analysis. The
African traditional religion prior to Western impact in East
Africa recognized the existence of the Supreme Being (which

might be equated with Western Christian belief in the one God) but unlike Western Christian religious belief, this Supreme Being, according to the African belief is approachable via "intermediaries" which as I have explained elsewhere in this analysis were not considered by the African religious belief as gods in themselves. It would be wrong to conclude that the African religious belief had no element of monotheism in it. The only significant difference between the African religious belief and Western Christian religious belief in monotheism, according to me is that monotheism does not include in the province of religious belief the existence of powerful forces of nature as influencing the lives of men in a religious sense. The African traditional religion on the other hand does recognize the existence of these powerful forces in the sense just explained, even though they are aware that these forces are not gods.

It is important to note that after the acceptance of science Western religious belief discarded many elements in the traditional religious belief which formerly were included in the scope of religion and which now were absorbed into the realm of science. I mention this fact because as will be noted later in this chapter and in subsequent chapters, conflict between Western Christian religion, as a new religion in East Africa, and African traditional religion, was inevitable, as a result of Western impact in East Africa. Christianity has met opposition in the East African scene.

With the foregoing as a background, we now turn to the actual impact of Western Christian religion on African social structure in East Africa.

THE DIVISIVE INFLUENCE OF THE CHIRSTIAN RELIGION: DENOMINATIONS -- PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS AND CATHOLIC

The reader will recall from Chapter II of our analysis that the two major missionary groups that went to East Africa to proselytize and to convert the natives to Christianity were the Protestants and the Catholics. Today in East Africa there are many Christian churches of many denominations. Excluding African Independent Churches and other small Christian churches, there are today in East Africa fifteen major different denominations or churches. These major denominations or churches include the following: Lutheran churches, Anglican, Moravian, Methodist, Presbyterian, African Inland Church, Mennonite, Baptist, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Friends, Church of God, Seventh Day Adventist, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic.

According to 1962 statistics of World Christian Handbook,[7] the total Protestant community in Kenya was 822,619 and the Roman Catholic Christian community was 764,258. In Tanzania the total Protestant community was 881,124, and the total Catholic community was 1,331,708. In Uganda the total Protestant community was 921,750 and the total Catholic community

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[7] H. Wakelin Coxil and Sir Kenneth Grubb, World Christian Handbook, 1962 Edition, pp. 70 - 71, 86 - 87, 89, 95.

was 1,701,348. In East Africa as a whole the total Christian community was 6,422,807 out of a total population of about 23 million. Of these, 3,797,314 were Roman Catholics and 2,625,493 were Protestants. The rest of the East African population numbering about 17 million were variously divided among Moslems, Hindus, Budhists and pagans. The vast majority of these 17 million people who are not Christians or adherents of any of the above named religions are Africans. The number of Christians in relation to the total population of each of the three East African territories was as follows in 1963:[8]

	Uganda	Kenya	Tanganyika
Protestants	12%	8%	7%
Roman Catholics	27%	12%	16%

The above quoted statistics of a rough estimate, are important when we consider the divisive influence which the various missionary religious denominations have had in the East African society and the impact which this division has had on the African social structure. The reader will recall that the African religious system knew no such religious divisions as Protestants, Catholics, and within the Protestant communities a number of religious denominations, which in the eye of the African are schismatic mechanisms extirpating him from his common religious belief and system, and hence also destroying his social solidarity and unity which are

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[8] F. G. Welch, Training for the Ministry in East Africa, Limuru, 1963, p. 25.

concomitant with his religious belief and system. Catholics
and Protestants in East Africa as is the case elsewhere, have
difference of opinion concerning their religious beliefs,
consequently they quarrel with each other, and call each
other unbelievers. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants
in their daily work, give respect mainly to their fellow
believers, excluding those who happen not to believe in their
respective faiths. African church adherents of the Roman
Catholic faith and those of the Protestant faith have an
artificial bar which discourages free social intercourse
between the two groups. For example, an African Protestant
school boy or girl who seeks admission into a Roman Catholic
school may be denied this admission on account of his or
her faith. The same thing may happen in the case of a
Catholic boy or girl seeking admission into a Protestant
school. This prevents free social intercourse which boys
and girls of different faiths may want to enjoy in a boarding
school atmosphere. Formerly, before Western Christian impact
began to be effectively felt the only significant disunifying
factor affecting African societies in East Africa was the
existence of tribal differences. But within each tribe
there was unity and solidarity in the family, the clan, and
the entire tribe in the framework of which connubium and
commensality were practised smoothly without conflict. Today
in East Africa due to Christian impact the mere choice of a
suitable partner for marriage is not enough; the prospective
bride or bridegroom and their families must take into

consideration the particular religious denomination to which the prospective bride and bridegroom belong. If one marries an unbeliever, one's own church will threaten one with excommunication. If one does nothing to comply with the regulations of the Church, then one must be dropped from church adherence. I have known many people who have been unhappy because they could not marry persons of their choice simply because of difference in religious beliefs and denominations which exist in East Africa. This was not a problem in East Africa prior to Christian impact.

Today in East Africa, apart from the tribal differences which act as disunifying factors, Western Christian religious influence has succeeded in dividing the country into denominational areas which have gone further to create disunity and disintegration among the African population on the familial and tribal levels and within each respective tribe in the country, all on denominational lines. The African population in East Africa who are non-Christians do not have complete and full social intercourse with those who are thorough going orthodox Christians, for obvious reasons. Those who are Christians get along better with those who like themselves belong to the same religious denomination, for understandable reasons. Thus even though this phenomenon may be subtle and covert, nevertheless it exists. But it should be pointed out that in many instances the conflict arising out of these differences has been so serious that it has been necessary for the different church leaders working in the

East African mission field to discuss the possibilities of
compromise and union in the light of the present rapid social
change taking place in East Africa. As an example of such
fruitful discussion concerning movement toward union of
churches, a meeting held at Makumira in Tanzania in January
1964 is a case in point. In this meeting seven Lutheran
churches in Tanzania, along with Anglicans and Moravians and
others from Kenya participated in an important discussion
calling for church union.[9] In June 1963 before this meeting
was convened, the seven Lutheran churches mentioned above
decided to become one single church. At present in Tanzania
relations between the Protestant churches and the Roman
Catholic church are becoming increasingly cordial. As it is,
all over East Africa the Roman Catholic Church and the
Protestant churches have been competing with one another for
the church adherents. This has been a source of conflict
between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants and a con-
fusion among the African population whom they wish to convert.
The reader will be more conversant with the problem in our
following discussions. At this point suffice it to say that
the new Christian religion as introduced in East Africa has
had divisive influence on African social structure as the
foregoing discussion has indicated. But it is also encouraging
to see that missionary leaders have realized the dangers of
this division, and during the year 1964 discussions on reunion

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[9] Lesslie Newbigin (ed.) The International Review of Missions,
Vol. 53, No. 209, January 1964, p. 37.

among Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists, Moravians and Pres-
byterians in Kenya and Tanzania were in progress, and if
union is realized, this will be for the common good of all
citizens involved.

THE MISSION SCHOOLS: THEIR PROSELYTIZATION AND
EDUCATION: THEIR APPROACH AND METHODS
OF CONVERTING PEOPLE TO CHURCH[10]

In East Africa, as in most African territories, formal
education was introduced by and became part of the work of
the Christian Church. Apart from the reasons outlined in
Chapter II which accounted for the missionaries' going to
East Africa, the Christian Churches' primary object on the
scene was to evangelize the African peoples. In most cases
the missionaries preceded goverment officials in establishing
themselves in areas where they had gone. Thus it was soon
realized that in addition to the preaching of the Gospel
missionary work involved other additional activities. So

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[10] The important sources used in the presentation of the
material in this section are Z. K. Mathews, "Christian
Education in a Changing Africa," in The International
Review of Mission, Vol. 52, No. 205, January, 1963; and
Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region -- A
Study in East Africa, George Allen and Unwin Limited,
London, 1963. For a description of past or early and
the present African education, see Z. K. Mathews, op.
cit., p. 38ff. For a description of the nature of
African education in the missions, see Guy Hunter, op.
cit., pp. 6 - 8.

mission stations became centres for the education of Africans.
Education became a necessary part of missionary work. It was
therefore necessary to build schools for this purpose. This
was made possible through the efforts of the people among
whom the missionaries worked, and by the financial resources
drawn from overseas. Thus church or mission schools
were built and in time the number of these mission schools
increased, and they developed through the years from small
elementary schools into fairly large modern intermediate and
secondary schools. At first the East African Governments
did not support the mission schools financially, but later
in 1911 the Governments, upon seeing the value of the work
that the missionaries were doing in these schools, introduced
the system of grants-in-aid to mission schools to help them
carry out the work that they had started. The mission schools
still took the responsibility for the education of the people,
but now since they were receiving grants-in-aid from the
East African governments they were subject to government
inspection and their curricula had to be approved by the
governments. But the education of the African child was not
made compulsory. It was left to voluntary agencies (which
were mainly Christian missions) and the African population
participated voluntarily in the work of such agencies.

The system of grants-in-aid as introduced by the govern-
ments of East Africa was a blessing in that it made available
more funds for the education of the African people than the
missions and the people themselves could afford since their

resources were meagre. In consequence, more schools were built, there were better buildings and equipment in schools, and teachers' qualifications were improved, and in general standards of education were improved. It is also significant to point out that this system of grants-in-aid was responsible for the closer cooperation between the Christian missionaries and the governments of East Africa in the education of the African child. This cooperation between the Christian missionaries and government officials has endured to the present day in East Africa -- the only difference is that today due to the fact that the East African governments are independent and are being run by Africans themselves the Christian missionaries now have to deal with African government officials instead of with the colonial government officials with whom they initially had to deal. This point will be more fully discussed in the last section of this chapter. At this point it will suffice to pointout that due to this cooperation, the mission schools expanded and increased greatly, and because the East African Governments did not initially enter actively in the field of education on any extensive scale, today the vast majority of the schools in East Africa are mission or church schools. The church is still largely responsible in the field of African education. The Christian agencies in East Africa manage 70% to 80% of all schools below secondary level, about 60% of all secondary schools are under mission management, and about 70% of teacher training colleges are run by

missions.[11] In addition to the establishment of mission
schools and churches for evangelization, the Christian mis-
sionaries also built medical centres where African patients
could be treated of their ailments. Centres for social
services and for the teaching of practical crafts were also
established. The Roman Catholic missionaries particularly
in the early stages emphasized the teaching of practical
crafts in their schools to enable the people in their com-
munities to build their own chapels and classrooms and also
to grow their own crops in their gardens.

In the pioneering period the teaching of literacy to
the Africans in mission schools was accompanied by some
practical training which was aimed at improving the Africans'
standard of living. The aim of the Universities Mission to
Central Africa was to evangelize the African and bring him
into the Christian fold and to raise his standard of living.
With this aim in mind the Universities Mission to Central
Africa undertook the job of training freed slaves in East
Africa to be self-supporting. Zanzibar in Tanzania was
used as a depot and in 1868 the headquarters was established
at Bagamoyo on the mainland, and here the ex-slaves were
trained to be self-supporting. This training entailed the
use of practical tools that would make increased agricul-
tural production possible.

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[11] F. G. Welch, op. cit., p. 30. In Uganda 95% of all
schools are managed by churches.

> In this way hundreds of people were rescued from
> slavery, taught Christianity and given a chance
> to live a successful agricultural life. Bagamoyo
> was like a torch on a dark night. The African who
> lived there learnt to use the plough instead of
> the digging stick, saw the first coffee bushes, and
> cast away many of their superstitious fears as
> they entered the fold of the Church.[12]

At the end of the pioneer period, toward the end of

the nineteenth century, the missions were now playing an

important part in East Africa. Dr. Roland Oliver, in his

"The Missionary Factor in East Africa," observes the fol-

lowing concerning the Africans in the new mission stations

at this time:

> All acquired some new tool which made life easier.
> Digging sticks were replaced by iron hoes, some-
> times even by the plough. Saws came to the aid of
> axes, metal cooking pots to the aid of earthenware.
> With settled agriculture houses became more perma-
> nent and more comfortable. Doors and windows made
> their first appearance, together with the simplest
> kind of furniture. Clothing became more becoming,
> and soap made its debut in East African life.[13]

Thus the missions in this pioneering period were instru-

mental in bringing about achievements in economic and social

progress. Many of the Africans who lived in these mission

stations learnt to read and write their own languages. Some

of them learnt Swahili and a few English. The majority of

the Africans, if not all, who lived in these missions were

able to have access to some kind of medical attention,

since some of these stations had schools as well as dispen-

saries where Africans could go for treatment of simple ailments.

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[12] Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, op. cit., p. 82.

[13] Roland Oliver, op. cit., p. 60.

In addition, some Africans were taught skilled trades such as carpentry, masonry or bricklaying, smithing, printing or tailoring. They also acquired the use of some new tools which made life easier. The missionaries also undertook a good pioneering work in African languages. They learnt the African languages and spent a lot of time preparing grammars and dictionaries and New Testament translations in Swahili and other African languages. Further, in addition to the introduction of hospitals and new medicine to heal the sick and prevent diseases, the Christian missionaries also taught the African to live healthily in accordance with simple rules of hygiene in their homes. They taught the African to appreciate the new Western values and pattern of living. But it is significant to point out that little was done to provide the means by which these values and patterns of living could be fully attained. I have pointed out this fact at this point because as will be discussed in Chapters V and VI this has been one of the reasons for African reaction against missionary and colonial government work in East Africa, and one of the causes of spontaneous organized African leadership groups both in the religious and political arenas in East Africa.

Although missionary work in East Africa embraced some practical training as the foregoing has indicated, owing to lack of adequate financial resources, the missions mainly tended to concentrate on those aspects of education which were the least costly to run. Consequently, agricultural,

technical, and vocational aspects of education received but little attention and were neglected in favour of the more literary forms of education. This was done not because the value of agricultural, technical and vocational training was not appreciated; rather it was because of the cost involved in these practical aspects of education compared with the cost of ordinary primary or elementary education and teacher training. For the same reason Christian missionaries did not establish secondary, high school, and university education. Some missionary groups discouraged higher education for fear that the enlightened African graduates of these schools would be critical of certain aspects of their work and maybe ultimately oust them.

The Seventh-Day Adventist Mission, particularly, for many decades in East Africa has discouraged higher education among African children. The majority of the African children who received their early education in the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission schools were not allowed to continue their education in secondary or high schools. This was because the Seventh-Day Adventist missionaries taught that higher education was evil, and that those who got the benefit of receiving this type of education would go out into the world and serve Satan instead of serving God. As a result, today, very few Africans who are Seventh-Day Adventists in East Africa, have received any amount of higher education beyond the primary and intermediate levels. Today the Seventh-Day Adventist missionaries are changing their attitude, but this

change of attitude has come a bit too late. In fact, as a
result of this general attitude among early Christian mis-
sionaries there is no Christian university in East Africa.
There are many more primary, intermediate, and teacher
training centres than there are secondary schools. The
Christian missionaries laid emphasis on primary education
as being the foundation of all education, and also on
teacher training so that those trained as teachers could
help in propagating the new literacy and the ideals of the
new Christian religion. The needs of the many was preferable
over against the needs of the few at the top.

In East Africa, as in many other countries in Africa,
the education of the African child after the advent of the
Europeans became an affair of the mission and the colonial
government. The African communities in which the mission
schools were established had little or no share in the
running of the schools and in the education of their children
in these schools. In other words the mission schools did
not directly become a part of the life of the African community
in which the African child received his earliest socialization.
The African child's experience in these schools was to a large
extent unrelated to the life of the community of his own
background. His experience in these schools had little effect
on the social development of his community as a whole. The
parents of the children who attended these mission schools
left the responsibility of teaching these children almost
entirely on the Christian missionaries. There were some

missions which gave parents a say in the running of the
schools attended by their children. This was done through
school committees whose functions were nearly always purely
advisory. In the main, the parents simply left the running
of the schools to the missionaries and the British colonial
government trusting that these Christian missionaries were
more competent to deal with the educational affairs involved.
Thus it is correct to say that the communities in which the
mission schools were established were not called upon to
contribute directly in any significant way to the development
of the education of their children, except in such matters
as the paying of school fees or helping in the construction
or repair of school buildings.[14] It is important to note
that the objectives of the education of the African children,
the content of their syllabus and education, and the appoint-
ment and dismissal of teachers or the administration of the
schools were the responsibilities of the Christian missionaries
and the colonial government, not of the African parents and
the African communities in which the mission schools were
situated.

Thus formal education in the Western sense became
the responsibility of Christian missionaries. The mission-
aries, being Europeans and mainly British, geared the African
educational system to the British tradition of education.
It was not imperative for them to seek African cooperation in

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[14] Z. K. Mathews, op. cit., p. 40.

their educational work and thus they did not gear their
educational system in East Africa to the needs of the African
people as conceived by the Africans themselves. Moreover
traditionally British system of education is essentially
humanistic in character, and as such it is designed to instill
those fundamental values which are enshrined in religion,
literature and history and in the enquiring spirit of science,
upon which Western civilization is based.[15] Hunter points
out that the schools of England were primarily concerned with
the teaching of literacy, in both the arts and the elements
of mathematics and science, in order that the horizon of the
child of working parents could be widened beyond the narrow
limits of his traditional skills and life, to a wider world
of ideas and a more technical competence. So the schools in
England did not emphasize the teaching of practical skills
because these skills could be quickly and necessarily learnt
in a hardworking environment or acquired by subsequent
training. Furthermore, the British public atmosphere
accepted these values as they were taught in schools in
England.

The above legacies of the British traditional educational
system were introduced by the Christian missionaries in East
Africa. Their schooling in East Africa constituted but a
portion of the total process of social and cultural learning
of the East African peoples. Before the introduction of

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[15] Guy Hunter, op. cit., p. 6.

Western education in East Africa, formal education of the
African child was the entire responsiblity of the parents in
the family, clan and the tribe, and this embraced the fun-
damental moral, religious, cultural, economic, social, and
political elements that were in accord with the African
traditional way of life. But the new schooling introduced
new values, skills and concepts unknown to the African.
This is not to say that the new values were entirely bad
for the African (for example, the introduction of literacy
was a blessing, among other useful new values), rather the
Western orientation forced the African child to be divorced
from his own values and to adopt those values which were out-
side his own world. European schooling as introduced in East
Africa drew its curricula and objectives from the background
of the British Metropole, and these were oriented toward the
experiences of the children in Great Britain. When these
were transplanted to East Africa they inevitably caused far-
reaching discontinuities between what was learnt in school
and the rest of the African child's social and cultural
environment. For example at secondary school level in East
Africa the students preparing for the Cambridge School Certi-
ficate examination, taken at the end of the twelfth year
of school, and other examinations of the same level, study
in their geography and history classes, facts which by and
large obtain in the United Kingdom and Western European
countries. For example, a student in Kenya, Uganda or
Tanzania would have to learn where the coal mines or where

the steel manufacturing industries are located in Great Britain. It is not difficult to see that an English student whose home is located in Sheffield would not have to learn this fact from memory but simply from experience because the steel manufacturing is actually located in his own hometown or section of the country. The African student on the other hand would have to learn this purely from memory and from drawing maps which are mainly imaginary as an aid to memorization of this fact.

The above example is only one of the many instances which indicate the discontinuity of African child's experience in school with his everyday social, economic, and cultural background. Thus it was inevitable that rote memory came to characterize the schooling of Africans under European impact. This gave rise to the familiar charge by Europeans that Africans are unable to think creatively and critically. But it is probably clear to the reader that since schooling under these conditions also entailed the transfer of European culture to the African culture, and the possible eventual assimilation of some of the culture traits of the former by the latter, the schooling was mainly an exercise at memorizing unfamiliar facts.[16] The whole picture is again made more true when it is realized that the African had later to learn these facts in an alien and unfamiliar language -- English -- which

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[16] Melville J. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 222.

today in East Africa has been adopted as the major medium of instruction in schools.

It has been pointed out eleswhere in this analysis that the Christian missionaries, relative to the emphasis laid on the literary aspect of education, gave but little attention to the practical aspect of training, for the reasons that have already been given. This meant that, accidentally, the teaching of practical agriculture which is an economic activity very closely intertwined with African custom and religion, kinship and social order, was also neglected. The Christian missionaries and the colonisers urgently needed African teachers, masons, carpenters and clerks to help them in the lower levels of teaching. These were produced by training, but the importance of agriculture in African life was neglected. As a consequence the Africans came to look down upon agriculture as a vocation. They saw the value of schooling only in stamping out illiteracy and in pursuing book-learning in schools as a panacea against engaging in agricultural manual work which now only characterized backwardness and illiteracy. They did not want to associate themselves with custom-bound subsistence agriculture in the village.[17] The goal now was the establishment of one's existence in a world of towns, teachers, clerks, salaries, and machines. In other words the African now aspired to become a white collar worker. In doing this the African was

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[17] Guy Hunter, op. cit., p. 7.

really imitating the way of life of the European Christian
missionary and the British coloniser. He wanted to discover
for himself the source of the white man's power, and to be
well conversant with the white man's world. Furthermore, the
African young men and women who availed themselves of the
opportunity of getting the education, though meagre, were
able to possess the material rewards also introduced by
Europeans. Thus the African clerks, teachers and others who
were employed as qualified and trained people were able to
buy with the money they earned, better clothes, pieces of
furniture, and other material objects such as bicycles.
But is is significant to point out that the emoluments they
received in the way of salaries were so meagre that they
were unable to buy and possess the many material things,
which were introduced by Europeans, and which the acquisition
of Western values as they were taught by their teachers neces-
sitated that they now possess.

The importance of what has just been said above lies in
the fact that the acquisition of material values to which
the African now aspired was possible and more readily prac-
ticable in growing centres such as towns. Gravitation toward
the towns and cities became necessary. This means that the
African family solidarity with its closely knit pattern of
the extended family started to break down. The desire for
independence and the pursuit of one's own private life, con-
trary to the African way of life in the village, was now the
result. This point will be more fully discussed in our next

item in this analysis. At this point it is appropriate to examine the missionary approach, proselytization and methods of converting people to church as an overall activity, in addition to the type of formal education the missionaries introduced and which has already been discussed, and which was also a means of getting church adherents.

The mission schools, of course, were the centres where Christian religion was taught to the Africans. African school boys and girls were taught the new religion. The parents of these children were also taught the new Christian religion. Naturally mission schools were the first step to converting Africans to Christianity. Attendance to these schools also meant that the African boy or girl involved was automatically going to be proselytized into the kind of denomination to which the European or American missionaries who were in charge of the school, belonged. The chances were that this boy or girl was going to belong to that particular church. Oftentimes when the Africans realized the value of education, acceptance of the faith and membership in that particular church was a condition obligating the parents and their children before the children could be accepted as pupils of the particular mission school where they sought admission. Initially when the missionaries started their work in East Africa, it was not necessary for them to design any prerequisites for entry into schools. African children were reluctant to attend the schools established for them and their parents were at first apathetic about the whole idea of sending their children to these schools. There was

opportunity for the children but the African communities did not immediately avail themselves of this opportunity. In fact the early missionaries, thanks to their initiative, had to use force to encourage the children to go to school, and they persuaded the parents of the children to encourage their children to go to school.

But this did not continue too long. Soon the value of Western literacy manifested itself as was indicated in the foregoing, and instead of persuasion there was a steady increase of willing attendants. Due to shortage of teachers and other facilities necessary for the successful running of a school it was now necessary to give preference to the children of parents who were either already church members or affiliates or those who were willing to be proselytized and to become church members. This does not mean that the children whose parents were pagans were refused admission. This depends upon whether there was enough room for those seeking admission. It was understandable that though the parents be pagan, the admitted children of these parents would be taught Christianity and they would eventually accept the faith of the mission that proselytized them. This indeed was the case in many instances. But if there were too many pupils seeking entry into a school where room was limited, the missionaries and teachers in charge gave preference first to the children of Christian parents. This method was influential in encouraging the pagan parents to decide to become Christians. So they allowed themselves to be Christianized

lest their children be denied the opportunity of attending school, now that they had seen the benefit of receiving an education.

Another very useful factor which helped win Africans to church adherence was the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, or clinics in the mission stations by the missionaries. The African communities were encouraged to visit these medical centres so that they could be cured of their diseases. This practice is going on in many areas in East Africa today. As the patients gathered in these centres for treatment the missionaries made use of this opportunity and taught them lessons from the Bible and the story of Jesus Christ and encouraged them to accept Christianity. As they were cured of their illnesses they became more and more interested in the missionaries and their teachings. They accepted their faith and became Christians. Missionary doctors and nurses together with their African helpers were and have been very instrumental in converting Africans into Christendom. Their work has entailed the eradication of disease, filth, ignorance and other enemies of life. As they did their work among the Africans they at the same time did their primary duty, which was to proselytize the people with whom they communicated.

The fact that the missionaries also learnt the languages of the Africans among whom they worked made it possible for their work of proselytizing to have far reaching effects. They were able to communicate with them directly in the language the Africans could understand. This helped them

clarify to the Africans the salient features of the new

Christian religion. Furthermore the translation of the Bible

into the various African languages helped the Africans to

understand the content of the Bible and certain significant

tenets of it which the missionaries wished to emphasize.

In schools, Biblical lessons were compulsory, and every

African school boy or girl was to be well conversant with

the content of the Scriptures. Indeed they were taught to

recite accurately, the significant portions of the Bible.

Outstanding performance in the examinations pertaining to

the Bible and the knowledge of its contents gave credit to

any pupil who thus proved his ability and assured him a place

and a preference in the next class if a choice had to be

made between two pupils, one with a poor performance and the

other with a good performance in the examination pertaining

to the Scriptures. The one with a better performance was

the likelier choice for the teachers and the missionaries.

Christian baptism was a very significant phenomenon in

the life of the new African convert. This is a symbol of

accepting and being accepted into the Christian church and

becoming a church member. With this baptism, the African

received a new name -- usually a name chosen from the Bible.

More significantly it would be a Western European name which

now became a symbol of status among the Africans and which

now proved that they were people with better names and better

religion. Anything European in their eye was now better than

its African counterpart. The European missionary did not

hesitate to instill this kind of idea in the mind of the African since this would encourage him to accept Christianity. Among the Africans, both young and old, the goal was the eventual adoption of a new Christian name which they received at baptism. Many African boys and girls who had not been baptized and who as such did not have the new names, felt unhappy among those who had, because a new Western Christian name was a status symbol, signifying literacy, new and better religion, and close identification with better Western values as they saw them. The reader can see that this encouraged many African school boys and girls to study their Scriptures diligently so that they could pass the necessary prescribed tests which opened the way for baptism and acceptance into the Christian fold. Furthermore the Christian education which these African school boys and girls were receiving was grasped by them as a step toward well paid employment with the concomitant acquisition of the new Western material values to which the African now aspired.

It is significant to point out that baptism and the acceptance of Christianity were from the beginning of missionary work in East Africa (and it has persisted up to date) a matter of individual choice. The Christian missionaries, particularly the Protestant missionaries, in contrast to the Roman Catholic missionaries, encouraged independence of thought, so that if an individual decided to become a Christian, the next step was for him to satisfy the prerequisites for his being accepted as such, regardless of his affiliation to

his closely-knit familial ties, even though the members of his family might still be pagans. Individualism of this kind was not encouraged by the Roman Catholics whose black converts were taught to be more submissive, docile, and more dependent on the white man and his decision. Nevertheless despite this difference between the two Christian missionary groups, Christendom as a whole in East Africa encouraged individualism and independence of thought -- these being elements of Western thought and ideology.

The most important point in our analysis at this point is the Western Christian attitude toward African culture, way of life, and religion, as they taught their new Christian religion to the African. In the beginning the Western Christian missionaries regarded their own European civilization as a superior civilization to the African culture and way of life. They have opposed certain aspects of African culture as uncivilized, and this attitude has been concomitant with the devaluation and denigration of all things African. It did not matter to the missionaries whether or not these aspects of African culture were forbidden by the Scriptures. They considered the Africans as heathens or pagans who were fundamentally evil, and as such the best way to deal with them was initially to destroy all their old, uncivilized, and evil ways enshrined in their culture, convert them to Christianity through baptism, and purify them by inducting them into the new and better religion and into the new and superior civilization.

Accordingly, the Christian missionaries preached
against and forbade the following practices -- polygamy,
dowry, initiation ceremonies, use of alcohol, dancing,
wailing at funerals, ancestor cults, the belief in witch-
craft and magic, and African medicines. Circumcision, and
particularly female circumcision, which was a custom of some
African tribes and which entailed clitoridectomy was also
banned.

Any Africans who had committed themselves to Christianity
had necessarily to give up the above named practices. The
condemnation of some of these practices by the missionaries
was due to the failure on the part of the missionaries to
recognize the value of these African practices. Our analysis
in Chapters V and VI will discuss how preaching against and
forbidding these African practices have been responsible for
some political and religious spontaneously organized
leadership groups in East Africa as a reaction against
missionary and colonial government activities. Instead of
the condemned practices the missionaries now encouraged and
taught practices more pertinent to the new Christian religion
which they now wanted their adherents to cling to. Thus
monogamy had to take the place of polygyny, baptism and its
prerequisites had to replace the initiation ceremonies, modern
Western practices of medical science, laboratory and
technological diagnosis of diseases, and therapy provided
by Western medication had to replace African witchcraft,
magic, and medicine. Our subsequent analysis will discover

what repercussions followed this missionary teaching. Before

we attempt that analysis it is relevant at this point to

discuss the impact of the new religion on African marriage

and the family.

THE IMPACT ON MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY[18]

It has been noted in Chapter II that the polygynous

joint family was an element characterizing African families

in East Africa before Western impact. There were many

monogamists, but polygyny was sanctioned by traditional

African custom and anybody who could support many wives was

allowed to marry any number of wives that he chose. I have

already indicated some advantages of polygamy as a common

practice among Africans, especially before Western Christian

impact. This is not to say that polygamy, especially today,

due to Western influence and way of life, does not have disad-

vantages in African societies. Due to the modern money

economy introduced by Europeans in African societies today,

there are probably more disadvantages in the practice of

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[18] In this section, I have used my own personal experience
of the African family life in presenting the material
contained herein. In addition, for impact of Westerni-
zation on African family see E. Franklin Frazier, "The
Impact of colonialism on African Social Forms and
Personality," in Calvin W. Stillman, op. cit., p. 77.
For a further clarification on the impact of Western
Christian religion on African marriage and the family,
see Karefa-Smart, John and Rena, The Halting Kingdom,
Friendship Press, New York, 1959, pp. 20 - 22.

polygamy than there are advantages. For example, it often means the lowering of the standard of living of individuals in a family. But in some cases this is debatable, because it depends on the individual and his capacity to support the wives. However, it should be noted that polygamy in African societies prior to Western European impact was in harmony with African economic, political, and social way of life. Africans saw many advantages in this practice -- it prevented the increase of surplus unmarried women and thus curbed prostitution; the women were an economic asset, helping in the tillage of land; and the many children who usually are the product of such polygynous relationships were an asset in that they helped the entire extended family in performing the necessary economic duties from which the family's subsistence was derived.

Christian religion has taught against polygamy. Instead, monogamy is instituted. Any African polygynist today who wishes to become a Christian must abandon polygamy and send away all his wives except one. The result is that the wives sent away must necessarily find other husbands, and failing to do this leaves them with hardly any satisfactory alternative. Hence they may be forced to turn to prostitution after failing to find a home where they can find satisfactory livelihood. Another closely related factor to this one is that monogamy is now responsible for the slowly increasing number of surplus unmarried women. These surplus unmarried women create a social problem in that they find places of

abode in towns and cities in East Africa where in many cases
they are unable to support themselves financially
due to lack of suitable jobs. Hence the increase of prosti-
tution in towns and cities.

Christianity has also taught and supported equality
between the sexes. Thus it has given moral support to
African women who traditionally accept subordination to their
husbands for some very valid reasons, one of which is that
many of them especially today under modern Western influence,
depend very largely economically on their husbands for their
upkeep, because they themselves are unable to get employment
which could compete with the kind of employment that their
husbands are able to get. African education in East Africa
has favoured boys over against girls. Hence there are more
educated boys than educated girls. Before Western impact the
African women were equally submissive to their husbands, but
in this case the reason was mainly the fact that being the
weaker sex physically, there were times such as during preg-
nancy and post-natal period when it was the duty of the hus-
band to take care of the wife and the home. The husband did
everything necessary to support the wife, and the wife in
turn was only too thankful for the extra care that the husband
was able to give during this time of crisis. Hence the
logical submissiveness of the African women, which in many
cases Western observers have erroneously interpreted as
oppression and maltreatment of the women by men. This is not
to say that there have not been cases where some African men

have tended to overemphasize their power and have misused
it to be discourteous to their wives. Nevertheless I wish
to emphasize the fact that the traditional relationship
between African husband and wife in the pattern of super-
ordination and subordination respectively, emanated from
logical and rational mutual acceptance of practical reality
enshrined in the African economic, social and political
organization of the family, and as such did not savour of
any elements of oppression of the women by men. The charge
that African women are deliberately made subservient by the
men and that this subservience is concomitant with and tanta-
mount to oppression which men exercise toward women is merely
indicative of superficial study of African societies by
outside observers who lack the proper knowledge of African
organization.

But to go back to the influence of missionary teaching
on African marriage and the family, it is crucial to note that
missionaries not only taught that women are equal to men,
thereby giving women moral support and the desire to escape
from their natural subordination to their husbands, but in
addition they alleged that the African dowry system repre-
sented "buying and selling" women. To them it is a transaction
tantamount to selling a girl to a boy who is going to be the
future husband. There is no time and space for me to explain
in detail the significance of the African dowry system. This
has been superficially stated elsewhere in our analysis.
It will suffice to repeat that the dowry system does not in

any way represent "selling and buying." Furthermore it is
significant to mention that in the African vocabulary the
various words which represent the "transfer of property"
from the bridegroom's parents to the bride's parents when
marriage arrangements are made do not have the same conno-
tation as "selling and buying." The most important thing
to note is that this dowry system stabilizes the marriages
and prevents unnecessary divorce. Christian teaching of the
equality between men and women and the derogatory meaning
that it attaches to the dowry system, and the introduction
into the vocabulary of such phrases as "bride price," have
been responsible for instability in the marriage relationships.
The women are now conscious of their position and want to
assert themselves against what they think is unfair to them.
As a consequence there are arguments in the homes, and the
formerly clearly articulated division of labour between men
and women in the family is now being confused. Hence insta-
bility in the families and some eventual divorce cases which
are now on the increase due to increased economic indepen-
dence of some women who have had reasonably high standard of
education by present African standards.

Furthermore it should be noted that conversion and com-
mitment to Christianity has demanded individual assertion and
decision on the part of Africans, which has also meant
oppostion to group pressure -- this group pressure being a
phenomenon which has always surrounded the life of an African
in his own family. Conversion as Christianity would emphasize,

is a personal matter, an affair between man and God. Thus
when an African adopts Christianity and if his immediate
relatives are not Christians, he becomes detached from his
family and relatives, and loses the protection of this group
and he has to stand by himself. Circumstances force him to
adopt rational attitude toward the world and this develops
into independent individualism along the line of European
personality. This is contrary to the life of an African non-
Christian living in a non-Christian family or an African
Christian living in an African family which is entirely
Christian, where he would live in the traditional African
well-knit kinship group, which is a closely governed com-
munity, orderly and respectful of authority. In this frame-
work of African traditional family life, the common religious
life unites its devoted members to the whole group to which
they are closely bound socially, economically and religiously,
as they are genuinely attached to, and cooperating with each
other.

The Christian religious influence has introduced a
different picture from what has just been stated in the pre-
ceding paragraph. Emphasis on individualism and independence
of thought and action on the part of an individual, which is
concomitant with increasing education and desire to plan for
oneself and direct one's own life, on the part of the African,
has resulted in a conflict with the older established African
family group and pattern of life. Individualism has caused
disintegration of the African family life.

The missionary teaching against African ancestor cult also affected African family life. The African ancestor cult involves honourable burial of the dead members of an African family. The higher the status and esteem an individual has in the family and community the more elaborate and honourable his burial and the ceremonies connected with his burial. But it is true to say that any adult who dies in an African family is given an honourable burial following the African customary practice. The funeral ceremonies accordingly, include such practices as wailing and mourning for the departed, and singing and dancing in accompaniment with the playing of musical instruments. These practices ensure a link of life between the ancestors and posterity, and thus a continuity of past and future in the African family life. The African family life as well as its social and political structure was validated by the African practice of ancestor cult. The ancestor cult is also directly connected with land which is the source of African subsistence. The ancestors are the owners of the land. Reverence must be given to them so that God can bless the land and make it fruitful and productive for the living descendants of the ancestors.

So the missions' rejection of ancestor cult as mere superstition and their insistence that all converts abandon ancestral beliefs is tantamount to attacking the basis of African tribal structure and this may have far reaching consequences as subsequent analysis will indicate.

Finally before leaving this subject of the impact of Christian religion on African marriage and the family, it is relevant to point out that due to economic independence of many African men due to the introduction of money economy -- another impact of the West -- and the Western Christian character of individual choice and responsibility, the African marriages are now a matter of arrangments between the man and the woman to be married, and there is less emphasis on moral and economic support on the part of the parents of the future bride and the bridegroom. Marriages can now take place without any direct intervention on the part of the parents of the man and the woman concerned. The parents' sanction together with the dowry system are useful devices in stabilizing the marriage and the family in the future. Since this is now not absolutely necessary, in that a man may choose to give his own dowry, the foundation of stable marriages is now shaken, and as a consequence many are now unstable. Another problem which the Christian religion has presented in East Africa is that of inter-faith or inter-denominational marriages. Although at present the problem is not very acute, in that usually if such marriages occur, the wife adopts the religious belief of her husband, nevertheless in the future if the denominational dogmas become too deeply ingrained in the adherents of any particular faith, these mixed marriages may present a bigger problem resulting in marriage and family instability.

Also due to Western impact and increased education
which Western Christian missionaries have been able to give,
there is a cultural barrier between men and women in East
Africa. This is because men have been the major benefactors
of Western education -- especially higher education. Thus
a man who marries a woman with a comparatively very meagre
standard of education finds it difficult to get along with
her. Instability in the marriage is likely to be the result
and divorce not unusual.

To conclude the above discussion, it is true to say that
the Christian missionaries from the beginning of their work
in East Africa have contributed to the disintegration of
the African traditional pattern of life, but in doing this
they have also applied some constructive measures whose
effects have at the same time been beneficial.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE AFRICAN POPULATION[19]

The European political leadership and power entered

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[19] The presentation in this section is based on the works of
Zoe Marsh, and G.W. Kingsworth, An Introduction to the
History of East Africa, Cambridge, 1961, F. B. Welbourn,
East African Rebels, - A Study of Some Independent Churches,
S.C.M. Press Ltd., Bloomsbury St., London, 1961; W. E.
Owen, "The Relationship of Missionary and African in East
Africa," in Church Missionary Review, Vol. LXXVII, 1927;
and Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa,
London, 1952. For a good description of the nature of
the interrelationship of the Christian missionaries,
government officials, and the African population, see W.
E. Owen, op. cit., pp. 21 - 30.

East Africa at about the same time as missionary endeavour
was becoming very active during its pioneering days in East
Africa. The missionaries welcomed the entry of European
government officials into East Africa because this would
help them stop the African slave trade that was going on at
this time. From the beginning the missionaries worked
closely with the government officials and acted as mediators
between Africans and the new government. As has been pointed
out elsewhere in this analysis, the missionaries propagated
the Gospel among the Africans and at the same time spread
their whole culture among the Africans -- this culture also
being that of the European government officials. The Africans
soon realized that the new education that they were re-
ceiving, and the new political order that had been intro-
duced, together with the new technological developments that
they were experiencing and learning -- had the new God --
the Christian religion as their pivot. Thus in the eye of
the Africans the European government officials and the
Christian missionaries, who also belonged to the same race,
were one and inseparable people. Their separate job domains
were merely an efficient method of carrying out their common
aim and purpose in East Africa -- namely, to evangelize and
Christianize the African population and to colonize and
civilize them for the benefit of the people and for that of
the imperial metropole -- with the advantages and disadvan-
tages which this aim and purpose entailed.

There are certain features or incidences in the history of missionary and government work in East Africa which illustrate the nature of the existing relationship between the Christian missionaries, government officials, and the African population, which has persisted until very recently when the winning of political independence by African countries necessitated a new relationship, which now is more in favour of the African population. I wish here to pinpoint the incidences which illustrate the nature of the former relationship prior to African political independence.

The Imperial British East Africa Company entered Kenya in 1887, forty-three years after the coming of the first missionary, and the British Foreign Office took control in 1895 and handed its powers to the Colonial Office in 1905.[20] At this time there was a need for the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway in order to stimulate the economic development of Kenya. After many difficulties in the construction of the railway, which entailed a big cost, the railway, 572 miles long, which runs from Kilindini on the East Coast of Kenya to Kisumu, on Lake Victoria, was finally completed in 1901. Later some branch lines were added to this main line of the railway. But now it was noted that every train that ran on this constructed train line ran at a loss. It was necessary to make the railway pay for itself. A way had to be found to help the Africans provide enough

[20] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 114.

traffic on these trains. In this way adequate money would be raised to repay the British tax payer who had invested his money in building the railway. So, Sir Charles Eliot, who was the new Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate suggested that European settlers should be attracted to Kenya to utilize the land alienated from the Africans and make it economically productive. This, to him, would be the answer to the question of the unproductiveness of the railway. Thus the East Africa Lands Order in Council was issued in 1901, and this set aside Crown land for the use of white settlers. Crown land was appropriated or alienated land from the Africans for the use of His Majesty (the colonial government). Soon after this order was issued, white settlers began to arrive in Kenya to become farmers. They were drawn from South Africa and the United Kingdom. The first of these settlers was Lord Delamere who entered Kenya in 1896 and decided to stay and become a settler-farmer in 1903. This phenomenon marks the beginning of the relationship between white settlers and government officials in East Africa and particularly in Kenya where many more settled. The relationship was a close one and it marked the beginning of white settlers' influence in the affairs of governmental work and decision when it came to dealing directly or indirectly with the governed African population during the colonial period.

I have cited the above circumstance because the white settler element brought in a new relationship between the Christian missionaries, the government officials and the African

population. Now, no sooner had the white settlers entered the
country than they began to put pressure on the Africans to
obtain compulsory labour for their farms and plantations.
This attitude of the white settlers toward the Africans was
criticized both in Great Britain and in Kenya. But, as
Welbourn points out in his "East African Rebels - a Study of
Some Independent Churches," the Christian missionaries were
not outspoken in criticizing this attitude. The reason is
they were Europeans, and as such they identified themselves
with the European white settlers whom they did not want to
criticize, perhaps, for fear that this would bring division
between them as members of the same race. In the African eye,
even though they might have liked some individual missionaries,
nevertheless the missionaries being identified with the white
settlers, were also encouraging the white settler attitude.
Furthermore, in tune with the doctrine of Christian humility,
which the Christian missionaries taught their African church
adherents, and which the Africans accepted, the Missionary
Alliance in East Africa "consider it to be one of the primary
duties of the missionary to teach loyalty to his native
converts; they endeavour by every means in their power to
assist Government in instilling this spirit into their con-
verts."[21] It is important to point out that the Europeans,
both Christian missionaries and government officials, and also
the white settlers in East Africa have used this doctrine of

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[21] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 124.

Christian humility as a weapon against African self-assertion and consciousness. The acceptance of this doctrine by the Africans, as E. Franklin Frazier has noted in his article, "The Impact of Colonialism on African Social Forms and Personality," is sometimes a defence mechanism of the African in his helplessness before white domination,[22] an assertion which receives full recognition by me as an indubitable fact. However, it should be noted here that to escape from this humiliation, the Africans have organized a natural counter-action in independent religious and political movements in order to get rid of the frustration they experience from the burden of white domination. This is the subject to be analyzed in Chapters V and VI and the reader is reminded to take note of this when he reads these subsequent chapters. We shall see the emergence of new African leadership in the religious and political arenas in these two chapters.

In Uganda both the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions were not in good terms with Kabaka Mwanga (son of Mutesa), the then king of Buganda because they thought he was an autocratic pagan ruler. The two missionary groups jointly wished to depose Kabaka Mwanga. By 1885 these missionary groups had persuaded leading chiefs in Buganda and won their favourable attention against Kabaka Mwanga. Then, in 1888 the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions joined the Moslems in

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[22] E. Granklin Frazier, "The Impact of Colonialism on African Social Forms and Personality," in Calvin W. Stillman, African in the Modern World, Chicago, p. 78.

order to depose Kabaka Mwanga, and in the course of doing
this the Moslems drove the two missionary groups and these
fled to the south of Lake Victoria. But in 1889 these two
missionary groups advanced again into Buganda after nego-
tiating with the king. They jointly fought against the Moslems,
defeated them on 11 February 1890, and restored King Mwanga
to his throne. From this time on the two Christian parties
emerged as the dominant political force in Buganda and they
succeeded in Christianizing the King of Buganda and subdued
the king's autocratic tendencies. The Imperial British East
Africa Company had been given a royal charter in 1888, and
later in 1890 Lord Lugard, its representative, arrived in Uganda
at Kampala. Foreseeing the inevitable conflict between the
Anglican and Roman Catholic mission groups Lord Lugard in
1892 favoured the Anglicans and provided them with arms
which helped them defeat the numerically superior Roman
Catholics. Thus, from that time on the native administration
and education in Buganda has been dominantly in the hands of
the Anglican mission group. The Moslems and the Roman Catho-
lics have only played a comparatively minor role in these
two fields.

So, in 1894, a British Protectorate was proclaimed over
Buganda, as a result of representations made by friends of
the Church Missionary Society. This British Protectorate
over Buganda was later "to be extended, in succeeding years
westward over the Kingdom of Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole and
the district of Kigezi; eastward over Busoga; and northward

to include Bugisu and Bukedi (around Mount Elgon), Teso,
Lango, Acholi and West Nile and the still largely underdevel-
oped district of Karamoja."[23]   In other words this protectorate
was to be extended to cover most of the present country of
Uganda. This was soon realized. It is significant to note
that after the two Christian parties defeated the Moslems in
Buganda, they regarded themselves as leaders in both church
and state. Thus, they, and particularly the Anglicans, were
now playing an important role, directing native education and
administration. But there was always some friction between
the Anglicans(the Church Missionary Society missionaries)
and the Roman Catholics, and these two groups were not in
good terms with the Moslems. Such was the state of affairs
in Uganda at the beginning of the twentieth century, and this
situation has persisted fundamentally to the present day.

In Kenya, at the beginning of the twentieth century
individual Christian clergy joined white settler organizations.
There was also the development of missionary support for
the demand that the local European community should have the
sole direction of policy in Kenya, and the representatives
of the missions attended meetings of the Convention of Associ-
ations which was a settler body. The bishops of Uganda, and
of Mombasa, Kenya, together with Dr. J. W. Arthur of the
Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, published a memorandum
in October 1919 in favour of legalized compulsion for labour
on government projects instead of the veiled compulsion

[23] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 16.

for all purposes implied by the new labour circular which
the government published. This memorandum was later endorsed
by the Alliance of Missionary Societies. This policy of
compulsory labour was unpopular among Africans and Indians
in Kenya.

There are many other similar instances or examples which
I could add to the above outlined few to indicate the
nature of the relationship between the Christian missionaries,
the government officials, and the African population in
East Africa, especially during the colonial period. But
for the purposes of our analysis the examples given in the
foregoing would suffice. Importantly, my purpose in this
section is to clarify by proof, that the above circumstances
in Uganda and Kenya, and in other areas in East Africa indicate
that the missionaries were working in harmony with the govern-
ments of these countries in shaping the government policies,
which affected the Africans in one way or another. Where the
native government regime conflicted with the ideology of the
missionaries, as was the case in the Kingdom of Buganda, the
missionaries forced their ideology and regime by fighting
if need be. The crucial thing to remember here is that the
white missionaries in East Africa failed to distinguish them-
selves in the African eye from the colonial authorities.
This factor is important in that as our subsequent analysis
will show, it has been among other factors, responsible in
a way, for the development of African religious and political
leadership in East Africa.

Before the mentioned religious and political leader-
ships are analyzed, it is worthwhile at this point, first,
to examine the missionary attitude toward African leadership
in churches, this being the subject matter of our next
chapter.

Chapter IV

THE MISSIONARY ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICAN

LEADERSHIP IN CHURCHES

THE PREREQUISITES FOR AFRICAN LEADERSHIP:

HOW ADEQUATELY THESE HAVE BEEN FULFILLED[1]

In the beginning of Western Christian missionary work

in East Africa, the Christian missionaries depended a great

deal on the services rendered by the African teachers who

had received their elementary education in the mission schools.

These African mission graduates as has been noted in the

previous chapter were the persons, who in cooperation with

the European missionaries, started and maintained the ele-

mentary schools where most African Christian converts were

made. These schools still carry on this same function of

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[1] The sources used in the presentation of the material in
this section are F. G. Welch, Toward an African Church,
Nairobi, 1962, and Training for the Ministry in East
Africa, Association of the East African Theological Col-
leges, Limuru, 1963; W. Stanley Rycroft and Myrtle M.
Clemmer, A Factual Study of Sub-Saharan Africa, Commission
on Ecumenical and Relation, the United Presbyterian Church,
in the U.S.A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York,
1962; Zoe Marsh, and G. W. Kingsnorth, op. cit.; and Roland
Oliver, op. cit. For the growth and development of African
Church leadership, see Zoe Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth,
op. cit., p. 90ff., F. G. Welch, op. cit., p. 10; and Waken
H. Coxill and Sir Kenneth Grubb, op. cit., pp. 70 - 71;
86 - 87; 89 and 95.

converting Africans to Christianity. These African teachers
were in fact lay catechists who had only received a few years
of elementary schooling, and who were thus only able to
recite catechism and read the gospel. They were unable to
undertake the heavier duty of teaching the Bible and adminis-
tering the appropriate sacraments due to inadequacy of proper
training. Adequate training for this duty could only be
the result of higher education which the missionaries could
not provide. A certain length of time had to elapse before
more highly educated Africans could occupy ordained positions
in the church. Thus because there were very few ordained
European missionaries, limits on the growth of the church
were imposed by the overall paucity of qualified personnel
in East Africa. It is important to point out that during
the early years of the twentieth century, the missionary
attitude toward African leadership in churches was not
encouraging. W. E. Owen, himself an African Inland European
missionary in East Africa at this time, indicates clearly
what the attitude of the European missionaries toward African
leadership in church was at this time. In his article "The
Relationships of Missionary and African in East Africa,"
written in 1927 he observes that there was the attitude of
"Evangelize them but keep them in their place."[2] This atti-
tude has persisted throughout the years of missionary work in
East Africa until very recently, beginning around 1960, when

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[2] W. E. Owen, op. cit., p. 27.

the drive toward African political independence and rapid social change made change of attitude necessary on the part of European missionaries. Today they have realized that Africans must be trained for responsible positions in the church.

The missionaries have not been able to do their work satisfactorily without the help of African clergy on whom the work of propagating the Gospel and evangelizing the African population has so much depended. The fact, however, is that the majority of African clergy have occupied a lower level of church leadership as compared with the European missionary coworkers. The reason is that they have not been given a high enough education to enable them to assume higher positions of leadership in the churches. The fact is that the missionaries have been unwilling that the Africans should receive comparable education and the same comparable positions of leadership in the churches lest their own positions and leadership in the churches should be threatened with African competition. The European missionaries, from the beginning have dominated the local churches in East Africa. The policies and plans necessary for the running of churches have been formulated by the European missionary leaders. They have been responsible for the employment and dismissal of church and school workers; the fixing of wages and salaries of workers; recommending the promotion or demotion of church and school workers; and all other policies and plans pertaining to church and school management.

Thus, for a long time, the African ministers, pastors, teachers, and catechists who in many instances, have outnumbered the European missionaries in the work of the church (especially in the Protestant churches) have continually been working in the same comparable situation as labour employed by the management of an industrial corporation, characterized by bureaucratic hierarchy, where orders come from the top and those below (and the majority of those below are African workers) must obey lest they cause themselves trouble, the consequences of which may be serious to them. The important thing to remember here is that it has always been difficult for the African church workers to advance in their jobs and to assume positions of responsibility and leadership in which they can play policy-making roles in the same way as the European missionaries do. Whenever an African minister of church happens to have the same training and education as any European missionary doing the same job, the discouraging thing is that his salary and the perquisites pertaining thereto would be much less than that of his European missionary counterpart. No wonder then, that when these African pastors, catechists, teachers and ministers see their contemporaries who have chosen their careers in politics, industry, and commerce advance quickly beyond their starting points and assume policy-making roles, they become discouraged and disgruntled. This factor has been responsible for the slow growth and slow advance in the work of the church in East Africa.

The African church worker has not been given a position
of leadership on equal footing with his European missionary
coworker, even though both have been involved in the same
common enterprise -- that of preaching and teaching the
Gospel and of converting the people to Christianity.

There is a significant difference between the attitude
of the Roman Catholic missionaries and that of the Protestant
missionaries concerning the education and training of Africans
for church leadership and government in East Africa. It should
first of all be noted that the prerequisites for church leader-
ship and government entails training Africans as ordained
laymen, priests, ministers, bishops. archbishops and cardinals.
In addition men and women who have the ability should be
provided with advanced training to enable them to get dip-
lomas and degrees in theology to fit them for the higher
positions of leadership, teaching and church government.
From the beginning the Roman Catholic missionaries have
pursued a policy of training African ordained priests who
would eventually replace the European missionaries, and who
would be prepared to accept service in any office of the
Roman Catholic church anywhere in the world, not only in East
Africa. The Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, have
stressed training Africans for local leadership in East
Africa, and they have laid less stress on training them to
equality with their European missionary colleagues. The
Roman Catholic missionaries have trained an African priest-
hood, who according to the Roman Catholic policy, must lead

and guide a flock who look to Rome as a source of their ecclesiastical strength. Thus their freedom and activity are rigidly controlled by orders from Rome. As a consequence, the African Roman Catholic church adherents, in contrast with the African Protestant church adherents, are characterized by more docility, more submissiveness, and more dependence on the whiteman.

The European Protestant missionaries, in contrast with the European Roman Catholic missionaries, have trained African church workers with the aim of ultimately developing national churches in East Africa. In doing this they have used large numbers of poorly trained clergy and lay readers, allowing every one of them full access to the open Bible. As a consequence the African Protestant church adherents who have been taught by these clergymen, have from the beginning, been inclined to be more independent to think for themselves, and to be more self reliant than the African Roman Catholic church adherents.[3]

The Roman Catholics, from the beginning in East Africa, have encouraged the training of celibate African clergymen. This is in line with the Roman Catholic policy. This training requires about eighteen years of education. Consequently the Roman Catholic clergy have grown more slowly in numbers as compared with the Protestant clergy. This fact will reveal itself more clearly when the reader looks at the statistics

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[3] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 196.

quoted below indicating the actual African leadership in responsible positions in the Christian churches in East Africa as the position was in 1962, three years ago as this is being written.

As stated in the foregoing, it seems that due to the differences in the attitude between the European Protestant missionaries and the Roman Catholic missionaries concerning the policy to be followed in training the African clergy in East Africa, Roman Catholicism insinuates in the African Roman Catholic adherents a spirit which is repugnant to the formation of independent African church groups. Protestantism, on the other hand would seem to encourage the formation of such independent African church groups. This point will become clearer when we analyze the various African independent church leadership groups in the next chapter. The point to remember here is that initially, the Roman Catholic missionaries' aim in East Africa was not to found new churches, but new provinces of the Roman Church.[4] Accordingly, they did not aim at preparing the bodies of their African Christian adherents for independence or sovereignty. They wanted church leadership in East Africa to be monopolized by Bishops and Priests who were not nationals of the country. If and when the African nationals become available they would replace the European missionaries as bishops and priests of the Roman

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[4] Roland Oliver, op. cit., p. 218.

church, while at the same time recognizing wholly, the spiritual
authority of the Pope in Rome. Furthermore, as has already
been stated, financial responsibility and legislative power
were monopolized by European Roman Catholic clergy, consequently
the African laity were not given the necessary training and
education in matters concerning church government by council
and synod.

> In contrast to Roman Catholics, Protestants of all
> shades of belief from Anglo-Catholic to Free Church,
> came to Africa to found new churches which would one
> day hold the faith in independence, though not
> necessarily in schism.[5]

It must be pointed out that despite the differences
in attitude between the Roman Catholic missionaries and the
Protestant missionaries concerning training African clergy
for church leadership in East Africa as stated above there is
one thing that both these missionary groups have had in com-
mon from the beginning of their missionary work up to date:
they have dominated church leadership, especially in its
upper echelons, and have been reluctant in speeding up
African leadership on equal footing with them.

Welbourn notes in his book, "East African Rebels,"
how Latourette in writing about the distinction between the
Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians in East Africa,
points out the significant difference between these two
Christian groups, in so far as their tendency to join inde-
pendent bodies (such as independent churches or political

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[5] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 218.

movements) is concerned. He quotes Latourette as saying that
from the beginning the Roman Catholics have criticized the
Protestant attitude as breeding rampant individualism, vagaries
and rebellion. The Protestants on the other hand have "ad-
judged the Roman Catholic methods to be producing automata,
to be cramping the rightful development of human life and to
be making for a continuation of servitude even though this
manifested itself in a mild and benevolent form."[6] Welbourn
further notes that the Protestant attitude has also been
criticized in Portuguese Angola. Hodgkin quotes the following
from a publication in Portuguese Angola:

> To tell a person he is able to interpret the Bible
> freely is to insinuate in him an undue autonomy
> and turn him into a rebel -- A Protestant native
> is already disposed toward not to say an active
> agent in the revolt against civilizing peoples.[7]

The observations that have been noted above are sig-
nificant when we take into consideration the attitude of
African Christian church adherents toward their European
missionary church leaders. Their attitude toward the
European Christian missionaries depends upon the kind of
attitude that the European missionaries have toward them.
This interaction between the African church adherents and
their missionary leaders is soon to be analyzed below. But
before we turn to this analysis it is worthwhile to note

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[6] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 196.

[7] Ibid., p. 197.

the actual African leadership in responsible positions in the Christian churches in East Africa.

Until only about five years ago (1960), as this is being written, there were no theological schools or colleges established in East Africa to give advanced training to Africans who aspired to become church leaders. For example there were no theological colleges established to train the African people who had completed secondary school (twelve years of school) and who wanted to offer their services to the Christian church as permanent salaried personnel. But now due to rapid social, economic and political change in East Africa and because of the political independence of the East African territories, advanced training for church government and leadership has become more and more necessary. To realize this need for trained people in East Africa, Kenya, now has five theological colleges, Uganda, three theological colleges, and Tanzania, five theological colleges. The statistics below will indicate the type of training offered, length of time spent in training and the number of undergraduates who were in training by August 1964.

To summarize this section, it is important to point out that before the need for training Africans for church leadership was realized, especially during the colonial period, little was done by the European Christian missionary leaders to encourage that type of advanced training necessary for sound church leadership among the African church adherents. It is hoped that as the number of graduates from the above

colleges increase East Africa will have trained individuals capable of sound church leadership. But it must be noted that even though provision for the training of ministry is being greatly expanded and improved, no volunteers for recruitment are easily available. Many people are reluctant to enter the established colleges for such training due to economic inducements existing elsewhere. Some Anglican dioceses in East Africa try to produce church workers by developing courses of training for an "assistant ministry," but these are "characterized by low educational qualifications, little theological training and low pay."[8] This further explains the paucity of adequately trained people who can take positions in the upper echelons of church government and leadership.

In addition to the theological colleges in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, there are twelve Bible and Training Schools in Kenya, five in Uganda, and sixteen in Tanzania.[9]

ACTUAL AFRICAN LEADERSHIP IN RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS
IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

The following are statistics released by World Christian Handbook, 1962 edition, giving the most recently available figures indicating African Protestant Staff as compared with the European foreign missionary staff. The former are

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[8] Lesslie Newbigin (ed.), op. cit., p. 38.

[9] H. Wakelin Coxill and Sir Kenneth Grubb, (editors), op. cit., pp. 71, 87, 89.

designated "National," and the latter, "Foreign." The
Protestant staff are categorized under the various positions
that they hold: "ordained," "laymen," or "women" who also
help in some aspect of church work such as teaching or evan-
gelization. The Roman Catholic staff are categorized as
"Priests" and designated "National" or "Foreign." The figures
are given for each of the three East African territories:
Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda as found in the pages 70 - 71;
86 - 87 and 95; and 89 respectively, in World Christian
Handbook, 1962 Edition, for Protestant staff, and page 237 for
Roman Catholic staff.

KENYA

PROTESTANT STAFF

Ordained

  (a) National -   1,124

  (b) Foreign -   241

Laymen

  (a) National -   6,226

  (b) Foreign -   82

Women

  (a) National -   381

  (b) Foreign -   333

Total Protestant Christian community in Kenya was 822,619
(this figure was adjusted to 786,609 by Rycroft and Clemmer,
A Factual Study of Sub-Saharan Africa, p. 110 to eliminate
duplication).

TANZANIA

PROTESTANT STAFF

Ordained

(a) National -   1,155

(b) Foreign -   420

Laymen

(a) National -   7,847

(b) Foreign -   170

Women

(a) National -   754

(b) Foreign -   969

Total Protestant Christian Community in Tanzania was 881,124
(adjusted to 740,734 to eliminate duplication).

UGANDA

PROTESTANT STAFF

Ordained

(a) National -   639

(b) Foreign -   92

Laymen

(a) National -   6,052

(b) Foreign -   40

Women

(a) National -   181

(b) Foreign -   165

Total Protestant Christian community in Uganda was 921,750
(adjusted to 835,740 to eliminate duplication).

ROMAN CATHOLIC STAFF

KENYA

Priests

    (a) National -   23

    (b) Foreign -   400

Total number of Roman Catholic Christian community in Kenya was 764,258.

TANZANIA

Priests

    (a) National -   245

    (b) Foreign -   1,078

Total number of Roman Catholic Christian community in Tanzania was 1,331,708.

UGANDA

Priests

    (a) National -   118

    (b) Foreign -   203

Total number of Roman Catholic Christian community in Uganda was 1,701,348.[10]

The above figures indicate that within the Protestant churches in East Africa, there are many more African clergymen as compared with the foreign missionary clergymen working in the mission fields. The reason for this as was pointed out earlier is due to the Protestant missionary aim of training church leaders for the future development of African national

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[10] H. Wakelin Coxill and Sir Kenneth Grubb (editors), op. cit., pp. 70 - 71, 86 - 87 and 95; 89.

churches. However their training is at a lower level than that of their European missionary church leaders. Consequently they only occupy positions in the lower hierarchy of church government and leadership as compared with the positions that their European missionary leaders hold. The Roman Catholic church in East Africa, on the other hand, has by far many more foreign clergymen than the available African clergymen. The reason again as pointed out earlier is due to the Roman Catholic policy of training African clergy to the point of equality with their European missionary counterpart, and of fitting them for any job anywhere in the world in the Roman Catholic church. This training takes a long time, in many instances as long as eighteen years. Consequently the numbers of Roman Catholic African clergy have increased comparatively more slowly than those of the European missionary clergy or than the African clergy in the Protestant churches.

To summarize the above findings, it is true to say that within the Protestant churches in East 'Africa, the Africans have on the whole, so far, received meagre training, inadequate to prepare them for advanced leadership in the churches. The Roman Catholics on the other hand have trained a few African clergy to a high level but because they are few these clergy cannot cater adequately to the vast number of the Roman Catholic Christian church adherents who need their help.

Besides African laymen, ordinands, and priests there are a few African clergymen who have attained some high church

positions. In Kenya the Anglican church has three African bishops: Rt. Rev. Obadiah Kariuki, of Mount Kenya, Fort Hall; Rt. Rev. F. H. Olang, of Maseno; and Rt. Rev. P. Mwangombe, of Old Bishops Court, Mombasa. The Roman Catholic church in Kenya has two African Bishops: Most Rev. Maurice Otung, of Kisii, and Most Rev. Caesar M. Gatimu, of Nyeri. In Tanzania the Roman Catholic church has an African Cardinal: Cardinal Laurean Rugambwa, Bishop of Bukoba; and African archbishop; Most Rev. Marc Mihayo, of Archbishop's House, Tabora; three African bishops: Rt. Rev. Elias Mchonde, of Kwiro, Magenge; Rt. Rev. Joseph Kilasara, of Moshi; and Rt. Rev. Charles Msakila, of Sumbawanga. In Uganda the Roman Catholic church has an African archbishop: Most Rev. Joseph Kiwanuka, of Mengo, Uganda; two African bishops: Rt. Rev. Cyprian Kihangire, of Gulu, and Rt. Rev. Adrian Ddungu, of Masaka. The Anglicans in Uganda have seven African bishops: Rt. Rev. Dustan Nsubuga, assistant Bishop of Namirembe; Rt. Rev. E. Masaba of Mbale; Rt.'Rev. Sosiya Shalita, of Mborana; Rt. Rev. Silvano Wani of Gulu; Rt. Rev. Stephen Tomusange, of Soroti; and Rt. Rev. Fesito Lutaya, of Mityana.[11]

The above African bishops take full responsibility for their dioceses.

Theological colleges in East Africa are now in the process of training African clergy to a level that will fit

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[11] The Europa Year Book, Vol. II, Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia, Europa Publications Limited, 18 Bedford Square, W.C. 1, London, 1965.

them for advanced leadership in the Christian churches in
the future. These colleges have been in operation for only
a few years, and if their recruits increase in time, it is
hoped that the Protestant churches which have established
them will in the future receive well trained clergy for
advanced church leadership. The following statistics indi-
cate the names and locations of the theological colleges, the
type of courses they offer, the years of study required before
a recruit is permitted to enter training, the length of courses
in years, the number of ordinands, the staff responsible for
giving the training, and the church connection, that is, the
churches that have been responsible for instituting the
colleges. The figures are for August, 1964.[12]

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE AFRICAN CHURCH ADHERENTS
AND THEIR MISSIONARY LEADERS -- DISCRIMINATION IN CHURCH

The European Christian missionaries teach their
African church adherents Christian ideology. They teach them
that Christianity is the religion of love in which all men
are brothers and children of the one God. Christianity is a
religion of love and brotherhood among all men everywhere.
The Africans trusting that the new religion is a good one,
since they, identify it with the new European way of life
which includes literacy, new material Western values, new

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[12] Directory of Theological Schools in Africa, Asia, the
Carribean, Latin America, and the South Pacific, Theological
Education Fund, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York,
August 1964, pp. 3-4.

KENYA

Year Training Began	Name and Location	Courses	Years Study for Entrance	Length of Course	Ordinands	Staff	Church Connection
	Kima Theological College, Box 75, Maseno	Ministerial	10	4	10	3	Church of God
	Officer Training College, P.O. Box 575, Nairobi	Officers	-	1-1/2	20	6	Salvation Army
Sept.'62 '60	St. Paul's United Theological College, P.O. Limuru	B.D. Diploma Ordination	14 12 10	3 3 3	3) 15) 16)	11	Anglican Methodist Presbyterian
1962	Scott Theological College, Box 49 Machakos	Upper Level Theological Lower Level Theological	12 10	3 3	4) 20)	6	Af. Inland Miss. Gospel Furthering Fellowship Sudan Int. Miss.
	Trinity College P.O. Box 12430 Nairobi	Post Graduate in Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology	Varies	3-1/2 Mo.	-	6	Anglican
TOTAL - Kenya					88	32	

TANGANYIKA

Year Training Began	Name and Location	Courses	Years Study for Entrance	Length of Course	Ordinands	Staff	Church Connection
1962	Baptist Seminary of East Africa P.O. Box 739 Arusha.	Certificate in Theology	7	3	34	3	Baptist
1962	Lutheran Theological College, Makumira, P.O. Box 55, Usa River.	Special Diploma Ordinary	- 12 10	- 3 4	1) 18) 101)	8	Lutheran
Aug.'62	Mennonite Theological College, Box 7, Musoma.	Theological	10	3	16	5	Mennonite
Oct.'62	St. Cyprian Theological College, P.O. Box 212, Lindi.	General	10	4	18	5	Anglican
1962	St. Philips Theological College, P.O. Box 26, Kongwa.	Ordinands	8	3	41	6	Anglican Moravian
TOTAL					229	27	

TY - Tanganyika

Year Training Began	Name and Location	Courses	Years of Study for Entrance	Length of Course	Ordinands	Staff	Church Connection
UGANDA							
1962	Bishop Tucker Memorial College, P.O. Box 4, Mukono.	Diploma in Theology	12	3	5)	10	Anglican
		Certificate in Theology	10	3*	28)		
		Pre-ordination	8	2	18)		
1961	Bulwalasi College, P.O. Box 990, Mbale	Ordination	10	2	34	7	Anglican
July'63	Makerere University College, Dept. of Religious Studies, P.O. Box 262 Kampala	M.A.	16	2	1)	9	Government
		B.A.	13	3	3)		
		Preparatory	12	1	1)		
TOTAL – Uganda					90	26	

medicine, and what they have considered from the beginning of
Christian enterprise in East Africa as a new and better life,
have enthusiastically embraced and adopted the new religion,
and more particularly the literacy which the missionaries have
introduced and taught. From the very beginning of missionary
enterprise it was not difficult for the African to accept the
missionary teaching that equality and brotherhood and love
among men as children of the one God was a good thing. The
African himself, by the nature of his own communal way of
life in the family, the clan, and the tribe, has been trained
to live in a community where he is expected to contribute
his efforts for the benefit and welfare of all concerned in
the family and his group. There is little room for indivi-
dualism which breeds selfishness and non-cooperation with
others. Thus equality, brotherhood, and love among all men
as children of God, as taught by the missionaries were from
the beginning ideas perfectly in conformity with the African
way of life and were accepted by them as truth.

Accordingly, the African church adherents of any
Christian denomination have always been watchful, to see
whether the European missionaries as professional exponents
of Christianity, actually and practically live in accordance
with the Christian practice. So, in his interaction with
the Christian missionary leaders, the African, whether a
leader in the church council, an employer, a schoolmaster,
a peasant, or a mere resident in his own community, wants the
missionary to treat him as a man -- as a respectable citizen

regarded by his own fellow Africans as their equal, as a
dignified individual in his social life among other indivi-
duals with whom he interacts.

Secondly, by virtue of what Christianity teaches, the
African expects justice. The European missionary has on
many occasions been called upon to deal justly with their
Christian church adherents as well as with the non-Christians
in the communities in which they work. In doing this the
African expects justice and truth which he respects, and which
he naturally expects the missionaries to exercise, they being
the exponents of the Christian ideology, which they preach.

Thirdly, the African in his dealing with the European
missionaries expects leadership. He not only expects the
European Christian missionaries to exemplify good leadership
in social life, in politics, in economic development, and in
church, but he too wants to lead in these different spheres
of life.

Now comes the crucial question: To what extent, accor-
ding to the African church adherents and African non-Christians,
have the European Christian missionaries satisfied the above
three expectations of the African community and the African
Christians in their interaction with them, in the light of
Christian teaching which they have accepted?

The answer to the above question is simply that while
there are many Africans who appreciate the value of missionary
work, when the above three expectations of the Africans are
considered, the Africans have been disappointed in the

missionaries. These expectations have not been fully
satisfied.

In the first place, concerning respect, equality and
universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ among all men who are
Christians, the Africans have noticed that the European
Christian missionaries who ordinarily would be their equals
expect subservience and humiliation from their church followers.
This means that the European Christian missionaries on many
occasions do not treat their African church followers with the
same consideration which the Africans would receive from their
equals among their fellow-Africans. Thus the respect, honour
and equal treatment which the Africans are accorded by their
equals among their fellow-Africans are ignored when the
Africans interact with their equals among the European
Christian missionary leaders. This self-respect of the
Africans which on many occasions is not recognized by the
European Christian missionaries is a cause of rebellion and
challenge among young Africans in East Africa against Christ-
ianity. Those Africans who are non-Christians and non-church
adherents are much farther away from the European Christian
missionaries and are accordingly treated by them with the
least of respect if any. They can only be given some special
consideration, as far as the missionaries are concerned, if
and when they are converted and they become Christians. At
least the Christian church adherents in the eye of the mis-
sionaries deserve some respect which cannot be accorded to
any heathens.

Concerning universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ among all men who are Christians, the African church adherents have noticed that the European Christian missionaries are themselves divided into conflicting, wrangling, and quarrelling groups, opposing one another: Catholics, and the many Protestant religious denominations. The Africans naturally are confused. They see no truth and universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ with all these divisions among the European Christian missionaries themselves. How can there be truth if these missionaries call other missionaries unbelievers? - is a question that many Africans ask. Thus they see no universal truth in Christianity even though they do not think that Christianity per se is a bad religion.

In the second place, concerning justice and truth, the Africans see that the European missionaries do not treat other European missionaries or other Europeans in the country in the same way as they treat the Africans. The Africans see that they are treated differently. For example, the Africans have noticed that whenever there is a problem to be settled between a European missionary leader and an African church worker in a mission station - be he a teacher, a catechist, a pastor, or a mere church affiliate or adherent, the European missionary would on many occasions give the African concerned a superficial, unsatisfying, improper, and discouraging treatment indicative of the kind of humiliation that the missionary leader usually expects of the Africans. But when the European missionary leader deals with another European

worker in the mission, or if the person concerned is a European, very often the treatment he receives from the European missionary is very different from the kind of treatment that the African receives from the missionary, yet the problem to be solved in either case may be identical: it may be a request for improved housing of the worker, more water supply, an increase in salary, or merely an important question which the worker concerned wants the missionary to answer honestly and truthfully in the light of the kind of problems that keep coming up in the work of the mission in the mission station. In the former case the treatment would be discouraging and unsatisfactory; in the latter, cordial and satisfactory. Where is justice and truth in these matters? - is a question that the African often asks. Clearly there should be no discrimination in church affairs. Justice and truth must reign irrespective of any differences.

To make the above point even clearer, it is proper here to quote the Ven. W. E. Owen, the late European Protestant missionary in East Africa, who once wrote:

> Nothing alienates the African sentiment more than injustice, and the hasty, cutting word, the quick blow, or it may even be the impetuous kick, once given, as alas it has been given only too frequently, harm the missionary in the eyes of the Africans, as much as would the same thing done in England. Africans see that Europeans do not use each other so, and though they do not appreciate the fact that the European does not consider that he gets the same provocation from his fellow-Europeans, yet the African has sense enough to see that he is treated differently. Make what allowances we may, there is something very sad when Africans say of a missionary: "He does not regard us as human beings."[13]

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13 Ven. W. E. Owen, op. cit., p. 28.

Discrimination in church on a personal level such as
has been described above is not the only kind of discrimi-
nation confronting African church adherents of many Christian
Protestant denominations and the Catholic mission in East
Africa. A mixed congregation of Europeans and Africans in
one church do not usually sit together indiscriminately in
the church of their affiliation. In the rural areas the
Africans would have their own location or area to sit, the
Europeans another, yet the church is one and the minister
preaching from the pulpit would be one and the same for the
entire congregation. In urban areas there are usually
separate services for black and white even though the ad-
herents of both kinds belong to the same church. In the
mission compounds the residential areas for Africans and
European workers are separate. The children of the latter
are usually discouraged by their parents from playing together
with the children of the former. There is hardly any com-
mensality between the European missionary workers and the
African church workers living in the same mission station.
This kind of behaviour belies the assertion by the European
Christian missionaries that Christianity is a religion of love
and brotherhood, because clearly in the eye of the Africans
there is divorce between what the missionaries preach and
what they practice. What they preach is incompatible with
what they practice. This is hypocrisy in the eye of the
Africans whom they lead.

The foregoing does not establish that all European missionaries in East Africa have been hypocritical and unfaithful to their Christian course. There are some who have been very kind and helpful to the African Christians. They have treated them with respect and have remained faithful to their Christian ideals in its practical aspect. But on the whole the mistake which the European Christian missionaries have made in this respect has been a significant contributory factor to the African young people's dissociation with the Christian churches so that instead of becoming church leaders they seek leadership in other spheres of life: in politics, in industry and commerce, and in local and civil service.

In the third place, concerning leadership qua leadership, the African has seen that the European missionary church workers of any kind, whether they be mission directors, teachers in a mission school, pastors and ministers, or principals and headmasters or headmistresses of mission schools, have always monopolized the leading positions pertaining to the school or church government. The African worker with equal education and training is usually relegated to a lower position with the concomitant lower salaries and humiliation which the African has for a long time tolerated, but which at times he has frankly vociferously opposed as unfair and un-Christian when this matter comes up for discussion. The European Christian missionary in his defence would say to the African critic that a devoted Christian worker should pay more attention to spiritual things, should be humble and obedient, and should

not aspire to the acquisition of material thingswhich are
not spiritual, and which are merely allurements emanating
from the works of the devil. "All this is very well said and
logical," the African would say to the European missionary,
"But does this not also mean that you too (that is, the Euro-
pean missionary) should be content with the same position,
salary, and the perquisites that this common endeavour of ours
entails, as I, the African, find myself in?" The European
missionary would avoidingly dismiss this debate by asserting
that he and other European missionaries working in that
mission station or elsewhere in the country have not entered
their profession for material gain or welfare but simply to
evangelize and teach people the way of the Lord. But the
African would point out that in doing this good work for the
Lord it is only proper that the European missionary should
treat the African with fairness and put him on equal footing
with the missionary whenever each individual case warrants
this kind of treatment. This is what the African understands
by equality, truth, justice, and universal brotherhood in
the common endeavour of Christian work and leadership in the
Christian churches.

Any deviation from the above stated course, is to the
African, utter hypocrisy on the part of the European Christian
missionary, and constitutes what the African in East Africa
has described as discrimination in church. This factor has a
lot to do with the spirit among Africans to run their own
independent churches to avoid these unnecessary complexities.

Furthermore, the European Christian missionaries in teaching their church adherents, have discouraged the Africans from taking up positions of leadership in other spheres of life, such as politics, economic development and social life. Leadership in these arenas is secular, not spiritual, according to the missionaries, and church adherents would be well advised not to involve themselves in these affairs. This is a point that will be more adequately discussed in Chapter VI. Before the African response is analyzed as far as the impact on church leadership is concerned, it is worthwhile to state cursorily the European missionary techniques of sustaining membership in churches, to counteract the tendency of the Africans toward withdrawal from them or not joining them.

TECHNIQUES OF SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP IN CHURCHES

From the beginning of missionary work in East Africa, both the Roman Catholic church and the Protestant churches have worked hard to win converts from among the African population. In doing this the two missionary groups have competed with each other for church adherents. Their aim has always been to increase church membership and to sustain the membership that constitutes church adherence. Those people who have become Christians should remain Christians, and to make this possible the missionary leaders have to do something about sustaining church membership as well as replenishing membership since there are those members of the church who drop out for personal reasons, or due to some pressure emanating from

the present social, economic and political structure of the country, or because of the nature, structure, and organization of Christendom in East Africa.

European Christian missionary endeavour, both Protestant and Catholic, in East Africa, has attracted and maintained church adherence and membership through the establishment of churches, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, and some social centres and welfare agencies. These various establishments have acted as recruiting bases for church adherence and membership for the young and old. This point has been elaborated in Chapter III . In this chapter we have noted a more enthusiastic missionary effort to train Africans in the theological colleges to prepare them for future responsible leadership at a higher level. This effort will further help the leaders to influence the African Christians to consider Christianity more seriously, since leadership in churches is now slowly being made the responsibility of African leaders. The process of Africanization is going on steadily all over East Africa due to modernization and rapid social change, both of which are consequences of western impact on East Africa. Because of political independence of the East African territories, the missionaries have realized that it would be in the interest of the Christian churches if their African membership is sustained (since there are forces acting in the opposite direction - that is, drawing the members of these churches away from Christian churches) by allowing the process of Africanization to take place in the churches as well as it is

doing in all other spheres: in politics, in commerce and industry, and in social life. But it should be noted that this missionary realization has come late after the nature of the impact of Western Christian religion on East African social structure has already made it necessary for the establishment of some independent African churches and sects which are under the command of African leadership groups. This has become necessary because of the mistakes that the European Christian missionaries made in their approach as they introduced Christianity to East Africa. This is the subject of our next chapter.

Nevertheless further efforts are at present being made by the missionary groups in East Africa to sustain church membership. One factor that has been responsible for confusion and undecidedness among African Christians and prospective Christians is the division between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and additional Christian denominations among the Protestant groups. Competition among the two major groups (Catholic and Protestant) for adherents has meant that there are some Protestant church adherents who have abandoned the faith and joined the Roman Catholic churches, and some Roman Catholic church adherents who have left the Catholic church and joined the Protestant churches; but even more crucial is the fact that due to the confusion on the part of the African caused by the differences between these two groups, the African in many instances has decided not to affiliate himself to any of these missionary groups. Thus

in the eye of the Christian missionaries he is a lost church
member or a lost prospective Christian. Efforts to rectify
this situation are therefore called for. As a consequence,
to stabilize and sustain the already won church membership,
and to safeguard against the possibility of discouraging
prospective Christian adherents of both major missionary
groups, a Christian Council of Uganda has been newly created
to bring the Anglicans and Roman Catholics together for a
common endeavour after many decades of bitter competition.[14]

In Tanzania the Christian Council has established the
Rapid Social Change study programme which was launched in
May, 1963, under the title, "The Christian Responsibility in
the Midst of National Development." This programme studied
the possibility of church union in January 1964 at Makumira
and as a result there are more cordial relations between the
Protestant groups and the Roman Catholics.

During the year 1964 important discussions on reunion
among Anglicans, Lutherans, Methodists, Moravians, and
Presbyterians in Kenya and Tanganyika were in progress under
the auspices of the Christian Councils of Kenya and Tanzania.
In Kenya some successful efforts are being made to bring some
of the "independent African churches" into the membership of
the Christian Council of Kenya. (See Appendix to Chapter IV
for African independent churches that are members of the
Christian Council of Kenya.)

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[14] Lesslie Newbirgin, The International Review of Missions,
Vol. 54, January 1965, p. 35.

In addition to the above methods or techniques of sus-taining membership in churches, the European Christian mis-sionaries in East Africa are now beginning to reconsider some of their attitudes about African customs and social structure which formerly would automatically bar anybody from becoming a Christian. For example, the wives of an African polygynist were not allowed to become Christians. The polygynist him-self was not allowed to become a Christian unless he first sent away all his wives except one. Now the wives of the polygynists who are not Christians, but who now wish to be converts are allowed by some missionary groups to become Christians. Similarly polygynists who married their wives before they became Christians are now being given a new con-sideration by some missionary groups and there is the pos-sibility that they might be allowed to be converts if they so desire.

To summarize this section it can be noted that the above methods and efforts are presently being exercised with a view to stabilizing and sustaining Christian church member-ship in East Africa. But it is not safe at this time to pre-dict that these efforts and methods will triumph over the forces at present working toward the opposite direction -- toward apathy, African independent religious and political leadership groups, and may be non-interest in Christianity.

In the light of what has been analyzed thus far in the first three chapters we shall now proceed to analyze the

"African Response" to the total impact of Western Christian religion, in the next three chapters. We now turn first to the analysis of the impact on church leadership, which is the subject of Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

IMPACT ON CHURCH LEADERSHIP

AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS[1]

In this chapter we come to the analysis of the development and establishment of the African independent leadership groups in churches and schools in East Africa. The development of African independent leadership in churches has emanated from the experience that the African Christians and

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[1] The main sources used in the presentation of the material in this chapter are F. B. Welbourn, op. cit.; Daisuke Kitagawa, African Independent Church Movements in Nyanza Province, Kenya (mimeograph), January 1961; Vittorio Lanternari, op. cit.; Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, The Hollen Street Press Ltd. London, 1938; The Rt. Rev. Leonard J. Beecher, "African Separatist Churches in Kenya," in World Dominion and the World Today, Vol. 31, January - February 1953; David B. Barrett, op. cit.

In addition to the above sources, I contacted competent African and European missionary church leaders in East Africa who gave authentic and useful pertinent information on African independent church leadership. The Bishop of Central Tanganyika, Bishop Alfred Stanway of Dodoma, gave information concerning African independent church movement in the Central Province, Tanzania. The Bishop of the African Brotherhood Church, Rev. N. K. Ngala, of Masaku, Kenya, gave information concerning the African Brotherhood Church. Mr. Booker W. Agogo, the Diocesan General Secretary of the Church of Christ in Africa, gave information about Church of Christ in Africa. The High Priest of African Church of the Holy Spirit gave information concerning African Church of the Holy Spirit. There are other informants who unfortunately I am unable to include here for lack of space.

other Africans living under the influence of Western Christian religion have had with the Western Christian missionaries. Western Christian teachings have in some way or other bombarded some aspects of African social and cultural life, which are deeply rooted in the African family, religion, and way of life, and have thus necessitated conflict, which has resulted in African separatist church movements in East Africa.

The African separatist church movements and the African leadership within these independent churches represent African reaction and response to Western Christian religion and Western Christian leadership and activities in East Africa. There are economic and political factors which also have reinforced and given impetus to the development of African Separatist churches and schools in East Africa, but these factors will only be discussed if they emanate from and have their roots and causes in the teachings of Christianity by the European and American missionaries. In this section we are for the moment concerned with the factors which emanate from the Christian church's influence, and which have been instrumental in stimulating the separatist spirit.

African separatist church movements in East Africa have come into being mainly by secession from mission churches to which the dissident groups originally belonged. These independent church movements may be classified under five major classifications (some of them may fall outside these major classifications), namely, separatist Christian churches;

movements which display pentecostal features and heretical
tendencies; syncretistic movements; revivals of African
traditional religious beliefs; and politico-religious cults.[2]
The following analysis of independent church movements in
East Africa will depict some of the characteristics of these
classifications.

VARIOUS AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCH MOVEMENTS

In this section I have selected some African independent
church movements for analysis. This analysis includes a
cursory historical survey of African independent church move-
ments in East Africa including those that were once in exis-
tence and which have since died out, and also those that are
today still going on. My concern in this section is to
analyse reasons for these African independent church move-
ments and their importance for the Africans who belong to
them and who constitute these groups.

The Kikuyu Independent Churches and Schools

The Kikuyu independent churches and schools came into
being in Kenya as a result of the reaction of the Kikuyu
people against Western Christian missionary attitudes and
teaching against female circumcision -- a tribal custom of
the Kikuyu.[3] In 1929 the Christian Church in Kikuyuland was

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[2] The Rt. Rev. Leonard J. Beecher, op. cit., pp. 8 - 11.

[3] The Roman Catholics did not interfere with this custom of
female circumcision. The Protestant missionaries condemned
the custom of clitoridectomy as a brutal injurious operation.

against the Kikuyu female initiation rites. Thus some of
the missionary bodies imposed ecclesiastical discipline upon
those Kikuyu parents who allowed their daughters to be cir-
cumcised and to participate in female initiation rites.
Their circumcised daughters were not allowed by the mission-
aries to attend the established mission schools. In fact
all children of those who were disciplined because they
practised tribal rites at the initiation of their daughters
were excluded from the mission schools. Thus there was
disagreement between the Kikuyu people and the missionaries.
The Kikuyu people had no alternative but to start their own
schools and churches where their children could be taught
and where they could worship. Thus the Kikuyu Karenga Edu-
cational Association and the Kikuyu Independent Schools
Association were established in 1928 and 1929 respectively.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association established
the African Independent Pentecostal Church, and the Kikuyu
Karinga Educational Association affiliated itself with the
African Orthodox Church, which also came into being as a
result of the controversy with the missionaries over the
question of female circumcision. The Karinga Educational
Association unlike the Christian Church did not consider it
necessary to abolish polygyny which it considered an essen-
tial tribal custom. But both the Kikuyu Independent Schools
Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association
wished to establish the kind of education which was Christian
in character, even though these two associations were now

entirely run by Africans themselves. Their desire to be Christian in character was expressed in the rules that governed the policy of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association in the following words:

> The Association shall establish an Independent National African Church in Kikuyu Province and in other parts of Kenya where its members are living. This Church shall maintain the principles of Christian characteristics particularly of Holy Orders and of Holy Matrimony. The Church shall make its own methods of procedure in preserving the above named principles. It shall be the will of the Church to accept the Old and New Testaments, the Bible, as the only material to study the ways of God and His Son Jesus Christ.[4]

By 1953 the African Orthodox Church was an established church amongst the Kikuyu people. It had a number of trained and ordained African ministers. The entire leadership and organization of the church were in the hands of the Africans themselves. The Rt. Rev. Beecher noted quite rightly at this time, that the African Orthodox Church represented Africans' resentment of missionary control over the relationship of Christianity to tribal rites. He also noted that the African Orthodox Church represented a rebellion against missionary control because the missionaries did not allow the Africans to have indigenous leadership in church affairs.

The African Orthodox Church like the African Independent Pentecostal Church was an example of an African separatist Christian church, in that it desired to remain Christian in

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[4] The Rt. Rev. Leonard J. Beecher, op. cit., p. 8.

character, as has been explained above. The reasons which gave impetus to separation were merely the desire of the African leaders of this church to retain their custom of clitoridectomy and the right to establish a free church movement with independent African leadership, and schools where the African children could continue to receive their education and worship God in an atmosphere of non-interference from the Western Christian missionaries. In these schools the African Christian girls were permitted to be circumcised if they wanted to. These churches were run like mission establishments. They were schools on weekdays and churches on Sundays. The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association was concerned with educational activities, whereas the African Independent Pentecostal Church was concerned with ecclesiastical activities of the same association.

In May 1953 a memorandum was presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the African officials of the African Greek Orthodox Church, to indicate to the Secretary of State that this African church was not involved in the Mau Mau subversive activities against the then British Colonial Government in Kenya. The memorandum showed that at this time the African Greek Orthodox Church had 309 churches in the whole of Kenya and an active adult membership of 30,000 composed of all the major tribes of Kenya, and there were 28 schools belonging to the African Orthodox Church (now African Greek Orthodox Church in the Central and Rift Valley Provinces of Kenya.[5] The schools established

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5 F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 152.

under the auspices of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, as Welbourn notes numbered 180 in 1952 in Kenya.[6]

It is important to note that on 24 October 1953 the Kenya Emergency Regulation 12A demanded that all the African independent schools under the auspices of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association be closed because they were thought to be centres for subversive Mau Mau activities against the then Colonial Government in Kenya. Consequently all these schools (with the exception of those that had come under the control of the District Education Board) were banned and closed.

It is important for the reader to recall from our analysis in Chapter III , where the functions of religious practices in the society were discussed, the importance in some East African tribes of the custom of female circumcision. It will then be obvious to the reader why the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Schools Association thought it necessary to disagree with missionary educational policy over the controversy of female circumcision, which as has been indicated eventuated in separatism.

The "Nomiya" Movement

This is an African independent church movement which seceded from the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province in Kenya in 1940 among the Luo people.[7] The founder of this church

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[6] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 155.

[7] The Luo people are the second largest tribe in Kenya.

movement was a man called Johana Owalo, who was regarded by his followers as their "Saviour." In 1953 the movement was led by "Bishop" Petero Ouma. The movement has spread widely in those locations where the work of Christian church under missionary auspices has not been very strong. The adherents of this movement regard Jesus Christ as merely one of the Apostles and they prefer to substitute the name Jehovah wherever the name Jesus Christ appears in the New Testament.[8]

In the manner of the African traditional religious practice the adherents of this movement hold an annual feast, instead of the Holy Communion, in memory of the late founder of the movement, Johana Owalo, "the black man's saviour." They also practice circumcision according to the Jewish rite as a symbol of their sanctification. They consider Mohammed the "Saviour of Asia" just as they consider Owalo the black man's saviour. The leaders of this movement allow polygyny.

This movement is a syncretistic one, in that it attempts to combine certain African religious beliefs of the Luo people with certain features of the Old Testament which are not in disagreement with African religious practice. The separation from the Anglican church which brought this movement into being was due to the desire of the leaders of this movement to set up a church where an African (not a European) tribal hero would be the Messiah and the "Saviour" of the people. This attitude represents rejection of European missionary

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[8] The Rt. Rev. Leonard Beecher, op. cit., p. 10.

leadership and certain concomitant Western Christian values which are integrated in Christian teachings.

The "Orthodox Church"

This is an African independent church movement which is also found in the Nyanza Province of Kenya. Like the Nomiya Movement it is a syncretistic movement. The founders of this movement taught that Christ was an exclusively African Saviour.[9] The members of this movement are allowed to practise polygyny if they wish to. But it is one of the few African independent church movements that allow polygyny among its adherents. It came into being mainly as a rebellion against Western Christian European leadership in churches. In 1953 the movement had sixteen churches. The desire for African leadership and identity and retention of certain African customs (such as polygyny) gave impetus to the founding of the movement.

Dini ya Misambwa (the "Cult of the Ancestral Spirits")

This is an African church movement in North Nyanza in Kenya. It originated in Kitosh in North Nyanza and it emphasizes Kitosh animism tinged with some elements of Islam and some of Christianity. It is mainly an attempt at the revival of African traditional religious belief and way of life. The main features of its teaching include independence and freedom from European control; the importance of and necessity for tribal sacrifice; the promise of eternal life

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[9] The Rt. Rev. Leonard Beecher, op. cit., p. 9.

to all its adherents; immunity from sickness and relief from blindness; immunity to gunfire and police apprehension; increased fertility even amongst the senile; and the punishment of disobedience by the death of cattle.[10]

This movement represents almost an entire revolt against Western European Christian leadership and influence, and a revival of tribalism. It is also spontaneous in nature in that it did not directly break away from the organized Christian Church.

The Society of the One Almighty God ("Ekibina Kya Katonda Omu Ayinza Byona")

In the Kingdom of Buganda in Uganda, a new African independent church came into being in the year 1914. The founder of this movement was a man named Joswa Kate Mugema. The date of this movement's formal separation from the Church Missionary Society (Anglicans) is given in the inscription on the Memorial Church at Kitala (a place in Uganda where a group that had separated from the Church Missionary Society had built their church around May 1914) as 30 August 1914.[11]

Joswa Kate Mugema was a Protestant who never believed in taking medicine to cure any kind of disease whatever. This strong belief against taking medicine emanated from Mugema's study of the Bible and the stories contained therein which

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[10] The Rt. Rev. Leonard Beecher, op. cit., p. 10.

[11] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 223.

convinced him that a Christian need not take medicine to
cure any disease, because God Himself is able to cure man's
illnesses. Thus faith alone in God is sufficient to cure
diseases and all manner of illnesses that man suffers from.
The story found in Daniel Chapter 3 which tells of how God
saved people from the burning fiery furnace convinced Mugema
that God can do anything to help men and that it is unneces-
sary to take medicine, given by human beings to cure disease.
Mugema's objection to taking medicine was reinforced by state-
ments he read from the Bible which helped give him authori-
tative objection against medicine. For example, Jeremiah
Chapter 46, verse 11, says, "In vain you have used many
medicines," and James Chapter 5, verse 13 (and the following
verses) recommends prayer to God in case of illness, making
no mention of medicine.[12]

Thus Joswa Kate Mugema and other leaders of this movement
saw enough evidence in the Bible which emphasize belief in
God, obedience to Him, and above all trust in Him alone
rather than in anything else and this made them start their
own independent movement whose title -- "Ekibina Kya Katonda
Omu Ayinza Byona" -- indicates trust in God alone and reliance
on Him rather than man. The members of this movement rejected
the use of medicine for man and animals.

Later, the chief agent of this movement was Malaki
Musajjakawa who worked closely together with Mugema. Malaki

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[12] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 34.

himself disagreed with the Church Missionary Society concerning

the question of baptism. Following the example of John the

Baptist he believed baptizing members of his church without

insisting on prior instruction, which in the case of the

Church Missionary Society lasted at least six months, then

a member was baptized. Malaki on the other hand baptized

people after he had made sure they believed in God and the

resurrection of Christ without prior instruction. His move-

ment was slightly different from Mugema's in that he did not

stop his members from using medicine, and he did not want to

give instructions to his members before baptism. Nevertheless

the two worked in close association. The new movement now

chose Saturday as its "sabbath" when the leaders (Malaki and

Mugema) discovered in Exodus Chapter 20, verse 8, that

Saturday was the "sabbath" as originally ordered by the Lord,

God. Again, the leaders after searching the Bible saw that

the eating of pork was forbidden, so they suggested that

their members should be forbidden from eating pork. But

concerning polygamy, the leaders saw that the Bible itself

has many instances where the patriarchs including Abraham

were polygynists, and so Malaki and Mugema did not preach

against polygamy.

The followers of this movement were later known as the

Bamalaki (anglicized "malakites"), meaning followers of

Malaki. The chief feature of this movement was the objection

to medicine for use by man or beast. Hence it was against

vaccination for immunity against any disease. The movement

spread all over Uganda. The followers of this movement like

Malaki, the major leader of the movement, were faithful to
their conviction and belief in the new church movement.
For this reason this independent church movement has per-
sisted for a period of fifty years (at the time of writing)
since its foundation.

Today, the Society of the One Almighty God, as before,
is still governed by African local church councils, county
councils, tribal councils and the Great Churches Council
which meets about twice a year at Lugala.[13] They have for-
mally ordained clergy. Welbourn records that there are about
four schools in Uganda belonging to the Society. Because of
the Society's very few schools in Uganda, it is losing its
influence on the younger generation. Nevertheless the Bamalaki
are still found in Buganda, Busoga, Bukedi and the Western
Province. But their influence in Uganda is dwindling.

It is important to note that this is a case of an
African independent church movement which came into being
because of too strict an adherence to the word of the Bible,
accompanied by an exaggeration which might be called a
misinterpretation.

The African Greek Orthodox Church

The African Greek Orthodox Church is an African inde-
pendent church in Uganda which owes its origin to Reuben
Sebbanja Saedimba, who is now popularly known as Reuben
Spartas. He had had experience with the Anglican Church,

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[13] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 50.

being a product of Mukono School, which is an Anglican Mission school, where he received his early education. His early desire was to dedicate himself for the service of Africa and its future, and at one time he and his friend Bassajjakitalo decided to start a private school -- a plan which failed merely because they did not have any capital to enable them to do this. So in 1925 they joined the staff of another school which had already been started by Daudi Mubi at Nakibengo. It was during this time that Spartas read the "Negro World," a magazine which enabled him to gather some information about the Marcus Garvey Movement and the African Orthodox Church in America. This incident may be said to have given Spartas the impetus to start an African Independent Church movement in Uganda, since as he found out, the African Orthodox Church in America, which was the product of the Garvey Movement propagated the idea of African independent church movements as a channel through which Africa could be liberated from European colonialism. Furthermore Spartas noted that the African Orthodox Church in America offered high ecclesiastical positions which were denied to the American Negroes by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

George Alexander McGuire, a Negro from Antigua was consecrated as the first bishop of the African Orthodox Church in America, and he became the Archbishop and Primate of the African Orthodox Church in America as well as the Patriarch Alexander of the African Orthodox Church of the

World. McGuire consecrated Daniel William Alexander, a native of South Africa, as Archbishop and Primate of the Province of African Orthodox Church in South Africa,[14] on 11 September 1927.

Spartas, being aware of the activities of the African Orthodox Church in America, wrote to McGuire in April 1925 asking him for instruction in how to preach and read the Bible. He did not hear from McGuire until 1928 when he was told of the consecration of Alexander in South Africa. Thus Spartas was put in touch with Alexander who appointed him as a lay-reader. He was now under the supervision of Alexander. Thus on 6 January 1929 Spartas declared publicly that he had broken with the Anglican Church and formed an independent African church called "The African Orthodox Church." Alexander himself paid a visit to Uganda in 1931, and in 1932, on Trinity Sunday, Spartas and his friend Basajjakitalo were ordained priests. It is interesting to note why Spartas founded this independent African church in Uganda. The following words of the constitution of the church show the spirit with which Spartas founded this church:

> The African Greek Orthodox Church shall be controlled by the Africans under the supervision and guidance of the Holy Ghost through the spiritual, physical and fraternal help and protection of the Holy Patriarchal Sea (sic) of Alexandria, Egypt. It shall be an absolutely independent church in all her internal administration.[15]

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[14] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 79.

[15] Ibid., p. 83.

Spartas himself has stated reasons why he separated from the Anglican Church. At the time of his separation from the Anglican Church he asserted that the African Orthodox Church is, "A church established for all right-thinking Africans, men who wish to be free in their own house, not always being thought of as boys." Spartas saw a need for reform within the Anglican Church. This is what he states in an interview in 1933: "As a layman within the Anglican fold my chances of being heard about the need for reform were very few indeed."[16] He adds that in the end he might have found himself expelled as a heretic. Moreover he asserted that the Orthodox faith (the faith of his new church) was the true and real faith, far more true and original than the Anglicans. He notes that within Anglicanism he only spoke with the voice of an insolent child who presumes to teach his grandmother to suck eggs. For all these reasons Spartas thought that the best thing to do to correct the Anglican Church which had no "Catholic Faith, Doctrine and real Principles"[17] was to separate and then try to bring about reunion of the whole church as an authoritative leader of an independent African Orthodox Church. As such he had created for himself a wide latitude of unbridled authority to bring about the necessary changes.

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[16] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 84.

[17] Ibid., p. 84.

For the purpose of our analysis this independent church movement in Uganda represents a perfect example of the kind of reaction that is likely to emerge when leaders of an institution (in this case the church) do not treat their coworkers with equality, respect, and justice; and do not give them positions of leadership and responsibility without discrimination, so that they are able to decide and think independently as mature people. In this case it was the reaction of an African against the government of the Anglican Church by European missionaries, because these missionaries did not treat Spartas and other African members of the Anglican Church with equality, respect, justice, and with the dignity that everyone must accord everyone else in their social relationships. But one other element of Spartas' independent church movement, originally, was a search for theological truth.

The African Orthodox Church today in Uganda like mission churches finds recruits to its membership through its schools. Monogamy is recognized by its leaders as an ideal and is practised faithfully by them. The church does not discourage pagans who wish to join it by putting a ban on polygamy. The church today is known as the African Greek Orthodox Church; the name was changed in 1934 because of its affiliation with the Greak Church in Alexandria.

The African Greek Orthodox Church has its headquarters at Namungona in Buganda, but it has several branches in other parts of Uganda. One of these branches which is notable

is the African Greek Orthodox Church in Lango District. This branch was started by an Anglican named Disani Atuca Atim who was converted to Orthodoxy in 1932. In 1935 he started the Orthodox Church in Lango. He has styled himself "Rector of the African Greek Orthodox Church in Lango." In 1961 Atim claimed to have 4,500 baptized members organized in thirty congregations.[18] According to Atim adherents of his church are admitted after rigorous preparation for baptism, and polygamy is forbidden. But competent observers like F. B. Welbourn note that Atim permits polygamists to become his church adherents and that he may baptize members only after three days' preparation. A factor which makes the African Greek Orthodox Church in Lango popular is that this district is largely unevangelized and the pagans there are very enthusiastic about receiving a Christian name as a sign of social status with comparatively less difficulty than they would encounter in the mission churches.

Thus, the total active membership of the African Greek Orthodox Church in Uganda was in 1957 estimated at 6,000. The adherents of the church in 1946 were estimated at 10,291 distributed among 56 centres in Uganda. On 15 September 1943 Arthur Gatungu wa Gathunna and Spartas signed a constitution at Namungona. These two being leaders of the African Orthodox Church of Kenya and Uganda respectively. The aim was to recognize both Gatungu and Spartas as Vicars for Kenya and

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[18] F. B. Welbourn, op. cit., p. 95.

Uganda respectively and Chairman and Secretary of the General
Assembly, with allegiance to Alexandria. In 1946 Gatungu
was recognized by Alexandria as Vicar for Kenya. Gatungu
helped organize a number of small schismatic African churches
which had separated from mission churches in North Nyanza,
in Kenya, into one organization under the name Greek Ortho-
dox, in 1945. Later in 1955, because it was no longer
possible for this group in North Nyanza District to commu-
nicate with the church in Kikuyu which was under Gatungu,
the District Commissioner of North Nyanza recommended that
the African Greek Orthodox Church in North Nyanza be
affiliated to the same church in Uganda. This affiliation
has continued to the present day. In 1958, as Welbourn notes
there were 119 congregations of this church in North Nyanza,
Kenya, and two in South Nyanza.

It is to be noted with interest that the African Greek
Orthodox Church in Uganda uses both Greek and African features
in their methods of worship. For example, the Greek music
is adopted to and is mixed with natural rhythms of Luganda
(the language of the Buganda people). The result is that
the whole musical atmosphere is that of the traditional
Kiganda folk-song which fits the Greek liturgy used.

Church of Christ in Africa

Church of Christ in Africa is an African independent
church movement in Nyanza Province in Kenya. It separated
from the Anglican Church on 22 June 1957. This African inde-
pendent church movement came into being as a result of the

Revival Movement which originated in Ruanda in 1929. In the Ruanda Mission, a missionary English doctor named Joe Church, and an African teacher of the same mission, called Simeon Nsibambi, did not get along very well together in their work. They tried to settle their differences and resolve their problems by mutual confession between themselves. This "confession" became a faith which indicated how both had been wrong, and soon this idea of confession of one's sins spread rapidly among Christians in Ruanda, Uganda, and later it spread to Kenya (where it influenced Nyanza and the Kikuyu country) and also to Tanzania.

The main belief of this Revival Movement is that "confession is 'Salvation:' You need to be save." Hence everyone must "Repent," and repentance is the confession that the members of the Revival Movement teach and emphasize, as Mabel Ensor observed.[19] The adherents of this Revival Movement, as those of the Church of Christ in Africa believe in the confession of sins.

This Revival Movement reached Nyanza in 1937. In the Nyanza Province this movement had its centre at a place called Ramba in Central Nyanza. This group, which claimed to be "saved by the blood of Christ" did not adhere rigidly to the ecclesiastical organization within the Anglican Church in this area. It seemed to be an independent movement largely outside the organized Anglican Churches. There was a split within this Revival Movement itself which gave rise to a

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[19] Mabel Ensor, in F. B. Welbourne, op. cit., p. 73.

second group which claimed to be "saved by the love." Thus
there was tension between these two groups which resulted in
the group who were "saved by the love" separating from the
Anglican Church under the leadership of A. Mathew Ajuoga
(the present Bishop of Church of Christ in Africa) to form
the Church of Christ in Africa. This new church absorbed
many Anglicans in Nyanza including some of the clergy. It
established its centre at Maseno, and as a second group it
was antagonistic to the group at Ramba, in that it intended
to be a revival movement within the Anglican Church.

> The Ramba group emphasized the all-importance of
> repentance and being washed by the blood of Calvary,
> while the Maseno group emphasized the all-
> sufficiency of the love of Christ that has once
> and for all redeemed all men.[20]

The Maseno Movement tried to bring the whole Revival
Movement back into the Anglican Church and had no intention
of leaving it. But somehow the communication between the
leadership of the Maseno group, which was entirely African,
and the ecclesiastical authorities of the Anglican Diocese
broke down. A few factors may be mentioned here to account
for the reasons for the breakdown of the communication between
the Anglican Diocese and the new leaders of the Maseno Move-
ment. According to the leaders of the Maseno Movement, the
Anglican Church had not heeded "the greatest commandments
of our Lord Jesus Christ as written in I John 4:16, and

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[20] Daisuke Kitagawa, op. cit., p. 8.

St. John's Gospel, Chapter 13:34 -35.[21] I John 4:16 reads:

> And we have known and believed the love that
> God hath to us. God is love; and he that
> dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in
> Him.

St. John's Gospel, Chapter 13: 34 - 35 reads:

> A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love
> one another; as I have loved you, that ye also
> love one another. By this shall all men know that
> ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to
> another.

Thus the Maseno Movement appealed to the Anglican Church
to take note of the above important commandments which the
leaders of the movement saw were not being practised by the
members of the Anglican Church under European missionary
leadership. There was no response from the Anglican Church
leadership. Thus the two groups could not come to terms
with each other. The Maseno group felt that their voice was
not heard or heeded by the authorities of the Anglican Church
because it was a new movement under the direction of African
leadership. Thus it saw no other reason for Anglican Diocese
refusing to cooperate with it but that this Diocese felt that
the new group were Africans. Consequently the Maseno group
decided that since they had no alternative, the best thing
for them to do was to start their own independent church
with an independent diocese consisting of an African hierarchy.
Hence the establishment of Church of Christ in Africa as an
African independent Church. The motto of this church is
"God is Love."

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[21] The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version, pp. 109 and
236.

At the time of writing this, the Bishop of Church of Christ in Africa has informed me that at present the church has approximately 60,000 members, by December 21, 1965. In the church hierarchy the Bishop has his Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, five Archdeacons, 30 Deacons, and 20 priests. This church is now a member of the Christian Council of Kenya. It is probably the largest of all the African independent church movements in East Africa.

The important thing to note here is that in addition to the preliminary reasons for the establishment of this African independent church -- the influence of the Revival Movement which started in Ruanda being one of the reasons -- the immediate reason for the separation from the Anglican Church was the reluctance or refusal of the European Anglican missionary leadership to recognize African leadership within the same church.

Like many African independent churches, Church of Christ in Africa baptizes the children of polygynists, wives of polygynists, and in some cases even the polygynists themselves. This, as in many cases happens when these African churches become independent. Once they are free from what in their view is a Western mission dominated church, they re-evaluate African values, and re-embrace them whenever they know that rejection of these values by the Christian churches does not have any authoritative origin or backing in the Holy Bible.

The African Israel Church

The African Israel Church is an African independent church movement in the Nyanza Province of Kenya. This church separated from the Pentecostal Mission. The founder of this church is the Rev. M. P. Kivuli, and the church has its headquarters at Kisumu. The reasons for the immediate separation from the Pentecostal Church are not very clear, but the root of the movement is revivalism. Certain characteristics of this movement which may explain why the church broke away from the Pentecostal Mission are to be noted. The church rejects the use of water in baptism for fear that this merely leads to formalism, and instead stresses the part played by the Holy Spirit, which it believes the use of water in baptism may undermine. The church rejects Holy Communion and instead emphasizes repentance as the mark of salvation. The church baptizes polygynists without forcing them to abandon their wives who are already married to them.

In addition to the above characteristics of the practices of the church, the church has chosen Friday as a weekly day of worship and made Sunday the day of preaching outside of the church. In all these enumerated characteristics, the church has deviated from the traditional Protestant orthodoxy. Nevertheless this African independent church considers itself Christian despite this deviation. This is shown by the fact that the leaders of this church have applied to become a member of the Christian Council of Kenya. It is

also interesting to note that the church is anxious to be accepted in this Christian Council despite the fact that it has decided to retain traditional customs (such as polygyny) vis a vis Western Christian religious ideals.

The African Brotherhood Church

The African Brotherhood Church is an African independent church movement which separated from the Africa Inland Church in 1945. It has its headquarters and divinity school at Mitaboni in Machakos, Kenya. This independent church movement started in April 8, 1945. It was started by a group of African Christians who because they were filled with and saved by the love of Christ among themselves thought that it would be a good idea to form a Christian pact whose purpose it was to preach to those not yet saved and who are still in darkness so that they too should be saved. The purpose of those who started this movement is to preach the good news in unity among all races of mankind in the world, as they had read in Mathew 28:19-20. Secondly, this movement came into being because the leaders who started it wished to eliminate the multiplicity of Christian denominations which in their eye created divisions among Christians who should believe in one faith and form one universal Christian brotherhood, preaching the same faith and praising Jesus Christ who is the Lord of all, as they read in John 17:15-26.

Thirdly, the leaders of this church movement started it because they saw it was proper for people to know the "good

word" (the word of God) through truth according to the Holy Scriptures of God as was taught by Jesus Christ through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Fourthly, the leaders of this movement started it because they wished to start a school where young people of all races could receive knowledge and wisdom which would enable the different races to know God and the way of truth and they wanted to help all people in the world to obtain knowledge of all kinds and education good enough for the present and the future.

The first leader of the African Brotherhood Church (A.B.C.) is a man named Simeon Mulandi. He led the church from 1945 to 1951. In the beginning this church had four places of worship. It soon became necessary to develop the church and to expand its work. On June 23, 1945, the first committee meeting assembled to write the constitution of the church which would be their guide in their future work. The committee stressed that African Brotherhood Church should preach to all races and nations as a united group having the same aims and objectives in everything.

The constitution of the African Brotherhood Church spelled out the following:

1. There should be established a divinity school where people should be taught the scriptures and trained in the ministry so that they can be "leaders of Light" capable of directing the work of God.

2. There should be big meetings or congregations so

that the good word of God should be preached to people by those who have together agreed to preach in unity.

    3.   When people are saved, they should be baptized.

    4.   Marriage should be performed in church.

    5.   The Lord's Supper should be observed.

    6.   People should be confirmed.

    7.   Children should be blessed by the laying of hands.

    8.   Duties for the leaders should be established.

    9.   There should be a hierarchy of duties attached to the work: The paramount leader should be called the Minister in Charge of The African Brotherhood Church. The deputy leader should be called Assistant Minister. After some good progress has been made in the work after a period of time other leaders of the church should be entitled to the following designations -- Bishop, Archdeacon, Canon, Pastor, Evangelist; and women should be designated Deaconess, Sister; and old men, Lay Leader and Elder.

The Assistant Minister of the African Brotherhood Church is Rev. N. K. Ngala. He started the Divinity School for this church in 1950. This divinity school is the centre where training for the ministry is carried on, and men and women receive training to prepare them for leadership in all the different branches of church work. They are ordained when they successfully complete their training.

The motto of the African Brotherhood Church is "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." The church

baptizes members by total immersion in water. The total
membership of this church by April 8, 1963, was 33,344.
There were 92 church leaders in active service at this time.
Out of these leaders there wer 49 lay leaders. There are
many places of worship in different parts of Kenya and
Tanzania, and especially in the regions of MaChakos,
Kitui, North Nyanza, Mombasa, Kwale, Central Nyanza, Nairobi
(all these in Kenya) and Moshi (Tanzania). By 1963 the church
had 32 beautiful buildings erected as places of worship and
12 offices.

The African Brotherhood Church observes the following
days and events because it attaches great importance to them:
Birth of Jesus Christ, Luke 2:1-20, Mathew 2:1-12; the Cruci-
fixion of Jesus Christ, Mathew 27; the Resurrection of Jesus
Christ, Mathew 28; the Descension of the Holy Spirit (Pente-
cost), Acts 2:1-13; the day the African Brotherhood Church
was started, Acts 10:34-34 and 17:25-28.

The African Brotherhood Church is in Consultative
Association with the Christian Council of Kenya.

The leaders of the African Brotherhood Church in the
beginning realized that they were not in a position to
exercise their church acitivities in the manner they wanted
as outlined above, and especially as dictated by their
constitution, under European missionary leaderhip. So they
separated from the Africa Inland Mission.

African Church of the Holy Spirit

This African independent church movement separated from the Friends African Mission (the Quakers) in November 1932. It was founded by various people drawn from the different locations in Kenya. The origin of this movement is traceable to the fact that the founders of the movement having been filled with the Holy Spirit indulged in what they describe as "high prayers" featured by open repentances. This happened while they were still members of the Friends African Mission. It was necessary for the mission to discuss this state of affairs with these members who were filled with the Holy Spirit. Thus a committee charged with the duty of discussing the problem the chairman of which was a member of the Friends African Mission who was not "filled with the Holy Spirit," ruled that those members filled with the Holy Spirit should separate from the mother church. Thus African Church of the Holy Spirit came into being.

At the time of writing the High Priest of the church has stated to me that the total membership of the church is a little over 2,000 scattered all over Kenya, and a few in Uganda and Tanzania.

The church is headed by the following leaders: a High Priest who holds a permanent post; a Secretary who is elected annually; a Treasurer who is also elected annually; there are 22 Pastors and a Council of Elders.

There are three monthly meetings organized and directed by the leaders.

As is the usual case with many African independent churches, the High Priest says that the church lacks finance to build new churches or places of worship and to train leaders for the church.

This church is a probationary member of the Christian Council of Kenya.

The African Christian Church and Schools

This is an African independent church movement in Kenya. It originated in 1947 in Kikuyu land because the African Christians there disagreed with the African Inland Mission over educational policy. The separation was not due to any doctrinal disputes.

The African Christian Church and Schools is a member of the Christian Council of Kenya.

Legio Maria Movement

This is an African independent church movement in the Nyanza Province of Kenya. It is led by a young woman, the twenty-one-year-old Guadencia Ooko.

This movement started early in 1963, and it became very strong by mid-1964 when it was estimated that the membership reached a peak of about 60,000. Since then the number has somewhat declined. In 1965 it broke away from the Catholic Church, and even though the membership has declined, the spiritual leader, Ooko, is still very powerful. The reason for the break-away of this movement from the Catholic Church is implicit in the words of Guadencia Ooko. She says:

> One of the main reasons for the success of the
> African Church is that we believe we can pray
> direct to God, even though we are Africans.
> We get the key to Heaven from Jesus, not from
> Rome.[22]

African Independent Church Movement

In the Central Province, Tanzania

In the Central Province of Tanzania, there is an African independent church movement that was founded by the Rev. Benjamin Lisasi. This founder started this movement because he refused a location (an assigned position to work in another area different from where he was working before) by the Anglican Church. He separated and ordained several other coreligionists and thus started an independent church. He was joined by one pastor from the mother church, and also by some of the evangelists. The Bishop of Central Tanzania, the Reverend Alfred Stanway, of Dodoma, Tanzania, has informed me that at its height, the movement must have had about one hundred churches. But at present it is estimated that there are only about forty churches belonging to it.

The African National Church

This is an African independent church among the Nyakyusa tribes in Tanzania. It originated from Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1927 under the leadership of Gordon Nsumba. It is now headed by Paddy Nyasuru who was once a teacher at a Scottish mission. The creed of the African National Church shows in its opening statement the reasons why the leaders

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[22] _Reporter_, East Africa's Newsmagazine, April 9, 1965.

of this church founded it and why separation from the
Western Christian missionary influence was necessary. The
creed states:

> We believe that religion is essential in the develop-
> ment of man, we believe that man must live accor-
> ding to his religious beliefs and that he is not
> allowed to belong to a church whose norms he does
> not accept.

It further adds:
> We believe that the task of the Christian Church
> in Africa is to impart Christian teaching and
> education in conformity with the ways and cus-
> toms of the native population, instead of imposing
> upon the Africans the unacceptable and unneces-
> sary patterns adopted in European countries, such
> as monogamy, which finds no support in the Bible.[23]

Last Church of God and of His Christ

Last Church of God and His Christ is also an African
independent church in Tanzania. It was established by
Silwani Ngemala, an African teacher, who like Paddy Nyasuru,
leader of the African National Church, was a teacher at
the same Scottish mission. Ngemala was once a follower of
the Watch Tower movement which he abandoned to establish
his independent church. This church accepts polygamy openly.
Some of the characteristic rites of this church include
dancing in honour of the dead accompanied with incantations
and singing. The church believes in Christian doctrine,
but it is anti-European in purpose.[24] The latter charac-
teristic being common among the majority of the African
independent churches.

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[23] M. Wilson, _Communal Rituals in the Nyakyusa_, London, 1959,
p. 191.

[24] Vittorio Lanternari, _op. cit._, p. 57.

There are many other African independent church movements in East Africa. In the Nyanza Province of Kenya alone there are eight other African independent churches. It is impossible to include all these independent churches in this analysis. The analysis in detail of all these movements, as interesting as it is, falls outside this treatise, as it would require a separate treatment which would amount to a big book. For the purpose of this analysis it would suffice to state that the foregoing analysis of the few chosen African independent church movements in East Africa displays the epitome of the rest of such African independent church movements in East Africa insofar as the reasons for these independence movements are concerned, and insofar as their institutionalization goes.

To give a short summary of the impact of Western Christian religion on African church leadership groups as the foregoing analysis has indicated, a few points should be noted. In the first place it should be noted that separations have occurred because the African members of a European mission church considered that European leadership in the church was discriminatory and unfair to them in that these missionary leaders did not give them enough responsibility. Secondly, there were controversies over inadequate educational policies. Thirdly, there was lack of sufficient opportunity given for African forms of expression of worship.[25] Fourthly,

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[25] F. G. Welch, op. cit., p. 18.

some African members of the church may have felt that the
European missionaries imposed upon them certain moral
standards which do not have their basis or authority in the
Bible, and which unnecessarily cause them to abandon the
African traditional customs and values. Thus separation
was also due to a search for Biblical truth.

These reasons stated above, constitute the major
reasons for African independent church movements in East
Africa, as the reader must at this point have discovered
from the analysis of the few chosen movements -- an analysis
which is adequate for our purposes, but which is not
exhaustive.

In belief and practice the various African independent
churches in East Africa differ from one another in one way
or another. Some attempt to adhere as far as possible to
the Christian tradition and its beliefs in the Trinity, the
Divinity of Christ, the Atonement and the Scriptures, while
they reject only European leadership and certain superficial
characteristics of the major mission churches.[26] But other
African independent churches deviate from the Christian
tradition and instead take on syncretistic characteristics
which might emanate from and might be reinforced by their
prophetic or charismatic leaders.

Finally, all the African independent churches in East
Africa experience some difficulty in their internal government.

[26] F. G. Welch, op. cit., p. 18.

Most of them lack facilities for training their leaders for ordained ministry due to lack of funds. Consequently they lack trained leadership, and as Mr. F. G. Welch points out this may account for the fact that the more educated sections of the African community do not have an active membership in these African independent churches. Also, Western Christian missionaries are hostile to these African independent churches. They are apparently jealous of some prosperous ones.

According to the rough estimates made in 1962 by Mr. F. G. Welch, the membership of the African independent churches in East Africa is distributed as follows according to the countries:[27]

Uganda	-	5,000
Kenya	-	120,000
Tanzania	-	25,000
TOTAL		150,000

The above estimates show that the membership of these churches in Kenya is largest, and especially in the Nyanza Province of Kenya. This fact is significant because it is in the Nyanza Province where there are a large variety of Christian missions in active service.

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[27] F. G. Welch, op. cit., p. 25. These figures are approximate.

THE LURE OF ISLAM AS A RELIGION
COMPETING WITH CHRISTIANITY[28]

East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda) began to receive its Islamic influence from the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea during the nineteenth century, and especially between 1880 and 1930 when it spread into the interior of the country. The carriers of Islam were mainly the Arabs from Arabia who settled on the East African coast in trading ports, and some of whom intermarried with the African Bantu natives in that area and formed a new community, the Swahilis, who speak an Islamic-Bantu language (Swahili). Their settlements were mainly confined to the coastal parts of East Africa until the nineteenth century when Arab caravans penetrated into the interior of East Africa and thus helped spread Islam from the coast into the interior of East Africa.

In the beginning, in the nineteenth century, becoming a Swahili by birth also meant becoming a Muslim. Other conversions into Islam were mainly through the African Arab

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[28] The sources used in the presentation of the material in this section are J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in East Africa, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964; Ram Desai (ed.). Christianity in Africa - As Seen by the Africans, Alan Swallow, Denver, 1962; Gustaf Bernander, The Rising Tide - Christianity Challenged in East Africa, Augustana Press, Rock Island, Illinois, 1957. For the moral evaluation of Islam by Africans, see Ram Desai, op. cit., pp. 33 - 35. For a comparison of parallel institutions in African and Islamic cultures, see J. Spencer Trimingham op. cit., pp. 68 - 70.

slave trade. Any African slaves owned by Arabs at this time had no alternative but to become Muslims. Islam began to spread more rapidly into East Africa after the suppression of the slave trade and the establishment of European rule in East Africa. In 1953 the British in Tanzania estimated "that Muslims numbered 27 per cent of the population, as compared with 18 per cent of Christians" in Tanzania.[29] In Kenya and Uganda Islam claims only about 4 to 5 per cent of the populations. Islam in East Africa has been able to win adherents by individual conversions which is the main way it spreads in East Africa. In Uganda, according to the 1962 estimate, out of a total population of 6,500,000 there were 350,000 Muslims or 5.4 per cent of the total population.[30]

The main thing to note and which is relevant for our analysis in this section is that as Islam spread in East Africa the African adherents of Islam discovered that many elements of African traditional culture manifested parallelism with Islamic culture which they wished to adopt. The African Bantu who intermarried with the Arabs found it necessary to remould some of their African traditional aspects of culture in order to harmonize them with Islamic culture. But those elements of African culture which could not be absorbed into the Islamic culture were retained and did not conflict with Islamic culture.

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[29] J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in East Africa, Research Pamphlets. No. 9, Edinburgh House Press, 1962, pp. 12 - 13.

[30] J. Spencer Trimingham, op. cit., p. 48.

They were aparallel with Islamic culture. Thus many African religious beliefs and institutions continued alongside the new Islamic religious features. Consequently, under Islamic influence the African traditional world still remains real practically and emotionally. This is in contradistinction to African experience with Christianity which in many cases did not allow and has not allowed certain aspects of African culture to continue alongside Christian culture because these African cultural elements conflict with Christian ideals as taught by Western Christian missionaries. As such the Africans have had to abandon some of them if they wish to adopt Christianity.

To illustrate the above discussion, the following is a selection of parallel institutions as found in the Islamic culture and in the African traditional culture. The institutions in the African traditional culture as shown below have been retained, and this explains why many Africans in East Africa would not find it difficult to adopt Islamic faith and culture as their religious belief. This would also explain the present and future rapid expansion of Islam in East Africa.[31]

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[31] J. Spencer Trimingham, op. cit., p. 68 - 70.

ISLAMIC CULTURE	TRADITIONAL CULTURE

BELIEFS AND CULTS

1.	Allah: Rigid monotheism	"Mungu," Lord of the Spirit World
2.	Muhammad: devotion, inter-cessor, mediator, "maulidi." Saints as mediators.	Priest, who is master of of soil, or family-head: mediator with the spirits
3.	Cult (God's due): ritual prayer, fast, zakat, etc.	Ritual of offerings to ancestor and nature spirits
4.	Cults of the Sufi Tawa'if.	Possessive spirit cults.
5.	Islamic lunar religious calendar.	Solar-agricultural and monsoon calendars. Nairuzi.
6.	Cleric as medicine-man.	"Mganga" (medicine man).
7.	Islamic literary magical and folk treatments: amulets, divination, astrology.	Bantu methods of treatment and magic.

MORAL STANDARDS

1.	Legalistic ethical code.	Customary communalistic morality.
2.	Sanction - written law.	Vestigial, formerly sanc-tioned by ancestral and other spirits.
3.	Taboos: animals, methods of slaughtering, actions, drinks, and deformations.	Conventional taboos persisting.
4.	"Halal" and "haram"	Ideas of the sacred

LAW

1.	Shari's (Shafi'i) Ibadi - tribal group.	Customary law ("ada" or "mila") persistent.
2.	Marriage: unlimited polygamy if slave-wives included.	(Islam dominant.)

LAW (Continued)

ISLAMIC CULTURE	TRADITIONAL CULTURE
3. Cousin marriage stressed.	Exogamy.
4. "Mahr" to bride.	Bride price ("kilemba," etc.)
5. Inheritance regulations	Customary law resistance. Widow inheritance.
6. Oaths on Qur'an.	Ordeals ("kiapo").
7. Individualistic forms of land tenure	Clan tenure.
8. Shari'a court with its procedural rules.	Elders' and chiefs' courts Customary arbitration methods.

EDUCATION

1. Islamic system based on books.	Family instruction based on orally transmitted tradition.
2. Arabic _____ Swahili _____	Bantu languages
3. Written literature.	Oral literature. Aphorisms.

STATE

1. Islamic state: Islam as state religion (Zanzibar).	Indigenous systems of authority.
2. Authority of the ruler, enturbanning ceremony.	Sacred character of chieftancy. Symbols of authority (regalia).
3. Recognition of the "shari'a."	Right of "siyasa" and recognition if "ada."
4. Taxation and "zakat."	Taxes, levies, services.

RITES DE PASSAGE

1. Birth: "aqiqa" ceremonial.	Going-out ceremony.
2. Circumcision (desacralized).	Initiation school. "Unyago."
3. Marriage: contract ceremony and "walima."	Traditional rites dominant.
4. Death: Islamic rites dominant.	Spirit-laying feast at intervals.

ISLAMIC CULTURE	TRADITIONAL CULTURE

MATERIAL LIFE

1.	Importation of new cultures, crafts, industries and housing methods.	Traditional economy, methods of husbandry, industry and fishing.
2.	Trading and money economy.	Subsistence economy. Barter.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

1.	Household family.	Extended family.
2.	Patrilineal system.	African patrilineal or matrilineal system.
3.	Status of women: legal rights, segregation	Women: childbearers for the clan.

The above is Dr. J. S. Trimingham's selection of parallel institutions as found in Islamic culture and African (Swahili)[32] culture. The fact that African traditional institutions have not been to a large extent bombarded and destroyed by the Islamic culture makes it possible for Africans who have adopted Islam to be at home with their religion, and those who have not adopted it to be attracted to it.

In addition to the above mentioned factor which is responsible for the spread of Islam in East Africa, in competition with the spread of Christianity, there are other significant factors which are equally responsible for the spread of Islam among Africans in East Africa. In the first place, Islam, unlike Christianity, does not have the stigma that Christianity has. Christianity is regarded by Africans

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[32] Swahili here refers to the Swahili tribe or people as a representative of any African tribe in East Africa.

as a Western colonial religion while Islam is regarded as
an African religion. Secondly, leaders of Islam or its
representatives live and work among the Africans; they marry
African women and raise families with them. Thus, unlike
the European Christian missionaries, the Muslim missionaries
actually practice as well as preach the religious concept
of brotherhood, which has always been practised and inte-
grated in the African communalistic way of life for time
immemorial. Consequently, the Muslim leaders are inseparably
a part of, and united with, the African people. Thirdly,
although this point has been alluded to in the preceding
comparative analysis of Islamic and African institutions it
needs a little more stress, and that is: the Islamic reli-
gious belief and culture agrees with, and is accommodated
more easily to the African cultural framework. The Islamic
ideas of family system and responsibility are like African
ideas of the family system in which everybody takes the
responsibility of helping relatives in need irrespective
of how distantly related these relatives may be. Parental
authority is recognized by both Islam culture and African
culture. Furthermore African customs such as the dowry and
polygyny are not rejected by Islam. In this respect Islam
is more favourable to the African way of life than Chris-
tianity, in that it does not have the tendency to disintegrate
the African family, rather it helps reinforce the already
existing bonds of the family.

Fourthly, Islamic worship, unlike the Christian one, is simpler and makes fewer demands on the African. It requires only the proclamation of faith and the performance of simple religious rites, such as daily prayers.[33] Furthermore the lack of hierarchy of priests (clergy) means that Islam is largely a layman's religion, and as such its characteristic rituals and taboos are in conformity with the African layman's social pattern and the concomitant traditional religious belief in spirits and forces of nature.

Christianity and Islam have been spreading at the same time in East Africa. Islam as a rivalling religion has been winning adherents at an increasing rate within the last few years. In view of the immediately preceding observations concerning the nature of Islam and its relation to the African traditional religious belief, this rapid increase in the number of African Mohammedans is not surprising. Islam is probably likely to continue winning African heathens who belong to the lowest social stratum -- the illiterate, the uneducated, and those who have strong ties to the African traditional way of life -- in greater numbers than Christianity is likely to accomplish, for the reasons already stated above. Bernander in 1957 observed that "it may be anticipated that Tanganyika will have a Mohammedan majority in the not very distant future.[34]

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[33] Ram Desai (ed.), Christianity in Africa - As Seen by the Africans, Alan Swallow, Denver, 1962, p. 34.

[34] Gustaf Bernander, The Rising Tide - Christianity Challenged in East Africa, Augustana Press, Rock Island, Illinois, p. 56.

The Islamic "missionary" efforts in distributing Islamic literature, radio broadcasts, public lectures and scholarships for further study for young people interested in Muslim education are at present largely responsible for the expansion of Islam in East Africa. There is no doubt that Islam is advancing in East Africa. Islam at present is a great lure to the undecided African pagans, and its ability to win adherents should not be underestimated by the Christian missionaries. No exact figures for the number of Muslims in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are available at present. This is due to lack of accurate census and the difficulty of defining what constitutes a Muslim or a Christian.

A word should be said about how both Christianity and Islam in East Africa confront the present modernization and secular civilization in East Africa. African leaders in East Africa would recognize that Christianity unlike Islam is largely responsible for the social changes that are at present under way. This is because Christianity has offered education which has been the principal agent for bringing about the social changes. Islam on the other hand has not offered education anywhere near the same capacity as Christianity has. Thus secular civilization in East Africa is more a product of Christianity than of Islam, and since education in East Africa is being sought by the Africans with greater fervour than ever before, it is clear that among the educated Africans and those still seeking education, Christianity will still be more meaningful to them as a means of elevating

their social status than Islam. In this particular respect
unless Islamic leaders establish educational systems of
the same calibre as that of Christians, Christianity will
continue to have the upper hand in this realm.

To summarize this chapter on African independent leader-
ship in churches in East Africa, the following observations
are noteworthy: The African independent church groups in
East Africa have formed milieux in which the African members
and leaders feel at home. Reasons for separation which have
already been discussed will remind the reader as to why
these African independent churches are centres where Africans
must feel at home. In these churches the Africans have
carried out a reformation of an over-Westernized distortion
of Christianity.[35] They have preserved the fundamental
customs essential to African way of life. They have got
rid of discrimination on racial grounds which they often
experienced under Western European missionary church leadership.
They have ostracized a feeling of inferiority which was
imposed upon them while in the fellowship with their Western
Christian missionary coworkers. In other words, in these
churches, the African has found some security and indentity
which he did not have in his former position as a follower
under the leadership of Western European missionaries.

The above situation is different from what Will Herberg
in his "Protestant, Catholic, Jew," says about the second

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[35] David Brian Barrett, op. cit., p. 126.

generation of Americans who rejected their ethnic and cultural origins in order thereby to become simply "American." By doing this they lost their ethnic culture and identity to simply become Americans -- a phenomenon which resulted in total assimilation and destruction of identity. The only thing left for them was to identify themselves as Americans religiously -- that is to be Protestant, Catholic or Jew. The case of the African independent churches gives a slightly different picture. The African here does not only want to identify himself religiously, but also equally importantly culturally and ethnically. This is the reason for his retention in some of these churches of some fundamental African traditional religious beliefs and customs, as the foregoing analysis has made clear.

Above all and more importantly, the African leaders of these independent church groups and their adherents are happy and confident that their practice in their independent churches is not in conflict with the Biblical belief as laid out in the Christian Bible. On the contrary the Bible itself is in agreement and replete with African traditional religious beliefs and customs which therefore need not be abandoned when one becomes a Christian. For example the Africans have read in the Bible and noticed that it has only a slender Biblical basis for monogamy; they have noticed the polygamous practice of the Patriarchs (Solomon had many wives); they have seen that the Bible stresses the vital importance of the family and land, and the long list of respected ancestors.

They have seen the Old Testament emphasis upon fertility and sexuality.[36] Moreover, the Africans have seen that the Old Testament gives indication of the importance of giving status and dignity to women. Deborah in the Old Testament was able to hold an outstanding religious office as prophetess. The New Testament too has similar views for women. Thus the African woman married to a polygynist loses status when she is expelled or divorced just because her polygynist husband has decided to become a Christian. In some of the African independent churches (such as the African Israel Church)the women married to polygynists as well as their polygynist husbands can be baptized and admitted to church. Thus their status, dignity, and security are preserved just as they were under the polygynous system before they became Christians, and they need not be frightened of being divorced just because their husband has decided to become a Christian. Thus with the appearance of African independent churches status of women has improved for the better. If Islam is adopted there is no further danger, either, as the foregoing discussion has shown.

The African independent churches, therefore, as the foregoing discussion has indicated, genuinely believe that they are just as genuinely Christian as the Western Christian mission churches from which they separated.

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[36] David Brian Barrett, op. cit., p. 125.

Chapter VI

IMPACT ON POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

WESTERN CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS A STIMULANT

OR NON-STIMULANT ELEMENT IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

MISSIONARY ATTITUDE TOWARD POLITICAL LEADERSHIP[1]

In East Africa in general, Western Christian missionaries from the beginning have discouraged their church adherents as well as the African youth, who have been pupils or students in their mission schools, from actively engaging in political activities or accepting jobs in the government service. To

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[1] The sources used in presenting the material in this section, among others, include George Bennett, Kenya -- A Political History -- The Colonial Period, London, Oxford University Press, 1963; John Vernon Taylor, Christianity and Politics in Africa, London, 1957; Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya, Secker and Warburg, London, 1938; H. J. J. Van Der Merwe, Black Africa -- Whither? Afrikaanse, Pers-Boekhandel, 1963; F. B. Welbourn, op. cit. For ideas on Christian attitude to political leadership see John Vernon Taylor, op. cit., pp. 9ff. For the relationship of Christianity and African nationalism, see Ram Desai, op. cit., p. 32. For attitude of Christian missionaries to clitoridectomy and the reaction of Jomo Kenyatta and other Africans, see Jomo Kenyatta, op. cit., p. 133.

them, Christian education was meant only for the African youth who would eventually, after the termination of their meagre schooling, become lay-catechists, Bible teachers in schools, teachers in elementary and secondary schools, whose duty it would be to give literacy to their fellow Africans and at the same time insinuate in them the proper Christian religious ideals which were inseparable from a truly Christian education. Any African youth who did not conform to this pattern were considered deviates by the Christian missionaries, for this meant that they went out into the world and accepted jobs and positions in the government. They had defected to secularism from the missions.

The missionaries emphasized the difference between the secular and the sacred. Working for any other agency (such as the government) than for the missions was in their eye tantamount to serving Mammon. You cannot serve God and Mammon. This is secular. Active political leadership by any African, especially any one who had received a Christian education in a mission school was considered by the missionaries a deviation from the acceptable Christian pattern of life. I point out this fact in order to make it clear to any reader that any political leadership groups that have historically emerged in East Africa, including those that are extant today and those that emerged at one time and then disappeared or died out, have not come into being because of any deliberate or conscious attempt on the side of European or American Christian missionaries to train Africans for responsible

political leadership in their countries. Rather, the present African political leadership groups and those of the past have emerged partly as a result of the reaction of mission educated Africans against the already stated missionary attitude toward African political leadership, and partly as an unintended product of the nature of Christian education which these Africans received in mission schools, and also because of other reasons which have nothing to do with missionaries.

To illustrate and to make clear the last sentence above, I will proceed to analyse in the following few pages the past and present African political leadership groups in East Africa. Before attempting this analysis it is important to point out here that today because of the winds of change that are sweeping the entire continent of Africa, and the political independence that the countries of Africa have achieved, freeing themselves from the bondage of colonialism, the missionaries are now gradually changing their attitude not only toward African political leadership, but also toward African leadership in mission churches. They are now accepting African aspirations to nationalism. However, it must be pointed out that the Western European or American missionaries are now accepting African aspirations to nationalism mainly because they do not want to be expelled from Africa. Formerly, they sided with the colonial governments in impeding in every possible way this African aspiration to political independence. Why did they do this?

The answer is that they knew that on gaining political
independence the African political leaders were going to
eradicate racial discrimination, economic exploitation,
inequality, and denial of opportunities, which were practices
that the colonial governments levelled against Africans, and
in which in the eye of the Africans the Western Christian
missionaries too were an inseparable instrumental partisan
with the colonial governments. This means too that the
missionaries knew that with the coming of independence
they would probably be expelled by African governments
from East Africa.

As I have already pointed out in the last portion of
Chapter III, to the Africans Christianity, colonization,
and Western civilization have been one and the same thing.
This fact has been corroborated by the missionaries' reluc-
tance, in the history of African struggle for political
independence in East Africa, to side with and support African
nationalist aspirations. During African struggle for
political independence in East Africa, when some political
leaders were seized by the colonial government of Kenya
and thrown into jail, there was joy and jubilation in mission
stations all over East Africa because "leaders of darkness"
had been caught. They would be taught by the government how
bad it was to agitate and lead people into darkness rather
than into light. I was one among many witnesses who sat in
church and heard the missionaries preach against these
"secular leaders of darkness" who chose the wrong path to
leadership. The Hon. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the present

President of Kenya, was the major political leader who was
seized together with five others, tried and sent to jail and
later detained by the colonial authorities. African Christians
heard a lot of preaching levelled against this honourable
gentleman by the Christian missionaries in Kenya and else-
where in East Africa.

The foregoing three paragraphs have been an attempt to
illustrate the non-stimulant element of Western Christian
religion in political leadership in East Africa. The Christian
missionaries attempted as far as possible to insinuate in the
minds of the African church adherents and particularly in the
minds of African youth who were receiving a Christian education
that a distinction must be made between the secular and the
religious. Political leadership and service in the govern-
ment, for example, fell in the realm of the secular, and work
and service in the churches and mission schools represented
working for a religious cause and were therefore sacred.
This Christian teaching, at least, in the initial stages
deadened the African youth's aspiration or interest in the
work outside the "sacred sphere," and since this was for quite
a while successful, it could be pointed out that it actually
served as a non-stimulant element in political leadership.
Later, however, this teaching, as will be pointed out in
the following pages, had just the opposite effect -- there
has been a reaction against this teaching.

WESTERN CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS A STIMULANT
ELEMENT IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Western Christian missionary work in East Africa has
been the main source of literacy for the Africans. As
education expanded in East Africa, more and more Africans were
able to acquire enough education (though not specialized and
high enough) to be absorbed into the different branches of
government work. It was not possible, though this was the
wish of the Western Christian missionaries, that mission
educated Africans should remain with the missions and become
workers for the churches and teach in the mission schools.
The lure of better paid jobs in the government as time went
on was great. Consequently many mission educated Africans
have taken jobs offered them in the government. This defec-
tion of the African youth to government service from service
in mission churches or schools has been interpreted by
Christian missionaries as being interested in secular service
vis a vis Christian religious service. The Africans point
out that the kind of discrimination that they experience in
their relationship with their Western Christian missionary
leaders in churches and schools is enough reason for them
to be content with their jobs in the goverment.[2]

While in the mission schools where they received their
education, the Africans who may not be working for the
missions as well as those serving the missions were given

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[2] This point was discussed in the last portion of Chapter III
and in the last portion but one of Chapter IV.

rigid Christian religious instruction. This was good for them and they accepted it. They were taught brotherhood, justice, and love, from the Christian point of view. But in their relationships with the Christian missionaries in a work situation the Africans have found out that these good Christian principles are not actually being practised by the Christian missionaries. Hence defection to government civil service. Once in the government service the Africans have found a little more freedom to speak their minds than they found possible while they were in the mission service. In the mission service any proclivity to political expression of any kind is suppressed as evil, Satanic, and unworthy of a Christian. This attitude of suppressing political expression has been reinforced by the Christian doctrine of humility: one must be obedient and humble to his superiors. Thus the Africans have found refuge in another sphere -- that outside the immediate influence of Western Christian missionary leadership, and in which his suppressed political expression can reassert itself to challenge not only the missionary attitude, but also the government, which in the history of the East African countries, has cooperated with the Western Christian missionaries in their relationship with the African people. The necessity for the challenge levelled against the missionaries and the government alike to obtain and realize the good fruits of the Christian principles of brotherhood, love, and justice (principles which are not new to the Africans) as taught by the missionaries in the mission

schools, was a stimulant in the formation of African political leadership groups which could adequately challenge the situation. The Africans have striven to bring about a situation where both church and state could extend the same benevolent political, economic, and social opportunities to everyone irrespective of their race or creed.

WESTERN CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS
A CAUSE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The reaction of mission educated Africans to the Christian missionaries, which has its origin in the experience of these Africans with the Western Christian missionaries in mission schools and churches as described above, has usually manifested itself in more meaningful and potent organized political leadership groups in the East African country at large. One factor, among others, which has made possible the conscious feeling of nationalism among Africans in the East African territories is the coming together of all the many different tribes, which was made possible by the establishment of mission schools where African children went to be taught Christianity as well as literacy.[3] In these schools the Western Christian missionaries and their African helpers have taught Christian religion among other things, as well as Swahili and English as media of instruction.

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[3] There are 41 major tribes in East Africa (Kenya: 14; Tanzania: 14; Uganda; 13). There are many other smaller tribes in the country. The Europa Year Book, op. cit., pp. 630, 632, 1094, 1140, 1141.

In these schools the Christian missionaries have taught
the Christian ideals of brotherhood and love among all men to
the different African tribes represented. They have taught
them to love one another even though they belong to the
different tribes. In Galatians 3:27, 28 we find:

> There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither
> slave nor free, there is neither male nor female;
> For you are all one in Christ Jesus.

This authoritative teaching from the Bible and many other
such teachings contained in the Holy Book of God have been
enough indication to the African that the idea of brotherhood
and love among all men irrespective of tribal allegiances is
good. This idea has merely reinforced the kind of feeling
of togetherness, unity, brotherhood, and love, that each
member of a tribe has for the members of his family, clan,
and the entire tribe as a whole. But now this has been
carried a little further to embrace not only the tribe
concerned, but all other tribes living in the country.
Furthermore, by studying and living together in the mission
compound the African children of all the diverse tribes have
actually and practically learnt to be friendly with one
another and to like one another. The Swahili language
that they learn in school and the English language that is
used as the medium of instruction in the higher classes have
further helped to make possible easy communication among the
members of the different tribes.

The above circumstances have facilitated a feeling of
nationalism among the African tribes of Kenya, Uganda, and

Tanzania. The feeling of inter-tribal brotherhood which has
in a way transcended the intra-tribal brotherhood has been a
good foundation for successful African political leadership
when in the history of the East African countries time for
the spirit of nationalism was ripe.

The following few pages are an attempt to outline the
past and present African political leadership groups in East
Africa, whose spontaneous formations had their origin, among
other causes, in the experience that the Africans had with
the Western Christian missionary religious teaching and the
missionary attitude toward the Africans.

In Kenya the first African political leadership group
was the Kikuyu Association formed in 1920, mainly by chiefs
and headmen, and its main aim was to defend the alienation
of Kikuyu land by the European settlers. The second African
political leadership group was the Young Kikuyu Association
formed in 1921. The secretary of the second political body
was Harry Thuku. His grievance was against compulsory
labour imposed upon African workers by the then Kenya Colonial
Government to supply African labourers for the farms of
European settlers. Thuku further opposed two changes which
were introduced by the then Governor of Kenya, Sir Edward
Northey's circulars, which demanded that all African adult
males carry a card bearing finger-prints (the "kipande")
under the new system of native registration, and that the
Hut and Poll Tax should be doubled. As a result of Harry
Thuku's opposition to these two changes and the first

grievance against compulsory labour, there followed in March 1922 the Harry Thuku riots in Nairobi in which some twenty-five Africans were killed by police shots.[4] Harry Thuku was arrested and deported to Kismayu which was then a part of Kenya. But his arrest came after he had propagated African grievance against the government not only in his own Kikuyu land but also to other sections of Kenya.

The above two African political bodies were formed not directly as a result of African reaction to missionary teaching or influence. But it is important to mention the formation of the Young Kikuyu Association at this point because its later development and growth as an African political body was strengthened by the missionary attitude against the Kikuyu custom of female circumcision. The Young Kikuyu Association was banned as a result of Thuku's arrest and deportation in 1922. But in 1925 this political body reappeared under a new name, the Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.). Up to this time there was no African representation in the Kenya Legislative Council. The first person who was accepted in the Legislative Council to represent African interests was a missionary, the Rev. Dr. Arthur, a senior Church of Scotland missionary, who in 1924 represented Africans in the Legislative and Executive Councils. Earlier in 1919 and 1921 the missionaries were suggesting that they represent native, by which it was meant African interests

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[4] George Bennett, Kenya - A Political History - The Colonial Period, London, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 46.

on the Legislative Council. But the Kikuyu Central Association wanted direct African representation in the Legislative Council. Representation by a European missionary was inadequate.[5] In 1929 as a result of the Church of Scotland Mission attack on Kikuyu female circumcision, the Kikuyu Central Association opposed this missionary interference. This also made it possible for the Kikuyu Central Association to increase its membership rapidly because now its membership was also drawn from the Kikuyu people whose children were being barred from attending mission schools because they were being circumcised. This point has been discussed at length in Chapter V in the case of the development of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association.

It is significant to point out here that in the development of the Kikuyu Central Association, this political body received a new leader, Jomo Kenyatta (at that time known as Johnstone Kenyatta) who is at the time of writing the present President of the Republic of Kenya, who became its General Secretary in 1928. The main creed of the Kikuyu Central Association and the Kikuyu independent churches was "no intervention from the white missionaries."

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[5] The Rev. L. J. Beecher (later Archbishop) also is a European missionary who represented African interests from 1943 - 1947. Another European missionary who represented African interests in the Legislative Council was Archdeacon Burns who left the Council in 1938.

In 1929 Kenyatta was sent to London, England by the Kikuyu Central Association to present Kikuyu grievances to the Colonial Office. He returned to Kenya by September 1930. On April 28, 1931, he left Kenya again to return to London as a representative of the Kikuyu Central Association to present the views of this political body to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Closer Union in East Africa. This time Kenyatta was to remain in England for fifteen years until his return to Kenya in 1946. While in England he authored a book, Facing Mount Kenya, published in 1938. In this book Kenyatta indicates his reaction against the European missionaries who taught against what he considered to be the many essential customs of the African people, and especially against the Kikuyu custom of clitoridectomy. He says:

> The real anthropological study, therefore, is to show that clitoridectomy, like Jewish circumcision, is mere bodily mutilation which, however, is regarded as the conditio sine qua non of the whole teaching of tribal law, religion, and morality. -

> The initiation of both sexes is the most important custom among the Kikuyu. It is looked upon as a deciding factor in giving a boy or girl the status of manhood or womanhood in the Kikuyu community.[6]

While Kenyatta was away in England as the General Secretary of Kikuyu Central Association, political developments in Kenya under the British colonial government resulted

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[6] Jomo Kenyatta, op. cit., p. 133.

in the Kikuyu Central Association being banned by the government. However, just before the return of Jomo Kenyatta to Kenya the Kenya African Union had been formed in 1944 as the only African political organization acceptable to the government instead of the banned Kikuyu Central Association, of which Kenyatta was General Secretary.[7] On June 1, 1947, Kenyatta was elected president of the Kenya African Union. Thus he resumed leadership of a political body that was, in a way, as has already been indicated in the foregoing, negatively strengthened by the European missionary attitude toward an African custom. It should be pointed out that the missionary factor was merely one of the many other factors that contributed to the African political consciousness. Other factors were economic and political in nature.

It should be pointed out that the Kenya African political leadership was made possible by the existence of the Kikuyu independent schools and the African churches which helped in the political movement because these two groups cut across traditional clan and local loyalties. They were centers where African people from the many different tribes of Kenya came together. In these centres they learnt the much wider concepts of brotherhood and African unity. Jomo Kenyatta as the president of Kenya African Union at this time used

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[7] The Kikuyu Central Association was banned in 1940. In 1944 Eliud Mathu, the first African nominated member to the Legislative Council was one of the founders of the Kenya African Union.

this advantage to strengthen African unity of all the tribes in Kenya in order to make the African struggle toward gaining substantial formal influence in the parliamentary system possible and effective. However, on October 20, 1952, a state of emergency was proclaimed in Kenya by the government due to Mau Mau uprising and Jomo Kenyatta and five other political leaders of the Kenya African Union were arrested. These leaders were put to trial, and on April 8, 1953, Jomo Kenyatta and all the other leaders were convicted and sentenced to seven years imprisonment with hard labour. In June 1953 Kenyatta's Kenya African Union was banned by the governor. During Kenyatta's imprisonment and detention two political parties had developed in Kenya: The Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union, which became the opposition.

Jomo Kenyatta was released from his detention in 1962 and was soon restored back in his chair as the president of the Kenya African National Union. He led this political party, until December 12, 1963, when Kenya became an independent nation from Britain, and thus he became the first Prime Minister of Kenya. Now he is the President of the Republic of Kenya. Jomo Kenyatta and other political leaders imprisoned with him were not the leaders of Mau Mau. They were just honest political leaders preaching justice through non-violence.

The Mau Mau as a secret African political movement in Kenya (the movement no longer exists) came into being in 1950. It is relevant in our discussion here in that this

secret political movement came into being as a result of
the imposition of discriminatory and unjust practices of
the British colonial government levelled against the Africans.
The members of the Mau Mau resorted to violence to bring about
the desired ends, since the Kenya African political leaders,
unfortunately, due to no fault of theirs, could not succeed
in bringing about the changes desired by the Africans. The
British government was unwilling to listen to the African
grievances. The Mau Mau violent activities were directed
against the government, and since the European missionaries,
in the eye of the Africans, were synonymous with the European
government (the missionaries taught against African customs)
the violent activities were also directed against the mis-
sionaries. At this time in Kenya there was unrest among the
Africans in Kenya due to social and economic inequalities
with Europeans. Increased Western values and Western
education meant that the Africans of Kenya had increased
desire for material welfare such as clothing and many other
goods introduced by the Europeans. But racial discrimination
in both the economy (such as land alienation from the Kikuyu
people) and social matters intensified this situation of
inequality. Thus the more radical groups of the African people
who were suffering from these injustices decided to form a
secret political organization whose aim was to bring about
equality and justice through violence. This was the Mau Mau.

Christianity may be said to have contributed to the
development of Mau Mau in that the Africans saw that the

European missionaries who taught love, brotherhood, equality, and justice for all, were so complacent, quiet, and not outspoken against these injustices during the African struggle for freedom and justice. They did not speak out against these injustices when the situation in Kenya became intolerable for the Africans. The Africans concluded they were allies of the government, and that as it had always been observed, they preached what they did not practise. Some observers have stated that Mau Mau was anti-Christian and that one of its aims was to destroy Christianity.[8] The more accurate observation concerning this, according to me, is rather that the Mau Mau adherents were against anybody whether a Christian or not who did not sympathize with their legitimate grievances that I have already referred to above, and who was not ready to support them in trying to forcefully achieve their desired aims. Christians of all races who did not practice what they preached, like anybody else who did not want to do anything to create an atmosphere of social, political, legal and economic equality in Kenya was a potential victim of the Mau Mau. Thus, Christians who did not practise true Christian ideals by speaking out loud against social, political and economic injustice against the Africans at this time of British colonial rule were also like anybody else who entertained the same view equally enmeshed in a situation which,

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[8] The Kenya government newspapers during the Mau Mau crisis took this stand.

in a way, they had themselves helped to create. They became victims of Mau Mau killings because they were reluctant to side with the African nationalist cause. Instead they were, in the eye of the Africans, allies of the British imperialists.

Recent history of Tanzania indicates that unlike Kenya it has had peaceful race relations. Lack of large elements of European white settlers such as are found in Kenya is an important reason for the existence of this amicable race relation both before and after Tanzania became an independent African nation. According to the 1964 statistical survey, Tanzania has a total population of 10,000,000. Of these there are 9,900,000 Africans, 89,800 Asians, 25,900 Arabs, and 20,400 Europeans; Kenya has a total population of 9,736,000. Of these there are 9,104,000 Africans, 183,000 Asians, 49,000 Europeans, 23,000 Arabs, and 4,000 people of other races; Uganda, according to 1963 statistical estimates, has a total population of 7,190,000. Of these there are 7,093,000 Africans, 9,800 Europeans, and 86,800 people of other races, mostly Asians.[9]

Thus due to such a small minority of Europeans in Tanzania and because of the existence of a much better race relation in contradistinction to what the situation was during the British colonial regime in Kenya, the impact of Western Christian religion on African political leadership in Tanzania has not resulted in a violent African political

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[9] The Europa Year Book, op. cit., pp. 631, 1094, 1141.

opposition to the European missionaries, both during the
British control of the territory and after the country
became an independent African nation in December 1961. The
evolution of Tanzania from a United Nations Trusteeship
Territory under British administration to an independent
African nation was a peaceful one, without any real bitter
racial antagonism such as was the case in Kenya. Dr.
Julius Nyerere, the President of the United Republic of
Tanzania, became Chief Minister in 1960 when his party,
the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) won the majority
of seats in the National Assembly. Dr. Nyerere himself is
a product of a mission school where he received his early
education. The missionaries provided him with the background
necessary for leadership even though they did not consciously
train him and his political followers to take up a political
career after leaving the mission schools they might have
attended.

The impact of Christianity on African political leader-
ship groups in Tanzania, therefore, has not manifested itself
in overt opposition groups challenging the European missionaries.
But, it is important to point out here again that as it was
in Kenya, the Christian teachings and ideals helped unite the
many Tanzanian African tribes when they became conscious of
African nationalism which helped them achieve their indepen-
dence under the leadership of Julius Nyerere.

Uganda, also, like Tanzania and unlike Kenya, has a
small minority of European population. Consequently Uganda

has not been subjected to strong political pressure and racial antagonism. Africans in this country have experienced little European political competition or antagonism.[10] Thus the Christian missions which introduced the educational system have throughout the years trained Africans, who later found it possible, through African nationalism to lead their country to independence without any formidable opposition from the European minority group, such as was the case in Kenya. By virtue of the fact that the Christian missions have provided the education and literacy necessary for effecient political leadership, it may be said that in this way they have had a commendable impact on African political leadership, although they have not directly or deliberately encouraged this type of leadership. This is also true in the case of Kenya and Tanzania.

In 1956 the Democratic Pary (D.P.),one of Uganda's two African political parties at this time, was formed. This party was supported by the Roman Catholics until April 1962 elections. In 1958 it was under the leadership of Benedicto Kiwanuka. The Uganda People's Party (UPP) was the second African political party formed in 1959, under the leadership of Joseph Kiwanuka. This second political party was supported by the Protestants in the April 1962 elections. It is interesting to note here that the age old rivalry between

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[10] The British government formulated a policy against white settlers in Uganda. This policy didn't allow white settlement since as early as 1916.

the Catholics and the Protestants still continued up to the
present time in the history of missionary work in Uganda.
Later there was a split in the Uganda People's Party, and
the larger of the two groups formed the Uganda People's
Congress (UPC) under the leadership of the present Prime
Minister of Uganda, Mr. A. M. Obote, and Mr. Abu Mayanja.
Thus in the April 1962 general elections, Obote's party won
the majority of seats in the Federal Parliament -- 47 as
against Kiwanuka's Democratic Party's 23. Thus Obote became
the Prime Minister.

To summarize this section on African nationalism, it
is significant to point out that in East Africa, as is the
case in other African independent countries today, the spirit
of nationalism emerged among African political leaders,
most of whom have been influenced by Christianity, due to
their belief in the dignity of man and the individual, and
the equality of all men before God. These two are universal
elements of the Christian ideal and faith. Together with
the stress on brotherhood of all men (which also includes
brotherhood among all the different African tribes in East
Africa irrespective of their tribal allegiances), the
Africans in East Africa have been equipped with enough
justification to oppose in a nationalistic spirit, the
practitioners of Western Christian religion and the European
colonial rulers who in the past have not effectively put
these Christian ideals into practice.

LOCAL AND CIVIL SERVICE LEADERSHIP

Local and civil service jobs in the East African terri-
tories have in the past been done by Africans who for some
reasons did not return to work for the mission schools and
churches in which they received their education. Our analysis
in this chapter in the foregoing has shown that the major
reasons for reluctance to work with the missionaries has
been little pay, lack of devolution of leadership upon the
Africans, and lack and the curbing of freedom of expression
which is due to the fact that the Africans have often been
meekly subjugated under their European leadership. To these
reasons may also be added the many numbers of African Chris-
tian workers who are often disciplined by their churches.
Sometimes the punishment is severe enough to cause the
person involved to refuse to return to the church and school
where he has been disciplined for an offence and where he
has worked as a teacher, a lay reader, an evangelist, a
hospital assistant or nurse.

The alternative for these people so involved is usually
to join the government local and civil service. Thus leader-
ship groups in this arena usually emerge. Here there are
usually quicker promotions and better salaries. The workers
are not subject to too many regulations which are always
the order of the day in a church organization. Provided they
do their work well as assigned to them by their government
official leaders they have little trouble since their private
lives are not so closely scrutinized as is the case when

they work for a church. If they are church workers their
moral behaviour, both in public and in private, is closely
under surveillance. Thus the African youth who does not
want to work under restrictions imposed upon him as a member
and worker of a Christian church, who must observe the rules
and dogmas governing his church, sees more freedom outside
this organization. He may be a church member, but he would
in many cases be earning his living working for the govern-
ment in the local or civil service. Thus after the Second
World War when African nationalism in East Africa was under
way, the African politicians demanded direct African repre-
sentation in municipal councils, increase of powers for
district councils, and also increased representation in the
Legislative Council. Furthermore, the African politicians
demanded direct election of the African representatives in
these councils by the Africans themselves. As a result of
this African leadership groups have grown so that the named
councils now have African chairmen and leaders in various
capacities.

To summarize this section, it should be pointed out that
as a result of missionary work in the educational field,
educated Africans have been able to join in the work of local
and civil service as chiefs, civil servants, doctors,
technical officers such as agriculturalists and veterinarians,
and also as schoolmasters.

Chapter VII

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE AFRICAN
ELITE TOWARD CHRISTIANITY

THE ATTITUDE OF POLITICAL LEADERS TOWARD THE IMPACT OF
CHRISTIANITY ON AFRICAN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE[1]

There are many criticisms that the African elite, not
only in East Africa, but also elsewhere in Africa have
directed against the missionaries. Some of the criticisms
have variously been indicated throughout the foregoing chapters
in this treatise. The important thing to note here is that
many educated Africans who have had the benefit of higher
education and who are at present leaders of their countries

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[1] In presenting the material contained in this section of our
analysis, the author has used official governmental and
religious documentary magazines and newspapers containing
statements and pronouncements of outstanding political
leaders of the East African Governments, who are today in
office. In addition to these magazines and newspapers I
have had direct personal contact with outstanding leaders
such as President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President
Milton Obote of Uganda, and President Jomo Kenyatta of
Kenya. The Government magazines used are, the Tanzanian
Government news magazine "The Nationalist," June 10, 1965;
"The Reporter," the East African News magazine, July 2, 1965.

are not opposed to the Christian faith as such. Many of them
are Christians themselves in the sense that they have attended
mission schools, been members of the various Christian churches,
and have been influenced by Christian ideals. Rather, they
are opposed to the over-Westernized form of Christianity which
attempts to undermine African culture. This is also to say
that in actual fact they do not criticize Christianity itself
so far as it goes, but the practitioners of Christianity who
have introduced extraneous elements which are themselves not
Christian elements as spelt out in the authoritative Christian
Bible.

In Chapter VI the reaction of President Jomo Kenyatta
of Kenya against the missionary attitude on female circum-
cision was noted. In the same way, many African political
leaders think the Christian missionaries should reconsider
their attitude and policy on the question of the baptism of
polygynists and their wives. The dowry or the bride wealth
as an element in the African marriage custom too is a thing
that the East African governments are not going to dis-
courage or abolish by government fiat. The Western Christian
missionaries have questioned the wisdom of this custom of
dowry. But many African leaders both in church and state
believe that this is an essential African marriage custom
that should not be dispensed with.

Just a few days before June 10, 1965, Mr. Adu who is
an African Director of the United Nations Special Fund Programme
for East Africa, and who is a Presbyterian by religion, made

a speech to the Christian Council of Tanzania. The central theme of his speech was "Christian responsibility in political life." It is important to quote the most salient points he made in this speech because it stirred a reaction from the Tanzanian government which illustrates the attitude of the Tanzanian government toward the question of the relation between church (which includes many religions and religious denominations) and state. Mr. Adu had the following points to make:

> As Christians, we are concerned with the whole people -- and consequently with the nation. There is no part of the national life which should be immune from Christian judgment. It becomes necessary therefore for all of us to consider where we stand in regard to the major policies, institutions and organs that order the political life of our nation.
>
> The church has therefore not stood alone from the society. She has been deeply involved in it. A duty of the church which she must guard with all her strength is her right, under God, to pass judgment on the actions of the society, individuals, and organised bodies such as the Government.
>
> The prophetic role of the church must be maintained at all costs, whatever the cost in misunderstanding, persecution or loss of liberty. The church should therefore be involved through action in cooperation with society but she must also be prepared to judge society by the test of the faith and beliefs which are the foundation of her existence.
>
> In the long run, this is bound to have a profound effect for the good whatever the consequence in the immediate short term.[2]

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[2] A. L. Adu, "Christians and Politics," East African Reporter, July 2, 1965, p. 33.

The above statement by Mr. Adu is clearly in approval of Christian or religious involvement in politics and the institutions that govern the society. It is interesting at the same time to note the reaction of the Tanzanian government concerning the above assertion. On June 10, 1965 the Tanzanian government newspaper, "The Nationalist," read:

> The fears expressed by some Members of Parliament about certain religious groups in the country spreading alarm and confusion among the people should not be left unheeded. History has shown how disastrous it is to mix politics and religion. This is especially so in secular states such as ours where different religions and beliefs obtain. That is why it is imperative that religions must be insulated from the political life of our country, which is determined to win the war on poverty.[3]

In addition to the above clearly stated view of the Tanzanian government editorial on the question of the relation between church or religion and state, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, in reply to my inquiries about the attitude of political leaders in the United Republic of Tanzania toward Christianity, wrote on October 28, 1965, and said: "....You will no doubt appreciate the fact that Tanzania is a secular state in which religion is a matter of individual conscience, for both leaders and others."

The above statement by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania implies that while the government of Tanzania at present has no intention of discouraging Christianity

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[3] The Nationalist, Editorial, op. cit., p. 33.

or any other modified form of Christianity, as exemplified by
the present African independent churches, or any other religion
in the country, it will at the same time not allow any direct
religious involvement in politics, as the foregoing statement
has clearly indicated.

In Uganda, as a result of Mr. Adu's speech, the Uganda
Catholic Secretariat has circulated his speech as guidance on
Christian responsibility in political life. The Catholic
Secretariat in Uganda says that although Mr. Adu is a Presby-
terian, "What he said applied to all denominations." This
indicates that the Catholics in Uganda approve of the Church's
involvement in politics and active religious participation in
politics.

When Kenya became an independent African nation in Decem-
ber 1963, the present President of the Republic of Kenya,
Mzee Jomo Kenyatta had the following message to the Christian
Council of Kenya and its member churches and other bodies
belonging to it -- a message which also indicates his atti-
tude toward Christianity as practised in Kenya. He says:

> The churches and missions have done a great deal
> to help our progress, and our independent govern-
> ment will welcome their continued help and cooperation
> in the years to come. The call of "harambee" is
> to all.

> I believe that our independence must be built on
> the sure foundation of the character of our peoples.
> The churches can do much to build character on the
> right lines, and honesty, tolerance and the virtues
> of hard work, are qualities which are needed in any
> new nation.

> We are a country of peoples of different tribes
> and races. But we are all Kenyans. I hope that
> over the years the churches will also play their
> full part in bringing us together in a true and
> everlasting unity.[4]

The above message of the President of Kenya indicates

that Kenya approves of active Christian participation in

nation building. This however does not mean that the country

has welcomed all the religions in the country to directly

take part in the political life of the country. The message

rather conveys the idea that church and state as two dif-

ferent entities should nevertheless mutually cooperate in

working for the common good of the people in a society in

those aspects of human life which are not directly involved

in politics, because in these areas church and state have the

same aims and objectives.

East African politicians no doubt would want to have

church and state remain separate institutions. This attitude

was overtly expressed when the Catholic Church in Uganda sup-

ported and sponsored the Democratic Party. The people of

Uganda did not like the fact that the Catholic Church sup-

ported this party, because to them it seemed as if the Catholic

Church had some ulterior motives. Furthermore whenever any

church newspapers have shown any proclivity toward supporting

any one political party or politicians whom they favour,

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[4] Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, "Greetings from the Prime Minister,"
"Harambee" and the Churches - Christian Council of Kenya
"Uhuru" Souvenir, 1963, inside cover page.
   "Harambee" is a Swahili word meaning "Pulling together."
"Uhuru" is a Swahili word meaning "freedom."

because these politicians are members of their church, these
newspapers have met public opposition by politicians as well
as other members of the society. Consequently it is the
view of politicians in East Africa that the new East African
independent states should allow only the political parties,
trade union organizations, and civic organizations to express
themselves publicly on matters pertaining to politics. The
church should play a minor role in this sphere. This is the
view of politicians in East Africa.[5]

THE ATTITUDE OF PROFESSIONAL, CIVIC AND
RELIGIOUS LEADERS TOWARD CHRISTIANITY

At present in East Africa there are African leaders in
the Christian churches who believe that Christianity is playing
an important role in the East African society. The Chairman
of the Christian Council of Kenya, Mr. Tom G. Lungaho, is an
African religious leader who believes that Christian churches
must help and cooperate with the government in its fight
against ignorance, disease and poverty. He also appreciates
the fact that in the past the Christian Church in Kenya has
been concerned with the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare
of the people. He asserts that Christians should have a deep
concern for the establishment of basic human rights, the
administration of justice, and the security of the home and
family.[6]

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[5] Tom Mboya, Freedom and After, Boston, 1963, p. 15.

[6] Tom G. Lungaho, "The Christian Council of Kenya - A Message
to All," "Harambee" and the Churches - Christian Council of
Kenya "Uhuru" Souvenir, 1963, p. 1.

The African independent churches and their leaders in
East Africa are not hostile to Christianity. They merely
recognize the fact that there are differences between dif-
ferent religious denominations, and that although some of
them are splinter groups from the mission churches, they
are willing to be a part of the total and over all Christendom.
The fact that many of these African independent churches have
applied for membership in the Christian Councils of Kenya,
Uganda or Tanzania, whatever the case may be, and that some
of them are already members of these Christian Councils,
corroborates their willingness not to undermine Christianity
provided it is practised truthfully. African civic and
professional leaders approve of Christianity provided it
does not meddle in politics.

THE PRESENT TREND OF CHRISTIANITY IN EAST AFRICA

At present, according to 1964 estimates, Kenya has a
population of 9,736,000 of all races, out of which there are
9,104,000 Africans. Christians make about 25 per cent of the
total population. Muslims make about 6 per cent of the
population. The rest of the population are pagans who
follow the African traditional religion and a small minority
of Hindus. Of the two new religions, Islam and Christianity,
the latter still has the upper hand in Kenya. Nevertheless,
I have indicated in Chapter V that the lure of Islam is great.
It may be that in the near future Islam will prove to be
a formidable rival of Christianity, especially among the

pagan people who have not had or will not have the benefit of higher education, which is still mainly in the hands of Christian missionaries. It is difficult to predict accurately what the state of affairs will be in the future, but it is true to say that Christianity is not likely to wane in East Africa. The new African independent churches also claim to be Christian, even though some of them have deviated in some ways from the Christian pattern. But the differences are, according to the Africans, minor and will not kill the Christian spirit with which they endeavor to run these independent churches. The Christian missions on the whole are active. There are 900,000 Roman Catholics and 1,534,000 Protestants in Kenya, according to 1964 estimates.[7]

Uganda, according to 1963 estimates, has a total population of 7,190,000. There are 7,093,000 Africans and about 25 per cent of the African population is Christian.[8] There is a large Muslim minority and the rest and the majority of the population follow African traditional religion in various forms. Again, as is the case in Kenya, the Christian religion has the upper hand as compared to Islam. But here also Islam is proving to be a rival of Christianity, especially among the uneducated people. But Christianity is not likely to show a great decline.

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[7] The Europa Year Book, op. cit., p. 640.

[8] Ibid., p. 1147.

Tanzania, according to 1964 estimates, has a total population of 10,000,000. There are Christian, Hindu and Muslim communities as are found in Kenya and Uganda. There are 9,900,000 Africans and many of them follow African traditional religious beliefs. There are some 1,900,000 Roman Catholics in Tanganyika while Islam is the dominant religion in Zanzibar which is a part of the United Republic of Tanzania.[9] It is in Tanzania where Islam is proving to be a very formidable rival of Christianity.

In East Africa as a whole, when the majority pagan population is excluded, it is evident from the foregoing statistical estimates that among the three existing religions, Christianity, Islam, and Hindu (Hindus form only a small minority of the population), Christianity is the one that claims more adherents than Islam and Hindu. And since the East African governments have not shown any hostility toward Christianity, or any other religions in the country, including splinter African Christian churches, as the statements of the political leaders of the country testify in Chapter VI, it may be said that Christianity in the Western form, under Western Christian missionary leadership and under African leadership in the African Christian churches will continue indefinitely in East Africa as a religion. The analysis in Chapter V has indicated that its liturgy as originally introduced by the Western European missionaries

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[9] The Europa Year Book, op. cit, p. 1102.

is changing and is being modified to include African music
and rituals under the impact of African leadership in African
independent churches. Nevertheless, its major characteristics,
which exclude the extraneous over-Westernized form of
Christianity, which came into it as a result of the intro-
duction of Western values, are still essentially maintained
by the African independent churches.

Furthermore, Africanization of the positions of
leadership in Western Christian churches is another reason
to believe that now there is, and in the future there will be
a more amicable relationship between European missionary
leaders and African leaders in churches. Political indepen-
dence of the East African countries under African leadership
also means that the Western Christian missionaries will from
now onwards necessarily seek to cultivate favourable rela-
tionship and cooperation with the governments of East Africa
in order to avoid the past mistakes and to ensure that
Christianity will be given the chance to continue and prosper
in this country. The following statement of the Archbishop
of East Africa, Leonard, concerning the future work of the
Christian church in East Africa, following independence of
Kenya in 1963, testifies as to the preceding sentence:

> Now that freedom has come we, of all tribes and races
> in the church, still feel that we have tasks to per-
> form. We would offer to the leaders of the new Kenya
> our loyalty and devotion, together with an assurance
> or our prayers, we would offer our service with them
> in their warfare against poverty, ignorance, and
> disease; we would offer to our brothers and sisters

in this land the continued preaching of the ever-
lasting gospel of salvation which God has wrought
for us in Jesus Christ, because we believe that
to know Him is perfect freedom.[10]

It is important to note that the process of Africanization

in the Western Christian churches is indicative of the fact

that European missionary leadership is gradually giving

way to African leadership in churches in East Africa. This

is what the Africans and the African governments would like

to see happen as soon as possible because European leadership

is coming to an end. African independent churches is a

further factor which helps to bring European missionary

leadership nearer to its close.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION TOWARD CHRISTIANITY

The general population in East Africa, by which I mean

the pagan population which consists of all those people who

are not adherents of any organized religions in East Africa

(Christianity, Islam, Hindu), is apathetic about these three

religions. The pagans are practising African traditional

religious beliefs and within the realm of these religious

beliefs they are satisfied with the practices and results.

But Christianity being the predominant organized religion

in East Africa, there are areas of life of the pagans which

Christianity has affected due to its widespread influence,

and as such the pagans have not been able to completely

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[10] The Archbishop of East Africa, "Harambee" and the Churches,
1963, p. 33.

insulate themselves against its effects. The pagans rightly view Christianity as the religion which has introduced material and civilizational advancement among the African population. As they look around them they see Christian schools, hospitals, clinics, social and welfare community centres, and other elements which pertain to modern advancement.

It should be pointed out that this favourable attitude that the general population has toward Christianity as compared with Islam and Hindu pertains only to the material aspect and the general welfare of the people, the general welfare embracing physical care which mission hospitals and clinics have been able to provide the people with. Morally, and dogmatically, the African general population as defined, do not think that Christianity is superior to Islam or to the African traditional religion. If these pagan people had to choose adherence to an organized religion which best accords with their spiritual, moral, and dogmatic way of life, they would choose Islam, not Christianity. This is the predicament in which Christianity finds itself, and it is one of the reasons why observers, such as I am, believe that Islam can be a very serious rival of Christianity in East Africa.

WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENTS' POLICY TOWARD CHRISTIANITY IN EAST AFRICA? SEPARATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE?

I wish to state what the present situation in East Africa is concerning the relationship between church and state.

The following are possible situations that may obtain in a country as far as the relation between church and state is concerned: We find a situation where religion is divorced or separated from politics; secondly, we find a situation where hierocracy or the superiority of religious over political institutions, or simply government by ecclesiastics prevails; in yet another situation we may find Caesaropapism, which is the exercise of supreme authority over ecclesiastical matters by a secular ruler, or government in which the church is subordinate to the state or a secular ruler.

In the first case, a situation where there is separation between church and state, the two are equal partners each existing in its own right, but at the same time the two may cooperate in performing some essential functions in and for the society in which they are established.

Before a summary of the situation which obtains in East Africa as far as the relation between church and state is concerned is stated, some historical observation is in order. In medieval Europe, the Pope, the ecclesiastical head, was superior to the emperor in certain respects. For example, the Pope, or the ecclesiastical head was so powerful that he could depose a king. In Britain Christianity was not separated from politics until the time of King Henry VIII.

In East Africa today, some African Christian independent churches, as "The Reporter," the East African Newsmagazine, of April 9, 1965 noted,

> ....have political idols, for whom they pray, and whose names and praises are worked with embarrassing frequency into the prayer and hymn books....some of the breakaway churches in East Africa have already made preliminary moves to form themselves into an African church organisation, which they hope will be the start of a pan-African movement.

"The Reporter" also notes that some leaders of the African independent churches see no reason why the African churches should not follow the pattern of medieval Europe of mixing religion with politics, since they regard both as an essential part of societal life. They believe that the "God of the Bible is the God of politics also," as John V. Taylor notes in his "Christianity and Politics in Africa." This view accords quite fittingly with the African traditional view of life in which there is no separation between religion and politics. As such it would be ridiculous for the African independent church leaders to think that their God is not concerned with man's social and political affairs, because if this were so, they would be very skeptical of such a God who does not care for the things which so vitally and directly affect them in their daily lives. It would be difficult for them to believe that such a God loves them, as the Bible in which they believe teaches them. In fact this is why these African leaders believe that religion and politics should go hand in hand, because in the African traditional society religion has always been instrumental

in encouraging and supporting the social and economic acti-
vities of men, and it has been a source of an African ruler's
strength and guidance.

Some leaders in East Africa point out that as nationalism
nowadays goes hand in hand with politics, there is "danger"
presented by the African churches that they will be used by
unscrupulous politicians as step-ladders to power.[11]

Now, taking East Africa as a whole, it should be
pointed out that there exists a multiplicity of churches and
religious denominations of Western Christian origin,
together with Islam and African traditional religion. In
view of this state of affairs it would be utterly irrational
for the East African governments to advocate any policy of
integrating church and state, or in other words, mixing
religion with politics, in the pattern of medieval Europe.
The reason for this is obvious. It would introduce into
politics antagonistic and conflicting ideas which emanate
from the multiplicity of faiths represented by the different
religious or church groups. This is so because each of the
different religious or church groups would want a represen-
tative in the political arena to voice its views. This
leads to chaos. It would be very much easier if the East
African governments had to deal only with the African tradi-
tional religious belief which before Western impact had no
divisions. This is no longer the case now. Many Africans

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[11] Reporter, East Africa's Newsmagazine, April 9, 1965.

now belong to many different Western religious groups.
Even the African independent Christian churches should not
think that by virtue of the fact that they are now entirely
African run they can meddle in politics, for the simple reason
that they too have a Western Christian legacy, namely,
different faiths and dogmas.

In view of the preceding statements it would be
plausible to say that at present, while the country still
harbours so many different religious groups, it would be good
for the East African governments to be careful not to allow
antagonistic and conflicting religious faiths to confuse
political thinking which can be rationally planned without
the biases introduced by the many different faiths. Many
African politicians believe that this should be so despite
the fact that these politicians whose view I share know
jolly well that religion without bias, be it Christian or
any other, is a good source of inspiration and guidance in
the work of any political, civic, or ecclesiastical leader.

When the time comes when a people can have only one
religion, one faith, and one church, then there is no reason
why this people cannot have a complete integration of church
and state. Indeed this was the case in East Africa before
Western European impact.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION

In this treatise, the results of the impact of Western Christian religion on African social structure and way of life have been clearly set forth in the foregoing chapters. These results manifest themselves as a reaction against some aspects of Christianity as it was originally introduced into East Africa by Western Christian missionaries. It is important to note that the reaction to Christianity is not a total rejection of Christianity by the African independent leadership groups in churches and in politics as the foregoing account has shown. In short, a new form of Christianity which is neither as pure as it was originally introduced, nor as completely Africanized as one might expect from the mere fact of rejection of it, has emerged.

From the foregoing observation, it may be inferred that the rejection of some aspects of Christianity and the consequent African independent church movements are due to Western Christian missionary approach, their proselytization and education of the Africans, their attitude toward African way of life, and their actual encounter and relationship with the African people. In concluding this treatise, therefore,

I wish to propose that the results of missionary work in East Africa would have been different from what has been set forth in the foregoing Chapter V, in that the African separatist church movements would not have emerged had Western Christian missionary approach and proselytization and their dealings with the African people been different in some ways.

It is the nature of the different approach and practice of Christianity on the part of Western Chrsitian missionaries that interests us here. The reader will recall from the account given in Chapter III concerning Western Christian missionaries' methods of Christianizing the Africans.[1] The important point to remember is that in their approach the Western Christian missionaries had the attitude of the superiority of Western culture over African culture. This attitude was concomitant with the denigration of African customs and culture and way of life, on the part of the Western Christian missionaries. Hence the refusal of the Western Christian missionaries to accept polygyny, female circumcision, and the use of any African musical instruments as accompaniments in the singing of songs and hymns in churches, to mention only a few things among those that were not acceptable to the missionaries.

The above observation is important when we recognize the fact that out of the fifteen African independent church

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[1] See Chapter III.

movements analyzed in this treatise, two became independent because of the question of female circumcision, five were motivated by the desire to be free to practise polygyny, another five were motivated by the desire to be free from European leadership and control, one decided to be free to practise African customs, religious beliefs and ways of life, and one decided to abolish the multiplicity of dif- ferences in Christian denominations by establishing only one church and one faith for all.[2] In the light of this observation it could be inferred that if the Western Christian missionaries accepted African customs and way of life, and African practices of female circumcision, and polygyny, provided these were not condemned by the Bible, it is doubtful if African independent church movements would have been established because the reasons for their initiation as indicated, would have been lacking.

In the same way, it could be inferred from the foregoing that African independent church movement which came into being because of African desire to be free from European leadership and control in churches could not have arisen had the European missionaries shared that leadership and control on equal footing with the qualified Africans.

The many Christian denominations in East Africa teaching many different religious beliefs or dogmas is a factor that

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[2] The reader may want to reread Chapter V, pp. 182 - 215. to verify the reasons for independent church movements.

has baffled many African Christians. It has been pointed out
by Western Christian missionaries working in East Africa
today that much could be done to eliminate African suspicion
of Western Christian missionaries as being mere organizers
of different Christian denominations for their own interests,
by seriously discussing and introducing ecumenism of all
the different Western Christian denominations working in
East Africa. In fact, ecumenism today is being organized in
East Africa, and it is possible that in the future this will
be a great factor in re-establishing the foundation of
Christianity which has been shaken and weakened by African
independency.

In the light of the above observation it can be inferred
that if the Western Christian missionaries introduced only one
Christian faith this would have done much to eliminate the
motives for African independent church movements in East
Africa. The interesting and important point to bring to
our attention in this connection is the central points for
discussion in the ecumenical movement in East Africa today.
These central points for discussion entail important
sociological problems which must be looked into if ecumenism
is to be made possible. For example, the problems that
confront the ecumenical leaders in East Africa today include
a discussion of African values and customs over against
Western European values and customs, and particularly how
these affect the relationship that has existed and still
exists between the Western Christian missionaries and the

African Christians, including African Christians who are now
members of Christian African independent churches.

Another central problem of discussion is the nature of
relationship that must now exist between Western Christian
missionaries and the African Christians and peoples at
large in East Africa.

The first problem for discussion in the ecumenical
movement in East Africa, that which involves African values
and customs over against Western Christian values and customs,
discusses polygyny versus monogamy, dowry versus non-dowry,
and the introduction of certain appropriate African musical
instruments to be used in church during worship and in the
singing of songs in praise to God, to mention a few outstanding
cases pertaining to African customs and way of life.
As a result of this discussion, some Christian churches in
East Africa now would accept polygynists and their wives,
and dowry now is not being discouraged and preached against
by Western Christian missionaires. This attempt at recon-
ciliation of differences between Western Christian leaders
and the African Christian leaders is a clue as to the kind
of approach that the Western Christian leaders could have
used in the beginning in introducing Christianity to the
Africans -- namely, the acceptance of certain fundamental
African customs and way of life, provided there is no basis
in the Bible for their rejection. Their rejection laid
a foundation for religious movements as a protest against
the possibility of loss of crucial African values.

The second central problem of discussion in the ecumenical movement is really the most important one as far as the future stability and relationship between Western Christian missionaries and the African Christians are concerned. It is concerned with the nature of the relationship between the two groups mentioned here. The ecumenical movement has realized that amicable relationship between the two groups is necessary and desirable. In order to achieve the desired amicable relationship the first prerequisite, according to the ecumenical deliberations, is that all the different Christian churches must consider one another as equals before God and in their inter-relationships with one another. Secondly, this equality in dealing with one another is to be extended to the individuals who compose the different churches and who together cooperate in doing the work assigned to them by their church.

On a personal level, the equality referred to above dictates that other things being equal, there shall be no discrimination in any church on grounds of race in assigning positions and statuses that one should fill in the church. In other words, ecumenism and the concomitant reorganization of church government is now attempting to do away with superiority - inferiority, and dominance - submission patterns of Western Christian missionary - African Christian relationship that has existed and which was responsible for stimulating African church separatist spirit. Thus the original approach of the Western Christian missionaries which was characterized

by the attitude of superiority over the Africans and which was pragmatically concomitant with dominance over the Africans has of necessity been dropped. This state of affairs in this particular respect gives us a clue as to what kind of alternative approaches the Western Christian missionaries could have employed in introducing Christianity to the Africans, namely the adoption and exercise of egalitarian principles in all spheres of their interpersonal dealing with the African people and the African Christians. This course and approach also implies that initially the European missionaries had to abandon the disparagement of African customs and way of life.

The Western Christian missionaries, in their contact with and approach to the natives of East Africa adopted the Aristotelian idea of the ascription of class inequality to characteristic peculiarities in human nature. The ideas of Aristotle are summarized in his own words in the following quotation: "For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule."[3] Aristotle according to the statement above thought in terms of superior and inferior characteristic qualities inherent in human nature, and which separate the people with superior human qualities from those with inferior

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[3]Richard McKeon (ed.) "Politics" in The Basic Works of Aristotle, Random House, New York, 1941, Book 1: Chapter 4, p. 1132.

human qualities. Thus this justifies the people with superior
qualities being the masters or rulers over the people with
inferior qualities, according to Aristotle.

As I have pointed out, and without debating whether
Aristotle was right or wrong, the Western Christian missionaries
adopted the Aristotelian ideas in their dealings with the
natives of East Africa. Furthermore, they entertained ethno-
centrism in their approach. This inevitably had a repercussion
which is now very clear to the reader, concerning the
reaction of the East African natives to Christianity and to
the Western Christian missionaries. I have already pro-
posed that there could have been another alternative approach
on the part of the Western Christian missionaries which
could have had the opposite effect in each phase of their
encounter with the natives, in order to avoid a possible
conflict. In this particular case the Western missionary
approach could have been that of a trained anthropologist
who in dealing with the natives of different cultures, does
away with ethnocentrism, and accepts these cultures as
cultures in their own right without attempting to eradicate
them. A missionary anthropologist who adopts this approach
I believe would have little trouble with the natives whom he
wishes to Christianize.

In a nutshell, it may be concluded that if the Western
Christian missionaries in their approach in introducing
Christianity to the Africans, followed the course and tech-
niques suggested in the preceding paragraphs (other relevant
methods of approach as discussed in this treatise being the

same) it is doubtful if the present African independent church movements in East Africa, which exclude European and American membership, could have arisen.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

ADDITIONAL AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

IN EAST AFRICA

Kenya

Nyanza Province[1]

1. African Divine Church
   Headquarters: Boyani, P.O. Box 907, Kisumu.

2. African Gospel Church

3. African Greek Orthodox Church
   Igonyi Headquarters, Tiriki Location, Box 135, Maragoli.

4. African Interior Church
   Ebunangwe Bunyore, P.O. Box 131, Maragoli.

5. Christian Brotherhood Church
   Ibinda (North Nyanza), P.O. Khwisero, Yala.

6. Dini ya Roho (Church of the Spirit)

7. Miracle Revival Fellowship
   P.O. Box 506 Nakuru

8. Voice of the Worldwide Salvation and Healing Revival
   P.O. Box 936, Kisumu.

9. Johera (Started in 1957 among the Luo tribe.)

10. Isolated Congregations (Found among the Nandi tribe.)

Tanzania

1. Tanganyika African Church (Found among the Gogo tribe and
   started approximately in 1960.)

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[1] Daisuke Kitagawa, African Independent Church Movements in
Nyanza Province, Kenya, (mimeograph), January 1961; his
list includes numbers 1 - 8 above.

AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES WHICH ARE
MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF KENYA

1. African Christian Church and Schools
2. African Church of the Holy Spirit (Probationary member)
3. African Interior Church
4. Church of Christ in Africa (Probationary member)

AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN CONSULTATIVE
ASSOCIATION WITH THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF KENYA

1. African Brotherhood Church
2. African Orthodox Church

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

ISLAMIC CULTURE COMPARED WITH AFRICAN CULTURE

Index of Swahili and Arabic Words (meanings)

Maulidi - Poem recital in honor of the Prophet's birthday

Zakat - legal alms

Tawa'if - tribal sections, a Sufi "order"

Halal - that which is lawful

Shari'a (Shafi'i) - the canon law of Islam

Mahr - the Islamic marriage payment

'Ada - customary law

Aqiqa - the hair of the newborn, the ceremony of showing
this hair and offering sacrifice

Walima - Islamic nuptial party

Jando - Swahili-Islamic initiation rite

Siyasa - policy. Justice rendered at his own discretion
by a Muslim ruler, parallel to customary and
Islamic law.

Unyago - initiation rites

Kilemba - turban

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