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INTERNAL MOVEMENTS IN THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE  
OF MASENO NORTH: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
THE EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
Degree of Master of Arts  
in the University of Nairobi, 1986

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ABSTRACT

The thesis of this study is that the divisions and movements within the Anglican Diocese of Maseno North have been detrimental to Church Unity and to the Church's effective witness in the area. These movements whose existence has no real theological or doctrinal justification are unnecessary. This being so, this study set out to find out how and why these movements began. What kind of movements they are and how they relate to the church in the Anglican Diocese of Maseno North. To reach these objectives various methods of research were used. Library and archival research was done, field interviews were carried out, and questionnaires were sent out to various people.

Firstly, then, the study gives a historical survey of the establishment, expansion and characteristics of the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. The East African Revival Movement was and still is largely a part of the Anglican Church in

East Africa. This historical part has been necessary in order to show what the Church was like and what spiritual climate led to the need for a renewal Movement like the Revival.

Secondly, the factions which form the bulk of this study are shown to be direct offshoots of the Revival Movement. The study has therefore looked at the Revival Movement's history and characteristics with a view to ascertaining whether these historical developments and characteristics formed a basis for later divisions and factions within the movement and within the Church of which the movement was a part. The Revival Movement's theology and attitudes have been studied and described.

The thesis looks at the Revival Movement in Western Kenya in particular. Its activities are traced down to the formation of the various movements and factions. The latter are in turn described, especially their teaching and points of emphasis. The relationship between all the groups and the church is detailed as is the relationship

between the groups themselves. The effect of these relationships on the Church and its work are studied and described.

Finally, the conclusion that these movements are basically based on personality differences, ethnic biases and lack of understanding of what the Christian faith is all about is made. It is recommended therefore that the Church does its best to clear these sort of misunderstandings by proper teaching and a clear doctrinal stand-point.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to the University of Nairobi for offering me the scholarship which enabled me to carry out this research. My appreciation also goes to the staff members of the various libraries and archives for their untiring help, particularly the staff of the Kenya National Archives Search Room who never tired of helping me through my search for material.

Those who supplied me with the necessary information were many and my gratitude goes to them for giving me their time and sharing with me their valuable information and insights.

My supervisors, Dr. Hannah Kinoti and Dr. G. Ogutu deserve special mention for their untiring and uninhibited suggestions, criticisms and encouragement. It is with their help that this work has acquired its final shape. Theirs, however, was an advisory role and any shortcomings in this thesis are my own.



Lastly, special and deep gratitude goes to my father, the Rev. John Ayanga, who unofficially became my closest and most helpful research assistant. To him and to the memory of my mother, the late Rev. Rita Ayanga, this work is dedicated.

"

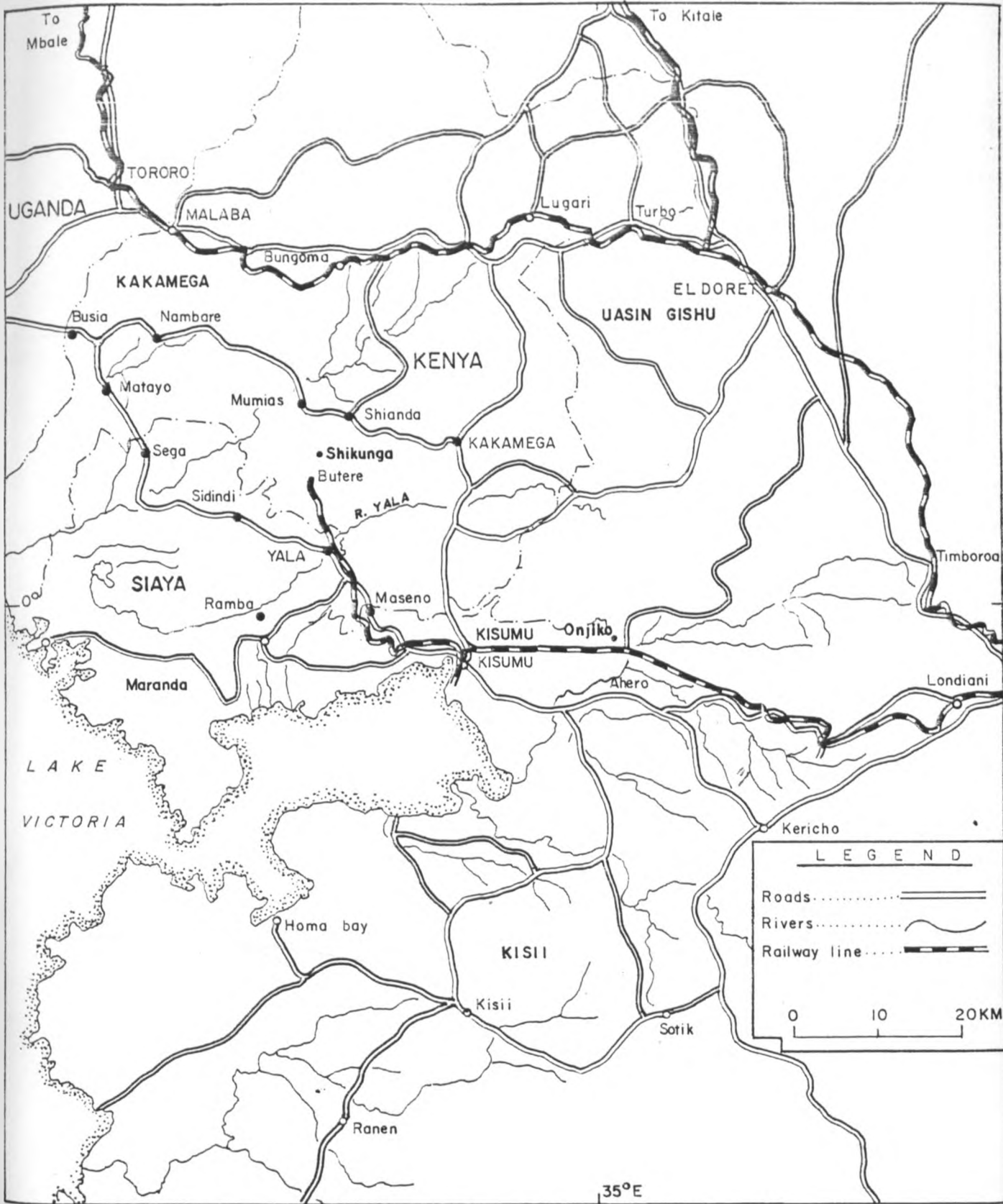


FIG. I PLACES NAMED IN THE TEXT



DIOCESE OF MASENO BEFORE THE 1970 SUBDIVISION

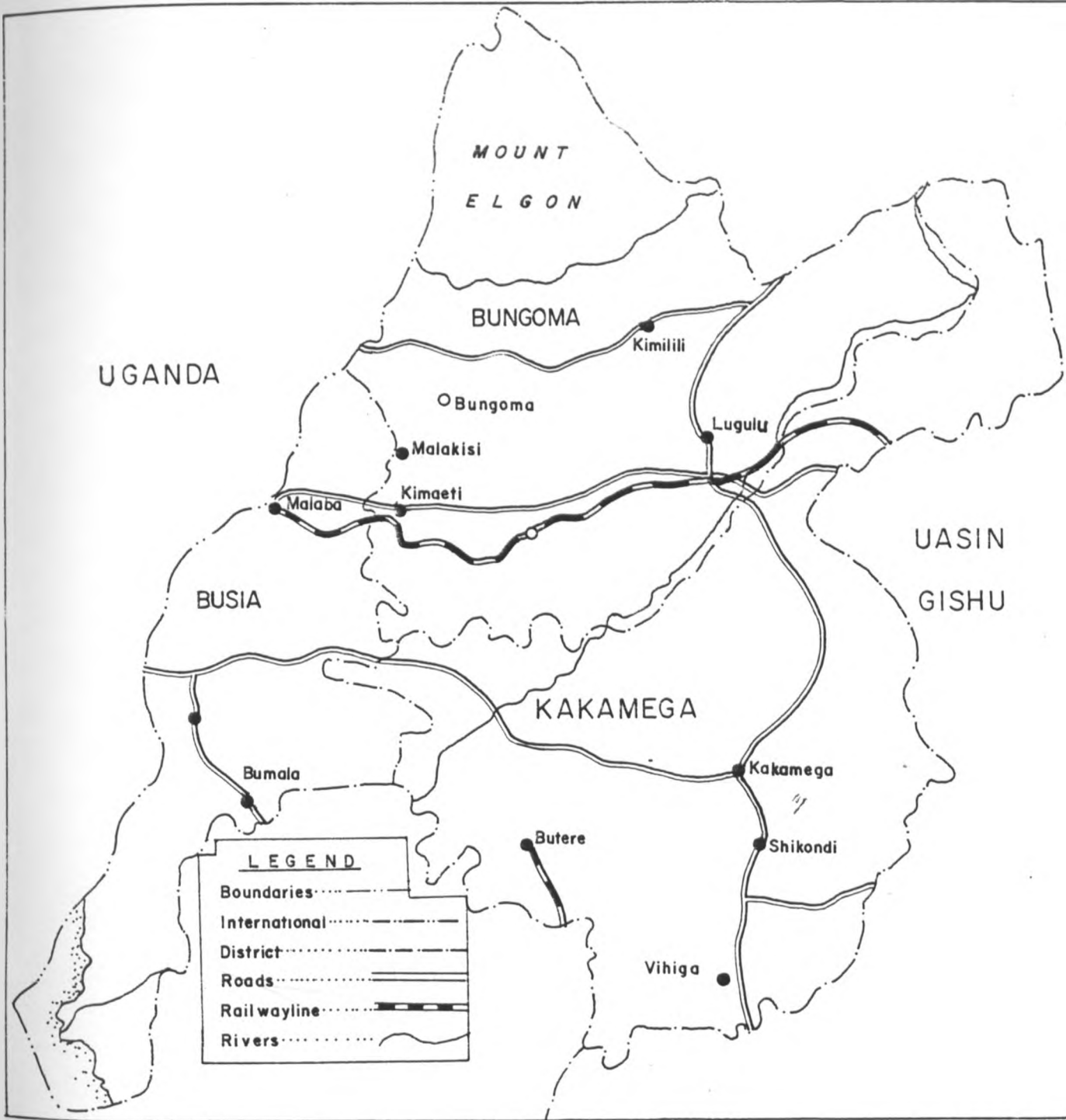


FIG. 3 DIOCESE OF MASENO NORTH

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

This thesis is a study of the movements and the internal divisions in the Anglican Diocese of Maseno North with special reference to the East African Revival Movement. One of the major problems of the church in Kenya today is that it appears to be divided and fragmented, unable to speak with authority and with one voice. This is a problem which needs serious study and investigation. This study is an attempt to respond to this need. The study has three objectives.

Firstly, it investigates the causes of these movements and divisions. It seeks to determine whether the reasons for them are theological, ethnic or personal, and if so, to what extent. These divisions and movements are apparently resultant from activities of the East African Revival Movement in the Diocese of Maseno North. The Revival Movement itself has been

described as a source of real encouragement and life to the Church yet some of its activities have also been viewed with disapproval by this same church. I was keen to find out how this ambiguous relationship came about.

Secondly, this study seeks to determine the nature and characteristics of these movements. That is, it seeks to discover what makes them distinct from the mainstream Anglican Church. The study seeks to find out whether these movements have any teachings peculiar to themselves.

Thirdly, the study investigates the relationship of these movements to the Anglican Church and seeks to determine to what extent they have contributed to or hindered the spiritual growth and the welfare of the church.

This study is necessarily both historical and current. It is also descriptive. In order to achieve the three objectives, it has been necessary to study the historical life of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Maseno North. This was in order to see the climate that prompted internal movements

within the Diocese. The East African Revival Movement has received particular attention since the other movements and divisions discussed in this study stem directly or indirectly from it.

The study is current because these movements are still a reality in the life of the church in the Anglican Diocese of Maseno North. The effects of these movements are a present experience of Christians in the diocese. The majority of church members have been involved in one movement or another, or have been affected by the very presence of these divisions.

Being a member of this Church and observing the movements and divisions within it, I developed a personal interest in these groups with a desire to find out what really lay behind their existence. It appeared that there were no deep theological differences, rather there were many misinterpretations of Scripture and the groups were forming round certain personalities. It was necessary therefore for a research to be conducted and the findings to prove or disprove personal

feeling.

## 1.2 Rationale for the study

Church unity has for several years now, been the subject of many discussions. The main thrust of these discussions has been unity at the inter-denominational level. Such discussions in Kenya go back to the early missionary era. There was then a general desire to form one protestant church in Kenya. The first meeting to discuss this proposal was held at Maseno in 1908. A second meeting was convened at Kikuyu in 1913. At this meeting there were disagreements on matters such as baptism, confirmation as well as the administration of the Holy Communion. Apparently the Anglicans and the Church Missionary Society objected to the Holy Communion being administered by the clergy of non-episcopal churches. The discussions proved fruitless.<sup>1</sup> More recently, the topic of church unity was brought up by the CPK Archbishop during the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa in April 1985.<sup>2</sup> The Archbishop expressed the desirability of a



union between the Anglican and the Presbyterian Churches in Kenya. The topic was not discussed in any great detail. In fact other clergy at the meeting "were sceptical that the goal would be realised in the near future".<sup>3</sup>

These discussions seem pointless if within individual denominations there exist divisions and potential sources of further disunity and fragmentation. Conflicts which result in schisms have plagued the church in Western Kenya for a long time. Those conflicts which have not resulted in schism have nevertheless caused a lot of uneasiness and unhealthy tensions in the church members - thus retarding their spiritual growth. As a result, many church members are unable to lead meaningful Christian lives.

The Church, on the other hand, needs to give a united witness to its faith. This is difficult to do with various splinter groups claiming monopoly of the truth about the Christian faith. If the church seeks to portray the same Jesus as taught and revealed in the Bible, then

factions and divisions certainly frustrate this desire. In the face of many opposing forces, the church needs to be united in order to be effective in its witness and teaching.

These two needs as stated above, necessitate a critical study of the existing divisions and movements with a view to providing insights that might help the church to deal effectively with divisive forces.

Several studies have been made on the history of the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. Most of these studies mention the East African Revival Movement and some of its effects on the church. The study by Welbourne & Ogot in their book, A Place To Feel At Home, describes the largest schism in the Anglican Church. The schism was largely connected with the Revival Movement and created the Church of Christ in Africa in 1958. However, after this study, there appears to be very little systematic study of what has taken place within the Revival Movement and its relationship to the Church since the Church of Christ in Africa

broke away from the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. But a lot has been happening since then and several factions and movements have arisen. This study hopes to bring to light an aspect of the life of the church which has not received any attention so far. It also hopes to clear some misconceptions people might have regarding the Revival Movement.

Lack of unity and the presence of squabbles within any organisation or institution are almost always accompanied by a certain amount of disillusionment on the part of individual members. This may be the case in the Church of the Province of Kenya in general and its Diocese of Maseno North in particular. Individual Christians have wondered whether the Church is really able to give them spiritual sustenance in the face of all the divisions and misunderstandings. Many people feel that the church is spending a lot of time and energy trying to solve the problems brought about by these divisions at the expense of 'feeding the sheep'. The members of the factions, on the other hand, spend their time and energy 'fighting' the

church and each other instead of providing the much needed fellowship and encouragement to the Christians.

### 1.3 Literature Review

The available literature which has been found relevant to this study falls into two categories. The first category concentrates on the history of the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. Several authors mention the East African Revival Movement as a significant part of that history. The second category concentrates on the East African Revival Movement. There are also general works dealing with the Church in Kenya as a whole. These have helped to portray the Anglican Church within the wider context of missionary activity in Kenya. Several articles in journals have also provided useful first hand accounts of the Revival Movement.

In the first category mentioned above, falls the work of Elizabeth Richards. In this book, Fifty Years in Nyanza, 1906-1956, Elizabeth Richards gives a brief history of the Church Missionary Society and the Anglican Church in

Nyanza. Published in 1956, the book does not particularly deal with the topic of this study, but there are indications given in it that fragmentation was already becoming noticeable even at that time. In the forward, B. A. Ohanga asks the church to beware of such fragmentation. He says:

Apart, however, from such separatist movements outside the Church, the Church must beware of fragmentation within its own ranks.<sup>4</sup>

Presumably in reference to the enthusiasm of the Revival Brethren, Ohanga goes on to say that,

Religious enthusiasm can be of great service to the church as a whole while it remains effectively within the life of the Church, but can be serious menace if it tends to destroy the church's united witness or worship.<sup>5</sup>

Without naming them, Richards says that there were heresies and that it was understandable why they had sprang up. These heresies were already serious enough to cause concern to both the

missionaries and the colonial government. Presumably Richards is here referring to the Revival Movement and its off-shoots. She sees these heresies as having resulted from the church's rapid growth and lack of missionary personnel to give the needed guidance to the church. In this way the church was quickly outgrowing her strength and consequently falling into division and error.<sup>6</sup>

The Problem of Success: a history of the Church Missionary Society. Vol.1 by Gordon Hewitt also gives a history of the planting and the expansion of the CMS and the Anglican Church in tropical Africa. Hewitt says that prior to the revival the worldliness of the church was "a recurrent theme of missionary reports".<sup>7</sup> According to him, worldliness included drunkenness, immorality and continued belief in witchcraft which were common even among those who professed to be Christians. Hewitt sees the rapid growth of the church as a danger to its spirituality as this type of growth is usually accompanied by nominalism. This was the situation in the Anglican Church in East Africa and it created the right spiritual atmosphere for the

coming of the revival. The revival movement spread into Kenya between 1937 and 1938. As the revival spread, certain dangers began to emerge. Hewitt gives an example of a group of young men who began to separate themselves from the local church because the latter did not conform to their mode of thought.

The Kenya Churches Handbook edited by Barrett and others gives a general overview of the development of Kenyan Christianity from 1498 to 1973. The chapter by George Mambo deals with the Revival Movement in Kenya. Mambo describes the revival as "a widespread movement of spiritual life in Kenya". He sees it as a lay revival movement with possible influences from the Oxford and Keswick Movements in England. The Revival Movement faced severe opposition both within and outside of the Church between 1937 and 1945. During this time the Brethren were not allowed to participate in regular church services. The organisation of the movement was informal and unstructured and one which depicted group leadership. There were no

rules governing the movement's financial affairs. This feature became a source of trouble within the movement at a later stage. Mambo's assessment of the Revival Movement is that

the revival remains a continual source of renewal and rededication to the meaning of the church's existence.<sup>9</sup>

L. B. Greaves' Carey Francis of Kenya is an interesting biography of a well-known missionary and educator in Kenya. During his stay at Maseno, Carey Francis worked closely with the Anglican Church in the area. Francis felt that this church was "more dead than a doornail"<sup>10</sup> and that it lacked Christians who were on fire for the Lord. For this reason, he prayed for revival. Francis openly criticised his fellow missionaries for Westernizing the African instead of Christianizing him. When the Revival Brethren visited Maseno School for a week of evangelization, Carey Francis welcomed them. Speaking of the Revival Team, Francis said that for the first time he had seen Africans to whom Christ meant more than material things. According to him, the outcome of the



revival week was the improvement of the spiritual life and the characters of both staff and students who accepted the revival message.

The Growth of the Church in Buganda by J. V. Taylor traces the growth of the Christian Church in Buganda. Taylor sees the Revival as a positive response to the malaise in the Church. The Revival was preceded by a period during which many individuals, particularly African Christians, were troubled by their own spiritual powerlessness as well as that of the church. From the very beginning, mutual sharing and confession of sin were recognised as the basis of sincere fellowship. The Revival Movement developed peculiarly African characteristics and tendencies. These included the emphasis on the part played by dreams and the use of songs. Songs, and particularly the Tukutendereza chorus were seen as distinguishing features for those who belonged to the movement. Taylor observes further that even in the early stages, the Balokole tended to withdraw from full participation in the real life of the church.

There was a general tendency to refuse responsibility on church councils or even Sunday School teaching.

Adrian Hastings' History of African Christianity 1950-1975 gives a comprehensive picture of the Church in Africa during the period he describes. In this book, Hastings says that the Anglican position in Africa was full of difficulties and misunderstandings, especially for the new converts. One of these difficulties was the division between the evangelical and high church sections of the Anglican church. More relevant to our own study is Hastings' account of the Kuhama or separation movement which hit the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. The adherents of this movement who were basically members of the Revival Movement felt that the church had failed to live up to its ideals. For this reason, the group felt the need to separate itself from the church. The Kuhama movement became a faction within the Revival Movement. Another schism which nearly crippled the Anglican Church in the area was

brought about by the Johera/Joremo controversy. This controversy culminated in the separation and the formation of the Church of Christ in Africa with the Rev Ajuoga as its leader. Hastings' thesis is that the Revival Movement in Kenya was particularly schismatic and that the Church has failed to give proper leadership to the movement.

Oliver Roland's Missionary Factors in East Africa deals with a wide scope of missionary activity in East Africa. He makes an important point in his introduction regarding the rapid growth of Christianity in conditions of political and social changes. In this he agrees with Hewitt quoted above. Roland says that

... the danger is that under stress of political and social change organised Christianity may start to disintegrate at the centre while it is still expanding at the circumference.<sup>12</sup>

What Oliver says was in fact the case in the Anglican Church. This necessitated a renewal movement.

On Anglicanism in general, three works were found particularly useful. These are The Integrity of Anglicanism by S. W. Sykes, Anglicanism by S. Neill and the Anglican Way by R. Nicholl. Sykes talks of the tradition of Anglican comprehensiveness, the liberal theology within it and asks whether it is valid to speak of an Anglican standpoint. He argues that the willingness of the Anglican Church to compromise may have led to a loss of integrity. He says that

Anglicans are never far from being painfully aware of their internal divisions, and at present these are vividly before the public. <sup>13</sup>

Stephen Neill's Anglicanism is useful for its account of the beliefs and teachings of the Anglican Church. Raymond Nicholls' Anglican Way is an abridged form of Neill's work. The two books emphasize that there is no special Anglican doctrine or theology. The Church of England, they say, is the Catholic Church of England. It teaches that the Scriptures contain all things necessary

for salvation. The Anglican Church is tolerant of different views on various aspects of Christianity. It does not divide its members into "the saved" and the "unsaved" as the Revival Movement does.

In his book, Equipping for Ministry, Paul Miller devotes a whole chapter to the Revival Movement. He observes that the Revival Movement was by and large an indigenous African movement and not merely a copy of something western. The movement in its early stages was neither divisive nor sect-producing, and it became very influential in the church. Miller concludes that it is possible for the Revival to remain within the formal church institutions for maximum good.

Quest for the Highest is Joe Church's autobiography. Although an Englishman, he was a founder member of the Revival Movement. In his account, Church says that the revival came as a result of spiritual hunger and a desire for the fullness of the Holy Spirit. He, among others, needed the experience of the transforming vision of Jesus Christ Himself. Regarding splits within the

Revival Movement, Church says that these are caused by love growing cold and through jealousy caused by a desire to lead. The splits can only be avoided by going quickly to the cross together in repentance. Church also provides the highlights of the Movement's history.

Peter Bostock's unpublished work briefly gives a picture of the revival movement within the church. In his article, "The Revival Movement in the African Churches in Kenya", Bostock gives a fairly sympathetic picture of what was seen as a largely African movement. He says that although some missionaries were fully involved with the Revival, there were others who did not favour it. <sup>14</sup>

Articles in journals include N. Langford-Smith's "Revival in East Africa" published in The International Review of Missions of January 1954, and N. Q. King's article "The East African Revival Movement and Evangelism" in the Ecumenical Review.

Langford-Smith describes the revival as the most significant thing in Kenya at the time of

writing his article. He says that the revival was not an experiment in methods of church expansion, rather it was a move of the Spirit within the church. This, according to Langford-Smith, was a time when God's Spirit reminded the Church in East Africa of some aspects of the faith which were being ignored. These included repentance, the confession of sin as well as personal evangelism. The revival was neither a new cult nor a schism, rather it was a spontaneous movement within the Church.<sup>15</sup>

According to Langford-Smith, certain activities of its members, however, caused suspicion, especially among the clergy. These included their habit of going from place to place without invitation and holding fellowship meetings without informing the local minister.<sup>16</sup>

In his article, King describes the Revival as a movement within the Church; a joint effort between Africans and Europeans. He sees it as an inner mission to a church which had grown cold, lax and apathetic. King, however, says that the

Revival Movement's lack of theology may be its  
 greatest weakness.<sup>17</sup>

Archival material found useful includes articles in various issues of the Kenya Churches Review, a yearly magazine produced by the C.M.S. during the early period of missionary activity in the country. It gave reports of the work of the Anglican Church in the then Diocese of Mombasa. In issue No. 38 of September 1938, Rev W. Owen describes the effect the Revival had on the Keswick Convention of that year. The Revival influence was such that there was more harmony even among the missionaries themselves. Writing on the disunity previously experienced, Owen says that

there was striking absence of such a spirit this year; from the word go, a very rich and deep fellowship was evident, irrespective of mission, age, or any other descriptive trade-mark ...<sup>18</sup>

Regarding African participation in the convention meetings, Owen says:



A new note was struck on Saturday evening when we heard and saw what great things God is doing through Africans that are wholly surrendered to God's will and service ...<sup>19</sup>

The Venerable Langford-Smith wrote an article entitled "Come as the fire: revival in the Church in East Africa" in which he says that the Revival brought new life to the Church in Kenya. Some clergy, church leaders and the laity, discovered that "Christ is a living Saviour and that He does save from the power of sin"<sup>20</sup>. The effect of the revival was profound and although it met with considerable resentment, the fire had "been lit" which could never be quenched"<sup>21</sup>.

There exists some relevant correspondence between various people and the District Commissioner's office, Kakamega. This is contained in a file kept at the Kenya National Archives. A letter from Senior Chief Osundwa Chitechi of Wanga Location refers to the Revival Movement as the "New Dini". He asks the District Commissioner to tell the leader of this new 'sect' that the people of

Wanga have no need of it. In another letter, the District Commissioner asked the Rural Dean of North Nyanza to investigate the allegations made by the senior chief. The Rural Dean, himself a Revivalist, refuted the allegations and claimed that the allegations were due to ignorance of what the Revival Movement was. This ignorance had led to unwarranted fear in Wanga.

From the literature review, it becomes apparent that the problems facing the church in Western Kenya are concerned firstly with change and continuity. The change was made inevitable by the coming and presence of the white man together with his culture and religion. Cultural change was then a matter of course. Yet at the same time there was the desire to continue in the old cultural ways and norms. These two aspects of continuity and change meant a conflict of desires. The Revival Movement and the resultant groupings within it seem to have come about as a result of the desire to come to terms with this conflict.

Secondly, there is the aspect of role and

responsibility. Within the new cultural and religious set-up, how were role and responsibility to be defined and understood? The Revival Movement again brought these two to the forefront. What would be the role of their leaders and to whom were their responsibilities? If and when the leaders were appointed, the issue of accountability would also arise. To whom were they accountable? These questions appear to have been crucial in the movements and divisions in the Anglican Church in East Africa in general and its Diocese of Maseno North in particular. It is within the framework of this conflict that I wish to conduct my investigations.

#### 1.4 Methodology

This study is both historical and current. In the historical sections library and archival materials were the main sources. Some of the facts were validated by the field interviews which included people who had first-hand information about the events. For the current aspects, field interviews and the study of church records and

minutes of church meetings, proved invaluable. Questionnaires were also sent out to various people in the diocese.

### Field Interviews

For the oral interviews, there were twenty respondents taken from the Diocese of Maseno North. They included church leaders, members of the Revival Movement as well as some young people who are members of the Church. A deliberate effort was made to include members of various movements with which the study is concerned. The interviews were conducted in places which were convenient to the respondents. Most of the older people felt more comfortable in their own homes and so they were visited there. At least four of the interviews were done in offices and other places of work. One was done along the road as the respondent was on his way to a committee meeting. The respondents were generally very cooperative, they showed a marked willingness to give whatever information they had as well as give names of others who might give more information. The interviews were done

between September 1984 and April 1985.

The questionnaires were designed for use both as guides for the oral interviews and also for completion by those with whom personal interviews were not possible. They included questions on the Anglican Church within the Diocese in general as well as questions on the Revival Movement and the resulting factions within it (see Appendices B and C).

#### Library Research and Use of Archival Materials

In order to get a more comprehensive picture, it was necessary to obtain data from libraries<sup>3</sup> to supplement that obtain from the field interviews and the questionnaires. This data was obtained from libraries and archives mainly in Nairobi. They included the University of Nairobi Library, The Kenyatta University College Library and the Kenya National Library. The archives consulted were the Kenya National Archives and the Church of the Province of Kenya Archives.

Outside of Nairobi we were given access to

Diocesan files both in Maseno and Kakamega. These mainly contained minutes and records of Church meetings, particularly those of the Diocesan Synod. They also contained correspondence on various issues including the Revival Movement and the problems being encountered.

#### Difficulties Encountered During Research

Various difficulties were encountered during the research. For field interviews, a cassette recorder was used. Some of the respondents refused to be recorded. This was particularly so in case of an elderly lady who refused to talk until the machine had been put away. She also objected to note-taking. This meant that we had to rely on memory for most of her information.

All the locations where the interviews were conducted posed certain problems. In the homes, we had to put up with a lot of interruptions from visitors and from other members of the family who needed attention from the respondents. A lot of time was therefore necessary for the respondents to

recapture their trend of thought. The problem was minimised when the interviews were done in offices. In this case, the respondents usually asked that they should not be disturbed. This request was not always adhered to when there were urgent matters that needed the respondent's attention. This was particularly true during the interview with a hospital administrator.

Although our respondents were generally very cooperative, a few of them were reluctant to talk. This was possibly because this study deals with problems which are current. Some people, particularly those who have been actively involved in the movement do not as yet feel free to discuss the issues involved. The information withheld in this way could have greatly enriched our findings.

The use of questionnaires was not very fruitful. Although several questionnaires were sent out, only a fraction were returned. Secondly, of those which were returned, some answers were found to be quite irrelevant. This may have been

due to the respondent's failure to really understand the questions.

During the use of archival materials, the problems were basically connected with the arrangements of the materials. Although we were allowed access to the C.P.K. Archives in Nairobi, it was not easy to locate relevant materials. The archives were in the process of being re-organised and re-arranged. The officer in charge of the archives was busy as he had other duties to perform. Since we could only use the archives in his presence, his busy schedule made it difficult for us to do as much as we would have liked to. For these reasons, it is quite possible that a lot of useful information may have been missed. Like the Kenya National Archives, the C.P.K. Archives operate on the thirty-year closure rule. Both these archives were therefore useful for the period prior to 1958. Since this study is basically post 1958, the archives were only useful for the introductory and historical parts.

Our use of the Diocesan files was also



hampered by certain problems. The files in the Diocesan office in Kakamega were neither indexed nor properly labelled. This necessitated a systematic search through masses of paper and files for what was relevant to this study. The files in Maseno were much easier to use as they were labelled.

Footnotes

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## CHAPTER II

### THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN WESTERN KENYA

#### GROWTH AND CHARACTERISTICS

##### 2.1 The Planting of the Church

The story of the Anglican Church in Kenya goes as far back as 1844 with the arrival of Ludwig Krapf in the coastal region of the country as the first CMS missionary. Krapf was joined by Rebman in 1846 but despite their excellent linguistic and translation work, these two had very limited evangelistic impact either at the coast or inland. But it was Krapf who summoned and encouraged the Anglican Church to pursue their missionary endeavour in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. He challenged them with these words written after the death of his wife and daughter shortly after his arrival:

... You may be the more convinced that the hour is at hand when you are summoned to the conversion of Africa from its Eastern shore.

The aim of these pioneers as well as those who came after them was to penetrate inland, building or establishing mission stations as they went. This proved more difficult than they had anticipated, but the dream never died. Thus it was in 1876 that "a little band set forth to start a mission on the Victoria Nyanza"<sup>3</sup>. The existence of Lake Victoria or Victoria Nyanza, as it was then called, had long puzzled the world but it was through the tireless efforts of Krapf, who gathered information from Arab travellers and traders, that this vast mass of water was made known to the world. Speke had already visited Uganda and stayed at King Mutesa's court as his guest from February to July 1862. Stanley in turn had come and set out the claims of Christianity to the King who was apparently so impressed that he asked for Christian teachers to be sent to his land. It was partly as a result of this call for teachers that the little band referred to above set out for the Victoria Nyanza.

Thus the Anglican Church had a very early representation in the East African missionary field

through its missionary agency, the CMS. But intensive work in the interior of the land was awaiting the development of secular interests before catching the interest of the missionary. These developments included the establishments of German commercial interests in 1885 and the Imperial British East African Company in 1887. Presumably the presence of other white men, particularly the colonial administrator made it safer for missionaries to operate. In 1884, the Anglican Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was formed. This diocese included Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. James Hannington was sent out as the first Bishop of this new diocese. Hannington was not to be Bishop for long for in 1885, while on his way to Buganda, he was murdered in Busoga. Several of his men did, however, remain in the area and did some linguistic and lithographic work. One of those well known for this work was Reverend W. H. Jones who developed the Luhanga (Wanga) vocabulary.<sup>5</sup>

In 1892, Bishop Alfred Tucker arrived to

continue the work which Bishop Hannington was to have started. He stayed at Mumias en route to Uganda. From this time on, he began to press for missionaries to come and start work in "Kavirondo"<sup>6</sup>.

The work was expanding and the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was getting larger geographically. It was finally realised that "the diocese was far too vast for any one Bishop to visit and administer effectively"<sup>7</sup>. Thus in 1897, the diocese was divided into two: the Diocese of Uganda and the Diocese of Mombasa. Bishop Tucker retained the Bishopric of Uganda which included Nyanza Province. Bishop Peel took charge of the Mombasa Bishopric.

In 1904, Bishop Tucker visited Nyanza again. This time he was accompanied by J. J. Willis and another African Ugandan missionary. After this visit, Willis agreed to return and start the work in the area. In 1905, he was back, trying to locate a suitable site for the mission station. He chose a place in Maragoli, but he moved over to

Maseno in the following year. This was the start of effective work among the Luo in Nyanza.

Archdeacon Willis concentrated his initial work among the Luo following an agreement with the Friends Industrial Mission in 1905. He started a school with about four pupils. These were the sons of chiefs, the only people Willis could persuade to let their sons join the white man. But soon the positive effects of the education offered were seen by the people around. By 1911 Archdeacon Willis had 120 boys in his mission. Evidently education played a big role in the Christianization of African peoples. The missionaries had earlier learnt that the Christian message would be better accepted if the work of evangelization was combined with education as well as medical work. Thus the three made vital aspects of missionary work. To carry on these other aspects, Willis was joined by Mr and Mrs Saville. Mr Saville carried on the building work at the mission while Mrs Saville ran a dispensary.

Although the Anglican missionaries tried to



keep their part in the agreement with the Friends Industrial Mission, the expansionist activities of other missions did not make it easy for them. As a result, in 1912 the executive committee of the Uganda mission sent Rev Walter Chadwick, the then chaplain of Entebbe, together with three Baganda evangelists, to begin work among the Baluyia of "North Kavirondo".<sup>8</sup> He also went in response to a plea for this work from one of the colonial government officials, who said:

You did a fine work for these people when you established a mission and a school among them. But there are 400,000 Bantu living in the territory from Yala River to Mount Elgon; will you not establish a school and a mission for them too?

The Reverend Walter Chadwick chose Butere as the most suitable site. Walter Chadwick was later joined by his sister, Miss Lisette Chadwick who helped run the dispensary. Rev Chadwick died in 1917 after serving as Archdeacon of Kavirondo for two years. His sister stayed on for a further nine years till her retirement in 1926. Girls'

education was neglected for some time, but in 1914 Miss Edith Hill established a girls' boarding school at Maseno and at Butere much later on in 1936 .<sup>10</sup>

Soon it was felt that a second mission station should be established to serve the Luo community as Maseno was too much on the eastern boundaries of the community. N'giya, situated to the west of Maseno, was the site chosen for this second station in 1919. Mr Saville built a missionary's house there and in October 1921, Mr A. E. Pleydell arrived as the first resident missionary. He did a lot of language work among the people. Miss Fanny Moller arrived two years later to "begin her distinguished service to girls' education in Nyanza".<sup>11</sup> She was later joined by Miss Mercia Wray who helped her with the running of the school, although she was chiefly concerned with medical work.

Thus slowly, the Anglican Church was planted in Nyanza and Western Provinces.

## 2.2 Growth and Expansion of the Church

The work of the CMS and the Anglican Church in the lake region of East Africa grew rapidly. The missionaries seem to have been much more welcome here than they were at the coast. Their message was evidently more readily received. Hewitt describes it:

There was a far greater readiness upcountry to accept what the missionaries had to give ... a result of widespread expectation that missionaries held the key to the the new situation created by colonialism <sup>12</sup>

Missions were the main, if not the only, source of education for the Africans. Yet the situation now created by colonialism demanded education for both employment and general acceptability in the society. This explains why there was this readiness talked about by Hewitt. It was literacy much more than the Christian message which made the missionaries more acceptable.

The situation here created what Anderson calls

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Kusoma Christianity. In this type of Christianity, literacy was the key factor.

Kisumu, the rail terminus, became the communications centre for the Nyanza group of missions. The town had a small church which was dedicated by Bishop Tucker in 1907 and Mr F. H. Wright arrived there in 1910 as the first resident missionary and chaplain to the European community.

As already mentioned above, the expansion and growth of the church was very intimately related to the growth and expansion of educational and medical institutions. Those who passed through the educational centres became agents of publicity for western values and attitudes as well as for the Christian faith. Boys from Maseno School, for example, were often sent out in twos to share the faith with their people for a period of two weeks and then they would come back to Maseno for further study and instruction. In this way, the Africans themselves were used in spreading the new religion. The gospels in the local languages were in fact the only available reading materials for those who had

learned to read. Soon many of them knew the gospels by heart and also used them in teaching their fellow villagers.

The work at Ng'iya progressed with the putting up of a new boarding school for girls in 1932. Medical work was advanced or done on a small scale by the Pleydells who ran a small dispensary. Through Miss Wray's efforts, a small maternity ward was also built. The government aided through a grant. By 1935 a permanent church was build at Ng'iya. The church was consecrated by Bishop Heywood of Mombasa. By this time, the work in the Nyanza Province had been transferred from the Diocese of Uganda to that of Mombasa. This transfer had taken nine years of discussions and negotiations between Bishops Willis of Uganda and Heywood of Mombasa, in consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Finally in 1921 the transfer was effected.

Although the First World War affected the work of missions in Kenya and elsewhere, the Africans who had been to the war came back with a new

eagerness to share their faith. Many congregations would be gathered under trees. Each of the congregations numbering between fifty and one hundred people would share two or three copies of the gospels.

Church growth was rapid after this. In 1913 there had been only three congregations in the Butere area. These grew to thirty and on to one hundred and thirty by 1936. The first converts in the area were baptised in 1916. These were two men and a boy but by 1919, there were sixty.

By the late 1930's the Anglican Church in Nyanza had grown from a baptised membership of 15 in 1910 to one of over fifty thousand in 1935

The Archdeaconry of Kavirondo became the Rural Deanery of Nyanza. This rural deanery was made up of four districts, including Maseno, Butere, Ng'iya and Kitale-Eldoret. The rural deaneries were in turn sub-divided into nineteen pastorates.

Those involved in the work began to feel the weight of the heavy burden upon their shoulders.

The work was growing much more rapidly than was the number of workers. In 1947, there was a letter written from this area to the Church in England to this effect. The letter said in part

In this deanery which covers more than a third of our work in this mission, the church is in desperate need of help, without which she will rapidly outgrow her strength, and very easily fall into division and error.<sup>16</sup>

One of the results of this appeal was the building of a Bible School at Sunrise in Maseno in the same year. This is the present-day St Philip's Bible School. /

The Bible School fulfilled the essential need for trained leaders for the rapidly growing church. It offered intensive three-month courses of instruction for the sixteen men admitted each time. St Philip's Bible School has expanded its intake and now admits students from all over Kenya.

The deanery was later divided and sub-divided into more manageable sizes. As mentioned earlier,

schools were also centres of evangelism. So the more schools were built, the more rapidly the church grew.

Medical work too continued to expand, but the dispensary and maternity centre at Butere were closed down between 1952 and 1953 as the government opened its own dispensary there. Instead the church started another dispensary at Namasoli, near Butere. But this growth was not always easy. In his report of 1945, the Nyanza chaplain had this to say about the church at Maseno:

But, even though services have been held regularly for some considerable time by ordained priests, congregations do not increase in number ...<sup>17</sup> //

It was even suggested that other denominations be invited to participate in the Anglican services in order to attract "those who are not attracted by the liturgy of the Church of England".<sup>18</sup>

When in 1953 the archdeaconaries of the Diocese of Mombasa became geographical rather than racial, the church was on its way to Africanising



its leadership. Two years later, the first two African Bishops were consecrated, even though at that stage they were referred to as Assistant Bishops.<sup>19</sup> These two were Festo Habakkuk Olang', who represented the Maseno area, and Obadiah Kariuki for the then Fort Hall area in Central Province. This meant that the Church in the Maseno area had grown sufficiently to warrant having a bishop of its own. By 1957, there were more than eight hundred schools in Nyanza and all of them related to the mission work there. These schools were also staffed by teachers trained at Maseno and Butere. "Every one of these has received in some measure the Word of God".<sup>20</sup>

In 1960, the Church in East Africa became autonomous from Canterbury which had hitherto been its 'metropolitan parent'. The Church of the Province of East Africa was thus formed. This particular province united Kenya and Tanganyika Anglican Churches.

Further growth was again evidenced in the next decade after the formation of the Church of the

Province of East Africa. In 1970, therefore, need was felt for the formation of two separate provinces instead of the one. The Church of the Province of Kenya came into being in that same year with Festo Olang' as its first archbishop. This meant that there were at least four dioceses which are the minimum requirement for the formation of a province. Maseno had up to this point been one diocese comprising both Nyanza and Western Provinces of the country. When the Church of the Province of Kenya was formed, Maseno was divided into two: the Diocese of Maseno North and the Diocese of Maseno South. The Right Reverend James I. Mundia became the first bishop of the newly-created Diocese of Maseno North. The Diocese had at least four rural deaneries with 23 parishes in 1970-71. At the time of writing, the Diocese of Maseno North has four archdeaconaries, namely, Butere, Mumias, Nambale and Mount Elgon. The number of Rural Deaneries has increased from four to fifteen, while that of the parishes has increased to fifty-eight.

### 2.3 The Doctrine, theology and teaching of the Church

The Anglican Church in Western Kenya came into being as a result of the missionary activity of the Church of England. The work was carried on chiefly through the Church Missionary Society. Since the missionaries carried with them their particular brand of Christianity to the mission field, the church in Western Kenya and indeed elsewhere, was modelled on that of the home church of the missionaries, that is, the Church of England. Since this study is on the Revival Movement and its effects in the Anglican Church, it is necessary for us to briefly look at the doctrine and teaching of the Anglican Church.

What then is the Anglican Church and what are its doctrines and teachings?

Colliers Encyclopedia tells us that Anglicanism is the

term used to describe the Christian bodies which are in communion with the English Seer of Canterbury, use a similar prayer book and maintain a similar theological

orientation and same form of  
government or polity.<sup>22</sup>

These bodies are, in principle, wholly independent in the organisation of local groups or congregations. Each province made up of at least four dioceses has its own archbishop. They are "associated with one another much the same as the British Commonwealth"<sup>23</sup>. In the early days even bishops for overseas dioceses were chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury and they were to be directly responsible to him. Hence the appointments of all the early bishops in the East Africa Church, like Bishops Tucker, Heywood, Wills and others. The Anglican Communion is therefore seen not as a church but rather as a closely-knit<sup>24</sup> fellowship of churches.

The Anglican Church came into being in 1529 when King Henry VIII disagreed with the Pope. By 1559, the Order of the Church of England had been established. During that time, too, many revisions of what are now as well as the formation of the Book of Common Prayer in much the same form as it is today.

Anglicans, however, insist that theirs is not a new church, but rather the same church as existed in England since its earliest days in that country. It was only reformed to make it more like the New Testament Church. An effort was made to teach all the doctrines of the early church as well as its ministry and liturgy. The use of the two sacraments of baptism and confirmation has also been maintained. What the English Reformers did not accept was the pope's claim of jurisdiction over the English Church.

There are five pillars of the Anglican basis of faith. These are:

1. The Holy Scriptures as containing all things necessary to salvation. They are the highest authority upon which the church bases her faith and life. This teaching is contained in article no. 6 of the 39 articles of faith. The Anglican Church therefore teaches that nothing that is not in the Scriptures should be taught. All that the church requires of its members must also be proved by

Scripture. The church is supposed to have the final authority in matters of controversy of faith.

And yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another ...<sup>25</sup>

2. The three historic creeds of the early Church: as being a summary of the doctrines contained in Scripture. These creeds are the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed. These creeds are to be taught and believed "for they may be proved by most as certain warrants of Holy Scripture".<sup>26</sup>

3. The four great Councils of the early Church: At these councils, the Church of England believes and teaches, the main doctrines of the Church were defined and settled. These are the Councils Nicaea held in 325; the Council of Constantinople of 351; the Council of Ephesus held in 431; and finally the Council of Chalcedon which was held in 451.

4. The thirty-nine articles of faith These are not taken as a complete statement of the Anglican

faith; rather they show the position which the Anglican Church took during the 16th century controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and extreme Protestants. Through the years, the 39 articles were formulated and have become

the last of a series of doctrinal statements put forth as occasion demanded.<sup>27</sup>

Not all the articles are of importance to this study. Two, however, are of interest. These are articles numbers 6 and 20. Article 6 underlines the sufficiency of Scripture for salvation. Anything that is not expressly contained in them<sup>28</sup> should not be demanded of any man. Article 20 is on the authority of the Church. The article states that the Church should have the final authority especially in matters of controversy of faith. Yet all her authority should be subject to the Scriptures.

5. The Book of Common Prayer This is the fifth pillar of the Anglican basis of faith. The Book of Common Prayer gives the Anglican Communion its

liturgical unity. It is an important basis because

Anglicanism is based upon the development of the spiritual life through regular and disciplined liturgical worship.<sup>29</sup>

The prayer book contains the orders of the morning and the evening prayer services. These, together with the regular partaking of the Holy Communion, are the basis of Anglican worship.<sup>30</sup> It is formulated so as to enable the people not only to share in, but also to enjoy and understand worship. In all these pillars, however, there is a lack of precise or definite definition on most of the subjects dealt with.<sup>31</sup> This is mainly as a result of Cranmer's teaching and insistence that

(a) nothing in the old order should be changed unless it is clearly contrary to the Word of God;

and

(b) nothing should be defined unless God Himself has defined it in Scripture.<sup>32</sup>

This attitude, prevalent in the Anglican Church, makes it possible to have a variety of interpretations. But it also makes for a vagueness in the Church's doctrine and teaching. The



Anglican Church chooses to remain moderate; a moderation which is practised in every aspect of Anglicanism.

As to whether there is a specifically Anglican theology has been a matter of debate. But Anglican thinkers and writers seem to indicate that there is no particular Anglican theology and no special Anglican theological doctrines. This is so, they say, because "the Church of England is the Catholic Church of England".<sup>33</sup> Therefore the Anglican Church teaches all the doctrines of the Catholic faith "as these are to be found in Holy Scripture".<sup>34</sup> The theological appeal of the church is to Scripture. The place of the Bible in the Anglican communion is therefore very important. All its members are encouraged to read it, to study it and to fashion their lives according to it.

The aim is not that of producing immediate emotional effects, but of gradually building up a settled resolute will to holiness based more on the direction of the will than on the stirring of the emotions.<sup>35</sup>

Thus emotionalism, as we shall see in dealing with the East African Revival Movement, is looked at askance within Anglican circles. The Anglican Church teaches tolerance of what may appear to be errors in its midst.

Both Nicholls and Neill say that one of the most distinctive characteristics of Anglicanism is its comprehensiveness. The Church is supposed to be a tolerant institution, whose doors are open to all biases. No hasty action is taken against those believed to be in error. There should be a marked "willingness to tolerate for the time being what appears to be error".

Another characteristic of the Anglican Communion is what Nicholls and others refer to as its "charitable assumption". This means that the Anglican liturgy is assumed to be for the believer as there can be "no liturgy for the unbelievers". Accordingly, there can be no arbitrary division of the Church into the "saved" and the "unsaved". This division is tantamount to killing the very spirit of Anglicanism. There is no room for

perfectionist doctrines and theories in Anglicanism. Nicholls concludes that perfectionist theories of the church are thoroughly un-  
 39  
 Anglican.

The responsibility of interpretation in the undefined areas of Anglican doctrine is left to the individual. For this reason there exist divergent views on various aspects of Christianity. There are also tensions which should apparently be accepted  
 40  
 as normal. This attitude is important as it gives us a possible clue as to why the Revival Movement adherents were not thrown out of the church and why they themselves did not readily opt to go out. Haugaard says that

By not defining too much detail, English reformers left room for differences of interpretation and emphasis.<sup>41</sup>

This can be taken to mean that on matters of interpretation and emphasis the Church does not have the final say. Rather individual members are expected to do this while exercising their

responsible freedom within the  
framework of a well-tried pat-  
tern of life and worship. <sup>42</sup>

This, then, is the Anglican stand-point. How  
did the East African Revival Movement fit into this  
and what of the clash between the official  
standpoint and the views held by the Revival  
Brethren? The attempts to answer these questions  
are the subject of the rest of this study.

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Footnotes

1. Roland. op.cit. p.6
2. S. G. Stock. The Story of Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza Mission, London: Religious Tract Society, 1892, p.6
3. Ibid, p.15
4. F. B. Welbourn. The East African Christian. London, O.U.P., 1965, p.68
5. Richards. op.cit., p.2
6. W. J. W. Roome. Through the lands of Nyanza, London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1930, p.11
7. Ibid
8. Hewitt. op.cit., p.140
9. Richards. op.cit., p.28
10. Ibi
11. Hewitt. op.cit., p.141
12. Ibid
13. W. B. Anderson. The Church in East Africa, 1840-1974 Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977, p.111
14. Richards. op.cit., p.28
15. Hewitt. op.cit., p.142
16. Richards. op.cit., p.67
17. T. Anderson. The Kenya Church Review and Yearbook, no.64, March 1945, p.47
18. Ibid

19. Richards. op.cit., p.68
20. B. L. Bowers. "Fifty Years of CMS Education in Nyanza". Kenya Church Review and Yearbook, 1957, p.26
21. Information supplied by the Diocesan Office
22. Colliers Encyclopedia, 1965
23. Welbourne. op.cit., p.72
24. S. Neill. Anglicanism. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1958. p. 358 ff
25. R. Nicholls. The Anglican Way, p.28
26. Ibid
27. E. J. Bicknell. A theological introduction to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. London: Longmans, 1932, p.9
28. Nicholls. Ibid
29. Nicholls. op.cit., p.29
30. Ibid
31. W. P. Haugaard. Elizabeth and the English Reformation, London: Cambridge U.P., 1968, p.259
32. Colliers, op.cit.
33. Neill. op.cit., p.417
34. Ibid
35. Neill. op.cit., p.418
36. Neill. op.cit., p.422
37. Nicholls. op.cit., p.36
38. Ibid

39. Nicholls. op.cit., p.30
40. Neill. op.cit., p.427
41. Haugaard. op.cit., p.259
42. Nicholls. op.cit., p.34

CHAPTER III  
THE EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT:  
ORIGIN AND SPREAD

3.1 Origin of the Revival Movement

The East African Revival Movement as we know it today had its origin in Rwanda. The exact place was the first mission station in Rwanda known as Gahini. Here the revival began among the African Christians working at the hospital, but soon some missionaries got involved. In 1933 a convention was held at this mission station and this resulted in a great increase of zeal. Humanly speaking "the revival began with the longing of an African and a missionary for a clearer witness in the Church to Jesus as Saviour and Lord".<sup>1</sup> The African was Simeon Nsibambi, a Muganda clergyman and the missionary was Dr. Joe Church. Simeon was the son of an important sub-chief in Busiro. He was destined to inherit his father's office, but after his conversion in 1922, he gave up his political career and aspirations in order to "recall the church to more uncompromising obedience to God's



command".<sup>2</sup> For a long time Simeon's message went unheeded, but eventually his younger brother, Blasio Kigozi was converted through his influence. This young man was sent out to Rwanda as a school teacher. Rwanda was then still part of the Anglican Diocese of Uganda. Kigozi was to play a very vital role in the Revival Movement.

Dr. Church had met Simeon in 1929 at Mukono and both of them had realised that they had similar spiritual aspirations and longings. Dr. Church and Simeon's younger brother, Blasio, became the pillars of the revival movement. The year 1929, when Dr Church and Nsibambi met, is taken as the time of the specific beginnings of the Revival.<sup>3</sup> The Brethren themselves, however, are hesitant to give any date. One of them, when asked as to when the revival started, had this to say:

this is a matter which involves the moving of the Spirit of God. He convicts a soul here and challenges another there and thus the fire is kindled. To put a date to the work of the Spirit is impossible.<sup>4</sup>

In 1935, Blasio Kigozi began to feel a keen

sense of failure and disillusionment with the state of the Church around him. He therefore retired into solitude for a week of prayer and meditation. At the end of this week, Kigozi came back with a new sense of the power of the Spirit and began to give effective witness to those around him. As a result, the first large-scale response to the preaching of the gospel was witnessed in Rwanda, spreading on to Ankole and later to Kampala.

These men who had caught the vision at Gahini were invited by Bishop Stewart to lead a convention at Mukono and later on to mark the Diamond Jubilee of the CMS mission in 1937. A series of evangelistic campaigns were planned to take place throughout the diocese. Prior to this, during a Uganda Synod meeting, Blasio Kigozi had challenged the participants as he prayed, "Lord revive Thy Church - and begin with me".<sup>5</sup>

Why was the revival necessary at that time? This question has been answered by various church historians who give us a picture of what the Church was like.<sup>6</sup> Various missionaries had complained

about the worldliness of the church. Drunkenness and immorality were practiced freely by some of those who professed to be Christians. It is evident that the Church was at a very low ebb and many sincere Christians were concerned about it. The community of believers was spiritually barren and improvident. Writing about the state of the Church in Nyanza during his time, Carey Francis had this to say:

no doornail could be more dead than the Kavirondo church - and that in this it is distressingly like the church in Britain".<sup>7</sup>

For Carey Francis and, undoubtedly, for many other Christians, the Church is judged by the number of Christians in it who are "on fire for Christ", and he found that this kind of Christian was lacking in the Kavirondo church. The Church was beset by formalism and no real spiritual commitment could be sensed by its members. An elderly lady to whom we talked during our study confirmed this criticism by saying:

At that time, the Anglican Church was really dead, people did what they liked everyday of the week and then went to church on Sunday. Their faith made no difference to their life. The church was indeed dead <sup>8</sup>

Again to use Carey Francis' words, there was <sup>9</sup>  
 "no 'bubbling over' Christianity". The Christians had no sparkle about them. Church leaders talked about praying to God generally, they talked against beer drinking, poligamy and working on Sundays. But very little was said about Jesus Christ. <sup>10</sup> "If I were a heathen the only attraction to me in christianity as I should see it would be in a 'name', and clothes and knowledge". <sup>11</sup> These were the words of one of the Anglican Church missionaries stationed at Maseno School in Nyanza.

The Church, it would appear, was more concerned about the outward signs or social change, as it were, than the implanting of real spirituality in its members. It became a church where "works" were emphasised at the expense of faith. There was no balance in the teaching and practice.

This state was becoming uncomfortable not only for the missionaries who constantly lamented about it, but also for the African Christians as well. There was clearly a need for something to happen if the church was to be saved from total failure of its mission because the drunkenness, the lying and the stealing were being practised by some of those who professed to be Christians.<sup>12</sup> The Church in East Africa was more concerned with material progress than with spiritual growth and maturity. Faith was nominal and superficial, its basis was vague. Truth as was revealed in the Scriptures was not taken seriously any more. "The Church had slipped into easy and dead formalism!"<sup>13</sup>

It was in this state of spiritual despondency that the need for revival began to be felt acutely. This apparently hopeless state was in fact the eve of spiritual renewal. The situation was not altogether hopeless

as there were sincere African Christians, both clergy and laity deeply distressed at the state of affairs and hoping for a spiritual regeneration.<sup>14</sup>

These Christians who were dissatisfied with the lukewarmness and the apathy of the church began to pray for a revival, not just in themselves but in the church as a whole. These Christians to whom we have already referred had, as it were, a new vision of the cross and of Jesus Christ. They began to confess their sins openly and to share their failures and successes with one another frankly. The effect of this was profound. Sins of all types were confessed and put right. Spontaneous testimonies of new joy were given and expressed in praise songs and fellowship. Real salvation - "obuhonia" (Luyia) then came to the church.<sup>15</sup>

There had been no such thing before. During a mission held in Rwanda itself and which was conducted by a predominantly African team, many

sins that had sapped the life of the church were openly confessed,<sup>16</sup>

and a new life began to be felt. Thus the revival started and began to spread. It is not easy and it

would probably be unwise to single out one place or individual as the origin of the revival. Humanly speaking, however, the small mission station of Gahini in Rwanda must be remembered and thought of as the birthplace of the East African Revival Movement. According to Dr. Stanley Smith of Gahini Mission, the revival began "quietly and almost imperceptibly".<sup>17</sup> It began and was felt in mutual confession and a deep sense of brotherhood between Dr. Joe Church and Blasio Kigozi, as well as Yosiya Kindu. This bond spread throughout the mission station.

At another level, however, the Revival Movement is seen as primarily a move of the Spirit of God as an "inner mission to churches grown lax through mass admission and apathy".<sup>18</sup> The Spirit was at work in the hearts of various individuals. As Warren aptly puts it,

we shall be most true to the facts if we recognise that the Holy Spirit was at work in the lives of individuals, each quite unknown to the other.<sup>19</sup>

These Christians, stirred individually and unknown to each other usually linked up to share their experiences of the work of the Spirit among them and in this way they became bound together by their common experience and their common desire in spiritual matters. Soon they were holding fellowships and Bible study meetings. The early days of the movement were marked by periods of prayer and fasting either in isolation or by the fellowship of the few who had come together and had 'shared the burden'. But soon the movement became characterised by an enthusiasm and a zeal to spread its new-found faith and to witness. Thus quietly, unofficially and steadily, the revival spread. As the movement grew, word was spread about it, not just in East Africa but in other lands as well. Something was happening to the Church and:

positively, for many thousands, the Christian faith was now a transforming power, to the extent of their being named Balo-kole<sup>20</sup>

Thus hope was once again felt for an otherwise hopeless situation. The church which many had begun to see simply as an immense baptising machine had



new life brought into it. <sup>21</sup> It could no longer go on in the same old way. Where it had previously held up no challenge and no higher ideals the revival group was seen to offer both of these fearlessly and enthusiastically.

Like other revivals all over the world, the East African Revival Movement had, as we have pointed out, several reasons for its emergence. Yet, like those other revivals, the real reason and origin of the East African Revival Movement remains an enigma.

### 3.2 Spread of the Revival Movement

Within a short period, the revival movement had some adherents in all the East African countries. Dr. Church, Blasio Kigozi, Nsibambi and later William Nagenda and Yosiya Kindu began to organise missions wherever they felt led by God and wherever they were invited. Teams of 'missionaries' made up of revived brethren were formed to conduct the various missions and evangelistic campaigns.

Basically, however, the revival movement spread rapidly because of the involvement of the laity in the work of spreading the good news. As one revivalist put it:

lay people talked everywhere and at any time. They were not people of renown, most of them, but they simply shared their testimonies and the fire spread.<sup>22</sup>

The movement cut right across denominational and racial barriers. Denominationally, it got a large following from the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. Generally, the churches most affected by it were of the evangelical bent or persuasion. The Anglican Church, however, had the largest following. This was probably because as a church, it was the mother of the Revival. It became so permeated by the movement that for some people it simply became an Anglican Church movement. And so the revival spread from Rwanda to Uganda, and very specifically to the Anglican Church in that country. This church was in fact the main protestant church in Uganda and it is

therefore not surprising that the movement became almost synonymous with the Anglican Church. In Western Kenya, one often hears the expression that "so and so belongs to the 'Tukutendereza'" (Luganda word meaning Praise the Lord). Yet what is really meant is that the particular individual in question belongs to the Anglican Church.

To mark the CMS diamond jubilee in 1937, the evangelistic campaigns we have referred to above were planned and messengers were chosen from every parish to facilitate this. Dr. Church was made responsible for the training of these messengers. He therefore organised a ten-day mission at Mukono and three other area missions for the chosen messengers. In June the same year, the Executive Committee of the Rwanda mission seconded Dr. Church to organise and develop the Revival Movement. His proposed scheme of work, however, met with insurmountable problems and obstacles and could not therefore be easily put to work.

The Revival Movement became even stronger in the Ugandan Church which in many respects took over

the leadership from Rwanda. The Rwanda leadership somehow withdrew into the background. It has been suggested that this may have been so because the church in Rwanda was relatively younger than that of Uganda and this also makes sense in the light of the fact that the revival basically addressed itself to those who were already members of the church and who professed to be Christians. Evangelism came as a result of the revival of those already Christians, those already within the Church.

From Uganda, the movement spread to Kenya and Tanzania. Writing in 1957, the Venerable N. Langford-Smith had this to say of the way the revival came to the Kenyan Church:

it came very simply and quietly, without organisation or campaigns, when a small group from Uganda and Rwanda passed on what God had done for them; it was only later that this was seen as a tongue of fire.<sup>25</sup>

To confirm this impression one of those we interviewed emphasised that at that time, the movement was not even being referred to as the

revival. This, he says, took place some time between 1934 and 1935 when the Ugandan visitors came and shared their faith very simply and clearly for one week at what is now St Paul's United Theological College at Limuru. Thus began the movement in Kenya, very quietly as those who had listened to the Ugandans also began to share their experiences vigorously and enthusiastically. <sup>26</sup>

In 1937, however, Dr. Church and others visited Kabete at the invitation of his brother and sister-in-law, Howard and Elizabeth Church. The team visited Kabete from the 30th of March to the 7th of April. The meetings went on for nine days although there was great suspicion on the part of the older and more senior missionaries at the station. <sup>27</sup> But this did not hinder the revival message from touching and challenging many who were present. It was during this time that the late Obadiah Kariuki, later Bishop of the Diocese of Mount Kenya, decided to become a Christian and join the Brethren. <sup>28</sup> In this particular area, the revival was seen as a new religion from Rwanda and

was soon being referred to locally as  
 29  
"Ndini ya Rwanda" (the Rwanda religion).

During the African Keswick Convention held at the Alliance High School in September 1938, the Revival Spirit was greatly in evidence. This convention attracted 250 delegates and one of those who repented at this time was Pastor Esau Oywaya from Maseno. Rev Oywaya who was delivered from smoking the pipe and other secret sins remained a staunch  
 30  
 revivalist until his death in October 1981.

In this way, the revival spread to both the Central and Nyanza Provinces of the country. In the same month as the African Keswick Convention, the team was invited to conduct a convention<sup>31</sup> at Maseno. The venue was the Boys' High School. Carey Francis was the headmaster of the school who, after long talks with the team members, allowed them four whole mornings for the convention  
 31  
 meetings. Francis himself was not happy about the state of the Church and was known to pray constantly for a spiritual revival and awakening. He heard of what was taking place in the Church in

Rwanda and Uganda and was greatly encouraged by it. He coveted the revival experience for his boys at Maseno and was therefore eager to have the revival team at the school. His reaction at the end of the convention is rather interesting. He expresses disappointment as the revival did not get the kind of start expected.<sup>32</sup> He also found it difficult to accept some of the revivalists' theology.

But according to Francis (as well as our interviewees), the mission was not a failure because:

they have been able to get under the skin of some of our masters and tackled their real difficulties in a way that has baffled me and the rest of us on the spot. For the first time we here saw six Africans to whom Christ obviously meant more than money or praise or comfort; men who were 'all out'.<sup>33</sup>

Although not many stood up to confess, they were still deeply touched and affected by the mission. Several boys from the school, some dressers and a doctor from the hospital and at least one member of the teaching staff were

revived. These formed the nucleus of a small revival fellowship at Maseno. But because of the negative attitude of some of the staff, the movement was more or less ignored at the school.<sup>34</sup>

This was not surprising as the headmaster believed that the group talked a lot of rubbish; he also found their meetings boring. Yet, he still believed that underneath all this, there was reality.<sup>35</sup> The movement continued quietly until several of the clergy, led by Canon Oywaya (who had joined the revivalists earlier) were taken up in it. The mission bore fruit in the lives of these as well as in the lives of the boys at Maseno School. They tried to witness and share their experiences with others. Of the boys, Mr Francis said that "their faith does not show only in preaching; they are good, steady, trustworthy lads in school".<sup>36</sup>

These boys in particular helped spread the revival message to their communities, especially in the Luo country. Slowly, but with growing acceptability within the church, the revival grew and spread to various parts of Western Kenya - areas which had already been penetrated by the



Anglican Church.

Many times, however, the movement was received with suspicion and at times with open hostility and calls for the government to intervene and put it to an end. Some people saw it as meaningless and anti-Anglican. An example of recorded open hostility is what took place when the Brethren tried to establish themselves in the South Wanga Location of Kakamega District. Here the Senior Chief Osundwa Chitechí, <sup>38</sup> in a letter addressed to the District Commissioner of North Nyanza requested that an announcement be made and the message taken to the leader of "Dini ya Jolendo" (the religion of the saved) that the people of Wanga in general and South Wanga in particular do not want anything to do with the "new dini". He stated that his people were content with what religions they already had - namely, Roman Catholicism, Church Missionary Society (Anglicanism) and Islam. The only reason the chief gave in this letter was that the behaviour and general conduct of the 'Jolendo' was completely contrary to the good behaviour of the people of Wanga. This letter was written on

October 25th, 1954. To follow up the case, the District Commissioner requested the District Officer of Mumias to investigate the case and find out exactly what the Senior Chief was objecting to. The District Commissioner explained that "'Jolendo' is the name of the revivalist movement within the CMS"<sup>39</sup> and that it had 'the Bishop's blessings', but that he would be interested in investigating any corruption.

The District Officer's reply was quite interesting. He stated that the South Wanga people's main objection was the fact that these people - the Jolendo - "have dreams in which they commit adultery",<sup>40</sup> this, they felt, permitted them to do so in reality. They also refused to shake hands, "instead they put their right hands over their left breast. It is also said that when they meet, they are apt to sing to one another".<sup>41</sup>

This appears to have been a case of complete misunderstanding and misguided hostility. The District Commissioner, however, wrote to the Rural Dean of the African Anglican Church in North

Nyanza, within whose jurisdiction South Wanga fell, asking him to investigate the matter and put to an end any such tendencies. The Rural Dean - Canon Oywaya - himself a revivalist, replied that the claims were completely untrue according to the local 'Muruka Ngamia' of South Wanga (presumably one of the local rulers). He added that the 'Jolendo' was not a separatist movement or religion and that its members were noted for their loyalty to the administration. Canon Oywaya concluded by saying that the Wanga people were ignorant of the movement hence their unwarranted fear. Later, at a meeting held at Musanda School, it was found that most people in the area did not support the 'Jolendo'. But this was not due to any objectionable practices but simply because of the feeling that "the CMS is good enough - why confuse things with another 'dini'".<sup>42</sup> As the revival spread, it also met with hostility within the Church circles. Langford-Smith reported that church members

tended to resent all this enthusiasm and emotion, especially when

in perhaps misguided zeal - they were challenged as to their own need of a like experience.<sup>43</sup>

The next decade after the arrival of the revival in Kenya saw nothing spectacular, but quiet diffusion and growth were still taking place. Both in Kikuyu country and in Nyanza small fires of witness had been lit and small fellowships were coming into being. In Kikuyu-land they came to be known as "gakundi" (the little group).<sup>44</sup>

Various conventions were held between 1947 and 1950 in parts of central province introducing the revival message to greater numbers. Mostly, however, the witness was spread quietly, without publicity. As was their custom, the Brethren<sup>45</sup> met all the financial needs of the conventions.

In the Western part of the country, similar trends could be observed. The members of the Revival Movement got to know one another and this encouraged them. They also received continued advice and encouragement from the Uganda team which had brought the good revival message to them. Esau Oywaya was at the forefront of the movement in

Western Kenya. He, together with Dr. Green and a Mr John Onguko, are still remembered today for their zeal in evangelism. These three were the first to embrace the Revival Movement in the Maseno area.

Despite many meetings which were called just to oppose Oywaya and his group, the revival spirit went on and slowly many of those originally opposed to it also caught the vision. <sup>45</sup> In 1946 a meeting was convened at the present Holy Trinity Church at Ebusakami in the Maseno area. Parishes of the whole Western Province were invited to participate. The meeting was fruitful. The revival groups from the parishes became more established and surer of themselves; their ties with Uganda also became stronger and closer.

In 1951 another meeting was called by Rev Stovold, the then vicar of the area. The aim of the meeting was to investigate the fellowship and its activities. <sup>46</sup> It appears from some of our sources that there were certain conflicts between the members of the movement and the Church in the area. Hence the need for a meeting to iron out the

differences. The vicar, however, found no fault with the revival fellowship and instead sent out the members to various parishes to share their faith and new-found meaning in Christ. This move was possibly taken in order to help the parishes to see and accept the Brethren as part of them and not as outsiders or enemies. But it also helped the movement to spread and acquire more members within the area.

In about 1935, the revival movement spread to Tanzania. It was very effective in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of that country. The patterns of worship and fellowship were similar to those in Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya. As in these three countries, the revival movement in Tanzania affected people of all races and ethnic groups who were also dissatisfied with their own spiritual lives as well as the corporate life of the church. Shortly before the second world war, the movement grew rapidly. Its leaders were men from both Rwanda and Uganda. They included Dr. Church who, with others, had visited the Katoke area in 1935,

as well as John Barishumke, Frederick Batekereza and Pastor Matovu. These men brought with them the theology of walking in the light as well as several revival hymns which like elsewhere became essential elements of the revival fellowship.

Footnotes

1. N. Langford-Smith. "Revival in East Africa", International Review of Missions, Vol. 43, January 1954, p.77
2. John V. Taylor. The Growth of the Church in Buganda: an attempt at understanding, SCM Press, London, 1958, p.100
3. F. B. Welbourn. East African Rebels: a study of some independent churches, SCM Press, 1961, p.9
4. Interview with Owen Gumba, Nairobi. November 7, 1984
5. B. G. M. Sundkler. The Christian Ministry in Africa SCM Press, London, 1969, p.7
6. See Taylor op.cit., Hewitt G. op.cit.
7. L. B. Greaves. Carey Francis of Kenya, Rex Collings, London, 1969, p.7
8. Interview with Mrs. E. Oywaya, Maseno, September 6, 1984
9. Greaves. op.cit., p.37
10. Interview with Rev. J. R. Ayanga and Mr. A. Oliang'a, Ebusakami and Ebwiranyi respectively, September 4, 1984
11. Greaves. ibid "y
12. C. P. Groves. The Planting of Christianity in Africa Vol. 4:1914-54, London, Lutterworth B., p.223
13. Langford-Smith. op.cit., p.78
14. Groves. op.cit., p.224
15. Langford-Smith. "Come as the fire", Kenya Church Review and Yearbook, 1957, p.40



16. Groves, C. P. ibid
17. Hewitt. op.cit., p.239
18. N. Q. King. 'The East African Revival Movement and Evangelism', Ecumenical Review Vol. 20, No. 2, 1968, p.160
19. Quoted in Groves. op.cit.,p. 223
20. Groves. op.cit., p.224
21. Greaves. op.cit., p.139
22. Interview with Mr Owen Gumba, Nairobi, November 7, 1984
23. Hewitt. op.cit., p.239
24. Church's proposals centred around what he called the 'Uganda Seven'. These young missionaries would be recruited in England but their work would be in the Diocese more specifically in Uganda, where they would have African clergy working alongside them. The failure of the scheme was not only due to failure to find the right recruits, but also due to misunderstanding within the CMS about the need and urgency of such a scheme. <sup>3/</sup>
25. Langford-Smith. ibid
26. Information given by a retired church leader, Ebusakami, on September 14, 1984
27. J. Church. Quest for the Highest, Exeter, Paternoster Press, 1971, p.230
28. Information given by Mrs. E. Oywaya, Maseno, September 6, 1984
29. Church. op.cit., p.235
30. Mrs. Oywaya, September 6, 1984
31. Greaves. op.cit., p.60

32. ibid
33. Interview with a retired church leader.  
op.cit.
34. Greaves. op.cit., p.61
35. Mrs. Oywaya. op.cit.
36. Greaves. op.cit. p.63
37. Mrs. Oywaya. op.cit.
38. Kenya National Archives file no. KMGA/A/17/3
39. ibid
40. ibid
41. ibid
42. Langford-Smith. op.cit., p.41
42. ibid
43. Mrs. Oywaya. op.cit.
44. A retired church leader. op.cit. //
45. Mrs. Oywaya. op.cit.
46. Both, Werner. "Hymns of the Abalokole Revival in Buhaya, Tanzania", unpublished paper, UON Department of Religious Studies' Archives

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT: ORGANISATION AND THEOLOGY

#### 4.1 The Theology of the Movement

By virtue of its unique nature of a church within the church, the Revival Movement has strictly no theology of its own. From the initial days the Revival Brethren felt that they were never meant to leave the Church of England set up "but rather to run the mission on fellowship lines ... within the framework of the Church of England"<sup>1</sup>. This desire was realised in every place to which the movement spread. But although there is no distinct theology as such, there are certain issues which the Revival Brethren emphasise<sup>2</sup> and which could in a broad sense be referred to as their theology.

There is nothing new in the doctrine of the revival movement, but "the expression and the terminology, however, have come as something<sup>2</sup> startlingly and perhaps uncomfortably new ..." The newness of expression referred to here does not

mean that the terms used were new. Rather it is used to show that the church into which the revival came had somehow become hesitant to use terms like 'being saved' or "walking in the light" which were commonly used by the Brethren.<sup>3</sup> These terms could not be new to the church as they have Scriptural authority.

Among the doctrines which are given special emphasis is that of atonement. For the Revival Brethren the atonement is the most important aspect of the Gospel. The message of reconciliation of man to God and man to man as made possible through the crucified Christ is what Christianity is all about. This leads on to the emphasis on confession of sins through which the atonement is made<sup>4</sup> efficacious. Man must continuously confess his sins to God so as to maintain the reconciliation which is in the atonement. Jesus also makes possible the reconciliation between man and man and therefore the Brethren emphasise confession not just to God but to one another.

All the foregoing would not be necessary if

the fact of sin was not taken seriously. According to an informant, sin is present in everyone's life and it is the confession of this sin that sets the Brethren apart from other people.<sup>4</sup> The Brethren have therefore developed a tendency to regard anyone who is not one of them as a sinner and therefore an outsider.

Dynamic evangelism is the natural result of the emphasis laid on sin, confession and the atonement. All Brethren feel the obligation of sharing their faith and experiences with others especially those believed to be outside of the group. Whereas large conventions may be held for evangelistic reasons, it is, however, the duty of every member of the revival movement to share his faith everywhere and with anybody with whom he comes in contact. Embarrassment and fear to witness are of the devil and must be confessed<sup>5</sup> immediately they are felt or experienced. One of our sources, himself a keen and active revivalist, informed us that the Brethren must rake people out, those who may not ordinarily go where the gospel is<sup>6</sup> preached must be reached wherever they are. To do

this effectively, the Brethren need to experience Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour on a personal and daily basis. This leads them to a deeper insight into the meaning of the Scriptures, especially the New Testament. <sup>7</sup> Apart from the emphasis we have discussed above, the East African Revival Movement distinctly emphasises certain themes in the New Testament. Of these, salvation or the second birth is absolutely essential. Together with this essential experience of salvation, the Brethren feel that it is necessary to know and share the date, time and circumstances leading to it. Almost all of the Brethren we talked to started their talk by sharing with us their experiences along these lines - commonly known as giving one's testimony. Those who did not start in this way brought them <sup>4</sup> out in one way or another during the conversation. To preserve this salvation, one needs to confess one's sins continuously.

Forgiveness is another of the New Testament themes given great emphasis in the Revival Movement. There is need to have God's forgiveness daily, but there is also need for the Brethren to

forgive each other on a daily basis, too. Forgiveness is acquired by the cleansing by the blood of Jesus. It is the "blood which was shed on the cross"<sup>8</sup> which makes spiritual deliverance a reality in the lives of the Brethren and it also gives them power for Christian living.

Thus the crucifixion of Jesus  
and the shed blood stand out  
as the central symbols in the  
thinking of the Brethren.<sup>9</sup>

In order for one to ask for forgiveness, he or she must be convicted of their wrong doing. Thus the conviction of sin is another emphasised theme in the revival fellowship.

Even without a theology distinct from that of the major historical church, the revival movement acquired distinctive features and characteristics. It was characterized by "enthusiasm and zeal to spread the witness".<sup>10</sup> Dr. Church lists some ten characteristics which made the revival fellowship a distinct body within the Church. These are:

1. Love of the brethren
2. Confession of sin
3. Willingness to be challenged and to challenge
4. Concern for the lost and bereaved
5. Team witness
6. Freedom in prayer and preaching
7. Wanting light and openness
8. Lack of embarrassment between the races
9. Joy, singing and laughter
10. The safety of homes where Christ dwells and He is seen in people's faces!<sup>11</sup>

To these Groves adds the Brethren's deep concern for the church, "which not without reason<sup>12</sup> they felt was at a dangerously low ebb". The love of the Brethren which knows no colour-bar was seen as a truly miraculous element in the Revival Movement. The Brethren not only loved one another, but they were absolutely loyal to one another and to their faith. Even during times of great racial conflicts in Kenya, the brethren refused completely<sup>13</sup> to "break fellowship with their white brethren".

Another distinctive feature of the Revival Brethren both as individuals and as a group is their language. Particular ways of expressing themselves and the use of specific words and terminology set the Brethren apart. "Certain words have grown up with the Revival, e.g. 'Highest',



14  
'brokenness'". These, together with phrases like "the blood" have been described as revival jargon, but according to Dr. Church their usage was unavoidable. According to an informant, a "correct" language emerged among the Brethren. Failure to use this language by a new-comer may lead to rejection and to a questioning as to the reality of his/her salvation. Some of these words and phrases have inevitably become revival slogans.

The emphasis on particular forms of expression helps the Brethren to demarcate very clearly between the 'saved' and the 'unsaved'. Those who do not talk the language are almost automatically termed as 'unsaved'. The fact that there must be other Christians with real experience of salvation who are not members of the Revival Movement does not seem to occur to the majority of the Brethren.

#### 4.2 Organisation of the Movement

Right from the start, the Revival Movement had no formal structure of authority. Its organisation was thus "quite different from normal

ecclesiastical administrative structures".<sup>15</sup> There were no leaders in the proper sense of the word. "Generally, however, every 'mulokole' is a leader."<sup>16</sup> The fellowship had no elected official or paid workers. There was no place they could point at as their headquarters and there was no bureaucracy of any kind.

Membership to the fellowship was by the acceptance of Jesus Christ as personal Saviour and the experience of daily salvation through continual repentance and brokenness. There were therefore no membership registers.

Revival fellowship meetings had no rigid form or structure. The meetings were informal and spontaneous. There was really no need felt for organisation in this respect as the meetings were primarily devotional with opportunities given for testimonies from the Brethren. Mutual encouragement also characterised the fellowship hour and the singing of the Revival chorus or hymn "Tukutendereza Yesu" (We praise you Jesus) frequently followed the testimonies of new or fresh

victories over sin and temptations and of God's grace in the members' lives. All Brethren gatherings followed this general pattern.

Some type of organisation, however, became necessary as the Revival Movement spread and the need for regular meetings and conventions arose. Limited organisation was therefore designed to enable the Brethren to plan for meetings, conventions and itineraries. This organisation was "centred around a loose framework of planning occasions at various levels"<sup>17</sup>. These planning committees were made up of Brethren who would meet occasionally and coordinate fellowship activities from all over the country. These are known as Team meetings. The Team Meetings exist both at national and local levels. At the national level is the Kenya Team Meeting which has representatives from every province in the country. It is composed of twenty Brethren whose main duty or function is the organisation of nation-wide conventions. They invite speakers for these conventions from both within and outside the country. The Kenya Team meeting also handles reports from the fellowships

in the provinces and coordinates national activities. It suggests speakers for provincial conventions for consideration by the provincial teams.

The Provincial Team Meetings run on the same basis and lines as the national one. They are made up of twenty members from the various districts of the Province. Then there are the District Team meetings with representatives from within the district and finally the Divisional Team Meetings which usually have about twenty-five representatives from within the division.

The type of meetings held by the Brethren tend to follow the same lines as the Team meetings. Hence there are local weekly or bi-weekly fellowship meetings which, as mentioned earlier, are primarily non-liturgical and for mutual encouragement. These meetings are held wherever the Brethren see fit: in homes, church buildings, under trees, in school buildings or in social halls. Next to these, there are monthly fellowships at district levels. These bring

together Brethren from various local fellowships and they tend to have evangelistic overtones.

Large national conventions, also referred to as Crusades, are held once a year. These bring together participants from all over the country. Conventions may be provincial, national or regional when they cater for the whole of the East Africa region.<sup>18</sup> They are evangelistic in nature but are also meant to nurture the participating Brethren. These conventions attract large numbers of Christians, sometimes numbering ten thousand or more. For example, the regional convention held at Kikuyu in 1970 had thirty thousand participants while the provincial one held in 1971 at Mumias <sup>in</sup> Western Kenya attracted six thousand people. Decision-making in the Revival Movement is never by majority votes. All decisions must be unanimous. This practice is carried on not only in team meetings but even in fellowship meetings whenever the need for a decision arises.

#### 4.3 Finance

Money matters seem to have been very little discussed among the Brethren. There were no rules governing financial matters and the original Revival Fellowship spirit and organisation did not cater for posts of accountant or financial manager or any other post for that matter. But the revival Brethren were and are still known for their generosity. The group collected lots of money to support themselves during conventions and to pay the way for the speakers invited to participate in the conventions. The money collected would also be used to meet the needs of various Brethren, especially the bereaved.

Brethren who were sent out on various missions<sup>2</sup> were also to be financed from the Brethren's freewill offerings. The funds thus collected were referred to as 'Mfuko wa Bwana' (the Lord's bag). The Brethren contributed to this without obligation and the amount of money any individual gave was strictly a matter between oneself and God. The contributions were asked for when an urgent need arose. There were, however, no budgets given or

required for this money. One source told us that in fact the Brethren did have a treasurer-accountant, but this information is a guarded secret and remains so even up to today.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes the money collected was used to put up residential houses or buy motor-vehicles for those who became recognised as leaders of the fellowship.

This rather relaxed attitude towards money and its usage created problems for the Brethren. There were misunderstandings between the Brethren as time went on. There were misunderstandings between the Brethren and the official church as well as between the Brethren themselves. Church leaders could not understand how the Brethren could manage to raise such large sums of money, usually at very short notice, when the church on the whole had not been able to do this given a much longer period. Between themselves, the Brethren slowly began to realise that at least some type of accounting system would be necessary if the money was to be used properly and wisely and if there was to be no question as to the legitimacy of its usage. More

about this and the subsequent results will be the topic of our next section. Suffice it to say here that the Revival Brethren abhorred the love of money and saw it as one of the reasons for the coldness in the Church. They therefore saw it only as a tool to be used when necessary and where they felt that the Spirit of God was leading them.



Footnotes

1. Church. op.cit. p.95
2. Langford-Smith. "Revival in East Africa",  
International Review of Missions, Vol.43, 1954,  
p.58
3. ibid
4. Interview with Mr. Oliang'a, Ebwiranyi,  
September 4, 1984
5. All the revivalists interviewed agreed on this
6. Interview with Mr. Gumba, Nairobi, November  
1984
7. Mambo. op.cit., p.116
8. This is a common expression among the Revival  
Brethren
9. Mambo. ibid
10. Langford-Smith. op.cit., p.79
11. Church. op.cit., p.259
12. Groves. op.cit.
13. Welbourne. p.9
14. Church. op.cit. p.260
15. A. D. Tuma. Building a Ugandan Church:  
African Participation in Church growth and  
expansion, Kenya Literature Bureau, Nairobi,  
1980
16. Mambo. op.cit., p.115
17. ibid

18. ibid
19. ibid. Confirmed by interviews with Mr. Oliang'a, 1984
20. Interview with a retired church leader, Ebusakami, September 1984

7

## CHAPTER V

### THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN THE DIOCESE OF MASENO NORTH: FACTIONS WITHIN THE FELLOWSHIP

This section of our study will concentrate on the relationship between the Revival Brethren and the Diocese of Maseno North. We will, however, first look briefly at other happenings which took place before the creation of this Diocese in 1970 and which in one way or another may have affected the relationship between the two groups in later years.

As we pointed out in the previous chapter, the Revival Brethren insisted that the revival must remain within the Church as it was not interested in separating itself from the Church. For this reason, the Brethren tended to be largely indifferent to official organs. They, however, regarded the revival of the Church as their primary  
1  
object.

Nevertheless, as the Church grew and the revival spread and was embraced by more people, major questions began to arise. The way these

questions were dealt with was to affect the Brethren's stand on the Church and their relationship to it. Some of the Brethren felt that the Church, particularly the Anglican Church hierarchy was to blame for the many ills which had befallen the Church. There was a general feeling among this group that the only way to save the situation was for them to spiritually separate themselves from the institutional Church.

This was the beginning of the great kuhama movement, whose members were known by various names: separatists, wahamaji or Joremo.

The group formally launched its movement at Maranda in Sakwa Location in 1953. However, Ramba was chosen as the headquarters where regular meetings were held. The name of the movement, 'Kuhama' was taken from the Swahili verb hama, meaning "to migrate" or simply to move away. In this case, it meant the separation of this particular group of Balokole from the rest of the Brethren as well as separation from a church which they regarded as dead. Kuhama became exclusive in

terms of who were allowed to attend their meetings, as they believed that the Church should only be made up of God's elect.<sup>3</sup> The group emphasised the necessity for Christians to be washed in the blood of Jesus Christ for the salvation of their souls. This led to their also being called 'Joremo', the Luo word meaning 'the people of the blood'. This teaching or emphasis in itself was not new since, as we demonstrated in chapter 4, "the blood" is a key revival motif.

While the confusion raged on, another group organised itself with the aim of protecting the Church by fighting the Joremo or Kuhama faction. This group emphasised the original revival teaching that revival could only realistically be "conducted within the church, whether in the spiritual or in the institutional sense".<sup>4</sup>

The group was therefore determined to support the Church fully. It also emphasised the gospel of love - hence their name 'Johera' from the Luo expression for "the people or those who love". This group which appears to have become the

official church group had its headquarters at Maseno where it held monthly meetings. Thus the church in Western Kenya was split into two uncompromising camps. The Joremo group was somehow weakened when several of its members upon consultation with the Uganda Brethren were advised to go back to the Church. This they did although a few members refused to do so, holding on to their original convictions.

This was not the only problem the Anglican Church in Western Kenya faced. Young people within its circles were beginning to question the leadership policies of the Church. They wondered why the Church was not training enough Africans to run its affairs. They questioned certain decisions which were made at this time by, notably, Rev Olang', the newly-elected Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Mombasa. The most vocal person in this group was Rev A. M. Ajuoga. He wrote a letter to Bishop Beecher questioning the removal of certain clergy, for example, that of Rev Sila Awuor from the Ramula Pastorate. Rev Ajuoga also wanted to know why there was no firm official Church voice in

matters of separation and the confusion within the revival movement.

Such bold questions were not very well received by the Anglican Church hierarchy which responded by demoting Ajuoga and other clergy of like sentiments. This did not help the situation at all and despite Ajuoga's insistence that he did not intend to leave the Anglican Church which he loved, and also despite several attempts by the Church officials to heal the rift, this particular group was forced to leave the Anglican Church and to form a church of their own. Ajuoga felt that the matters in question could be solved amicably if only the Church officials were willing to listen. The higher officials, on the other hand, felt that this could be done if Ajuoga and his group accepted the officials' option to the solution. In 1957, Ajuoga was sacked by Bishop Beecher and in the following year, The Church of Christ in Africa was registered as a separate church with Rev Ajuoga as its Bishop.

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It can only be expected that some of the hard

feelings created at this time of conflict, confusion and separation were not totally healed even with the formation of a separate church. The revival movement continued and although as claimed by Hastings,

... Revival had proved continuously divisive within the Anglican Church in Western Kenya ever since its arrival from Uganda at the end of the 1930's.<sup>7</sup>

this seems to be the last recorded schism stemming from the revival within our particular areas of study. Other movements have arisen but they seem to have been somehow contained within the Church.<sup>8</sup> This separation was, however, a very expensive one for the Anglican Church in Western Kenya. It was a schism "more considerable in scale than any other separation this century and it left the Anglican Church short of seven of its ordained priests and a total of sixteen thousand faithfuls.<sup>9</sup> In the Diocese of Maseno North which inherited several of these movements, there have been various collisions and misunderstandings between the official church



and the movements, as well as between the movements themselves.

### 5.1: Factions within the Fellowship

#### 5.1.1: The Kufufuka Movement

In 1960, several of the leading Brethren within the Revival went for a retreat at the Botanical Gardens in Entebbe. Each one of them prayed and meditated individually and when they came back together, each one testified of having lost their first love and fire for the Lord and how during the time of prayer and meditation, they had been spiritually re-awakened.<sup>10</sup> They confessed that the major cause of their coldness were big loans and debts which they had accumulated. Others mentioned that they had fallen into sins of impurity, but that the Lord had now re-awakened them out of this.

The movement was seen as a revival within the revival and it had no schismatic tendencies as was the case in its later stages of development. The Luganda word 'Okuzuzuka' and the Swahili one 'Kufufuka' were used to describe the experience of

these Brethren. The Swahili rendering became the more regularly used and so the movement became popularly known as Kufufuka.

It is important to note that in the beginning this experience was accepted as good and necessary and many felt greatly helped by it. One of the leading Brethren, Simeon Nsibambi, says,

when the awakening came I greatly rejoiced in it and I was right in its midst<sup>11</sup>

The Brethren felt that Christians had fallen asleep and they needed to be awakened out of the sleep.

Four years later, in 1964,<sup>13</sup> this teaching<sup>12</sup> found its way into Kenya and particularly to Western Kenya. Its teaching was emphasised at the Mombasa Convention organised by the Brethren. Several of the Kenyan Brethren were therefore re-awakened. It would seem, however, that by this time several teachings had been added to the original one and these seem to have become particularly attractive to some Brethren from the

Western part of Kenya.

The practical results of the awakening was that some Brethren saw the need for more open and frank fellowship between Christians as well as the necessity for more sacrificial giving to the work of God. Great emphasis was therefore put on 'walking in the light'. In order to give more sacrificially the Brethren felt the need to sell some of their possessions and bring the proceeds to the 'Apostles' feet' - the apostles being the leaders of the Revival Movement. They based their new practice on what happened in the early Church as recorded in Acts 4:37.

These two aspects of the Kufufuka movement, became the focal point of the testimonies in Western Kenya. The teaching and practice of walking in the light which had earlier created problems in the Uganda fellowship began to cause yet more friction in Western Kenya. In Uganda, certain Brethren (prior to Kufufuka) had thought that walking in the light meant a new-found liberty between the sexes and that some exposure of the

body was a sign of victory over temptation. <sup>14</sup> The problem had, however, been dealt with through teaching against extremes. This type of teaching had also been propagated in Nyanza by a man known as Ishmael Noo. Ishmael had taken the teaching further by encouraging a kind of co-habitation even between blood relatives. He would not listen to any rebukes by other Brethren and eventually left <sup>15</sup> to found his own little church in 1948.

But with the Kufufuka movement, the idea of walking in the light seemed to emphasise more the sharing of matters pertaining to private married life. This began to prove repulsive to many Brethren who rejected this brand of Ufufuo which <sup>16</sup> had come to be seen as a second re-awakening. This movement in Western Kenya was precipitated by the visit of some Brethren from Eldoret to Uganda in 1967. They visited Canon Matovu and Yona Mondo who were already at loggerheads with William <sup>17</sup> Nagenda and the Uganda church as a whole. They came back with even more legalistic teaching than ever before. From this time on, anyone who was not 're-awakened' was considered a spiritual failure -

and would be as those who were still asleep. They even formulated a list of 35 rules and regulations to be observed by the reawakened Brethren.<sup>18</sup> The regulations included among others prohibition on the taking of life insurance policies which the reawakened Brethren referred to as selling and eating of a dead body.<sup>19</sup> Another rule stated that if one is given a bank note to keep, he must return that same note and not another one or some other form of change.<sup>20</sup>

In 1969, the activities and teaching of the re-awakened ones was causing misunderstandings not only in Western Kenya but in Nairobi as well. In Western Kenya the teachings were particularly well received by the Brethren whose central meeting place was at Kambare. Not only did they sell their possessions and bring the proceeds to the leaders, they also brought other gifts, including clothes. Kambare had been the main centre for the Brethren even before the faction came up. Representatives from local fellowships would be sent there every month and from here all the Kenya conventions were

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organised.

By 1970, however, there was a general feeling that a second fellowship should be established within easy reach of at least the Luyia Brethren who had hitherto had to travel long distances to Kambare.

Mumias was suggested as the most suitable location for this second fellowship. Apparently Kambare leaders were not very happy about this suggestion but its proponents went ahead and started their own fellowship. It was later realised that the distance from Kambare was not the real  
22  
issue here. There was already deep suspicion among the Brethren about the use of the money which was handed over to the Brethren. Ethnic feelings also seem to have played a part in coming to this decision. Leadership in the fellowship was in the hands of the Luo Brethren, particularly a Mr Musa  
23  
Amoke had emerged as the overall leader.

And so the Mumias fellowship was born. Our sources indicate that this was in fact the beginning of the Tembea faction within the

fellowship.

#### 5.1.2 The Kutembea Movement

If the handling of money was an issue in the formation of the Mumias fellowship, the new fellowship was not to be immune to the problem. The new group soon found itself in similar problems as had led to their separation from the Kambare Brethren. The Mumias fellowship had no particular doctrinal differences with the re-awakened Brethren of Kambare. They, however, felt that they were not just re-awakened from sleep, but they were also walking with the Lord. Some of our sources indicate that this group did insist on proper accounting systems as opposed to the re-awakened Brethren who saw no need for that. According to the Kambare group, all gifts given to the Brethren were in good faith and there was therefore no need for questions to be raised as to how they were used.

The Tembea group is said to have become more vocal after a Kenya revival leaders' meeting held

at Shikunga Church in the Diocese of Maseno North,  
evidently in 1972.<sup>24</sup> The aim of the meeting was to  
try and find a solution to the problems which were  
facing the fellowship and the subsequent threat of  
further splits. The meeting went on all night, but  
instead of the hoped-for solution and  
reconciliation, two groups emerged from the  
meeting. The Kutembea group became a distinct  
movement within the Revival Fellowship. They had  
the popular chorus 'Tembea na Bwana Yesu' as their  
theme and further to the Revival hymn  
'Tukutendereza Yesu', they would also sing this in  
their fellowship meetings and in greeting one  
another.

”

But soon this group also began to be accused  
of mismanagement of funds again. This started when  
there was a collection made for the building of a  
church at Mumias. Hitherto, the Brethren as well  
as other official Anglican Church meetings were  
held in the Social Hall.<sup>25</sup> The church building was  
completed in 1970; but by 1971 there were  
accusations made by some of the Brethren that some



of the money collected had been misappropriated. Various instances were cited when leading Brethren put the money to their own use and there were also cases of wrong figures being entered in the books. An example of this is when K.sh.33/50 was collected and the entry in the records showed K.sh.3/50, and on another occasion, K.sh.31/40 was collected and records showed that only K.sh.2/40 was collected. A sum of money had also been sent by the Uganda Brethren to help in the building of the church; this money, it appears, was never used for the purpose for which it was intended and it was not accounted for.

These cases, among others, led other Brethren to "see only darkness". This was the root cause of separation and the formation of the Bungoma group which assumed the name Kupaa or Ascending group.

### 5.1.3 The Kupaa Movement

The Kupaa movement remained a specifically Kenyan movement even though evidence shows that it received a lot of help and counsel from Canon

Matovu and Yona Mondo who themselves had been banned from Revival Fellowship activities in both Uganda and Kenya. Its centre was Bungoma in the Diocese of Maseno North, but some of the leading Brethren in it were based in Eldoret which was in the then Diocese of Nakuru.<sup>28</sup> As they had broken away from those who were 'walking with the Lord' (tembea), they saw it fit to give themselves another title. Thus they called themselves the 'ascending ones'.

Interestingly enough, when representatives of this group were questioned about their teaching, they denied having taught that they had ascended. It was, however, noted that they did in fact see themselves as more advanced than both their Kutembea and Kufufuka Brethren. An example was given of a case in which one of their number claimed that they had in fact boarded an aeroplane while the others still plodded on foot.<sup>29</sup> This group of Brethren felt that they were, as it were, sitting with the Lord in heavenly places.<sup>30</sup> Their other teachings do not appear to have been any different from those of the other other two groups.

They, however, had a very negative attitude towards the Church and its leadership. Some of them went as far as saying that these were not really necessary and therefore members of their group had no obligation whatsoever to obey or adhere to what the official church leaders said or asked them to do. They wanted as little to do with the established or missionary churches as possible.

All the three groups discussed above started after the re-awakening which took place in Entebbe. They therefore have no teachings peculiar to themselves and while they more or less look down on each other, we have not come across any fundamental doctrinal differences which could have led to their separation. Their main differences seem to have stemmed from leadership squabbles as well as matters of financial management. Some of their teachings, however, included the following:

a) Illegitimacy

The Brethren taught that illegitimate children should not be accepted in their homes. This was

one of the most sensitive issues as far as the Brethren in these groups were concerned. These children, so the teaching goes, were born in sin and the Brethren should not have anything to do with them. Cases are reported of pregnant girls having been turned away from their homes because of this teaching. We are aware of at least one case where a young teenage girl was completely turned away from her home by parents who belonged to the Ascended group of Brethren. Being a high school student, she had literally nowhere to go and was eventually adopted by another Christian family. Other Brethren who may not be as 'militant' as the ones referred to above do, however, still insist that every effort must be made to marry these girls off to the men responsible for their pregnancies.

b) Debts and loans

The Scriptures, the Brethren insist, teach that Christians should owe no man anything but to love each other. This teaching must be obeyed to the letter. The emphasis first came to the surface during the retreat at Entebbe. Many of the leading

Brethren claimed that the source of their spiritual coldness was the large debts they had accumulated and the Lord had re-awakened them to see that this was not right. The teaching, however, took on legalist tendencies later when certain of the Brethren began to make it a rule that no revival brother or sister should take a loan. As one of our informants, himself a revivalist, put it - "the Brethren were expected to live "paid up lives".<sup>33</sup>

The Brethren sincerely believed that as people of God they must live in the present and not worry or try to cater for the future. Taking of loans was like anticipating the future of which no one but God knows anything about. In principle it was taught that whoever chooses to have a loan with a clear conscience will not be necessarily condemned.<sup>34</sup> But in practice, this was not the case. Brethren who had loans were often told that they were not walking in the light.<sup>35</sup>

As the Kufufuka faction grew and added more teachings, its members were expected to live on a day to day basis. Nsibambi in a letter to the Brethren tells us that even workmen were to be paid

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on a daily basis.

c) Dogs

Some Brethren felt re-awakened to put the security of their homes on the Lord and not on dogs. They saw no need of keeping dogs for the sake of security as their security is in the hands of the Lord. Another reason we came across during our study was that dogs tend to scare away visitors who come to homes where they are kept. This, the Brethren felt, is not in the interests of the fellowship as the homes of Christians are no longer open for others to call in at any time. Yet another explanation given - more or less related to the one above - was that certain Brethren were turned away from a doctor's home by dogs. The patient for whom they had gone to seek help subsequently died and from then onward the Brethren felt and taught that it was improper for them to keep dogs in their homes as they were possible causes of death.

Guard dogs were particularly looked upon as unnecessary. This belief was connected to the

Brethren's view of life insurance policies. Since they did not believe in the taking out of life insurance policies or any type of insurance for that matter, dogs were seen as unnecessary. Why should they keep dogs to keep away thieves and other attackers when the Lord is enough and their lives and property at any rate are already insured by the Lord Himself?<sup>39</sup> Again in this instance we were informed that in principle those who could keep dogs with a clear conscience would not be condemned.<sup>40</sup> In practice, however, this was not so.<sup>41</sup>

(d) Dowry

The Brethren belonging to all the groups we have discussed do not believe in dowry. This they refer to in derogatory terms as "Soko ya Nyumbani" meaning the market in the home. The Brethren see this as a practice of the heathen or uncivilised world.<sup>42</sup> They therefore see no need for either receiving or giving dowry. Later on in the teaching of that brand of kufufuka which later became the kupaa movement, even the receiving of

any gift from a son-in-law was seen as evil and should therefore be discouraged.<sup>43</sup> One revivalist who still holds onto the original revival teaching describes this as unnecessary legalism.<sup>44</sup> He explained that he does not ask for any dowry for his daughters, not as an obligation but simply because he does not deem it necessary to do so. His sons-in-law, however, are allowed to offer any type of assistance to his family simply because by marrying his daughters, they have become his sons. He does not, however, ask for this assistance either from his sons-in-law or from his daughters and sons, because they have their own needs and their own lives to live.

Other teachings were perpetuated by these groups but the four we have discussed seem to have been the main features of their teaching. Other rules included the non-membership of the women to the mothers' union, and forbidding men members from becoming lay-readers in their local churches. Another rule concerns tithes. These were to go to the fellowship rather than to the church treasury.



In the middle of all this, there remained a group of Brethren who felt that they could not go along with the extremes and legalistic teachings of the groups mentioned above. This group of people felt that these others were adding unnecessary trimmings to their salvation and this in itself was not proper. They therefore held on to the original revival spirit and teaching. They stayed in and cooperated as much as possible with the official church. The other groups saw them as outcasts and did not want anything to do with them. In fact they could not refer to them as Brethren any more. They may have been re-awakened, but they did not belong to the second re-awakening. They were neither "walking" nor had they "ascended". They were seen to be simply standing. Hence the name Wakusimama.

#### 5.1.4 Wakusimama

This group emerged more clearly after the arbotive reconciliatory meeting held at Shikunga Church in 1972. When the Tembea group separated itself, most of the remaining brethren were seen to

belong to this group. The name 'Wakusimama' - those who stand - was a nickname given to them by members of the other factions.<sup>47</sup> The group, however, replied by saying that if it was true that they were just standing, then they were standing in the Lord and they saw nothing wrong with this. They were not going to be blown about by every wind of doctrine. To this group belonged most of the church leaders and because of this it was viewed as the representative of the official church standpoint.

#### 5.1.5 Calvary Road Crusade

This group is one of the interesting outcomes of the squabbles between the Church and the revival Brethren in Western Kenya. Its members insist that they are not a faction or a separate group.<sup>48</sup> They are not split or separate from the mainstream Anglican Church organisation. This kind of dubious position has made this group a sore thumb, as it were, for both the Revival Brethren and the official Church. Several reasons are given as to why this particular group came up. They themselves

believe that they formed this group because the Church had rejected them.<sup>49</sup> The Church officials on the other hand insist that this group has not been rejected and if there is any rejection at all, it is because its members have refused to abide by the rules laid down by the church.<sup>50</sup> Evidently one of the leading Revival Brethren in Western Kenya had appealed for aid from the United States of America to carry out certain projects in his area. This appeal was also sent to another Christian aid organisation within Kenya. He did this as if he was an official church leader, yet it was done without the knowledge of his Diocesan Bishop (the Diocese of Maseno South). When the matter came to the knowledge of the Bishop and other church leaders in the area, they disciplined him by stopping him from preaching or taking part in the local church activities. This, however, did not stop him from carrying out his intentions.

In the Diocese of Maseno North, reconciliatory measures were being taken to try and iron out the differences between the different groups within the

Revival Fellowship as well as between the Church and the Revival Brethren. At the end of several meetings, however, there were certain Brethren who felt that they could not abide by the resolutions made by the Church. Many of them, as it also happened, belonged to the same faction as the leader mentioned above. They were more or less excommunicated because of what the Church saw as disobedience. Their position in the Diocese of Maseno North appeared very similar to that of their leader and his followers in the Diocese of Maseno South. They therefore got together and after several consultations with one another, they decided to register as a society. This they did in 51 1979.

What then is the nature of this group? This is a question that looms large in the minds of the people. If the registration was done so as to stop the Church officials from interfering with the said plans, then the Church rightly feels these people have ceased being members of the Anglican Church. On the other hand, they have not registered themselves as a church, but as a society! The

other revival Brethren feel that somehow these people are not part of them. One of our informants said rather strongly that revival cannot be registered.<sup>52</sup> The moment one attempts to do this, it stops being revival. Revival, he said, is universal and registering it localises it. The Spirit of God is then hindered from moving as He ought to do.

The registration of this group is seen by the Brethren as a big blunder. Despite stern measures taken against members of Calvary Road Crusade and also despite efforts to reconcile, no success has been registered so far. The group is fairly small in the Diocese of Maseno North. Most of its adherents as well as its founder and leader are in the Diocese of Maseno South. Members from both dioceses, however, meet and have fellowship on a regular basis. From August 15 to 18, 1984, they organised and held a three-day convention of their own at Onjiko Secondary School in Nyanza in the Diocese of Maseno South.<sup>53</sup> As already pointed out, members of this group still regard themselves as

members of both the revival fellowship and the Church of the Province of Kenya. In fact, one of them told us emphatically that they have no intention of creating a denomination of their own as the Anglican Church is their church. They also believe that they are still holding on to the original revival spirit and teaching.

The picture painted in this chapter is one of confusion and apparent tension within the Revival Movement itself as well as within the larger Church. There was therefore a need for the Church hierarchy to evaluate the Movement and the Church's attitude to it. Should the individual members be left to make their own decisions and should the Church offer some guidelines on what was acceptable.

Footnotes

1. F. B. Welbourne & B. Ogot. A Place to feel at home. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1966, p.18
2. Ibid, p.33
3. Diocese of Maseno North. "A Summary of the History of Revival in the Diocese" Miscellaneous Diocesan Files
4. Ogot. op.cit. p.37
5. Ibid
6. Diocese of Maseno North. op.cit., p.4  
See also Ogot op.cit., p.46 ff  
This is also borne out in the interviews with a retired church leader as well as with Mr. Oliang'a. September 1984
7. A. Hastings. A History of African Christianity: 1950-1978. Cambridge, C.U.P., 1979, p.127
8. These are mainly those movements which this study is addressing itself to.
9. Hastings. Ibid
10. D. Gitari. "The Kufufuka Movement (as related to the writer by a faithful member of the movement)", an unpublished paper available in the office of the Archdeacon of Butere at Maseno.
11. S. Nsibambi. In an unpublished letter sent to the Brethren in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, office of the Archdeacon of Butere at Maseno.
12. Gitari. op.cit.
13. J. Church. op.cit., p.256
14. Hastings, op.cit., p.127
15. Diocese of Maseno North, op.cit.

16. Ibid
17. Ibid - Later on, however, the Commission of enquiry referred to in the next chapter - see p.137, said that they had not received evidence of the existence of these rules. They may have been destroyed or if they existed at all, they did not reach Kenya.
18. It is not clear how the Brethren came to this conclusion, except perhaps from the fact that most of life insurance policies mature upon death of the holder and that it is the nominee who gets the benefits.
19. Nsibambi, op.cit.
20. Oliang'a, op.cit.
21. Diocese of Maseno North: Commission of enquiry minutes of meeting held at St. Philip's Bible School on December 13, 1973
22. Information from Rev. Gilbert Amimo, Nairobi. May 1984
23. Diocese of Maseno North: Commission of enquiry. op.cit.
24. Commission of enquiry minutes of meeting held at Christ Church, Kakamega, July 31, 1974. Minute 3.
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. Eldoret at the time of writing is no longer in the Diocese of Nakuru. It is part of a Diocese created by sub-dividing the latter and is in the Diocese of Eldoret.
28. Diocesan Commission minutes of meeting held on December 4, 1973. Minute 5.



29. Teaching probably based on Ephesians 2:4-6
30. Interview with Mr Gumba, Nairobi, December 1984. See also Diocesan Commission, op.cit., minute 3
31. Teaching in Romans that Christians should not owe anybody anything except love
32. Gumba. Interview, December 1984.
33. Gitari. op.cit.
34. Gumba. Interview, and Rev Amimo, Interview, May 1984
35. Nsibambi, op.cit.
36. Gitari. op.cit.
37. Amimo. Interview, May 1984
38. Gitari. op.cit., p.2
39. Ibid
40. Amimo. Interview, May 1984
41. Gitari. op.cit. p.2
42. Nsibambi. op.cit.
43. Gumba. Interview, December 1984
44. A retired church leader. Interview, 1984
45. Amimo. Interview, May 1984
46. Gumba. Interview, 1984
47. Oliang'a. Interview, September 1984
48. Ibid
49. A retired church leader. op.cit.

50. Oliang'a. op.cit.
51. Gumba. op.cit.
52. Oliang'a. op.cit.
53. Ibid
54. Oliang'a. op. cit.

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## CHAPTER VI

### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT AND THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF MASENO NORTH: AN APPRAISAL

It is an accepted fact that the Anglican Church was the 'mother' of the East African Revival Movement. From the Anglican Church, it spilt over to other evangelical churches, notably the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches. Most Anglican communicants in East Africa come into contact with Revival Brethren. The East African Revival Movement, as shown in Chapter 4, started with no intention of moving out of the established church as separatist. Its aim and indeed its whole purpose was to revive the church from within. It could quite conceivably be compared to Martin Luther's reformation which aimed at reforming the existing church and not at creating another. But whereas Luther's reformation failed to be contained within the Roman Catholic Church, the East African Revival Movement succeeded in remaining within the Church. As a result, many clergy became deeply involved in it. But even in these early stages,

the relationship between the church and the Revival Movement was ambiguous. The church leaders had prayed for a revival, but when it came, they were sometimes shocked by some of the things which were taking place in it. The missionaries were worried by some of the excesses evident in the revival meetings. But they were also eager not to quench<sup>1</sup> the spirit. They were undoubtedly alarmed at some<sup>2</sup> aspects of the reality for which they long prayed. This ambiguity has characterised the relationship between the revival movement and the church to this day.

The revival appeared to be a critique of the church. It challenged existing authority and attitudes. The revival especially affirmed the need for African leadership. It was therefore accepted within the existing church with some difficulty. This, however, can be taken as acceptance in the light of the Anglican<sup>3</sup> characteristic of comprehensiveness and tolerance.

For many years, this tolerance seems to have been practiced by both parties. At least for the

first twenty years of its existence in Kenya, the Revival Movement remained firmly contained within<sup>4</sup> the Church.

This was mainly due to the influence of the early revival leaders from Uganda who insisted that the Revivalists should stay within the existing churches. The exception to this was the movement engineered by Ishmael Noo which left the church to form a small church of its own in 1948. This schism was due to some of the excesses which the earlier church leaders feared. Noo taught that true Christian love requires complete sexual freedom. He therefore encouraged cohabitation even among blood relatives. The movement was reportedly small and did not therefore cause a lot of concern.<sup>6</sup> It was rejected by the majority of the Revival Brethren as well as by the Church. Ishmael Noo was one of the local revival leaders.

No spectacular schism was experienced by the church as a result of the Revival Movement until 1957 when the Joremo/Johera controversy led to a major split. The relationship between the Johera

faction and the church was characterised by tension and numerous misunderstandings. Ogot says that the Johera had no intention of breaking away from the church; they simply wanted a reformation within the Anglican Church set up, especially in Western Kenya.<sup>7</sup> Although the majority of Johera were revivalists, there were other factors which led to their breakaway. There were both political and ethnic factors involved. The church's way of handling the matter seemed to make the split inevitable.<sup>8</sup> There was no laid-down machinery for frank discussion. Only by way of letter could the aggrieved parties express themselves to their superiors.<sup>9</sup> The church's leadership itself was indecisive about the matter and was swayed from one side to another at different times.<sup>10</sup> But the question which the situation raised is a relevant one to the situation which arose in the Diocese of Maseno North. This is understandable as the Diocese of Maseno North was created by the division of the original Diocese of Maseno in which all these things had been going on. The question therefore arises as to how all these groups can co-exist

peacefully within the same church. What is the relationship between the Revival and the church? These questions have been asked since the beginning of the revival and it is possibly due to the lack of a proper definition of this relationship that the church and the Brethren have continued to be suspicious of one another.

The Diocese of Maseno North inherited some of these suspicions from the Diocese of Maseno and with the emergence of the different groups already discussed in the previous section, the situation steadily grew worse. The relationship between the Revival Movement and the church is best looked at from three areas, (i) Leadership; (ii) Money; and (iii) Discipline.

#### 6.1 Leadership

From its beginning, the Revival Movement did not elect its leaders, but those with special gifts were soon recognised as leaders. The Revival Brethren organised their own fellowship meetings and conventions led by these gifted men with little or no connection with the official church

machinery. But as the revival leadership became more established, especially in Western Kenya, problems began to arise, both for the Brethren and for the Church.

As explained in a preceding section of this study, there is no defined leadership pattern in the Revival Movement. The revivalists do not consider it crucial to train, ordain or support specific individuals for the ministry. Leaders in the Revival Movement emerge when and if necessary to perform a task and then their leadership ceases.

The emergent leader is only 'for now' when his gift is what the church needs. He is ready to step aside as need calls forward someone else's gift."

This in itself may be a good thing, a plausible attitude, yet it has a built-in potential for causing problems and trouble. This is something which the Revival Movement was to learn later. The idea may have been workable in the initial stages of the fellowship. But human nature did not allow it to flourish for long. This became



one of the sore spots of the Revival Movement. Leadership squabbles erupted, creating factions within the fellowship and killing the spirit in which the revival first started.

For both the Church and the revival Brethren, the question began to arise: From whom should the Brethren take their "orders"? From the revival leaders or from the elected church leaders? Relationships began to be strained when two different answers were given to these questions. The Revival Brethren who had by now begun to see themselves as the true church of Christ saw no reason why they should obey the church leaders. If the fellowship was the true church, then naturally their allegiance, loyalty and obedience would be to its leaders. The church took the opposite view to this. If the revival is in the church as it should be, then the church should have the final say in whatever decisions the Brethren were to make. For Maseno North, the group whose headquarters were at Kambare posed a unique leadership and administrative problem. Kambare is in the Diocese of Maseno South and so was the Revival Brethren's

leader, Musa Aмоke. The Brethren took their "orders" from Aмоke and even the clergy in this area were expected to comply with his decisions.<sup>12</sup>

The two Bishops involved were not quite sure how to handle the situation. Was this group of Brethren to be regarded as belonging to Maseno North or South? The problem is not yet solved as this is the group which eventually registered itself as the Calvary Road Crusade with Musa Aмоke as its leader and quite a number of followers from Maseno North.<sup>13</sup>

How the leadership issue affected the fellowship itself has already been discussed in a preceding section. But we need to add here<sup>14</sup> that leadership squabbles amongst the Brethren themselves only made the problem between them and the church more acute. As more group leaders emerged, the church was forced to deal not with just one but with several leaders.

But even more problematic in this leadership of 'the time' is the lack of skill in the

historical interpretation of the Scripture. The revivalists emphasise and rightly so the ministry of the Word. But, and maybe without their realising it, the tendency to develop a traditional or accepted way of interpretation has become apparent in revival fellowships. There appears therefore an expectation, that whatever Scripture is read will follow the pattern, the-way-we've-always-done-it kind of attitude. With lack of training also, there is a tendency to resort to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. As Miller puts it, "they search for Jesus and His call to repentance within every passage." <sup>14</sup> This in itself could lead to greivous misinterpretation of Scripture and what it is really trying to say. The revivalists ask verses of Scripture to speak to them immediately and in somewhat mysterious fashions. In their desire to have the Bible become real to them, some serious twisting of the Scriptures has been evident. This, as we have already seen, played an important role in dividing the Brethren and in estranging them from the rest of the Church.

The revival Brethren recognise no headquarters and no ordained hierarchy within the fellowship. But what would their attitude be to chosen or elected church officials? This became a problem of particular importance especially in the Anglican Church in which a large number of Revival Brethren was and is still to be found. It should, however, be pointed out that this problem is not universal in the Anglican Church either. In many areas, it is evident that up to 80% of the pastors and clergy are members of the fellowship. But in certain other areas, including the Diocese of Maseno North which is our main point of interest, the problem was acute. In the areas where this is the case, the movement tends to be "on the defensive and on the fringes, with strong tension and almost hostility toward the organised church". This led to situations where some of the Revival Brethren have completely ignored the existing church leadership or have been overly critical of them. They accused church leaders of hypocrisy.

The claim that every 'mulokole' (saved one)

has the capacity and the duty to preach the gospel could imply the movement is anti-clerical. The organised church on its part feared that the Brethren were trying "to establish an authoritative lay ministry".<sup>16</sup> The church officials feared that the Brethren would undermine the people's confidence in their leadership. The sour relationship was made worse in 1973. During this year a Regional Convention was scheduled for August at Maseno. The House of Bishops, however, only accepted this on condition that certain speakers from Uganda and especially Yona Mondo and Canon Matovu did not participate.<sup>17</sup> Revival leaders were offended by this and some of them emphatically said that this was a revival business and they did not see what the Bishops had to do with it. The Archbishop of Kenya replied that the church as a legally registered body must sponsor the convention, otherwise it should not take place. One Revival Fellowship leader, a Mr Zablon Okola, however, went ahead and obtained a licence for the convention from the District Officer at Maseno. At this stage the church leaders felt that they did

not want the wrangling to be prolonged so they agreed to let the convention take place with the original condition that the Ugandans do not participate as speakers. The Brethren seemed to comply with the condition only until the start of the convention when church leaders discovered that the people they objected to had in fact not only come to the convention but they were also scheduled to address the gathering.<sup>18</sup> In the ensuing confusion, the Archbishop was forced to call the police to come and disperse the convention participants. The Brethren decided that they would still have the convention, this time at Eshikunga Church in the Marama Location of Kakamega District.<sup>19</sup> Again the police were called in, to disband the meeting. The relationship between the church leadership and the revival movement leadership was swiftly deteriorating. But the relationship between the warring revival factions was not made any better. The latter was the main reason for the banning of all fellowship meetings in the Diocese of Maseno North towards the end of 1973. The failure of the Maseno Convention also

led to the weakening of the ties between the Revival Brethren in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. For the Diocese of Maseno North, the final result was the appointment of a commission to look into the relationship between the Revival Fellowship Brethren and the Church with the aim of coming up with suggestions on how the problems could be solved and the relationship normalised.

During this period of enquiry, however, the Brethren were very bitter. They felt that the church was tampering with their freedom of worship. They saw no reason why their meetings should be stopped, they therefore continued to meet in homes and sometimes even in church premises. <sup>20</sup> This very action of meeting despite the ban obviously called into question their view of church authority. They, however, still insisted that they belonged to the Anglican Church and yet they would not obey the chosen leaders of this same church.

Often the Church was forced to bring in government officials to make sure that the ban was being enforced. Certain padres, however, seemed to

take this opportunity to excommunicate even their superiors without consultation with the Diocesan Bishop and without following the right procedures. The Archbishop tried to bring these two problems to an end by emphasising that no clergy should discipline another without the Bishop's authority. He advised that civic authorities should be called upon only as a very last resort and in extreme cases. Otherwise Christians should try as much as possible to sort out their own differences. <sup>21</sup> Other leaders in the diocese also saw this continued resort to chiefs and police as a mistake which they <sup>22</sup> tried to rectify. They saw the involvement of civic authority as an admission of the church's failure to put its own house in order.

## 6.2 Money

Money matters have caused numerous problems to the Church of Jesus Christ. The story of Ananias and Saphira in the book of Acts <sup>23</sup> illustrates this peculiar temptation and problem. The Revival Movement with its attitude towards organisation was not to be immune to this. Financial



misunderstandings were to lead to division and hard feelings even amongst the Brethren. "The Lord's Bag" (Mfuko wa Bwana) became the Brethren's main concern and there appeared a marked unwillingness to give to the church. How were the two to be separated or differentiated? The Brethren were members of the Church yet they felt that their financial allegiance was to the fellowship itself rather than to the larger church. This created a problem which heightened the tension and suspicion between the Revival Brethren and the Church officials. The Brethren felt that it was their duty to support their conventions and pay the expenses of their visiting speakers. The Church in general did not allocate money for these events and the Brethren felt that since this was the case why should they give support to other church activities and needs? The problem here is the question of their understanding of what the church is. Like the Donatists of old, the Revivalists felt that they made up the real or true church.

Whenever a need arose, the Brethren would contribute fairly large sums of money. With the

growth of the fellowship the sums of money given became larger. There being no accounting system or even an obligation to explain how the monies thus given were used, the fellowship was bound to run into problems. There was the feeling among the Brethren that accounting for the money would be tantamount to running an organisation rather than a fellowship. The problem of how to handle this money is one that the Brethren had to grapple with and in certain cases, it did not end very happily. They felt reluctant to take home the envelopes given at church for offerings and they also tried to discourage others from doing so. This obviously affected church collections since many of the church members are also revival Brethren.

With the idea of bringing gifts and offerings to the "apostles' feet", the church's collections dwindled even further. The church had no say in the expenditure of such gifts and offerings, yet later it had to be involved in trying to sort out the misunderstanding between the Brethren caused by this money. The Brethren underscored the fact that

giving was necessary if the work of spreading the  
gospel was to be carried out. They felt that it  
was jealousy at their generous spirit which was  
causing the church to criticise and question their  
giving.

### 6.3 Discipline

During this time of attacks and counter-attacks, the church in the Diocese of Maseno North realised that it had become very lax in its discipline. The Brethren on the other hand evolved their own disciplinary code. Brethren who went astray and did not 'repent' were disciplined and excommunicated from the fellowship. This initiative by the Brethren made the church to realise that one of the problems lay in the apparent ignorance of its evangelists and padres on matters of church discipline. Many seemed unaware of the procedure to be followed and they ended up only disciplining those of the church members who became polygamous. They did not seem to know what the church allowed and what was deemed wrong. The Brethren, right from the start of the Revival

Movement, laid great emphasis on the confession of sin. They regarded this not just as a matter between God and the individual, but as a matter for the Brethren to know about. Public confession therefore became the norm. Whereas this practice may not necessarily be a source of division or misunderstanding, it is however a dangerous one. This becomes the case when confession becomes artificial and almost a source of spiritual pride. Because it is expected of the Brethren to share their experiences of God's forgiveness and grace in their lives, it becomes necessary for them to name particular sins they have been forgiven of and been given victory over. The danger here is the display of secret sins as well as a type of competition as to who has been given victory over greater<sup>er</sup> sins. This leads to possible imitation of one another in testimony giving; also exaggeration of sins committed.

This aspect of Revival Fellowship was not quite acceptable to some of the non-African Christians. Some African Christians too found it rather off-putting and therefore withdrew from the

Movement. Confession may be good for the soul, but when it is done, not genuinely, but for the sake of fitting in the group, then it loses meaning and may become a sin in itself. This is a danger which most of the Brethren are unaware of, not because they do not take part in the mistake but rather because they are completely unaware of what it is they are really doing.

The Brethren's view of their group and their attitude to those "outside" was in complete contrast to the official Anglican Church teaching. Comprehensiveness is taught as one of the Church's distinctive features. Nicholls says that the Anglican Church is known for "tolerating<sup>27</sup> the intolerable". This comprehensiveness and the resulting tolerance make church authorities hesitant and careful about discipline. The Revival Brethren manifested a certain degree of impatience with those who failed to attain the accepted standard of holiness. Their perfectionist doctrine of the church would therefore be seen as thoroughly un-Anglican.

Apart from the above aspects, there were other attitudes and teachings which not only strained relationships between the Brethren and the Church but also strained relationships between the Brethren and the society in which they lived.

The East African Revival movement has been referred to as a largely "indigenous African movement".<sup>28</sup> Whereas this is mostly true, there has however been a tendency for the Brethren to regard certain aspects of the African culture as sinful. These aspects are many and varied, but most of them are practices which other Christians now find no fault with and prefer them to be affirmed rather than rejected. Western Kenya<sup>29</sup> is an area where traditional funeral rites are taken very seriously and even sincere Christians see no reason for abolishing some of the customs which are not explicitly contrary to Biblical teaching.<sup>29</sup> The Brethren's complete refusal to compromise on this issue made them near outcasts in their own communities. There are times when the Brethren are reported to have done things in ways that are

completely contrary to accepted cultural norms. One such incident, we are told, is when a group of "saved" sisters buried one of their dead - a thing completely unheard of in their community. <sup>30</sup> Eating food as well as bringing gifts both in money and in kind is widely practiced even by Christians in the area. The Brethren took great exception to this habit and they would not even take a drink of water in the dead person's home.

The giving and receiving of dowry is a thorny issue not just in Western Kenya but in most other African countries. The Brethren's desire to abolish it is well understood, but their uncompromising attitude made open discussion of the issue impossible. They felt that the church <sup>30</sup> was compromising on this issue and this should not be so. In Hastings' words,

the Revival expressed an uncompromising rejection of the sort of assimilation of church and world, of Christianity and African custom which were going on in the church.<sup>31</sup>

## 6.4 RECONCILIATION

### 6.4.1 Attempts

As a result of the misunderstandings discussed above and the desire to normalise relations, the Standing Committee of Synod of the Diocese of Maseno North appointed a commission to "enquire into the relationship between the Revival Fellowship and the Church".<sup>32</sup> The Standing Committee felt that the situation had to be rectified and the appointment of this commission was one of the steps taken towards achieving this end.

We have mentioned in a preceding section that the Bishop had banned all fellowship meetings within the Diocese. The Synod supported this move and recommended that the ban should stand until the commission had submitted its findings. This commission which was made up of eleven members, including the Bishop, was appointed on September 29, 1973.<sup>33</sup> It started its work immediately as the matter of enquiry was quite urgent. The commission met seven times, with the Revival Brethren from



Bungoma, Kambare and Mumias giving evidence and sharing their experiences during the second, third and fourth sessions respectively. At the same time, the commission studied the history of the Revival Fellowship and especially the form it took in Western Kenya in general and the Diocese of Maseno North in particular. This was in a bid to arrive at a fair judgement.

Eventually the commission tabled its findings to the Standing Committee of the Synod on February 16, 1974. In its view there were three areas within which most, if not all, the problems in the Revival Fellowship could be categorised. These areas included leadership, finance and discipline. Findings were tabled and recommendations made for each of these categories. The specific problems which the commission identified in each of these areas and its recommendations are summarised below. The full text is given in Appendix A.

The commission found that the Revival had been received with enthusiasm by both the laity and the clergy of the Diocese. The movement was

accorded freedom and virtual autonomy by the church. This was misguided and the commission felt that the Church should have had some type of control. Despite the Revival Movement's attitude to organisation, the Fellowship had virtually become an organisation with a hierarchical structure of its own. This was the source of leadership squabbles. Leadership squabbles were at the heart of the divisions within the Revival Movement in the Diocese. Ethnic feelings and biases between the Luo and the Luyia Brethren only made the squabbles worse.

In view of the above, the commission recommended that the church should take a firmer control of the Revival Movement. This type of control would invalidate the need for hierarchical structures within the Movement. All fellowship meetings should be under the parish vicar's leadership. Speakers at these meetings should be scrutinised to ensure that only those capable of giving sound Biblical teaching were allowed to speak. Arrangement of larger conventions within the Diocese should be the Bishop's responsibility.

The commission also recommended that more Bible study and prayer meetings should be encouraged. During these, the Biblical leadership qualities should be emphasised.

On money matters, the commission found that there were no problems during the time when collections were supervised under the auspices of the church. This had ceased and innumerable problems had arisen. The problems became worse after the Mombasa Convention of 1964. At this Convention, some Brethren wanted to know how the money which had been set aside for the publication of a book on the Revival Movement history had been spent. There was no adequate explanation as there were no accounting records available. This led to misunderstandings.

The commission therefore recommended that no further collections should be made unless proper records could be made. These records should be entered in the parish and other church account books. Giving should be encouraged without the misguided distinctions between 'mfuko wa Bwana' -

the Lord's bag - and 'mfuko wa Kanisa' - the Church's bag.

Church discipline had become exceptionally lax. But the Revival Movement had developed its own code of conduct with strict discipline for those who did not adhere to the rules. This, however, had given rise to hard feelings between the Brethren, so much so that members of rival factions would not regard each other as brethren. But all of them still claimed to be communicants of the Anglican Church. The commission felt that this was an anomaly. Legalistic tendencies especially in matters of dress, forms of greeting and some cultural and social practices had come up. They had led to the undue stress on the distinction between the 'saved' and the 'unsaved' members of the church.

The commission recommended that the church's doctrine should be made clearly known to church members. Any teaching or preaching by church members must be based on the historic creeds, the Book of Common Prayer and on the thirty-nine

articles of faith. The teaching on salvation by grace alone should be emphasised, but the details of Christian living should be a matter for the individual. Christian tolerance should be practiced by all. Any teaching contrary to that of the Church of the Province of Kenya should be rejected and those responsible disciplined by excommunication.

The commission and subsequently the Standing Committee of Synod felt that if the above recommendations were followed by the churches as well as by the revivalists, there would be reconciliation and peace would be restored within the Diocese.

#### 6.4.2 The Aftermath

After the Synod's acceptance of the recommendations, the Revival Brethren were notified of them. Various discussions were held during which the points were explained to the Brethren. In the end, the majority of them accepted the recommendations and promised to abide by the Church

Council. After all, they themselves had not necessarily been happy with the way things were between them.

Some of those who were not happy with the recommendations decided to let the matter rest, feeling that whatever their individual feelings may be, they would rather keep them to themselves. <sup>35</sup>

There is a feeling among some people in the Diocese that the Brethren only accepted the Synod's word at surface level, but deep down in themselves they still felt like they always had. <sup>36</sup> This can more or less be confirmed by the fact that although these resolutions were tabled and accepted in 1974, by 1978 several parishes still reported that they were still having problems with some Brethren. Several padres <sup>37</sup> seemed to be faced with cases where the Brethren claimed to have returned to the church, yet they did not even attend the parish fellowships. The implication here seems to be that these Brethren were still holding their own little fellowships privately. In 1976 the Bishop did in fact write a warning letter to three members of the Revival Movement telling them that their

secret meetings held in various homes were well known and that unless they 'repented', the church would not hesitate to take stern measures against them, including the use of civil authorities. <sup>38</sup>

But not all accepted the Synod's stand. A group of the Brethren felt that this stand was intended to kill the true spirit of revival. They held the view that since revival was inter-denominational, diocesan rules and regulations could not apply particularly to those of their members who may not be Anglicans themselves.

This group still holds its own small fellowships although they can no longer do so in complete freedom. One of its members explained to us that he as well as others of his group still belong to the church. They still attend church services, although even their own Brethren who decided to comply with church rules do not accept them. He has been giving his offerings to the church but lately he has been requested to stop doing so. The explanation given to him is that in giving to the church, he may force it to do things

for him, for example, bury him upon his death.

This matter of Christian burial seems to be one of great importance to both the church and the Brethren. We were given another example of a lady belonging to one of the Revival groups who, herself, requested that when she died she should not be buried by the church elders who she claimed were not saved. Upon her death, a problem arose as members of her group could not come out openly and claim responsibility. The non-church members of her community did not want to bury her either, claiming that she was not one of them. Eventually this last group compromised by pouring alcohol on her body - thus making her one of them before they buried her.

40

The attempts at normalising the relationships between the church and the Brethren as well as between the Brethren themselves seem to have had limited success only. But as time goes by, the Brethren seem to slowly come to terms with the new conditions under which they have to meet and fellowship. The church recognises that the groups



- especially the Kufufuka and Kupaa groups - exist. But, according to the acting Bishop of the Diocese, they no longer see each other as enemies. In fact they both go for consultation with the Bishop's office as often as necessary.

Footnotes

1. K. Ward. The development of Protestant Christianity in Kenya. 1910-1940 Ph.D Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1976. p.342
2. Ibid
3. See chapter 2 of this work
4. Welbourne. op.cit. p.144
5. Hastings. op.cit. p.127
6. Ibid
7. B. Ogot. op.cit. p.40
8. Ibid
9. Ibid
10. Ibid. Also confirmed by interview with Mr. Oliang'a, September 1984
11. Miller. op.cit. p.25
12. Diocesan file no. DMN/BI/1/97
13. Information from Mr. Oliang'a, op.cit. <sup>11</sup>
14. Miller, op.cit., p.31
15. Ibid
16. See Church. op. cit. Also Miller, op.cit.
17. Amimo. Interview, May 1984
18. Diocesan file no. DMN/BI/1/97
19. Ibid
20. Diocesan file no. DMN/BA/1/64
21. Ibid

22. Acts Chapter 4
23. Diocesan file no. DMN/BA/1/97
24. Ibid
25. Ibid
26. Nicholls. op.cit. p.35
27. Miller. op.cit. p.19
28. Interview with Mr Ouya. Ebusakami, September 1984
29. This incident is reported ~~to~~ have taken place at Ebusakami Sub-location, South Bunyore, Kakamega District
30. Hastings. op.cit., p.57
31. Diocesan file no. DMN/BI/1/97
32. Ibid
33. Ibid
34. Interview with Mr. Makutsa, Maseno, September 1984
35. Ibid
36. Diocesan files, Maseno North, Minute 14/DC/72
37. Ibid
38. Diocesan file no. DMN/BA/1/97
39. Interview with Mr. Oliang'a
40. Interview with Mr. Akuto, Mwiyeke, September 1984
41. Interview with the Rt. Rev. J. Namango, Kakamega, April 1985

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

This study set out to look at the internal movements within the Anglican Diocese of Maseno North. The reasons for the existence of those movements, their nature and their effect on the total life of the Church in the area formed the bulk of the study.

Our survey of these movements and internal divisions has led to the following conclusions:

These movements are offshoots of the East African Revival Movement. In its initial stages, the Revival Movement was not divisive. It was welcomed by many who had prayed for it. But there were problems inherent in the Movement's attitude towards money, organisation, church leadership and institutionalism. Problems which led to the formation of factions within the church in the Diocese were related either directly or indirectly to these attitudes. They became the root causes of the movements and internal divisions.

The Brethren's attitude to money and to accounting was a factor in the creation of the movements. They felt that the money they gave belonged to the Lord and therefore there was no need to account for it. Those in charge were free to spend the money as they saw fit. In due course, this led to accusations and allegations of misappropriation of the funds. These accusations directly led to the formation of both the Kupaa and the Tembea factions, described in Chapter V. The Brethren felt that formal organisation was detrimental to the true spirit of revival. It killed the revival. For this reason, there was as little organisation as possible within the Movement. This was so as to give the Spirit of God a free course in their meetings. The result of this was the tendency to ignore church organisation and concentrate on the smaller revival fellowship instead. Related to this was the Brethren's attitude to institutionalism. They had a general suspicion of institutions, including the church. This gave those involved in the Revival Movement a tendency to ignore the church and to do things in

their own way. The Brethren felt that belonging to the church as an organised institution would limit them and their movement. This attitude of the Brethren caused a rift between members of the Revival Movement and the other members of the Church of the Province of Kenya. The Brethren wanted freedom to move wherever and whenever they felt the need - without necessarily informing their local vicars. The Church interpreted this as anti-clericalism.

Closely connected with the above was the Brethren's attitude to leadership. The Revival Brethren did not put emphasis on trained or ordained leadership. Rather, they believed in the leadership which emerged according to the need. So they appointed their own leaders (as need arose) and in that way seemed to supercede the authority of the church. However, their own procedures of choosing leaders led to accusations and counter-accusations within the Movement itself.

Factions were created because of ethnic feelings and biases among the Brethren. The

movement based at Mumias, for example, broke away from that of Kambare because the Luyia brethren wanted leadership from their own ethnic group and not from the Luo, as was the case.

Our findings do not show any serious theological foundations or basis for these movements. Rather lack of understanding of the Scriptures and the basic principles of the Christian faith led to the emphasis of certain parts of the Scripture while others were ignored. Certain Biblical texts were used out of context to justify the existence of particular groups. But this in itself was only a secondary reason to the mismanagement of funds and the ethnic biases. Evidence points to petty squabbles and personality cults as the root causes of the younger movements.

This study also set out to investigate the nature of these movements. What emerges from the available evidence shows that they were little groupings around certain personalities like Musa Amoke of Calvary Road Crusade. Some of them had their beginnings in Uganda. The Kufufuka movement,

for instance, was somehow closely connected with Canon Matovu, but it became very strong in Western Kenya. These movements had no sound theological foundations but as mentioned above, they based their teaching on specific verses of Scripture which were at times used out of context. Such verses include Colossians 2:6 which talks about walking in the Lord (Tembea); Colossians 3:1 which contains the teaching that Christians are risen with the Lord (Kufufuka) and Ephesians 2:6 which was taken literally by the Kupaa movement. Members of this movement felt that they were already ascended and living in the heavenly places! Members of the various movements became inward looking and tended to withdraw from full and active participation in church activities. They were suspicious of those outside of their particular groups and felt that those who were not with them were against them. These feelings strained relationships between the groups and also between them and the church leadership.

The movements were very strongly against a



number of African cultural practices. They condemned the giving and receiving of dowry, the African wedding ceremonies and funeral rites. These were practices which the Church of the Province of Kenya had not condemned outrightly. This open opposition to these aspects of African culture set them apart from the communities in which they lived. Most members of these groups depicted narrow-mindedness, literalism and legalism.

One major result of these movements was the emergence of factions within the church in the Diocese. Factionalism not only weakened the Revival Movement itself in the area, it also weakened the Church's witness. For those<sup>7</sup> outside the Church, the factions created the picture of a house divided against itself. They doubted the Church's ability to withstand storms within itself. Consequently, they could not take the church and its message seriously. The Church, on the other hand, spent a lot of time trying to sort out these differences and to avert schism. This time and effort were spent at the expense of providing

spiritual nourishment for Christians. Bible study times were lacking and there was inevitably an increase in nominalism in the church. That is, although the church continued to grow numerically, many people were little more than church-goers. There was little teaching to help them understand the Christian faith.

#### Recommendations

For the Church to avoid the kind of situation discussed in this study, certain steps need to be taken and certain attitudes cultivated among its members. The Church should teach its members what the Christian faith is all about. Both the missionary view of outward reform only and the Revival Brethren's exclusiveness are mistaken. It is not really practical to clearly divide congregations into the "saved" and the "unsaved" as the parable of the wheat and tares shows.<sup>1</sup>

There is need for more Bible study sessions to be organised by the Church. These should ensure that there is balanced understanding and

interpretation of the Scriptures. The study sessions should spell out clearly the church's teaching on what the Christian faith is all about. The commission of enquiry into the relationship between the Revival Movement and the Church emphasised this point. But evidence available shows that this recommendation has not been put into practice.

It should be emphasised that the unity of the church is essentially spiritual. Outward forms and practices should not be a source of disunity. Members of the Revival Movement and the factions within it need to be reminded that the conversion experience does not have to be datable in order to be valid. Exact conversion dates, if emphasised beyond reasonable proportions, can be a hinderance to Christian unity, especially when Christians regard each other with reservation. Many genuine Christians are not able to quote exact dates about when they became Christians. The Revival Brethren would doubt those Christians' experience and hence exclude them from fellowship.

The Church authorities should avoid undue dependence on civil authorities to solve their problems. Unless a civil law is being broken, the church should settle her own disputes. This dependence on civil authorities made the various factions to view the church authorities as enemies to be fought and conquered at all costs.

Members of the various Revival groups need to realise that the Spirit of God "can work through both form and freedom"<sup>2</sup>. Organisation and institutions need not be feared if this is understood, and if it is made clear that both help in the smooth running of church affairs.

The growth and existence of other fellowship groups should be encouraged to cater for those Christians who do not feel at home in the Revival type of fellowship. Each group should, however, be taught to understand that the other groups are just as valid as itself and that feelings of suspicion and even hatred are uncalled for. Variety need not be harmful to Christian unity.

Church leadership and authority should not be allowed to become a bottleneck in the growth and maturity of church members. If, as the Diocese of Maseno North has laid down, nothing should be done without the parish vicar's leadership or knowledge, then individual growth and maturity of Christians becomes virtually impossible. Members under such strict control cannot fully develop into their God-given ministries.

Lastly, the Revival Movement started within the Church. Evidence shows that more than 50% of the Anglican Church clergy are members of the Movement. It is therefore ironical that the problems discussed in this study should have reached such proportions. It is clear therefore that the clergy failed to inject the right attitudes into the Revival Movement. They failed to help the Movement to develop more dependable methods of Biblical interpretation. The Revival Movement, particularly in Western Kenya, needs trained leadership to help it develop its many strengths while helping it to overcome its weaknesses.

Footnotes

1. Matthew 13:24-30
2. Miller, op.cit., p.31

APPENDIX ADIOCESE OF MASENO NORTHCommission Appointed to Enquire into the  
Relationship between the Revival Fellowship  
and the Church

Extracts from the Report with Recommendations as  
amended and adopted by Standing Committee of Synod  
on Saturday, 16th February 1974

...The reasons for the need for this Commission are clearly set out in the relevant Minute but, briefly, the immediate cause for urgent action being taken was the breakdown of the Maseno Convention in September, 1973 and subsequent conflict at Shikunga Church, both arising from the divisions amongst the revival brethren themselves and between them and the Church. When appointing the Commission the Standing Committee fully approved the Bishop's temporary closure of all fellowship meetings within the Diocese of Maseno and resolved that this should continue until the Commission had completed its enquiries and reported back to Standing Committee.

The Commission met seven times in all and, at its second, third and fourth sessions, leaders of the Mumias, Bungoma and Kambare groups respectively attended and supplied information. In addition, Canon Saul Abala and Mr. E. Alexander undertook the special task of compiling, from both oral and written sources, a short history of the Revival Movement in the Diocese. Their findings proved of invaluable assistance to the other members of the Commission. Also, individual revival brethren and Church members were interviewed by members of the Commission. A letter by a leading Ugandan revival brother and a recent paper by a Kenya Church leader also gave useful insights into the 'Kufufuka Movement'.

## 2. Findings and Recommendations:

After carefully collating information from the many sources mentioned the Commission found that troubles within the Revival Movement itself and between the Revival Movement and the Church ultimately resolved themselves around three main issues: Leadership, Money and Discipline.



### 3. Leadership: Findings

From the time the Revival Movement first came to Maseno in 1938, it found acceptance with the Anglican Church's leadership and, indeed, many Church leaders were deeply influenced by it and became members of it. However, it may be questioned whether it was wise that the movement was afforded virtual autonomy within the Church. From the beginning its leaders could by-pass normal Church procedures and gain a hearing from the highest authorities. Meanwhile, from being a movement of charismatic and evangelistic fervour it gradually became institutionalised itself, with its own hierarchical structure from the 'Kenya Team' down to the local fellowship...

### 4. Leadership: Recommendations

(i) In the light of the above facts, the Commission can see no alternative but to recommend that the Revival Movement return to the Church which gave birth to it.

(ii) This implies that there should be a return in emphasis to the local fellowship, with no large, central meetings and no superstructure of leadership running parallel to, or contrary to, that of the Church itself.

(iii) Thus the Commission envisages that there should be a meeting for fellowship in each Parish, under the direct supervision of the Vicar of the Parish concerned. This meeting should be held on Saturdays and the Vicar should ensure that sound Bible teaching be an indispensable ingredient in the proceedings.

(iv) Speakers and leaders at this meeting must be keen, practising communicant members of the Church with a current record of regular attendance at Church Services as well as at the Fellowship meeting.

(v) From time to time Conventions should be arranged drawing people together for spiritual refreshment from all over the Diocese and under the supervision of the Bishop.

(vi) It is strongly recommended that the Service of Evening Prayer be re-introduced into the Churches to be conducted at 3.00 or 4.00 p.m. on Sundays.

(vii) Regular preaching in the Churches may be carried out only by persons holding the Bishop's Licence or by invitation with the Bishop's consent. Let people with a known gift of preaching be encouraged to apply for a Licence.

(viii) It is strongly recommended that Vicars introduce regular weekday meetings for Bible Study and Prayer.

(ix) The prayerful reading at this time of Paul's letters to Timothy and Titus is commended to all our Church members, with particular regard being taken of the true characteristics of spiritual leadership found especially in I Timothy 3:1-13 and Titus 1:5-16.

5. Money: Findings

Almost from the beginning of the Revival Movement in Western Kenya money has been collected for special purposes, such as the financing of Conventions, travel of guest speakers, and so on. Whilst these collections were supervised at Maseno and Butere there was, initially, no cause for concern and no need for special licenses as, legally, all was carried out under the auspices of the Anglican Church...

6. Money: Recommendations

(All the following recommendations are made in the light of the fact that The Church of the Province of Kenya has received from the Government of Kenya a licence to collect and administer money with the understanding that the officers of the C.P.K. are responsible for the accounting of such moneys. Therefore no money may be collected without accounting which can be audited by the Church authorities).

(i) In view of this indisputable record of the mishandling of funds, the offerings made to the Lord in good faith by His people, the Commission saw no alternative but to recommend that no further collections should be made under the auspices of the Anglican Church other than those which are entered in Parish and Church Account Books. This applies to gifts both in money and in kind.

(ii) Acknowledging that the Revival movement's emphasis on tithing is Scriptural, the Commission stresses that all church members should be taught to give systematically and generously to God's work. The false distinction between 'mfuko wa Bwana' and 'mfuko wa kanisa' should be obliterated. Christ is the Lord of the Church.

(iii) Parish Councils should be reminded that it is their duty to help in the relief of the poor and both the Bible and the Prayer Book should be the guide in this respect. See James 1:27, 2:15; I Timothy 5:3-10 and the Holy Communion Rubrics on the Offertory.

(iv) In the event of a need arising from a crisis, the Vicar should arrange an on-the-spot collection in consultation with Parish and/or Church Treasurer and Secretary and a careful record kept.

(v) Any collections made for which there is no accounting in the Parish or Church books should be recognized for what they are - illegal - and appropriate action taken.

7. Discipline: Findings

On the whole, the Commission found that Church discipline had been relaxed in recent years, virtually only polygamy being dealt with openly. Contrary to this trend, the Revival Movement has tended to tighten its discipline in certain directions, developing its own code of conduct, with censures on those who do not conform. Thus two members of the rival factions of the Revival Movement may no longer regard each other as brothers in Christ, yet both still remain

communicants of the Anglican Church. Certainly a strongly legalistic tone may be discerned amongst Revivalist groups, with emphasis on correct forms of greetings to be observed, styles of dress to be worn, attitudes to giving and receiving of bride-price, loans and keeping of guard dogs.

In the main, stress on these matters has emanated from Uganda brethren led by Canon Matovu and Mr Yona Mondo, but a tendency amongst all groups has been to highlight the difference between 'saved' and 'unsaved' within the church membership, with consequent criticism of such aspects of church life as the Mothers' Union, church choirs and the use of collection envelopes. 4

#### 8. Discipline: Recommendations

(i) The Commission felt that the time had come for all church members to be reminded that the Church of the Province of Kenya has its own doctrine, order and discipline under the supreme authority of the Bible and that all preaching and teaching within its fellowship should conform to

its formularies, namely the historic creeds of the universal church, the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles.

(ii) In connection with this, so that the Anglican Church's position on many aspects of Church order and Christian living may be more widely understood, it was strongly recommended that a Handbook for Church workers should be published. This should be similar in content to 'Amri na Sheria' (1944) but thoroughly revised and updated, and available for reference to all church members.

(iii) A clear reminder was needed that all believers are saved by grace alone (Ephesians 2:8, 9) and that irresponsible pronouncements on the spiritual standing of others displayed an arrogance contrary to the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ (Mathew 7:1-5), when He said 'Judge not, that you be not judged'.

(iv) It should be clearly taught that to be saved (kuokoka), to be raised from the dead



(kufufuka) and to be seated with Christ in heavenly places (kupaa) are all descriptions of the state of grace in which believers find themselves. They are not stages of spiritual attainment, through which some pass and not others (Ephesians 2:1-10; Colossians 3:1-4 and the Book of Common Prayer, Baptism Services). Nevertheless all believers must use all the means of grace if they are to keep spiritually awake (Ephesians 4:14; Mathew 26:36-46).

(v) It should be clearly understood that there are many details of Christian living that must be left to the individual conscience and upon which Christian Community as a whole has no mandate to pronounce. Bride-price, loans, hair-style, clothing are plainly within this category and personal conviction upon any of them should not be permitted to destroy the unity of the Church. The principle of Christian tolerance on matters non-essential to salvation, as explained in Romans 14, should be the guide here.

(vi) Where an individual or a group of church members present doctrines or promote practises which are not those of the Church of the Province of Kenya or persistently and destructively criticise its members or policies, then disciplinary action should be taken by the Vicar of the Parish. There should be suspension from Holy Communion of the offender(s) in the presence of witnesses pending submission of a report to the Bishop. The suspended have the right of appeal to the Bishop within one month, after which they become excommunicate.

(vii) There should be a general reminder that the excommunicate may not

- (a) participate in Holy Communion
- (b) stand as godparent in Baptism
- (c) be married in church
- (d) have their children baptized
- (e) hold any official position in the church
- (f) be buried with the service of the church.

9. In conclusion, the members of the Commission wish to thank all who gave honest accounts of the facts leading to the present situation and, above all, to express their indebtedness to the many who have prayed for God's guidance in what remains a very heart-searching matter.

APPENDIX B

NAME .....

AGE .....

POSITION .....

1. When did you become a member of the CPK?
2. How did this happen (Your joining of this particular Church.)
3. What do you know of the East Africa Revival Movement?
4. Were you ever involved in its activities?
5. (i) If your answer to Number 4 is 'yes' - please explain some of them.  
  
(ii) If you answer to Number 4 is 'no' - why were you not involved?
6. What do you consider to be <sup>the</sup> the contribution of the East Africa Revival Movement to the CPK?
7. What are some of the results of this movement as evidenced within the Church today?
8. Are you aware of any groupings or movements within the CPK - past or present?
9. Who was involved in the founding of these groups?
10. Do you belong to any of the groups?

11. If so - why?
12. Why in your opinion, did these groups emerge?
13. How has the presence of these groups affected the Church in its fellowship and witness?
14. Why in your view, have the members of these groups opted to stay within the mainstream of CPK?
15. In your view, has the official Church hierarchy handled the existence of these groups effectively and satisfactorily?
16. What is the role of the Mothers' Union in the running of the Church affairs?
17. What type of discipline is given to wayward members of the Church?
18. Has this (discipline) created any ill feelings amongst the members?
19. Do those disciplined accept it ungrudgingly?  
  
(ii) Do they participate in the Church worship etc., after their period of discipline is over?
20. How are leaders of various groups, e.g. Mothers' Union, Youth, etc., chosen in your Church?
21. Is there any evidence of tribalism, sectionalism, nepotism or clanism in the Church hierarchy?
22. If there is, how is it handled by the Church officials?
23. How much time is devoted to Bible study in the Church?

24. Are the Church's constitution and statements of belief clearly taught to everyone in the Church?
25. Please comment briefly on the spiritual state of your Church.

Out of the 100 samples sent out, about 40 were returned.

APPENDIX C

NAME .....

AGE .....

POSITION .....

1. How long have you held your present position in the Church?
2. What is your daily routine? (Visits, counselling, etc.)
3. When did the CPK establish itself in this particular area?
4. What are some of the problems you have had to deal with since you took up your present appointment?
5. How have you dealt with matters of discipline?

(ii) What does discipline involve?

6. What can you say on the unity of your congregation?
7. Are you aware of any groupings or smaller fellowships within your congregation?
8. If so, what are these based on?
9. How do these groups relate to:

(i) each other

(ii) the whole congregation

(iii) the Church authority

10. What percentage of Church time is spent on Bible study and doctrinal teaching?
11. How have members of your congregation accommodated cultural values in the Christian faith?
12. What are some of these cultural values whose observance has proved problematic in the Church?
13. How have you handled these problematic issues?
14. What is the Church's stand on illegitimacy, discipline?

(ii) What type of discipline is offered?

15. How has the problem of polygamy been handled by the Church?
16. Have any of these issues mentioned in 10-14 above been a source of division and misunderstanding in your congregation?

(iii) What else has caused divisions?

17. Has any compromise been reached?

If so, how?

18. Does the problem of tribalism, sectionalism and educational gap exist within the Church?
19. How best can these problems be solved?
20. What role do the women and the youth play in your particular Church organization?

Out of the 50 samples sent out, only about 25 were returned.



APPENDIX DLIST OF RESPONDENTS

1. Mr. Akutu. Tailor, Mwiyeke Shopping Centre, Maseno. Once member of Kutembea movement.
2. Rev. Gilbert Amimo. Vicar, St Stephen's Church, Jogoo Road, Nairobi. Was Parish Vicar at Eshikunga during the difficult period around 1973.
3. Rev. John R Ayanga. Rural Dean, Esiandumba Parish.
4. Mr. Owen Gumba. Principal, CPK Language School, Nairobi. Staunch Revivalist. Did not join any of the factions.
5. Mr. David Kweya. Student, Eregi Teachers' College. Member of the Youth group within the Diocese.
6. Mr. D. Makutsa. Hospital Administrator, Maseno Mission Hospital. Youth leader.
7. Rt. Rev. I. Namango. Assistant Bishop, Diocese of Maseno North.
8. Ms. Sophia Nzaale. Housewife, member of Revival Fellowship, wife to Padre.
9. Mr. Ochami. Church member, Ebusakami, Maseno North.
10. Mr. A. Oliang'a. Retired civil servant. Farmer. Member of Calvary Road Crusade.
11. Mrs. A. Oliang'a. Wife of Mr. Oliang'a. Member of Revival Fellowship. Now member of Calvary Road Crusade.
12. Canon Nelson Omusala. Ebusakami.

13. Rev. Osiru. Archdeacon, Butere Archdeaconry, Diocese of Maseno North.
14. Mr. Ouya. Church leader. Not member of the Revival Movement.
15. Mrs. Ezeri Oywaya. Wife of the late Canon I. Oywaya, one of the founder Revivalists in the Maseno Area. Once accused of being a member of one of the factions.
16. One retired church leader who requested anonymity.

Other informal interviews were done during casual conversations with four other members of the church in the Diocese.

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