



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

ON BEING CHARISMATIC BRETHREN: ROOTS AND SHOOTS OF
PENTECOSTAL EVANGELICALISM IN TANZANIA

by

ALLAN SMITH McKINNON

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies
Department of Theology and Religion
University of Birmingham
December 2017

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

Pentecostal and charismatic expressions of Christian faith among Christian Brethren churches of northern Tanzania are the focus of this study. By tracing the historical developments of the Open Brethren and Pentecostal Movements, the work highlights similarities and distinctives which continue in the present to shape a new rising African Christianity that has been defined as 'pentecostal evangelicalism'. Historical origins in mission endeavour shed light on the indigenous development of these Charismatic Brethren and Pentecostal Evangelicals. This new expression of faith is shown to be well adjusted to an African religious and cultural milieu in the given Tanzanian context. It is not denominationally situated but rather bears the marks of revivalist movements. The study incorporates an analysis of opinions expressed by Tanzanians through use of a Q Method survey and thereby attempts to define 'pentecostal evangelicalism'. The thesis concludes by pointing to *shema* and *shalom* as theological nodes which describe these charismatic Brethren and suggests their understanding may have value beyond the shores of the African continent.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have happened without the prompting and supervision of Allan H. Anderson, Professor of Mission and Pentecostal Studies, to whom I am greatly indebted – he has proven to be a steady guide and thoroughly informed mentor in the whole process. Dr. Wolfgang Vondey, as Director of the Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, has often stimulated and challenged my thinking through personal meetings and post-graduate seminars as we interacted with other CPCS students. Dr. Stephen Jeffares, also of the University of Birmingham, has been a help in learning Q Method.

The staff at Tilsley College, Motherwell, have been most generous in accommodating my studies, not only in regular absences for ('holiday') trips to Birmingham, but in an extended sabbatical ('holiday') in early 2017. Mr Simon Marshall (Principal) and Dr Stephen McQuoid (GLO General Director) have often been an encouragement to me. My inquisitive students cause me to keep on wanting to learn.

Tanzanian brothers and sisters in Christ have been delightful informants to my study. Their lives, relayed in stories, opinions, vibrant faith in Christ and godly living, have been the foundational material for the study – without them this work would never have been possible. Representative of many others, I especially thank Legius Nchimbi (Principal at Berea Bible College), Bernardi Elly (Lecturer at BBC), and George Nkurunziza (Pastor at Ulyankulu).

Finally, I want to pay tribute to my wife, Jacqui, who has truly loved me through 37 years of marriage. Over these last four years of study her selfless support has blessed me. *"There are many virtuous and capable women in the world, but you surpass them all!"* (Proverbs 31.29) Thank you!

I dedicate this work to my six grandchildren: Miriam, Ethan, Keira, Abigail, Elijah and Nathan. May each of you personally experience the joy of knowing the Giver and the gifts of the Spirit. *Shalom!* (Deuteronomy 6.4-9.)

Veni Sancte Spiritus

ABBREVIATIONS

AoG	Assemblies of God
AEE	Africa Evangelistic Enterprises
ATR	African Traditional Religion(s)
BAHN	Brethren Archivists and Historians Network
BBC	Berea Bible College (Moshi)
CAC	Catholic Apostolic Church
CBR	Christian Brethren Review
CIM	China Inland Mission
CfAN	Christ for All Nations
CMML	Christian Missions in Many Lands
CMML(T)	Christian Mission in Many Lands (Tanzania)
CMS	Church Missionary Society
EA	East Africa
EAGT	Evangelical Assemblies of God Tanzania
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania
EMS	Evangelical Mission Society
ESV	English Standard Version
EQ	The Evangelical Quarterly
FA	Factor Array (a technical element of QM)
HGF	Holy Ghost Fathers
INKWO	Injili Kwa Wote (The Gospel for All)
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
KLB	Kanisa la Biblia (Lit. translated, Church of the Bible; Brethren Assembly)
LMS	London Missionary Society
NHS	National Health Service
NIV	New International Version
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
PA	Public Address systems
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PEFA	Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa
PHC	Pentecostal Holiness Church
PHM	Pentecostal Holiness Mission
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union
PQM	Program Q-Method (software package)
QM	'Q' Methodology
RC	Roman Catholic
TAG	Tanzania Assemblies of God
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

		Page
Figure 1.1	Map of Tanzania showing key political regional boundaries and major towns and cities	10
Figure 3.1	Locations of sites of Arab colonial influence in Tanzania	69
Figure 3.2	Missionary Giersch in a rickshaw ca. 1906	80
Figure 3.3	Missionaries at coffee table ca. 1903	80
Figure 3.4	Rest house for Europeans nr. Igale	82
Figure 3.5	Map showing some Swedish Free Mission station locations around Tabora/Shinyanga districts, c. 1960.	89
Figure 3.6	Distribution of southern KLB churches ca. 1997	110
Figure 3.7	Relative locations of Bukoba and outlying KLB church locations	117
Table 5.1	Tanzania Population Pyramid 2018-05-06	172
Table 5.2	Demographic of participants for the Q-Sort exercises	173
Table 5.3	Pro-forma for recording the Q-Sort of participants	175
Table 5.4	Factor Defining Q-Sorts for the Three Study Factors	179
Table 5.5	Factor Correlations for the Three Study Factors	180
Figure 5.6	Modelling Charismatic Brethren on a range of congruence between Brethren and Pentecostal theologies	218
Table 7.1	Steven J. Land's 'Pentecostal Spirituality'	264
Figure 7.2	Framework used to assess alignment of 'pentecostal evangelicalism' with Tanzanian thinking	295
Table 8.1	Goal, Means & Outlook of Tanzanian Charismatic & British Brethren Christianity	298
Figure 8.2	The Rise and Fall Pattern of Jesus-movements (Alan Hirsch)	304

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A	List of statements used in QM
Appendix B	Completed sample Pro-forma for recording Q-Sort
Appendix C	Table of Z Scores arising from Q-Sorts
Appendix D	Factor Array 1 Crib Sheet (Pragmatic Experimentalist Brethren)
Appendix E	Factor Array 2 Crib Sheet (Cautious Brethren)
Appendix F	Factor Array 3 Crib Sheet (Pentecostal Evangelical Brethren)
Appendix G	Combined Factor Array and Defining Q-Sorts
Appendix H	Geographical Comparison of Responses to Q Sort Statements

TABLE OF CONTENTS

On Being Charismatic Brethren: Roots and Shoots of Pentecostal Evangelicalism in Tanzania

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Abbreviations	iii
List of Figures and Tables	iv
List of Appendices	v
Table of Contents	vi
1. Introduction: Setting the Study in its Context	1
1.1 Visiting Brethren Assemblies in Northern Tanzania	1
1.1.1. "Is this really a Brethren Assembly?"	1
1.1.2. "Is this really Tanzania?"	3
1.1.3. The 'show' must go on	4
1.2. Seeking an Explanation of Brethren Assemblies in Northern Tanzania	6
2. Pursuing Primitive Christianity: Two Late Church Movements	11
2.1. Tracing the Ancestry of Christians called "Brethren" and "Pentecostals"	11
2.1.1. Anabaptism – a Common Heritage	13
2.1.2. Pietism and the Puritans – a Shared Passion	15
2.1.3. Evangelicalism – a Mutual Conviction	17
2.2. The Brethren – A Radical Movement of its Day	21
2.2.1. A Spirit-led Eschatological Movement	24
2.2.2. A Diverse Movement in Membership	35
2.2.3. A Missionary Movement in the World	37
2.2.4. An Influential Movement in the Church	40
2.2.4.1. <i>Charismatic Developments Among Brethren</i>	46
2.2.4.2. <i>Charismatic Backlash Among Brethren</i>	50
2.3. The Pentecostals – Growth, Development and Alignments	54
2.3.1. Their Raison d'Être	54
2.3.2. A Shared Biblicism	56
2.3.3. The Signs of the Times	57
2.3.4. Their Spontaneous Expansion	59
2.3.5. Ecclesiology and Practice	61
2.3.6. Other Identifiers...	64
2.4. Pursuing the Final Restoration	66
2.5. Conclusion	67
3. Obeying the Great Commission: Two Late Arrivals in Tanzania	69
3.1. Setting the Historical Context	69
3.2. Earliest Pioneers and their Missions	71
3.3. Here Come the Pentecostals	85
3.4. The East African Revival and the Charismatic Movement in Tanzania	94
3.5. The Brethren Arrive in Tanzania	107
3.5.1. The Germans (South)	109
3.5.2. The British (North)	114
3.5.3. The 'Evangelists'	120
3.5.4. Shaping Influences on Indigenous Expressions	121

3.5.5. Persistent Roots and Shoots	122
3.6. Conclusion	125
4. The Crucible of Context: Tanzanian Cultures, Subcultures and the Undercurrents of African Traditional Religion(s)	127
4.1. Always Learning Culture	127
4.2. Ethnographic Survey	128
4.2.1 The Researcher and his Limitations	128
4.2.2 The Chosen Fields of Study	131
4.2.3 Moshi, Kilimanjaro	133
4.2.3.1 <i>Geographical Location and Background Information</i>	133
4.2.3.2 <i>Ethnic Origins & Neighbours</i>	135
4.2.3.3 <i>Economy</i>	135
4.2.3.4 <i>Religious and Social Background</i>	137
4.2.3.5 <i>The cultural inheritance of Wachagga today</i>	141
4.2.4 Ulyankulu, Tabora	144
4.2.4.1 <i>Geographical Location and Information</i>	144
4.2.4.2 <i>Economy</i>	146
4.2.4.3 <i>Origins of the Watutsi</i>	147
4.2.4.4 <i>Religious background: the Watutsi, God and the Spirits</i>	148
4.2.4.5 <i>Peace and the Request for 'Radhi'</i>	150
4.2.4.6 <i>Musical Interests</i>	152
4.2.4.7 <i>Sickness, Disease and Death</i>	153
4.2.4.8 <i>The cultural inheritance of the Watutsi today</i>	154
4.3. The Cultural Proximity of ATR in Tanzanian Culture	156
4.3.1. A Received Culture	157
4.3.2. A Common Language	159
4.4. Conclusion	161
5. Charismatic Christianity in Brethren Churches: Tanzanian Case Studies	163
5.1. The 'African Christian Problem'	163
5.2. Q Methodology	166
5.2.1. Background	166
5.2.2. Sampling the Concourse and Establishing the Q Set	168
5.2.3. Participant Selection – the P Set	171
5.2.4. Instructions and Procedures	174
5.2.5. Processing the Data	176
5.2.5.1. <i>Factor Arrays</i>	177
5.2.5.2. <i>Interpretation of the Data</i>	180
5.2.5.3. <i>Evaluating the methodology</i>	181
5.3. Observations from the Data	182
5.3.1. Factor Array One - Pragmatic Experimentalists	183
5.3.2. Factor Array Two - Cautious Brethren	185
5.3.3. Factor Array Three - Pentecostal Evangelicals	188
5.4. Excursus: Geographical Locations Reconsidered	190
5.5. Discussion of Observed Responses	195
5.5.1. On Scripture	197
5.5.2. On Ethical Behaviour	201
5.5.3. On Demonology	204
5.5.4. On the Holy Spirit	208
5.5.5. On Miracles	211
5.5.6. On Ecclesiology and Leadership	212
5.5.7. On Other Areas	214
5.5.7.1. <i>Tongues</i>	214
5.5.7.2. <i>Last Days</i>	215

5.5.7.3. <i>Communion</i>	215
5.5.7.4. <i>Worship Styles</i>	216
5.6 Modelling <i>Kanisa la Biblia</i> Respondents	217
5.7. Conclusion	218
6. A Double River of Blessing	221
6.1. Brief Overview of the Study	221
6.2 The Need of Spiritual Power	226
6.3. Sourcing the Power: ATR or Christian Belief?	229
6.4. Weakness and Power: A Struggle for Wholeness	232
6.4.1. Biblical Vocabulary	233
6.4.2. Indicators of weakness	234
6.4.3. Indicators of Power	235
6.4.3. Power for Wholeness	238
6.5. The Role of Mediators and Power Brokers	239
6.6. The Power of the Spoken Word	242
6.7. The Power, Paraphernalia and Social Positioning of the Priests	247
6.8. Still Learning - the Complexity of Theological Expression	251
7. Charismatic Brethren with a Heart for Shalom	255
7.1 Summarising Key Lessons	255
7.1.1. Heartbeat and Desire – a Shared DNA	255
7.1.2. Pentecostal and Evangelical – an Emerging Paradigm	256
7.1.3. Mission and Method – a Mutual Respect	257
7.1.4. Church and Practice – a Common Framework	257
7.1.5. Culture and Religion – a Similar Stance	258
7.1.6. Continuities and Discontinuities – Divided Opinions	259
7.2. Towards a Solution: Pointing Desires and Affections	259
7.2.1 Desiring the Kingdom	260
7.2.2 Aligning the Affections	263
7.3. Understanding the Whole Person	264
7.3.1. The Goal of Living: Uzima (Wholeness)	266
7.3.2. The Means of Tanzanian Living: Nguvu (Power) (Overcoming fear)	271
7.3.3. The ‘Outlook’ in Tanzanian Living: Pragmatism (Does it Deliver?)	273
7.4. Understanding the Pull of Pentecostalism: Signposting Christianity Going Forward	276
<i>a. Empowerment as Foundational</i>	276
<i>b. Creation Restored</i>	277
<i>c. Eschatology Almost Realised</i>	277
<i>d. Practices as Applied in Context</i>	278
7.4.1. The Goal of Pentecostal Mission Matches the Goal of Tanzanian Living	279
7.4.2. The Means of Pentecostal Mission Provides the Means for Tanzanian Living	283
7.4.3. An Outlook Seeking <i>Shalom</i> ...Thick and Thin Practices in Religion	286
7.4.4. Corroboration of Data & Biblical Models Across Continents	290
7.5. <i>Shalom</i> as the Renewed Vision of African Pentecostals	292
7.6. Conclusion	293
8. Concluding remarks: The Need For Charismatic Brethren	296
8.1. Charismatics Movements Still ‘Springing Up’ in Distant Lands	296
8.2. Charismatics Still Necessary in European Deserts	303
8.3. Charismatics Still Necessary for Spirit Movements Worldwide	308
8.4. Conclusion	311
9. Bibliography	317
10. Appendices	347

Appendix A: Q Sort statements (English)	348
Appendix B: Sample Q-Sort Record	349
Appendix C: Z-Scores for Factor Arrays 1, 2 and 3	350
Appendix D: Factor Interpretation Crib Sheet for Factor 1	353
Appendix E: Factor Interpretation Crib Sheet for Factor 2	355
Appendix F: Factor Interpretation Crib Sheet for Factor 3	357
Appendix G: Factor Matrix with an X indicating a Defining Sort and Researcher Comment/Decisions.	359
Appendix H: Geographical Comparison of Responses to Q Sort Statements	361

1. INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE STUDY IN ITS CONTEXT

1.1 Visiting Brethren Assemblies in Northern Tanzania

1.1.1. "Is this really a Brethren Assembly?"

"Haleluya! Haleluya! Haleluya!" shouts Yakobo¹ into the microphone. The PA system booms through the large empty building's open windows into the surrounding community. It's 9.30am on Sunday morning. "Bwana asifiwe! Praise the Lord, Praise the Lord! Aaaa-men!" The 'microphone test' continues as electric guitars and keyboard begin to run out some of the well-known spiritual songs and choruses in a high-volume rendition of Swahili lyrics and musical style. Yakobo was born in [REDACTED] but grew up in [REDACTED] with little education. He came to [REDACTED] to find work in his early twenties and soon settled into the local 'Bible Church' (*Kanisa la Biblia*) - a small Christian Brethren assembly in the southern part of the town. Yakobo, a deacon, is also a worship leader with a great voice and an innate musical talent - he moves effortlessly taking turns between guitars, keyboard and singing. As the believers gather over the next hour, a small but increasing number are present for their weekly act of communion which moves seamlessly into the rest of the service. By 10.30am a crowd is gathered. Then, Yakobo leads them in songs of praise and worship and energetic dancing. The sound is punctuated by exuberant shouts of affirmation of faith, defeat of the Enemy, exaltation of the name of Jesus as well as hand actions to express and reinforce every affirmation, all echoed and imitated by the congregation. A pause along the way gives the congregation a chance to express

¹ A pseudonym.

themselves individually in prayer and praise to God - they lift up their voices audibly and together - one or two pray in tongues. Yakobo brings the time to an end with loud 'amens'. Shortly, the youth choir - 25 strong - take to the front in ministering before the Lord and his people. Brightly coloured uniforms and rehearsed choreography make the singing ring in the hearts of the listeners. Yakobo exhorts the audience to respond with him, "Give praise to the Lord! Thank-you, Jesus! Make a joyful noise to the Lord!" he announces. Some from the audience join the choir in singing and dancing alongside them, some parade around them waving their handkerchiefs in celebration and ululating loudly. The music and drums repeat the melody endlessly and no-one wants the moment to end. Finally, the church reluctantly take to their seats, many sweating and breathing heavily, but smiling and even laughing. Yakobo calls them to prayer, leads while some others pray aloud with him, and then invites the preacher to stand and bring God's Word to his people. The preaching is loud. The message is long. The audience are responsive and attentive. Engaged. The opportunity to respond to the Word of God is announced. Many go forward for prayer for all kinds of reasons: to receive Christ, for help with exams, for health and healing, for help with financial burden, on behalf of others not present, for employment, for marriage problems, etc. The respondents, who raise their hands in prayer and surrender, are surrounded by the pastor and elders who in turn lay hands on them one by one, or stretch out their hands over them. They pray. Fervently. Loudly. Authoritatively. Together. The blessings of Deuteronomy 28 variously punctuate the prayers. The Enemy and his host are rebuked and cast out in the name of Jesus. The Lord is thanked for answered prayer and respondents encouraged to receive their answer by faith. As they return to their places, a final song is sung and closing benediction pronounced as the clock

moves towards 1.00pm. My visiting friend from the UK asks, with a twinkle in his eye, 'Is this really a Brethren assembly?'

1.1.2. "Is this really Tanzania?"

On the other side of the town, an older Brethren missionary couple meet with a much smaller group for their Sunday services. The 'gospel meeting' at this Brethren assembly (*Kanisa la Biblia*) or 'Bible Church' begins at 10.30am and lasts one hour. The Breaking of Bread service follows at 11.45am until 12.15pm. The format of the first service is generally familiar if you are from the UK: opening hymn, prayer, announcements, hymn and choruses, possibly a musical item, followed by preaching for 35-40 mins and a closing prayer. A hymn book is used (*Nyimbo za Wakristo* - Christian Songs) except for the choruses which are well-known to all and often repetitive and so easily retained. A small electronic keyboard now accompanies the singing and occasionally an acoustic guitar. There is no PA system, though it is probably not needed for the small numbers gathering in this converted bungalow. The missionaries reluctantly accept 'the choir' who offer a rendition of a couple of songs before the preaching. The audience remain generally subdued, applaud for the choir, clap to the choruses, and ululate only occasionally, when they can no longer restrain themselves it seems! Dancing as such is absent - Tanzanians may sway gently to the rhythms of the choruses or hymns but the missionaries tend to be static. There is little interaction with the preacher and his style could be described as proper and measured; instructional more than inspirational. Prayer is always led by one individual while others remain silent, affirming their agreement in a stifled 'amen'. Dress codes are more formal, especially among the missionaries and those better-off in the assembly. Once the gospel service is over, a hubbub of noise rises as people greet one

another. Many drift away and a handful remain for the Breaking of Bread. It is a solemn affair, with a dozen chairs around a table bearing the bread and wine. A few hymns. A couple of led prayers - sometimes in English. Distribution of the elements. A short 'word of ministry', prayer and the brief service is over. One might ask, 'Apart from the Swahili language, are we really in Tanzania?'

1.1.3. The 'show' must go on

At the very heart of Tanzania, in rural Tabora, the ancient traces of human slavery, trafficking and associated colonialism, are fading. Tanzanians lead and plant new churches. Church is increasingly important for development and social cohesion, for faith, worship and instruction. Assistance from outside their community or country may be sought by some (from missionaries or others) but the church leaders maintain control and give direction. Godfrey is a strong church leader who after seeing a number of churches planted across Tabora and southern Shinyanga, saw some possible benefits in joining a bigger group of churches. In 1995, having read about *Kanisa la Biblia* (Bible Churches) in other parts of the country - especially in southern Tanzania and Kilimanjaro - he and another leader, who shared a passion to be churches led and directed by what they found in the Bible, agreed to affiliate their churches as Bible Churches. It has not been an easy partnership. The Bible means different things to different Bible Churches. Godfrey's Bible Churches in Tabora have a distinctive charismatic and even pentecostal orientation. The greatest distinctives appear in issues associated with the prevalent spiritual realm that dominates the horizon of Tanzanians. In rural Tabora, the churches still contend with overt witchcraft, sorcery and magic. Superstition and fear rule the lives of many. Manifestations of demonic possession feature in villages, churches and families and the church is often

called to contend with such individuals. Spiritual warfare is seen to be a normal part of a Christian's daily life. This results in church services that do not look like the Bible Churches in Moshi in terms of exuberance and style, but rather specific allocated time is given over to prayer and exorcism, either within the service structure or spontaneously as such manifestations arise; exorcism prayer can even occur sometimes outside of the routine service, if such ministry is requested. As respondents come forward for prayer ministry during or at the end of a service, often their needs are couched in such language: "I am being oppressed", "I have a demon", "My husband has put a spell on me", "I am bewitched", "My home is haunted", etc. It is a feature of these churches that their members experience and testify to relief from such incidences and so perhaps it ought not to be surprising at the levels of joy and excitement they express when they find a new freedom through the Christian message. Tabora Bible Churches not only dance, but they often have 'a show', allowing the congregants to essentially 'show off' their joy, happiness, and celebrations. These 'shows' can last for 10-15 minutes in a service, or for much longer in an open-air meeting, where less formality is required. On these occasions, having been invited to do so by the leader of the service, men, women and children will dance in the most extravagant ways before the Lord. These too, are Bible Churches - part of the Christian Brethren family - but bearing features that are hardly characteristic of 'the family likeness' as some may have defined it.

1.2. Seeking an Explanation of Brethren Assemblies in Northern Tanzania

The study that follows explores the phenomenon of “Charismatic Brethren” in Tanzania.² It seeks to understand and better explain the particular features of some of these churches which suggest that their theology and praxis are more closely aligned with the Pentecostal Movement than with the Brethren Movement in which they nevertheless continue to self-identify. Why uphold a ‘Bible Church identity’ in the face of evidence that clearly demonstrates the likenesses of these churches to Pentecostal churches? Are the distinctives, that in the minds of many set apart these two movements, truly understood and embraced in African contexts? Are such distinctives conditioned only by western historical or theological perspective? Will all Tanzanian ‘Brethren Bible Churches’ (*Kanisa la Biblia*) finally look like “Charismatic Brethren”? What causes or influences lie behind the pentecostal and charismatic expressions of faith so described within *Kanisa la Biblia*? Is this simply a result of the overwhelming growth and dominance of pentecostal and charismatic Christianity on the African continent in the last 30 years? Is it a conscious choice made of theological conviction on the part of *Kanisa la Biblia* leaders and members? Is it merely the imitation of others who surround KLB in the Tanzanian Christian scene? Is it rooted in social conditioning, African religious heritage, post-colonial freedoms, cultural expression, biblical conviction, or perhaps more broadly in a worldview that interprets and applies the Bible in a particular way? How ought Christians to

² Tanzania secured independence from colonial governance from the British in late 1961 and the following year became the Republic of Tanganyika. In 1964 it joined with Zanzibar to form the Socialist Republic of Tanzania. Independence was secured on 9th December 1961. Population in 1967 was cited as 12.3 million; it currently stands at 50 million. See *National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and Office of Chief Government Statistician (OCGS), Zanzibar, 2012; Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Units; Key Findings* (Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania: NBS and OCGS, 2013).

understand the wider work of Jesus Christ today in building his church on earth (Matthew 16:18) in view of 2000 years of church history and the eschatological hope of the final completion of the work (Philippians 1.6)?

Many would recognise the contribution of the Pentecostal Movement and the Brethren Movement in that history; but what do the *Kanisa la Biblia* churches of Tanzania have to contribute to that work, if anything, as 'we wait for the blessed hope - the appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ' (Titus 2.13)?

In chapter two the study will follow lines of enquiry that search out the historical roots of both the Brethren and Pentecostal Movements, tracing their ancestry back through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It will explore the commonalities shared by these two movements and the distinctives that set them apart. We will try to show that despite hostilities that sometimes arose in allegation and accusation between the movements, in reality, there was much that they shared in common, not least, being Spirit-led and charismatically inclined movements. Indeed, cross-fertilisation between the movements was not uncommon historically, particularly in British contexts.

Furthermore, by focusing on the impact of these movements through their mission enterprises in the country of Tanzania, the study will explore in chapter three the features and development of their respective works in evangelism, social engagement and church planting, taking note along the way of the East African revival's effect on the Tanzanian church scene more generally. This exploratory study will help us see both the competition and the complementarity of the two mission movements' *sitz im leben*. Evidence of cross-pollination emerges as new shoots appear that are dusted with features common to both. Turning to the African, and in particular the Tanzanian contexts in which these church

movements have operated for more than 60 years, the fourth chapter of the study will set out an ethnographic survey of the peoples who are resident in the chosen areas of study: Moshi and Tabora. It will offer commentary on the culture profiles of these people while at the same time considering African traditional religious perspectives that continue to be present in their world.

Having set out this background, the study turns in chapter five and six to more directly examine charismatic Christianity as it is given expression in some Brethren churches in northern Tanzania. Taking on board observations made in West Africa at the end of last century, the study explores the concept of 'pentecostal evangelicalism' as an appropriate, specifically defined term, to describe the kind of Christianity that most ably meets the needs and expressions of African Christians today. In chapter five, using an extensive Q Methodology for the study of subjective opinions expressed by congregants of Brethren Churches, the study aims to test the range of opinion that presently exists in regard to theological conviction and praxis within this group. Chapter six sheds light on the fact that Tanzanian Christians prefer to give expression to their faith in ways that resemble 'pentecostal evangelicalism'.

Chapter six offers an extended discussion about power – a subject emerging from the data – and tries to offer explanations for its prominence. Prevalent weakness and a longing for wholeness in these contexts give indications to the researcher of an underlying theology which we try to unpack.

From these wide-ranging materials, the study attempts in chapter seven to offer some reasons why KLB Brethren are often drawn to pentecostal and charismatic convictions and behaviour. By drawing on the historical, missional, sociological and theological

background previously outlined, the signposts and direction of their journey is laid out as a heart for personal well-being, temporally and eternally.

Finally, in chapter eight, the study asks briefly the 'so what?' question. By considering the wider picture of worldwide Christianity in the early 21st century, the study considers what the impact might be of a rampant Global South, characterised by Spirit-empowered Christians, upon the decline of Christian faith in the West. Focusing particularly on western Europe, the study raises more questions about what mission from the Global South to the secular West might look like later in the 21st century; what impact it might have, how it might shape and influence the churches, the society and even broader worldview perspectives. Understanding in detail what that might look like needs to be the focus of further research and enquiry.



Figure 1.1 Map of Tanzania showing key political regional boundaries and major towns and cities

2. PURSUING PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY:³ TWO LATE CHURCH MOVEMENTS

No Christian doctrine, as it is now expressed, can be rightly understood without some knowledge of the history of Christian thought. The Christianity of the present day has not been evolved directly out of the New Testament, but it is the product of gradual assimilation of the original deposit by a long succession of Christian generations.⁴

2.1. Tracing the Ancestry of Christians called “Brethren” and “Pentecostals”

If the sixteenth century was the century of the radical reformers, the Anabaptists; the seventeenth century may be known as the century of the Puritans and later Pietists. If the eighteenth century can be called the century of Evangelicalism,⁵ then the nineteenth century might legitimately bear the title, the Great Missions Century. However, emerging from the ebb and flow of these well-known currents in Christian history came a small but not insignificant movement during the nineteenth century called the Brethren whose members made a disproportionately large contribution not only to the tide of mission enterprise⁶ but also to the course of the evangelical mind in Western Europe and North America. As the twentieth century unfolded – with its noted exponential growth of the

³ To clarify, the term ‘primitive’ is not used in any demeaning way. Rather, its retention is upheld as referring to the earliest, purest and most apostolically faithful understanding of the Christian faith that one might possibly be able to recover from the pages of the New Testament. It is common parlance among restorationists who long to preserve ‘the faith that was once for all delivered to the saints’ (Jude 3). Academics continue to use the term; see, e.g., Geordan Hammond, *John Wesley in America: Restoring Primitive Christianity* (Oxford, England: OUP, 2014).

⁴ H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, quoted in W.H. Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1963), p.77.

⁵ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) p. 149, states, ‘The hundred years or so before the First World War nevertheless deserve to be called the Evangelical century.’

⁶ A. S. McKinnon (2002), *Strengthening Strategy, “Soma” and Structure: A Study of British Brethren Missionary Work in Tanzania, East Africa*, MTh thesis, unpublished. G.E. Tilsley also draws attention to the proportionately high number of Brethren missionaries compared to all other groups working in Central Africa in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century quoting his source as the *World Missionary Atlas, 1925*, in *Dan Crawford of Central Africa* (London: Oliphants, 1929), p. 559.

Christian faith around the world especially in the southern hemisphere – another tide was turning. The phenomenon which rode the tide was another significant movement in the ocean of Christian history – the Pentecostals.

Inasmuch as these two movements are more complex than a single descriptor will permit, I will use the simple nomenclature of the Brethren⁷ and the Pentecostals⁸ as I trace something of their common tributaries, their shared history, their biblical convictions and doctrines, etc. I will also attempt to note features of ‘the partings of the ways’ for these spiritual cousins which recur at various stages along the journey, albeit almost with a reluctance, because before long the attraction and longing for the commonalities that they share seem to draw them closer together again at various seasons resulting in their issuing forth in mighty rivers.

These two movements then – the Brethren and the Pentecostals – have followed similar courses which have criss-crossed on occasions over the last two hundred years with interesting outcomes and developments. I will begin firstly where their forefathers began and quickly outline three centuries of Christian heritage that went before shaping their spiritual DNA, their beliefs and behaviour.

⁷ The Brethren have been variously known as Plymouth Brethren, Christian Brethren, Exclusive Brethren and Open Brethren and in fact each of these major categories has seen multiple schism and name tagging over their 200-year history.

⁸ The Pentecostal movement has been traced to various times pre-dating even the rise of the Brethren and is equally, if not more, disparate in nature. ‘This is not a homogenous movement, for there are literally thousands of different pentecostal denominations...’, notes Allan H. Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth* (New York, OUP, 2013) p. 3. Furthermore, we need to bear in mind the historical development of the movement dubbed ‘Global Pentecostalism’ (Spittler quoted in M. W. Dempster, *et al.*, Eds. *The Globalisation of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (London: Regnum Books International, 1999) p. vii.) which covers proto-Pentecostals, Classic Pentecostals, Charismatic Christianity, Third Wave neo-Pentecostals, Restorationist streams, House church movements, and so forth.

2.1.1. Anabaptism – a Common Heritage

The analysis of history has, in the modern era, helpfully required distinctions to be made in the social, economic, political and religious aspects of a society in order for it to be well understood. The social simplicity of the fifteenth and sixteenth century with a more holistic understanding of life rooted in the medieval influences of the day, sometimes called *corpus christianum* (the conviction that social unity and identity was firmly cemented together in Christendom), was soon eroded by what we now know as the Protestant Reformation and more especially the ‘forgotten’ reformation of the Anabaptists.⁹

Anabaptism grew to be hugely influential across Europe and into Britain bringing with it in later developments political revolution and socio-economic reform as well as its hallmarks of strength and depth of personal religious conviction. Here was a group who, through a return to the Christian Scriptures, began to forge their own biblical doctrines outside of mainstream Roman Catholic and even Protestant Lutheran churches. Leaders like Balthasar Hubmaier (d. 1528) set out their convictions in catechistic style to instruct ‘true believers’ in the faith with the clear and central goal of establishing ‘the true Christian church’. Snyder highlights a range of views the Anabaptists shared with later Evangelical/Protestant groups as he outlines the core of Anabaptism along theological and ecclesiological lines.¹⁰ He notes their convictions about anti-sacramentalism, anti-clericalism, a high view of Scripture and its authority, salvation by grace through faith, etc. Noteworthy for this study are the areas where the Anabaptists placed their emphases in

⁹ S. McQuoid, *Anabaptists: The Forgotten Reformation* (Kilmarnock: Christian Year Publications, 2010).

¹⁰ C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Ontario: Pandora Press, 1995) p.85.

biblical exegesis and spiritual accents: pneumatology, biblicism, eschatology, ecclesiology and The Supper.

Anabaptists had a 'lively pneumatology' which was considered a necessary work of God by the Holy Spirit in the individual hearts of believers. Hubmaier referred to three baptisms that were necessary – baptism of the Spirit, of water and of blood. Baptism of the Spirit is "an inner illumination of our hearts that takes place by the Holy Spirit, through the living Word of God."¹¹ The need of an inward spiritual rebirth was the Spirit's work and the first step in the process of salvation. While Luther was strong on *sola scriptura*, the Anabaptists were of the view that Scripture and Spirit together would inform the believer in illuminating the sacred page. Part of that revelation concerned the prophetic word in relation to the Last Days where God's secrets would be made known through visions, dreams and 'the revelatory power of the Holy Spirit.'¹² Anabaptists believed they were living in the Last Days and they were keen to know and discover what God's timetable might be as foretold in the biblical prophetic books. The immediacy of the end of all time perhaps shaped their ecclesiology which focused on the separatist 'community of saints' – a cornerstone of Anabaptist theology – entered only through baptism, agreement to the ban (excommunication), the (Lord's) Supper and mutual aid. The last two were horizontal expressions of brotherly love for one another – as Christ loved the church and gave himself for her – so they too committed to one another as they awaited his imminent return.

¹¹ Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, p. 87. Baptism of water was the outward sign of God's new covenant work in the believer; the baptism of blood was the commitment to 'follow Christ' even unto death.

¹² Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, p. 90

McQuoid sees the Anabaptist movement 'all over the world' today.

The spiritual children of the Anabaptists are Christians who meet in Pentecostal, Brethren, Baptist and Independent churches. Generally, they are evangelicals who believe in a form of church order that is neither Presbyterian, Lutheran or Anglican. They espouse a non-conformist spirituality where the church is separated from the state and where ritualism gives way to life and vitality.¹³

2.1.2. Pietism and the Puritans – a Shared Passion

Puritans in England and then North America along with Pietists in mainland Europe draw much of their heritage from Anabaptist traditions. They too were characterised by a passionate desire to be always reforming with a view to completing the vital work of the purification of the church. This was to be achieved through careful attention to personal holiness and piety. The Puritans were devoted to the catechistic instruction of the masses in biblical knowledge calling them to obedience in moral purity (e.g. Richard Baxter d. 1691). Demonic influences to the contrary were exorcised by Puritan pastors and the exhortation to receive Christ and know the indwelling, sealing, and comforting Spirit was summed up by Richard Sibbes (d. 1635) as 'entertaining the Spirit' in daily living. George Fox (d. 1691) who is credited with the founding of the Quakers (Society of Friends),¹⁴ an off-shoot of the Puritan movement, believed he had discovered 'true and original Christianity' and was prepared to pay a high cost for spreading his religious beliefs.¹⁵ Fox spoke out against the 'professors' who failed to live out their faith and called his people to a zealous commitment of faith and practice. Quakers refused to make the Bible the final authority in matters of right conduct and orthodoxy. Divine revelation was believed

¹³ McQuoid, *Anabaptists*, p.78

¹⁴ www.history.com/topics/quakers quoting Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Greenwood Press, 1988)

¹⁵ Fox was imprisoned eight times for publicly spreading his beliefs.

to be continually available by the Spirit in their day through personal experience. The Scriptures were instead available to confirm and reinforce what the Spirit was saying to the individual and to the community.¹⁶

The Pietistic Zinzendorf (b. 1700) and the Herrnhut Moravians are well known for their impact upon John and Charles Wesley, but it is instructive to note the features of the separatist Herrnhut community. The previously fractious group were called to unity of mind and purpose by the Count until finally after a week of prayer and fasting on 13th August 1727 'above all, they believed and felt that on them, as on the twelve disciples on the Day of Pentecost, had rested the purifying fire of the Holy Ghost.'¹⁷ Prayer, biblically grounded sermons, Holy Spirit consciousness and daily manual labour became the vital elements of this community's life and missionary zeal was the outflow of that intense commitment to seeking God.

Puritanism and Pietism were part of the dissenting church (later non-conformist) of which the Anabaptists had been the forebears. Their passionate zeal for holiness and missionary impulse, for Holy Spirit experience and for grounded practical Biblicism maintained a line of radicals¹⁸ who, through the centuries, would pass on their passion for a vital and personal encounter with the Divine to the following generations. Stoeffler confirms this train of thought:

¹⁶ George Fox would ask, "You will say Christ saith this, and the apostles say this, but what canst thou say? Art thou a child of Light and hast thou walked in the Light, and what thou speakest is it inwardly from the God?" (From *A Journal* by George Fox, 1872 - public domain. www.strecorsoc.org/gfox/title.html (accessed 26.10.17)).

¹⁷ J. E. Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, (1909) (Reprint by Richard D. McCormack, 2006) (Texas: RDMc Publishing, 2006) p.209.

¹⁸ Etymologically, 'radicals' means those concerned primarily with the roots - in this case, the roots of primitive Christian faith and practice.

In time this religious perspective was transplanted to North America by a substantial number of immigrants from Continental Europe. In its new environment it was merged with the impulses, quite similar in nature, which originated in the earlier Puritan tradition and the Evangelical Revival stemming from the Wesleys. Thus it became an important aspect of the total matrix of religious beliefs, values, understandings, and attitudes in which Protestant church life in America had its origins.¹⁹

The first Great Awakening (1730-60) in North American history under Edwards and Whitefield had its subsequent impact upon the Wesleys which brings us to a significant moment in broader British evangelicalism. The Puritan connection here must not be overlooked – their teaching on assurance of faith and the work of the Spirit (arising out of a Calvinistic tradition) paved the way for a key turning point in the rising tide of British evangelicalism (see Parrat²⁰ and Bebbington²¹).

2.1.3. Evangelicalism – a Mutual Conviction

Bebbington notes²² that the ‘activism of the Evangelical movement sprang from its strong teaching in assurance.’²³ Evangelicalism began to appear in the history of Protestant Christianity from the mid 1730s. Although origins were in Wales, its real growth stemmed from the Oxford²⁴ movement with Whitefield and the Wesleys among the earliest adherents and proponents of the evangel in active dissemination through

¹⁹ F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, Belgium: EJ Brill, 1973) p.6. Allan H. Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth* (London: Oxford University Press, 2013) refers to this as the ‘seamless web of evangelical expectations in history’ which he suggests, ‘means...there is a continuation and growth of ideas that have their origins much earlier.’ p. 13.

²⁰ J. K. Parrat, The Witness of the Holy Spirit: Calvin, the Puritans and St Paul, in *The Evangelical Quarterly* 1969:3 p.161-168.

²¹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, (London, UK: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

²² Bebbington’s description of British Evangelicalism is summed up in four words: *conversionism; activism, biblicism and crucicentrism* (Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. p.3).

²³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.74.

²⁴ W. B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren* (1901) p.8.

(<http://www.schneid9.de/glaube/bruederbewegung/neatby.pdf> (accessed 26.10.17)) sources the Evangelical Revival in Oxford and the beginnings of the Brethren in Trinity, Dublin, 100 years later.

itinerant preaching. The new (18th) century instilled hope of new beginnings, fresh attitudes, new confidence and firm assertiveness.²⁵ The accompanying rapid population growth and resultant economic downturn drove the evangelists, on the back of government funding for the construction of churches, to preach to the people – the urban poor – and to see them won for Christ. The churches also became a network for the distribution of aid to the poor²⁶ but they were soon overwhelmed.

In light of such social crisis the evangelicals were keenly aware of their need of ‘a special effusion of the Holy Spirit’²⁷ in order to meet the demands of the day. News of the Awakenings in America kindled such desire so that prayer for revival and radical calls for reliance upon God alone in all things resounded from evangelical pulpits. European influences also fashioned the minds of the evangelicals with Geneva increasingly idealised as ‘primitive, apostolic Christianity’. A network of like-minded men who were more and more dis-enamoured with the national churches developed sympathies with dissenting churches. Among them was Edward Irving, a Scots minister with a parish in London, whom Bebbington calls ‘the central figure in the ferment of the period’.²⁸

Irving (1792-1834) was tired of logical and scholastic approaches to the Christian faith and longed to experience ‘the full orbit of Christian doctrine’. His preaching and personal charisma appealed to the heart more than the head and he drew heavily upon Puritan preaching styles. Irving was also heavily influenced by Romanticism which was not limited to the literary aspects of that era: ‘This was the movement of taste that stressed, against

²⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.75.

²⁶ Thomas Chalmers, Glasgow was instrumental in modelling this mission strategy around 1815.

²⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.76.

²⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.78.

the mechanism and classicism of Enlightenment, the place of feeling and intuition in human perception, the importance of nature and history for human experience.’²⁹

Irving must be understood as a man who embraced the Romantic concept of ‘natural supernaturalism’ – the ability to discern spiritual significance in the everyday world. Irving was not alone however in embracing these influences - many of his contemporaries in Broad and High Churchmanship were also searching, probing, desirous of empowerment, primitivism, experience and discerning understanding for their own historical context. There was a rising mutual conviction about the need for a fresh move of God across the churches.

Irving and his associates³⁰ threw themselves into prophetic study to discern the times and seasons which resulted in a significant overturning of the prevailing eschatology of the time. The evangelicals had expected that due progress of the spread of the gospel would result in the increasing presence and prosperity of the church in the world as a final stage preparing the way for the coming of Christ to reign. Irving and others began to lose sight of that optimistic worldview. Instead the hope that they found in Scripture was that of a pre-millennial coming for Christ – he would come to inaugurate his millennial reign – a view which threw the spotlight firmly on the imminent second advent of Christ. Adventist millenarianism³¹ became the watchword of the day thus also heightening expectations of the special outpouring of the Spirit in the Last Days immediately prior to

²⁹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.81.

³⁰ Henry Drummond offered his home at Albury as a place to meet for prophetic study. Many came to be influenced by those meetings including two key characters for this study – Edward Irving and John Nelson Darby.

³¹ Although pre-millennialism was on the rise it was by no means consistent in its explanations or its dissemination throughout evangelicalism. Darby’s ‘dispensational’ version of the scheme is addressed later.

Christ's appearing – this was undoubtedly, in the view of many, the age of the Spirit. Irving and company's views attracted increasing numbers of younger men who were prepared to break with the *status quo*. Although not all followed Irving wholesale, many were challenged to re-evaluate their place within the scope of Christendom. One of these young men was a Church of Ireland vicar by the name of John N. Darby.

This historical sketch of significant movements in three centuries prior to the Brethren (16th, 17th and 18th centuries) in the nineteenth century and the Pentecostals in the twentieth century, has offered some links in the chain of people and events that paved the way for these two movements in particular. The common heritage of sixteenth century Anabaptism suggests that one might see in Brethren and Pentecostal movements a culture of radical reformation led by key individuals who long for a return to 'original Christianity' marked by 'a lively pneumatology'. The Anabaptist features of strong commitments to Scripture, attention to the Lord's Supper and the imminence of Christ's return will leave their mark on the movements that follow. The seventeenth century influence will also be recognised in the later movements, particularly in the individual piety and proclamation of key leaders. Men like Irving appear to style themselves on their spiritual forefathers: Puritans, who out of considerable passion for God called people to deeper spiritual experience and sought a Pentecost for their own day; and 'Quakers' ready for the illuminating work of the Spirit to lead them continuously. The importance of Word and Spirit leading the faithful in intensive Bible studies became an Evangelical touchstone but the question of priority in this revelatory dualism would still be debated. The eighteenth century finally saw the outpouring of the Spirit in the Evangelical Revival in

England giving a platform and fresh impetus for the launch of new works of God at the turn of the century.

Despite the suspicions that young Irving had raised in the Evangelical world – with his revolutionary Bible teaching, his spiritual convictions, his personal charisma and provocative preaching – his longing for feeling, experience and ‘full orbbed’ Christianity stirred the hearts and minds of a generation. Less surprising, perhaps, when we recognise that it was a generation drawing on a matrix of common heritage, shared passion and mutual conviction that would propel many of them forward in new but similar directions.

2.2. The Brethren – A Radical Movement of its Day

Like movements that have gone before it in Christian history, the beginning of the Brethren movement is difficult to place exactly. That this movement began in growing opposition with dominant ecclesiastical powers of the day is made clear by Neatby as he quotes Dr. Alexander, the Primate of the Church of Ireland who referred to their early leaders as ‘the marauders of Plymouth’.³²

As early as 1807 near Omagh a group of young men who were zealous itinerant evangelists from a Presbyterian parish without a minister were encouraged by James Buchanan to take bread and wine like the apostles in remembrance of their Lord since they themselves were also preaching like apostles.³³ They agreed and further resolved to

³² Neatby, *History of the Plymouth Brethren*, p.3. The reference suggesting a roving band of hostiles dates to 1889 some sixty years after many would place the beginnings of the Brethren and suggests they were not yet formally recognised by the Churches of the day.

³³ For a summary of Buchanan’s dissenting views on church order and practise, see *The Order to be Observed in a Church of God* (London: Wm. Jones; Dublin: Wm. Carson, 1845) available at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001960496> (accessed 08.02.17). ‘Mr Buchanan...while deemed particular in his views, yet actuated by a particular Catholic feeling toward those who differ from him, he avoids all contention in religious subjects.’ p. 257.

‘not attend to any act of worship unless we saw it clearly ordered and practised by the first churches in the New Testament’.³⁴ Within eight years Buchanan, who was then British Consul in New York, had personal contact with twenty-two similar groups ‘springing up spontaneously’ in Ireland, Scotland, England and America. Dann reports:

The reason evidently lay in the fact that their sole authority was the Bible, believed and obeyed in all simplicity. They met on the first day of each week to remember Christ with bread and wine; they taught and exhorted one another from the scriptures, with prayers, praises, thanksgiving and a collection for the poor. They had their own elders... but refused to regard their leaders as clergy.³⁵

Further grassroots growth of ‘Brethren style’ meetings was reported abroad over the next two decades so that by 1840 news was gathered from Switzerland (Geneva, Vaud and Berne), Canada (Montreal), and British Guyana (Georgetown). In England and Ireland, Anthony Norris Groves reported news of almost two hundred fellowships, and letters from Scotland spoke of thirty to forty groups. The Plymouth group by which they later came to be named began to meet in 1832 under Newton and Wigram and quickly grew in a few years to several hundred persons. For the Brethren, eighteen hundred years of Christian tradition was set aside in favour of getting back to the Book.³⁶

³⁴ R. B. Dann, *The Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Time of Anthony Norris Groves* (Bath, England: Authentic Media, 2004) p.89.

³⁵ Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.89-90.

³⁶ Neatby, *History of the Plymouth Brethren*, p.4. Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.14. Speaking of Groves as a missionary to Baghdad, Dann writes in the preface: ‘When Groves packed his bags and set off for Baghdad, he was determined to leave behind him everything he had known of British Christianity, to forget the accumulated customs of eighteen hundred years. He took with him his Bible and a determination to teach exactly what he found in its pages to the people of the East.’

Brethren historians³⁷ usually trace the more formal developments of the movement to the lives of men like Groves, Parnell, Bellet, Darby, Newton³⁸, Tregelles and Müller. This early history is well attested but Groves emerges as a principal catalyst in the formation and shaping of some intellectual and well-read clergymen who were finally persuaded to leave the 'dead' state churches. Their experiences in taking these radical steps of "Christian Devotedness" (a tract by Groves which laid out many of the principles by which he was persuaded to live in accordance with New Testament practice) often brought them into deep and full experiences of joy in their Christian lives. The fundamental concepts involved complete surrender to Christ in all things underpinned by the evangelical assurance that God does not lie, his Word can be fully trusted and that obedience and conformity with it, and not with some religion of state, would bring the believer into the abundant life that Christ offers. Mary Groves shared her own testimony saying, 'It was not til the Holy Ghost was pleased of his infinite mercy to reveal the love of my heavenly Father in Christ, as existing in himself before all ages, contemplating me with pity and purposing to save me by his grace, and to conform me to the image of him whom my soul loves, that I really had peace or confidence or strength.'³⁹ Her husband shared his views on their freedom to meet and minister as God's people with J.G. Bellet who was so struck by the revelation that he saw it as a deep assurance in his soul. That this was a new depth

³⁷ Neatby, *History of the Plymouth Brethren* (1901); D. J. Beattie, *Brethren: A Story of a Great Recovery* (1940) (Kilmarnock: J. Ritchie, Reprinted 2000); H.H. Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren* (Pickering & Inglis, 1967); R. Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1968); N. T. Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press/Authentic Media, 2003); Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name: The Story of Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2002), for example.

³⁸ Newton had a Quaker family background. Peter L. Embley, *The Origins and Development of the Early Brethren* (Brüderbewegung: Germany, 1966) suggests many disaffected Quakers joined and helped shape the early Brethren after the Beacon controversy of 1835–1837 in which dispute arose over the authority or weight given to the 'inner light' over against 'the scriptures'.

³⁹ Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.24.

of piety and passion for the Lord Christ is seen in Neatby's report of it as 'a flash of supernatural illumination'. The spiritual joy of these embryonic Brethren was clear – Cronin, who later joined Groves in Baghdad as a missionary colleague recounted:

...on [?oh] the blessed seasons with my soul, with John Parnell, William Stokes and others, while removing the furniture aside, and laying the simple table with its bread and wine, on Saturday evenings - seasons of joy never to be forgotten - for surely we had the Master's smile and sanction in the beginning of such a movement as this was!⁴⁰

The radicalism, primitivism, pietism, Biblicism, and millenarianism of these early Brethren draw out for us distinctive lines of identity and features of practice which demonstrate the fact that their charismatic cousins who would later follow them would bear a striking 'family' resemblance in many ways, not least in their exuberant Holy Spirit filled joy.

2.2.1. A Spirit-led Eschatological Movement

It is important to note, stepping back briefly in time, that the Albury Conferences conducted in the Guildford home of Henry Drummond which ran for five years from 1826 - 1830 were a significant pre-cursor to the Brethren movement. The conferences which were attended by a range of leading evangelical churchmen were conducted specifically to grapple with prophetic teaching in Scripture. Noteworthy is the input of Edward Irving to these conferences⁴¹ and the conclusion of the last meeting which heightened the 'expectation in some quarters that at the times of the end the Pentecostal gifts would be

⁴⁰ Neatby, *History of the Plymouth Brethren*, p.14.

⁴¹ F. Roy Coad, *Prophetic Developments with particular reference to the early Brethren Movement. C.B.R.F. Occasional Paper Number 2* (Pinner, Middlesex, 1966) suggests Irving may have been the source of the 'secret rapture' doctrine (as suggested by B.W. Newton's reminiscences). p.17.

restored.’⁴² A prominent voice in propagating these views among his peers (and early Brethren pioneers among them) was the Anglican, Rev. James Haldane Stewart (1776-1854), and his brother Robert, who attended the Albury conferences. James had published an influential tract of international weight exhorting special prayer for a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit.⁴³ The Haldane brothers were committed to the pursuit of Holy Spirit blessing which they felt would accompany the end, however, this was not the ‘pentecostal blessing’ of tongues. The early Brethren investigated that phenomenon which had broken out in Scotland in the 1830s and subsequently dismissed it as inconsistent with their position too.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, many of the early Brethren were keen to allow and to practice the gifts of the Spirit in their church meetings. James Harrington Evans of St John Street Chapel, was initially fearful of such practice thinking he might be ‘identified with Irvingite aberrations’⁴⁵ but as he committed to the Spirit’s leading many gathered around him including the famous George Müller of the Open Brethren. From that same ‘assembly’⁴⁶

⁴² F. Roy Coad, *Prophetic Developments*, p.17-18.

⁴³ James Haldane Stewart, *Thoughts on the Importance of Special Prayer for the General Outpouring of the Holy Spirit*. No. 263. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1821).

⁴⁴ Haldane, *Importance of Special Prayer*, p. 3-4, outlines what was exactly meant by Haldane in seeking this outpouring: “By the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is meant, according to the frequent use of the term in the sacred volume, the gift of a large measure of His Divine influences. As water, when poured out, flows plentifully; so, when God pours out His Spirit, the water of life, grace comes to great abundance. In the first ages of the Church there were various extraordinary powers conferred upon the apostles by the Holy Ghost; such as the gift of tongues and the working of miracles. *But this is not meant; still less is any thing intended of a visionary or enthusiastic nature.* The divine influence desired is the regenerating, renewing, illuminating, strengthening, comforting, and sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, promised in the Scriptures; an abundant measure of the same grace which is now bestowed in some degree upon every child of God.” (italics added).

⁴⁵ L. E. Dixon, *The Pneumatology of John Nelson Darby (1800-1882)* (University Microfilms International Michigan: unpublished PhD, 1985) p.89.

⁴⁶ ‘Assembly’ was the preferred term of the Brethren to describe their gatherings. It was a biblical term in their view – built around Matthew 18:20 and their translation of *ekklesia* – it allowed their ecclesiology to put some distance between them and the doomed national institutional churches, the misconceptions of a building being church, and kept the focus on their being ‘gathered to His name’.

came the renowned and widely respected Brethren teacher Robert Chapman⁴⁷ with whom Müller often consulted in spiritual matters. Consistently, across the movement, worship was conducted under ‘the leading of the Spirit’. One of the distinguishing features of the Brethren⁴⁸ was that in their gatherings there was a dependence upon the leading of the Spirit – this was especially true in the ‘open worship’ approach to the Lord’s Supper. With no recourse to the liturgy, or clergy for the direction of service (the meeting) there was a distinct distaste for planned Bible ministry – the preferred option always being that a brother would be ‘led of the Spirit’ to share ‘what the Lord has laid on his heart’ for that moment. Other Spirit-led worship included extemporary prayer and shared ‘psalms, hymns and spiritual songs’ usually unaccompanied by musical instruments.

As the Brethren movement began to ‘mature’ and gather momentum its initial resemblance to primitive charismatic or Spirit-led expressions of faith which were to feature later in the early Pentecostal Movement were increasingly lost.⁴⁹ By the 1840s their need for organisational structure began to stifle the Spirit’s leading in favour of human controls.

⁴⁷ Chapman’s recollection of his conversion was that his Biblical intellectualism ‘melted under the convicting power of the Holy Spirit.’ Previously pious and to outward appearances spiritual, Chapman’s family responded to news of his conversion with shock and surprise, being of the opinion that he never needed converting! But Chapman himself wrote clearly of a time ‘Long before I was quickened by the Spirit of God...’ (Robert Peterson, *Robert Chapman: A Biography*, 2007, Colorado Springs: Lewis & Roth).

⁴⁸ Allan S. McKinnon, *Strengthening Strategy, “Soma” and Structure: A Study of British Brethren Missionary Work in Tanzania, East Africa*, unpublished MTh Thesis, 2001) ‘Generalisations are always dangerous, however, the Brethren distinctives which marked them out from other denominations (they will almost always deny being a denomination *per se*) are that they maintain local ‘assembly’ autonomy at all times, they have no clergy, they are led by a plurality of male elders, they emphasise the priesthood of all believers, they consider the Lord’s supper central to spiritual life, they practice baptism by immersion, they are strongly evangelical, Bible-believing Christians, and mostly conservative in their theology. Features that are strong in their eschatology and which shape much of their theological deductions are the separate purposes of God for the church and Israel. Dispensational pre-millennialism is a favourite point of view among many, having been promoted widely by Mr JN Darby, one of the earliest leaders.’ p.3.

⁴⁹ These features will be discussed below.

JN Darby, a leading light in the early Brethren movement, later developed a separatist position which isolated many (who later came to be known as Open Brethren) from fellowship with him and the Exclusive Brethren under his leadership.⁵⁰ But even with these divisions Darby was undeterred in his direction; instead, sure that the Brethren had been raised up 'for such a time as this', he convinced himself and others that his understanding of Scripture and its interpretation were 'proper'.⁵¹

Perhaps because he was convinced that the truths of the presence and operations of the Holy Spirit were especially entrusted by God to the Brethren for dissemination, Darby [in his writings] gives the impression that his study of this area of theology was conducted almost solely within the pages of Scripture.⁵²

The emerging (Darbyite) Brethren view of the Holy Spirit emphasises communal experiences of the Spirit over individual experience. The Spirit was evident in a believer's life as the identifying badge for all who in agreement found themselves united around 'the truth'. Agreement with 'sound doctrine' was the evidence of those controlled by the Spirit; it would then be shared, imbibed and mediated over in and by the presence of the Spirit where 'two or three gather in [his] name'.⁵³ The apostles' teaching is therefore only mediated to the church by the Spirit.⁵⁴ For Darby the connection between Word and Spirit was key – the Word could never be understood without the Spirit, and the Spirit was the Enabler for all those who would obey the Word. The resultant 'worship'⁵⁵ in Darby's view

⁵⁰ In *Scottish Brethren, Division and Wholeness, 1838-1916*, Neil Dickson, in *Christian Brethren Review No. 41* (1990), Dickson makes the point that not all Brethren felt associated with one or other of these classical divisions and neither were they fond of being 'made responsible' for their previous errors.

⁵¹ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.97.

⁵² Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.98.

⁵³ Matthew 18:20 became a key verse for the ecclesiology and pneumatology of the Brethren.

⁵⁴ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.138. In fact, for Darby, to maintain that the ministry of apostle continues is "to disown the importance of the presence and power of the Holy Ghost."

⁵⁵ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.152-153. Darby saw the Spirit involved in worship with the believer – 'in order that we may be able to render spiritual worship' and 'as our power of worship, as the inspirer of praise, of confidence, and

would be governed by ‘firstly, the presence of the Holy Spirit (i.e. that He indwells both the individual believer and the body as a whole) and, secondly, the remembrance of Christ’s sacrifice (which is commemorated in the Lord’s Supper).’⁵⁶

Darby’s further elucidation of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit although clearly a primary concern of his theology remains at times confused and perhaps even contradictory.⁵⁷

This personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit is not something for which the believer is to ask, but rather is that which automatically occurs at the moment of his conversion. Such a request for the Spirit is an expression of unbelief as to His personal presence in the Church and in the believer, says Darby.⁵⁸

The ecclesiological orientation of this statement coupled with underlying Calvinistic conviction regarding the personal ‘sealing of the Holy Spirit’ as *the* matter of assurance of salvation sets Darby’s pneumatological orientation. His ecclesiological emphasis on the Holy Spirit as being manifest not in the individual but in the gathered assembly (Mat. 18.20) becomes his touchstone although it seems difficult to align with his separatism when he claims that ‘the Spirit is seen to be present for the unity of the church, as well as the spring of its activity, and indeed of all Christian energy.’⁵⁹

And yet Darby appears open at times to a personal experience of the Spirit; to what one might term a subsequent experience or better, subsequent experiences. He asserts that being indwelt by the Spirit is different from being filled by the Spirit.⁶⁰ He explicitly states ‘that a person can be born again, and not have received the Holy Ghost, is perfectly

of adoration! He further agrees that ‘Not only does the Spirit guide the believers’ worship, but He puts within the believer the feelings (“sentiments”) appropriate to worship.’

⁵⁶ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.150.

⁵⁷ His pneumatology is apparently influenced by Calvin in places who in turn seems to be influenced by Augustine.

⁵⁸ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p. 182.

⁵⁹ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.108.

⁶⁰ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.183.

certain according to the Scriptures.’⁶¹ He further describes the need for the believer to be filled in terms that call to mind an orientation of spiritual desire which is closely aligned to the hunger after the manifest presence of the Spirit of God evident among early Pentecostals.⁶² In the following quotation Darby speaks of being overtaken in some way by the infinite (the Spirit of God) and that this experience is most definitely to be sought. He mentions the power of the Holy Ghost and his desire to seek it more and more albeit he scolds himself for lack of faith. In apparent contradiction to his dispensational cessationist perspective he concludes that all believers – not just those of the apostolic era – ought to be controlled by the Spirit. Darby says:

When in real enjoyment of God, we may for a moment lose sight of the existence of the flesh, because then the soul (which is finite) is filled with that which is infinite. As a ministry of the Spirit which depends upon the believer’s obedience to Ephesians 5.18 (“Do not get drunk with wine, for that is dissipation, but be filled with the Spirit”), the filling of the Spirit is to be sought. ... For my part, I feel enough that it fails me in many respects to acknowledge its reality, and feel the need of seeking it more and more, while deploring my want of faith. The experience of filling is not limited to the apostles or to a special class of Christians: All believers are to be filled (controlled) by the Spirit.⁶³

The telling sentence, ‘I feel enough that it fails me in many respects to acknowledge its reality,’ is perhaps the juncture at which the Brethren have parted company with their charismatic cousins. Darby’s theological reflections and systematic teaching would in due

⁶¹ J. N. Darby, *On the Sealing with the Holy Ghost*, p.262

(<http://www.stempublishing.com/authors/darby/DOCTRINE/31019E.html> (accessed 31.12.14))

⁶² See James J. Glass, *Eschatology: A Clear and Present Danger - A Sure and Certain Hope*, in Keith Warrington (Ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998), p. 126. “If one examines the ecclesiastical soil in which Pentecostalism took root, one will find that Brethrenism provided a major source of ideas and personnel. The result was that some Pentecostals were in fact Brethren who had grafted the baptism and gifts of the spirit onto their Brethrenism. Dispensationalism was therefore theologically generative in early Pentecostalism.”

⁶³ Dixon, *Pneumatology of JND*, p.183.

time leave its mark on the movement in a way that has failed to encourage the 'experience of filling' let alone 'seeking it more and more'.

Neil Dickson asserts that Darby was more of a mystic than a charismatic. Darby was pursuing victory over sin - the world, the flesh and the Devil - perhaps striving for the 'higher-life' that, together with a tendency towards perfectionism, emerged later among some Brethren in Scottish assemblies around the 1860s and 70s.⁶⁴

But the apparent contradictions that marked Darby's pneumatology continued to be debated among the later Brethren teachers creating divided opinion. William Kelly, an early disciple and contemporary of Darby, writes extensively on the subject of the Holy Spirit as well as other doctrines. Kelly states in no uncertain terms regarding the gift of the Holy Spirit:

'It is a subsequent operation; it is an additional separate blessing; it is a privilege founded upon faith already actively working in the heart. So far is it from being true that a man receives the gift of the Holy Ghost the moment that he believes, that it may well be doubted whether there ever was a case since the world began. I do not mean to deny that the gift of the Holy Ghost may be practically on the same occasion, but never in the same moment.'⁶⁵

C. H. Mackintosh, another renowned Brethren writer who was actively engaged in the Irish Evangelical Revival of 1859-60,⁶⁶ shared similar convictions. And yet there is no Brethren writer who overtly leads or acts upon these convictions within the movement. In fact, Jardine, almost a century later, although offering a warm exhortation to think about 'the holy exhilaration which will mark the Spirit's mastery in the assembly' and the

⁶⁴ Neil T.R. Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland, 1838-2000: A Social Study of an Evangelical Movement* (Studies in Evangelical History and Thought) (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), p. 266-7 and p. 74-75.

⁶⁵ W. Kelly, *The New Testament Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (London: Broom and Rouse, 1867), p 161-162.

⁶⁶ James McQuilkin, normally seen as the first-fruits of what is sometimes called the Ulster Revival, was influenced by George Müller's book, *Life of Trust* (New York: Gould and Lincoln, 1861 (2008))

need in his day for *Floods upon the Dry Ground* in experiential terms, seems to lament this failure to act upon the convictions as he comments on the New Testament apostles' filling and empowering in Acts chapter four:

The answer was as wonderful as it was immediate, a physical shaking of the place of assembly, a renewed infilling of the Holy Spirit for all present, and intensified courage in speaking the message and, not least, a lovely and affectionate community-spirit pervading every heart and manifesting collectively and outwardly the grace of God. To some who read these lines this will appear too idealistic and unreal for times such as these in which we live, and yet we claim to follow the pattern.⁶⁷

Jardine finds fault with his Brethren as he presses the point:

The changes that are so marked [from the 1st to the 20th C] can never alter the fact that the Holy Spirit is still present in the Church and His power is as unchanged as Himself. Were He as firmly believed in and yielded to, as is His right, similar fervency of witness and oneness of heart would exist in the assemblies of Christ. What a tragedy that His "right-of-way" should be disputed in either heart or assembly!

Nevertheless, for most Brethren the longing for the Spirit's work in these terms had been lost or covered over for decades by their teachers and their theologians. At the turn of the twentieth century, Samuel Ridout, a Brethren teacher in the North American continent continued to expound the mainline Brethren position on the Holy Spirit. Reiterating Darby, his two priorities remain the communal work of the Spirit's presence where two or three gather in Christ's name and the personal work of the Spirit in sealing the believer with assurance of salvation. In fact, Ridout, takes to task the early pentecostal teaching of 'tarrying' in his addresses.

Now we have seen abundantly that the Spirit has come from heaven once for all; that He comes to every believer, once for all, sealing, baptizing, indwelling. What then are we to tarry for and pray for? not surely for that Spirit whom we already

⁶⁷ Samuel Jardine, *Floods Upon Dry Ground* (Bristol, UK: Precious Seed Publications, 1975), p.63

have. Prayer and waiting always have their place, but not in connection with the gift of the Spirit, nor can this passage be used in the way mentioned.⁶⁸

The earliest pneumatology of the Brethren, then, seems to have been fluctuating in their hearts, minds and practice over the duration of the movement and well into the twentieth century. But Darby also remodelled their eschatology.⁶⁹ Although he draws on some of the prophetic study that the early Brethren and others shared particularly around the imminence of Christ's second coming in a pre-millennial scheme, he stops short of embracing them wholesale. Rather, he tends to re-craft them afresh into his own dispensational framework.⁷⁰ For Darby, a ruined dispensation can never be restored and since 'the Church', in his view, was 'in ruins' (a common theme in his theology), this drove him to conclude that the Spirit's work in the Church Age is now reserved solely for the preparation of key movements in history – explicitly he cites the Protestant Reformation – but implicitly, the Brethren in his own day. In this way, the Spirit operates to preserve 'the true church', to rescue it from the corruption of the world, to sanctify the Bride of Christ as she awaits her soon-coming Saviour. This, for Darby, is the heightened activity of the Spirit in the last days at the end of the Church Age which will result, after the rapture, in God taking up his purposes with Israel again in an earthly millennial reign before the coming of the final age.

⁶⁸ Samuel Ridout, *The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit* (New Jersey: Loizeaux Bros., n.d.) p.126.

⁶⁹ Larry E. Dixon, 'The Importance of JN Darby and the Brethren Movement in the History of Conservative Theology', in *Christian Brethren Review No. 41* (Exeter: Partnership Press, 1990) p.42-55.

⁷⁰ It should be noted that Darby was not the first theologian to divide the history of salvation into dispensations. In fact, after Pierre Poiret, and John Edwards, Isaac Watts of hymn-writing fame, became the immediate predecessor of JND in dispensational approaches to the Scriptures. Darby does remain the father of dispensationalism, however (See Charles C. Ryrie, *Dispensationalism Today* (Chicago IL: Moody Press, 1965) for further background).

As he continued to develop his dispensationalism,⁷¹ the present church age – a mere parenthesis in God’s divine purposes for his people Israel – was divided in his thinking from the age of Christ and the apostles, thus confirming his orientation towards cessationism. Rampant millenarianism at the turn of the nineteenth century reinforced Darby and some of his fellow-Brethren in this eschatological perspective and it was evident to many that the end was nigh. As his eschatology shaped his overall dispensational framework strict divisions of history effectively cut off the expectation of all miraculous manifestations or wonders and confined the sign gifts to another earlier dispensation. David Pawson seems to suggest that Darby’s dispensationalism was a reaction rooted in a deliberate decision to eliminate what he saw as such excesses⁷² - a schema that deliberately cut out such ‘aberrations’.⁷³ Although Darby appears to have been influenced by Irving and the early Catholic Apostolic Church,⁷⁴ and may have drawn on some of their convictions about the rapture to develop his own eschatology, he clearly shunned the manifestations of the Spirit that featured among the Irvingites themselves.

Despite the considerable reserve on the part of many in the Brethren concerning the *charismata*, reports of the outpouring of God’s Spirit in local revival continued to

⁷¹ Later popularised by the American Baptist lawyer, C.I. Scofield.

⁷² David Pawson, *Word and Spirit Together: Uniting Charismatics and Evangelicals* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993) p.51-52.

⁷³ While Pawson’s inference is an attractive explanation for the rise of dispensationalism it should be noted that prominent early Brethren writers like Newton profoundly disagreed with Irving on more central issues of doctrine than the manifestations of the Spirit – namely, in matters relating to the nature of the atonement – which in relation to his views of Christ saw Irving expelled from the Scottish Presbyterian Church. See, for example, B.W. Newton, *Occasional Papers on Scriptural Subjects* (London, Houlston and Wright, 1861).

⁷⁴ There has been several attempts by sympathisers of Darbyism and Dispensationalism to distance themselves and JND from ‘the heretical Irving’. Others as early as S. P. Tregelles (1864) and more recently Dave Macpherson (1973) have attempted to show a closer association between Darby, the Irvingites and one, Margaret Macdonald. Acknowledgement of the influence (direct or otherwise) of these things on Darby’s pre-tribulation pre-millennialism has been conceded from both covenantal and dispensational writers (see *JETS*, Vol. 17.1, p.55-56). F. F. Bruce suggests that millenarian and prophetic doctrine was in the air during the 1820s and 30s and that the eager study of prophecy in that historical context would inevitably hatch the pre-tribulational perspective (*EQ*, Vol. 41.1, 1975, p.58.).

punctuate their history. One example of this revivalism is recorded in Dickson's account of the Brethren in Scotland.⁷⁵ Samuel Blow, a Brethren evangelist from London, preached in Wishaw, Lanarkshire on the back of some significant growth in the Newmains assembly. Reports of 'a marvellous wave of blessing' added a further 150 believers to the number who gathered in the new building.

Griffith Thomas in his survey of pneumatology through church history⁷⁶ reinforces the view that Irvingism⁷⁷ and Brethrenism⁷⁸ are two notable movements in the nineteenth century that call for attention in regard to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁹ Thomas records an anonymous brother as claiming of the Brethren themselves that '...their appreciation of the Holy Spirit's presence, power and guidance is the grand and distinctive character of their theology.'⁸⁰

This 'grand and distinctive character' of the Brethren in Holy Spirit awareness and priority has been noted as it manifested itself in their meetings in an expectancy for the Spirit's leading of brothers to bring a Word of exhortation or teaching; in urging one another to seek the fruit of the Spirit in sanctified lives; in communion being situated in open worship meetings where the Spirit would lead in directing the 'theme' of remembrance; in vocalised responses crying out 'Amen' and 'Hallelujah'; in quiet

⁷⁵ Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000*, p.81.

⁷⁶ Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., 1965) offers seven chapters of 'Historical Interpretation'.

⁷⁷ Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God*, describes Irvingism as 'a curious blend of what may be called Montanism in relation to the Holy Spirit, and Ecclesiasticism in worship and ministry.' p.111.

⁷⁸ Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God*, describes early Brethrenism in eschatological and pneumatological terms: 'At the outset the Coming of the Lord as the present hope of the Church and the presence of the Holy Ghost as the principle of unity of God's people were greatly insisted on.' p.111.

⁷⁹ A third notable movement of the nineteenth century for Griffith Thomas is, by contrast to the other two, Tractarianism. He concludes that 'it is marked by a decided absence of reference to the New Testament conceptions of the Holy Spirit in the individual and in the community.' *The Holy Spirit of God*, p.111.

⁸⁰ Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God*, p.112.

meditation or waiting (tarrying?) upon the Spirit's presence; in collective searching of the Scriptures in 'Bible reading' meetings in order to know the mind of the Spirit on a matter and so forth. The personal leading of the Spirit was taught and expected in particular with regard to world mission when in light of a subjective personal experience of 'the Lord's leading' in an individual's life, the elder brethren would weigh the call and determine whether it was of the Spirit of God.

2.2.2. A Diverse Movement in Membership

Within twenty years of the idealist beginnings of the Brethren movement fissures began to appear in the midst of the rapid expansion and growth of the assemblies across the UK.⁸¹ In 1848 a major division split the movement into the Close (Exclusive) and Open Brethren assemblies.⁸² Before too long additional disagreements especially among the Exclusives resulted in the Darbyite, Kellyite, Cluffite Brethren emerging around 1880. Churches of God (or Needed Truth) seceded from the Open Brethren around 1904 and the Lowe Brethren, Glanton Brethren emerged in the early twentieth century (1908) with Taylorite Brethren departing to practise extreme exclusivism in the 1970s.⁸³

⁸¹ By the early 1920s there were reports of over 7000 assemblies worldwide. Ian Randall, 'Outside the Camp': Brethren Spirituality and Wider Evangelicalism in the 1920s, *Brethren Archive and Historical Network Review*, 2:17-33 (2000) p.23.

⁸² The term Closed is also used. Close may be understood in terms of the tight-knit community of the Exclusives whose ecclesiology and communion were very restrictive for those not in the assemblies. Open Brethren tended to be more independent in ecclesiology and welcoming to other baptised believers in good standing with their local church when it came to the Lord's Supper. Roger N. Shuff, *Searching for the True Church* (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2004) has highlighted that this simplified and dualistic description is not always consistent. The ditty, 'In a close and up a stair, you're bound to find the Brethren there', may have a bearing or it may simply be a corruption of language.

⁸³ See <http://www.discourses.org.uk/History/dendrogramBig.pdf> (accessed 31.12.14) for a useful resource outlining some detail as a complex 'schismatic'. This diagram also highlights that as the movement passed its historical peak of the mid- twentieth century some of these smaller schismatic groups came together again in the 1970s, albeit they have in more recent times parted company again.

The strength of opinion expressed and taught in local church fellowships by elders who were responsible 'to the Lord' and not to a denominational board may be indicative of a weakness of Brethren ecclesiology which allowed for such widespread fragmentation.⁸⁴ Their lay-led churches were fiercely independent and their leaders, bolstered by an ecclesiology which, although led by a plurality of elders, was often dependent on a 'leading brother'. Family ties and small communities meant influential personalities could shape and direct the assembly for good or ill. However, such independence and lay-led eldership meant that there was scope for examining other doctrines being perpetuated in the wider Christian world. As Randall states, 'Brethren found their experiences inextricably entwined with those of other movements shaping evangelicalism.'⁸⁵

One of the significant movements shaping evangelicalism at the turn of the twentieth century was the apparent rise of interest in pneumatology, driven by revivalism and the 'second work of grace' of the holiness movement. In the same way that the Brethren had mirrored patterns of evangelicalism in the nineteenth century, some among them were prone to look beyond their own boundaries to the news of revivalism from around the world. From the revivals of North America to the Holiness movement of the Keswick Convention, the Open Brethren were particularly engaged, albeit to differing degrees, in wider Christian circles.

These matters provoked a mixed reaction among the Open Brethren with some seeing affiliations with the denominations as dallying with dangerous doctrines. The 'deeper life'

⁸⁴ The Open Brethren have been criticised by the Exclusive Brethren for having such a weak ecclesiology. e.g. see, W.R. Dronsfield, *The Brethren since 1870* <http://www.brethrenonline.org/articles/1870HIS.HTM> (accessed 7.1.15)

⁸⁵ Randall, 'Outside the Camp', p.17.

or 'higher life' of Keswick Convention still held attraction for some of the Brethren with their penchant for revivalism and intimate experience of devotedness to Christ but biblical simplicity demanded that care must be given to ecclesiastical practice as well as to personal piety.⁸⁶ Over such matters many came to part company with the Brethren assemblies for fear that tradition in assembly practice and exclusivism in regard to assembly fellowship as opposed to openly fellowshiping with other Christians would bar the way to re-discovering revival, renewal or personal spiritual vitality.⁸⁷

2.2.3. A Missionary Movement in the World

Through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the preserve of rampant millenarianism, the presence, power and guidance of the Holy Spirit, and the prospect of an imminent Rapture drove the Brethren movement to the ends of the earth with the gospel, in order to 'hasten the coming of the Lord'.⁸⁸ Their pioneer missionary, Anthony N. Groves, was the first among many who dedicated their lives to taking the gospel to the world: 'I consider the *testimony* of Jesus to be published through every land, before the Bridegroom comes; this makes my heart feel an interest in heathens, that we may hasten the coming of the Lord.'⁸⁹ Darby's pessimism by contrast is heard in his personal expression of the urgency of mission when he shares the conviction that 'the certainty of judgement soon to fall upon the earth provides a powerful motive for missionary exertion.'⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *The Believer's Magazine* at one time derided the Keswick Convention meetings as being 'promiscuous gatherings' - a slanderous adjective meant to highlight their view of the 'unchaste' inter-denominational nature of the meetings, Randall, 'Outside the Camp', p.19.

⁸⁷ Randall, 'Outside the Camp', p.18.

⁸⁸ Matthew 24.14

⁸⁹ Dixon, Importance of Darby, in *CBR No. 41*, p.49.

⁹⁰ Dixon, Importance of Darby, in *CBR No. 41*, p.50

Groves, the father of faith missions, was utterly sold out for Christ as expressed in his famous tract *Christian Devotedness* and became instrumental in the development of the Brethren movement from the outset. He left Britain with 'his Bible and a determination to teach exactly what he found in its pages to the people of the East.'⁹¹ His missionary zeal took him to Bagdad and India. Here Groves in 1833 became acquainted with the young John Arulappan who had been raised in a mission school near Tinnevelley and became an itinerant translator and assistant to Groves. Soon he was learning the Brethren ways of taking and administering communion without ordained clergy. 'Arulappan soaked up all the teaching and encouragement that Groves could give him.'⁹² For twenty years Groves would be his mentor and remained his father in the faith.

Anderson gives a full account of Arulappan's ministry in the 'Christian Village' (Christianpettah) based on the earlier work of Brethren writer G.H. Lang and others. Dann also recalls Arulappan in his biography of Groves, giving space to the matters which fascinated and yet were simultaneously disagreeable to Lang – especially in relation to *charismata* and revivalist characteristics in Arulappan's ministry. In 1860 despite having seen great fruit for his 10 years of labour within the Brethren fold at Christianpettah (having gone out on his own to plant new assemblies⁹³) Arulappan heard of revival in England and America and longed to bring such blessing to his own people. Dann picks up the report of Arulappan himself, the disciple of Groves, as to the outcome:

...the Holy Ghost was poured out openly and wonderfully. Some prophesied and rebuked the people. Some beat themselves on their breasts severely and trembled

⁹¹ Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.14.

⁹² Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.240.

⁹³ Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.253, simply reports, 'This was something of real significance,' as his commentary on news of 30,000 converts in Arulappan's district!

and fell down through the shaking of their bodies and souls. They wept bitterly and confessed their sins. I was obliged to pray without ceasing for consolation of everyone. I thought it strange to see them without their senses. They saw some signs in the air. They were much pleased to praise God... Some of those who were not baptised had no peace until we baptised them; so about twenty souls were baptised after they received the Holy Ghost. They were very anxious to enjoy the Lord's Supper – every day if they could have it. About one hundred souls, including children, all have rice in one place as one household.

...some of our people praised the Lord by unknown tongues with their interpretations.

Some missionaries admit the truth of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.⁹⁴

As Anderson rightly remarks, 'This is particularly interesting because the Brethren movement has largely been opposed to pentecostal manifestations such as those described...'⁹⁵ But other remarkable happenings here stood in contradiction to 'the Brethren way'. Women in ministry leadership were never a feature of the Brethren movement albeit women seem to have participated in public worship at the outset by prayer and prophecy.⁹⁶ Lang seems surprised that it should emerge in such a place as India where women were largely suppressed but Dann confirms that 'Women took a prominent part in many places, leading souls to faith in Jesus through personal testimony and exhortation.'⁹⁷ Furthermore, the ecclesiology of Arulappan had to be rethought from Brethren ways. The sheer numbers of people coming to faith resulted in a Christian village over against the Brethren's expectant view that the few would be called out and faithful. Small and almost covert meetings of those who chose to break bread in the Lord's name

⁹⁴ Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.358.

⁹⁵ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, p.19.

⁹⁶ Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000*, p.74-77, takes note of the counter-cultural prominence of woman in preaching in some Brethren assemblies in Scotland as well as the defences offered for such practice. He traces its roots to the Irish Revival of 1859.

⁹⁷ Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.359.

without clergy were suddenly in this new context faced with huge numbers of people in large church congregations and communities. This no doubt affected their ecclesiological practice. Nevertheless, while women had no formal role in local church leadership they became significant players in south Indian ministry and in the cross-cultural missionary endeavour of the Brethren generally.

2.2.4. An Influential Movement in the Church

The appetite for a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the deeper life, or any other such pursuit, was and is often a contentious matter within the Brethren. The possibility of a subsequent experience of the Spirit was therefore overtly challenged in *The Believer's Magazine* as early as 1919.⁹⁸

Nevertheless, for some the appetite for God resulted in pentecostal experiences that led them ultimately to part company with those who had instructed and grounded them in the Faith and in the Word - the Brethren themselves. Much of this blossoming in the new life of the Spirit happened in the late nineteenth century and also early twentieth century - some of it prior to Azusa Street revival often cited as the beginning of the Pentecostal Movement.

Thomas Myerscough was brought up Methodist but was 'rumoured to be from the Brethren'⁹⁹ which was perhaps suggested by his powerful ability in Bible knowledge and teaching. He was instrumental in leading a Bible study group attended by believers from

⁹⁸ Randall, 'Outside the Camp', p.19. The standard view of the Brethren was that the believer was sanctified at conversion (albeit with progressive realisation of this fact) and so there was no subsequent work to be done.

⁹⁹ William Kilbourne Kay, *A History of British Assemblies of God* (Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Autumn 1989) available at <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/13082/1/346415.pdf> (accessed 7.1.15) p.71.

a range of church backgrounds who later became the Preston Evangelistic Fellowship.¹⁰⁰ David Garrard confirms the significant impact of the Open Brethren on the nascent British Pentecostal movement in the UK when in a footnote he recalls that John Carter wrote to him to state ‘that Thomas Myerscough came into the Pentecostal experience from a Plymouth Brethren assembly’. This significance of Myerscough’s subsequent influence does not pass Garrard by as he continues, ‘[W.F.P] Burton’s ordination certificate from the “Preston Christian Assembly” is dated 18/6/1911 and is signed by Thomas Myerscough (Overseer).’¹⁰¹

Others from among the Brethren were moving in these circles, among whom was Smith Wigglesworth, a close friend of Myerscough. Wigglesworth, an apprentice plumber to a godly Brethren man, openly acknowledged his debt to the Brethren when he said, “I had the grounding in Bible teaching among the Plymouth Brethren.”¹⁰² Myerscough and Wigglesworth were strongly influenced in their day by the revival that had broken out in Sunderland at the parish of Rev. A. A. Boddy.¹⁰³ This was to prove for them a crossroads in their own individual journeys of discipleship. Both received the baptism of the Spirit under Boddy and his wife at the laying on of hands.¹⁰⁴ It seemed that for them despite the valuable grounding and sway of the Brethren something was yet wanting in their theology

¹⁰⁰ Significant players in the Pentecostal movement were among this group where the pursuit of a detailed knowledge of the Word of God and the intimacy of the life of the Spirit were priorities. Among them were W.F.P. Burton, James Salter, Edmund Hodgson, Smith Wigglesworth, and George & Stephen Jeffries.

¹⁰¹ David J. Garrard, William F.P. Burton and the Birth of Congolese Pentecostalism (chapter 3), in Martin Lindhardt (Ed.), *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publications, 2015).

¹⁰² Stanley Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth, Apostle of Faith* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1948 (2010)), p.119.

¹⁰³ Glass notes that the beginnings of British Pentecostalism, like those of earlier Brethrenism, are also rooted in the Anglican Church - Pentecostalism with AA Boddy, and Brethrenism with JN Darby. See Glass, ‘Eschatology’, in Warrington, *Pentecostal Perspectives*, p. 126, fn 6.

¹⁰⁴ Smith Wigglesworth was baptised in the Spirit in Sunderland in 1907 and Thomas Myerscough in 1909 at the Convention.

and practice nevertheless their desires for the pursuit of a deeper spiritual reality impacted upon many others around them charging them with a similar intensity of appetite for such experiences.

Another Anglican clergyman, W.H. Griffiths Thomas, was also clearly influenced by the Brethren.¹⁰⁵ He was invited to deliver the Stone Lectures in 1913 at Princeton on the subject of the Holy Spirit which were subsequently published.¹⁰⁶ As an outside observer, albeit a sympathetic one, he highlighted the fact that the Plymouth Brethren were ‘a movement to unite all real Christians...in an endeavour to ‘keep the unity of the Spirit.’”¹⁰⁷ His further observation is striking. Quoting ‘one of their number’ he recalls, ‘their appreciation of the Holy Spirit’s presence, power and guidance is the grand and distinctive character of their theology.’¹⁰⁸

In view of the brevity of this examination of significant defectors from the Brethren movement we move on towards those pursuing a more intimate Holy Spirit experience in Christian life. One pioneer whose subsequent influence on Pentecostalism in the UK has been of particular significance was John Nelson Parr (1886-1976).¹⁰⁹ He came to faith in Christ at 18 years of age; saved from a home background where alcohol was a serious problem. He was from the beginning of his Christian life marked by evangelistic zeal. Parr was nevertheless put out of fellowship from a Holiness Church in Manchester because he was openly seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the accompanying sign of tongues.

¹⁰⁵ J. Gordon Melton and Martin Baumann, Eds., *Religions of the World* (California, US: ABC-CLIO, 2010), Christian Brethren, p.608.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God*, p.111.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God*, p.112.

¹⁰⁹ An autobiography of J. Nelson Parr is available at <http://www.jecoops1.webspace.virginmedia.com/jnp.htm> (accessed 31.12.14).

He found fellowship in a small Brethren assembly in Manchester where some of their members had similar desires.¹¹⁰ On 25th December 1909 as they met for worship Parr was filled so that all evening and into the early hours of the morning he spoke in tongues and interpreted. The resulting mini-revival only lasted four years since the small Brethren assembly soon reverted to its old ways and its membership dropped away to only 15 members by 1907. But under Parr's guidance and teaching it grew again to become, by 1923, Manchester Pentecostal Church, which he pastored for 37 years. In 1924, Parr was instrumental in the formation of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland which five years later had 200 assemblies in fellowship.

Myerscough was tasked with the oversight of the Pentecostal Missionary Union training school in Preston after it moved from London. Moving in similar circles he became a significant assistance and mentor to Parr who posthumously acknowledged 'help received from our departed brother' who had been to him 'an older Christian and far more experienced than myself' who had offered him 'his whole-hearted support'.¹¹¹ The PMU training school was also the formal training ground for others like the Jeffreys brothers; George went on to launch the Elim Pentecostal Church movement while Stephen went on to be the pioneer evangelist with the Assemblies of God. This Brethren-infused grounding from which these two giant Pentecostal movements emerged resulted in key characteristics in ecclesiology, nomenclature, the breaking of bread, open worship, the pursuit of holiness, premillennialism and rapture theology being carried forward - as

¹¹⁰ Randall, 'Outside the Camp', p.30. 'Nelson Parr, who became General Secretary of the Assemblies of God, joined Stanley Hall, Manchester, a small Brethren cause, in 1917.' See also citation noted there: David Brady and Fred J Evans, *Christian Brethren in Manchester and District: A History* (London: Heritage Publications, 1997), pp.134-6.

¹¹¹ An autobiography of J. Nelson Parr at <http://www.jecoops1.webspace.virginmedia.com/jnp.htm> (accessed 31.12.14) ch 6.

Swete remarked, “the product of gradual assimilation of the original deposit” - but nevertheless they refused to be bound within the confines of Brethren pneumatology.

Rennie goes further with the following conclusion:

‘...the most characteristic and persistent elements of Brethren spirituality—the intense gleaning of spiritual sustenance from the Bible, the rejection of the validity of church structures, separation from society at large, and their sense of the immediate activity of the Holy Spirit in the church. *His emphasis on what he calls this ‘charismatic spirituality’ of the Brethren is an important and often overlooked feature—* though it was commented on by such a shrewd observer as Griffith Thomas years before the modern charismatic movement was born.’¹¹² (emphasis added)

Through the early part of the twentieth century two important figures emerge who were welcomed in the Brethren fold but who also moved in the Pentecostal circles of the church. They appear as examples of men who tried to stand in the gap between the two movements endeavouring to hold fast to all that was good in each and overcome the tensions of suspicion. Watchman Nee became an ardent reader of Brethren writers like Darby, Kelly and Mackintosh and the resultant Little Flock movement of independent local churches in China looked like an imitation of the ‘faithful remnant theology’ and ecclesiology of some strands of the Brethren.¹¹³ His passion for the work and influence of the Holy Spirit in a believer’s life is seen in his own writing with titles like *The Spiritual Man* (1928) and *Release of the Spirit* (1950) but Nee’s writing on this subject was not so overtly pentecostal. Nevertheless, in 1935 Nee endorsed Pentecostalism after the China Inland Mission missionary, Elizabeth Fischbacher, operating at the centre of the Spiritual Gifts

¹¹² Ian S. Rennie, ‘Aspects of Christian Brethren Spirituality’ in J.I. Packer and Loren Wilkinson (Eds.), *Alive to God: Studies in Spirituality* (IVP: Downer’s Grove, Illinois, 1992) p.190-209.

¹¹³ Watchman Nee, *The Assembly Life* (available at www.ministrybooks.org) (accessed 7.1.15).

Movement in Shandong, made an impression on him to the extent that he announced to his Little Flock leadership, 'I have met the Lord'.¹¹⁴

The other key figure, J. Oswald Sanders, is best known for his work *Spiritual Leadership* (1967) which is widely read among Brethren assemblies. Unsurprisingly, he was raised in a Brethren Assembly in Invercargill, New Zealand and came to faith as child of 9 years of age. His life was, however, radically altered ten years later when in 1921 he attended a spiritual awakening conference in Pounawea and committed his life to missionary service. He studied at the Bible Training Institute (NZ) and finally became Principal in 1933. He also had strong associations with CIM (and knew Nee) but his writing found its influence reaching around the world, not least into the East African scene.¹¹⁵ *Spiritual Maturity* (1965) explains his stand on the matter of the Spirit - while clearly open to the transforming, purging, power and passion of the Holy Spirit,¹¹⁶ Sanders steps back from the traditional Pentecostal view of speaking in tongues being initial evidence although he does not deny the gift itself.¹¹⁷

T. Austin Sparks was no Brethren man, but he described the Plymouth Brethren as 'a movement of God' and encouraged others to do the same. He admired the 'New Testament Christianity' they tried to model and appreciated their views on simplicity, no clergy-laity divide, openness with other believers, weekly communion, etc. He recognised

¹¹⁴ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (Yale University, Michigan: Sheridan Books, 2010) p.172.

¹¹⁵ Kevin Ward and Emma Wild-Wood (Eds.), *The East African Revival: History and Legacies* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012) p.67.

¹¹⁶ J. Oswald Sanders, *Spiritual Maturity* (Moody Bible Institute: Chicago, 1994) commends the Pentecostal movement: "We do well to be challenged by the virility of the Pentecostal movement around the world, both in its home ministry and its missionary outreach." in *Spiritual Maturity*, p.176.

¹¹⁷ Oswald Sanders, *Spiritual Maturity*, p. 176. Samuel Jardine was among those in the UK Brethren offering a similar response to the growing Pentecostal movement in his book, *Floods Upon the Dry Ground* (Precious Seed: Birmingham, UK, 1975).

in the Brethren so much that was right he mentioned them in the same breath as the Reformation and the Wesleys. However, on another occasion he drew parallels to them from the story of Abraham & Isaac where 'everything was prepared' for the worship sacrifice, but he bemoaned that the Brethren were left facing the question, 'Where is the fire?'

2.2.4.1. Charismatic Developments Among Brethren

From the 1950s many Brethren assemblies were conscious of the need for renewal in the face of general stagnation and indicators of decline. As the Charismatic movement began having its impact upon the mainstream churches - a phenomenon predicted in a vision given to Smith Wigglesworth back in 1936 while in South Africa¹¹⁸ - similar desires for Holy Spirit renewal were simmering even among independents. An emerging leader from this group was Arthur Wallis who took up the Brethren desire for primitive Christianity and invested it afresh with a commitment to being *The Radical Christian*.¹¹⁹ Wallis was strongly influenced by G. H. Lang which resulted in what he called 'a quiet revolution in his mind'. His Brethren background offered him an acute sense of call and when he knew he 'had to step into the breach' he committed with a colleague to seek God and search the Scriptures.

'I went right through the NT on this subject, and within 3 weeks we were both filled with the Spirit - for me it came alone on my knees, and without any contact with Pentecostals. The experience was revolutionary. It changed my prayer life, my

¹¹⁸ David Hilborn, 'Charismatic Renewal in Britain: Roots Influences and Later Developments' (Evangelical Alliance Occasional Paper) (<http://www.eauk.org/church/resources/theological-articles/charismatic-renewal-in-britain.cfm> accessed 8.1.15) p.20.

¹¹⁹ Arthur Wallis, *The Radical Christian* (Kingsway: Eastbourne, England, 1981).

preaching and my witnessing, though it was not till much later that I was to experience spiritual gifts.¹²⁰

David Lillie, who had been expelled from his Brethren Assembly because of his testimony to having received the baptism of the Spirit, soon met up with Wallis. Together their revivalist expectations were heightened by news of Duncan Campbell in the Lewis Revival and other pentecostal blessing in a revival in Congo (1953). But Lillie was also under the influence of G.H. Lang, the Brethren Bible teacher, who became a spiritual father to him. Lang was sympathetic to the biblical evidence for being a continuationist but he had grave reservations about the way that was working out in Pentecostal circles. Lang guided Lillie into the interpretation that the gifts and outpouring of the Spirit were indeed necessary but for the revitalisation of the church in New Testament likeness.¹²¹

Lillie and Wallis led in a range of prayer ministries and conferences which encouraged godly men and women to seek more of God in revival blessing.¹²² Nevertheless, Wallis' background also kept him focused on the lasting impact for reformation such revival might have on the church more than the mere outward signs of renewal and this helped strengthen Lillie's view. Wallis wrote of the Lewis Revival in *Rain from Heaven* (1979), 'In less than a decade you could visit those very churches where God had worked so powerfully and never suspect that they had ever tasted revival.' He saw the vital need for new wine skins as well as new wine.

¹²⁰ Arthur Wallis, *Springs of Restoration: Origins of the new charismatic churches in the UK* (Restoration Magazine, July/August 1980) (also available at <http://www.revival-library.org/pensketches/charismatics/springs.html>) (accessed 8.1.15).

¹²¹ Peter Hocken, *Stream of Renewal: the Origins and Development of the Charismatic Movement in Great Britain* (Paternoster Press: Exeter, UK, 1986) p.31.

¹²² The well-known Devon conventions were run in 1958, 1960, 1962 and 1965. See Jonathan Wallis, *Arthur Wallis: Radical Christian* (Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1991) pp. 126 – 140, for a brief history of these conventions.

Connections appeared to open up for Wallis with the Brethren in New Zealand through Campbell McAlpine¹²³ but the two of them were quickly *persona non grata* because of the news of their charismatic experiences,¹²⁴ however, the Easter Camp of 1963 in which they ministered was blessed with an outpouring of the Spirit and Wallis remained in NZ for 20 months. The emphasis for Wallis had not changed and he completed the tour with a conference in August 1964 entitled, 'The Building of a Spirit-Filled New Testament Church'.

Returning to the UK where McAlpine had already gone ahead, Wallis met a range of men who shared his convictions about the need of charismatic renewal and church reformation and they held a conference at Herne Bay Court, Kent in 1965. Among the 100 attendees were Michael Harper (Fountain Trust), W.F.P. Burton (Congo), Norman Meeton (Brethren charismatic), Barney Coombes (Brethren charismatic). A later convention at Elim Bible College saw McAlpine, Wallis and Denis Clark share the speakers' platform. This initiative became a launchpad for the charismatic restoration movement. Wallis clearly saw the confluence of the two movements in which he was swimming as being the solution to 'The Divine Idea of the Local Church':

The two church movements that one might expect to offer most may provide the two greatest dangers to such New Testament churches arising in this end time. I refer to the peril of "Brethrenism" and that of "Pentecostalism", with emphasis in both cases on the "ism". I say this without wishing to minimise the revelation that God has given through those two movements.¹²⁵

¹²³ Campbell McAlpine was raised in the Brethren, his father, John (1877-1960) being a well-known evangelist. Campbell had an international ministry with Youth for Christ and settled in Auckland, NZ, in 1959 at Howe Street assembly. See Peter J. Lineham, 'Tongues must cease: the Brethren and the Charismatic Movement in New Zealand' in *Christian Brethren Review Vol. 34 November 1983: Cautionary Tales from Brethren History*, p.7-52. <http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/cbr/vols/34.pdf> (accessed 8.1.15).

¹²⁴ Lineham, 'Tongues must cease' p. 23.

¹²⁵ Hocken, *Streams of Renewal*, p. 35.

Campbell McAlpine and Denis G. Clark met in South Africa where the former went for employment and the latter was born. Both were from their teenage years disciplined in Christian faith in the Brethren assemblies. Subsequent to their charismatic experience of being baptised in the Holy Spirit they worked together from some years in UK before McAlpine headed to New Zealand. Despite their consequential isolation from the Brethren they continued to have significant impact on the movement with some assemblies being open to them conducting meetings. An example of Clark's ministry is described as being held in 'the local Brethren assembly' (at Matlock) where the audience consisted of 'Methodists, Wesleyan Reform, Congregationalists, Salvationists, Pentecostals and Brethren, and numbers received the Baptism of the Spirit including an elder of the Brethren Assembly'.¹²⁶ When McAlpine eventually returned to UK he became closely associated with The Fountain Trust and therefore had a greater impact on the Charismatic Movement in Britain than his friend.

As well as G.H. Lang,¹²⁷ T. Austin Sparks¹²⁸ was also an influential figure in the lives of many of these men. Roger Forster was Mr Sparks' assistant pastor and went on to become one of the leading figures of the charismatic movement and restorationist churches. Forster himself had Brethren connections at Tottendown Brethren Assembly before he went on to found the Ichthus Fellowship of new churches. Forster saw himself as an heir

¹²⁶ Hocken, *Streams of Renewal*, p. 45.

¹²⁷ "A somewhat 'controversial figure' with a reputation for 'independent thinking', G. H. Lang (1874-1958) influenced Forster's understanding in five distinct areas: pneumatology; revelation; sanctification; the role of women in the Church; and the doctrine of hell." A. D. Forster O'Sullivan, *Reconciliation and Renewal in Roger T. Forster: The Doctrine of Atonement In the Teaching and Practice of a Restoration Theology*, Leeds University: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2001. p. 146. (http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/432/1/uk_bl_ethos_251696.pdf accessed 8.1.15)

¹²⁸ Peter Hocken, *A Catholic Reflection on the New Charismatic Churches: An Initial Attempt at an Ecclesial Discernment*, (Paper presented at the EPCRA conference in Riga, Latvia, Nov. 2-5, 2011). Although Sparks was from a Baptist background, Hocken notes: 'Austin-Sparks had developed a teaching on the church that showed marked Brethren influences'. p.3.

of the Anabaptist heritage and was strongly Arminian in theology. Bryn Jones, a prophetic voice in the early Restorationist movement was strongly influenced by Watchman Nee and Sparks. His later ministry in Yorkshire saw close associations with a Brethren church with which his own fellowship combined to become Church House, Bradford.¹²⁹ His ministry extended internationally and his death in 2003 brought forth tributes that showed his influence upon other key leaders among the new churches, namely Terry Virgo and Gerald Coates.¹³⁰ Andrew Walker in his thorough coverage of the House Church movement (later New Churches) notes that their collective Brethren heritage and assembly likenesses are often apparent. Reviewing their adverse perspective on denominations and denominationalism, he writes: 'Brethren readers will find much of this territory familiar. In many ways, the Restorationist thesis is an updated and Pentecostal version of E. H. Broadbent's *The Pilgrim Church*.'¹³¹

2.2.4.2. Charismatic Backlash Among Brethren

The New Churches have come under some intense criticism in their short history much like the Brethren before them. Dave Tomlinson's writing in *The Post-Evangelical* (1995), which paved the way for the post-modern approach of continuous self-evaluation in church life and attempted to express something of a dis-ease within the evangelical churches, had its impact on those restless souls within the New Churches also. Rob MacAlpine in his critique of the movement as an 'insider' suggests that there are a number

¹²⁹ From Bryn Jones, *A Biography* at www.theradicalchurch.com/#/bryn-jones/a-biography (accessed 8.1.15)

¹³⁰ Terry Virgo and the New Frontiers churches maintain charismatic expression while returning to a more reformed theological stance. Gerald Coates and the Pioneer churches like Forster and Ichthus retain a more Arminian theology.

¹³¹ Andrew Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom: The Radical Christianity of the House Church Movement* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985. p. 142. 'For Broadbent, the Brethren movement - in the words of another Brethren classic - is the 'great recovery'.' (Walker is quoting from the title of D. J. Beattie's history, *Brethren: The Story of a Great Recovery* (John Ritchie Ltd: Kilmarnock, 1940 (2000)).

of issues needing serious attention, for example, prophetic ministry abuses, elitism, shepherding, covering, authority, the five-fold leadership of church and word-of-faith healing ministry abuses.¹³²

In interview with a Charismatic Christian leader, Mark J. Cartledge questioned the decline in the prominence of speaking in tongues within the Charismatic Movement.¹³³ The leader answered that he likened the Pentecostal church background from which he came 20 yrs ago (prior to being a leader with the new church initiative) to being like a Brethren assembly:

Going back to the church I used to belong to, a Pentecostal church. Public worship was a piano and hymns and a lot of open worship where people could pray, give messages in tongues and prophesy. But it was very much a participative almost Brethren-type approach, where people were expected to take part and to share particularly in prayer and was very restrained in the sense of terms of public music.¹³⁴ (*sic*)

He goes on however to bemoan the subsequent rise of 'worship music' which 'has really grown rapidly' so that there have been changes in church worship styles that he sees less than helpful:

And I think one of the less useful outcomes of that is the fact that there's an emphasis now on front-led celebratory-type meetings with a lot of music. A lot of singing and correspondingly less opportunity for participation from people who are there, partly because of the size of the meetings and partly because of style. A premium is set on having a worship leader who can engage the congregation and take them along in the flow, you know, and away you go.¹³⁵

¹³² Rob McAlpine, *Post-Charismatic?* (David C. Cook Kingsway Communications Ltd: Eastbourne, UK, 2008).

¹³³ Mark J. Cartledge, *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 2003) p. 137-146.

¹³⁴ Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, p. 145.

¹³⁵ Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, p. 145-146.

This church leader seems to be suggesting that this approach to worship by a New Church offers to recapture something that was being lost in the Pentecostal church from which he came historically. The earlier model, which he likened to the 'Brethren-type approach', afforded worshippers the freedom of expression and participation which later models did not offer, e.g., being led exclusively by 'a worship leader' in a 'celebratory type meeting with lots of music'.

This leader's perspective points to the fact that these two movements continue to be intertwined as they strive to give genuine expression to 'real church' - one might suggest 'New Testament church' - without the incumbent baggage of traditions old or new. This church leader's views, which may be representative of others with the broader charismatic movement, apparently suggest not only a significant unrest and a desire for perpetual critical re-evaluation, but also hint at a hankering after at least some of the original opportunities for self-expression in communal worship that were a feature of the forebears of the early Brethren.

Frustration with worship led from the front by a clergy who 'performed' for the laity was at the centre of their rediscovery of the priesthood of all believers and for every believer to be able to bring a sacrifice of praise before God individually and collectively. The 'open worship' of the earliest Brethren assemblies provided for both men and women (albeit for men only in most later assemblies) opportunity for personal expression of worship through exposition of the Word, prayer, songs or other words of divine utterance and exhortation.

Four percent of Cartledge's sample of 'Charismatic Christians' in UK were now worshipping in Brethren churches. These were the 'tongue speakers' who had completed

his questionnaire and who had found a home where they apparently feel more comfortable.

William K. Kay, in his comprehensive survey of the men and ministries of this period which he terms 'Apostolic Networks in Britain', sketches for us something of this common frustration among the pioneers of the New Churches. They wanted to discover and secure that illusive element. Those early leaders were drawn from two sources: there was an eclectic group from across the range of independent churches, members of the Baptist Union, and a collection of Elim and Assemblies of God fellowships.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, for this study the significant factor is the second source: out of the twelve networks which Kay studies no less than one third are from Brethren backgrounds or have been heavily influenced by Brethren teaching or theology.¹³⁷ Andrew Walker notes, 'The Open Brethren bled all over the country and the haemorrhage often ended up in these new churches and networks.'¹³⁸

Ian Myerscough, great grandson of 'the man rumoured to be from the Brethren', was unable to recall exact details of Thomas Myerscough's reputed background among the Brethren. He did, however, confirm that Thomas' son, and Ian's grandfather's family, eventually left the Assemblies of God and joined themselves to an Open Brethren meeting. Something seemed to be missing from the Assemblies of God and from the

¹³⁶ Martyn Percy and Pete Ward (Eds.), *The Wisdom of the Spirit: Gospel, Church and Culture* (Ashgate Publishing: Farnham, Surrey, 2014), p. 186.

¹³⁷ Bryn Jones of Covenant Ministries International considered Arthur Wallis to be 'for me, deepest of all, a father in God'; Terry Virgo and New Frontiers International were 'an evangelical movement, with theological roots in the nineteenth century Brethren movement'; Barney Coombes was raised in a Brethren assembly; Gerald Coates was disciplined in a Brethren assembly; not to mention the Brethren ecclesiology of Roger Forster and the Ichthus movement.

¹³⁸ Percy and Ward, *Wisdom of the Spirit*, p. 186.

Assemblies of the Brethren, and the Myerscough family were still searching for it. Ian's grandfather, may have expressed it well in his statement: 'When the Brethren receive the Spirit, then the Lord will come!' It appears he meant that this would make for a church which was complete in his understanding.¹³⁹

2.3. The Pentecostals – Growth, Development and Alignments

The history, contribution and development of Pentecostalism has been thoroughly documented elsewhere and it would be fallacious to believe there is reason or room to recount it again here.¹⁴⁰ Instead, I would like to simply draw out some of the characteristics from across the Pentecostal movement which operate as self-identifying features and which further reinforce the assertion that these two restorationist movements have much more in common than may be perceived or accepted by some. Having sketched out these traits on the Brethren side, we turn now briefly to identify some of them on the other side of the family - among the Pentecostal brethren.

2.3.1. Their Raison d'Étre

A fundamental 'reason for being' among Pentecostals is given expression in the words of David A. Womack, associate editor of *The Pentecostal Evangel*:

¹³⁹ Personal conversations and email correspondence with Ian Myerscough after a chance meeting in Scotland on 15.2.15.

¹⁴⁰ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism and Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2004); Allan Heaton Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth* (New York: OUP, 2013); Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas, *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2002, 2003); Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995); Murray W. Dempster, et al., *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (London, UK: Regnum Books, 1999); Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 1997); Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: OUP, 2008); William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies: A Reader* (London: SCM Press, 2004); Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997).

“Their distinctive characteristics are unlike those of other religious groups and denominations, and their main tap-root goes deeply through the entire history of the Church to draw their doctrines, spiritual experiences, and fundamental practices from the well-springs of the New Testament Church. ... The Pentecostal Movements have many complicated roots, but it is the tap-root plunging deep into the New Testament Church that gives them their distinctive life.”¹⁴¹

The well-spring of the modern Pentecostal movement is none other than that from which Darby and company watered their own flocks. The claim to being a renewed link with the earliest ‘New Testament Church’ is well rehearsed among Pentecostals and Brethren alike and especially in view of the formalism and spiritual apathy that they perceived in the churches of their own day. ‘The only way for a church to assure itself of its own apostolicity is to test its correspondence with the Christianity of the first century’, asserts Womack. Discontentment with other expressions of church are heard among the Pentecostals as they list their test questions: ‘Does its theology match that of the New Testament, or have other ideas been added that cannot be found in apostolic teaching? Do the doctrines of the church stand out obviously in the New Testament, or must they hang on slender little phrases removed from their context in Scriptures? Do the religious experiences of the church correspond to those of the early Christians, or is their only mental assent to the spiritual happenings of the first century? Can the basic positions of the church be preached by laymen, or does an understandable explanation require a highly trained clergy?’¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ P. S. Brewster, *Pentecostal Doctrine* (Cardiff, Wales: P.S. Brewster, 1976), p. 121. In a preface to this volume (p. 6), the author states: ‘While this book is not intended to be an official statement of the doctrines of the Pentecostal Movement around the world, it nevertheless sets forth “things most surely believed among us”’. I fear the uniformity might not be as consistent as he suggests it might be.

¹⁴² David A. Womack, *The Well-Springs of the Pentecostal Movement* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1968), quoted extensively in Brewster, *Pentecostal Doctrines*, p. 121ff.

The interrogations of the Pentecostals in the twentieth century almost match stride for stride the matters of concern among the earliest Brethren: a return to New Testament Christianity; removal of all ‘doctrine’ or tradition that cannot be substantiated from the New Testament; the canon of Scripture being the measure of the local assembly; the alignment of ‘religious experience’ in the present with the earliest Christians of the past;¹⁴³ and the ‘priesthood of all believers’, as the Brethren called it, was a similar rebuff by the Pentecostals of the clergy laity divide that was nowhere to be found in Scripture.

2.3.2. A Shared Biblicism

Walter J. Hollenweger, in *The Pentecostals* offers an appendix on matters of belief across the Movement where he reminds the reader, ‘The Statement of Faith of the main groups describe Scripture variously as ‘the inspired Word of God, the infallible, all sufficient rule of faith and practice’, and warnings are given, ‘that none may add thereto or take away therefrom except at their peril’.¹⁴⁴ Of note here is that, despite the disparity across the movement of ‘main groups’ (and by inference and experience many smaller groups), there is widespread agreement on the central authority of the Word of God, the Bible.

Allan Anderson highlights that in Pentecostal churches around the world today ‘the majority world’s discovery of the Bible, [as] a source of authority independent of Western missionaries’ has been a significant feature of the movement. It must be further noted that what Stanley Frodsham (1926) once highlighted as a pentecostal characteristic in ‘the

¹⁴³ In this regard, the two movements have a different emphasis: the Brethren pursued the Lord’s Supper as a touchstone of authenticity, while the Pentecostals pursued an experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit as theirs. Nevertheless, both pursued ‘religious experiences’ that aligned with the New Testament records.

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in Warrington, *Pentecostal Perspectives*, p. 64.

plenary verbal inspiration of the Bible' is yet central as the source of 'teaching and practice [which] still dominates global Pentecostalism today.' Indeed, as a result of vernacular Bibles in the Global South today, its interpretation is predicated on the transparent alignment of their own cultural contexts which are not so widely dissimilar to the ancient Near East. This approach gives strength and power to indigenous interpretations, which are seldom 'modernist' or 'critical' but 'very literalist and fundamental' in approach. Brethren churches in Tanzania, having adopted the name 'Bible Churches' (*Kanisa la Biblia*), often resort with similar literalistic eyes to delineate their authority or defence for what they believe and practice.¹⁴⁵

2.3.3. The Signs of the Times

The Pentecostals have not only shared a high view of the Bible with the Brethren but also a compulsive interest in prophecy; indeed, the connections here are both theological and historical. Writing on the subject of 'Bible Prophecy', William J. Mayben, opines, 'We [Pentecostals] begin by stressing prophecy, since it occupies such a large place in the Scriptures; to ignore it, or to treat it with contempt, is to act dishonourably towards the divine revelation.'¹⁴⁶

Since the days of Irving, Drummond and the Albury conferences, it appears prophecy has been part of the DNA of the Pentecostal movement. That Brethren men shared in

¹⁴⁵ Wolfgang Vondey in *Beyond Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2010), also notes what some see as the negative influence of Fundamentalism in shaping Pentecostal views of Scripture – 'the Evangelicalization of Pentecostalism'. 'Fundamentalist dispensational thought succeeded in shaping a consistent objectivist epistemology among Pentecostals that repressed the charismatic dimensions in their original understanding of revelation. Forsaking the charismatic understanding of revelation for a literalistic approach to Scripture, Pentecostals replaced their oral-affective participation in the self-disclosure of God with a historical-grammatical interpretation of the biblical texts.' p.63.

¹⁴⁶ Brewster, *Pentecostal Doctrine*, p. 211.

these earliest forays into the meaning of prophetic Scripture, and undeniably became the influencers if not the formulators of Dispensational doctrine, is a fact borne out in that they continued to shape Pentecostal interpretations well into the twentieth century. J.C. Smyth's essay laying out 'Pentecostal Doctrines' regarding the end times could as easily be lifted from a classic Brethren text from the previous century. He favourably quotes extensively from 'Brethren men' like, J. Dwight Pentecost, *Things to Come* and F.A. Tatford, *God's Programme of the Ages* and adds quotes from the Congregationalist dispensationalist L.S. Chafer (*Major Bible Themes*) for good measure. By then the theology had been fully adopted. Smyth states in the same breath: "Recognising the place of the present age in the economy of God is fundamental to *our* interpretation of the conditions of *our* time and to *our* understanding of Bible prophecy." (italics mine)¹⁴⁷

It was the pursuit of these pentecostal priorities in understanding the 'times and seasons' of the twentieth century that shaped many of the early Brethren's same priorities in the nineteenth. Notice the shared confidence in interpretation, the expected imminence of Christ's coming, and the clarity that these futurist perspectives brought to their present:

"The factors dominating today's scene are signs of His time and are clearly spelt out as such in His Word. The events declaring the end is at hand herald the approach of a more significant realisation for the believer. In these events the glorious hope of the return of the Lord Jesus Christ in accordance with His promise is brought into sharp focus."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Brewster, *Pentecostal Doctrine*, p. 382.

¹⁴⁸ Brewster, *Pentecostal Doctrine*, p. 382.

2.3.4. Their Spontaneous Expansion

“Spontaneous” missionary expansion in Pentecostalism is exhaustively unpacked by Allan Anderson in *Spreading Fires*. As he emphasises the breadth and historical origins of the Pentecostal movement a reader of Brethren history cannot fail to see the parallels: ‘...from their beginning, Pentecostals are *best defined broadly to include both their historical connections and theological focus*. Furthermore, Pentecostalism was in a process of formation that *was not seen as a distinct form of Christianity* at least until a decade after the revival and missionary movements in which it was entwined.’ (italics mine)¹⁴⁹

Like Darby, who held the conviction that ‘the Brethren movement’ was nothing less than God’s providential intervention in church history, Pomerville insisted that ‘any theory of pentecostal origins must give “a priority to the divine dimension”’. ‘Thus, for Pomerville, “the universal and spontaneous origins of the [Pentecostal] Movement point to the divine dimension of the Movement as the crucial dimension in understanding causation.”’¹⁵⁰

Historical-causal factors, shared or developed theological convictions, ‘genetic’ likenesses among renewal or revivalist thinkers, multi-cultural acceptance and embrace, and pragmatic functionality have all been used from the armoury of Pentecostal historiography to try to explain the reasons for the phenomenon that has become Pentecostalism. The attempt of this chapter has been similarly shaped, and yet the

¹⁴⁹ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ A. Cerillo Jr. and G. Wacker, ‘Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism in the United States’ (382-405), in Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, p.398.

conclusion reached continues to point us to commonalities. As Anderson reminds us in his own historical enquiry, 'And it was among Groves's Brethren churches in South India that the first pentecostals were found, some with direct links to the earlier revivals.'¹⁵¹

This 'uncertainty' about the origins of the Pentecostal movement, the suggestion of it being a move of the Spirit rather than the actions and plans of men, and the spontaneous growth and expansion of the movement across periods of time measured in years, decades or perhaps centuries — as well as across continents of the world — echoes favourably in the souls of Brethren readers also. Vondey's summary helps us see the shared vision of Brethren and Pentecostal Christians when he says they saw themselves as part of 'the historical work of God who "started this movement in A.D. 33."¹⁵² Truly, an 'unexhorted, unorganized, spontaneous expansion has a charm far beyond that of our modern highly organized missions.'¹⁵³ (Roland Allen, 1927). Yet, while recognising a shared perception of mysterious origins for these movements, we would concur with the complexity of the problem expressed in the assertion that 'This seamless web of evangelical expectations in history means that instead of a sudden new start...there is a continuation and growth of ideas that have their origins much earlier.'¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, the missionary enterprise which took Pentecostalism *To the Ends of the Earth*, has upheld and retained many of the classic features which are shared by drinking at the "well-spring" previously mentioned by Womack. Chapter headings from Anderson's book serve as a Pentecostal check-list where Brethren might add their own 'amen':

¹⁵¹ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, p. 25.

¹⁵² Vondey, *Beyond Pentecostalism*, p.153.

¹⁵³ Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press, 2006), p.7.

¹⁵⁴ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, p. 13.

Revivalist Precedents, Origins and Organisation, Mission and Migration, Bible and Community, Transformation and Independence, Preachers and Entrepreneurs, to mention but a few.

2.3.5. Ecclesiology and Practice

The preaching and practice of the Pentecostal movement has been driven by lay ministry with a general aversion to clerical, structural and hierarchical government. J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu still recognises this as ‘the ecclesiology of contemporary Pentecostalism in Africa.’ He says, ‘When believers are allowed space to use their graces of the Spirit in ministry, the church becomes a living entity in which ministry belongs to all and not just to a clerical order.’ ‘Pentecostalism acknowledges clerical roles too, but on the whole, it remains a grassroots lay-oriented movement.’¹⁵⁵ Asamoah-Gyadu calls this ‘12/70 paradigm shift ecclesiology’ which is about functioning and not about positions - ministry has moved from the pattern of The Twelve (12) to the pattern of the seventy (70).¹⁵⁶

If the Azusa Street revival was to be an indicator of priorities that would mark the movement going forward, then the calling of ‘Elder’ W.J Seymour set the role of ‘pastor’ in a particular *genre*, not to mention the accompanying racial freedoms and the massive empowerment of lay people for worldwide mission. While Seymour ‘provided its leadership...everyone sensed a form of equality as sisters and brothers seeking God

¹⁵⁵ J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *Contemporary Pentecostal Christianity* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2013), pp. 59-60.

¹⁵⁶ For the impact of lay ministry on the growth of the Brethren movement, see Roger Shuff, A Bulwark of Evangelicalism: Brethren as a Lay Movement in England in the 1930s, in Neil Dickson and Tim Grass (Eds.), *The Growth of the Brethren Movement* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), p. 104-114.

together'. Robeck, in recounting the Azusa Street services from the earliest days, unwittingly describes the earliest Brethren meetings also: 'services were long'; 'on the whole they were spontaneous'; 'music was a cappella';¹⁵⁷ 'services included singing, testimonies,...prayer...and preaching'; 'Sermons generally were not prepared in advance but were typically spontaneous'; 'freedom was given to visiting preachers'; 'sometimes there were periods of extended silence'; 'No offerings were collected but there was a receptacle near the door for gifts.' Of course, the dissimilarities and unique pentecostal features of Azusa Street were usually absent from the earliest Brethren meetings although some reports suggest otherwise.¹⁵⁸ Robeck also describes those early services with phrases like 'slain in the spirit', 'fell under the power', 'prayer for the sick', and 'altar calls ... for the baptism of the Holy Spirit'.

Shared values continue to be seen in the formation of the Assemblies of God (Great Britain and Ireland) in the 1920s. The strong independence of local assemblies,¹⁵⁹ the plurality of elders in leading a congregation, the centrality of two simple ordinances,¹⁶⁰ the terminology for describing their churches are all values shared across both

¹⁵⁷ William Kelly wrote to John Cox (Guernsey) on 11th October 1886 to say, "If he still brings a musical instrument into a meeting, I shall be ashamed of his obstinacy. It is opposed to the whole spirit of the New Testament, and an offence to every spiritual mind." (www.brethrenarchive.org/manuscripts (accessed 16.2.17))

¹⁵⁸ Roger N. Shuff, *Searching for the True Church* (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2004), suggests 'Many other Brethren were similarly open to supernatural manifestations of the Spirit in the 1830s.' p.195. He cites Wigram, Bulteel and Stoney as examples.

¹⁵⁹ "Independence" in Brethren assemblies would be more characteristic of the Open Brethren. Exclusive Brethren were more 'connexional' and would include the Taylor Brethren, Kelly-Lowe Brethren, Glanton Brethren and Needed-Truth Brethren. See further detail in Roger N. Shuff, *Searching for the True Church*.

¹⁶⁰ Asamoah-Gyadu, *Contemporary Pentecostal Christianity*, p. 149. '...Pentecostals insist on adult baptism by immersion as the proper mode of integration into the church. And the Lord himself directed this relationship [of belonging] to be expressed by means of what traditionally has been called the Lord's Supper...'. These two ordinances are also outlined in Keith Warrington (Ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives*, p. 204-222, however, the chapter adds two additional ordinances - Elim's Special Ordinances - listed as 'Laying on of Hands', and 'Anointing with Oil'; the former relates to Spirit baptism and the latter to healing.

movements.¹⁶¹ Even the tension of the earliest moves towards organisation among the growing number of Pentecostal assemblies is reflected in the Brethren's previous experience.¹⁶² Nelson Parr's Brethren background, prior to his baptism with the Holy Spirit, is undoubtedly significant to his own initial aversion to organisation. In that earliest gathering in Birmingham in February 1924 of AoG leaders anxieties were assuaged when 'Parr ... assured those present that "the autonomy of the local assembly would be strictly observed."¹⁶³ Subsequent history shows that more organised structures in the movement generally were always a point of debate.¹⁶⁴ The tendency among early pentecostals in Britain to assume that church organisation, theological education and collaboration would in some way quell the rising tide of the Spirit among them is well documented among the early Brethren also.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ The question is debated as to whether the term 'assembly' in Assemblies of God originated with the Brethren or not. Shuff, *Searching for the True Church*, p. 197, states, 'The word 'assembly' passed from Brethren into Pentecostal terminology and Brethren overtones were to be found in Pentecostal communion services.' However, AoG accounts by John Carter suggest the name was adopted by Parr from the American constitution as 'a general scriptural name'. Donald Gee noted, "It was agreed to adopt the title 'Assemblies of God' because 'this seemed to be the designation given by the Spirit of God to similar gatherings in the days of the Early Church.' Massey further suggests the name in American parlance ought to be traced to T.K. Leonard. Quoting William Menzies (AoG historian): "Actually, the term "Assembly of God" was a rather common designation for local churches of evangelical persuasion at the turn of the century. The chief Influence at Hot Springs that led to its adoption as the uniform name for churches in the newly created fellowship was T.K. Leonard. Leonard had employed this title in his work at Findlay, Ohio, for at least two years before the first General Council, records indicating that he had been ordained by "The Assembly of God, Findlay, Ohio," in April 1912. In reality, the alignment of the name designated from the American fellowships with Parr's own biblical convictions about 'the assembly', probably meant for a quick and ready agreement of the term in British contexts. Dan Massey, 'A Sound and Scriptural Union: An Examination of the Origins of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland during the years 1920-1925', 1987, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, p.95.

¹⁶² Alex McIlhinney, Support Structures and Inter-Congregational Links, in *The Strengthening, Growth and Planting of Local Churches* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993), p. 53-58.

¹⁶³ W.K. Kay, Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland, in Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, p.340-341.

¹⁶⁴ Perhaps the separation of the Elim churches and the AoG churches would illustrate this polemical response to the matter of organisational structure, but it most certainly reveals in the Elim movement some of the problems which may arise in hierarchical authority being invested in one man.

¹⁶⁵ E.L. Blumhofer and C.R. Armstrong, Assemblies of God, in Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, p. 333-340. 'Pentecostals tended to distrust organisation, claiming that the NT offered no precedent for anything beyond the local church. ... Most pentecostals had distanced themselves from the denominations... Most were convinced that organisation stifled the Holy Spirit.' L.F. Wilson, Bible Institutes, Colleges, Universities (372-380), states "Pentecostals have generally been ambivalent about higher education, many regarding it with open suspicion. ...it was generally agreed that the historic denominations had lost their spirituality in direct relationship to their emphasis on education", in Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, p.372. The Brethren negativity towards formal

2.3.6. Other Identifiers...

Turning from the parallels that highlight similarities in the DNA of the two movements under consideration, it is worth hearing briefly what others think are the markers that identify Pentecostals from the wider church.

Keith Warrington's observations of the two largest British Classical Pentecostal denominations (Assemblies of God and Elim) sound the beat of a familiar drum when outlining *Pentecostal Perspectives*. To a list not unlike the one above, Warrington adds an additional rhythm by holding up 'Healing and Exorcism', and 'Exhilarating Worship' as characteristics that set the Pentecostals apart. His helpful additions not only add to the pentecostal profiling that we are here attempting, but also resonate deeply with the beat of African Pentecostalism today.¹⁶⁶

Paul Gifford was keen to understand what it was about the pentecostal message of Reinhard Bonnke - 'the CfAN brand of Christianity' - that made it so widely acceptable across the African continent resulting in hundreds of thousands of new Christian believers being 'born-again' in a pentecostal milieu. Coming from a largely critical position he still distinguishes characteristics that match our present list. Although he did not find eschatology to be a *strong* theme, to our lengthening list of characteristics he adds only one: demonology - 'demons and evil spirits feature prominently'.¹⁶⁷

theological training was widespread among many but not monolithic; indeed, many Brethren were significantly influential in the resurrection of solid evangelical scholarship (e.g. F.F. Bruce). The mid- twentieth century saw a readiness on the part of increasingly well-educated young people in the movement to seek theological education in wider circles (see further, Shuff, *Searching for the True Church*).

¹⁶⁶ Warrington (Ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 1998).

¹⁶⁷ Paul Gifford, Africa Shall Be Saved. An Appraisal of Reinhard Bonnke's Pan-African Crusade, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 17, (Feb., 1987), pp. 63-92.

Finally, Asamoah-Gyadu closes his book on *Contemporary Pentecostal Christianity* with 'a set of benchmarks of Pentecost' that he believes should mark out church fellowships and by inference the constituent individuals where '...the Spirit of God, who worked with and in the apostles at Pentecost, is also at work...'. The first of these benchmarks is '*Transformation Into the Likeness of Jesus Christ*' - is there evidence that lives have been transformed, made holy by the Holy Spirit, through a transition from the profane and secular to being set apart for sacred use by special anointing? If there is evidence of this, then he asserts, there is evidence of a work of the Spirit. He concludes, 'the more we experience the presence of the Spirit, the more we love to stay away from sin.' Second, he expects to see a '*Desire for Prayer and Renewal*' - laying emphasis on the primary function of speaking in tongues as private prayer, Asamoah-Gyadu observes the work of the Spirit in deep prayer and a corresponding hunger for the Word of God. Third, a reliable guide for measuring the work of the Spirit is '*Empowerment for Active Witness*' - 'if it lacks this empowerment, the church loses its focus as a witnessing community' and for him Pentecostal ministries are characterised by 'the Spirit of God being on the move.' Fourth, Asamoah-Gyadu is expecting '*Manifestations of the Spirit*' - simply stated he means the gifts of the Spirit. He maintains, 'The church of the New Testament was charismatic and the rise of the pneumatic movements in Africa throws out an urgent challenge to the rest of the church to be open to the presence of the Spirit manifest...among people of faith.' And fifth, '*Pursuit of Eternal Values*' - briefly outlined as turning one's back on the world and pursuing 'those things that were indicators of Kingdom values'.

Inasmuch as these benchmarks may align with what Asamoah-Gyadu perceives to be a revived New Testament church, it appears that they at least echo the '*raison d'être*', the

biblicism, the eschatological orientation, the missionary expansion and the ecclesiological practice observed above.

2.4 Pursuing the Final Restoration

The spirit of ‘restoration of the present-day church’ is a consistent theme observed throughout the historical period which covers the Brethren, the Catholic Apostolic Church, the Pentecostals, the Charismatics and the New Churches — they are all restorationist movements.¹⁶⁸ It is a spirit that seeks to capture the New Testament ideal and to practice Christian faith in a way that is more closely aligned to the church of the first century. While each of these movements have their own unique characteristics and emphases, they share this spirit of restoration. It often looks like a desire to return to Pentecost and to the outworking of the pentecostal impact in the earliest expressions of church. Each sees that their forebears have done something to move the church of the Lord Jesus Christ closer to the shared vision, but consistently they feel the job has not yet been completed. While they share commonalities, each brings some unique contribution, and with the rejection or revision of certain elements of their forebears’ belief and/or practice they long to somehow bring the church closer to the final end.

Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church (CAC) heard the voice of the Spirit in ‘art thou not also a prophet?’ and hoped to see New Testament apostolic authority restored to the church. The Brethren shared the CAC’s interest in eschatology of a pre-millennial

¹⁶⁸ Andrew Walker acknowledges the use of the term restorationist as having been taken from Bryan Wilson who uses it as a sociological term to describe a sub-group of the sects he identified: conversionist (e.g. Elim Pentecostals), adventist (e.g. Jehovah’s Witnesses), pietists (e.g. Quakers) and gnostic sects (e.g. Christian Science). See Bryan R. Wilson, *An Analysis of Sect Development*, *American Sociological Review* 24, no. 1 (1959): pp. 3-15.

pessimistic persuasion over-against the optimism or apathy that characterised the post- and a-millennialism of the day, however, they would have nothing to do with tongue-speaking and 'restored apostles' which were definitely not for the present dispensation according to Darby. In fact, the Brethren's simple ecclesiology characterised by a pneumatological understanding of the gathering of the assembly in the Spirit's presence was their huge restoration contribution to the church and the ensuing Pentecostal movement. Driven by the missiological urgency that a pre-millennial rapture brought to evangelism, the Pentecostals sought the power that they felt the church (and the Brethren) lacked in Spirit-filled mission endeavour. But such reliance upon the Spirit's agency needed order and accountability - 'apostolic networks' may be considered to be the way to provide what has been missing after all. The New Churches were restorationists as well - but restorationists in a long line of God's people who together have been pursuing the same thing - the glorious and perfect bride of the Lord Jesus Christ.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have overviewed the historic roots and shoots of the Brethren and Pentecostal movements. We have noted their spiritual ancestry in Anabaptism, Pietism and Puritanism, as well as Evangelicalism which have endowed the two movements with a common heritage, a shared passion, and a mutual conviction that in their own day and generation, they are nothing less than the Spirit-led, God-given answer to the revival and radical renewal of the church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

By surveying the character and nature of the 'movements' we have shown the groundedness of their theology and praxis that issues in missionary endeavour. It is to their mission endeavour in Tanzania that we turn our attention, but not neglecting to remember that as we have seen the motivation in nothing less than that final restoration of all things.

3. OBEYING THE GREAT COMMISSION: TWO LATE ARRIVALS IN TANZANIA

3.1. Setting the Historical Context

Over three hundred years before Pentecostal or Brethren mission endeavours made an impact on the land of Tanzania,¹⁶⁹ 'Christianity' had already announced its arrival on the East African coast with the crack of the cannon from Portuguese warships. Evidence of this Christianity reaching the coastlands in areas we know today as Tanzania, dates back to the late fifteenth century when

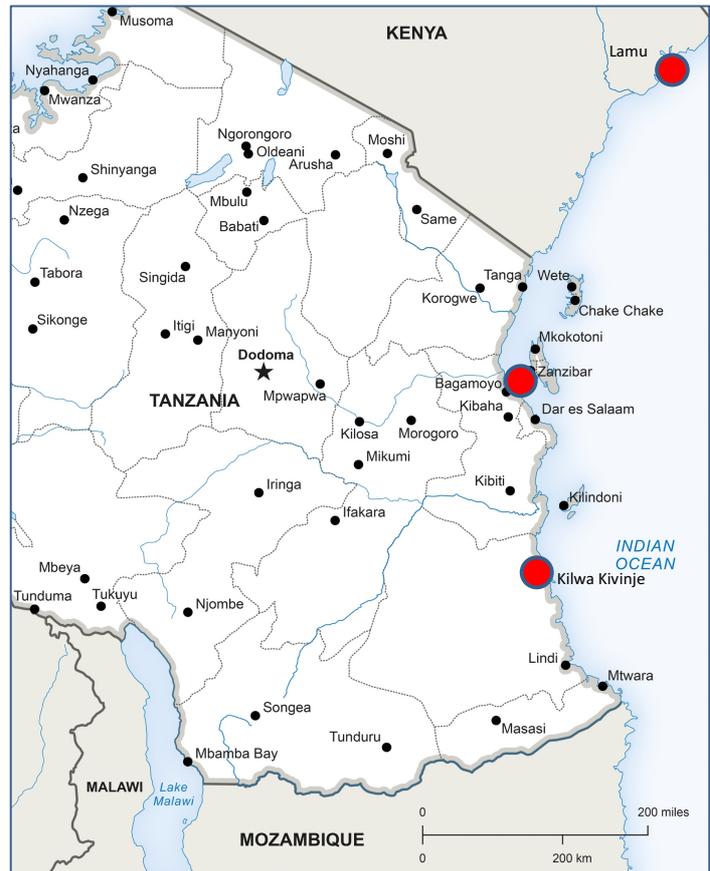


Figure 3.1 Locations of sites of Arab colonial influence in E.A.

Portuguese traders, having successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope under the command of Vasco Da Gama, blazed a trail for Catholic missions to follow and be established on Zanzibar in 1499.¹⁷⁰ Traditions which told that Saint Matthew and Mark

¹⁶⁹ Tanzania is used throughout the thesis as it pertains to the present study. The East Coast of Africa has historically been known by many names but since the colonial era as East Africa (pre-1886), German East Africa (1886-1916), Tanganyika (A British Protectorate) (1916-1962), and the United Republic of Tanzania (1964-present).

¹⁷⁰ Da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 opening significant trade along the Eastern seaboard from modern Mozambique to Somalia. Key ports were Mombasa and Malindi and small mission stations were established on the islands of Pate, Faza and Zanzibar. Both Dominican and Augustinian Friars led the initiatives.

had previously brought the Gospel to the continent of Africa in places like Egypt and Ethiopia failed to produce any evidence that the message had reached as far south as the Eastern seaboard of the 'Dark Continent'. Quite the contrary, Islamic colonial influence along the coastlands was already significant by the time Christianity arrived and this put paid to any significant development of the earliest Catholic mission endeavours as well as setting a mixed context for the earliest Protestant mission endeavour.

Not only were the Arabs trading widely with the African peoples in the hinterlands but their religion had gone with them there and Islamic influence was already widely established. The trade routes of the African *pagazi* (porters) were well trodden between the ports of Bagamoyo, Tanga, Pangani and Kilwa on the coast and the key Tanzanian centres for trade in Unyanyembe (Tabora), Ujiji (nr. Kigoma) and the Chagga of Mount Kilimanjaro in the north. A resurgence of Islamic influence in the late seventeenth century, after various skirmishes with the Portuguese, firmly established the rule of Seyyid Said bin Sultan, ruler of Oman. Through the eighteenth century, Fort Jesus (Mombasa) and Kilwa (south of Dar-es-Salaam) were seized by the Arabs to reinforce once again their domination of that coastland from the Juba River south to Cape Delgado.¹⁷¹

Zanzibar remained a key trading post throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries particularly for the export of slaves from the continent.¹⁷² With others, Livingstone witnessed these atrocities and, raised his voice in British society for the

¹⁷¹ Cape Delgado is located south of Mtwara in Southern Tanzania, on the border with Mozambique. The Juba River (Jubba) is in the southern part of Somalia, approx 15km north of the Kenyan border. Almost exactly the coastline in the map.

¹⁷² In the 1860s it was estimated that 57,000 slaves driven from the interior under Arab slavers reached Bagamoyo, a coastal town north of Dar-es-Salaam. The modern name of the town is reputed to reflect an older place name given by the slaves, 'bwagamoyo', meaning 'pour out (lay down) your heart'. Between the years 1860-67, records show that 97,203 slaves were sold through Zanzibar from East Africa.

healing of this 'sore' on the African continent. To effect this healing, he made every effort to open up the mainland for civilisation, commerce and Christianity.¹⁷³ In delicate negotiations with the Sultan of Zanzibar, the colonial Christian powers (Americans, British and French) slowly saw themselves establish political footholds in Stonetown from where the rule of the Eastern seaboard was conducted.¹⁷⁴ When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869 the European influence increased significantly once more.

In this chapter, we will set out the historical beginnings of Christian mission in Tanzania as a precursor to the period in which Pentecostal mission and Christian Brethren mission occur. This is important to establish the geographical, social and religious contexts and delicate economic infrastructures in which they began their work. Some broad history will serve alongside some detailed accounts of situations on the ground so that one may better understand the value of the work and workers that had gone before, as well as the yet trying and difficult situation into which Pentecostal and Brethren pioneers would also be sent.

3.2. Earliest Pioneers and their Missions

Johann Ludwig Krapf, an Anglican missionary with the CMS is credited with being the first white Protestant missionary to Tanzania, arriving in Zanzibar in January 1844 from five years previous service in Ethiopia. He immediately set himself to translating the New Testament into Swahili (completed 1848) and was joined in June 1846 by a German

¹⁷³ Dr. David Livingstone trekked widely across East Africa (incl. modern Tanzania) and is known to have visited Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Tabora, Kigoma (Ujiji), Lake Tanganyika, the Southern Highlands, etc. Much of his travel in this period (1868-1873) seems to terminate in the Arab commercial centres for slavery and ivory, like Tabora and Ujiji, for example.

¹⁷⁴ The colonial powers established embassies in Zanzibar with the agreement of Sultan Said: American (1836); British and French (1841)

missionary, Johann Rebmann. It was Rebmann who brought the gospel to Kilimanjaro region in 1848. He also reported the sight of the mountain whose snow-capped peak, located as it was so close to the Equator, and duly baffled the British public.¹⁷⁵ The resident Chagga tribe and chief (Mankinga) received Rebmann with much hostility, robbing him and spitting upon him, forcing his retreat to his base at Rabai near Mombasa. Krapf reached other neighbouring tribes in north eastern Tanzania, and his linguistic skills not only allowed the translation of parts of the Bible into other tribal languages but he put together the first English-Swahili dictionary of around 4000 words and grammar.

While Rebmann and Krapf made their excursions into the dangerous interior from the relative safety of their coastal mission-station base, David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society was making his way through more remote southern parts of what is now Tanzania. In 1866 he landed at Mikindani, Mtwara near the mouth of the Ruvuma and set off for the interior in search of the origins of the Nile. In the two years before his death he had mapped the southern reaches of Lake Tanganyika, visited Ujiji in the north-west where famously he met with Stanley, and returned with him to Tabora in central Tanzania. Livingstone, although familiar with the strategy,¹⁷⁶ established no mission stations in the land, but his endeavours in exploration and explanation finally brought 'peace' to a land ravaged by the storm of slavery in 1873, the year that he died. In that same year, Sultan Said, under pressure from the British who had passed laws in the

¹⁷⁵ In fact, Rebmann's claims were widely reported as spurious and he was declared 'insane' - a condition no doubt considered to be the result of his travels on the African continent.

¹⁷⁶ Livingstone met his wife Mary Moffat, daughter of Robert Moffat, in South Africa on a LMS mission station at Kuruman.

abolition of slavery in 1807 and 1833, finally agreed the abolition in East Africa, albeit forty years later.

But it was mission station mentality that drove many of the early Europeans - Krapf himself was a meticulous linguist and researcher and enquired hard about the unknown interior, 'visualising a chain of mission stations eventually stretching across the continent'.¹⁷⁷ As these stations slowly became established (at the cost of many lives - European and African) the shape and form of the interior of the Eastern African landscape began to appear more clearly - maps of routes, lakes, rivers and mountains, helped the Europeans to plan and organise their subsequent trips with greater ease than the punishing experiences of their pioneering forebears. But by the mid- to late-nineteenth century the maps of Africa continued to show just how unknown its interior really was with Erhardt and Rebmann's famous 'slug map' showing a conflated interpretation of received information and sightings of the inland waters of East Africa into one gigantic sea.

The Europeans could not have achieved nearly as much without their African guides, translators, negotiators and guardians. Donald Simpson's work recording the contribution of native Africans to the opening up of the continent on its eastern side is highly commendable.¹⁷⁸ The Europeans (*Wazungu*) drew upon local knowledge and longed to see for themselves 'the great inland sea of Uniamesi', 'or the Mosi oa Tunya'¹⁷⁹ of local

¹⁷⁷ Donald Simpson, *Dark Companions: The African contribution to the European exploration of East Africa*, (London: Paul Elek Ltd, 1975) p.5.

¹⁷⁸ See also Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Google eBook), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

¹⁷⁹ 'The smoke that thunders'.

renown, later to be called Lake Victoria and Victoria Falls. But their assistance did not make those long journeys much easier. Killer diseases claimed many lives regardless of race - cholera, smallpox, malaria, dysentery, and bilharzia, not to mention other unknown severe fevers (e.g. 'little irons', severe anaemia probably caused by internal haemorrhaging), and many more took their toll on early travellers. Men like Livingstone, Speke and Burton, despite their iron wills and tenacious commitment to their cause often had to be carried for days on end by their African *pagazi* while they wrestled with severe ill-health - their only treatment, administered by themselves or a faithful African servant when they slipped into semi-consciousness or delirium.

With Rebmann and Krapf in the northern regions having reached Kilimanjaro (1848) and Livingstone having blazed and mapped a trail from the coast through to the Tanzanian Southern Highlands (1871), the scene was set for the Christianisation of the country.

Catholic pioneer mission in Tanzania which followed later was spear-headed under the direction of Cardinal Lavigerie as Superior-General of the White Fathers. In 1878 they reached Tabora where they built *their* first mission station, and from there teams were sent to Lake Tanganyika, and Lake Victoria.¹⁸⁰

Nevertheless, it would take the two movements under consideration in this study - Pentecostals and Christian Brethren - another half century before they made their own contributions to this multi-national and multi-denominational missionary endeavour. Notably, however, it would come to pass that in the same parts of Tanzania where others

¹⁸⁰ Viera Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 'The Role of Early "Missionaries of Africa" or "White Fathers" in the Study and Development of African Languages'. *Asian and African Studies* 20, no. 2 (2011): 267–88. Clearly their journey to Tabora recorded in Joseph Bouniol (Ed.), *The White Fathers and Their Missions* (London: Sands, 1929), p.177-181 resembled that of Bishop Hannington and William H. Jones related below.

had gone before, both the Brethren and the Pentecostals would see the initial flourishing of their labours. The Pentecostals in the region of modern Mbeya and the Brethren in the regions of modern Tunduru.

Instructive in setting the historical scene 'on the ground' in the 1900s is the following account related about the early expeditions of African and European mission pioneers working side by side for the Christian cause. In this illustrative case, CMS archives provide the news of the story, however, it might have as easily been drawn from other diaries or journals from Catholic or other Protestant missions.¹⁸¹ The story of Rev. William Henry Jones, an African pastor with the Anglican Church is most striking. Significantly for our study, Jones' Bishop, Rev. James Hannington, was responsible for the establishment of the earliest mission station in Old Moshi, Kilimanjaro, in 1885.¹⁸² Despite being located geographically one thousand kilometres north of the earliest Pentecostal endeavours in southern Tanzania, the records from Jones' journal convey clearly the nature of missionary pioneering journeys late in the 19th and early twentieth century. He tells of the nagging uncertainty, extensive preparations, emotional trauma, multiple threats, dangers from disease, or hostiles and bandits, raiders and slavers; nevertheless, he writes of joy and hope, of prayer and praise, of proclamation and preaching of the Word of God along the way, to those of the caravan as well as to the natives they met *en route*.

¹⁸¹ *Church Missionary Society Archive*, Section IV: Africa Missions, Part 18: Kenya Mission, 1880-1934; Part 19: Tanganyika Mission, 1900-1934 are very instructive for this period. See also, Joseph Bouniol (Ed.), *The White Fathers and Their Missions* (London: Sands, 1929). Aylward Shorter, *Cross & Flag in Africa. The "White Fathers" during the Colonial Scramble (1892-1914)*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2006).

¹⁸² Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa: Historia Ya Kanisa Ya Tanzania* (Nairobi: Scripture Mission, 1987).

Jones' journal account of a caravan journey, which commenced on 22nd July 1885 and finally returned on 4th February 1886 to Rabai near Mombasa, is entitled: "*Behind my Bishop through Masai Land to Kavironda*". The Bishop was James Hannington, the first Anglican bishop to East Africa, who was keen to establish a mission station near or in the kingdom of Buganda. It was to cost him the ultimate price. Jones, who lived to tell the tale, was one of the Nasik boys from Bombay,¹⁸³ a freed slave who was most likely originally from southern Tanzania (Yao). He was known as 'Fundi' (craftsman) and was first employed by Rebmann in 1864 but later was tasked with a trip to Nasik, India and back to Africa, in order to help bring back and establish the freed slaves' in the new settlement at Frere Town. His faithful service was recognised and he was made a deacon in May 1885 (and later ordained as a pastor in 1895). The following excerpts from his journal through the '*bara*'¹⁸⁴ of Tanzania bring the history alive:

The departure:

July 22nd

Then began that bustle which is known only when a caravan leaves, when men & their families come together to wish each other goodbye, perhaps forever, for human foresight into futurity is a perfect dimness. (sic)

The people of the station followed the Bp [Bishop] some miles away & I believe many of them returned late at home with shouts of "Kwa heri Bwana Mkubwa". The Bp with his heart full of hopes & joys went on, at times chanting & singing hymns suitable for the occasion with loud voice. Ever & anon Mr Couplestone would sing something & then exclaim "praise the Lord," or "glory to God." I followed the Bp...

¹⁸³ Simpson, *Dark Companions*, p.54. "...the Nasik school, which originated in 1854 when the Rev. W.S. Price founded the Christian village of Sharanpur (city of refuge) near Nasik, about 100 miles north-east of Bombay, and built schools and workshops there.'

¹⁸⁴ 'continent' or 'land'

Oct 30th

We also being looked upon as Swahilis makes it a matter of difficulty with our small caravan, to pass through Kabras, Kamasia, Njemps, Naivasha, Ndongo, & Ukambaui without a European. When there is a European with our small caravan its no longer looked upon as a Swahili caravan. Unless it is large enough to defend itself it will not go beyond Kabras limits. Each & all of these tribes have equally more or less suffered from the Swahilis & are seeking for an opportunity to revenge themselves be it later or sooner. (sic)

Jones further recounts the difficulty of the journey, the relationship problems among the caravan, squabbles, promiscuity, slavery, accidental killing, buffalo wagon problems, animal deaths to tsetse fly, stealing, pilfering, drunkenness, desertion, etc. To manage such a group, who could often number in the hundreds, was a challenge for any leader. Bishop Hannington and 'his brethren' considered Jones to be such a leader (the following excerpts are from the journals of Hannington himself):

Samburu, July 25th, 1885.

I have Jones with me. The brethren feel that you [his wife] will be more comfortable if I am not quite alone. Never alone, for He is always with me.

Later (no date)

The trials of caravan life are just now thick upon me, and I must confess that the outlook is gloomy; difficulties present themselves in a way they never thought of doing before. Starvation, desertion, treachery, and a few other nightmares and furies hover over one's head in ghostly forms, and yet, in spite of all, I feel in capital spirits, and feel sure of results, though perhaps they may not come exactly in the way we expect. In the midst of the storm I can say,-

Peace, perfect peace, the future all unknown;

Jesus we know, and He is on the throne.

And now let me beg every met of spare prayer. You must uphold my hands, lest they fall. If this is the last chapter of earthly history, then the next will be the first page

of the heavenly - not blots and smudges, no incoherence, but sweet converse in the presence of the Lamb!¹⁸⁵

That these kinds of threats and trials were not resolved in Africa in the ensuing decades to the turn of the century is clear from missionary reports like those that follow, each dated to the early twentieth century - only twenty years before Pentecostal missionaries would be treading these same lands.

Troubles with Warring Natives (1901)

In the early days of the Mission the war-whoop was almost daily heard in the vicinity of the different stations, & the missionaries were called upon to witness scenes of wild confusion & bloodshed, as the natives strove to defend their lives & property from the fierce attacks of bands of marauding tribes - i.e. Masai, Wahehe & Wakamba. Caravans, either with or without Europeans, had to be armed to the teeth.¹⁸⁶

Itinerating (1904)

At Kisitwi the people were too hungry in body to care much for the "Bread of Life". They could only talk of their great hunger. Nevertheless a few assembled to the service in the evening and seemed interested...

At Mbagilwa we found nothing but deserted villages, the people having moved owing to the depredations of the man-eating leopards. ... We arrived...and encamped at the village of chief Makala. ... Malaka himself followed us to two other places and heard more of the teaching. He confessed that he once murdered three people, and yet for him we could declare mercy....¹⁸⁷

Alongside such threats to their survival some even believed that the new century seemed to be at times even harsher than the old:

In the British East Africa Protectorate, the path of the average native seems rougher in the present than it was in the old days. Despite the introduction of a railway and

¹⁸⁵ Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol III*, (1899) p. 410. (Every 'met' of prayer, every 'measure', 'amount' (Old English)).

¹⁸⁶ *CMS Archives Microfilm Collection*, Reel 389 Tanganyika Mission Original papers 1902 History of the CMS in German East Africa.

¹⁸⁷ *CMS Archives Microfilm Collection*, Reel 390 Original papers 1904 Notes from Usagara-Chigogo by J.H. Briggs.

the clearing of roads, human transport is apparently at a premium, and recently the authorities have resorted to the miserable expedient of seizing men in the streets ... and compelling them to serve as porters.¹⁸⁸

Further reports of famine among the natives, pressure on the mission stations, witchcraft abundant, the corruption surrounding the collection of “kodi” (tax), opposition from Islam, and even Europeans beheaded and murdered, continue to punctuate the missionary records. It must be said, however, that most missionaries fell to disease rather than death by violence - some estimate that 50-90% of the earliest missionary teams succumbed to the illnesses thought to be borne in the ‘bad air’ (malaria) of the ‘white man’s graveyard’. For those who survived, despite the relative success of economics in the exchange of gifts and trade in food, beads and cloth, the spiritual work made slow progress during the early ventures of these pioneers. Mechanised transportation was not the answer either although it reportedly made life considerably easier:

The gift of a motor-cycle combination...has been a tremendous boon and greatly facilitated the visitation of the out-stations, every one of which is now accessible in this way... out-stations which used to be three or four days “safari” can now be reached in comparative comfort in as many hours, a great saving of time, energy and money... (1926)¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ *CMS Archives Microfilm Collection*, Reel 360 Original papers 1901 Extract from the Taveta Chronicle January 1901. Taveta is still the border town between Kenya and Tanzania immediately to the east of Moshi Town.

¹⁸⁹ *CMS Archives Microfilm Collection*, Reel 395 Original papers 1927 Report of the Tanganyika Mission for 1926.

In truth ‘roads’ were still rugged and rare and bridges were often basic or broken. Vehicular transport remained at a premium, although rickshaws and perambulators (prams) made it to the mission field for missionary use.¹⁹⁰



Figure 3.2 Missionary Giersch in a rickshaw ca. 1906



Figure 3.3 Missionaries at coffee table ca. 1903

During that half century (1870s-1920s) of African history the geographical shape and boundaries of Tanzania as we know it today were being crafted. The land was still a remote place to the incoming foreigners and the rulers of colonial power and influence used and abused the land and its people.¹⁹¹ It was 1882 before Lake Tanganyika was circumnavigated and mapped by Edward C. Hore for the Royal Geographical Society.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Two photos from “Photographs of the Moravian Church, Herrnhut, Germany, ca.1890-1940” being, a. Missionary Giersch in a rickshaw, Nyasa, Tanzania, ca.1906-1929 -

<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/38402/rec/50> (accessed 13.05.15) (Ernst Otto Giersch (1878-1946 [1947]) was a missionary of the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine. He served from 1906 to 1908 in Mbozi (together with his wife Anna Magdalena, née Seiler) and returned home because of illness. From 1927 to 1929 he again served in Mbozi.) b. Missionaries at coffee table, Kymbila, Tanzania, ca. 1903-1914 -

<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15799coll123/id/28609/rec/19> (accessed 13.05.15)

¹⁹¹ In 1895 ivory from elephant tusks accounted for almost 50% of the German Protectorate’s export earnings. <http://www.schudak.de/timelines/germaneastfrica1884-1922.html> (accessed 21.4.15). Expatriates increasingly became the landowners. By 1929, British immigrants had acquired 750,000 acres, Germans 362,000, Indians 310,000 and Greeks 230,000. Land use included the export of ivory, rubber, sisal, coffee, tobacco, and cotton which were seen as ‘very remunerative’. Walter Fitzgerald, *Africa: A Social, Economic and Political Geography of its Major Regions*, London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1934 (1961)) p. 215-264.

¹⁹² Hore led the pioneer expedition to Central Africa for LMS, March 1877, leading a team of over 200 men to Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. James B. Wolf, *Missionary to Tanganyika, 1877-1888 Edward C. Hore* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1971).

Railway lines which began to be established at the turn of the century helped maximise communication, exportation and also exploitation of local resources driven by the economic appetites of competing colonial powers.¹⁹³ Gold hunting was being pursued in near Lake Victoria, but the search for revenue from these 'new lands' under European supervision extended to 'The Hut and Poll Tax' which was not welcome. Archdeacon W.E. Owen of Kavironda complained 'The Administration have taken the strongest measures to screw the last shilling out of the people.'¹⁹⁴ Despite taxation efforts, infrastructures remained poor. Roads generally remained much less accessible¹⁹⁵ even in the early twentieth century and foot parties could still lose their way if not careful.¹⁹⁶

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century it appears Christian missions had not fared as well as the colonial economic enterprises. While the interests of the colonial powers was still strong the impact of overt Christian missionary activity was marked by its general lack of influence among the local population despite great effort on the part of German and British mission societies. Sahlberg reports opposition to the Berlin I and Berlin

¹⁹³ Earliest railway lines ran from Tanga to Moshi (1911) and Dar-es-salaam to Tabora and Kigoma/Mwanza (1914). Fitzgerald, 1934(1961), *Africa*, p. 487-489.

¹⁹⁴ *CMS Archives Microfilm Collection*, Reel 380 Original papers 1932 Letter from the Archdeacon of Kavironda, W.E. Owen, January 1932.

¹⁹⁵ Wolf, *Missionary to Tanganyika*, p. 85. Access was limited to bullock driven carts although the animals were susceptible to the dreaded tsetse fly. Overland travel from the coast to Lake Tanganyika in the 1880s took about 3 months.

¹⁹⁶ Wolf, *Missionary to Tanganyika*, p. 62.

III (EMS) missions.¹⁹⁷ The CMS saw more success in north western Tanzania among the Wahaya after making inroads to Bukoba region from Uganda. Berlin Mission (Berlin I) concentrated their efforts in the south eastern quadrant but the record shows that by the year 1900

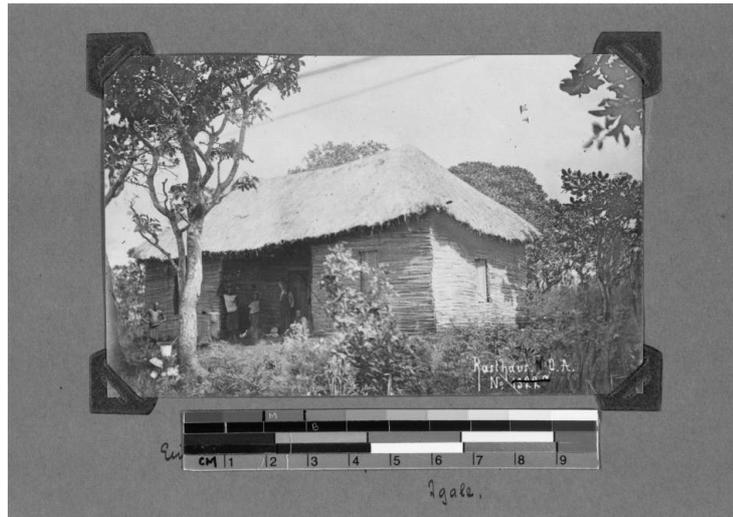


Figure 3.4 Rest house for Europeans nr. Igale

they had only 131 converts although the first decade of the new century saw that number expand considerably to over 2,227.¹⁹⁸ Moravians, who were renowned for their worldwide missionary zeal, worked around this time in south western Tanzania.¹⁹⁹ They quickly established key centres, first in Rungwe (1891) and finally in Tabora (1912),²⁰⁰ but despite seeing 14 new mission stations in place during the period, they saw relatively few converts for a decade of service up to 1900. As it had been for the Berliners, the first decade of the new century began to show the fruit, with Moravians then claiming similar numbers to the Berliners. It was this largely indigenous phase of Christian expansion²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 50.

¹⁹⁸ Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 29.

¹⁹⁹ The photo is from the Moravian Archives and shows the "Rest house for Europeans on the road across the Igale pass." View of a thatched hut made from straw or bamboo with five men standing at the entrance. Titled: "Rasthaus. D.O.A. No. 1322a" ("Rest house. German East Africa No. 1322a") <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll123/id/39563> (accessed 13.5.15).

²⁰⁰ Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 29, 31, also notes that the Moravians were invited to take over the mission station of the London Missionary Society at Urambo, just to the west of Tabora in 1898. Oscar Gemuseus, who worked amicably with Paul Derr, arriving in the same year (1927) saw great success with the Moravian churches: by 1931 10,650 Christians were registered at Rungwe and 6,385 at Tabora. Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 55.

²⁰¹ Space does not permit us to explore details of the impact of the Great War on expatriate Christian Mission in Tanzania. The Maji-Maji rebellion (1905) also affected the faith commitment of tribal peoples in the southern part of Tanzania in a positive way despite its horrors. These factors apparently contribute to setting the scene for the expansion of Christian faith reported among the Moravians and later the Pentecostals.

driven by a small army of catechists and evangelists that stimulated the new growth for the church of the Lord Jesus Christ and set the scene for the arrival of the earliest Pentecostal missionaries.

Turning to the north east of Tanzania, Rindi,²⁰² chief of Moshi, gave permission to Hannington and the British Church Missionary Society to establish a mission station in 1885. Within two years he had also granted permission to the German East Africa Company to trade in the town which was to become the terminus for the Company's railway. Leipzig Mission followed in 1893 and had greater success in the town in spite of rising socio-political unrest at the time.²⁰³ The governor of Kilimanjaro, Carl Peters, finally executed some Chagga men for insurrection and the missions moved out - CMS to Taveta and Leipzig to Machame. Catholic influence in the region began when the door was left open for the once French Holy Ghost Fathers to remain in German East Africa. This was strange since the Germans were largely Lutheran Protestants but leave to remain was granted when the French were 'conquered' in Europe, in a France/Germany conflict and the HGF set themselves up in Kilema (1890) and Kibosho in 1893. Kilimanjaro was therefore evangelised by Catholic as well as Protestant missions from Europe from the earliest.²⁰⁴ The competition finally resulted in the valleys around the lower slopes of the

²⁰² Also known as Mandara.

²⁰³ Bruno Gutmann reputedly became the most well-known of the Leipzig Mission's practitioners. He was a radical who insisted on the preservation of local culture and customs. His socio-anthropology shaped his approach to mission where he saw man as a social creature intimately linked with his community. Social structures then became sacred and he committed himself to 'implant Christianity firmly into society and not to uproot individuals'. He disliked Christian names being administered after baptism and was strongly opposed to the concept of 'western civilisation'. McKinnon, 2001, *British Brethren*, p. 48.

²⁰⁴ Approx. 50% of the Tanzanian population today is Christian, of which two-thirds are Catholic and one third Protestant.

mountain being alternately Catholic and Protestant (mainly Lutheran) in religious affiliation in an uncannily regular pattern.

The Great War re-shaped the international political landscape and German East Africa was to become the Tanganyika Territory under British rule and protection²⁰⁵ but prior to the Berlin Conference (1885), a lot of mission work had taken place in the region. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa (est. 1847, arr. Zanzibar, 1864) had already established a station at Masasi in 1875. The British LMS (est. 1795, arr. Ujiji, 1878) was permitted to remain in the German colony but they handed over their mission station in Tabora to the Moravians in 1898. The British CMS (est. 1799, arr. East Africa, 1844, Tanzania, 1878) which also remained, benefitted from being located on the railway line between Dar-es-salaam and Kigoma and their mission station work at Mwapwa grew to 5000 by 1914. Sahlberg estimates that before World War I, the Christian population of Tanzania would have been approximately, 93,000 souls - about two percent of the estimated population.²⁰⁶ Not until 1926 were the German missions allowed to return to Tanzania and so the rise of American and British influence during the earlier part of the twentieth century was to come through the arrival of the likes of the Africa Inland Mission (est. 1895, arr. Nassa, Lake Victoria, 1909), the Seventh Day Adventists Mission (est. 1869, arr. Suji, Pare, 1903), and the Pentecostal Holiness Church Mission (arr. Igale, 1927).

²⁰⁵ The impact of WWI on the mission enterprises of Tanzania was very disruptive. As the upper hand in the war moved from one side to another, 1915 saw British and American missionaries imprisoned or deported to other neighbouring lands, while the shift in power in 1916 saw the German missionaries of Berlin I & III, Moravians and Benedictine monks, removed or imprisoned. Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 50. For additional political and religious perspectives see, Jörg Haustein (2017) Strategic tangles: Slavery, colonial policy, and religion in German East Africa, 1885–1918, *Atlantic Studies*, 14:4, p. 497-518.

²⁰⁶ Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 46, 47.

3.3. Here Come the Pentecostals

Although many other mission endeavours²⁰⁷ had variable measures of success in the country of Tanzania, the focus of this study remains on the arrival of missionaries who originated from within the Pentecostal and Brethren movements. It is surprising that, despite the zeal and proportionate strength of sending power that the Brethren had elsewhere in world mission, Pentecostals who came much later in time to the worldwide Christian mission scene arrived four decades *before* the Brethren in Tanzania.

Karl and Marion Wittich, arrived in Tanzania as independent Pentecostal missionaries in 1913 from the USA after studying at Rochester Bible College, New York. Within three months Karl and another missionary, Clarence Grothaus, had died from consuming bad water but Marion who was also gravely ill, recovered. She was joined within months by Ed Adiska, with his wife and four children, and others also to help oversee the establishment of a mission station at Itigi.²⁰⁸ The work was slow in spiritual terms with the first convert, a child, coming to faith two years later. On furlough, 1919, Marion testified, “It is the only Pentecostal work in that whole colony, and was the only mission that was kept up during the war. When the other missions were all closed God kept His hand on

²⁰⁷ London Missionary Society (est. 1795) served East and South Africa; Church Missionary Society (1799) served across Africa; Berlin Mission (1824) served East and South Africa. The Holy Ghost Fathers (1840) and the White Fathers (1868) (both Catholic) had considerable influence in Tanzania. After Livingstone’s appeal, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (c. 1857) established a late mission base at Zanzibar (1864) after previous failures in the Shire Highlands. In 1866 the Evangelical Mission Society for German East Africa (Lutheran) was established with close links to the German Colonisation Society. The Bethel Mission later took over the EMS (1910). The political landscape in the area was beginning to be shaped under the guidance of one, Carl Peters, who arrived in Usagara region, 100 miles from the coast in 1884. He returned to Europe later that year to take part in the Berlin Conference where European colonial powers agreed their claims upon Africa - the Germans securing East Africa as their territories (Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi).

²⁰⁸ *The Pentecostal Evangel*, Vol. 2. No. 19, May 9, 1914. “Death of Rev. Karl Wittich and Rev. Clarence Grothaus in German East Africa”. The article erroneously reports Itigi being 700 miles inland from Dar-es-salaam, when it is approx. 750km from the coast.

the work”.²⁰⁹ Marion, who was brought up near Toronto, Canada, remarried. Together with her new husband, Otto Keller, who was a missionary in British East Africa, they resettled in Kisumu, Kenya²¹⁰ after Otto was refused a residence permit for Tanganyika. They finally registered their work with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC).

In 1927, Paul Derr, later a member of the American Assemblies of God, arrived in Igale, southern Tanzania, with a view to joining his father-in-law, Daniel Spiese and wife Fannie, who were serving along with a Mrs Brown of the ‘Elder Mission’. The Spiese’s own view of mission endeavour reflected the ‘faith mission’ principles that were to dominate the later Brethren mission enterprise. Fannie reported, ‘We are not backed by anyone except our Lord, and so far as we can ascertain we are the only Pentecostal Mission in Tanganyika and the only “Full Gospel” in the southern half.’²¹¹ Mission allegiances were held loosely it seems by the earliest missionaries as they pulled together in the remoteness of this corner of the Lord’s harvest field. They were located rurally, outside the small town of Igale, near to the modern centre of Mbeya.²¹² Derr, shared the individualistic view of the missionary calling: he was reluctant to be associated with existing missions but was sure the Lord had told him, ‘Arise, go to Africa!’²¹³ He arranged his journey with a close friend, Harry Smith, under the auspices of the Pentecostal Holiness Mission but he was simply a

²⁰⁹ *The Latter Rain Evangel*, Vol. 11. No. 9, June 1919. Pioneering amid Perils of War: Suffering the Loss of all Things by Mrs Marion E. Wittich, East Africa, in the Stone Church Convention, May 23, 1919.

²¹⁰ *The Latter Rain Evangel*, Vol. 12. No. 12, September 1920, p. 20.

²¹¹ *The Latter Rain Evangel*, Vol. 20. No. 11, August 1928, p. 15. A similar Brethren magazine entry in *Echoes of Service* may have read, ‘We are not backed by anyone except our Lord, and so far as we can ascertain we are the only evangelicals in Tanganyika and the only “True Gospel” in the southern half.’

²¹² Igale was the ‘boma’ or government administrative HQ for the region before it was moved south east to the town of Mbeya.

²¹³ E.S. Munisi, *et al.*, *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God* (Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania: Idara ya Uanafunzi na Maandiko TAG (HQ), 2014) p. 23-24. Derr had links with the Assemblies of God in US prior to going to Africa. They were hoping to send him as a missionary to Jamaica, but when he had the personal call to Africa, they could not concur. They parted company and he went to Tanganyika in loose association with PHM.

licensed minister (preacher) with them in 1927. It was not until 1929 that he seems to have received word from the Pentecostal Holiness Association that he was now considered by them, an ordained minister. Derr and his wife Evelyn arrived May 1928 and camped for four months in the forest lumbering in preparation for building. Tragedy struck these earliest 'tent-making' missionaries in a fire which destroyed all their possessions leaving them destitute.²¹⁴ Spiese and later Mrs Brown left for America, but Derr moved to Igale town and started a fellowship with about a dozen of his earliest converts. Local colonial government required the registration of the little church fellowship and Derr conformed to their request using the registration, Pentecostal Holiness Association. The resulting Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC) flourished and grew rapidly in a wider context of "revival" around the region - northern Rhodesia, Malawi and southern Tanzania saw more rapid church growth across the denominations.²¹⁵ By 1930, Derr was preaching effectively in the Nyakyusa language and signs and wonders followed – three years of blessing were recounted by Derr in enthusiastic terms: 'There is no space to speak of individual miracles in explaining his good work (the Lord)'.²¹⁶ These missionaries considered their ministry to be unfolding in the midst of revival – indeed Munisi speaks of December 1930 as the 'date of the first big Pentecostal revival in Tanganyika.'²¹⁷ The PHC saw many receive Holy Spirit baptism who had previously been closely associated with the Moravians²¹⁸ and by 1934 lay teachers and preachers were

²¹⁴ Spiese, Brown and Derr worked together on a timber project, harvesting timber from the Mbalizi valley. Their homes, built of timber, were destroyed by fire in 1938 leaving them in abject poverty.

²¹⁵ *The Pentecostal Evangel*, No. 1394, January 25, 1941. p.7. Now 1400 believers in their churches; 700 having Holy Spirit baptism.

²¹⁶ Munisi, et al., *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God*, p. 35. (Translated from Swahili)

²¹⁷ Munisi, et al., *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God*, p. 37. (Translated from Swahili)

²¹⁸ Many of those who were baptised in the Holy Spirit and subsequently received baptism by immersion ('maji mengi') were from the Moravian Churches.

being used for the propagation of the gospel. The Pentecostal mission seems to have attracted believers who had previously been part of the Moravian church. In the same year Yohana Mpayo and Ramsey Mwambipile were officially ordained as PHC pastors.

Meanwhile, other Pentecostals had arrived from Sweden locating first outside Nzega, north of Tabora. The Swedish Free Mission work at Ntazengwa began in 1932 with Erland and Esther Dahlqvist and spread to the west towards Kigoma.²¹⁹ Six mission stations were established by 1946 and an outpouring of the Spirit brought a great revival in Kigoma that year.²²⁰ Svea Nordberg (*nee* Carlsson) was directed by the Lord through the Spirit to 'Kigoma', a name she had never previously heard of, and worked there with great effect.

By 1961 the Swedish Free Mission had 26 mission stations across the country including around the Tabora/Shinyanga districts, Igunga, Ushetyu, Mbogwe, Biharu, Itanana, Tabora, Kagunga, Biharamulo, Muhange, Keza, Uyovu, and elsewhere, Mpanda, Sumbawanga, Dar-es-salaam, Morogoro, Itigi, Arusha and Moshi (see Figure 3.5 below). Dagernäs highlights the vital role that local African people played in the development of these mission enterprises, from the first agreement of the village chiefs in the establishment of a mission station in their area, right through to the evangelists, elders and pastors who took the work forward in cooperation with the missionaries.²²¹ The

²¹⁹ Andrea Dagernäs, "Att ikläda sig ansvar" Inhemskt aktörskap i Skandinavisk Pingstmission i Tanganyika 1932-1945 ("To take on responsibility" Indigenous Agency in the Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission in Tanganyika 1932-1945), Göteborgs Universitet: unpublished Master Thesis. On p. 87, in his mini-bio notes Esther was previously married to Axel Carlsson & together served as missionaries in South Africa sent from the Philadelphia Church, Stockholm, from 1921 to 1923 when Axel died.

²²⁰ Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa*, p. 76. Andreas Dagernäs, *Indigenous Agency*, states four mission stations were the foundational bases for Swedish Pentecostal Mission between 1932-1939: Ntazengwa, Lowa, Nkinga and Mpera. Mwandiga in Kigoma followed later.

²²¹ Dagernäs, *Indigenous Agency*, further highlights the support of other structures within the development of the SFM enterprises which included the support of AIM and various sympathetic officials of colonial government. p. 34-35. AIM

missionaries themselves were key, however, in establishing the various stations.²²² As well as appealing for funds for the building of the stations they were prepared to sell their own goods to raise funds for the completion of the construction of the health care facilities they established and ran.²²³

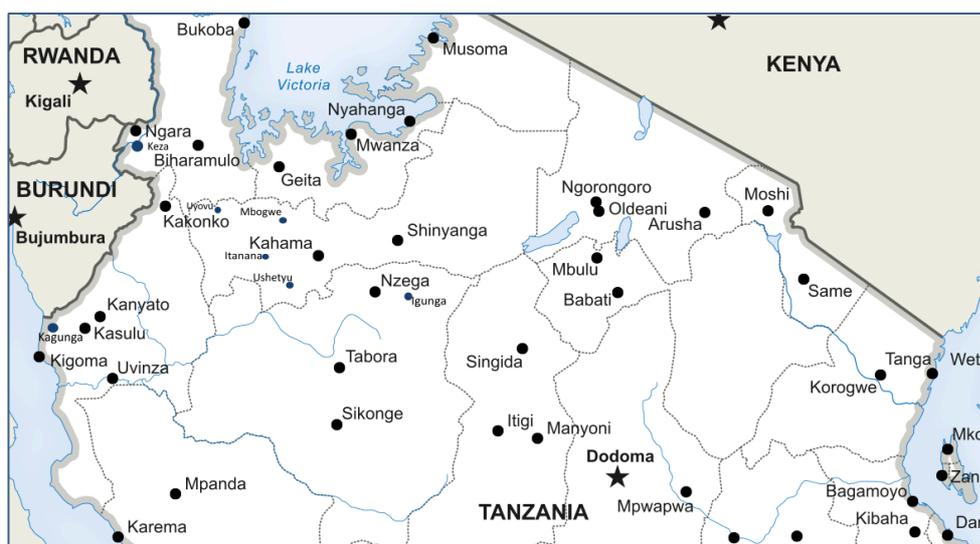


Figure 3.5 Map showing some Swedish Free Mission station locations around Tabora/Shinyanga districts, c. 1960.

Nzega, Tabora was chosen as the base for the first Finnish missionary who worked under the auspices of the Swedish Free Mission. Sylvia Mömmö, their pioneer who arrived in 1934, was part of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission, who later sent many missionaries to serve in the country. Alongside churches they established a Bible School at Nzega, rest houses and many clinics across the country.²²⁴

were est. in Tanzania, at Nassa, Lake Victoria, after agreeing to the request of Bishop Tucker that they take over the CMS work there with its 150 churches in June 1909. Sahlberg, *Kutoka Krapf hadi Rugambwa*, p. 41.

²²² Dagnäs, *Indigenous Agency*, provides a helpful list of the missionaries who served in the period, 1932-1945, running to 23 persons in total. Alongside them, the 'indigenous agency' of local African church leaders runs to some 15 key Tanzanian personnel.

²²³ Dagnäs, *Indigenous Agency*. p. 36.

²²⁴ Stanley M Burgess, Eduard M. van der Maas (Eds), *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), Tanzania, p.264ff.

In 1938 Derr and his family returned to America for furlough: partly for health reasons; rest; intent on securing additional missionary workers; and printing hymn books translated to Nyakyusa and Safwa languages. When Harry Smith was unable to source others to go to Tanzania, Derr turned to the Assemblies of God for assistance. They agreed to the request in the person of J. W. Nilson and his wife Ebba, missionaries serving in Congo at the time with the AoG. In 1940, while Derr was still in America, Nilson arrived in Igale, which by now was the main centre for the PHC. Some local pastors, however, were not persuaded by Nilson's delegated role and withdrew because of the new identity that he brought with him in being 'Assemblies of God'.²²⁵ Many of the PHC ministers were not ready for the change and refused to leave the Pentecostal Holiness Association. Despite attempts at reconciliation the division remained – 'the faith' it seems had taken root tenaciously in Tanzanian soil even in Mbeya.

Derr's daughter, Ruth, was married in 1941 to Claude Keck, who together felt the call of God to serve in Tanzania. Their attempt to meet that call was dramatically interrupted by the sinking of the ship they sailed in (by attack from a German U-boat) although they themselves were rescued and returned to New York.²²⁶ Ragner and Alice Udd joined the Nilsons in Igale in 1942 from previous service in Congo and John and Mabel Richards the following year.²²⁷ Derr himself returned to Tanzania in 1946 by which time Yohana Mpayo, his disciple, had planted a church in Mbalizi under the name of Assemblies of God. The

²²⁵ Munisi, *et al.*, *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God*, p. 37, explains that Derr when leaving in 1938 exhorted his flock not to leave the faith. They took this to mean the PHA denomination. When Nilson and others came wearing AoG hats, and their beloved Derr was still absent, they were not about to recant. In fact, even when Derr, reappeared in 1946, he had difficulty in persuading some to join him in his new role as an AoG missionary.

²²⁶ *The Christ's Ambassadors Herald*, Vol. XIV. No. 8, August 1941, p. 6.

²²⁷ Udds served at Igali for two years, moving to northern Nyasaland; then David and Yukon Hastie arrived in 1945.

roots of two of the major Pentecostal church denominations in Tanzania were established, but not without pain and tension that lasted between them for many years. By 1948 only Derr and his wife remained as AoG missionaries in Tanzania.

Derr was a classic Pentecostal in his theology, preaching the message of salvation by faith in Christ; the need for water baptism by immersion; and '[t]he step that followed after a person was saved was baptism in the Holy Spirit with the witness of speaking in another language'.²²⁸ Mwakimage notes that the baptism of the Holy Spirit had two positive results for the growth of the early Pentecostal churches:

1. ...they were given spiritual power and so their faith in God grew strong. The manifestation of miracles, miraculous healing and other signs was part of the experience of their ministry every day. Confronting the powers of darkness was a normal part and condition of the ministry of these early members of the Assemblies of God.²²⁹
2. The Holy Spirit made them appear different to other Christians who were without the power of the Holy Spirit and this caused them to testify to the news of Christ, not only to pagans, but also to the unsaved believers of the denominations which were without the power of the Holy Spirit.²³⁰

While these reasons may appear valid to the Pentecostals some inter-denominational tensions no doubt arose even from the earliest days of their Tanzanian history as Mwakimage's confession of 'secrets' may suggest:

This [referring to point 2. above] was indeed one of the foundations and secrets that made the Church of the Assemblies of God Tanzania attractive to many normal

²²⁸ Jotham Mwakimage, *Historia Ya Kanisa La Tanzania Assemblies of God: Kuasisiwa na Kuimarika* (Tanga: Jothan Mwakimage, 2011), p.11. 'Hatua iliyofuata baada ya mtu kuokoka ilikuwa ubatizo katika Roho Mtakatifu na ushahidi wa kunena kwa lugha nyingine.'

²²⁹ Mwakimage, *Historia ya TAG*, "Kwanza walitiwa nguvu kiroho na hivyo imani yao katika Mungu iliimarika. Udhahirisho wa miujiza na uponyaji wa kimiujiza na ishara nyingine ikawa sehemu ya uzoefu wa huduma yao ya kila siku. Kukabiliana na nguvu za giza ikawa sehemu na hali ya kawaida kwa huduma ya hawa washirika wa kwanza wa Assemblies of God." p. 11-12.

²³⁰ Mwakimage, *Historia ya TAG*, "Roho Mtakatifu aliwafanya waonekane wako tofauti na wakristo wengine wasio na nguvu za Roho Mtakatifu na hili likawafanya kushuhudia habari za Kristo sio tu wakiwalenga wapagani bali wasiookoka waumini wa madhehebu wasio na nguvu za Roho Mtakatifu." p. 12.

religious Christians who changed their church fellowships where they were fellowshiping and moved to join the Assemblies of God. The matter of changing denomination or religion and giving oneself over to receiving teaching with a biblical foundation from the Church of the Assemblies of God has lasted for many years right up to recent days, as many people change or move their denomination in order to join the Assemblies of God looking for the spiritual and especially the power of the Holy Spirit (sic).²³¹

In the same year that Derr returned to the field, 1946, Elim Pentecostals from Britain arrived in Tanzania, beginning their ministry in Morogoro and two years later establishing a mission station in Kondoa, to the north west.

The British Assemblies of God were also keen 'to open fresh work in an unoccupied area'²³² in the field of Tanganyika and hoped to enjoy the cooperation of their Pentecostal brothers and sisters already in the country. Mr A.J. Coombes; Mr and Mrs J.W. Beardsmore and Miss E. Thomas, were names that Dahlqvist of SFM introduced to the Chief Secretary at Dar-es-salaam with a view to them coming to Tanzania for missionary service. Coombes arrived in 1947 to Nzega, met Dahlqvist and began to attempt to pave the way for the arrival of the Beardsmores. He headed due south and thought he had found land for a mission station only to cross Paul Derr working in the south and towards Malawi. Coombes disagreement with Derr resulted in the AOG US and AOG UK exchanging some correspondence and the matter was tense. AOG UK instructed Coombes to withdraw to another area but his refusal to respond to their instruction saw his certificated status as an AOG missionary suspended in 1948. Nevertheless, Coombes negotiated a place for the Beardsmores at the AOG US mission station at Igale. Mr J. Richards, based at Igale, seems to have been more amenable to the possibility of working

²³¹ Mwakimage, *Historia ya TAG*, p.12.

²³² Minute Book no. 14, PMU, AoG GB, HRMC, May 1946 - Mar. 1948, 19th Mar. 1948 265.1 p.183.

together. He was instrumental in registering the Assemblies of God East Africa as an umbrella registration within which all Pentecostal groups could be legally recognised in the territory. He asked that there be clear communication of planning for the territory and requested AOG UK to suggest a name under which they might be registered with AOG EA: 'Assemblies of God of Tanganyika' was the suggestion from the Overseas Missionary Council who hoped to ensure indigenous ownership of the work.²³³

The following decade in the history of the Tanzania Assemblies of God saw them grow to be the dominant Pentecostal denomination in the country. Their strategy for indigenous churches around the 3-selves paradigm resulted in a deep rooted national ownership and mushrooming growth. Wesley and June Hurst were the missionary protagonists for this strategic orientation between 1953 and 1967. They were determined to see the churches grow because of 'precept and example' and Munisi outlines their key contributions as follows: 1. Formal theological education by starting and running Bible colleges for ministers; 2. Starting and running Sunday Schools for believers; 3. The use of accurate doctrinal teaching through the use of tracts (Literature ministry); and 4. Establishing a strong organisational structure for the church which upheld the faith, the teaching and the reasons for being for the church. Fundamental to the structure that Hurst laid out was the heartfelt embrace of the believers:

Now the work is completely indigenous, preachers are supported by their local churches and the fruit of the land. Those who have registered for Sunday School have reached 800 people, and more than 1000 attend the main service. ... there are also 30 [day] schools, 34 teachers, and 1150 students.

²³³ Minute Book no. 14, PMU, AoG GB, HRMC, May 1946 - Mar. 1948, 12th Jul. 1946 248.5 p.12.

The consistent teaching from 1953 onwards focused on being an indigenous, independent and self-supporting church: a. tithing, and b. farming were the primary means of support for church pastors; there was also a central general fund that churches contributed towards. Local churches were self-governing and could not be interfered with, being ruled by the Pastor and Elders. Bible college instruction reinforced these principles. Munisi quotes the records as saying, 'Here in East Africa this structure is immensely suitable, and the Africans themselves see that it is a careful plan the likes of which they have never heard of before.'²³⁴ Nevertheless, not all believers or ministers were subservient to the growing church and its organisational structure. Munisi and others give account of great rivalry and division through the 1980s, but this only resulted in multiplication by division.

3.4. The East African Revival and the Charismatic Movement in Tanzania

Indigenous movements of a revivalist and charismatic nature were already well underway in Tanzania alongside the developments of mission Christianity. The consideration of the historical church contexts of Tanzania must take some cognisance of the East African Revival which began in the 1930s in south west Uganda²³⁵ following

²³⁴ Munisi, et al., *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God*, p. 86. (Translated from Swahili). In Munisi's account of the history of the TAG, he sees the Bible colleges, the Sunday Schools, the Indigenisation Strategy and the Institutional Organisational structure as being the vital elements that facilitated the Holy Spirit's blessing on the churches.

²³⁵ Many date the EA Revival's beginnings to June 1936 in Uganda. Even so, there were many signs of revival breaking out for at least a decade beforehand in parts of Rwanda, around the Gahini Mission Hospital, run by CMS. Joe Church was certainly hungry for revival as early as 1927. Gehman even traces its origins back to Alexander Mackay, a CMS missionary of 1877, who was converted in 1860 in the English Revival, however, he wisely notes that Gordon Hewitt suggests, "It would be unwise to consider one individual person or place as the origin of that revival which swept all East African churches from 1930 and on; nevertheless, anywhere the study of the East African Revival will be taught, Gahini will be undoubtedly seen as the origin of the East African Revival." (quoted in Richard Gehman, *The East African Revival*, *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 5.1 (1986): 36-56).

shortly afterwards into Tanzania's north western Bukoba region and subsequently across the country.²³⁶ Welbourne calls it 'one of the most vital Christian movements in East Africa today.'²³⁷

The EA Revival or *Uamsho* was more of a renewal movement than 'an awakening'²³⁸ (which is usually considered to have a more evangelistic edge) having its greatest impact within the Church. Elinaza E. Sendoro maintains that it is difficult to write about the 'Charismatic awakening (*uamsho*) in Tanzania without starting with the East Africa Revival (*uamsho*).'²³⁹ Writing at the turn of the 21st century Sendoro notes that opinion is divided as to whether there is continuity or discontinuity between the past expressions of *uamsho* in the mainstream churches and the new *uamsho* of the charismatic movement. African historic church critics of the charismatic movement see the *uamsho* influence as '*moto wa kigeni*' (a foreign fire – see Lev. 10.1-3) and the Brethren response would have shared a similar critique.²⁴⁰ Such theology was foreign to the Tanzanian mainline mission churches/denominations, and foreign to the Brethren non-conformist mission enterprise. But the response among the indigenous masses of Tanzania was very different. The exacting reality remains that in the last quarter of the twentieth century, of the 176 million Pentecostals, 123 million charismatics and 28 million third wavers (in 1988)²⁴¹ – 327

²³⁶ For an autobiographical account of the revival see Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest: An autobiographical account of the East African Revival* (Kampala: The Partner Press, 1981).

²³⁷ quoted in Richard Gehman, *The East African Revival*, p. 36.

²³⁸ The Swahili noun *uamsho* (from the verb *kuamka* – to awaken) means an 'awakening'.

²³⁹ Elinaza E. Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama: Roho Mtakatifu katika Makanisa ya Kihistoria Tanzania* (Revival and Gifts: The Holy Spirit in the Historical Church of Tanzania) (Moshi, Tanzania: New Millennium Books, 2010)

²⁴⁰ See e.g. Shuff, *Searching for the True Church*, p. 197. '...the new movement [Pentecostalism]... came under unmitigated censure' and was considered, 'excitable and misguided'.

²⁴¹ Prof. Allan Anderson estimates that the 'pentecostals' (including the three categories mentioned and adding the independent pentecostal megachurches) now number around 631 million (2014). This figure is projected to reach 800 million by 2025.

million believers worldwide – only 29 percent were white and 71 percent were non-white.²⁴² The Spirit was clearly at work largely among the indigenous peoples of the non-Western world, and even among those indigenous peoples who would already have called themselves ‘Christian’.

The origins of the EA revival, like any other revival are almost impossible to trace. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the gospel had seen great success in missionary endeavour in parts of Rwanda and south western Uganda. Converts to Christianity faced great opposition however, especially under Buganda’s King (Kabaka) Mwanga and many African martyrs inspired the fledgling church to stand fast. Pilkington’s revival work on the island of Kome, although remarkable for a time was decimated by a plague of sleeping sickness. Still, at the turn of the twentieth century, reports of 100,000 adherents and 70,000 baptised believers with 300 churches established by CMS missionaries in the region over a period of ten years (1921-1930) seemed like revival was upon them. But quickly, the backsliding and nominalism of these churches was soon exposed and infighting, schism and numerical decline emerged under the pressure of famine, hunger and other social upheavals.²⁴³ An outpouring of the Spirit was needed.

The East African Revival came to Tanzania in 1938 via Rwanda and Bukoba town in Kagera Region. The origins of the revival are still disputed both in persons and in geography but the arrival of the *uamsho* in Bukoba was among the Evangelical Lutheran

²⁴² David Barrett’s figures quoted in Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), p. 21.

²⁴³ Richard Gehman, *The East African Revival*, p. 37.

Church of Tanzania (ELCT).²⁴⁴ Wilson Niwagila makes reference to Karoma, a servant of the ELCT, who was used of God to work miracles. Karoma was a quiet and unassuming man who was marked by humility and faith; he first found God answering his prayers for healing for his wife who it was said, was near to death. Karoma laid hands on her and prayed in faith – she was healed.²⁴⁵ But the primary emphasis of the period saw many others come to faith and repent of sin in public meetings even without being called to make a response to the preaching. These *walokole* (the saved ones) were marked out by their love for one another, their faith and their unity more than the miraculous. It was the impact of this spiritual work in Rwanda as well as that of a big revival meeting in Namirembe, Kampala in 1940, which caused some to then return to their home town of Bukoba and to put to rights the wrongs they had done, to repent and to bear witness to a new life of salvation.

Festo Kivengere was one of a number of prominent church leaders from Uganda who despite initial reservations about the revival fires in their own country, finally became 'born-again Christians with a passion for winning souls for Christ.'²⁴⁶ Kivengere, aged 21, took up a post in Dodoma, Tanzania in 1940 as a secondary school teacher but was also an effective lay evangelist and preacher. His impact on Tanzanian Anglican churches in the area is difficult to measure, however, he was a pioneer in East Africa (at the invitation of Michael Cassidy) for what was to become African Enterprises (AE) and his personal

²⁴⁴ Usually, Joe Church and Nsibambi are credited with being the originators. Some claim it began in a Bible study fellowship in modern Rwanda, while others maintain it was of Ugandan origin. Niwagila maintains the *uamsho* began with George Pilkington of the Anglican church in Uganda when he called African believers to 'wake up' (*waamke*) as early as 1893. (see Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 19.)

²⁴⁵ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p.17.

²⁴⁶ Isaria N. Kimambo, *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 1999), p.298.

ministry was later dubbed as being ‘the Billy Graham of Africa’.²⁴⁷ He was formally recognised in 1967 being ordained to the ministry. After extensive international ministry he returned to Uganda to take a prominent role as bishop of Kigezi in 1972.

Significant to this study is the ongoing impact of the Revival across the northern and central regions of Tanzania through the 1960s and 70s. In Mwanza, the revival spread to the African Inland Church and Moses Kulola was converted.²⁴⁸ He was baptised in the AIC but later spoke of ‘becoming a pentecostal’ in 1960/61. He joined the Tanzanian AoG in 1966 as a pastor after theological training and served with them until 1991. Meanwhile, his ministry as a celebrity preacher and miracle worker across the country was widely renowned. That same year, after some power struggles within the Tanzanian AoG, he founded the Evangelistic Assemblies of God, where he continued to serve as Bishop until his death in 2013. His son, Daniel Kulola succeeded him.

Kulola’s disagreements were with another child of the East African Revival, one Emmanuel Lazaro. His conversion as a Lutheran in Kilimanjaro region could not be contained within the confines of the established Lutheran traditions and so he left to become a key player alongside Kulola. Lazaro became the first Tanzanian Bishop of the Tanzania Assemblies of God in 1967, but Kulola’s power and influence became an issue, rising to become Deputy Bishop, and the two finally parted company with the churches now locked in acrimonious legal battles.²⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the two revivalist churches grew

²⁴⁷ Gerry H. Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Ltd, 1998).

²⁴⁸ Kimambo, *East African Expressions*, p. 298.

²⁴⁹ Munisi, *et al.*, *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God*, p. 203-241. Munisi offers the story from the TAG perspective.

simultaneously through the following decades. The EAGT today claims more than 4000 churches in five regions across Tanzania, divided into 34 provinces. The TAG in 2015 claimed to have 6000 congregations countrywide and were aiming for 10,000 by 2018 through radical mobilisation strategies.²⁵⁰

The marks of the revivalists are evident not only within the Pentecostal denominations like EAGT and TAG, but also with the charismatic developments in mainstream denominations. The primary emphases of the *walokole* of the EA Revival was their 'decision to accept Christ' (*kukata shauri kumpokea Kristo*); 'to publicly (openly) repent of sin' (*kutubu dhambi hadharani au waziwazi*); 'to put things right in life, with a particular emphases on sorting what had been done wrong in the past' (*kutengeneza maisha, yaani kusahihisha yale mhusika aliyoharibu zamani*); 'to bear witness publicly or openly' (*kutoa ushuhuda waziwazi au hadharani*); and 'to walk in the light' (*kutembea nuruni*). The Christocentric nature of *uamsho* theology and the experiential outworking of that theology in practical terms became hallmarks of the movement. These features were seen most openly in their 'fellowships' (*mikutano ya faragha*) where the appointed chairperson (*mwenyekiti*) was only ever the Lord Jesus.²⁵¹ The groups insisted on referring to one another, regardless of church status as *wandugu na wadada* (brothers and sisters). This growing throng of fellowships spanned the denominations²⁵² and the local churches would work together in evangelistic efforts from time to time. They ultimately agreed together to be known as New Life Crusade for these purposes – Immanuel Kibira was

²⁵⁰ <https://penews.org/news/tanzanian-assemblies-of-god-sets-goals-for-spirit-empowerment> (accessed 3.8.2017)

²⁵¹ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p.21.

²⁵² Including Moravian, Africa Inland Church, Lutheran, Anglican and Roman Catholic.

chosen as their first leader. Sendoro notes, “In the Revival of East Africa it looked like many things were able to be achieved *without an authoritative structure of government*. People trusted one another and the leaders were responsible also.”²⁵³ (emphasis mine) However, the *wanauamsho* (revivalists) received a mixed reception across the renewal movement as the fellowships took hold within the historical denominations. While some church leaders praised the groups of revivalists, others felt the impact did not go far enough – the call to separate from historical churches was heard in the Lutheran church under the banner of ‘*jitengi*’ (separate yourselves).²⁵⁴ Some felt there was no place at all for these ‘*mambo ya Kipentecoste*’ (Pentecostal issues) which were sometimes more robustly attacked as ‘*fujo za Kipentecoste*’ (Pentecostal disturbances).

The Anglican and Lutheran Protestants who favoured the blessing of the renewal were not to be outdone and the Roman Catholic churches in Tanzania were finally overtaken by the wave of charismatic renewal among some of their members. Although the *uamsho* fellowships had already been there for some time (since 1965), in 1999 the groups were finally recognised in Tanzania as ‘Charismatic Catholics’ and the RC Bishop for Tanga announced in the press an invitation for all Christians to attend a Conference of the Holy Spirit in September that year.²⁵⁵ Similar conferences were held throughout the country under the specific direction of appointed priests like Mueller and Beatus. In fact, the Charismatic Catholics had come to the fore under the influence of a padre by the name of Etienne Sion who arranged an ecumenical conference with international speakers under

²⁵³ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p.22.

²⁵⁴ McKinnon, *British Brethren*, p. 49.

²⁵⁵ *Msema Kweli*, a weekly newspaper, 11-17 July 1999 and 29-26 July 1999 issues.

the title *Ubatizo wa Roho Mtakatifu na Uponyaji* (The Baptism of the Holy Spirit and Healing) in Morogoro in 1981. The 'moto' (fire) of Morogoro spread from there on the lips of over eighty leaders according to Mueller's recollections.²⁵⁶ The matter which most disturbed the historical congregations however was not the speaking in tongues or even the miraculous healings; the new approaches to communal prayer were a key point for divided opinion.

The issue which irritates many believers in the historical churches is that approach which is imitated by the revivalists and many Charismatics in all people praying with a loud voice, each person individually. Those who have not gotten used to this method of prayer say that it makes the house of prayer resemble a common marketplace. Even so, this is a matter of procedure. Those who have become accustomed see it as appropriate. For others it is an annoyance.²⁵⁷

Despite the spiritual renewal taking place at grassroots, the public meetings through the 1970s and onwards were increasingly marked by announcements of praying for the sick. Some of them were healed in these public contexts and bore witness to their miraculous cures. As expectations in this area heightened the response was a call for prayer for the sick in the historical churches. Any sense of dissatisfaction resulted in many moving to churches where this new practice was being implemented. Pentecostal preaching inflamed these expectations and the impact was felt within the historical churches to the extent that many made commitments to evangelistic rallies and preaching at least three times per year. Edmond John, a deacon with the High Church Anglicans, openly confessed the blessing of the *uamsho* but said he had never spoken in tongues, but his healing ministry was well attested. As healing ministry spread to other

²⁵⁶ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p.26.

²⁵⁷ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p.27.

denominations the desire to move church reduced for many - the charismatic experience was increasingly widespread across the historical churches.

Sendoro sees both blessing and difficulty in the Revival (*uamsho*) and in the charismatic renewal that followed it (*wakarismatika*). As well as his own personal testimony of 35 years in senior roles within the church (as a bishop of ELCT), he calls to bear witness a range of church leaders who speak positively to the changes they have seen across the church and the community; giving fresh zeal, new direction, sanctification within, evangelistic fervour for the lost, prayerfulness, hunger for the Word of God, testimony to the grace of God, better stewardship and generosity in giving, discipline in personal lives, an increase in spiritual gifts and their use, an absence of denominational prejudice (ecumenism), and a challenge for the Church to be more evangelical and prophetic in its outlook.²⁵⁸

Yet even at the critical point of 'the salvation experience', one notes that *kuokoka* (to be saved) becomes a difficulty instead of being a blessing. Many *walokole* saw the result of one 'being saved' (*ameokoka*) as necessitating a move from an historical church to a Pentecostal church fellowship - sometimes then referred to as *Makanisa ya Uamsho* (Revival Churches) or *Makanisa ya Walokole* (Churches of the Saved). The outcomes for some then were an increased division of the body of Christ, extreme views on certain matters considered to be 'unholy', erroneous views on matters of doctrine, Christians drifting from church to church in search of new experiences, prophecies which are not weighed and tested by Scripture, the challenge of the misuse and abuse of tongue-

²⁵⁸ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 39-45.

speaking, the verifiability of claims to the miraculous, and even the questionable ‘fashion’ of confessing Christ as Lord and Saviour (*kukata shauri*). These matters became points of tension between the historical churches and the Pentecostal churches as well as critical points of debate within the historical churches themselves among the charismatics and the traditionalists.²⁵⁹ Kimambo recounts that the tension reached the point of open hostility and hatred when the historic churches declared the Pentecostal churches anathema and unsurprisingly a certain reciprocity arose.²⁶⁰

Before we leave the East Africa Revival and its impact on the historical churches two key issues must be addressed which have spilled out from the renewal movement and now affect the full spectrum of Christian expression in Tanzania; they are the matters of being ‘filled with the Holy Spirit’ and the ‘forms of expression given to worship’ in a gathered church - both of them require to be clearly understood.

The filling of the Holy Spirit continues to be a point of contention which causes controversy and division between denominations and individuals. Sendoro, purporting to represent the historical churches view in Tanzania, appears to set out his theology in such a way as to address or even accommodate the influences of the *uamsho* and the *karismatiki*. He begins by asserting that since it is possible to grieve and to blaspheme the Holy Spirit it is also possible for the Holy Spirit to be given to and removed from an individual (he cites Ps 51.10-11). He further insists that since the Holy Spirit is ‘given

²⁵⁹ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 49-70.

²⁶⁰ Kimambo, *East African Expressions*, p. 300. He notes three delimitations placed by a combination of historic Protestant and Catholic churches: 1. A believer from any of the Pentecostal churches should not be allowed to preach in any of the Protestant and Catholic churches; 2. No member of their churches (Protestant or Catholic) should be allowed to preach in any of the Pentecostal churches; and 3. Should a member from their churches cross over to a Pentecostal church, that member should consider himself or herself as a defector and thus forfeit all benefits and help from the Protestant or Catholic Community.

without measure' by Christ, the matter of filling or not filling is reliant on the receiver, but for sure 'there is no-one who is given more of the Holy Spirit or given a little of the Holy Spirit.'²⁶¹ Nevertheless, he recognises the many biblical examples of those who were filled with the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, baptism of the Holy Spirit for the historical churches seems to be indivisibly tied to water baptism in an ideal world - regardless of any controversy regarding the quantity of water being used - and he sees the baptism of Christ (in water) being Jesus' own baptism in the Holy Spirit. He is now the one who baptises with the Holy Spirit and this 'is the final conclusion required in respect of baptism which brings salvation.'²⁶² The traditional view that there is a distinction required between being filled with the Holy Spirit and being baptised in the Holy Spirit continues to dominate the mainstream denominations. The latter, when administered in conjunction with water baptism is what causes a person 'to be born again and to be included in the family of God'. We need the filling of the Holy Spirit 'because we leak as a result of our human weakness.'²⁶³ That God still fills people with the Holy Spirit today 'for special ministry' is not beyond Sendoro's pneumatology all the same, but he is clearly more Arminian in his views here than others within the historical churches might prefer - that he still insists God is the Giver, and that human beings are the receivers is his measure of the matter and *mwanadamu* (a human being) is required to 'straighten his hand, in order that he might receive.' His conclusions on the matter are either an olive branch to the pentecostal

²⁶¹ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 72.

²⁶² Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 73.

²⁶³ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 74-75.

and charismatic churches or an attempt to show that the historical churches still have a passion for the movement and working of the Spirit:

Therefore, every Christian should pray to be filled with the Holy Spirit and be ready to surrender himself so that the Spirit may lead and rule his whole life. A Christian should be ready to pray that his thoughts and plans which do not agree with the Spirit of God are defeated, no matter how much he loves them, and that the will and leading of the Spirit of God in him should succeed.²⁶⁴

But Sendoro is not slow to challenge some of the other views that concern the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in traditions outside of the historic churches. He faces up with biblical exposition matters of subsequent filling of the Holy Spirit after receiving the Lord Jesus as saviour; sinlessness among those who claim to have been baptised by the Holy Spirit; the evaluation of fellow Christians as to whether they have or have not been baptised by the Holy Spirit; proof-texting to support dubious doctrinal truth; and the danger of religious hypocrisy.

Tanzanian revivalists and charismatics alike have tended to be somewhat disdainful of the historic churches' liturgy. The mistaken concept that the liturgy was 'too restrictive' caused many to seek out new ways of expressing their faith, especially in the view of the fresh zeal they had now for the things of God. This found its immediate expression in the fellowship groups of the revivalists and later spread into other gatherings, especially those of communal evangelistic efforts as spearheaded by New Life Crusade. Once again controversy raged in these matters with some favouring the fresh expressions and others feeling that all order and direction to worship had been removed - the very thing that the liturgy itself was designed to preserve. Depending on the worshippers some were able to

²⁶⁴ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 78.

curb or control certain expressions of worship associated with their denominational background when meeting together in fellowship groups. Of course, some felt that there was increasing imitation of the Pentecostal churches in these matters. Still others did not seem able to accept this limitation on the leading of the Spirit and were compelled to act as they saw fit resulting in conflict not only with the historical churches and their members but even between the groups from the *uamsho* (Revival) and *karismatiki* (Charismatics) as well. As mentioned above differences manifested themselves around models for praying together, the use of the gift of tongues and its interpretation, speaking words of prophecy, miracles of various kinds but especially healing, sometimes even prayer for raising the dead, etc. But the revivalists within the historical churches maintained that it was possible to be a 'good and faithful revivalist before the Lord' and still worship Him in the context of the liturgical worship of their denomination. This approach increasingly isolated some of the fellowship groups as being the place where the more controversial practices of worship might still be practised.

The historical churches tend to seek this separation of the fellowship groups as a solution in order to maintain the status quo of the historical churches liturgical practices 'without overturning or despising the procedures of his church.' Sendoro sees this is useful for three reasons: it encourages the *uamsho* and *karismatiki* groups, giving them freedom and a place within their church; it offers the groups guidance and counsel that encourages them to remain within their historic churches; and finally it offers the leaders a place to control and guide the groups under ordained personnel.²⁶⁵ New Life Crusade,

²⁶⁵ Sendoro, *Revival and Gifts*, p. 85-87. It is worth noting that Sendoro does recognise the problem later in his book of the *wanauamsho* (revivalists) becoming 'a church within a church'. p. 98.

in their ecumenical role of gathering the revivalists together for mission endeavour, adopts the same policy, yet it is clear that there is danger in creating tiers of Christians within a church - the *pneumatikoi* and the rest of us; the *walokole* and the ordinary Christian. One can easily see how such separation within can easily lead to divisions that see many leave the historical churches for the pentecostal and charismatic expressions of church that are increasingly available in Tanzania today. In addition, New Life Crusade have not managed to avoid the controversy of relating well to the revivalist groups within the historical denominations where there is often a lack of clarity about who guides or governs them and to whom they are held accountable.

3.5. The Brethren Arrive in Tanzania²⁶⁶

Ogbu Kalu suggests that 'in both eastern and southern Africa, there was a lull in the operation of classical Pentecostal missionaries during the period 1935-1955. Africa was rediscovered as a mission field in the late 1950s.'²⁶⁷ If this is true (although the TAG history above seems to deny it) his assertion generally fits with the arrival of the British Brethren missionaries, the Dalton brothers, who arrived in Tanzania in 1952. Alan and Dudley conducted extensive survey work entering Tanzania from the Congo in the north-west of the country,²⁶⁸ travelling south following the lakes, and then east across the southern

²⁶⁶ The historical background is drawn from McKinnon, *British Brethren*, p.16ff.

²⁶⁷ Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University press, 2008), p. 63. His assessment of eastern African Pentecostalism is largely silent about Tanzania. He notes only activity in neighbouring Kenya and Uganda, 'For instance, the Canadian Assemblies of God in Uganda entered the borders with Kenya in 1935 but its spread could be dated to 1962 when it entered the eastern region, and by the year 2000 it could claim almost 3 percent of the country's population. Meanwhile, the Full Gospel Church arrived in 1959, the Conservative Baptists in 1961, and the Southern Baptists and the Elim Assemblies in 1962.'

²⁶⁸ Belgian Congo was the mission field where Dan Crawford (1870-1926) served as a Plymouth Brethren missionary. He was drawn to the country by F.S. Arnot, another Brethren man, in 1888, and arrived to serve there from 1890. His book, *Thinking Black*, a cultural analysis of the African and his ways, became standard text for those who wished to follow in his footsteps into African mission. It is unlikely Dudley Dalton ever met Crawford though his renown may well have propelled the young missionary into Tanzania.

regions bordering Mozambique, then turning north up the coast to Dar-es-salaam. They finally settled on Kilwa Masoka (on the east African coast, 200km south of Dar-es-salaam) as a suitable location for their new pioneer mission station.

Dudley was a man of vision. Consumed by a passion to establish a chain of mission stations across central Africa, from west coast to east, and trusting the Lord for 100 missionaries to follow him there, he began by enrolling his brother, and set about establishing Tanzania as the missing link which would secure this goal for Brethren mission endeavour.²⁶⁹ Their survey took note of many other denominations (although no mention was made of the Pentecostals) which had led the way into the country but they reported that there was 'still huge scope for the preaching of the gospel within this immense territory'. Their chosen territory initially was present-day Lindi Region, a Muslim stronghold of some 60,000 square kilometres.

The Daltons facilitated the arrival of some German Brethren (Nusch and Kunz) who arrived to establish their own medical work in the south of Tanzania and agreement was reached for them to serve under the umbrella of Christian Missions in Many Lands (Tanzania).²⁷⁰ Brethren missiology meant that missionaries enjoyed considerable freedoms in their work, it being considered a biblical position that those sent are commended by a local church fellowship (Acts 13.1-2) who in turn have recognised the calling of those individual(s) by the Lord, to whom they will be accountable (2 Corinthians 5.10). In truth, this meant that the registered body under which they served, had merely

²⁶⁹ Dudley Dalton had previously worked in Zambia as well as the Belgian Congo as a missionary.

²⁷⁰ An abbreviated history of CMML as a 'missionary service group' is available at www.cmml.us/node/1346 (accessed 24.10.17). The organisation was established in 1921 in recognition of the requirements of foreign governments to know and hold accountable the missionaries working within their borders.

an administrative function. CMML (T) as the registered group to which they had affiliated themselves had no directive power of governance over individual missionaries. This is reiterated in the following statement:

...it must be emphasized that CMML does not take a position as a central head or governing body in relation to the assemblies or the missionaries it serves. In short, it does not direct but simply serves.²⁷¹

Despite ongoing cooperation between those British and German pioneers during those early years, there was a general polarisation of the work of the two groups. British missionaries tended to gravitate to Dar-es-salaam and Kilwa while the German focus was clearly on Mbesa,²⁷² Tunduru and the immediate surrounding villages. Similarities in conviction can be identified in the strong commitment of both groups to reach the tribes local to them with the gospel: the Makonde in Lindi and the Yao in Tunduru. Both tribes had 'converted' to Islam but were still often animistic in their behaviour and practice. Both groups were leading with medical missions and hospitals were established in Kilwa and Mbesa. But further differences began to emerge as the two 'branches' of CMML(T) moved through the 1960s and 1970s.

3.5.1. The Germans (South)

The German branch worked in close cooperation with the Wiedenest Mission Bible School²⁷³ and soon adopted a planned and strategic approach to mission enterprise with a field director overseeing the work. The German school afforded their missionaries

²⁷¹ Samuel E. Robinson, nd, *The History and Present Work of CMML*, available at www.cmml.us/node/1346 (accessed 24.10.17).

²⁷² Not to be confused with Mbeya where Pentecostal work was initiated earlier.

²⁷³ *Missionhaus und Bibelshulen Wiedenest*, Germany (est. 1905 the Bible College expanded to be a *missionhaus* in 1952) had adopted specific targets for mission in Tanzania, Nepal and Pakistan, and trained workers for these fields from Baptist and Brethren churches. In subsequent history, their interests have spread to other nations too.

training prior to their arrival and then located them where their gifts and the demands of the field director's mission plans dictated. Language learning, cultural integration, mission orientation, counsel, shared vision and prayer helped ensure the process was effective. Medical work thrived; spiritual work was slow initially, but by 1965 some small churches were established in Marumba, Kizunguru, Magazini, Ligunga, Ligera and Numpilo. Over the ensuing four decades to the turn of the 21st century the southern Brethren have seen upward of 90 churches established along the main highway from Mbamba Bay to Mtwara.

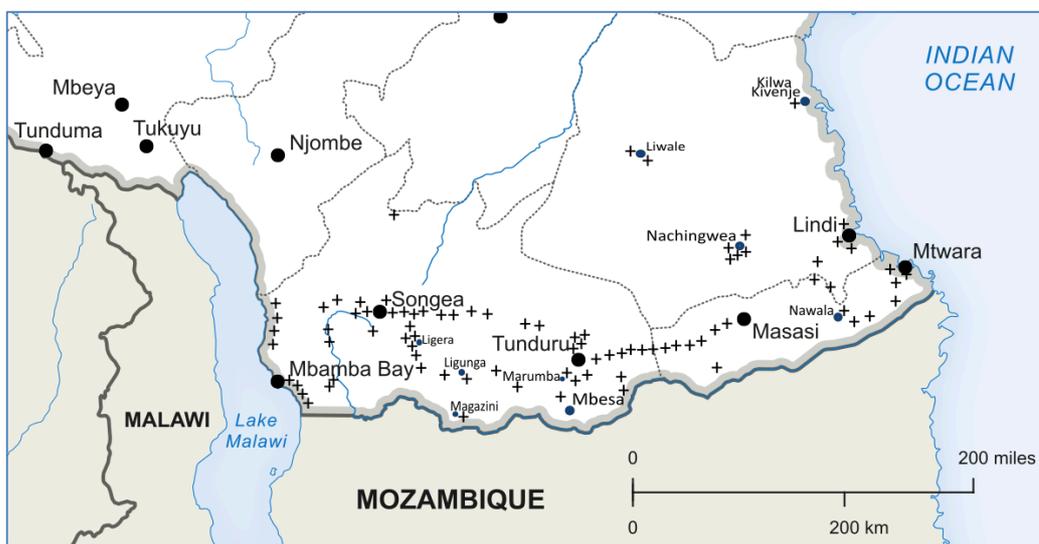


Figure 3.6. Distribution of KLB churches in southern Tanzania, c. 1997.

At the forefront of these developments were the expatriate missionaries from Germany although they worked closely with up and coming African leaders. The resources, initiative and vision of the expatriate missionaries was seen by them as indispensable to the development of the work and this was evidenced in their continuous drive to recruit additional expatriate workers to the field. The army of missionary personnel helped establish a hospital mission station at Mbesa which was later supplemented by an orphanage, a vocational training school, and a girl's school. Later a

network of dispensaries, several vocational training schools and a Bible school at Nanjoka were established.

The German Brethren missionary enterprise seems to have been motivated by Dudley Dalton's vision for 100 missionaries more than his British counterparts. His remark to the new German missionaries in Mbesa that 'You are 50 years too late'²⁷⁴ provoked them to make up for lost time. More than 190 missionaries served under the German branch between 1957 and 2000. The missionaries served for four or eight year terms usually, and numbers peaked in 1995 with 54 missionaries serving simultaneously across southern Tanzania. The turnover of missionaries no doubt brought fresh zeal and impetus to the work, but long term workers like Helmut and Brunhilder Graf (from 1959, over 50 years service) and H & L Eyl (from 1961, over 40 years service) were accompanied by many others²⁷⁵ who at various times, across half a century of mission work, gave close to two decades service to add continuity to the ministry.

German Brethren mission work was characterised by an early and close cooperation with national Christians. The first convert, Yohana, became an active evangelist among his own people. Within 10 years of his conversion in 1959 others who followed were instrumental in establishing and teaching in the Bible school at Nanjoka (1970), and names like Z. Machinga, H. Kiyame and E. Ligombaji went on to help establish the national leadership of *Kanisa la Biblia* (The Bible Church) in southern Tanzania. The relationship between church and mission was structured and well communicated with both parties to

²⁷⁴ McKinnon, *British Brethren*, p. 106.

²⁷⁵ H & U Ellert; A Guttke, K & B Brinkmann; R & J Jampen, G & I Warth, I Enners; R Buchmuller; I Seigloch; H & L Englemann; I Danzisein.

the agreement having been influenced by training and ecclesiology that was well matched.²⁷⁶ The formalisation of *Kanisa la Biblia* with an agreed constitution and national leadership was completed in 1980. The southern belt was carved up into three 'regions' (west, central and east) and 'officers' and 'committees' which served there became the catalyst to new and fresh vision through the 1980s.²⁷⁷ Even the missionaries were inspired with a new wave of recruits arriving from Germany to reinforce progress being made in church planting through to the turn of the century. By 1989 there were 70 churches, by 1997 at the 40-year anniversary there were 86 churches (located on the map at Figure 3.5 above).

The striking characteristic of the German Brethren missionary initiatives has been the emphasis on social action as a means to pave the way for the spiritual agenda of church planting. Clearly from the number of churches planted they have not been neglectful of the latter. But the evangelism and church planting has been most effective when done by national workers. Machinga attributed the growth of the churches during the two decades from 1965 to 1985 to the work of KLB evangelists who had been trained in the Bible

²⁷⁶ Continental European Christian Brethren have had a more structured approach to ecclesiology than the British and the earliest national church leaders like Machinga and Kiyame were trained in the African Inland Church Bible School at Katungulu.

²⁷⁷ The structured approach to managing church and mission was not without its problems tending as it did towards hierarchical authority. McKinnon in 'British Brethren', highlights tensions arising. At times this emerged as a pragmatic problem because church leaders were making promises to local churches which neither the church or the mission could uphold. On the other hand, the tension emerged in fundamental theoretical and theological problems around biblical leadership and democracy, pastors and elders, bishops and church denominations. The missionary 'field director' defended 'team ministry' as a preferred trend among German missionaries and commended it to the KLB church. The KLB leaders, while outwardly accepting of the proposal, questioned the compatibility of the concepts therein and perhaps recognised the tendency among themselves to gravitate towards Episcopalian government structures.

school. He recalls that the work of INKWO was a church initiative rather than a mission one.²⁷⁸

The influence of a holistic gospel priority for the KLB church leaders is seen in their evangelistic strategy. In 1989, they formed *INKWO* (from *INjili Kwa WOte*, meaning, The Gospel for All). This initiative was launched with a view to improving and encouraging evangelistic effectiveness across the KLB churches of the south. Itinerant teams were established, funding for transport and PA equipment sought and secured with mission help. The goal was to see 130 more churches established, reaching 200 in number by 2010. The evangelistic strategy and goals laid out by the German branch Tanzanian Brethren are significant. In Bonnke-esque style, the gospel was to be proclaimed to the people in public crusade-like meetings, a stress was to be laid upon ecumenical church initiatives and unity, the sick were to be prayed for, the family upheld and strengthened, the God of heaven and earth implored for good harvests, and the financial stability of the churches reinforced as a result.²⁷⁹

Personal accounts of the meetings of INKWO, the evangelistic initiative of southern Brethren churches, portray ‘Gospel Crusades’ which bore a striking resemblance to the Pentecostal Gospel meetings often seen today across Tanzania in key public venues.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ From an interview for the “40 Jahre Tansania Spezial,” in *Offene Turen* (Wiedenest) (November 1997). “*Open Doors*” is the mission magazine of *Missionhaus Bibelshulen Wiedenest*. Trans. by Mrs Ursula Perialis.

²⁷⁹ The documentation of INKWO states their chief objectives as: a. building unity among existing churches, b. whole family evangelism, c. prayer for the sick, d. follow-up of new converts in baptismal and discipleship training, e. public prayer for the farms and crops in the community, and f. stress laid upon the importance of local churches being financially responsible.

²⁸⁰ A famous meeting of this nature is conducted on an annual basis in Dar-es-salaam and is known as ‘The Big November Crusade’. It is also significant that ‘public’ in African contexts is a complex phenomenon. Ogbu Kalu, posits three ‘publics’: indigenous village public; emergent cultural public (the product of the multicultural contexts of late modern Africa) and external Western public (upheld by visitors and their agents). See Ogbu Kalu, Holy Praiseco: Negotiating Sacred and Popular Music and Dance in African Pentecostalism (2009) in *Pneuma* 32 (2010) pgs. 16-40.

“The Gospel Meetings of INKWO very much looked like those of the Pentecostals, especially those conducted in a public context. The sick were prayed for and healing was openly seen.” In re-counting an incident from personal testimony, Nchimbi²⁸¹ exhorted me to recount John 14.12 (‘Truly, truly, I say to you, whoever believes in me will also do the works that I do; and greater works than these will he do, because I am going to the Father.’) and continued,

“I, Legius Nchimbi, while I was preaching in the area of Liwale, Lindi Region, [witnessed] one person who had come with a problem of not being able to see - to the point that he used a stick to guide himself - [but] he returned home from the meeting without any stick. Great acts and signs and wonders are regularly done in these meetings and many people receive Jesus to the point that even the strength of Islam has been seriously weakened at present [in the region]. The Lord Jesus did miracles; he does miracles even today and he will do miracles tomorrow when he defeats the final enemy of humanity - death. Amen.”

3.5.2. The British (North)

The British branch of CMML(T) missionaries, however, approached the task of mission in quite a different way from their German missionary counterparts let alone the charismatic indigenous Brethren of the south. The organisational structure of the southern branch was absent among those who gravitated to the northern half of Tanzania, most of whom hailed from British origins.²⁸² Instead, some British missionaries emphasised the ‘s’ in Christian Missions to Many Lands as an identifier for the individualism which marked their approach. This stance further reinforced a theologically

²⁸¹ Nchimbi is presently the Principal of Berea Bible College, Moshi, associated with the Brethren Churches in Tanzania. He was raised in the Tanzanian Brethren Churches in the south, came to faith in Christ as a youth, and later received the gift of the Holy Spirit while in Bible School at Nanjoka. He has a degree in theology from the Baptist Bible College, Arusha. The details recounted here are from personal correspondence with the writer dated 10.9.2015 and quoted with his permission.

²⁸² Brethren missionaries commended to service in Tanzania from North America also joined the ‘British section’ of CMML(T).

entrenched position of being answerable only to the Lord and obviating the need for a field director. The work of CMML(T)'s British section, therefore, became as varied and disparate as the missionaries who joined them resulting in a diffusion of focus, field and future. There was generally a lack of cohesion in the focus of the work other than a commitment to the medical work, especially at Kilwa, through the 1960s. The dissemination of workers across the east, north, central and north-western regions of the country as fields of service meant for a lack of communication and fellowship. And a dilution of effort to the extent that numerical continuity within the British section came to fall to only four missionaries for most of the 1980s jeopardised the continuity of the work.

Two couples stand out through the period of the early 60s to mid 80s for their long service: the Greens and the Riddells. Geographically, these two couples represent the two primary areas for missionary church planting in northern Tanzania. Both couples hailed from conservative Brethren circles and this influence and control shaped leaders and congregations in two large shrouds across the British *Kanisa la Biblia* churches for decades to come - Moshi and Bukoba.

William and Rena Green from the USA had served as missionaries in Belgian Congo and relocated to Bukoba in north-western Tanzania in 1961 after the evacuation of all expatriates from the Congo that year. Green was a late convert to Brethrenism having previously studied for pastoral ministry and a late arrival to Central Africa in 1947 being 40 years old. He was an enthusiast who threw himself whole-heartedly into the work. One

of their early converts was Eliezer Ngaizer²⁸³ who became a co-worker. Bukoba town was the target of their early ministry and gospel work among Muslim and Hindu communities prevailed. Green's fluency in Swahili offered wide opportunities for evangelism in public market-places, in literature distribution and children's Sunday school work. Visitation and prayer for the sick became a central feature of the Greens' ministry which was long remembered by townsfolk decades after their departure.

But Ngaizer, although attracted to Green by virtue of his godly life, was critical of the 'local assembly' in that it failed to draw the African people or provide a place for them to worship:

The assembly in Bukoba town failed to attract local people. Many who were in it were [white] civil servants. The local people who were believers were few and they were not faithful. Therefore, there was no plot or building. Teaching was done in his [Green's] home, or at someone else's, or in a rented room. Apart from this weakness, I believe the Word was planted in the people (in the hearts of people).²⁸⁴

Nevertheless, Ngaizer felt that the Greens had brought 'something new'. He vaunted the simplicity of the missionary's ecclesiology acknowledging a real 'freedom in worship'. All accretions beyond the biblical pattern became anathema to the local evangelist and considered invalid. He objected to being given any title, preferring to recall that historically, 'we were only believers.'

When you speak about *Kanisa la Biblia* you speak about something new here. We are helped and taught to follow the Bible only. Freedom to worship. We don't speak of contributions of money, fees, taxes, rents, to run the church, but only offerings.

²⁸³ Eliezer Ngaizer serves as a *Kanisa la Biblia* 'evangelist', which is Brethren terminology for someone who serves God in a full-time capacity looking only to God to provide for his daily needs.

²⁸⁴ Eliezer Ngaizer, personal correspondence with the writer (June 1999).

We have no liturgy, no dancing, no *vigelegele*, no hand-clapping, no choruses. These 'decorations' are all unnecessary spiritually.²⁸⁵



Figure 3.7. Relative location of Bukoba and outlying KLB church locations

One hears in his rhetoric a reaction against the formalism and organisational structure of his Lutheran past as well as a wariness over more charismatic expressions of worship. Despite being in the earliest geographical location of the EA revival, Ngaizer's theology has been shaped, not by revivalists, but by missionary oversight thus bearing the classic marks of strict Brethren conservatism. However, it is noteworthy that, when Green left in the early eighties, no 'yoke of bondage' was thrown off by Ngaizer and others²⁸⁶ in their ongoing ministries. Instead, they saw the work expand and grow without any expatriate

²⁸⁵ Eliezer Ngaizer, personal correspondence with the writer (June 1999). *Vigelegele* is a noisy squeal of delight traditionally sounded by the women folk. In the Swahili Bible (Union Version) the 'joyful noise' of the Psalms is translated 'vigelegele'. No ululating was the instruction.

²⁸⁶ Other workers in the area included Philip Kahwa (evangelist with Ngaizer) and Frank Mnogha (Emmaus Bible Correspondence courses coordinator) in Green's time, and Edward Alfred Machela (evangelist) in the late eighties onward.

missionary help and a dozen new Brethren churches were planted in villages surrounding Bukoba and Ngaizer's home village of Ilango (see Figure 3.7. above.)

Robert and Norma Riddell from the UK arrived in Tanzania in 1969 as two single young people at the invitation of William Brown, the British Brethren 'pioneer' in the Kilimanjaro region. Once married, the Riddells gave themselves fully to the ministry of care for disadvantaged and orphan children. They served in Tanzania for 27 years over which time Robert Riddell became a powerful and influential character both outside of and within the mission and church work. Two urban churches were established in the period - one closely associated with the orphanage and the other located a few miles away in the southern part of the town known as Pasua; a shanty-town populated by Tanzanian migrants attracted to the region by the forces of urbanisation.²⁸⁷

Through the 80s and 90s local church ministries were kept on a short leash by missionaries of 'rather conservative Brethren doctrine which placed considerable limitations upon the African spirit'.²⁸⁸ Missionaries' home backgrounds in northern Scotland and Northern Ireland were renowned for Brethren conservatism and often the pentecostal and charismatic wing of the church was decried in such circles (note also William Green's similar conservatism reflected in the theology of Ngaizer). Although local church eldership in Moshi town was shared - one 'oversight' giving pastoral care to two assemblies through the mid-80s to mid-90s²⁸⁹ - the integrity of the plurality of elders was

²⁸⁷ The Moshi Town assembly was established by the Browns *circa* 1962. The Pasua assembly started by the Thompsons *circa* 1968.

²⁸⁸ McKinnon, *British Brethren*, p. 51.

²⁸⁹ Brethren assemblies often refer to the elders as the 'oversight of the assembly'. The concept of two assemblies being ruled by one oversight was a denial of a foundational principle in the Brethren in the autonomy of local churches. When the status of the elders was questioned by some believers, the response offered (and seen to be self-

also suspect owing to the powerful nature of the two missionaries who led. The two national elders complained to the writer of the difficulty of putting forward an African perspective and usually felt they must resort to merely echoing the views of the missionary. In Moshi there was some leeway given eventually to chorus singing and hand-clapping in the late 90s but further developments in African expressions of faith and worship, like choir singing, drumming, and *vigelele* were curtailed by missionary intervention.

Connections were made among the more conservative Brethren churches planted by missionaries across northern Tanzania when itinerant ministry was taken up by the Northern Irish missionaries based in Moshi. The resultant reinforcement of conservative Brethrenism in some local churches has meant for a distinctly British ecclesiology for those particular churches of *Kanisa la Biblia*. Visiting Bukoba and its outlying districts, missionaries offered encouragement and some practical assistance to the evangelists and their local churches through child sponsorship and second hand clothes distribution.²⁹⁰ The *Kanisa la Biblia* church in the town centre bore the name “Bukoba Gospel Hall”, written in English above the door outside the building.

Among the churches of *Kanisa la Biblia* which had little direct influence from missionaries from UK were the churches of Manyara, Singida and Tabora. The origins of these churches which later came under the *Kanisa la Biblia* fold were to be found in indigenous independent visionary leaders who out of their own initiative and zeal for the

justification not self-condemnation) was that no suitably qualified brethren had been found in the Pasua assembly who might serve as elders.

²⁹⁰ Missionaries operated with translation and help from Kilimanjaro KLB evangelist Ombeni Mmile.

gospel had seen churches planted: first in Tabora (*circa* 1984), then Manyara (1995) and finally in Singida region (1998). These less conservative churches were not overlooked in the missionary itinerancy. The churches of Manyara, Singida and Tabora also received visits and help, however, the conservatism of the missionaries was tolerated only while they were present. Sometimes, even while they were around, the usual practice of the local churches in the area, bubbled over, or was just boldly evident in the form of dancing, musically accompanied singing, drumming, ecstatic behaviour, flag waving, choir performances, drama and even occasional tongue-speaking, exorcisms and healing. The missionary response in these contexts was usually one of correction or instruction, rebuke or remonstrance, but while politely received at the time by local leadership, little or nothing was done to bring matters into line with missionary perspectives. The key difference between the responses of the *Kanisa la Biblia* churches was whether the church was born of missionary or indigenous parentage.²⁹¹

3.5.3. The 'Evangelists'

Missionaries were not necessary to the multiplication of *Kanisa la Biblia* churches. Stephen Mugabonihera and George Nkurunziza were converted under the influence of *Kanisa la Mungu*²⁹² churches but left over ethical issues within that denomination. Preaching the gospel side by side in the remotest parts of Ulyankulu, they had particular success in seeing churches started among the Burundian refugees, with the first church

²⁹¹ Not all missionaries in CMML (TZ) worked with *Kanisa la Biblia*. Other ministry areas and missionary initiatives have been omitted.

²⁹² *Kanisa la Mungu* is an independent denomination with Pentecostal origins striving for New Testament principles and practice. For a full brief on the beliefs and outlook of this denomination, see Tage Sjöberg, *Kanisa la Mungu* (Arusha: Habari Maalum Press, 1990). Tage Sjöberg (1901-1966) was an associate pastor in Filadelfia Church, Stockholm, before pastoral ministry in New York, Helsinki and Örebro. After miraculous healing aged 55 from cancer of the kidney, he was an itinerant missionary around the world.

established at Ikonongo. Mugabonihera negotiated the registration of their small fellowships with Moshi missionaries and leaders after a visit to the Kilimanjaro area. Use of the *Kanisa la Biblia* name and the formal agreement was sealed in 1987/88. Nkurunziza left for the *Kanisa la Biblia* Nanjoka Bible School in the south, run by the German Brethren, and returned in 1990 to Tabora. Shortly after, Mugabonihera set off on a series of missionary endeavours to Katesh, Manyara region. Finally, by 1995, Mugabonihera had established a small church in the town with 15-20 members. Samweli Mwekwa, who defected from the Pentecostal church in Katesh, was then commended to full-time ministry in the *Kanisa la Biblia* church in 1998. Mwekwa reached out to his own people in nearby Singida region, the Wanyaturu, and saw several small *Kanisa la Biblia* churches quickly established by 1998. Missionary involvement was minimal and occasional.²⁹³

3.5.4. Shaping Influences on Indigenous Expressions

Brethren *Kanisa la Biblia* churches across Tanzania are variously influenced by factors that arise from their historical or geographical contexts. Often the characteristics of the churches, whether in northern or southern Tanzania, seem to be shaped by the variables of missionary influence or other (now) local expressions of Christian faith. The relative proximity of missionaries to local churches is apparently significant in determining the ecclesiology and theology of indigenous Christians. The multiplication of independent pentecostal denominations and the pervasive influence of the charismatic expressions of faith through the EA Revival in mainstream denominations has had a more than passing impact upon their practice. The local churches variously bear a striking resemblance to

²⁹³ McKinnon, *British Brethren*, pp. 74-82; 92-98, reports extensively on the nature of these churches. He was personally involved in visits and receiving updates on the work.

other ecclesiastical expressions of Christian faith that are either the heritage of strong missionary influence or the heritage of indigenous leaders who themselves have been influenced by Pentecostalism to one degree or another. The impact of the former heritage tends to be seen in urban contexts where missionaries have been resident long term. The ascendancy of the latter heritage is generally grounded in the influence of indigenous leadership who are actively reproducing churches without the direct support or guidance of missionary personnel.

3.5.5. Persistent Roots and Shoots

It is a fact that, just as in their longer denominational histories, Pentecostal and Brethren denominations *in Tanzania* have shared considerable commonalities in their historical and geographical growth and development.

Both the Assemblies of God and the Christian Brethren were sown in the soil of Tanzania around similar time frames. Although other mainstream denominations had previously existed for decades before their arrival, these two denominations began work in Tanzania within 25 years of one another. This period may be considered as closer still, if we take Kalu's 20 year 'lull in the operation of classical Pentecostal missionaries' to be a reality, which would infer only a short 'head's start' for the Pentecostal initiatives.

The two movements arrived in Tanzania from an historical context rooted in non-conformist Western Christianity. Undoubtedly, the reservations and general discontent with nominal Christianity that had been the 'first cause' giving rise to these new moves of the Spirit, continued to shape their convictions, aspirations and their motivations for 'the work to which the Lord had called them'. Eschatologically, the imminent return of Christ

was a shared incentive. Geographically, this appears to be driven by pioneer work among the most numerous and most needy peoples of the country - in the south among the strongholds of Islam, or in the north where the most populous regions of Tanzania are located around the Lake and around Mount Kilimanjaro.

The Brethren and the Pentecostals are intent on pursuing New Testament Christianity - what could be termed the more primitive sort: characterised by conversionism, receiving a vital and personal experience of the Lord Jesus Christ and the gift of the Spirit in line with the early church's experience recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. How that might be received, expressed and practically worked out in the lives of believers would most definitely be quite different but they would both assuredly claim to be dependent upon the Spirit in their soteriology, ecclesiology and missiology. Both would prefer to be remembered in history as 'movements' rather than denominations.²⁹⁴

However, to claim that both movements have enjoyed similar success in their growth and development over the period since laying down their roots in the soil of Tanzania would be utter falsehood. By far, the Pentecostal movement's growth, the fruit of their labours in church growth numerically and demographically; the influence of their pneumatology denominationally and ecumenically; and their power and presence sociologically and theologically has been pervasive. What might the Brethren response be now to their 'spiritual cousins'? What might we expect of the Brethren movement in the

²⁹⁴ Recall Munisi's summary of the TAG's history in five phases: 1. A movement (1928-1952); 2. The foundations of an indigenous church (1953-1967); 3. The growth of the indigenous church and the transition from movement to organisation (1968-1991); 4. The strengthening of church and organisational structure (1992-2008); 5. The strategic growth of the church (2008-present). Munisi, *et al.*, *Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God*, p. 73.

next phase of their growth and development? How will their leaders respond? How will their people respond?

Kanisa la Biblia (Brethen) in Tanzania is tiny by comparison with the Pentecostals as a whole in the country - their nearest cousins in denominational terms would be the Tanzania Assemblies of God. It is difficult to compare the two churches without recognising the vast differences in size, in number, in resources: buildings, personnel, finance, etc. One would be tempted to suggest that there remain vast differences theologically, but as we will see from the coming chapters, that gap is closing in some circles of Tanzanian Brethrenism – the ‘movement’, like that of the Pentecostals, is becoming more grounded and organisationally structured, especially in the south, and with new legislation being brought into force around the registration of the northern churches, it is only a matter of time until the southern church structure of KLB makes it look more and more like TAG in church polity. Significantly however, despite its smallness, KLB still have a strong influence in the wider protestant church scene, and are viewed with a certain fondness even by the TAG. The doctrine and teaching of the KLB (Brethren) still holds sway across the ‘Assemblies’ as evidenced by the popularity of their publications. The author found that in TAG headquarters, Dar-es-salaam, the bookshop was stocked only with books written by TAG leaders and KLB Publishers. On enquiry, he was informed that KLB publications are always faithful to the Bible and this is the reason their teaching is trusted and sought after.

The question remains as to the direction of influence as movement continues along these avenues – will KLB continue to enjoy this kind of theological influence on the teaching of the TAG, through its *Bible Dictionary* (Don Fleming), full *Bible Commentary*

(Don Fleming), *Our Faith is our Victory* (Hans Legiehn), *Let the Bible Explain Itself* (Don Fleming), *Bible Panorama* (The Seven Dispensations of Salvation History), *Revelation of God and the Response of Faith* (Eric Sauer)? Will these classic dispensationally-oriented texts continue to shape 'Pentecostals' in Tanzania? It seems they currently have a strong influence: Rev. F.S. Munisi as editor of *Sauti Kuu* (A Loud Voice) is currently filling the monthly magazine with classic dispensational devotionals around the end times and expositions of Revelation and other apocryphal literature, all of which is reminiscent of 1970-80s Brethrenism.²⁹⁵

3.6. Conclusion

Practical obedience to the Great Commission in going to the ends of the earth with the gospel of Jesus Christ has been shown to be a specifically defining characteristic of both Brethren and Pentecostal movements. The nature of the gospel that has been sown by them proves to be variegated in that the pure seed of 'the word' (using Jesus definition of the seed in the parable of the four soils, Mark 4.1-20) has been planted and watered by missionaries with similar but different theological convictions and backgrounds. The result may be described as a mixed harvest. There is both complementarity and competition evident between the two movements. We have shown the inter-pollination of Christian mission work between the two movements under study, and seen their dependence upon one another in resources and teaching, but we have noted that despite their

²⁹⁵ www.sautikuu.co.tz Headlines for recent issues include: 'Ancient Rome will Rise and Rule the World' (Feb '16); 'Inserting Chips into the Wrists, Foreheads to be marked by 2020' (Apr '16); 'The Temple where Anti-Christ will stand is ready' (May '16); 'The End of the World: A Digital Age & Community' (Jul '16); 'The World to be Shaken by Governmental Changes' (Aug '16); 'Africa To Follow the Anti-Christ' (Oct '16); 'World Fever: World War 3 Erupting?' (n.d.); 'The End of All Things' (n.d.). (All translations by the researcher.)

determination to maintain separate identities, even there, they do not operate alone. The winds of the East African revival linger on the Tanzanian Christian scene and the multiplicity of other denominational influences, sects, cults and faiths affect the soil, the seed and the harvest for good or for ill. For this reason, we turn in our next chapter to examine the soil more closely – to understand in some measure other influences that language, culture and traditional religions have upon the task set before them in the Great Commission.

4. THE CRUCIBLE OF CONTEXT: TANZANIAN CULTURES, SUBCULTURES AND THE UNDERCURRENTS OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGION(S)²⁹⁶

Majority world voices, in fact, can recount reports (including at times their own eyewitness testimony) of phenomena, both associated with Christianity and not associated with it, that seem difficult to explain, if taken at face value, without recourse to the activity of suprahuman entities.²⁹⁷

4.1. Always Learning Culture

An expatriate missionary who has been resident in the country for seventeen years might be expected to offer some astute observations on Tanzanian culture. Yet, from a Tanzanian perspective at least, he is still 'mgeni' (guest /visitor/stranger). This status afforded to a visitor by the culture tends to maintain some distance and suggests that one's judgements are almost certainly clouded more than clear. A resultant observation by the guest then, might be that in Tanzania the *mgeni* is always an *mgeni* almost regardless of how long one has stayed, no matter how well-integrated one has become, how well-versed and fluent one is in Swahili language, or even how laid back one is in what can be, for western visitors, a "patience-demanding" culture. Even for a long-term

²⁹⁶ Referred to as ATR hereafter. The term has been somewhat contentious in recent times failing as it does to allow regional distinctives or nuances of language and concepts. First introduced in 1954 by G. Parrinder and later elaborated upon by John Mbiti (*African Religions and Philosophy*, 1969) and Bolaji Idowu (*African Traditional Religion: A Definition*, 1973) it was firstly, an attempt to equate African Religion with a more positive perspective than that offered historically by Christianity or Islam who often saw ATR as paganism, heathenism or superstition. J.O. Awolalu (What is African Traditional Religion? in *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Winter 1975.) challenged Mbiti's plural approach and insisted on the unifying key features of ATR as being sufficient to uphold a continental 'religion'. More recent contemporary African theologians have attempted to shift the language towards AIR - African Indigenous Religion (for example, the unpublished PhD Thesis of Tsawe-Munga wa Chidongo, *Towards a Dialogical Theology: An Exploration of Inter-religious Cooperation between Christianity and African Indigenous Religion among the Midzi-Chenda People of Coastal Kenya*, University of Birmingham, 2010). The complexities of the African continent perhaps require a plural 'religions' as Mbiti suggested but for academic consistency I will retain the use of ATR in this chapter with the caveat that it could be read in the singular or plural depending on the local or continental context.

²⁹⁷ Craig S. Keener. *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary. Volume 1 – Introduction and 1:1-2:47*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2012), p. 365.

visitor, length of stay does not guarantee real intimacy in cultural knowledge; certain barriers persist so that Tanzanian culture, not to mention its sub-cultures, can remain elusive and mysterious. At best, an *mgeni* may 'progress' to become *mgeni mwenyeji* (a localised/naturalised guest) who by such an honoured title is credited for their ability to integrate more acceptably into the culture which they have tried to adopt. However, as an *mgeni mwenyeji* one often feels that the title remains appropriate since aspects of the adopted culture and its philosophical or religious undercurrents still elude the outsider's grasp - one is truly always learning. How these cultural, philosophical and religious matters relate to indigenous expressions of Christian faith in northern Tanzania is the focus of our present chapter.

4.2 Ethnographic Survey

4.2.1 The Researcher and his Limitations

The present writer / researcher *is* the afore-mentioned *mgeni mwenyeji* of seventeen years' experience living & working in Tanzania. During his second tour as a Scottish missionary, he was working directly with the *Kanisa la Biblia* churches for a period of fourteen years (1995-2009).²⁹⁸ Based in Moshi, Kilimanjaro, his intimate acquaintance with the missionaries, the local church elders and leaders and with the wider congregations of KLB, allowed him to study closely the situation of Brethren Missions' engagement with KLB. The complete fluency of the writer in all four language skills²⁹⁹ of Swahili has opened up insights and understandings of the culture and traditions of the

²⁹⁸ Allan McKinnon served with Scripture Union in Imbaseny, Arusha Region from 1989-1992 and then with Echoes of Service (now Echoes International), the UK Brethren mission support agency, in Moshi, Kilimanjaro, from 1995-2009.

²⁹⁹ Reading, writing, listening and speaking.

Tanzanian Christians with whom he has worked. All the field study conducted for this project has done been in Swahili language. He knows many Tanzanian people well and has forged many warm and strong friendships in the country. This situation affords him the opportunity to ask, even persistently, and in measure to understand, the responses to deeper questions of culture and traditions. But limitations remain.

One is also aware that such closeness of relationship between the researcher and his research interests/participants can prove to be counter-productive. The researcher-participant relationship, particularly in qualitative research methods like the ones adopted in this project are open to interference. Much has been written on the subject across a range of academic disciplines:³⁰⁰ the danger of 'prior-understanding' needs to be balanced with an openness to learn 'new things'; sometimes 'closeness' is not as effective in revealing answers to intimate questions as 'distance' – what is revealed to the stranger might never be told to a friend. Of course, the potential for the researcher 'leading' and 'constructing' knowledge in interaction with the respondents is a continual hazard to be avoided and the 'power distance' between the researcher (as a missionary, or even ex-missionary) and the respondent (whether congregant or pastor) is potentially threatening to the integrity and trustworthiness of the research project. Ethnographers have debated the advantages and disadvantages of being an insider/outsider for decades, however, a useful discussion of this issue appears in an article by Pollner and Emerson in the

³⁰⁰ Målfrid Råheim, *et al.*, Researcher–researched relationship in qualitative research: Shifts in positions and researcher vulnerability, in *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Health and Well-being*, 2016:11; K Dahlberg, H Dahlberg, and M Nyström. *Reflective Lifeworld Research* (Lund, Sweden, 2008); Finley, L, "Outing" the researcher: The provenance, process, and practice of reflexivity. *Qualitative Health Research*. 2002:12(4), p.531–545; Gergen M. M, Gergen K. J. Qualitative Inquiry: Tensions and Transformation, in: Denzin N. K, Lincoln Y. S, editors. *Handbook of qualitative research (2nd ed.)* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc., 2000), pp. 1025–1046.

Handbook of Ethnography.³⁰¹ Addressing the tension between ethnomethodology and ethnography they recount issues like: the strain between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ solutions; the complexity of reflexivity; the importance of background understandings to inform interpretive practices; the place of practical sociological reasoning in the accounts and formulations of the ethnographer. Cutting their way through the complexities they cite Garfinkel’s ‘unique adequacy requirement’ as ‘a strong participant observation requirement’ and insist that ‘for this recent development in EM, the fusion of local and analytic knowledge and competencies is not a ‘problem’, but a goal.’³⁰²

Pollner and Emerson finally reach their conclusion stating: ‘Although an ethnographer may fail to satisfy the unique adequacy requirement with regard to the social worlds he or she studies, he or she necessarily satisfies it with regard to doing EG: the ethnographer is an ethnographer with competence and experience in ‘doing’ EG.’ And again, ‘EG, for example, has long emphasized embodied presence in the world as a key to research. Park, after all, exhorted students to ‘go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research..., while Goffman (1989) honored deep immersion that would ultimately have the fieldworker acquire the rhythms and personal aesthetics of those studied.’³⁰³ But they uphold the need for ethnomethodologies because ethnography in and of itself they claim ‘does not go far or deep enough’.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Melvin Pollner and Robert M. Emerson, ‘Ethnomethodology and Ethnography’, in *The Handbook of Ethnography* (London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2001), p. 118–35. They use EM and EG as abbreviations for ethnomethodology and ethnography, respectively.

³⁰² Pollner & Emerson, ‘Ethnomethodology and Ethnography’, p. 123.

³⁰³ Pollner & Emerson, ‘Ethnomethodology and Ethnography’, p. 130.

³⁰⁴ Pollner & Emerson, ‘Ethnomethodology and Ethnography’, p. 130.

This research has been informed by such methodologies; it endeavours to scope out ethnography with another methodology (Q) and yet it remains founded upon the 'unique adequacy requirement' in the hope that having begun, others may also go further and deeper in understanding Tanzanian cultures and traditions.

4.2.2 The Chosen Fields of Study

The introduction to this study (chapter one) sought to graphically describe the evident differences of Christian faith and the expression given to it within the congregations of *Kanisa la Biblia* churches. Of the descriptions given there, two were set in Moshi, Kilimanjaro and the other in Ulyankulu, Tabora. These two centres of *Kanisa la Biblia* activity have been chosen as appropriate fields of study for this project.

After close but informal participant observation within churches of both centres over the course of a long-term involvement, it became clear to the researcher that very different churches were emerging in the two localities. Both locations seemed to the researcher to epitomise the range of expression which is part of the *Kanisa la Biblia* group of churches. As a result of itinerant ministry on numerous occasions in the late nineties and early 2000s which incorporated visits to Tabora region it became a matter of deep curiosity and further enquiry for the researcher as to why churches from the same denomination should be so distinctive in their local expressions of faith. This disparity of expression suggested they were centres worth researching.

In Moshi, Brethren missionaries established the first congregation shortly after arriving there in 1962 and continued to be closely involved through the 20th and into the 21st century. On the other hand, Tabora churches have emerged from more indigenous

expressions of Christian faith that then sought affiliation with KLB. This difference in origins (see also chapter three) further set apart the two centres as worth researching.

The people groups inhabiting these churches come from different ethnic backgrounds. The urban context of Moshi, Kilimanjaro meant that a more cosmopolitan group met for church; Kilimanjaro's business community, high educational standards, medical provision (KCMC Hospital) and increasing urbanisation draws people from across Tanzania and occasionally East Africa, to this growing town. Although the Wachagga dominate the population still, other ethnic groups like the Wameru, Waarusha, Wapare, and Wasambaa, from the slopes of Kilimanjaro and the neighbouring regions infiltrate the town. On the other hand, Ulyankulu, Tabora, offered a very different ethnic demographic. Historically, the rural locale of Ulyankuku was sparsely populated by Tanzanian citizens but this made it a suitable place to locate the refugees from the Burundian crisis of the 1970s. These peoples of Wahutu and Watutsi origins call for closer examination in their cultural and traditional backgrounds. Their long residence in the country for more than two decades resulted in a slow but significant change in their own identity, and place of belonging – having been accommodated in very rural communities it was not long before township and semi-urban centres like 'Barabara 13' began to emerge. National integration followed later and local cultural influences shaped a once displaced people. It is to understanding the religious and social backgrounds of these ethnic groups in the two chosen centres that we now turn.

4.2.3 Moshi, Kilimanjaro

*4.2.3.1 Geographical Location and Background Information*³⁰⁵

Moshi lies due south of Mount Kilimanjaro (5895m), home of the Wachagga, on the lower slopes as they stretch out into the Pangani river basin. It has grown to be a significant town since earliest colonial days, especially when the rail line from the coast found its terminus in the former trading post. Nowadays, it is the second largest of the northern towns having been superseded in importance by Arusha (85 km west), which serves as the gateway to the national parks and centre of the modern Tanzanian tourist industry. Nevertheless, Moshi still attracts some tourism offering access to the summit of Africa but its local importance is clear in the sizeable population it hosts of 157,000 people.³⁰⁶

The Wachagga, famed for their entrepreneurial skills in business, are dispersed across Tanzania, and increasingly so with improvements to the roads network in the country. Road access to Arusha, the port of Tanga (350km), Dar-es-salaam (540km) and even Nairobi (325km) offers Moshi a strong economic base and makes for good communications. The Asian community in Moshi, once significant, has dropped dramatically in the last 10 years resulting in a slightly negative impact on the economy.

Kilimanjaro Region is presently one of the most densely populated areas of the country approaching 2 million including a large population of over one million subsistence farmers. The climate is temperate and very pleasant. The political region has been split

³⁰⁵ This ethnographic background is adapted from McKinnon, 2002, *British Brethren*, pp.43ff.

³⁰⁶ Statistical data for this section is based upon Tanzania Population 2018.

<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/tanzania-population/> (accessed 2.4.18)

into seven districts, namely, Siha, Hai, Rombo, Moshi Urban, Moshi Rural, Mwanga and Same. The focus of this case study is restricted to the two Moshi districts where the vast majority of the population (some 650,000 people) are of Chagga descent. Historically, the Wachagga have never had villages. Each household maintained its own identity in the context of the *shamba* on which it stands and patrilineages congregated around these inherited lands.

Around the turn of the 19th century there were reportedly 37 chiefdoms but as colonial rule had its official impact these slowly became secondary to the administrative districts. By independence there were only three main areas, namely Hai, Vunjo and Rombo. Vunjo today has been reconstituted as Moshi Urban and Rural. These districts were further broken down into wards – smaller political units which are again divided into units of ten houses – ten-cell leaders are appointed to report to a *diwani* (councillor) who in turn would report up to district commissioner, regional commissioner, and on to the President. So, although traditionally the land inheritance scheme allowed for expansion into the spaces around, today hardly any space remains and population density continues to increase. In 1912 Bruno Gutmann estimated 28,150 homesteads on the mountain which he reckoned to account for a population of about 120,000 people. In the 1968 government census 76,080 taxpayers were recorded, which multiplied by a conservative five per household may indicate a population in the region of 400,000 persons. In the last fifty years then, the population *on the mountain* has likely tripled with current best estimates being in the region of 1 – 1.2 million people. Urban population has also seen significant growth in the last forty years, trebling from 52,000 in 1978 to over 157,000 today. While

most of the regions' population growth may be internal, the urban centre is clearly growing faster indicating immigration from other regions.

4.2.3.2 Ethnic Origins & Neighbours

The Wachagga are a Bantu people who settled on the slopes of Kilimanjaro approximately 5 or 6 centuries ago although some estimates date their arrival even earlier. Their origins are most likely in the Taita Hills area (now Kenya) but sources are unclear and ancestry is regularly claimed through the Masai, Taita, Kamba, Pare and even Sambia tribes and people groups.³⁰⁷ The original attraction of the mountain was the extensive ivory trade and elephants were slaughtered in great numbers to satisfy the demand of traders reaching the Mombasa coast. Trading caravans soon caught on to the slave trade and the Wachagga were not slow to find consignments of slaves from surrounding peoples. These trading caravans were vital to the economic survival of the Wachagga since they had to trade elsewhere for pottery and iron, having no sources for these raw materials on the mountain itself. Materials of this kind were traded with the Wapare and the Wakahe peoples on the southern plain. As coffee and bananas became more popular with the Wachagga farmers cattle rearing declined and meat was also imported from Masailand – this agricultural profile remains true today.

4.2.3.3 Economy

With decades of sedentary farming history behind them now Wachagga farmers of Kilimanjaro have become specialists in coffee, banana and maize farming. While other

³⁰⁷ Charles Dundas *Kilimanjaro and Its People: A History of the Wachagga, Their Laws, Customs and Legends, Together with Some Account of the Highest Mountain in Africa* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, n.d.), p. 41ff.

regions of Tanzania may be tested by drought and famine, Kilimanjaro farmers have an exceptional network of irrigation furrows and watering systems that maintain not only the mountain slopes but even extensive areas of the plain to the south. Rice fields and sugar-cane plantations, supervised and managed by expatriates from Japan and Mauritius, extend from the southern boundaries of Moshi town and the waters flow on towards the Nyumba ya Mungu dam which, in turn, generates some of the country's electricity. There has been some small industrial development in the area, with a paper factory, cement factory, coffee factories, sugar refinery, leather industry, brewery, and the like featuring in and around Moshi. The further one ventures from the urban centre rural subsistence farming becomes the dominant activity.

Business and retailing are increasingly high profile trades activities in the town. A wide assortment of goods is readily available to an increasingly metropolitan marketplace. Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre, one of the largest referral hospitals in the country, not only attracts professional staff to live and work in the community but also a wide variety of patients from across the country. Tourism helps lift the economy in a seasonal capacity. Education is also a significant contributor to the economy, Kilimanjaro being well-known nationally for some of the best secondary schools & universities in the country.

The economy is further enhanced by the activity of the Wachagga people working outside the region. Their entrepreneurial spirit takes them to the busiest centres across Tanzania in search of trade. Regularly men leave wives, family and friends for years on end in search of business activity. This ensures their land and property in Kilimanjaro are maintained and avoids the expense of supporting families in an urban context. All their

profits tend to be reinvested in the 'homeland' of Kilimanjaro's slopes where they religiously return year after year. These visits are purportedly to see relatives and friends but rumour runs high about the continued beliefs in appeasing and visiting the resting places of 'the living-dead'. The Wachagga then are by no means the poorest tribe in the country, although, there are still many poor people among them.

4.2.3.4 Religious and Social Background

Like other Bantu peoples, similarities in the fundamental beliefs about God and the spirit world are also to be found amongst the Wachagga in their traditional worldview.³⁰⁸ God, for the Wachagga, is commonly known by the name *Ruwa*. The Wachagga were apparently sun worshippers, the Kichagga name for 'sun' being *ruwa*, and similarly they revered and honoured the moon (*mnyereri*), wife of Ruwa. Animal sacrifices were made to Ruwa at high noon. On closer enquiry, however, one discovers that Ruwa, together with his wife, is more akin to a superior spirit who does not interfere in daily lives and affairs of humans. Like some other Bantu peoples, the Chagga gods are many although it may be that they are simply known by different names according to their function. Nevertheless, 'he' or 'they' are always considered as far removed from people. The main players in the affairs of every day human experience are the ancestors, the living-dead, and, more particularly, those who were at one time powerful chiefs and leaders in the community. Occasionally, even well-loved, strong, healthy cattle were remembered among the living-dead. In direct relation to their sphere of influence during life, the living-dead also continued to have influence from the afterlife. Chiefs who ruled the whole

³⁰⁸ The Wachagga can be sub-divided further into 12 different clan names: Wakibosho, Wamachame, Wasanya, Warombo, Waoldimoshi, Wauru, Wakahe, Wamarangu, Wamwika, Wakilema, Wamamba and Wakirua.

chiefdom continued to hold sway and influence on the chiefdom from the spirit world (like Mandara or Marealle). Localised spirits, of perhaps, fathers or grandfathers, would affect only the local family living on in the physical world.³⁰⁹

The Wachagga were also religiously captivated by what they considered the most powerful cause and effect in the universe - sexual reproduction. For them it modelled all of life and death, the whole cycle of human existence. When male and female came together in proper union it brought 'life' (*uzima*). As a result, the blessing of children in a legitimate marriage situation was counted as the natural consequence of those who do right. Logically, poor or improper combinations of the procreative union (i.e. incest, adultery, and sexual perversion) brought 'death' (*mauti*). This belief system, then, became the means of great power. Sexuality and the curses associated with it could even be used to kill. Because of this power and potential danger, various safety measures of separating certain things, male and female, guarded against the hazards inherent in such belief. The greatest blessing in life was children; to die without offspring is the greatest danger and curse.

For the Wachagga, three great themes were interwoven in their attempts to explain and preserve *uzima* - "life":

1. *denial of ultimate death*, since the chain of ancestors and descendants was perpetual and the dead lived on in the spirit world: life (*uzima*) was perpetuated,
2. *the mysterious sexual-procreative process* which continued the chain of humankind, animals and plants: life (*uzima*) was honoured,
3. *the magical properties of food-producing, food-eating, and food-sacrificing* that kept men and spirits alive: life (*uzima*) was sustained.

³⁰⁹ Being a patrilineal culture, mothers and grand-mothers are seldom if ever held in such regard.

The Wachagga lived in tension; at a great distance from God and yet still dependent on him. Their reliance on the spirit world to maintain the delicate balance was fundamental to human well-being (*uzima*). To grieve the spirits, was potentially to lose favour with God himself. To involve the spirits excessively, was to court disaster in encouraging their interference in daily activity. The sacrificial system of pouring out drink offerings and making occasional food offerings at burial sites ensured that the living-dead were well inclined towards them in their daily welfare and in turn would continue to mediate between them and *Ruwa* himself.

Other social rites operated among the Wachagga prior to the coming of Western missionaries. These rites marked the various passages of life in birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Some of them continue to the present, in one form or another, but much of the traditional Chagga customs and beliefs are lost or sometimes concealed today.³¹⁰ There are various explanations for that fact and writers differ in their opinions. Colonial rule, Christianity and coffee together with education are all blamed for the eradication and subversion of this people's traditions. Moore maintains that the chiefdom and age set systems were eroded by the political secularisation of the area. Age classes disappeared under German colonial rule.³¹¹ Lema tends to lay the blame with the Christian missionaries themselves when he claims they were responsible for the change of almost

³¹⁰ Reports continue to appear in the national press concerning Chagga traditions, for example, in January 2015 a local newspaper ran a story on the Wakilema Chagga exhuming their dead ancestors.
<http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/habari/habari-ya-ndani/Wachaga-wa-Kilema-na-mila-ya-kufukua-maiti/1724700-2591490-aiuwu/index.html> (accessed 2.4.18)

³¹¹ Moore, Sally Falk, and Paul Purrit. *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania* (London: International African Institute, 1977), p. 120.

every aspect of Chagga culture. He does not, however, insist in the end that such change was 'wholly destructive or entirely beneficial'.³¹²

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to imply the Wachagga were 'robbed' of these traditions. In fact, they have long been a people open to change who accepted myriad innovations from the Europeans. The Wachagga were open to change even before the Europeans came; African and Swahili Arabs all made their impact and had an influence on them.³¹³ However, these changes have generally come on their own terms. Evidence of their ability and determination to make their own decisions in their own time is seen in their history as well as their present attitudes. The fact that they are not simply to be intimidated by outsiders, but will change when they are ready, is illustrated in the story of Dr Abbott whose water supply was cut off by the chief because he had, in his opinion, overstepped the mark in disciplinary matters with his Chagga worker (1889).³¹⁴ The Wachagga have shown that they know what they want, and usually, know how to get it. The influence of Christianity was extensively accepted on their terms and Catholic and Protestant (particularly Lutheran) strongholds were established across the mountain - every valley having its own allegiance to one or other.³¹⁵ These religions were integrated into Chagga society in such a way that a fusion of Christian faith and more traditional religious practices are not uncommon today.

³¹² Anza A. Lema, 'Chagga Religion & Missionary Christianity on Kilimanjaro. The Initial Phase 1893-1916'. In *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Oxford/Dar es salaam: James Currey/Mkuki na Nyota, 1999), p.54.

³¹³ Moore and Purrit. *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania*, p. 121.

³¹⁴ Moore and Purrit. *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania*, p. 120, citing Meyer.

³¹⁵ Sundkler, *History of the Church*, p. 548.

The enchanted world of witchcraft and magical beliefs remains evident still in Kilimanjaro – more overtly in rural and semi-rural contexts and at times even in urban settings. Informants are quick to recall ‘three stones in the courtyard’ as indicators of the veneration of the ancestors; the undying habit of pouring some banana beer (*mbege*) on the stone by the door as a libation before consuming the remainder maintains an unseen fellowship with one’s forebears; or the recollection of stories pertaining to the exhumation of dead fathers (the skull) as a practice yet maintained on the mountain and upholding the patrilineal claim to the family’s land inheritance.³¹⁶ Even beneath an evidentially Christian outlook in modern society, persistent belief in the power of traditional diviners can remain. The tell-tale signs of such tenacious convictions in the culture are overtly displayed on the streets of Moshi town itself where the noticeboards of market-stalls invite enquirers to resolve a wide range of physical, material, emotional and spiritual problems as announced on through prescribed secretive consultations and treatments.³¹⁷ Even so, institutional Christianity has clearly helped the Wachagga in their contacts and resources with the outside world and this has been a benefit they could not resist.

4.2.3.5 *The cultural inheritance of Wachagga today*

From these ethnographic sketches, one might venture to suggest that certain cultural traits and heritage remain evident among the Wachagga today. The conviction that other

³¹⁶ Conversations and informal interviews with the three Machoka brothers (Old Moshi) (29.6.16), Wens Temba (Rau) (4.7.16), and Bernardi Elly (Moshi Urban) (5.7.16)

³¹⁷ Normally, claims would be non-specific ‘but may include’, and a list of various ailments ensues. (In Swahili: *Tunatibu magonjwa mbalimbali ikiwemo* (We treat various illnesses including...) *nguvu za kiume* (impotence), *matatizo ya uzazi* (Infertility), *kisukari* (diabetes), *presha ya kupanda na kushuka* (high/low blood pressure), *uvimbe* (swelling), *kifafa* (epilepsy) *na kupooza* (and paralysis).) But these lists may also include treatments for *mikosi* (jinxes, misfortunes), *kusafisha nyota* (cleansing your stars), *kutoa jini* (exorcism of spirits).

powers beyond one's immediate influence and control direct the affairs of one's present daily life tends to emerge as an almost fatalistic perspective. This traditional religious outlook seen in the difficulty of influencing the ultimate Spirit has been strengthened by other cultures, especially the Muslim coastal peoples. The readiness of the Wachagga to travel outside of Kilimanjaro in doing trade and negotiating economics draw them to the port cities and coastal Swahili peoples of Tanzania. Mbiti notes that the influence of the Islamic cultures on 'Swahili' traditional religious beliefs and ideas is not insignificant resulting in a reinforcement of attitudes characterised by a favourite explanatory saying for matters unfolding in life for good or ill: *ni mapenzi ya Mungu* (it's the will of God).³¹⁸ Nevertheless, the Wachagga heritage demonstrates that they optimistically endeavour to take charge of their destiny as and when they can and by whatever means they can. This optimistic outlook to strive for something better, or bigger or which brings greater blessing or fullness of life, is fuelled by a readiness to be open to new approaches, new religions, and even new beliefs. It is seen in the entrepreneurial spirit of the Wachagga today and confirmed as pragmatic in outlook by other African scholars. Adeyemo determines that the African search is 'after God's help' and 'utilitarian and not purely spiritual'.³¹⁹ He quotes Mbiti: 'African search is practical and not mystical. ...African people do not "thirst after God" for his own sake alone. They seek to obtain what he gives be that material or even spiritual; they do not seem to search for him as the final reward

³¹⁸ John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Nairobi, Kenya: Heinemann Kenya, 1969 (1987)), p. 248.

³¹⁹ Tokunboh Adeyemo, *Salvation in African Tradition* (Second Edition) (Nairobi, Kenya: Evangel Press, 1997), p. 36. Adeyemo, a renowned African scholar, although Nigerian by birth spent over 20 years living and working in East Africa. Deusededit RK Nkurunziza, *Bantu Philosophy of Life in the Light of the Christian Message: A Basis for an African Vitalistic Theology* (European University Studies) (Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang, 1989), states the Bantu conception of God is 'functional, dynamic and vitalistic'. God 'is not thought of in abstract but in concrete existential terms', p. 106.

or satisfaction of the human soul or spirit.³²⁰ This pragmatic trait among some Christians in Kilimanjaro requires of faith an answer for the problems of daily life, a definitive positive answer to the 'so what' question is expected, awaited and looked for; without it, hope is lost, faith is hampered and alternative solutions sought.

The Wachagga still have their own cultural tensions with which they grapple. This is not to deny the widely recognized continuity and integration between the spiritual and physical; the latent holism of a cosmology that in many ways cannot be compartmentalised as a western worldview may be.³²¹ However, it is important to note that sometimes two apparently contradictory elements of their culture or religious belief can be held simultaneously by individuals without much difficulty. And so, it ought to be conceded that modern culture around Kilimanjaro is marked by certain polarities in everyday language and perspective: there is a recognition of the natural (*ya asili*) and the supernatural (*ya kimwujiza*); the material (*kimwili*) and the spiritual (*kiroho*); the evil (*mabaya*) and the good (*mema*); the profane (*upujufu*) and the holy (*utakatifu*); and so forth. This dualistic approach is sometimes powered by the pragmatist living out life in the here and now. Religiously, one might embrace the gospel of Jesus Christ as the *only* way of salvation while at the same time practically pursuing the *mganga wa kienyeji* (diviner) for a solution to one's infertility or impotency, lack of employment, financial woes or other misfortunes of life (*mikosi*). In more scholarly discussion, Glassman has raised the debate

³²⁰ John Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Press, 1970 (2012)), p. 179., quoted in Adeyemo, *Salvation in African Tradition* (Nairobi, Kenya: Evangel Publishing House, 1979 (1997)), p. 36. In *African Religions and Philosophy*, Mbiti dedicates a chapter to address 'The worship of God' and notes regularly that the prayers of Africans to God are focused in material welfare, health, protection, prosperity, victory, success in hunting, longevity of life, searching for lost animals, and so forth. p. 58-74.

³²¹ J.N.K. Mugambi, *Christianity and African Culture*, (Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Press, 2002), p. 50.

on the sources of influence upon cultures of the East African seaboard, noting the puzzle of ethnic identities among Swahili peoples as being fluid, indeterminate and bridging racial categories. Quoting Prins he recounts, 'that Swahili-speakers rarely thought of themselves as belonging exclusively to any one racial category (a person was "never Swahili and nothing else")'.³²² The strain arising from the "dual identities" of being both African and Christian also remains a topic for further discussion.³²³

Present scholarship may balk at the use of the word "dualities" to describe these attributes, especially in the face of the academic hegemony of "holistic" descriptions of the culture and religion. But such polarities *do* exist in the minds and hearts of many Tanzanian people today despite the continued backdrop of a more traditional view characterised by a fully integrated and continuous spirituality that pervades all of life - this is, in itself, another tension.

4.2.4 Ulyankulu, Tabora

4.2.4.1 Geographical Location and Information³²⁴

In the heart of some of the most rural and under-developed parts of central Tanzania, an unusual rural/semi-urban population have established themselves in scattered settlements, some 80 kilometres north-west of Tabora town - an area which was once a refugee camp, to which they fled the troubles of Burundi back in the early to mid-1970s. Initially, they were located in Pangale, 40 kilometres due south of Tabora, however, the

³²² Jonathon Glassman 'Rethinking Race in the Colonial World'. In *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar*, 3–22, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2011), p.5.

³²³ Martin Lindhardt (Ed.) *Pentecostalism in Africa* (Brill: Leiden, 2015) is an example of contemporary discussions to which we will refer later in chapter 6.

³²⁴ This ethnographic background is adapted from McKinnon, 2002, *British Brethren*, pp.84ff.

Tanzanian government moved them to Ulyankulu, owing to problems of disease and death among the camps. In 1988 the refugees who moved into Ulyankulu camp area numbered almost 40,000 people and by 2014 would have reached almost 75,000. The permanence of the camp itself was evidenced in an intensive building program that was undertaken by the new residents. Furthermore, people were committed to living out their lives to the *full* even while resident in a 'strange land'. Of course, for many, the 'strange land' eventually became home, and memories of Burundi were increasingly distant for the older generation and largely forgotten for the younger. As children became quite unfamiliar with the homeland some families tried in vain to maintain their native tongue around the home. Kiswahili, a second language for the new residents, is growing in use and widely understood and spoken, although it is often 'broken' grammatically. Finally, in 2007 the Tanzanian government began offering naturalisation or repatriation to Burundian refugees in the country. By 2014 over 75% had accepted naturalisation.³²⁵ Tanzanian nationals remain to be the majority in the wider region.

Tabora town, which sprung up because of the main railway line from the coast to Kigoma, is the area's major centre for business and communications, and is presently over 145,000 strong. Rural Urambo District, where Ulyankulu is located, has a population of approximately 250,000 residents. The greater municipal district of Tabora will be almost 300,000 strong.³²⁶

³²⁵ <http://www.theestafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania-grants-citizenship-to-Burundi-refugees/2558-2490618-7r7w8w/index.html>; A reflection of the change of status is seen in the data from UNHCR: <https://data2.unhcr.org/fr/documents/download/58959> (accessed 6.4.2018)

³²⁶ Statistical data for this section is based upon Tanzania Population 2018. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/tanzania-population/> (accessed 2.4.18)

People in the wider Ulyankulu neighbourhood are mostly subsistence farmers so the agricultural economy is vitally important to their health and well-being. Traditionally, the tribal heritage of this group was in cattle rearing, however, owing to their refugee status and the loss of past possessions, an agrarian base was established. Even so, over recent years, there has been a rise in the commercial sector as population grows and consumer demands increase; many entrepreneurs import essential goods from Tabora town. This has transformed areas of Ulyankulu into small townships, drawing some away from more traditional village life. At Barabara 13 (*lit.* Road 13) the settlement has grown considerably and offers all the facilities of a small town like schools, post office, health centre, garage, chemist, as well as a host of other shops selling a wide variety of goods. 'Market' takes place here twice a week, when the surrounding, less developed areas, flock to this centre for buying and selling. Small 'industry' has begun to show its face in the erection of large warehouses, but they are mainly reserved for tobacco storage.

4.2.4.2 Economy

The Tabora economy remains largely agricultural. Maize and tobacco production in the area rank among the highest in Tanzania and are shipped to other regions for commercial trade. The railway line passing through the town on the way to Kigoma has its impact on the retail trade but full-scale industrial development is low. Roads communications still hamper development possibilities since the main route from the coastal ports to central Africa bypass Tabora town some 120 kilometres to the north, through Nzega. In 2015 the tarmac trunk road to Tabora from the East was almost complete but the road from Tabora to the north-west towards Ulyankulu was still mostly murrum.

4.2.4.3 Origins of the Watutsi³²⁷

The Watutsi are intimately related in their roots and ancestry to the Wahaya (of north western Tanzania, Kagera Region). Tracing their roots back about seven centuries, Leo B. Mabala makes known the origins of this Cushitic people, and explains how they were previously called the Wahima, a group of accomplished hunters, also known by the name Wahorima or Waorma. Forced from Ethiopia, they travelled south and west reaching Kenya, Uganda and finally, Rwanda and Burundi. According to Mabala, the locals asked, *N'abantu ki?* (lit. "Who are these people?"), which they later shortened/adapted to *Abatutsi'*. Their name, then, speaks of their status as strangers amongst others.

The infamous division between the tribe of the Watutsi and the Wahutu is explained by Mabala in the following short extract:

There was an old man who had three sons: Kahima, Katutsi and Kahutu. One day he had a dream in which he was told by God that he should take milk and put it in three containers (*ebyanzi*), and then put them in a certain place. After this, he should call all his sons, and tell them that they would not get to drink (milk) for three days. The one who could endure his hunger without any complaint at all, he would be blessed - in short, every one would be blessed in relation to his patience.

Well, the old man wakened and commanded the cows be milked, the milk put in the containers, and put aside as he had been commanded. He called his three sons and told them they were neither to eat or drink milk for three days. He wanted them not to ask any questions concerning his announcement. Kahutu did not hold back in his complaints because he had not been given any chance to ask the reason for the old man's announcement. On the second day, things went badly for Kahutu; he involved his brother Katutsi making him complain about the hunger they were experiencing. But that big one, the [oldest] brother, did not even try to complain for the whole period of three days. He waited patiently in silence and with joy hoping that their father had a good reason which would affect their future lives.

³²⁷ The researcher is indebted to Leo Bassu Mabala *Watutsi: Mila Na Desturi* (Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1988), for his most helpful Swahili language work on this topic.

The third day in the evening, the old man called his sons to give them the results of his announcement. He started to bless Kahima first, that he would be lord over his two brothers and their offspring forever. He blessed Katutsi and said, 'Because you followed your sibling, and got involved with Kahutu in complaining without thinking you will be a thorn to your brothers. Always they will hate you and despise you. Therefore, you will not settle, you will want them to recognise you, but it will be impossible. You will fight with them a war of spears.' Lastly, he turned to Kahutu and said, 'You will be the servant of your brothers all the days of your life and your offspring for ever.'³²⁸

The interpretation of the story is perhaps even more interesting.³²⁹ Kahutu depicts all people who are not Watutsi, Katutsi stands for all people who are Watutsi of mixed blood, and Kahima is representative of the genuine Watutsi or Wahima. From this story, the genuine Mtutsi believes in his mind that he was the first one blessed and he is the foremost among all the tribes in the world. He would rather die than refute this belief. The interpretation of Mabala may be rather biased since he himself is Mtutsi, but the pride of this people group is not difficult to detect in the story and its interpretation.

4.2.4.4 Religious background: the Watutsi, God and the Spirits

The Watutsi religious beliefs focus on the names for God as the Great One, the Giver and the final Judge. Resistance to missionary religion long continued secretly in 'their services for the living-dead'. *Ruhanga*, *Rugaba* and *Wamara* are all mentioned in the religious beliefs of the Watutsi as among the great Spirits who ought not to be troubled. In summarising their religious outlook Mabala says:

Nothing grieved the Watutsi of those past times more than a person who was lackadaisical in his services for the *mizimu* (living-dead). Anything that caused this wickedness was despised in extreme. Their traditional religion was highly valued, so

³²⁸ Mabala, *Watutsi*, p.27-28. All translations by the researcher.

³²⁹ Mabala himself draws attention to the similarities of the story of Hima, Tutsi and Hutu origins to the story in Genesis 9:18-27, where Noah blesses and curses his own sons after the flood, owing to their responses to seeing his nakedness after he got drunk. Mabala uses the Noah story as a polemic against colonial domination and white rule of any sort in Africa.

much so that other people could easily believe that the Watutsi worshipped *mizimu*. But they maintained that running to the *mizimu* was the easy way rather than disturbing God who is the Supreme, Giver and final Judge.

Although others entered the religions brought by the outsiders (*wageni*), many of them were unable to follow the directions of these 'new' faiths. At night, they celebrated their services for the *mizimu* and entered divination practices (*uchwezi*) away from the Missionaries who were very strict with all who tried to maintain divination or live contrary to the religion of these Missionaries.³³⁰

God's intervention or communication with mankind is seen in the extraordinary events of life. Death, giving birth to twins, lightening, or hearing an animal speak a word, are all events which are not only a major disturbance in society, but are also acknowledged to have come about only because of the power of God. Slow death is recognised as the fate of evil people, or witchdoctors (*wachawi*), whom God is punishing. These matters need 'fixing' by appeasing the *mizimu* and in turn, appeasing God himself.

God has his helpers. The first group are the diviners (*amasigo*), who learn their trade when 'kidnapped' for two or three days, held in 'the forest', and taught all they need to know. Suddenly, and without warning, they are returned to their family at midnight, who rejoice that their relative has been 'chosen'. Secondly, there are the guardians (*abakirezi* - Kiswahili, *walinzi*). These are related particularly to children. Good and bad, they can either watch out for and protect the child, or swap and steal them if parenting is not up to standard.

³³⁰ Mabala, *Watutsi*, p.19-20.

To the Watutsi, God is very gentle and patient, and he loves people. God is the guardian of the weak and poor. God does no evil nor does he like evil. God is not to be spoken of in vain nor can you compete with him.³³¹

4.2.4.5 Peace and the Request for 'Radhi'³³²

Living at peace with God, the *mizimu* and one's living relatives is a central issue in life for Watutsi. The thoughts of *amagara* (well-being) prevalent among the Wahaya are similar to the Watutsi outlook in life. Everyone is seeking 'radhi'.³³³

The Watutsi believe that the good life that is full of grace is that which is lived in holding exactly to the attitudes needed in the *mizimu* services. In contradiction to this, is the life that is full of worry, shortages, disturbance, plagues and hunger, etc. Therefore, he attends the services to draw to himself good 'radhi' from the *mizimu* who are the ambassadors of God.³³⁴

Radhi is a guideline for life in East Africa. It concerns a range of required behaviours which include, love for people, obedience, listening, honouring, manners, unlimited patience, perseverance and forgiveness. The opposite of *radhi* is *kombo* which represents all that goes wrong in life as being a result of bad behaviour in some area or another.³³⁵ As soon as something goes wrong between two people there is an early recognition of this fact in the mind of the offender. Over and above this stricken conscience, the offended person and the community may ostracise the offender. The offender becomes increasingly conscious of all he was taught as a child and the time and effort that was put into rearing him. Failure to succeed in any area of life continues to prompt the offender

³³¹ Mabala, *Watutsi*, p. 132.

³³² Mabala, *Watutsi*, p. 145ff.

³³³ 'Kuomba radhi' is a phrase used widely in Swahili to ask for forgiveness, grace, or wrongs to be overlooked.

³³⁴ Mabala, *Watutsi*, p.141.

³³⁵ The Swahili word *kombo* is related to the need for redemption – an outstanding price yet to be paid for freedom. The person who is thus set free has been redeemed (*amekombolewa*).

to seek *radhi*. It is said his condition becomes such that he sees the whole world like a furnace, while amazingly, others enjoy its delights.

Seeking *radhi* is not merely the repetition of certain words asking forgiveness of the offended party, but rather involves an urgency to reach proper reconciliation before death intervenes on either side. The idea of delay is derided by all, for the offender has lost community in every department of life and can live at peace with no-one. Even those who do good to him, he will pick a fight with, and he becomes likened to a donkey who kicks his owner. A mediator should be sought out and urgently.

The offender seeks out some elders who will hear the complaint and look for a solution to the argument. Any parental figure, who knows his son is seeking forgiveness, will usually not refuse him, no matter how big the mistake, since he would be mocked by the whole community. Occasionally, such an impasse is reached, however, and the elders intervene to question the parent or other offended party as to why forgiveness is being withheld. They are warned of the serious nature of withholding forgiveness and remaining in anger and hatred. If a party is sick or death is near, then great urgency is added to the proceedings. When the matter is resolved verbally, then certain actions are taken to confirm the reconciliation. The one offended takes a container of milk, drinks from it, and then spits the milk into the palms of the hands of the offender. At the same time, he repeats the words that he used to anathematise the offender in his mistakes. Finally, he then breaks and destroys those words of his judgement with the holding of hands and the verbal confirmation that they are again one and *radhi* has returned between them. The offender (child) swears that he will not repeat such mistakes again, and that he will

endeavour to live in a disciplined fashion in the community. From this time on the offender's conscience is clear and he finds himself succeeding in all he does.

4.2.4.6 Musical Interests

The Watutsi love music.³³⁶ Evenings are often spent together as a family singing to the accompaniment of the *inanga* (Kiswahili - *gitaa*). The *inanga* is made from a hollowed out tree stump in much the same way as they might fashion a traditional bee-hive. A neck is added and seven strings made from cow gut. Singing does not accompany the music immediately, but after some time of listening and musing upon the notes, the *gitaa*-player will begin to hum along. As the music touches his soul more and more, he raises his voice, and enters fully into the music.

Songs are sung of various kinds: songs of praise, of warning, of love and of sadness. The best and well-loved songs are those that praise the red cattle for which the Watutsi were once (and in some places still are) famed. The best singers can keep the song going to cover every aspect of the cattle, from their horns, skin, udder and hoofs to their backs, eyes, neck and tail. Most songs tend to be very repetitive, the same words being repeated over and over again.

In Mabala's account there is no mention specifically of music being used in praise to God but, as we will see, the Watutsi have not been slow to ensure that song and instrument combine in praise within their new-found faith.

³³⁶ Mabala, *Watutsi*, p.121-122.

4.2.4.7 *Sickness, Disease and Death*³³⁷

Like other tribes across Africa, and many other peoples of the world, the Watutsi sought out medications to protect and treat them from the multiplicity of disease and sickness that inflicted them from time to time. Not every disease was openly announced to the community because of shame and fear of separation. Anyone afflicted with leprosy, tapeworm, madness, dropsy, diarrhoea, or venereal disease would keep these things quiet.

Leprosy is the worst affliction that can befall any Mtutsi. Not only will this mean a difficult and painful existence separated from family and friends but will also mean an ignominious death, when finally, his carcass will be thrown to the hyenas. His whole family, who would have been separated with him, will then be free, if not infected, to go through the cleansing process with the *mganga* (local medicine man) and return to normal society. This cleansing comes through fire in the destruction of the whole *boma* (homestead) and medication applied for future protection.

Death for the Watutsi has been a great fear. The outcome of any event of death in a small community was, usually, that the group would move to a new district. People were left to die alone for fear that others may be also inflicted. More recently, things have changed and as the tribe has seen how others deal with death, they too have revised their ways. The deceased is buried in the corral for the cattle, lying on his side, or in a seated position. Prior to burial, he is anointed with cow fat on the cheeks by each of his children

³³⁷ Mabala, *Watutsi*, p. 157ff.

and his wife. The mourners mourn four days. On the fifth day, after settling the inheritance, they 'secretly' consult the witchdoctor. No-one dies, they suspect, without being spellbound or cursed by another. Their consultation, conducted in great angst, not knowing who might be named, usually results in a woman being named, most often deceased, a previous wife or lover, who in jealousy has 'taken' him. The alternative, is less common, that some living person has put a spell on the deceased to cause his death. If the latter happens, the accused is well-advised to leave immediately without looking back.

4.2.4.8 The cultural inheritance of the Watutsi today

Many of the peoples of Ulyankulu who are part of the focus in this study owe an ethnic heritage to their Burundian ancestors known as Watutsi. Nevertheless, one must recognise the difficulty of drawing lines of cultural definition too strictly. The sketch laid out above offers us pointers towards aspects that may yet be evident among this people group however we would want to recognise the multifarious ways in which cultures shape cultures.³³⁸ What we might call Swahili culture has had an impact upon them as they have resided in Tanzania for more than a generation, not least through the adoption of the Swahili language.

The pride of the peoples of Ulyankulu continues to shine through in their determination to live life to the full (*uzima*) despite the challenges of poverty and subsistence farming. Their spirit-world convictions bear a strong resemblance to other African tribes and their desire for blessing from *Ruhanga*, to avoid grieving him and to live at peace their fellow human beings is still a dominant theme in their outlook. Their

³³⁸ Refer again to Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*, p.5.

explanation of the need for *radhi* in pursuing, upholding and sustaining peace is a matter we will explore further in this study. When peace comes, singing and dancing are still strong elements of Ulyankulu culture and an enduring legacy appears to be the unhurried way in which such elation is to be expressed, enjoyed and savoured.

Finally, we note that the vestiges of a fascination with what can only be described as power (*nguvu*). The need for power in the face of illness, disease and the threat of death remains a constant among a people who until today encounter wild animals, injury and disease in remote rural settlements with little access to modern medical care. Their forebears knew of great powers. There is yet an expectation that those powers could be harnessed and realised once more through more modern power-brokers; ostensibly, power could be available now in and through the Christian pastor, the priests or the preachers, but most evidently through potential miracle-workers – even raising the dead.³³⁹ Yet, death itself remains (as for all of humankind) the last enemy and for the people of Ulyankulu answers are still being sought concerning the causes of death (reasons) and one's prospects beyond the grave.

³³⁹ One of the current high-profile personalities featuring regularly in Tanzanian conversation is Bishop Dr. Josephat Gwajima of the Glory of Christ of Tanzania Church (founded in 1994, also called *Nyumba ya Ufufuo na Uzima* - House of Resurrection and Life) who has come to the fore publicly over the past 5 years. Gwajima positions himself as a man of power and politics - his reputation has been staked upon his claims to be able to raise the dead - but his 'seditious remarks' (Tanzania's Daily News) concerning the Tanzanian ruling party, CCM, and President Magufuli, have not been well received in church or in government circles. Thousands follow him, 70,000 gathering in Dar-es-salaam for weekly services. His public ministry focuses on power encounters around *Matukio ya Uchawi* (Witchcraft Events) and *Saa ya Ufufuo na Uzima* (The Hour of Resurrection and Life).

4.3. The Cultural Proximity of ATR in Tanzanian Culture³⁴⁰

Evident to even the most casual visitor to Africa is the prevalence of the spiritual in daily life events - and Tanzania is no exception. This cultural proximity of the people to spiritual systems of belief, power, influence and control is rampant. Explanations for what are very ordinary events of life in the eyes of Westerners are given an extra-ordinary twist from Tanzanian viewpoints. A slip in the shower resulting in a split and bleeding eyebrow, dashed against the edge of the bath, is not attributed to stupidity, carelessness, or the need for a shower mat, but to Satan (*Shetani*). Eluding certain death in a near head-on collision with a beaten-up truck carrying sand from the riverbed and now hurtling uncontrollably down a steep hill only to narrowly miss the missionary in his four-wheel drive car desperately trying to take evasive action while driving across a narrow bridge, is nothing other than a miracle (*mwujiza*). A Tanzanian woman witnessing the incident falls to her knees on the side of the road and offers prayers of thanks to Jesus for his wonder-working power and intervention. But it is not just in the dramatic and the dangerous that such cultural proximity to the supernatural world comes to the fore. It has been well rehearsed elsewhere that slogans adorn buses and cars, stickers announce the protection of the blood of Jesus, and so forth, and that prayer is a massive cultural response in the face of daily events. Increasingly, the prevalence of such pervasive spirituality is addressed in pentecostal and charismatic writings,³⁴¹ although *Kanisa la Biblia* have also made some

³⁴⁰ Cultural proximity is not used here in the technical sense of the preferences of audiences to hear and see their own culture in media. Rather the construct is used merely to note that with proximity of culture comes influence. As cultural distinctives come together they often shape one another or override one another.

³⁴¹ For example, two generally Charismatic approaches are, Mkumbo G. Mitula, *Silaha za Maangamizi: "Zitumie ubarikiwe, uponywe na ufunguliwe!"* [The Weapons of Destruction: "Use them and be blessed, healed and released!"] (Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania: EGYA, 2013) and Stephen Loilang'isho Lotasaruaki, *Mujiza katika Siku za Leo na Kushamiri kwa Huduma za Maombezi Nchini* [Miracles in the Present Day and the Spread of Prayer Ministries in the Country] (Arusha, Tanzania: Stephen Loilang'isho Lotasaruaki, 2011). A more mainstream Pentecostal teaching is offered by Jim

attempt to speak to this aspect of culture from their understanding of a biblical perspective on the spiritual.³⁴² Their members also endeavour to give expression to the cultural milieu in which they find themselves.

4.3.1. A Received Culture

The influences inherent in the phenomenon of cultural proximity are demonstrated by the explanations of one informant (*alias* Frank)³⁴³ whose grand-father had been a diviner. The generational proximity of ATR has a direct impact in upholding a cultural proximity to ATR among many Tanzanians, however, even Christian proximity within the culture helps many to interpret and reinterpret, sometimes even to incorporate some of their traditional beliefs into their present-day convictions.

Frank explains that God (*Mungu*) is the ultimate Spirit who is known across Africa from ancient times as both Creator (*Chapanga*) and the Almighty (*Muhingu*) but around Him are other spirits, divided into good (*roho safi*, lit. pure spirits) and bad (*roho baya*). *Roho safi* includes the angels of God as well as the ancestors (*mizimu*) who themselves retain a structured hierarchy as the spirits of the chiefs (*mizimu mikuu*) and the spirits of the forefathers (*mizimu kawaida*, lit. normal spirits). *Roho baya* includes fallen angels who are in alliance with Satan (*mashetani* or *mapepo*).

& Carolyn Murphy, *Jinsi ya Kuwashinda Pepo: Kitabu cha Mafunzo kwa Mataifa Yote* [How to Defeat Evil Spirits: An Instruction Book for All Nations] (Arusha, Tanzania: Mwandani Publishers, 1996). English literature also finds its way to Tanzanian bookshops, for example, Kris Vallotton, *Spirit Wars: Winning the Invisible Battle against Sin and the Enemy* (Bloomington, Minneapolis: Chosen, 2012).

³⁴² Detmar Scheunemann, *Huduma za Roho Mtakatifu* [The Ministry of the Holy Spirit] (Dodoma, Tanzania: KLB Publishers, 1989)

³⁴³ From an informant's personal interview with the researcher, 6th July 2016, Moshi, Tanzania. Frank holds a responsible position in a Christian institution and would self-identify as an evangelical Christian, with a Brethren (KLB) upbringing and a charismatic experience (including baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues). He is married with three children and has a university education.

As Frank looks back he sees the explanations of his father and grandfather's generation as still having a place within his personal cosmology and Christian convictions. He explains that the role of the ancestors, or living-dead (*mizimu*) was always to help bring peace and harmony on the earth. They offered protection to the family, clan or tribe - they cared for and guided their people through life.³⁴⁴ The protection was jeopardised when the 'taboos' (*haramu*) or 'rules' (*miiko*) were broken by someone. This upset the balance of life, it upset the forefathers, and there was need for restitution (*radhi*). Appropriate action on the part of the wrong-doer or of the family, clan or tribe, ensured that normality was restored and the balance of life redressed. Transgression as far as Frank is concerned was to be seen as the responsibility of individuals (one or many) and the outcomes of their wrong-doing were always clear. Frank was less keen to blame the sinful actions of human beings on the ancestors, for their intent was only good. It seems in his mind at least that the ancestors are now aligned with God's intentions for peace and harmony 'on earth as it is in heaven' - they are 'pure' in their intentions and actions, encouraging the living to please God and to love their neighbour. Any transgression or sin tends to be counted as being against the whole spiritual order which results in the chaos or disorder of daily life.

Frank maintains a clear distinction between the ancestors and the evil spirits or demons. In fact, he recalled that his father always said the demons (*mapepo*) and evil spirits (*mashetani*) came with the arrival of the Arabs - a more than controversial perspective. So, the suggestion of associating evil spirits with the ancestors or living dead

³⁴⁴ Kwesi A. Dickson, *Theology in Africa* (London, England: Dartmann, Longmann and Todd, 1984), p 62ff. offers agreement with Frank. "A society is in equilibrium when its customs are maintained, its goals attained and the spirit powers given regular and adequate recognition. Members of society are expected to live and act in such a way as to promote society's well-being; to do otherwise is to court disaster, not only for the actor but also for society as a whole." p. 62.

is much less comfortable, and even incomprehensible for Frank - perhaps he idealises ATR or defends it for his father and grandfather's sake - this was after all, the error missionaries made in times past - to count all 'spirits' in ATR as being demonic. Perhaps he wants to align ATR or harmonise it more with Christianity rather than with Islam - however, his incorporation of ATR language and perspectives into his personal cosmology is fascinating if not somewhat contradictory.

4.3.2. A Common Language

Additionally, the language of such cultural proximity is not restricted to Christian contexts or vocabulary only. There remains in regular use and frequently spoken of, language that demonstrates that ATR is not forgotten. Following the principle of the long remembered 'living-dead', the use of such words in the wider community suggests that ATR is by no means gone, but still 'alive' and exerting its influence on the lives of twenty-first century Tanzanians.

Examples of language used and heard regularly on the lips of lay people, pastors and preachers focus on personages, on belief systems, their paraphernalia and their outcomes. The personages might include specific identities like the devil (*shetani*) or demons (*mapepo*) who are associated together by their evil intent. Then there are the personages who are more innocuously described as ghosts or ghouls (*mazimwi*), or other 'spirits' (usually malevolent, *majini*). Stories in the press perpetuate the ideas, regaling their readers with the high drama of the *misukule* (probably, zombies, witchdoctors who have reputedly died but remain among the living in physical form and who have extraordinary powers - they can plant out a large tract of land overnight, or reap a harvest while others sleep, thus making them rich and powerful). Then there are the 'living-dead'

as Mbiti called them, referred to as the ancestral spirits (*mizimu*) or the forefathers (*mababu*).

Primary movers in the physical world who act as manipulators of power, diviners of the causes of chaotic episodes, or mysterious overlords who can bring harm and destruction, are often confused with one another in their popular names and labels. The witchdoctor (*mchawi*) is the most mysterious and powerful and is usually the one consulted for the manipulation of the systems that control daily life - especially for personal gain and/or a neighbour's downfall - s/he is also the most feared.³⁴⁵ The diviner (*mganga wa kienyeji*) often acts in cooperation with the witchdoctor but does not share the same powers. Discernment on the part of the diviner allows the witchdoctor to act. The diviner may also administer 'medicine' (*dawa*) to help alleviate the client's condition but some matters remain beyond his control.

Belief systems are variously described as superstition (*ushirikina*), divination (*ramli*), and witchcraft (*uchawi*). The execution of the cult is carried out in consultations accompanied by offerings to appease the spirits (*matambiko*) which are divined (*kupiga ramli*) by the mediators who can inflict their spells (*kuloga/kulogwa* - to bewitch/be bewitched) on the unsuspecting. Counter measures can be taken by those who fear such activity by seeking a power manipulator who can discern and overcome the curse (*laana*). This is achieved by undoing the spell (*kuzindua*) and sealing it with charms (*mazindiko*) or potions (*madawa*) in order to escape the calamity, misfortune or grief (*balaa*) and to break the power of the jinxes or bad omens (*mikosi*).

³⁴⁵ Nkurunziza, Bantu Philosophy, p. 119.

4.4 Conclusion

The currency of the extensive vocabulary of ATR (many listed above) is a feature of the Swahili language that has a shaping influence upon the vast majority of the Tanzanian population. The adoption of the Swahili language after independence in 1964 not only unified a nation but began to shape a culture. Our examination of the distinctive heritages of tribal and ethnic cultures across the northern part of the country while instructive should not erode the ‘assimilative and flexible’³⁴⁶ capacities of these cultures to embrace uniformity or similarity in cultural modes and norms. A major contributing factor to this deconstruction of tribal distinctives and the unification of a national identity and culture was Julius Nyerere’s schooling policy ‘that Tanzanian students attended secondary schools outside their region of origin [which] forged...a sense of national belonging that transcended tribal identities. This social blending process was a critical function that Nyerere attached to secondary schools.’³⁴⁷

Such influences of educational policy, geographical relocation and a unifying language spill over into the Christian world of *Kanisa la Biblia* as well as other Pentecostal/charismatic groups. We will return to reflect on the impact of this in chapter six. In the meantime, we return to our two chosen fields of study – Moshi and Tabora – to examine the convictions, priorities and beliefs of Christians from *Kanisa la Biblia* through a close analysis of their opinions in matters of faith. The Q methodology adopted for this purpose will allow us some insight into their religious worldview.

³⁴⁶ Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*, p.5.

³⁴⁷ Sonia Languille, ‘Secondary education expansion in Tanzania, 2004-2012 : a political economy perspective.’ (2014) PhD Thesis. SOAS, University of London. p.32.

5. CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY IN BRETHREN CHURCHES: TANZANIAN CASE STUDIES

*The search for a warm, intensely personal faith and the emotional temper of revivalist practices ... signalled a shift in the religious life of Scotland. The continued growth of the Brethren was one further indicator of this change and revivalism continued as the principal factor in their increase.*³⁴⁸

5.1. The 'African Christian Problem'

Having set out the historical penchant for a 'warm, intensely personal faith' and 'emotional temper' in the two movements under study in chapter two - the Brethren movement (1820 onwards) and the Pentecostal movement (1906 onwards) - we have shown that convictions held by the pioneers and many subsequent adherents of the two movements are striking similar.

Despite shared convictions seen in their evangelical heritage, pursuit of primitive Christianity, rampant millennialism, and Spirit-led worship – features characterising both movements – there have been historical differences in the implementation of certain practices and even traditions 'on the ground', not least in their mission endeavours (chapter three). We have further shown the way in which over the last century these 'distant cousins' have had considerable influence upon one another: shaping one another in ecclesiology, pneumatology, missiology and even practice.

In consideration of the cultural-religious setting in Tanzania we have established a significant congruous alignment of thought and language that often matches present Tanzanian cultural descriptors (chapter four). Cultural-socio-political roles influence the

³⁴⁸ Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland*, p. 79. (Italics added.)

hierarchies that shape church cultures today and feed off the structural undercurrents that characterise daily life.

These interactions in historical perspective have come to contribute to new expressions of faith in some East African (Tanzanian) contexts. Commonalities of form and function can be seen in a range of denominations which despite labelling that may indicate difference are still alike in practice. This is true for *Kanisa la Biblia* churches such that it can be difficult to distinguish local church expressions of faith as being either Brethren or Pentecostal (or at least Charismatic) largely because they overtly share and embrace what we might call “revivalist” characteristics.

In 1994, Joel B. Kailing set out to explore three expressions of *West African* (Nigerian) Christianity, with a view to establishing which was more culturally satisfactory to a traditional African cosmology. Citing orthodox and heterodox varieties of Christian expression, he shows their failure to satisfy a genuinely African articulation of Christian faith for the African believer, and posits the growth and expansion of pentecostal evangelicalism as ‘a solution’ to what he deemed to be ‘the African Christian problem’.³⁴⁹

For Kailing, pentecostal evangelicalism is not denominationally bound but arises at the intersection of the two previously vaunted solutions. The orthodox solution³⁵⁰ is said to be ‘unfulfilling to many African believers’; the heterodox solution³⁵¹ is ‘unacceptable to

³⁴⁹ Joel B. Kailing, A New Solution to the African Christian Problem, *Missiology: An International Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, October 1994.

³⁵⁰ Kailing refers to the orthodox solution as ‘mission-related churches and orthodox churches as the oldest and best established representatives of Christianity’. Kailing, African Christian Problem, p. 492.

³⁵¹ Kailing refers to the heterodox solution as ‘independent or indigenous church consciously provid[ing] an alternative to standard orthodoxy’ and which ‘deviate from [orthodoxy] in ways which more traditional Christians may consider dangerous’. Kailing, African Christian Problem, p. 493.

large numbers' of believers. Kailing's project revealed "pentecostal evangelicalism" as a holistic 'system of religious theory and practice with a unified symbolic universe to satisfy African religious longing'.³⁵²

The rather cumbersome title of "pentecostal evangelicalism" has been selected to describe this option because it needs to be kept distinct from Western-style pentecostalism. In the West, pentecostals are identified by a doctrinal distinctive concerning Holy Spirit baptism and the supernatural gift of tongues. But in Igboland, pentecostalism does not signify a doctrinal perspective as clearly as it does a particular worldview or cultural stance over against other options already discussed. The main elements of this stance are a holistic spiritual system, a fully supernatural worldview, and a resolution of the dilemma of the traditional religious worldview.³⁵³

Kailing conducted his research, hoping to identify what appeared to be a distinct and popular alternative to orthodoxy and heterodoxy. He used a mixed methods approach in the research project so that alongside participant observation, structured interviews, and limited distribution surveys, he also employed 'a technique called a "Q-sort."'

The case studies which follow have been inspired by Kailing's approach. We cannot hope to exactly replicate Kailing's conclusions – his work offered a unique and striking window of observation into West African Christianity at a specific time and place, but by using a similar methodology we will endeavour to explore African expressions of faith in an East African context, particularly among some of the churches of the Brethren. The present researcher is interested to determine whether features of Kailing's 'pentecostal evangelicalism' are present in the East as they are in the West of Africa. Along with other research tools, a Q-sort has been employed in the present research also to explore the trends appearing in Brethren churches. The Q-sort will offer a means of triangulation to

³⁵² Kailing, African Christian Problem, p. 495.

³⁵³ Kailing, African Christian Problem, p. 495.

the participant observations and respondent interviews mentioned and referred to elsewhere in this study. By so doing we hope to contribute to the discussion in identifying a solution to the 'African Christian problem'.

This study has also been interested to investigate whether there may be a correlation between the geographical location of *Kanisa la Biblia* churches and their respective consensus opinions around theological conviction and faith expression. The broad observations made by the researcher as a participant in KLB churches through the first decade of the 21st century have suggested that pentecostal and charismatic Christianity was more prevalent in rural areas where Brethren missionary 'interference' was slight. Urban settings (like Moshi) were considered more restricted in pentecostal and charismatic expressions because Brethren missionaries have perhaps tended to teach otherwise, or to discourage such practice as it would not align with their own historic traditional practices or hermeneutics of biblical data.

5.2. Q Methodology³⁵⁴

5.2.1. Background

One element of the current research has been conducted using a qualitative research method called Q-methodology (QM) (often employed in sociological and psychological research) that has been well attested since its development in the mid-twentieth century by Dr. William Stephenson (1902-1989). QM is well suited to discovering social

³⁵⁴ For introductions to Q Methodology see, for example, S.R. Brown, *Political Subjectivity: Applications of Q Methodology in Political Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); W. Stephenson, *The Study of Behaviour: Q Technique and its Methodology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1953); Simon Watts and Paul Stenner, *Doing Q Methodological Research: Theory, Method and Interpretation* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2012).

perspectives in areas of study where the subjectivity of the participants may be considered important for a better understanding of the problems being faced. Behind the qualitative elements of the methodology stands statistical data analysis which allows the opinions expressed by the respondents to be delineated. However, owing to the foundational premise of the methodological approach the quantitative data (consequently generated by enrolled participants) is not at all suited to extrapolation with a view to projecting the volume of respondents holding such opinions. In fact, QM is not designed to explore the popularity or to record the incidence of responses; rather it is a recognised method for the analysis of the strength of opinion expressed by individuals to a range of issues present or expected to be present in any social grouping. It is then a measure of opinion expressed rather than analysis of the numbers of respondents expressing themselves in these opinions. In this case, since the study is oriented to discovering thoughts, expressions of faith and conviction, it is a methodology well suited to our current enquiry.

The study has been designed to explore a range of opinion across two cohorts of participants (sometimes called the P-set). One cohort, based in Moshi, Tanzania, belong to an urban Brethren church on the outskirts of the town. The other cohort is rurally located in villages north of Tabora in central Tanzania. Further background profiling of the cohorts will be given below. Participants from each cohort (31 from Moshi and 30 from Tabora) were given opportunity to express their viewpoints by individually completing Q-Sorts. Q-Sorts require respondents to sort a deck of cards (55 in total) into a prescribed range across a quasi-normal distribution, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. By following this exercise each participant effectively *ranks* the card deck by asserting

their own decisions while following a series of steps and directions given by the researcher. When the participant has completed the exercise, the ordered cards are recorded by the researcher as the Q-Sort for that specific individual. Q-Sorts can then be subjected to analysis to demonstrate expressed opinion profiles which will reflect similarities and differences as they are compared to one another. QM further uses factor analysis techniques to correlate the responses, however, it should be noted that the goal is to reverse normal parameters of correlation (Q instead of R) so that people and their opinions are correlated rather than the variables that they have been scrutinising in the Q-Sort. This approach allows the researcher to build profiles of typical or shared opinions across the cohort and/or between cohorts.

5.2.2. Sampling the Concourse and Establishing the Q Set

QM is built upon the theoretical principal that any research topic will have a flow of communicability – a deep pool of ‘matters arising’ – which in their totality can be estimated to be the ‘concourse’ (from the Latin “concurus,” meaning, “a running together” as when ideas run together in thought). The concourse then, theoretically comprises all possible contributions relevant to the research topic, and may include words, sayings, traditions, songs, paintings, illustrations, photographs, video, etc. The idea of concourse is to offer opportunity to ‘tune in’ and to capture samples that may represent a wide range of opinion on any given topic.

Concourse can be elucidated and described in several ways: through interviews, participant observation, public opinion, media coverage, primary and secondary sources of almost any kind relevant to the topic, etc. In our present study, the concourse would encompass all expressions of faith and practice in pentecostal and charismatic Christianity

in northern Tanzania. The scope of the discourse is clearly very wide indeed but assistance in defining elements of that discourse has been already done by other researchers, including Kailing. Some key themes within the theoretical discourse of opinion are defined by expressions of Christian faith from both indigenous African and Western mission contexts and have been drawn from work done by those specifically surveying the Pentecostal scene. Paul Gifford and Keith Warrington's work serve as a useful introduction to indigenous African and Western missionary expressions/understandings respectively, while other sources mentioned will compliment and fill out their frameworks. This material will shape the ensuing Q-Set.

Warrington's book, *Pentecostal Perspectives*,³⁵⁵ helpfully brings together a range of relevant materials that inform the researcher of key areas worthy of further exploration: historical developments, theological emphases, expressions of worship, prayer, attitudes towards healing, baptism, communion, demons, exorcism and even eschatology. Warrington's work, although describing British Pentecostalism, helps shed light on the wider discourse for the Western origins of the Pentecostal movement which has so impacted the Global South through their mission enterprise.³⁵⁶

Gifford's *Africa Shall Be Saved* article³⁵⁷ contributes to the discourse from observations (albeit by a Westerner) on features of the hugely popular pan-African crusades of Reinhard Bonnke. The ongoing impact of the Christ for All Nations movement

³⁵⁵ Keith Warrington, *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 1998)

³⁵⁶ Warrington outlines the earliest history of the UK Assemblies of God and Elim whose missionaries were among the earliest pioneers of Pentecostalism in Tanzania.

³⁵⁷ Paul Gifford, "Africa Shall be Saved": An Appraisal of Reinhard Bonnke's Pan-African Crusade. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 17, no. 1, 1987, p. 63-92. Also, his more general survey in Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst, 1998)

on the African continent to the present day pointedly informs observers of the heartbeat of African Christianity and what appeals to their souls. The overwhelming numbers attending these trans-continental crusades is renowned and Gifford's analysis of the key features is worthy of credit by allowing it to contribute to the flow of communicability that surrounds any discussion on expressions of Christian faith on the African continent.

Drawing on these writers, on Kailing's work, and on the researcher's own personal observations of local church and mission in Tanzania over 17 years, additional streams of information have been gathered in this study to establish a concourse from which selected themes or opinions have been constructed to offer what is called the Q-Set; fifty-five statements that relate to ten major themes worth exploring by means of a Q-Sort. The Q-Set contains opinions on matters related to 1. Scripture; 2. Tongues; 3. Holy Spirit; 4. Miracles; 5. Demonology; 6. Eschatology; 7. Ecclesiology/Leadership; 8. Communion; 9. Ethics/ Behaviour and 10. Worship styles. These themes have been selected by the researcher out of judgements arising from work done in a broad literature review, journal articles, social media trawling, personal experience in the field, commentary of Tanzanian Christians, and so forth, but they are strongly influenced by Gifford's work.³⁵⁸ In an ideal world, it would have been useful to supplement the concourse with statements arising from semi-structured interviews among the members of the churches to be surveyed, but the limitations of having only brief visits to Tanzania for gathering research data meant this preferred option had to be forsaken.³⁵⁹ It remains the conviction of the researcher,

³⁵⁸ Gifford's analysis of Bonnke's crusades centred on miracles; the Bible; Christ; the Spirit; demonology; sacraments; eschatology; ecclesiology and morality.

³⁵⁹ Interviews conducted *after* the construction and implementation of the Q-Sort continued to confirm that the chosen material was soundly representative of the concourse that had been established.

however, that this omission is unlikely to be detrimental to the study - his own vast experience in the field among the churches being surveyed allows for a good knowledge of the range of opinion he has encountered and which is most likely to be expressed.³⁶⁰

5.2.3. Participant Selection – the P Set

The study has set out to improve understanding of the opinions and viewpoints of African Tanzanian believers who worship in Brethren churches located in urban and rural contexts in northern and central Tanzania. Particularly, the research has focused on the understanding of these believers regarding their theology and practice so that we may better assess the extent by which they have been shaped or influenced by other matters including pentecostal or charismatic Christianity. The evaluation of the data may also help to point to the similarities of indigenous expressions of Christianity in East and West Africa as per Kailing's study.

Q-Sorts were conducted in the two chosen centres,³⁶¹ Moshi (urban) and Tabora (rural), during July 2014 and July 2015 respectively,³⁶² with volunteers who were not remunerated in any way. The aim was to secure 30 participants from each centre who were members of *Kanisa la Biblia* churches who had at least Primary 7 education (basic literacy skills). Clergy, and laity of both genders, were to be randomly offered opportunity to volunteer for the exercise with two national church leaders helping approach and recruit the participants beforehand and organise them into a pre-planned appointments schedule. Guidance parameters for the leaders were provided by the researcher ensuring

³⁶⁰ The full Q-Set of 55 statements is available in Appendix A at the end of the thesis.

³⁶¹ See above 4.2.2 The Chosen Fields of Study, p.132.

³⁶² Two two-week block field trips in July 2014 and July 2015 allowed the Q-Sorts to be conducted from 7-11.7.2014 and then 5-9.7.2015 including travel, other observation and conversations to be carried out.

the two cohorts (the P-Sets) were available during the limited time slots for the researcher’s field trips.

In the final analysis, 61 participants agreed to take part; 31 from Moshi and 30 from Tabora, while some reportedly declined for reasons unknown. The gender balance of respondents was not reflective of an almost equal gender divide in the wider Tanzanian population. Neither did it offer proportional representation for females in local churches since gender distribution usually reflects a slight predominance of females over males. The age demographic is however more in line with national statistics (see Table 5.0 below), although the 18-30 age bracket are a little under-represented in the Moshi cohort. Nevertheless, the researcher was satisfied that the representation of female views across the age demographic was at least present among the younger volunteer participants.

Tanzania Population Pyramid 2018

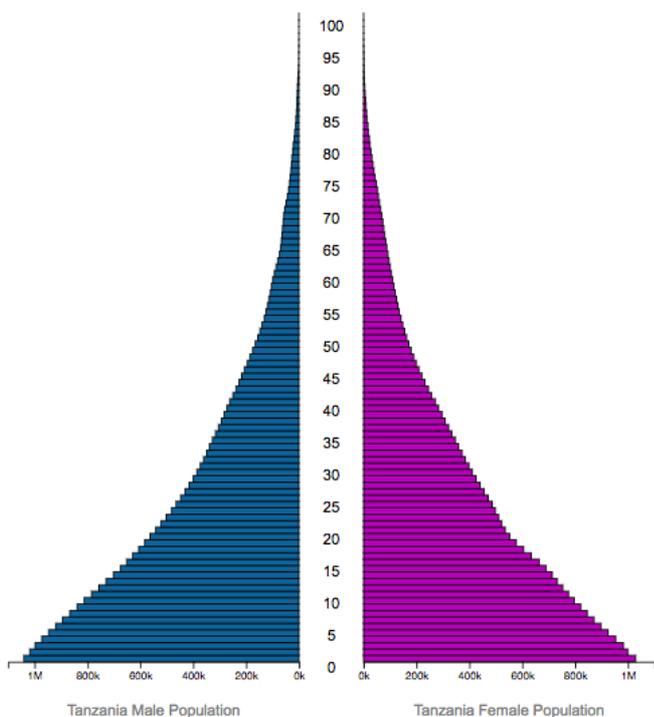


Table 5.1 Tanzania Population Pyramid 2018

Participants, ranging in age from 18 to 60 years, took between 30 to 90 minutes to complete the exercise. Some agreed to subsequent unstructured interviews. Some were previously known to the researcher but many were not. Although efforts were made to ensure that invited participants had at least Primary 7 education it became apparent that a few from Tabora were less than

competent in basic literacy skills.³⁶³ The Moshi cohort tended to be better educated. Proportionately more church leaders participated in Tabora owing to their ready availability in a subsistence farming setting.

All the participants were individually instructed by the researcher in the reasons for the research, the freedom of choice they were to exercise in conducting the Q-Sort, the fact that there was no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answer and that what was being sought by the researcher was their own personal opinion - not what they thought others might say, or what their pastor might say. Table 5.2 below offers a summary of the participants’ data.

Participants	Location	Gender	Age			Status		Education				Church Role		
			18-30	31-45	45-60	Single	Married	Primary 7	Form 4	Bible Sch.	Coll/ Univ	Member	Elder	Pastor
Total 61	Moshi 31	Male 24	9	12	3	11	13	9	10	1	4	18	4	2
		Female 7	4	3	0	3	4	1	5	0	1	7	0	0
	Tabora 30	Male 23	10	7	6	9	14	10	6	6	1	13	6	4
		Female 7	5	2	0	5	2	7	0	0	0	7	0	0

Table 5.2 Demographic of participants for the Q-Sort exercises

Participants were deliberately selected from urban and rural contexts to offer opportunity to the researcher to compare and contrast the opinions that might emerge from the research in those different situations. It was anticipated that participants from urban centres where Brethren expatriate missionaries still have considerable influence

³⁶³ This was more challenging in the rural contexts and particularly with women who are often neglected in respect of formal education. This did not necessarily hamper the Q-Sort but did mean it took longer to complete.

and leadership may respond to the Q-Sort somewhat differently from those who in rural contexts are only visited occasionally by them. Other pentecostal and charismatic churches and fellowships are present in both the urban and rural environments.

Participants who responded from the urban centre at Moshi conducted the Q-Sort in a formal classroom environment in Berea Bible College, Moshi. Those from the rural centres (village churches in Tabora) conducted the Q-Sorts in a variety of settings - in homes or churches, on verandas or in open courtyards. With two or three participants acting simultaneously, this may have caused some 'interference' in the concentration and outcomes from the participants during the sorting process.

All participants conducted the Q Sort in Swahili language.

5.2.4. Instructions and Procedures

The Q-Set statements were printed on small cards and numbered 1 through 55 for reference. Participants were told to ignore the numbering, being for the researcher's use only in recording the outcomes. The Q-Set was produced in English and translated by the researcher into Swahili. Each participant was given a deck of cards and a Q-Sort grid as illustrated below.³⁶⁴ On completion of the Q-Sort by the participant, the researcher recorded the results onto a form which was signed by the participant as a true record of their work.

³⁶⁴ A completed sample grid is attached at Appendix B.

									Q - Sort Grid	
Strongly disagree								Strongly agree		Quasi-normal distribution scale
2	5	7	8	11	8	7	5	2	Distribution of cards (55 total)	
										Participants' sorting arrangement according to personal choice or opinion

Table 5.3 Pro-forma for recording the Q-Sort of participants

After clearance of the project by the University of Birmingham Ethics Committee, fieldwork was conducted in Tanzania under the following procedures. Each participant was given a written and verbal explanation of the research project and asked for their verbal and signed consent. QM research being a foreign concept to the participants the Q Sort was explained as a ‘card game’ in which they were to arrange the cards according to whether they agreed with the content of each card or not. Participants were instructed first of all to read and evaluate each card and arrange them in three piles - ‘agree’, ‘disagree’ and ‘not sure or no strong opinion’. The second step was then applied as participants took the ‘agree’ pile of cards and began to sort them into the Q-Sort grid, firstly choosing the *two* items which they agreed with most strongly, followed by *five* others they agreed with quite strongly, then seven, then eight items. Any left-over items

were left in the 'neutral' pile. The exercise was then repeated for the disagree bundle of cards previously set aside following a similar pattern with the *two* most disagreeable cards being selected first, then *five, seven*, etc. In this way, through placing the cards in their respective columns on the grid, the whole grid was completed systematically. Participants effectively sort the whole card set in order from most agree descending through the whole pack to most disagree. The position within the column itself whether high up or lower down is not significant for this exercise since ranking of opinions is across the columns only - all cards within any given column rank with the same value.

Once the Q-Sort was completed by the participant, they were asked to take a few minutes to review their answers and given opportunity to change the respective positions of the cards on the grid. Only a few made changes at this stage, and most were comfortable with their first answer. Once the participant was satisfied that the Q-Sort reflected their opinion, then the numbered reference details of the sorted cards of the Q-Set were written up by the researcher and signed off by the participant.

5.2.5. Processing the Data

Computer software specifically designed for the analysis of Q-Sorts called PQMethod (ver. 2.35) for Mac was used to collate and examine the data set. The software is DOS based, but can efficiently generate a variety of analyses according to the parameters and commands of the researcher. Factor analysis is designed to show how the participants' Q-Sorts correlate to one another by degree, and suggests where clusters of opinion may gather around certain issues or even individual items of the Q-set. The data collected from the 61 participants was logged into the software which, through set menu options, first processed the information into a standard correlation matrix followed by an unrotated

factor matrix (of eight factors). On the basis of the resultant eigenvalues, the researcher made a judgement to select three significant factors for further analysis and chose automatic flagging of defining sorts designed to highlight key loadings.³⁶⁵ From the software menu he elected to run a Horst 5.5 Centroid Factor Analysis (CFA).³⁶⁶ The data was then further subjected to Varimax Rotation (VR), an automated system of re-examining and aligning the data which endeavours to ensure that no individual Q-Sort (or Q-Sorts) dominates the analysis because of a strong opinion expressed in one particular item. In the end, factor scores generated for each statement within the resultant three factors (as well as corresponding ranking of the statements from the Q-Sorts) are described in the subsequent computer generated outputs. The statement rank within each factor is also simultaneously described as a Z-score and correlations between the three chosen factor arrays allows an examination of the similarities or otherwise between the cohorts of opinion arising from the data. The resulting 'Factor Arrays' then offer the researcher profiles of *typical* opinions which will help interpret the responses of the respondents generally. We will now endeavour to describe these *typical* opinions.

5.2.5.1. Factor Arrays

After the data from the 61 Q Sorts was entered into the PQMethod programme to generate Factor Arrays (FA), three FAs were indicated each of which when generated helps to construct typical pictures of consolidated opinion among the actual respondents.

³⁶⁵ See Appendix D.

³⁶⁶ A choice is offered for Brown's Centroid or Horst Centroid approaches. For the value of the latter over the former, see *PQ Manual Method - 2.35* (Mar 2014) by [redacted] Adapted from *Mainframe-Program Q Method* by John Atkinson at KSU. The QMethod Page: <http://schmolck.org/qmethod/> (accessed 18.5.17).

FA contents (the Q-set) are also described in their ranking within the FA by Z-scores.³⁶⁷ Each of the three FAs is important to the study since it helps to distinguish a gathering point of opinion around which respondents have clustered, but they also help highlight the differences between the three FAs which then explain where respondents fail to gather together or agree on a matter(s). Correlation between the typical FAs means the researcher can understand how alike or how different the perspectives of opinion are to one another. Correlation between the factors demonstrates a measure of likeness with a score of 1.00 being absolutely identical and -1.00 being completely unlike. Since Q-Sorts are conducted by the respondent according to their own opinion on the 'theological/religious significance' of the items, it follows that we can examine the data of each individual to determine the FA to which they are most closely aligned, and that with which they most strongly are at variance. The data now offers the researcher a means by which variance and covariance can be measured and interpreted.

The first table following (Figure 5.3) is a summary of the flagged Q-Sorts and their alignments with the three factor arrays selected, as generated by the PQM software. The full list of loading for each of the factor arrays is attached at Appendix G. Q methodologists may have opted to eliminate all sorts which are statistically significantly confounded – that is, they score above the significance factor of 0.38 (for this study) in more than one factor array. However, the present researcher has elected not to eliminate

³⁶⁷ Z Scores allow for cross-factor comparisons to be made by allowing a weighting to be given according to the number of Q-Sorts loading on each factor. "The exact computational procedure consists in first z-standardizing every sort, and then applying different weights for every sort depending on the sort's factor loading, and computing the weighted average." For further details see, *PQMethod Manual*, distributed with the PQMethod package. Location of most recent version: <http://schmolck.org/qmethod/pqmanual.htm> PQMethod - 2.35 (Mar 2014) by [redacted]. Adapted from *Mainframe-Program Q Method* by John Atkinson at KSU. See also Watts and Stenner, *Q Methodology*, p.139 for the formula needed.

them; rather, recognising that the correlations between some of the three factor arrays are so close, he has chosen to retain the basic flagging to allow for biases of opinion expressed by the respondent to continue to be identified. That is, a respondent may express opinion in excess of 0.60 in one FA while at the same time retaining a score of 0.40 in another FA. Technically, this is a confounded sort, but for the purpose of this research it is still important to recognise the bias of opinion expressed towards one particular array.

The second table following (Figure 5.4) shows the inter-correlation of the factor arrays to one another. This is helpful in that it demonstrates how closely aligned the views are – especially FA1 and FA3. FA2 and FA3 are also significantly correlated but FA2 and FA1 are not.

Factor Number	Q Sort Number	Total	Cumulative Total
1	1; 2; 4; 5; 7; 10; 13; 15; 19; 24; 25; 26; 27; 29; 30; 32; 34; 40; 42; 43; 46; 48; 51; 54; 58; 60; 61	27	27
2	8; 18; 28	3	30
3	3; 6; 9; 11; 12; 16; 17; 21; 22; 23; 31; 33; 35; 36; 38; 39; 41; 45; 47; 49; 50; 55; 57; 59	24	54
Confounded	14; 20; 44; 52	4	58
Non-significant	37; 56, 53	3	61

Table 5.4 Factor Defining Q-Sorts for the Three Study Factors

Factor Array	FA1	FA2	FA3
FA1	1.000	0.3694	0.7449
FA2	0.3694	1.000	0.4145
FA3	0.7449	0.4145	1.000

Table 5.5 Factor Correlations for the Three Study Factors

5.2.5.2. Interpretation of the Data

Interpretation of the data is governed to a large extent by the computer generated statistical analysis offered by the correlation factor analysis and resultant FAs, however, further qualitative data arising from researcher observation, informal interviews and interaction with participants also helps to inform the conclusions. The aim of the researcher is to identify patterns of opinion that arise concerning the items of the Q-Set, to highlight themes that may be consistent across the cohorts, or to note difference and variety of opinion among participants. Care needs to be taken not to dissect the Q-Set to the extent of drawing conclusions on one or two individual *items* but since it is possible that items that are related in subject matter within the Q-Set this may reflect strength of opinion by some in particular areas. Of more importance to the methodology is the *holistic* view that allows all the matters raised in the Q-Set to be evaluated together as the representative opinion of the respondent(s). The resultant outcomes of this exercise in listening to the opinions generated by the Q-Sorts can then be examined in light of our project to understand the nature of opinion among KLB congregants in matters related to ‘pentecostal evangelicalism’. The Q-Sorts can also be evaluated according to the expected norms for Brethren and Pentecostal theology and practice and whether these align in any given pattern within geographical locations in Tanzania.

5.2.5.3 Evaluating the methodology

Two further matters are worthy of comment before we turn to the observations from the data. *Firstly*, in constructing the statements for the Q-Set the researcher has noted a weakness in some of these statements after use in the field. Questions from participants arose as to the dominant clause in some complex statements. For example, Statement No. 7 explored the opinion of participants on the subject of speaking in tongues, stating: “Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism.” Participants may agree with the first clause, limiting tongues to the apostolic era, while at the same time disagreeing that they were known languages, or that they were to help evangelism. The complexity of the statement may deflects any expressed opinion into divergent possibilities and may even result in a statement moving from agreement towards disagreement over subordinate clauses and meanings. Therefore, it is not advisable to have complex statements, or statements that offer a qualification (e.g. No. 5) or condition to the initial clause (e.g. No. 26) which can be read in Appendix A. This raises doubts or confusion in the mind of the respondent. For a more accurate interpretation of the data emerging from Q methodology, one ought to craft the statements in a more careful manner.

Secondly, as noted above the Q-Sort has been governed by a fixed grid rather than a free sort. This method insists participants select two cards in their pack with which they agree and two with which they disagree most. In a free sort, some of these cards may ‘drift’ towards having less strength of opinion expressed concerning them but the methodology has been designed to eliminate uncertainties as far as possible and to seek clear opinions. In the case of a fixed sort some have complained that the researcher is

artificially manipulating data, or seeking to improve reliability, but Block has shown that the advantages of the fixed framework method outweigh free sorting approaches: it allows for clearer comparisons between respondents; it helps eliminate generalities and turns the focus on the specifics of the given opinion; it encourages respondents to make distinctions that they might not otherwise offer; and the fixed grid returns a range of data that avoids being unwieldy and beyond sensible comparisons and conclusions.³⁶⁸ For these reasons, as well as Stephenson's own specification in the methodology, the researcher has chosen the fixed grid method.

As we turn to the data and the resultant FAs that have resulted from the computer analysis we note that the fixed method serves us well in bringing to our attention the priorities that participants hold and highlight through their sorts. Some have seen the need to emphasise 'pentecostal' motifs while others have held fast to what might be considered 'brethren' positions. All in all, the focus is sharpened and the comparisons become clearer to observe.

5.3. Observations from the Data

As a result of the three FAs which have been assembled, we can offer a descriptor for each by reference to their grid position (from the range +4 to -4).³⁶⁹ This will be a general overview of the likely opinions or perspectives expressed by someone closely aligned with a specific FA descriptor. FAs are not specific individual opinion, but a consolidated opinion

³⁶⁸ Jack Block *The Q-Sort Method in Personality Assessment and Psychiatric Research* (Springfield, Il.: Charles Thomas Pub, 1961), p.61.

³⁶⁹ Appendix C at the end of this thesis offers the relevant data for Z scores generated across all three study factors. This has been omitted from the narrative since it becomes burdensome to the reader but the statements can be independently checked for Z scores if desired. This data is used in conjunction with the Factor Crib Sheets (Appendices D-F) and the basic correlation tables (excerpts within the text) to interpret the outcomes.

that describes 'typical' respondents who may align strongly with it. For this reason, the research participants will not 'appear' in this present section, though we will refer to them individually for closer analysis later in this chapter. These descriptions are crafted only from the content of the 55 statements that respondents have sorted (see Appendix A).

5.3.1. Factor Array One - Pragmatic Experimentalists

Respondents aligning towards Factor Array 1 (FA1) are characterised by an overwhelming commitment to right behaviour: behaving as disciples of Christ should in order to please God (+4). This works out practically in a recognition of the need for the power of the Holy Spirit (+2) that will enable all believers (+2) to cooperate with the Spirit (+2) in pursuing holiness and sinlessness (+2). Behaviour which defines this factor array is exemplified by being specially prepared before communion (+3), committed to giving the tithe (+3) and avoiding drunkenness (+3) in daily living. The authoritative place of Scripture remains high for FA1 (+4) but the Bible is to be understood more literally (+2) than spiritually (+1). "Taking authority" is their approach to dealing with demons (+3) through exorcism in Jesus' name and by his blood (+2), but for the miraculous intervention of God submission to his will is what appears to be more important (+3).

Respondents whose opinions tend towards FA1 also concur in their opposition to any suggestion of the cessation of miracles (-4) and tongues (-2), and firmly reject the idea that miraculous power resides with gifted leaders only (-4). There appears to be a commitment among them to lay-led ministry evidenced by: a denial of the need for elders (-3) or the pastor (-2) to lead in communion and the conviction that apostles and prophets are not essential today (-2). Regarding the role of women, FA1 types believe they should not be required to remain silent in church (-2), but at the same time they are not to be

considered fully equal with men (-2). Christian ministry for FA1 type respondents is shaped by strong views on demonology: demons do not come out through prayer and fasting only (-2); their exorcism is as valid as it was in Jesus' day (-3), and certainly does not require strident authoritative speech to be effective (-3). Speaking of the person of Christ more than the role of the Holy Spirit is not a valid distinction to make (-3). Christian lives should be characterised by acts of kindness rather than simply preaching or teaching (-3).

Factor Array One displays an extremely robust opinion among our respondents. Out of 27 respondents clustered around this array, 13 score strongly with a 0.60+ loading on the factor. The key features of FA1 were expected by the researcher among respondents from the Tabora churches, but in fact, the data demonstrates that people sharing this view come from *both* 'urban Moshi' and 'rural Tabora' in similar numbers (12 from Tabora; 15 from Moshi). This challenges the reductionistic assumption that urban and rural communities have distinct and disparate identities. The commonalities shared in this Factor Array by respondents from quite different geographical background suggests that parameters need redefined (see further comments below). Although technically resident within the Moshi municipality, many Moshi respondents are actually living in what we might call *semi-urban* contexts that still strongly resemble 'rural' living. The markers of 'rural' life remain in place for many who have relocated to the semi-urban slum-suburbs (shanty-towns) of Moshi. This is seen in the features of their daily activities and culture, where things like literacy and education are still poor, and poverty and unemployment still plague them. Little has changed for them since they left 'village life', so their worldview and opinions are perhaps less likely to differ than what was first assumed.

The data suggests that the Bible unquestionably features in the life of the FA1 cohort but few will have read it themselves in any detail, let alone studied it comprehensively. Yet, there is a strong desire to be involved in the church and in church ministry, rather than simply being observers. Christian faith is to be practically worked out by all believers in imitation of what is known of the Bible stories surrounding the life of Christ and the apostles. Spirit-empowered lives ought to be holy, sinless (at least avoiding deliberate sin), and authoritative in the midst of a culture where other powers have their sway. But ultimately, God by the Holy Spirit remains in control and his authority is mediated not simply through the preached word on a Sunday, important though that is, but through pragmatic action in kindnesses of many varieties. With such an applied theology emerging from the data, we will name this group, "*Pragmatic Experimentalists*".

5.3.2. Factor Array Two - Cautious Brethren

Respondents gravitating towards Factor Array 2 (FA2) tend to be more cerebrally oriented. The Scriptures are their supreme authority in all of life and faith (+4) and remain the sole means of God's revelation to them without error (+4). Studying the Scriptures for spiritual truth is favoured over literal expectations (+2) since it appears to them doubtful that miraculous happenings from Bible times can happen now (0). The Lord's Supper is highly regarded among those of FA2 persuasion and should be a weekly feature of Christian life (+3). The role of the Holy Spirit is understood to be one of cooperation with the Christian believer leading to increasing likeness to Jesus (+3) but God heals through different ways today like medicine, doctors and prayer (+3) more than divine intervention. Spiritual gifts may come in the last days (+3) but miracles today are granted only subject

to God's will (+2). Disciples should definitely behave in ways pleasing to God (+3) and women should be silent in the church (+2) according to this cohort.

Furthermore, those who align best with FA2 are given to examining, and holding stronger opinion on, the details of what they perceive to be biblical doctrine. They stand strongly opposed to women having full equality in church (-4) and to the possibility of moving away from weekly communion (-3). They are opposed to 'celebrity' church leaders who exorcise demons (-4), use strident speech in such ministry (-3), claim to have gifts of healing (-3), or who may insist that tongues are a necessary evidence for Holy Spirit baptism (-3). However, some confusion appears over the miraculous: while there is a denial of complete cessationism (-2) for the FA2 types, the possibility that we can 'change God's mind' and so perhaps expect miracles today (-2) is also denied. Pentecostal ideas are also denied, like the tongues of Pentecost being heard in churches today (-2), or the blood of Jesus and his name having special authority in exorcisms (-2) or even the common pentecostal suggestion that faithfully giving your tithe is the only way God can bless you in return (-2).

The features of FA2 tend to be significant descriptors for respondents who might have been expected to be from the Moshi urban churches but again this proves not to be exclusively the case. In fact, there are only four respondents who very clearly align in this factor array - three are from urban contexts and one from a more rural location. This does not mean FA2 is an insignificant group or that it is a minority opinion; it simply means that the participants involved in *this* study who might so self-identify have not been many. Most of our FA2 type respondents are living and working in loosely defined urban contexts; their 'urban mode' is usually within the sprawling slums and shanty-towns of

Moshi's southern suburbs. From background data, we know the Tabora respondent has had previous contact with the Assemblies of God, which may suggest urban/semi-urban influences from his past, and possibly a more rigorous theology as a result - certainly, he is a surprise member of the group as far as the researcher is concerned. The Q-Sort that most robustly aligns with FA2 (0.82 loading) is that of a pastor with a Bible college degree. These Christians are mostly second or third generation believers who have been shaped and influenced in their Christianity, not only by national church leaders, Bible college education and denominations but also by interaction with western Brethren missionaries who are resident in Moshi town. Education and literacy in Kilimanjaro region are among the highest in Tanzania, so the emphasis on 'the Book' and the knowledge of doctrinal nuances are less surprising among this well-educated group. Church leaders in urban Moshi's *Kanisa la Biblia* (lit. Church of the Bible) are sometimes heard expressing their desire to know what the Bible teaches in order that they may lead a 'Church of the Bible', faithfully and well.

Despite the tendency towards a rationalistic approach to faith for FA2 people, the respondents who align themselves here are by no means against the miraculous. While there may be doubts, the possibility is still left open. City 'crusades' marked by power-healing and deliverance ministry may have given rise to a certain scepticism among the street-wise of Moshi but they are not prepared to close the door completely on the supernatural intervention of God - if it be his will.

In the meantime, these 'city-dwellers', like their missionary guests, are committed to remaining faithful to 'the faith once for all handed down to the saints', through their high view of Scripture, their personal devotion of a life lived in the Spirit, and the regularity of

an expressed ecclesiology reminiscent of what the Brethren would say is clearly a New Testament model. Considering these features, we will name this group, “*Cautious Brethren*”.

5.3.3. Factor Array Three - Pentecostal Evangelicals

Respondents who might identify with Factor Array 3 (FA3) could possibly be categorised with the label which Kailing used in seeking a solution to the African Christian Problem: “pentecostal evangelicals”. The striking feature of this array is that, of the top eleven Z-scores, *three* are committed to the Bible as being central to faith; *five* are affirming the role of the Holy Spirit; *two* are defining ministry in the supernatural and *one* is ensuring appropriate Christian behaviour. The eleven lowest (negative) Z-scores in the array, which are disagreeing with the proposals put forward, focus exclusively on the rebuttal of any kind of cessationism. Let us attempt to describe this important array which echoes the holism of Kailing’s description.

FA3 is characterised by respondents who are predisposed towards the affirmation of the Bible as God’s sole means of revelation without error (+4) yet who are convinced that the power of the Holy Spirit (+3) is what is needed to be more like Jesus (+3). This must be worked out in lives that please God (+4) which means exercising the authority of his blood and name in the spiritual realm (+3), seeking miracles subject to God’s will (+2) and seeking the subsequent experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (+2) who also indwells every believer (+2). The FA3 worldview is underpinned by a literal reading of the Bible because what happened then on the pages of Scripture happens now in our day (+3). The FA3 Christian will be committed to seeking out spiritual truth from the Bible (+2) so that

by working in cooperation with the Holy Spirit, he may make them holy and sinless and pleasing to God (+2).

Respondents inclined towards FA3 are opposed to mere acts of kindness, because the gospel must be preached (-3) as a priority. There is an expectation that signs will follow the preaching of the Word since respondents who align with FA3 will open to the miraculous and opposed to cessationism (-4). The idea that speaking in tongues belonged solely to the apostolic era (-3) or that they are simply for private use (-3) does not sit well with them. The work of demonic exorcism is affirmed by the denial of the claim that it is not limited to the ministry of Jesus (-3), and any suggestions that it requires fasting and prayer (-2) or strident authoritative speech (-2) are also denied making it a ministry accessible to all. The Holy Spirit must feature prominently in Christian life and should not be hidden (-2); rather, he empowers the ministry of all believers and not simply the ministries of gifted individuals (-4). Perhaps, for this reason, they oppose the silence of women in church (-3).

Factor Array Three is a useful summary of a broad range of opinion from the respondents describing 24 points-of-view out of the 61 surveyed. Of these 24, one third (8) have loadings of 0.60+ making this another strong consensus opinion from the respondents. Once again, the surprise for the researcher is that these respondents (so defined by FA3) are drawn from across the geographical boundaries that were suspected as being significant to determining theological perspectives. Instead, 13 of the 24 were from 'rural' Tabora and 11 were from 'urban' Moshi. The strength of the *evangelical* conviction of this group is characterised by their commitment to the Bible, but it must also be noted that there is a strong emphasis on *pentecostal* frameworks; namely, the Spirit,

the taking of authority in Jesus' name or blood, and the expectation of the miraculous in Holy Spirit baptism, tongue-speaking, miracles and holiness of life. The ministry of all believers comes across strongly with the personal exercise of the Spirit-life being implied by the refusal to limit such spiritual life and activity to an elite few. The pentecostal-evangelistic spirit of the respondents in expressing their desire to make the gospel known is also evident from the data with an accompanying expectation of 'signs following' the preaching of the Word. This viewpoint is not extreme in its opinions; rather it seems measured, balanced and well-rounded because Christian behaviour is very important to them. We will utilise the name given by Kailing for this group, and name them as "*Pentecostal Evangelicals*".

5.4. Excursus: Geographical Locations Reconsidered

It has become apparent that one of the initial hypotheses for this research may have been overturned or at least challenged by the data. The proposal that the geographical situation may shape or influence theological opinion or practice of Christians from *Kanisa la Biblia* churches in northern Tanzania has not been supported in the consistent way that the researcher may have expected owing to the mixed response to the Q-Sort data – it is at least inconclusive (see Appendix H for full details).³⁷⁰

The null hypothesis was that a majority of Moshi respondents would affirm Brethren-type statements ($H_{0m}:p>.50$) and similarly, a majority of Tabora respondents would affirm

³⁷⁰ In reaching this conclusion only statements ranked in +4, +3 or -4, -3 positions have been compared. This indicates the strength of opinion on these matters. However, it must be stressed that this data does *not* allow for quantitative methods to be applied to the wider population of KLB members, the sample being so small. Nevertheless, this data is useful in offering indicative strength of response between the two centres of study on specific statements.

Pentecostal-type statements ($H_{0t}:p>.50$). The alternative hypothesis was a minority of Moshi respondents would affirm Pentecostal-type statements ($H_{am}:p<.50$) and a minority of Tabora respondents would affirm Brethren-type statements ($H_{at}:p<.50$).

In brief, the data of those who completed the Q-Sort has shown us that on specific occasions there has been some verification of the null hypothesis as seen in responses to Statements 1 and 2.³⁷¹ However, the null hypothesis does not hold true for other statements: e.g., statements 19 and 30 have shown that the null hypothesis has been overturned. Statement 48 casts doubt on the null hypothesis. Statement 50 appears to suggest that the simple hypothesis proposed at the outset is unlikely to be consistent across the board. Nevertheless, we would want to stress again that this methodology has not been designed for such analysis and the outcomes we have observed must remain tentative. To reach more certain conclusions in these matters a quantitative study designed with these hypotheses in mind would need to be undertaken with a much greater sample of the population. In the present situation, we can only turn to a more general discussion to posit some possible explanations for these indicated outcomes.

Tanzania is a developing country which means one of its defining characteristics is change. In 2014, some forty years since independence (1964), the population has almost quadrupled to an estimated 47.4 million - a rise of 10 million in the previous 10 years (currently 2.7% per annum). The demographics demonstrate a population profile that is very young indeed, with approximately 85% being under 40 years of age - in other words, over 90% of Tanzanians alive today were born since independence. Growth continues

³⁷¹ Readers are directed to the Appendix A for Statement Lists and Appendix H for the statistical analysis of the responses geographically.

presently adding about 1.25 million people per annum. Urbanisation in Tanzania is currently at about 30% of the population, an increase over the last ten years of 7%. Rural populations, however, are seeing huge technological changes while remaining in relative poverty; 31.9 million people (68%) are mobile phone subscribers and Chinese motorcycle sales have revolutionised urban and rural transportation. But only 18% of homes in Tanzania have access to mains electricity and at least 33% of the rural population live under the basic needs poverty line.³⁷² Change is happening, although in some aspects, it is happening slowly.

More specific to our present study have been the changes in the Tabora Region. Change in this region over the past 10 years is particularly significant which may have contributed to the erroneous assumption made previously about the respondents from this area being 'rural' people. Increasingly, the region is being exposed to urban influences. Tabora town is growing fast and the region is seeing population growth above the national average (2.9% per annum). By contrast Moshi and Kilimanjaro region have seen growth down at only 1.8% per annum. Kilimanjaro region is still largely urban in nature being the third most densely populated region on the mainland (124/km²) while Tabora remains mostly rural (30/km²) albeit with a growing urban market town and commercial centre. These changes slowly infiltrate to the rural areas bringing small improvements in agricultural technologies, domestic commodities, education provision,

³⁷² All figures in this paragraph based on *Tanzania in Figure 2014* (sic), United Republic of Tanzania, National Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance, Dar-es-salaam (June 2015) available at www.nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/references/Tanzania_in_Figures_2014.pdf (accessed 10.10.17).

and in the case of Tabora broader and more significant religious influences than there might have been in the past.

As mentioned earlier, the rural areas where this study has focused have seen significant changes since the turn of the century. After housing Burundian refugees long term (since 1972), the Tanzanian government finally granted citizenship to large numbers from the Ulyankulu settlement around 2009. The prospect of this coming to fruition and its finalisation at the end of the first decade of the 21st century have meant for a radical stabilisation of family life and enterprise in the district. Uncertainties about the future have been removed and the refugee status lifted. Miletski notes that building construction of churches especially became a notable feature through the period - not something easily associated with poor rural communities, and certainly not foreseen in the late nineties or early noughties.

“The churches Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) was built in 2007, The Living Gospel World Mission Church was built in 2009, the World Missionary Fellowship of the Church of God of Tanzania was built in 2011, and the SOWER International Church was started in 2012. Furthermore, the Pentecostal Church..., the Lutheran Church, the Anglican Church, the Calvary Church and others were in the process of extending their premises [in 2012]. While refugees and Tanzanians have been constrained from building houses of permanent materials, this restriction did not seem to apply to most churches.” (sic)³⁷³

These developments suggest that external influences resulting from the urbanisation of the region and the intentional empowering of the rural settlements has had its impact also on church communities. The simple lines of demarcation once drawn around rural communities and urban centres are now increasingly complex and fuzzy as boundaries of

³⁷³ Janna Lucia Miletski, *Waiting for Citizenship: Pragmatics of Belonging of Burundian Refugees in Protracted Exile: The Case of Ulyankulu Settlement, Tanzania*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, London School of Economics, September 2014, p. 238.

definition. While they may still offer a contextual understanding about the Christians of *Kanisa la Biblia* churches it is no longer valid to expect that rural location means complete isolation from the modern world.

The absence of the KLB missionaries may well have resulted in greater ‘freedoms’ for the believers in reaching and expressing their theological convictions, but other influences have been at work too. These rurally located communities of believers in Tabora region’s KLB churches may have only been visited occasionally by their missionaries, but this does not mean they were ‘alone’ in their Christian growth and development. The impact of pentecostal denominational structures, administration, growth and profile (as noted above) have undoubtedly re-shaped the contextual landscape for *Kanisa la Biblia* Christians as they attempt to formulate their theologies and praxis.³⁷⁴ The absence of the KLB missionary as a parental figure to the growing churches can be seen to be a reason for Tabora Christians to seek nurture and fellowship elsewhere, while still endeavouring to retain their own particular identity and historical associations. But it seems less likely that their tendencies towards a pentecostal or charismatic theology have developed in a vacuum of rural isolation. Much as in urban contexts where churches of pentecostal and charismatic conviction have a significant impact on evangelicals in particular, even so, in the rural communities, their impact is not insignificant.

It is worth noting however that whether respondents are located rurally or in urban centres, their identity has not been completely overtaken by pentecostal and charismatic churches. The retention of another identity that remains distinct from say a Tanzania

³⁷⁴ For the impact of Pentecostalism on the development of rural communities see Dena Freeman, Ed., *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

Assemblies of God (TAG) or a Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa (PEFA) identity is a significant consideration as we try to understand these Christians and their personal convictions of faith. From the researcher's long-term observation, they persistently self-identify with their own denominational tag, as *Kanisa la Biblia* (The Brethren's so called, Bible Churches).

Finally, although some caution has been flagged here about generalistic assumptions around the rural and urban divide, as we will see in other observations from the data below, there remain distinctions that clearly set apart the Moshi respondents from the Tabora respondents. It almost goes without saying that the rural immigrants to the semi-urban slum-suburbs of Tanzania's main cities bring their own impact upon the views of the city-dwellers, often re-kindling convictions and beliefs from the past. And so, we might expect that while the populations of the urban or rural setting might not share a monolithic opinion dictated by their geographical context, nevertheless, the characteristic views of urbanites and ruralists may well prove to be helpful indicators of people's orientation of opinion. This proves to be the case in some of the categories that will be examined in further detail below. It might be seen most acutely in the areas of opinion around the place of Scripture and ethical behaviour, for example, but in other areas also.

5.5. Discussion of Observed Responses

The emerging profiles of the respondents now reveal the extent to which they have aligned themselves with the various Factor Arrays previously identified. This can be further elucidated as we use some individual respondents to sketch in additional details. Because a respondent strongly aligns with a specified Factor Array we might conclude that

their opinion would be not untypical of others in the group. This could be particularly true for areas where strength of opinion is expressed – either strongly agreeing or disagreeing – although one must acknowledge that the *reasons* for agreeing or disagreeing with any item from the Q-Set may be varied! Also, with the layer of expectation exposed that had ventured to suggest simplistic geographical explanations for shaping opinion, we may perhaps now be more free to examine other matters of interest concerning the expressed theological convictions of KLB Christians. We will endeavour to offer an evaluation that works with both *emic* and *etic* approaches: etics will allow the researcher to attempt to see an overall holistic picture of the cohorts and their considered opinions, while emics will allow the individual voices of respondents from within the cohort to be heard.

We must remember that this study has deliberately set out to consult the opinions of Christians who are currently members or ministers within the *Kanisa la Biblia* churches of northern Tanzania. It would be naive to believe that these people have not been influenced in their belief systems by their socio-historic contexts, their personal upbringing, practices, peers, politicians, pastors or even their prophets – at least some, if not all of these, shape any individual. The complexities of this range of influences upon any one respondent are next to impossible to decipher, but the exercise being undertaken here attempts to evaluate trends and commonalities that may emerge which allow us to identify cohorts of KLB believers in recognisable categories. It is our conviction that as these traits of the cohorts are studied then more informed estimates can be made about what influences may have brought the cohort to their considered opinion. An evaluation may also allow the respective strengths and weakness of the viewpoints to be highlighted or weighed thus allowing appropriate pastoral responses or biblical teaching input from

those who minister among them as leaders. Sociologically, it may also help contribute to the discussion in academia around the phenomenon that is pentecostal Christianity in Africa.

The QM approach has allowed respondents to freely express their personal opinions on a range of matters which help us establish collective opinions. We will now describe the three emerging cohorts of Brethren respondents by the names we have given: Factor Array 1 - *Pragmatic Experimentalists*; Factor Array 2 - *Cautious Brethren*; and Factor Array 3 - *Pentecostal Evangelicals* (all as described in the outlines above) and identify some specific or typical respondents from the cohort by their first name.³⁷⁵

5.5.1. On Scripture

The strength of opinion expressed in support of Scripture is a significant feature for all three groups mentioned. The *Cautious Brethren* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* share an extremely high view of the Bible as might be expected and together insist that above all else, 'The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming'. The *Pragmatic Experimentalists* share that conviction around biblical authority but preferred to select the less technical expression given in the Q-Sort cards which may be read as a more practical expression of the same truth, namely, 'The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith.' However, holding closely the previous caution around 'simple geographical divides', the predilection for biblical authority appears to be less strong among respondents from Tabora. Yerome, a KLB pastor from Tabora whose opinion strongly aligns with a *Pragmatic* outlook (0.71), ranks

³⁷⁵ These respondent gave permission to be named.

sobriety (+4) above the authority of Scripture (+3).³⁷⁶ He is also more convinced of the notion that the Bible should be taken literally (believing what happened then, happens now) more than the idea that the same Bible might be the sole means of God's revelation for us today (0).³⁷⁷ Daniel, a church member in Moshi, is another *Pragmatic* respondent with strong FA1 alignment (0.81), who shares Yerome's view of a literal Bible reading (+3), opines that more important matters are those of personal preparation before taking the Lord's Supper (+4) and an expectancy for miraculous healing (+4). Agnes, a singer in an urban KLB church, shares the *Pragmatic* viewpoint (0.72) but places the authority of Scripture (+4) and its study for spiritual truth (+3) in high priority. Nevertheless, for Agnes, her pragmatism comes to the fore in ranking highly matters related to holiness of life (+3) and authority over demons (+3).

Bernard on the other hand is theologically educated, has previously been in a pastoral role, and is now teaching theology – his opinion aligns best (0.66) with FA2, the *Cautious Brethren*. Classic statements on Scripture as God's sole means of revelation (+4) and the supreme authority in life and faith (+4) appeal to him.³⁷⁸ He is more ambivalent about the care needed in Bible study (0) or even the literalism of applying it to today's world (0). James, an urban KLB church member, leans marginally towards the views of the *Cautious*

³⁷⁶ Factor alignment is expressed in the Z scores given in decimal figures – 1.00 would indicate perfect alignment and 0.00 no alignment, therefore scores as high as 0.7 or 0.8 are very strongly aligned with the factor array itself. Other figures given as +3 or +4, 0, or -3 and the like indicate the location on the agree/disagree scale given to the respondents – positive numbers indicate agreement (max +4) and negative numbers disagreement (-4 max).

³⁷⁷ In interview, Yerome defended his decision, *Biblia ni muhimu kweli ila wengi hawasomi. Wanachunguza maisha yetu tu.* (The Bible is important but many can't read. They just watch our lives.) (5.7.2015).

³⁷⁸ In interview, Bernardi complained about pentecostal preachers like Gwajima saying, '...the preaching is very short and they concentrate on healing...' (5.7.2016). In further conversation on 3.7.2017 he affirmed that '*kwa kupitia Biblia, mambo mengine yote ya Imani inafuata...*' (from the Bible all other matters of faith follow).

Brethren (0.51) and shares the strongest opinions of Bernard exactly (+4, +4) but he thinks careful study (+3) and a literal reading are important (+1).

Respondents who align with FA3, the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*, are also mostly robust in opinion regarding the Bible though not all. Mbonea, an emerging evangelist in KLB who aligns himself with this cohort (0.63), roundly affirms the centrality and importance of the Bible: it is the sole means of revelation (+4), the supreme authority (+4), should be studied carefully (+3) and read literally (+3). Jimmy, a worship leader from Moshi, is in this same category (0.63) as he holds the Bible to be the sole means of revelation (+4) which should be studied carefully (+3). But for him it is not the Bible that holds supreme authority in matters of life and faith (-1); rather authority lies for him with affirming apostles and prophets (+3) and the elders in leadership roles (+4).³⁷⁹ Isaak however, although the most closely aligned respondent to FA3 (0.68), bucks the trend of *Pentecostal Evangelicals* in his views of Scripture. His expressed opinions highlight the work and person of the Holy Spirit (taking his top slots in +4 and +3 positions), and the Bible only appears in his ranking at +2 scores.

Of the six statements offered to respondents on the subject of Scripture (see Appendix A), the *Pragmatists* rank all other statements about Scripture as having a lower priority than respondents from other groups - this seems to suggest that having anchored the Bible as important for 'life and faith' (Statement No. 2) they are less concerned about *how* it is to be understood or applied. Certainly, as Brethren (*Kanisa la Biblia*) people they have

³⁷⁹ In interview, Jimmy (40yrs) laughed and said he was 'not yet ready' for church eldership ('*Mimi bado, mzee... bado sana!*') reflecting his hesitancy to take up these positions which he sees as highly authoritative (6.7.2017).

some awareness of the importance of the Bible, but pragmatically, the Christian life for them is more experimental than theoretical, more life-applied than book based.

The *Cautious Brethren*, by contrast, affirm the almost liturgical statement concerning the Bible (Statement No. 1) which picks up issues around inerrancy and infallibility, and then back that up with its application to life (Statement No. 2). Their conviction around Scripture is so strong that they rank three of the other statements about the Bible higher than other cohorts: they agree 'it should be studied carefully', but they cautiously leave the door open for other means of revelation like 'dreams and visions' and 'prophecy'. The one statement they ranked lower than others pertains to a literal reading of the Bible (Statement No. 4) – usually scoring this in the 'neutral' area (0) of the sort indicates a reluctance to commit to the statement that suggests, 'what happened then happens now'.

Standing in a slightly different corner are the Brethren we have labelled as *Pentecostal Evangelicals* – they generally share the strong biblical convictions of the others (although we have noted above some exceptions) and agree with the *Cautious Brethren* on the rather liturgical statement about the sole means of revelation being the Bible, but their view of the Scripture tends to be more literalistic (Statement No. 4). They also tend to agree that the Bible ought to be studied meticulously, and yet they are more careful about readily agreeing (scoring lower than other cohorts) to what might be constituted as 'supreme authority', or whether God might speak today by other means outside of the Bible. *Pentecostal Evangelicals* were described by Kailing in his work as a view which '...builds itself around a particular interpretation of the Bible and gives the Bible the central role... as foundational to the whole religious system.' While this certainly

described the group here in Tanzania, it does not set the group apart from others within *Kanisa la Biblia* - they are all 'Bible people' - some pragmatic, some cautious and some literalistic in their nuanced approaches to Scripture.³⁸⁰

5.5.2. On Ethical Behaviour

Among the identified cohorts of respondents, the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* are the ones who strongly identify ethical behaviour as a key matter worthy of their explicit strong agreement. Christianity for these two groups must be worked out in practice. It would be wrong to exclude the *Biblicists* here entirely, for their own commitment to practice what they preach is clear (expressed in their agreement with the statement, 'Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God') but this is not as strong and forthright as the opinions of their other *KLB* colleagues.

Pastor Yerome, the utilitarian from Tabora (0.71), considers behaving in a way pleasing to God to be critical (+3). This might be seen by him in sobriety (+4) and giving the tithe (+3). Daniel's utilitarianism (0.81) is seen when he also affirms giving (+3) and good behaviour (+3) as significant.³⁸¹ Agnes, who shares their *Pragmatic* outlooks (0.72) agrees with them both (giving the tithe, +3; appropriate behaviour, +3). But the *Cautious Brethren* cannot concur with their brothers and sisters here around expected behaviour.

³⁸⁰ For a critical analysis of an extremely pragmatic use of the in African Pentecostalism, see Paul Gifford, The Ritual Use of the Bible in African Pentecostalism (Chapter 6), in Martin Lindhardt (Ed.), *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011). Gifford recognises the East African's down-to-earth use (and abuse) of the Bible is its application from the pulpit and by the believer through proclamation and declaration. The Bible is the source of promises (of victory, success, hope and achievement) which, when claimed, help to explain the contemporary understanding and application of the Bible in many pentecostal/charismatic congregations. His commentary is rooted in Nairobi, Kenya.

³⁸¹ Daniel's interview on 3.7.2017 highlighted the importance of living a holy life for him in everyday affairs, saying, '*zaidi sana katika maisha ya kawaida, kuishi katika maisha ya usafi na kulingana na kama maandiko yanavyotuagiza...*' (more especially in normal [daily] life, living a life of purity in alignment with how the scriptures command us...)

Bernard (0.66), for example, agrees that behaviour is important (+3), but disagrees with the idea that sobriety is required (-3) or even that the purchase of alcohol is wrong (-2). Even giving the tithe is not a required behaviour trait in his opinion (-1). And James (0.51) tends to agree – we ought not to be drunk (+2) but restrictions on the purchase of alcohol are disagreeable to him (-3), as well as the prescription of the tithe (-1).

For Isaak as a *Pentecostal Evangelical* (0.68), behaviour follows the influence of the Holy Spirit in life. Correct behaviour (+2) will be characterised by being filled with the Spirit and not being drunk (+3), after all, buying alcohol is a misuse of the Lord's money (+1). Mbonea (0.63) agrees: behaviour is critical (+3), evidenced in giving (+1) and avoiding drunkenness (+1). Jimmy tends to agree with Isaak – behaviour evidences the Holy Spirit at work in an individual, ranking sobriety (+3) and behaviour (+3) as important traits for any Christian.

The predominance of strong agreement in behavioural ethics emerges as strength of opinion from our Tabora respondents. The assertion that, 'Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God', while agreeable to many in Moshi, is more strongly attested in Tabora alongside some other specific practice. But this general stated opinion, more than other specific behavioural statements, becomes a defining statement of agreement for both the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*. Behaviour that is pleasing to God would be an agreed expectation for all groups but the *Cautious Brethren* are less strong on its importance. Ethical behaviour may be interpreted as driven by a greater desire for holiness of life and likeness to Jesus among the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*. They follow up their assertions about correct behaviour by

strongly agreeing with the importance of the power and cooperation of the Holy Spirit in this work.

The *Pragmatic Experimentalist* on the other hand has less obvious back-up to the assertion they have made about the required behaviour of disciples. Other matters crowd in as being more important to them - issues related to demonology, mysticism around the Lord's Supper and tithing - before they acknowledge the possibility that the Holy Spirit may help make them live holy or even sinless lives. In fact, the statement, 'The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus', they rank lower than any other cohort of respondents.

One matter that separates these two groups in their opinions about ethical behaviour is their differing responses to the question of tithing - the matter is interesting, since tithing has become a touchstone of identity among many Pentecostal denominations, however, here it is the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* and not the *Pentecostals* who respond more strongly in affirming, 'Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so he can bless you'. In fact, although the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* generally consider the statement an important one, their *Pragmatic* comrades tend to elevate the importance of the matter - this may reflect their utilitarianism which might see the added value in the qualifying hope in the given statement, 'so he can bless you'.

It is more difficult to determine what drives some Tabora Brethren to so roundly affirm the expressed opinion 'We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit'. As noted elsewhere in the methodological evaluation this qualified statement causes the researcher some problems. Is the affirmation of the statement an alignment with a belief that Christians should not get drunk, or is it a more pentecostal

affirmation that believers should be filled with the Holy Spirit? In view of the researcher's personal experience among born-again believers in Tanzania, he suspects the former - no true believer would ever take alcohol, let alone dare to be drunk. This may yet be significant in terms of the stronger responses around "rural" Tabora, while the urban dwellers in Moshi are somewhat more relaxed about this view nowadays. Surprisingly, this more relaxed attitude may be reflected in the quite strong reaction from the *Cautious Brethren* against the statement, 'It is wrong to drink alcohol because the Lord's money could be used for other valuable things'.

Before we leave the ethics department, we take note of the other reactions *against* some statements. The suggestion that gospel proclamation is more important than practical help and assistance in acts of kindness has drawn a very negative reaction from both the *Pragmatic Experimentalist* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*. The *Cautious Brethren* are much more circumspect in their response and, although offering only a marginally more negative reaction, leave us with a tendency to think they are proclaimers more than doers of the Word.

5.5.3. On Demonology

Exorcism is not an unusual occurrence in and around the churches associated with *Kanisa la Biblia* although it seldom happens in the services - the researcher has seen and been involved in this kind of ministry in rural contexts, in private homes and in the ante-rooms of a church building.³⁸² However, the *language* of conquest and victory over the

³⁸² If manifestation of spirits happens in a service, the afflicted person is usually removed to another place - even in a public gathering - see the example offered earlier.

demonic is more common in KLB than the *practice* and so its vocabulary punctuates sermons, prayers and singing regularly. Believers would regularly pray for and speak out in times of crisis expletive remarks around the defeat of unseen powers perceived to be against them.³⁸³ The Q-Set offered was designed to explore opinion concerning the relation of believers to demons, views on correlation between mental illness and demon possession, the cure and the conditions for exorcism as well as the qualifications for someone practising exorcism. Most respondents, regardless of cohort or location, disagreed with most of the Q-Set relating to demonology, with one exception: the statement, 'The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism', garnered some supporters, especially from Tabora respondents.

Jimmy once hailed from the rural parts of Tanzania before coming to the city in search of work. As a *Pentecostal Evangelical* (0.63), he agreed strongly that the blood of Jesus and his authority were key to effective exorcism (+3) accompanied by strident rebuke and authoritative speech (+1) rather than by means of prayer and fasting (-2). Mbonea, from the same cohort (0.63), despite his urban context, felt more deeply than Jimmy about both rejecting prayer and fasting as a means (-3) and about exorcism being written off as a ministry (-3). He furthermore negated associating demon possession with mental illness (-3) while, at the same time, firmly defending the need of the blood and authority of Jesus in this ministry (+3). Isaak (0.68 on FA3) on the other hand, felt less vehement about demonology generally, but disagreed with ideas that demons have no authority over believers (-2) or that exorcism is invalid (-2). He felt similarly about the issue of strident

³⁸³ *'Shindwa katika jina la Yesu!'* ('Defeated in Jesus' name!') is often abbreviated to *'Shindwa!'* (Defeated!) and may be muttered under the breath.

rebuke or authoritative speech in exorcism disagreeing (-2) but gently nodded to the claim that the blood and authority of Jesus were needed in exorcism for effective outcomes (+1).

Bernard's opinions reveal the *Cautious Brethren's* view (0.66) about exorcism and the demonic since he chose not to rank several statements that touched on this area.³⁸⁴ Nevertheless, his very strong reaction against the notion (-4), that only gifted and bold church leaders could be effective against such powers, is accompanied by a rejection of the belief that strident rebuke and authoritative speech was needed (-3). James, who also tends towards a *Cautious Brethren* view (0.51) backs up the guarded approach to demonology with his agreement that mental illness ought to be considered before concluding there is demonic activity (+2). Even so, he disagrees that exorcism is no longer valid (-2), and expresses similar discontent with: prayer and fasting as a sole means of removing demons (-2); stridency and authority being needed (-2); only gifted leaders can exercise this ministry (-3).

As may be expected in a cultural context that generally accepts both good and evil spiritual activity, the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* express opinions that reject any suggestion that exorcism is invalid. Daniel the archetypal *Pragmatist* (0.81), robustly discards notions of the invalidity of exorcism (-3); the need of gifted leaders to do it (-3); or the need of strident rebuke and authority (-3). He tends to agree that prayer and fasting may have a role (+1) and that such demonic attack cannot influence believers (+1). Agnes

³⁸⁴ Bernardi's interview on 5.7.2016 probed the subject of deliverance. He conceded that he had no problem with this idea theologically, but he remains often sceptical. He bemoaned his struggles with discernment (*kupambanua*) regarding 'nguvu za giza, nguvu za Mungu na hisia za watu' (powers of darkness, power of God and human emotions).

(0.72) concurs asserting the importance of the blood and name of Jesus (+3), and decrying the assertion that gifted leaders (-4) or prayer and fasting (-4) are necessary to exorcism. Practically speaking, demons have no authority over Agnes or any other believer (+4). Yerome (0.71) the *Pragmatic* pastor cannot condone the belief that mental illness could be a factor when facing people who claim to be possessed (-4). With others from across the cohorts, he agrees the blood and authority of Jesus is needed (+2).

Evident from the foregoing representation of individual opinions is the clear rejection of any idea suggesting demons, exorcism or evil spirits might be in some way spurious or explainable by means of medical science or conditions. Consistently these semi-urbanites and rural villagers engage the battle against demonic forces arrayed against them and would not hesitate to act themselves in opposing them - there is no need to wait for or call upon 'a bold church leader' or 'a gifted exorcist'. In fact, this opinion is so strong and widespread that it scores with similar weight to the affirmation of Scripture as being authoritative. The rejection of "specialists" in exorcism practice becomes a definitive statement for both the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*.

The *Cautious Brethren* by contrast are more conservative in their views around demons. There is no rejection of the concept of demonic activity in life, but the ways in which this is handled are questioned. For example, they too reject the need for 'gifted or bold church leaders' to act in exorcism, but they also tend to reject the 'pentecostal' practice of 'strident rebuke and authoritative speech'. They are wary of any enquiry about the relation of mental illness and demonic influence in a person's life, usually preferring not to commit one way or another when asked to agree or disagree.

The potential for a believer to be influenced by demons is an area drawing interesting responses from the three cohorts: the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* roundly affirm the idea that 'Demons have no authority over believers'; but the *Cautious Brethren* tend to disagree with the statement and with their *Pragmatic* brothers, as do the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*. One explanation we might offer here is that the *Pragmatism* of the *Experimentalists* wants to take control and affirm the defeat and conquest of all evil forces in their lives. The others have tended to take what they apparently consider a more realistic view, acknowledging that some believers are influenced by what are perceived to be demonic forces.

5.5.4. On the Holy Spirit

Feeling and opinion about the person and work of the Holy Spirit as expressed by respondents seems to be somewhat muted and more widely disseminated through the Q-Sorts in comparison with other areas where strength of opinion is evident (see above). However, strong disagreement was corralled across the factor arrays in opposing the assertion that, 'There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ'. This statement was exploring a Brethren viewpoint that tends to emphasise Christology over (some would say to the neglect of) Pneumatology since the conviction often expressed is that the Spirit is only to glorify the Son (John 16.14). But clearly this was not a shared opinion within KLB generally.

Individuals with strong opinions in matters related to the Holy Spirit include the *Pragmatist* (0.71) Pastor, Yerome, who wants to assert strongly that the Holy Spirit indwells every believer (+4). His fellow-*pragmatist*, Agnes (0.72), believes the power of the Holy Spirit is needed for Christlikeness (+3). Their associate, Daniel (0.81), tends to

agree with Yerome on indwelling (+2) and to disagree with Agnes on the need for Holy Spirit power (-1). Daniel's *Pragmatism* may be seen in his affirmation of the cooperative work of the Holy Spirit with the believer (+2).

The *Cautious Brethren*, perhaps epitomised in Bernard's response (0.66), affirm the power (+2), the cooperation (+3) and the sanctifying work (+1) of the Holy Spirit but with a view to seeing Christ exalted more than the Spirit himself (+1). In classic Brethren style, he is cautious about receiving the Holy Spirit subsequent to conversion (-1) and yet he also rejects the statement that, 'The Holy Spirit indwells every believer' (-2). This is somewhat surprising and may be a result of doing one's pneumatology and ministry in what is often an overtly charismatic/pentecostal environment. Are his views being influenced and shaped by his context? Perhaps he has simply erred. James (0.51) expresses a more traditional, *Cautious Brethren* view by affirming the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in every believer (+1) and denying any orientation towards sinless perfection (-3).

The keynote doctrine of 'baptism of the Holy Spirit' emerges plainly in Isaak's response where he expresses absolute agreement (+4) with the idea that not all Christians have had this experience. This sets him firmly among the *Pentecostal Evangelical* cohort. He places great emphasis on the ministry of the Holy Spirit in his response: cooperation in sanctification (+3); need of the power of the Spirit (+3); the possibility of sinlessness (+3); and the indwelling of the Spirit for every believer (+3). Unsurprisingly, he also denies the need to suppress the work of the Spirit in favour of the exaltation of Christ (-3).

The Factor Arrays help to give a more detailed picture of opinion around the person and work of the Holy Spirit. Those who align with *Cautious Brethren* (FA2) express ideas that would more comfortably align with traditional Brethren views: 'the Holy Spirit

cooperates with us in the work of sanctification' and 'we need the power of the Holy Spirit so that we become more like Jesus', are statements that could be 'accommodated' in Brethren thinking generally. But more pentecostal ideas like seeking Holy Spirit baptism or expecting holy and sinless lives, are viewed less favourably.

The *Pragmatic Experimentalists* (FA1) tend to strongly agree that the Holy Spirit is at work in the believer: he indwells every believer, he can make them holy and sinless, and he cooperates with a Christian so that we become more like Jesus. The idea that there is no need to draw attention to the Holy Spirit is opposed with some rigour but the question as to whether all Christians should seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a point on which they have no fixed decision. The pragmatism of the experimentalists shines through in this profile because the Holy Spirit for them is someone (maybe some power) at work in and on behalf of the believer whether they have had a clear baptism of the Holy Spirit experience or not.

Yet, this idea of Holy Spirit engagement with believers is taken further by the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* (FA3). This cohort load strongly on the person and work of the Holy Spirit and affirm very strongly the need for the power of the Holy Spirit and the cooperation of the Holy Spirit in sanctification to make believers more like Jesus - more so than any other cohort. They are agreed that the Holy Spirit indwells every believer but they also insist that they should seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit and be filled with the Holy Spirit.

5.5.5. On Miracles

Strong reactions against the idea that miracles have ceased was to be expected in an African cultural setting and this has proven to be the case in the received data. Not a single respondent affirmed the idea that miracles had ceased but what is surprising is the reactionary weight of opinion that was generated from the Moshi cohort of respondents. This may indicate a particular interest in the subject from the urbanites.

Nevertheless, belief in the miraculous is not an unqualified expectation for our respondents. Both the *Pragmatics* and the *Pentecostals* have strongly affirmed the idea of the miraculous being available today but under the sovereignty of God. ‘We can ask God for miraculous healing qualifying our prayers by submitting to God’s will’ – is a statement which comes to the fore in their consolidated arrays of positive opinion. As if to reinforce that view, there is also negativity expressed towards the idea that God’s mind could be changed through prayer to thus elicit miraculous interventions – neither *Pragmatists* nor *Pentecostals* from these Brethren groups were convinced of this. Miracles happen at God’s behest and not the believer’s demand. Whether the church can expect to see all miracles in the church today is then a matter about which it is difficult to decide ultimately for these groups. This suggests need for further study and exploration because in practice prayer and petition for healing, exorcism and deliverance are not uncommon.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ In interview, Daniel gave expression to the nuanced ideas around ‘healing’ (*uponyaji*) in Swahili thought: ‘*Swala la uponyaji ni... kwanza, neno uponyaji ni uhitaji, yaani kwanza kuna uhitaji katika maisha ya mtu; huenda labda mtu anaumwa au anafika katika changamoto fulani, unahitajika... mtu kutoka katika eneo aliloko au changamoto aliyoko, kwa hiyo uponyaji ni kutoka, ni kumtoa mtu katika aina fulani ya tatizo alilopo ili kumweka katika hali ya usalama...*’ (The question of healing is... first, the word healing is a need, that is there is a need in a person’s life; it goes like this perhaps a person is sick or has come to a certain challenge in life, what is needed is... the person to get out of the

On the other hand, the *Cautious Brethren* nail their own colours to the mast with a reaction against ‘miracles being available to the church today’ - no, *probably not*, seems to be their conclusion. Nevertheless, they tend to concur with the other cohorts in that ‘we should ask for miracles subject to God’s will’ because miracles did not cease with the times of the apostles. The preferred position for this cohort in regard to the miraculous is to affirm, above all statements in this section, the most ‘reasoned’ and ‘scientific’ of them: ‘We believe God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors and prayer.’ The idea that God heals through people who are ‘anointed with the gift of healing’ is quite uncomfortable and disagreeable to the *Cautious Brethren*.

5.5.6. On Ecclesiology and Leadership

Only four statements were used to test opinions around matters of church governance and leadership. This is an area worthy of exploration because the Brethren have tended to have a very strong opinion on the importance of a plurality of eldership for church governance of a restricted role for women in public church ministry. On the other hand, pentecostal and charismatic churches have sometimes emphasised the roles of apostles and prophets and have generally been more favourably disposed towards the public participation of women in church ministry.

Standing out from the collated responses is the strong negative reaction to the idea that ‘Women must remain silent in church’ - this view is generally expressed by all (except the *Cautious Brethren* - see below). The assertion that ‘Women should have full equality

situation he’s in or the challenge he’s in, therefore, healing is to escape, it’s to take a person out of some kind problem he is in and to put him in a place of peace and security.) (3.7.17)

with men in church' tends to draw a more negative reaction from the urbanites of Moshi while drawing a few strong affirmations from the rural Tabora residents. A similarly divided opinion exists across the urban-rural divide around the authority of local elders; Moshi respondents tended to affirm this idea (and a few quite strongly) while Tabora respondents were quite ambivalent about it.³⁸⁶

In more general terms, we can say that the *Cautious Brethren* are very strongly opinionated against any notion of egalitarianism in church governance and participation. They hold more tenaciously than any other grouping to the idea that women should remain silent in church - a classic Brethren dogma.³⁸⁷ Both the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* are diametrically opposed in opinion to this Brethren creed - the latter more so - and evidently want to affirm the public participation of women in church. The *Pragmatics* are more reserved when it comes to the authority of women; they tend to disagree with the suggestion that women and men should share equal authority. *Pentecostal Evangelicals* however will not uphold these divisions - they accept a much more egalitarian position although don't express it with much vigour.

The subject of apostles and prophets is not a decisive issue for the respondents - unsurprisingly there was a slightly negative reaction to these roles in church from the *Cautious Brethren* and the *Pragmatic Experimentalists* while a mildly affirmative opinion

³⁸⁶ While these observations of geographical orientation in opinion are attractive to take note of, we must remain careful about laying too much weight upon them. The qualitative methodology being employed is not designed for this purpose. However, they may be opinions worth pursuing in a quantitative study despite the earlier cautions expressed about geographical limitations.

³⁸⁷ Cautious Brethren are epitomised again by Bernardi's views on women's role: he gives voice to a classic Brethren view, however, after prolonged questioning he does concede the possibilities of women participating in church verbally in 'prophesying' (*kuhutubu*) if they have their head covered, and then latterly agrees they could lead, preach, pray, etc publicly in church contexts provided she did so under and with the authority of the elders. This is not quite an egalitarian view but it is well along the continuum towards such freedoms for women. His boundaries remain, a woman cannot be a church elder and if participating publicly she should be covered (3.7.2017).

was expressed by the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* giving some credence to apostolic and prophetic ministry roles.

5.5.7. On Other Areas

5.5.7.1. Tongues

The subject of speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*) is often a classic indicator for pentecostal and charismatic practice and six statements were used to test opinion on the matter. The *Cautious Brethren* opted for an agnostic response to the availability of tongues to the church today while all other groups disagreed strongly with the idea that they were a feature of the apostolic era only. The *Pentecostal Evangelicals* also strongly refuted the idea that tongues were only for personal edification while their detractors conceded that if the gift was available at all then it might be for this personal reason of self-edification. Interestingly, however, the Classic Pentecostal doctrine of 'initial evidence' was not a supported opinion - all the groups disagree with this idea, but the *Cautious Brethren* did so most strongly. The public use of tongues was known by the *Brethren* and the *Pragmatics* to require an interpreter according to Scripture and so they agreed with the notion of interpretation being required for public use of tongues, but the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* were less guarded about the need for interpretation and continue to affirm its public use regardless.

Only one response was a surprise to the researcher in questions around speaking in tongues. It had been a consistent idea expressed among some from KLB youth that if one could speak in tongues, then this was evidence that Christ was still present with the

individual by his Spirit and accordingly an assurance of continuing salvation was affirmed. This idea was rejected consistently by the three groups we have identified.

5.5.7.2. Last Days

Eschatology has been a prominent feature of early Brethrenism and Pentecostalism allowing both movements to interpret their present realities in light of beliefs and convictions about the future. Nevertheless, for Christians from these two movements who responded to the research, little strength of opinion or conviction was seen. Difference of opinion between the three cohorts tended to be slight and if just about perceptible, then it was noticeable around the question of ‘the rapture of the church’ and the rise of ‘spiritual gifts as evidence of the last days’. The *Pragmatic Experimentalists* felt most strongly about the imminent rapture of the church while others remained somewhat ambivalent. The *Cautious Brethren* differed most strongly from the other groups by their exceptional allegiance to the idea that the spiritual gifts will increase in the last days; a reaction which stands out from the responses to all other statements in this section. Of course, it demonstrates and highlights the more realised eschatology of the *Pragmatics* and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* who are already operating in the gifts at the present time.

5.5.7.3. Communion

Weekly communion services have been a touchstone of Brethren ecclesiology from the beginning while in Pentecostal and charismatic circles this has been less prominent. The erosion of the clergy/laity divide in Brethrenism has also affected their view of how the

Lord's Supper or Communion ought to be conducted. Six statements were prepared to explore these areas.

Weekly communion was strongly affirmed by the *Cautious Brethren* as one might expect, and the swing in difference of opinion with others here is quite noticeable especially with the *Pentecostal Evangelicals*. The less regular scheduling of communion (monthly or quarterly being more common) is a feature of many of the pentecostal and charismatic churches. The Brethren's crucicentrism at communion comes through from the *Cautious Brethren* though others are more non-committal about what is being done at communion. The *Pragmatic Experimentalists* object to the idea that only elders or the Pastor should lead in communion while the *Cautious Brethren* retain control of the table (through the elders and the pastor) and the *Pentecostal Evangelicals* agree.

Complaint has sometimes been voiced to the researcher about the frequency of weekly communion reducing its value to the participants. While all groups disagreed with this idea, the *Cautious Brethren* did so most vigorously.

5.5.7.4. Worship Styles

Two statements exploring worship styles drew little strength of opinion from any group. The researcher considers that it is not so much that these statements are in themselves insignificant, but rather they have been estimated by respondents not to hold the same weight of opinion as that which other topics being explored may have generated for them at this time.

5.6 Modelling *Kanisa la Biblia* Respondents

As we review the assortment of opinion through which we have had to wade it has been helpful to use Q Method to establish three distinct trends of opinion that may serve us well to explore the phenomenon under study in more detail going forward. One question that we raised at the outset of the study was whether all *Kanisa la Biblia* churches will finally look like 'charismatic Brethren'. In some sense, our present respondents have shown without exception, at least some sympathy with the pentecostal/charismatic position, however, the present small scale survey (61 persons) cannot hope to project the future (neither was it designed to do so). However, setting out descriptors of the three groups (see Appendices D, E and F) and aligning them on a scale of concurrence with pentecostal/charismatic theology may prove a useful tool in further research among this group of churches. This in turn may shed light on the wider phenomenon that is the Pentecostal movement in Africa today as it is evaluated in relation to historic churches and other long established denominations.

At figure 5.5 below, we have tried to visually represent a sample of the range of opinion we have uncovered in *Kanisa la Biblia* churches and to locate some respondents along the scale. The correspondence of the respondents to the factor arrays previously described is represented by the figures shown and an approximate location indicated by the arrow on the continuum. As stated below, bold figures are of correlation to the 'Pentecostal Evangelical' array of opinion; italicised figures are of correlation to the 'Cautious Brethren' array.

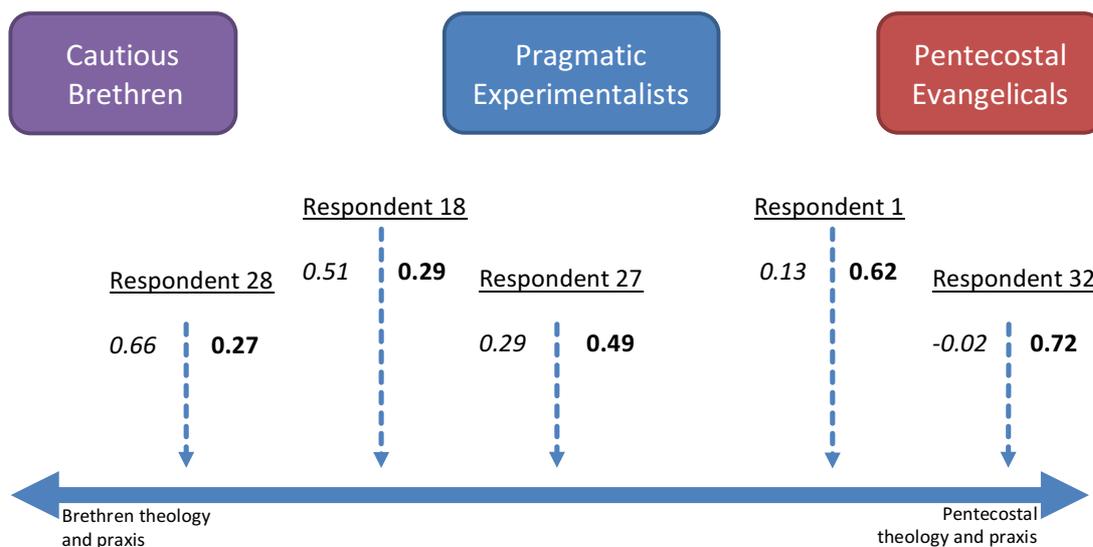


Figure 5.6. Modelling Charismatic Brethren on a range of congruence between Brethren and Pentecostal theologies. (Bold figures illustrate congruence with FA 1 Pentecostal Evangelicals and figures italics illustrate congruence with FA2 Cautious Brethren. The direction of travel, if there is any so indicated, could be in either direction, however, field research suggests the trends are towards FA 1 Pentecostal Evangelicalism.)

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the range of opinion revealed by the application of Q Methodology and expressed by respondents within the KLB churches. Like all measures of ‘public opinion’ it is broad and far-ranging but our careful and patient analysis has shed some light on matters where opinion is strongly held as well as other areas where it is evidently less important. To aid understanding the respondents have been classified through computer analysis into three groups (Factor Arrays) each sharing likenesses as well as differences of opinion.

In this chapter, we have established that all our respondent members of *Kanisa la Biblia* churches, whether in the city or in the rural village churches, are influenced by the pentecostal/charismatic movement in Tanzania, to some degree or another. Kailing noted this same phenomenon in Nigeria when he stated that ‘the degree to which pentecostal

evangelicalism has penetrated orthodoxy is remarkable.³⁸⁸ Furthermore, we have been able to establish that there is a range of influence, evident from respondents' answers, which when suitably recorded may serve as a model for measuring and studying this group of churches going forward as research pursues a clearer understanding of the phenomenon that is Charismatic Brethren. Kailing also suggested that there may be evidence in his data that suggests a progressive movement from one side to the other (see Figure 5.5). From those who are cautiously open to the possibility of pentecostal/charismatic theology and praxis we can move towards the other extreme where some KLB members evidently self-certify as *Pentecostal Evangelicals*. Between the two groups, perhaps sitting on the fence, but very ready to get down on either side, are the pragmatists who are ready to accept and/or reject the views of either side, depending on what works best for them at that time.

In the following chapter, we will revisit some of these observations and attempt to draw out and synthesise the knowledge and experience arising from our study so far. We will try to identify key lessons that have arisen from the study of the two movements and from that vantage point offer some signposts towards defining 'a solution' to what Kailing had dubbed the African Christian problem. We will evaluate the data and propose that a framework set in the blatant pragmatism of the culture needs to give explanation of the purpose or goal of Tanzanian living and believing, the means by which that goal might be realised and delivered to KLB members, and the worldview or outlook that operates in the background as a controlling philosophy. Finally, we will make further proposals as to why

³⁸⁸ Kailing, African Christian Problem, p.502.

the pull of Pentecostalism is so strong, especially in Brethren churches, as indicated in the conclusion of this present chapter.

6. A DOUBLE RIVER OF BLESSING

The Double River of Blessing: Sometimes in nature two rivers, when they unite, flow side by side for a time before the waters completely mingle. When the Lord began to work in Pentecostal grace among the older denominations there were some who spoke disparagingly of the older existing Pentecostal Movement as though it were a spent force that had been discarded by the Spirit of God. The facts emphatically disprove this view.³⁸⁹

6.1. Brief Overview of the Study

So far this study has offered a synthesis of history by describing the Brethren and Pentecostal movements – one might suggest, ‘an older existing Spirit-movement’ (the Brethren) and a new ‘work in Pentecostal grace’ to borrow Donald Gee’s expression – from their inception and growth in countries of the northern hemisphere to the present-day situation under immediate examination in Tanzania. The KLB expressions of faith in the northern parts of the country have been shown to lack many of the denominational distinctives of what is understood by many to be the Brethren movement. In fact, the newly resulting ‘flower’ appears to draw its genus from roots and shoots grounded in the soil of Tanzanian Christian expression as it is affected by *both* Brethrenism and Pentecostalism (among others). An analysis of this genus of Christian faith has attempted to liken its East African expression to that described by Kailing in West Africa – he described it as the phenomenon of *Pentecostal Evangelicalism*.

The deeper roots of Brethrenism and Pentecostalism uncovered, pointed us to a common theological heritage. Anabaptist, Pietistic/Puritan and Evangelical forebears were shown to result in these movements placing a great importance and high value upon

³⁸⁹ Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Croydon: Heath Press, 1967), p. 285-286.

the authority of the Bible, personal holiness and purity, and practical religion. The shared penchant for primitive Christianity results in Christians from these movements pursuing instruction and guidance on doctrinal matters and ecclesiological practice directly from the Word of God and especially from the book of Acts as well as the wider New Testament. As a result, we can say that both movements are 'radical' in the strictest sense of the word – pursuing the origins or roots of Christian faith. Thus, mainstream Christianity, would count them to be non-conformist and separatist movements, although they themselves would self-identify as Spirit-led or empowered. It is suggested that these were in many ways new works of God, by his Spirit, as he raised up and refreshed a new generation of believers in the church of Jesus Christ; each an expectant generation believing that Spirit-empowered events were indicators of greater things yet to come – the millennial age preceded by an outpouring of the Spirit in signs and wonders as well as an urgent response to the call to world mission...then the end will come.

Developments and alignments between the two movements were shown in the study to rise above and beyond the historic mutual hostility that sometimes featured in the first three quarters of the twentieth century. In truth, commonalities have been shown to abound in areas of Christology, Soteriology, Ecclesiology, and Eschatology. Alignment offered opportunities for cross-pollination. Their shared DNA suggested that they ought to be classed as cousins if not sister movements. Undeniably, clear distinctives remain. Difference is still to be noted in definitions of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, the expectation of subsequent experience or evidence of such, the practice of 'sign gifts', and the outworking and measure of God's blessing in a believer's life. Yet, if truth be told, neither movement has a definitive theology at the frontline of Christian mission; rather,

their theology is retrained on the trellis of mission practice. New theological agreements appeared to be forged when together they recognised God at work in miraculous power and inexplicable ways for the sake of the extension of God's kingdom. New learning has been grafted together by more careful exegesis and hermeneutics when grappling with the Scriptures and listening to what the Spirit is saying to the Tanzanian church today. The waters of these great movements may flow alongside one another but they often mingle for their mutual benefit.

Historical surveys of the mission endeavours of the Pentecostal and Brethren movements in Tanzania revealed that they have trod on similar ground, faced comparable difficulties, adopted similar strategies, and seen God at work in remarkable ways. Numerical growth and denominational expansion have not been consistent however. Pentecostal churches in Tanzania by far out-number the tiny Brethren denomination known as *Kanisa la Biblia*. Strikingly, where a cohesive, strategic approach to mission enterprise has not been adopted, for example among British Brethren, the results have been less remarkable. Their loose and merely connexional approach to mission in northern Tanzania seemed even to hamper growth and may be a foundational cause for many of the Brethren church members seeking spiritual parental care outside of their own churches and among pentecostals and charismatics with whom they learn to share much in common.

The Q method survey of the study sought to probe below and beyond the phenomenological and external data that comes to the researcher by simple observation. By trying to follow Walter Hollenweger's advice not to *impose* a theological framework but to allow the theological profile to be understood in dialogue as it *emerges* from the

grassroots, we have sought to listen to the opinions and viewpoints of KLB believers. This approach uncovered some deeply held beliefs and personally cherished opinions on matters of faith. It helped us recognise three typical responses that align across the larger groups of respondents: the Cautious Brethren, the Pragmatic Experimentalists and the Pentecostal Evangelicals. However, despite the detailed definitions of these groups and the apparent range of pentecostal influence that emerged, we concluded that *all* KLB believers are open to and influenced by their religious milieu in Tanzania which, in evangelical circles, is strongly shaped by the rising surge of Pentecostalism.

Looking at the three arrays of responses from the Q survey data, which help define our KLB respondents so clearly, we could summarise their positions as follows:

First, the Cautious Brethren were the least likely to embrace these new ideas and beliefs. They tended to be much more conservative and would only reluctantly, perhaps, be persuaded about the possibilities of truth in pentecostal or charismatic circles. Second, the Pragmatic Experimentalists appeared to be more driven by their practical approach to living than by religious convictions. They are ready to embrace the theology of Pentecostal persuasion if and when it works – when it makes a distinct difference for them. Like the person who may be persuaded to change a washing powder because evidentially it is more effective than a neighbour's, so the Pragmatic Experimentalists are prepared to try it and see. Lastly, the group we identified as the Pentecostal Evangelicals appeared to be more like a hybrid of the two movements – a flower of a new genus, if you will. Fundamentally, they are people of the Book – they have a solid conviction about the importance of the Bible. They are looking to the Word in order to establish the truth. They are hungry for the preaching of the Word and its application to their daily lives. They

pursue conversion, purity of life, holiness, and Christlikeness. And they achieve these things – according to their testimony – by the power of the Holy Spirit. Not all these Pentecostal Evangelicals will be able to give expression to the finer doctrines of Pentecostalism *per se* but, reading their Bibles, they aver the truth of what they see in practice among others. Their literalistic approach to the Scriptures means they expect to see the Spirit of God at work in power through signs and wonders. Neither will all these Pentecostal Evangelicals speak in tongues, or do miracles themselves, but you can be sure they will pray for the miraculous, they will expect the miraculous and they will see and testify to the miraculous in their midst.

On being Charismatic Brethren then, we saw the evidences of pentecostal and charismatic Christianity upon the KLB believers. But we also saw a loosening of the grip of these same believers upon some of the key identifiers of the historical Brethren movement. In three areas, they looked like they have placed considerably less emphasis than might their missionaries or their forebears. Firstly, in *communion*, the weekly practice of remembrance of the Lord in the breaking of bread is not the priority it was for the earlier or earliest Brethren. Secondly, in *eschatology*, the prominence given to Brethren teaching around the rapture and second coming of Christ is neglected and mostly absent. And thirdly, the relaxation of the ecclesial leadership model which has been a tenet of Brethrenism – a *plurality of male elders* – has resulted in an increase in pastors and full-time evangelists being appointed more commonly than in the past. Hierarchical ecclesiastical structures witnessed in some pentecostal denominations which are overseen by a bishop(s) are increasingly attractive to some Brethren who see there may be value in more ordered and strategic approaches.

At this juncture, it is now worthwhile not only considering the tendency of the Charismatic Brethren to withdraw from classic identifiers of Brethrenism, but to examine more closely their apparent readiness to embrace more Pentecostal and Charismatic faith paradigms. The pursuit of features manifest in Pentecostal and Charismatic expressions of Christian faith draws these Brethren into a revisionism of their received faith traditions as once communicated by missionary forefathers. These initiatives for 'making faith their own' and their openness to adaption also appear to dovetail well with a cultural and religious heritage seen in the previous ethnographic observations (chapter four) of two people groups who seek to control their lives through belief systems that offer them pragmatic success and well-being through faith. Power or control is one feature that is highly attractive to them. Let us look at some of the influences that draw the Charismatic Brethren in this direction.

6.2 The Need of Spiritual Power

We have seen the extensive vocabulary of ATR (many listed earlier) still prevalent in the Christian world of *Kanisa la Biblia* as well as other Pentecostal/charismatic groups. Of note is the way this language is used in contexts like 'Gospel meetings' convened in the public market place for the proclamation of the Christian message. Here the KLB preachers have been quick to remind their listeners of the influence and close cultural proximity of dark spiritual forces associated with ATR. Their message is drilled with spiritual warfare language affirming the power and victory of Jesus over malevolent spirits. Jumping randomly through the Scriptures from passage to passage to reinforce his spoken message the preacher announces with great volume and gusto 'Jesus taught his disciples to rebuke the powers of darkness'. He continues, 'The kingdom of God has come to overthrow the

powers of darkness, to defeat the witchdoctor and the diviner, in the mighty name of Jesus!' At this juncture, he calls the crowd to *piga vigelegele kwa Yesu* (ululate with joy for Jesus)! 'Jesus' power is beyond our understanding', he exclaims, linking the power to the forgiveness of sin. But quickly, the examples of sin are heard to especially include libations to the ancestors, visiting the witchdoctor, and the use of charms, among other things. The chaotic outcomes of the sinful life are attributed to jinxes (*mikosi*), calamity or misfortune (*balaa*), but the promise of the preacher is that these can be removed through the blood of Jesus.

Other 'Gospel ministers' on the crusade platform affirm these convictions about spiritual encounter by leading in singing a simple repetitive chorus, 'The blood of Jesus speaks good' (*Damu ya Yesu inanena mema*). As the meeting draws to a close another *mtumishi* (servant [of the Lord]) is called to pray for the respondents. He takes up similar themes but adds the dimension of physical sickness to the matters he will 'pray against' - these are all 'of the enemy' (*wa adui*). His prayer is barked out with a sudden change of voice to a guttural Swahili that commands and instructs not only the needy but also the Lord. 'Put your hand on your chest, and your other hand in the air!' 'Pray with me!' 'Lord do it!' 'Lord make it happen!' 'I command you Satan, in the name of Jesus, leave them!' 'I command the forces of darkness to be gone!' 'I command wholeness and health in the mighty name of Jesus!' 'Say, Amen!'

But the message spoken from the platform is not received into a vacuum. Indeed, those present are well aware of the likely consequences of such declarations of war in the spiritual realm. Around this point a young girl in the audience is overcome and collapses in the ground limp and lifeless - she is carried off for prayer ministry by the deacons

around. The song leaders break into a chorus of 'Lord, you rule, there is none like you!' (*Bwana umetamalaki, hakuna aliye kama wewe*). She later recovers as a result of such interventions. As darkness begins to fall, the final prayers are announced with a warning that people ought to respond now if they have not yet done so... 'the presence of God is still here'... 'this is the hour when "trouble" often breaks out'... 'so come to Jesus for salvation'... 'Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved!' Prayer for the Holy Spirit to be given to those who will ask for Him (*per* Luke 11.14) is offered and the worshippers are encouraged to go in peace and serve the Lord.

This format of public meeting is typical of the evangelical churches in northern Tanzania. The pentecostal/charismatic influences in these descriptions are obvious – indeed striking. Although in KLB the cultural proximity of ATR and their convictions and beliefs may be obvious by the public example outlined above, their internal services, the Sunday worship and more private prayer meetings are much less overt in being punctuated with such language or action. It is not absent from other services and events but it appears that in the need to be pragmatically relevant to the public audience KLB preachers and ministers of the gospel feel it appropriate to speak and act in these ways. Spiritual power encounters for KLB at least are overtly manifest especially in the verbal and physical domains when public eyes and needs abound. But in private settings there is less need for such stridency and there is a contentment with 'victory' in the spiritual realm even if it is more covertly received and believed. Pentecostal and charismatic fellowships however are less inclined to be concerned about public/private divisions of space and time and the 'victory' is overtly apparent in verbal, physical and even spiritual signs across all of life.

6.3. Sourcing the Power: ATR or Christian Belief?

Current studies in pentecostal and charismatic Christianity have shown increasing interest in an examination of the relationship between ATR and indigenous expression of popular Christian faith, some have focused on how these are manifest among practitioners from West and South Africa.³⁹⁰ In sub-Saharan Africa, most of 'the wise men of the East' who study the phenomenon on that side of the continent have largely been *wageni wenyeji*³⁹¹ (expatriate visitors who have spent extended periods of time in the region).³⁹² Martin Lindhardt currently leads the field with a range of articles and edited works which seek to uncover something of the relationship between the two expressions of belief.³⁹³ In his most recent work, he describes a complex paradox which draws both continuities and discontinuities between the two belief systems and concludes that in some strange way these expressions of religious conviction are to be 'better grasped in terms of coevalness, intersections and ongoing mutual influence than of temporalizing difference...'. He suggests that born-again Christian believers rather than 'simply

³⁹⁰ For example, Sasha Newel, "Pentecostal Witchcraft: Neoliberal Possession and Demonic Discourse in Ivorian Pentecostal Churches," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2007, 37 (4) p.461-490. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2005). See also Allan Anderson, *The Spirit in a Spirit-Filled World: Religious Dis/continuity in African Pentecostalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

³⁹¹ This the plural of the *mgeni mwenyeji* mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and translated as 'a localised guest'.

³⁹² For example, Harri Englund, "Witchcraft and the Limits of Mass Mediation in Malawi," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2007, 13 (2) p.295-311, Maia Green, *Priests Witches and Power: Popular Christianity and the persistence of Mission in Southern Tanzania* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). One indigenous theologian working in this area is Dr. Simeon Mesaki, an anthropologist from Tanzania, working at University of Dar-es-salaam - he has co-authored some work with Maia Green.

³⁹³ Martin Lindhardt, "The Ambivalence of Power: Charismatic Christianity and Occult Forces in Urban Tanzania," *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, 2009, 22 (1) p. 37-54. "More Than Just Money: The Faith Gospel and Occult Economies in Contemporary Tanzania," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*, 2009, 13 (1) p. 41-67. "If You Are Saved You Cannot Forget Your Parents: Agency, Power and Social Repositioning in Tanzanian Born-Again Christianity," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2010, 40 (3) p. 240-272. "Who Bewitched the Pastor and Why Did He Survive the Witchcraft Attack? Micropolitics and the Creativity of Indeterminacy in Tanzania Discourses," *Canadian Journal for African Studies*, 2012, 46 (2) p. 215-232. "Miracle Makers and Money Takers: Healers, Prosperity Preachers and Fraud in Contemporary Tanzania." in Amanda van Eck (Ed.), *Minority Religions and Fraud: In Good Faith* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2014).

reproducing' or 'breaking away from ancient traditional beliefs...partake in a continuous discursive and ritual unfolding of cultural religious life worlds.' By doing so, Lindhardt maintains 'they are able to empower themselves, and gain some sense of control and security.'³⁹⁴

Inasmuch as the field study observations of Lindhardt in southern Tanzania to a large degree match many of the characteristics in northern parts of the country, so demonstrating a 'certain persistence' of influence, it must be affirmed that the complexity of the issue remains significant. Lindhardt is correct to conclude that no simple dualism will suffice to explain the influence of ATR upon Christian expression yet a commitment to coevalness will not suffice as an explanation either. The present writer would contend that it is theologically difficult to maintain that the two "sub-cultures" of faith expression - ATR and PC/C³⁹⁵ - are of equal value.³⁹⁶ This immediately challenges the anthropological commitment to coevalness, and sets the sights more firmly towards the arena of allochronic observation and expectation. While the two sub-cultures may engage coevally as part of their *sitz im leben* it is more difficult for the Christian theologian to accept or expect true coevalness in regard to value, duration or antiquity.

Fabian,³⁹⁷ who highlights the inherent contradiction of anthropological coevalness *in fieldwork* with the allochronic realities of anthropological observations *in writing*, makes

³⁹⁴ Martin Lindhardt, "Continuity, Change or Coevalness? Charismatic Christianity and Tradition in Contemporary Tanzania," in Martin Lindhardt (Ed.), *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publications, 2015) p. 183.

³⁹⁵ PC/C is Martin Lindhardt's shorthand for Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity

³⁹⁶ Coevalness is defined by Merriam-Webster's dictionary as: of the same or equal age, antiquity, or duration. Anthropologically, however, the term seems to imply that the sub-cultures share value also – neither, better than the other.

³⁹⁷ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Guildford University Press, 1983)

the point that these categories are established out of a political agenda that wants to deconstruct the superiority of the West as an elevated colonising culture that will dictate to the Rest. But theologically, any agenda for coevalness cannot be driven by such motivations; rather, an expectation of allochronic interactions is rooted, not in the superiority of one culture (or sub-culture) over another, nor in Time referents which may suggest 'later cultures' as more superior to 'early cultures'; no, the theologian observing Christian sub-cultures like pentecostal-charismatic expressions of faith is conscious of the truth claims of Christianity which it is believed have their origins outside of Time; they are grounded in eternity, in God himself. That these truth claims have their impact in time and history is what Fabian refers to as Sacred Time. The influences of pentecostal-charismatic Christianity upon ATR and *vice versa* are not therefore mutually shaping, or equally valued, or of similar antiquity. In fact, there is an expectation that despite every Christian sub-culture being flawed and inadequate as an ideal expression of the eternal truths of Christian faith, nevertheless, God is at work in and through the ways of humanity to reveal his truth, to lift humanity from its fallen condition and to bring perfection to his people.³⁹⁸ To equate ATR and pentecostal-charismatic Christianity in such a way as to suggest that 'born-again Christians' are simply using the Other, the sub-culture of ATR, 'to empower themselves, and gain some sense of control and security' is to seriously misrepresent the Christian religion. It is to attribute power to the wrong source. Salvation for Africans may be misconstrued or misunderstood on the ground in the coeval

³⁹⁸ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, recounts this view of universal history as laid out by Bossuet in *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1681) - 'it expresses the omnipresent signs of divine providence.' p. 4. He elaborates on Bossuet's position by recalling he 'was never reluctant to judge all of the past in the light of the single most important event of all time: the brief passage of the man-god Jesus through a life on earth.'

engagement of ATR and Christian expressions of faith but this must not be allowed to cloud the firm and clear theological conviction of the Christian message that there is salvation in no other name except that of Christ Jesus. The power belongs to the Lord – this is the testimony of the Bible,³⁹⁹ and undoubtedly the Christian testimony of the Charismatic Brethren. This is the power that Scripture holds forth to the African reader. It may resonate with his desire for power from the past, and it may even be misunderstood presently on the ground among some, but the underlying theological conviction of a ‘born-again Christian’ aligns strongly with the biblical narrative over-against any anthropological explanation.

6.4. Weakness and Power: A Struggle for Wholeness

Persisting with this biblicism that is a defining characteristic of *evangelical* Christianity and with which both *Kanisa La Biblia* and pentecostal-charismatic Christianity would self-identify, we turn to examine biblical vocabulary and narratives which speak eloquently to the culture and historical contexts of the Swahili populations in northern Tanzania. We do so, not especially as a biblical scholar might do, studying the original languages, but as an average Tanzanian citizen may do hearing the Bible in their own Swahili language. Mark Cartledge has defended such an approach in exploring ‘practical theology’ noting, ‘...academic theology is critiqued by a particular spiritual tradition. The *critical participation* required of the practical theologian within a particular spiritual tradition is

³⁹⁹ Old and New Testaments affirm this position: Psalm 62.11 and 1 Pet 5.11.

therefore dialectical. In practical theology, academic and the popular theologies are in dialogue.⁴⁰⁰ - to such popular theologies we now turn.

6.4.1. Biblical Vocabulary

P.M. Wilson notes that the 'fine Bantu language' of Swahili is spoken throughout East Africa and that the purest Swahili is to be found on the island of Zanzibar (Unguja), however, the people of Tanzania pride themselves in being the experts, despite Kenyans, Ugandans, Burundians, East Congolese and even some Zambians also speaking the language. Grammatically, it is at its best in Tanzania and the vocabulary and study of the language is monitored continuously at the University of Dar-es-salaam. The earliest written work on Swahili language study by Dr. Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881)⁴⁰¹ resulted not only in a translation of the New Testament by 1850 but also an extensive dictionary which continues to inform the study of the language until the present day. Although the whole Bible was available in Swahili by 1852, for present day readers it is the Union Version Swahili Bible, first published in 1952, which is the most commonly used text; the following commentary is based on the 1994 edition.⁴⁰²

It does not take long for someone conversant with Swahili language to recognise the contiguity of biblical customs or culture with that of present-day Tanzania. The language vocabulary binds Tanzanian culture to a biblical culture in an experience of striking self-recognition thus reinforcing the Bible's own claim to being a mirror in which one sees

⁴⁰⁰ Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, p. 26-27. (emphasis original)

⁴⁰¹ Krapf was a German missionary sent to East Africa under the auspices of the British Church Missionary Society.

⁴⁰² *The Holy Bible in Kiswahili Published as Maandiko Matakatifu* (Dodoma, Tanzania: Bible Societies of Tanzania and Kenya, 1994). Other Bibles available in Swahili are: *Biblia Habari Njema: Tafsiri ya Ushirikiano wa Makenisa* (Nairobi, Kenya: Bible Societies of Kenya and Tanzania, 1995) and *Neno: Biblia Takatifu* (Nairobi, Kenya: Biblica, 2009). A translation of The Scofield Bible is also available in Congolese Swahili, *Maandiko Matakatifu ya Mungu yanayoitwa Biblia kufuatana na Dr. C.I. Scofield* (Bunia, R.D. Congo: Éditions Évangéliques, 1996 (2003)).

oneself clearly.⁴⁰³ Educational standards in Tanzania in the late 20th and early 21st century largely ensure that all people have access to the basic literacy, but for the vast majority still, higher levels of education are beyond their grasp for a variety of reasons.⁴⁰⁴ The Bible in the hands of the people means for a straightforward and often literal reading of the text. The complexities of biblical hermeneutics are unknown and unneeded - the Word and the Spirit will be enough to allow God's voice to be heard. The contextual life experience of most Tanzanians is not only characterised by a belief in God, but is one fraught with difficulty: various levels of poverty, challenges to health, lack of opportunity, infringement of human rights, exploitation, disease, imminent death, etc. The response in the face of other support mechanisms being absent (dependable employment, financial stability, NHS medical care, etc) means other solutions need to be found, and found they often are in God and his Word, the Bible.

6.4.2. Indicators of weakness

The descriptions in the biblical narrative chime with the needs of Tanzanian people in daily life. Peter's mother-in-law, 'sick of a fever' (*hawezi homa*, lit. 'she was unable [because of] fever') is the common lot of thousands of Tanzanians in daily life as they live in the tropics. The prospect of a touch from Jesus, to be raised up again, is exactly what is required so that 'the fever left her' (*homa ikamwacha*).⁴⁰⁵ Current vocabulary used to

⁴⁰³ James 1.23.

⁴⁰⁴ For example, 95% of children will enrol at Standard I Primary school, 70% will complete at Standard 7. Only 19% of children will enrol in Form I Secondary School and 10% will complete to Form IV (O Level) education. At A Level (Form V and VI) 5% of children will have access to this level of education and 3% will complete at Form VI. Only 2% of children in Tanzania will have access to tertiary education. In 2009 8.4 million children enrolled in fee-free primary education - by 2020 an additional 1.8 million children will be added to the demographic. UNESCO Report: *Tanzania Education Analysis: Beyond Primary Education, the Quest for Balanced and Efficient Policy Choices for Human Development and Economic Growth*, Dakar: Pôle de Dakar, p. 26, 102.

⁴⁰⁵ Mark 1.30-31

describe those with malaria still speaks of them having 'fever' (*homa*) and the word is used for a range of other ailments (with or without a high temperature). Western explanations of illness become more distanced from the biblical narrative - seldom do people speak of having a fever; we may more likely speak of having a cold, or the 'flu. Such vocabulary removes us from the immediacy of the biblical story even before we have begun to advance our interpretation and application of the miracle to our 21st century scientific world. This observation is not about colonisation or cultural relativity that deems the West best, but rather is made in order to expose not only our own inherent complexities in failing to relate intimately with the biblical stories but to demonstrate the immediacy of biblical language in the Tanzanian world – an immediacy that may address their physical 'inability' or weakness.

Classically, the biblical stories of leprosy (*ukoma*) have been hermeneutically transposed to our Western sensitivities in spiritual applications, with leprosy being likened to the deadly disease of sin that causes spiritual decay and death. Tanzanian readings of the stories are not so quickly translated to the spiritual plane. Leprosy is still prevalent in Tanzania. But even if it is not to be taken 'as read' the pragmatism of dealing with other 'incurable' disease is a more likely response to the story where leprosy might be likened to AIDS (*ukimwi*) or TB.

6.4.3. Indicators of Power

These immediate alignments happen too in the contexts of ATR. Lindhardt has offered us some helpful pointers in his extensive exploration of the use of *nguvu* (power,

strength).⁴⁰⁶ The culture is obsessed about having *nguvu* to do anything, achieve anything, protect anything, and certainly Lindhardt's insistence that it has a mysterious element to it is accurate. But it appears to be a misrepresentation to suggest that 'In PC/C [pentecostal and charismatic Christianity] *nguvu* has been conceptualised within a moral dualism.'⁴⁰⁷ In fact, pentecostal-charismatic Christianity is simply expressing, modelling and living by what the Swahili Bible itself makes clear.

Taylor reminded us a long time ago that, 'The Bible, like Africa, knows well the hideous strength of the things of darkness.'⁴⁰⁸ The language of the Swahili Bible is replete with *nguvu*⁴⁰⁹ and explores both 'divine *nguvu*' and 'satanic *nguvu*'. The New Testament use is instructive since Jesus himself is announced to be the one coming after John the Baptist who has 'more power than me'⁴¹⁰ (*nguvu kuliko mimi*): in the gospels Jesus is then portrayed as the one who is able to bind the strong man (*mwenye nguvu*), the one from whom healing power goes out (*nguvu zimentoka*), the one who will come from the right hand of power (*mkono wa kuume wa nguvu*) in the kingdom of his Father with power (*kwa nguvu*). Luke is especially interested in *nguvu* and uses the word 46 times in his writing. Luke sees the power of Elijah in John the Baptist (*katika Roho ya Eliya na nguvu zake*), in the Spirit of the Most High coming upon Mary (*nguvu zake Aliye Juu*) and she responds calling God, the One with Power (*Mwenye nguvu*). Jesus is portrayed by Luke as

⁴⁰⁶ Lindhardt, "Continuity, Change or Coevalness?" cites *nguvu* as meaning power, life force, or strength. I would contest the idea of 'life force'. Certainly, the idea of health may be present and even wholeness (*uzima*) may be inherent in some definitions of the word but life force is too far. The TUKI Kamusi Ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza (Dictionary of Swahili-English) concurs citing *nguvu* in English as: 1 force, strength, power. 2 authority, supremacy. 3 impetus, pressure, solidity. Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili (TUKI) 2000, Second Edition 2000, Dar-es-salaam.

⁴⁰⁷ Lindhardt, "Continuity, Change or Coevalness?" p. 168.

⁴⁰⁸ J. Vincent Taylor, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence amid African Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 164.

⁴⁰⁹ The word *nguvu* occurs 660 times in the Union Version of the Swahili Bible; 502 in the OT, 158 in the NT.

⁴¹⁰ Matthew 3.11

growing in power (twice mentioned), the powerful (*mwenye nguvu*) successor to John who baptises with the Holy Spirit and fire, who operates in the power of the Spirit (*akarudi kwa nguvu za Roho*), and commands demons with ability and power (*uwezo na nguvu*). Jesus' power is committed to his followers in striking fashion in Luke 10 and 11, when they are given authority by him to trample (*kukanyaga*) on all the power of that enemy (*nguvu zote za yule adui*) and power to snatch from him all his weapons upon which he depends (*amny'anganya silaha zake zote alizokuwa akizitegemea*). An angel gives power to Jesus in Gethsemane (*akamtia nguvu*) but the cross is not the end. Luke opens his second volume with the risen Jesus' promise, 'you will receive power' (*mtapokea nguvu*), and the Spirit is suddenly upon them like a powerful wind (*upepo wa nguvu*) and that power overflows through the apostles Peter and John as the lame man at the temple finds his legs are given power (*miguu yake vikatiwa nguvu*), and yet the apostles are quick to disabuse people of the idea it might be their power (*kana kwamba...aende kwa nguvu zetu sisi*). The link between the Holy Spirit and power comes clearly (as if it had not been evident so far) in Acts 10.38, where the source of the Holy Spirit and power upon Jesus of Nazareth is God himself (*Mungu alivyomtia mafuta kwa Roho Mtakatifu na nguvu*). Space does not permit an extended survey of the biblical portrayal of the power of Jesus and his disciples through the rest of the New Testament, but the verse just cited also demonstrates the biblical awareness around an opposing power - that of the Devil (*Ibilisi*) - Jesus' power is given to heal all those who were oppressed of the Devil, because God was with him.

The power of darkness (*nguvu za giza*) is similarly portrayed in the New Testament with the clarity and groundedness of incidents from daily experience in early Palestine.

Misunderstandings about Jesus' power result in him being accused of exercising the power of the chief of the demons (*nguvu za mkuu wa pepo*) to drive out demons. No other person could control the demoniac (*hakuna mtu aliyekuwa na nguvu za kumshinda*) but Jesus could - he is portrayed as the one who has power more than that of the enemy (*mtu mwenye nguvu kuliko yeye*).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Swahili word *nguvu* is widely used in a host of contexts which have NO connection with such spiritual forces, power, or strength. *Nguvu* can be used as an adjective to describe other actions - he raised his voice, he strongly commanded the man to remain silent, the meeting rose up against Paul, the soldiers arrested them by force - are incidences where *nguvu* is used in the Swahili Union version. Additionally, it can express encouragement where one's faith is given *nguvu*, or if hopes are fading, *nguvu* can be said to be absent. These and other uses of the term certainly make it a high profile word in daily use as Lindhardt notes.⁴¹¹

6.4.3. Power for Wholeness

Another word which cannot be overlooked in Swahili biblical vocabulary is the word *uzima*. This is vital to our proper understanding of biblical salvation in the Tanzanian language and culture since the promise of the eschatological age is *uzima wa milele* (literally, eternal wholeness); this is the phrase used to translate the concept expressed in the English idiom of eternal life.⁴¹² But the use of *uzima* is not reserved for the future; it describes life in the present also. The word is frequently used in common parlance as a

⁴¹¹ Lindhardt, "Continuity, Change or Coevalness?" p. 168.

⁴¹² A classic biblical text that illustrates this idea is John 3.16 where the promise of eternal life is translated *uzima wa milele*.

response to the simple daily greeting asking after someone's welfare. Daily life, if it is perceived by the respondent as good is described as whole, as complete, as unbroken, untainted, without struggle or anxiety, and so forth - these are the kind of ideas lying behind the response. 'How are you?' (*Habari yako?*) often evokes the response, 'Mzima.' (I am whole, I am well.) As *uzima*, the noun describes both a present life experience and the future hope of biblical theology, Tanzanians use the personal adjective, *mzima*, to describe their present contentment and health when life is good; surely a foreshadowing of heaven's hope and *uzima wa milele*.

6.5. The Role of Mediators and Power Brokers

Closely connected to the idea of power is the mediatorial role played in a range of social settings within Tanzanian society. Mediators (*wapatanishi*) function as go-betweens in matters of conflict resolution, family strife, life-passage events like pregnancy to childbirth, circumcision rites, negotiation of dowry, marriage arrangements, as well as in business and commercial negotiations, land purchases, contracts, and settlements. On occasion, even within family and clan structures intermediaries are required for children to address their fathers, or clansmen to address their chief.⁴¹³ Mediators are chosen by the parties because of their gender, age, wisdom, respected place in society, financial stability and influence, education and persuasive abilities; their reputation (*sifa*) is of the highest consideration. With such a profile, any mediator who is worthy of the task will be considered a power-broker in the sense of shaping and influencing the lives of those who

⁴¹³ Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 68.

have appointed them. 'Little people' in society don't have the mediatorial skills or reputation required and may otherwise be pushed aside or overlooked.

Mediation vocabulary is structured around a reciprocal verb in Swahili (*kupatana*) which in its most basic form means 'to get' or 'to obtain' (*kupata*). This highlights the pragmatic resolution being pursued - there is need for the parties to get or to obtain what they want from the negotiations - a good *mpatanishi* will secure a favourable deal for the party they represent. Reconciliation will be achieved when both parties are satisfied they have secured what they want or need from the negotiations. The reciprocity may not always be in equal proportion - this depends on the power balances between the parties.

Mediation has always been a key concept in ATR. Mbiti asserts that 'It is a widespread feeling among many African people that man should not, or cannot, approach God alone or directly, but that he must do so through the mediation of special persons or other beings.'⁴¹⁴ Classic mediators would be the elders, the rainmakers, or the diviners.⁴¹⁵ Of course, in the cosmology of ATR the mediators are not necessarily human - in fact the living-dead are often the primary mediators in their strategic ontological location between the world of the living and the spirit world, between human beings and God. The enmity or imbalance which demands reconciliation (*upatanisho*) may be extant among the living — individual neighbours or even family members, between clans or other collective groups. But it may also be perceived to be disquiet from among the living-dead, the spirits or even with God himself. For this reason, Mbiti concludes 'The position and function of

⁴¹⁴ Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 68.

⁴¹⁵ Two fascinating resources for these ideas are Michael C. Kirwen, *The Missionary and the Diviner*, Grand Rapids: Orbis Books, 1987. and Ian Gordon (Ed), *Looking for a Rain God*, Nairobi: Macmillan Kenya, 1995 (1997)

the intermediaries is central in African religious life; they do not block the way between man and God, but rather they form bridges, Man's contact with God through acts of worship may, therefore, be direct or via the intermediaries. It is not the means but the end that matters most.⁴¹⁶

In Christian context, the fundamental doctrine of reconciliation (*upatanisho*) plays to the Tanzanian cultural heritage of mediators. Christians are reconciled to God and to one another through the death of the son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ.⁴¹⁷ It is important therefore to note the difference here - that while there may be continuity with the concept of reconciliation in ATR there is a distinct and marked discontinuity. The means and the end are *both* important in Christian theology. The unique place of Christ as the 'one mediator between God and man' is central to Christian faith.⁴¹⁸ Many priests have come and gone, but Christ alone is the eternal priest after the order of Melchizedek who is unique and irreplaceable according to the writer of the letter to the Hebrews.

Despite such clear indicators within biblical Christianity it must be conceded that the theology currently emerging in pentecostal-charismatic Christianity in Tanzania is marked by other mediators and power-brokers. Particularly in urban settings the role of big personalities of solid robust reputation (*sifa*) is a major consideration when appointing church elders, the Pastor, or announcing the preacher.⁴¹⁹ The division between laity and clergy is accentuated and encouraged by churches in the honouring and address of the

⁴¹⁶ Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 71.

⁴¹⁷ e.g. Romans 5.10; 2 Corinthians 5.18, 19; Colossians 1.20.

⁴¹⁸ 1 Timothy 2.5, 6.

⁴¹⁹ This is also true in rural communities albeit the cultural distance between the laity and clergy may be less pronounced. It would be fair to say that the kudos of being the pastor in rural setting in Tanzania would be equivalent to the social prowess of the vicar or minister in Victorian Britain - they are held in high esteem and thereby duly honoured in the society.

power-brokers. Elders and pastors usually dress differently, are often spoken of as apostles, prophets or bishops, are exalted by exclusive seating arrangements, are well looked after in temporal needs like food and drink, are generally mollycoddled and reified as though they were themselves gods - even now some are accompanied by 'bodyguards' and an entourage to add an air of presidentiality to their ministry! Ultimately, they are seen to be the powerful providers of suitably effective prayer and intercession for the needs of the laity and as such will be supplicated by their congregants for all manner of requests. As intermediaries, they especially are expected to call upon God to answer prayer, to perform the impossible, to raise the dead, to heal the sick, to generally bless the people of God, to pronounce judgement on the wicked, to cast out demons, to prophesy against governments and so forth. Often the perceived power of the mediator is directly related to material wealth so that those with helicopters and private planes dominate the Christian headlines nationally and internationally - many now model themselves on the tele-evangelists of the West. Their words are what the faithful want to hear; their pronouncements speak life or death, for they are presumed to have the ear of the Spirit or even of God himself.

6.6. The Power of the Spoken Word

"Listen," says old Africa. "Everything speaks. Everything is speech. Everything around us imparts a mysterious enriching state of being. Learn to listen to silence and you will discover that it is music."⁴²⁰ It is not uncommon in ATR for God to be affirmed as the

⁴²⁰ Amadou Hampate Ba, Helene Heckmann, Africa: The Power of Speech. *UNESCO Courier*, Sep 93, Vol. 46, Issue 9. p. 20-24.

source of all speech - the fundamental force emanating from the Supreme Being - a creatorial word - beginning in thoughts, becoming sounds, which finally reach full expression in words and causes all things to be. Words in Africa hold incredible power and force, authority and respect.

Words are still weighty in everyday language and cultural exchanges - the greetings of the day establish friendship and community. Harsh words institute fear, enmity and discord. Words can be construed as the manifestation of forces of good or ill in one's life depending on the form of words delivered, the person delivering them and the intonation of speech used. Words last. Words are not easily forgotten. Words that bless and words that curse hang long in the air and can be recollected with ease and accuracy. Words are spoken but words are also heard - speaking and listening are key to the outcomes and effectiveness of the words delivered into a variety of contexts. "Speech may create peace, as it may destroy it. It is like fire. One ill-advised word may start a war just as one blazing twig may touch off a great conflagration. According to a Malian adage: "What puts a thing into condition [that is, arranges it, disposes it favorably]? Speech. What damages a thing? Speech. What keeps a thing as it is? Speech." (sic)"⁴²¹

Ella Mitchell demonstrates the fundamental importance of words in upholding and sustaining traditions in West African communities as an historic background to Black Church Faith Communities in the USA. Her observation on ATR as a word-based power is illustrated in the rehearsed control stories recounted by the diviners in order to advise and counsel their patrons:

⁴²¹ Amadou Hampate Ba, *Africa: The Power of Speech*, p. 20.

“Perhaps the most awesome of all memory exercises is the body of materials an IFE diviner has to learn. In order to guide his counseling and healing of clients, he must know the 16 odus which go with the 16 squares on a divining board, or 256 odus. A minimum of 4 stories goes with each of these odus, for a starting repertoire of 1024, but experienced diviners know 16 for each or some 4,096 tales.” (sic)⁴²²

With such a corpus of stories to recall, it is likely a ‘special’ word can be found for all clientele. The persuasive powers of these pronouncements are seen in the fascinating story related by Adam Ashforth concerning *Madumo*, who follows the orders of his diviner to the letter and despite repeated violent sickness and extreme weight-loss, continues to religiously swallow down the ghastly medicine in order that he can finally appease his relatives among the living-dead.⁴²³

And the witchdoctors also use the power of the spoken word to great effect in the control and manipulation of spiritual power and so apply its manifestations in the outworking of daily life events. The common cry of many who live in fear of such ‘words’ is ‘*nimelogwa!*’ (I have been bewitched!) Conceptually, this means that words have been spoken against the complainant by some other person(s) either with or without the aid of a witchdoctor. Words spoken in curse are taken very seriously, to the extent that even a verbal threat of killing someone - ‘I’m going to kill you’ - would be taken very seriously, even by the police, and not considered as meagre posturing or verbalising of anger.

Such a backdrop offers great prospects to understanding the receipt of the Christian gospel, being as it is, rooted in the Eternal Word (the *Logos*), communicated in the written words of Scripture (the Bible), and conveyed by the apostles and the subsequent faithful

⁴²² Ella P. Mitchell, Oral Tradition: Legacy of Faith for the Black Church, *Religious Education* Vol 81 No1 Winter 1986, p. 93-112. See also Wolfgang Vondey, The Making of a Black Liturgy: Pentecostal Worship and Spirituality from African Slave Narratives to American Cityscapes, *Black Theology: An International Journal* 10.2 (2012) p. 147-168.

⁴²³ Adam Ashforth, *Madumo: A Man Bewitched* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.128.

witnesses⁴²⁴ in words of proclamation (the *kerygma*). The gospel message is readily received into such an orally-oriented culture where the faith-filled are ready to “listen” and discover the authority and power of these words, as originating from God himself. This is not dependant solely on verbal communication. Tanner highlights that the word used to translate ‘word’ in Swahili is conceived of, not so much as a written word - the Word of God (*Neno la Mungu*) but as a spoken word. *Neno* relates more to speech than to written forms of communication.⁴²⁵ The spoken word bears the greatest power - greater power than the words written on a page. This understanding of the *Neno* in Swahili not only adds to its spoken power but allows for the written word to speak in contemporary ways into contemporary society. The words themselves - as words of the living God who speaks - have power, and that power is received when the words are heard, listened to, and given their place in the life of the believer. P. J. Gräbe has suggested that it is this very matter that the Pentecostals have discovered in applying the Gospel with dynamic relevance to the African context today.⁴²⁶

The power of the spoken word is given much credence today in Christian preaching and proclamation. The sermon from the pulpit evokes a response from the listeners and is not received in a passive silence. Cries of ‘amen’, ‘hallelujah’, ‘thank-you Jesus’ intersperse the monologue to give evidence that the word is not only spoken but listened to and heard. Interjections give evidence that the word is finding its place in the lives and hearts

⁴²⁴ 2 Timothy 2.2

⁴²⁵ R.E.S Tanner, *Word and Spirit in African Religious Practice and Thought: Some issues raised by translation into Swahili*, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. IX, 2, p.123-135. “Neno in Swahili means the spoken rather than written word. An East African person reading the translation will not see much difference between his own conception of ‘word’ with its verbal rather than the newer written connotation, and the ‘Word of God’ in English, which latter has a very specific and separate religious meaning.” p. 131-132.

⁴²⁶ P. J. Gräbe, *The Pentecostal Discovery of the New Testament Theme of God's Power and Its Relevance to the African Context*, *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* Vol. 24, No 2, Fall 2002, p. 225-242.

of the faithful and responsive. Not only the pulpit preacher, but the pastoral counsel of the man or woman of God who speaks comfort or rebuke, correction or instruction into the lives of their flock can expect that the listener will submit to their word - often affirmed in prayer with the laying on of hands the belief that the word spoken will be efficacious by the power of the Spirit. This is most obviously seen in the ministries of exorcism and spiritual warfare. The battle for establishing authority and power over the demons, the evil spirits, the Devil himself is pronounced with loud shouts, repetitious phrases, commands in the mighty name of Jesus (of Nazareth) (*katika jina la Yesu (wa Nazareti)*), son of the living God (*mwana wa Mungu aliye hai*) until the words prevail upon the spirits and they depart.

Often there is yet need beyond the authoritative words spoken and received for the recipients to make their own affirmation of their beliefs by speaking the truths of God, the promises of God, the facts of new realities with their own mouths. This may take the form of confessions of sin, affirmation of truth imparted by the gospel minister, or even statements of faith that lay claim to realities yet to be realised.⁴²⁷ Tongue-speaking often takes on a kind of reassuring role for some believers. Some informants feel that their salvation must still be assured if they are able to speak in tongues in church on Sunday, since it appears to be evidence of the Spirit of God yet present in their lives - the spoken word brings certainty of God's power to save and to keep regardless of the absence of other indicators of sanctification and purity.

⁴²⁷ This has become especially common in some circles where 'word of faith' expressions assure believers that by affirming 'health', 'wealth' or 'prosperity' one will actualise these kinds of blessings in one's life.

The spoken word then has great power in Tanzanian culture. The vocabulary spoken is easily aligned with biblical narratives resulting in an immediacy of transfer from the Bible world to today's world. The historical distance may seem more of a barrier but the power-brokers and mediators can ensure that it is a short journey so that biblical power and miraculous interventions are brought to bear upon the lives of the listeners quickly. This is achieved because words matter in African society and in African Christianity, in particular. Nevertheless, sometimes the words are given added significance by the manipulation of other means which further fortify the verbal message.

6.7. The Power, Paraphernalia and Social Positioning of the Priests

Of course, ATR boasts paraphernalia used by its diviners and priests to give added weight to their verbal pronouncements; the accoutrements used by the witchdoctor are well known and often follow similar patterns - witchcraft is after all a transferable 'calling' passed from generation to generation - ostrich feathers, shells, bones and sticks, animal skins, beads and elephant hair, to name but a few.⁴²⁸ The connection between the physical and tangible has for the African soul an incredible power and those who wield it as we have seen are well placed to use this apparatus. Dress codes for the witchdoctor and the diviner have traditionally set them apart although in modern times these are sometimes less important especially in urban contexts.

Other paraphernalia act as talismans for the person seeking protection from spoken curses or spells, or from spirits or demons of the darkness. Potions, lotions, charms,

⁴²⁸ For explicit details of witchcraft and sorcery activity see for example, Ashforth, *Madumo: A Man Bewitched* or Patricia Harding, *A Woman of Africa* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1995).

trinkets, masks, carvings, and the like offer protection. These can be worn on the person or hung in the home, buried in the yard or rubbed on the body. Often potions are consumed - sometimes in the presence of the spirits - but they invariably result in dehydration, mild poisoning, or illness that may cause dreams, hallucinations and possibly psychosis.

Christian rituals also have their accoutrements which are sometimes tangible, but are mostly obvious and well-recognised. The elements of Holy Communion or the water of Baptism for example convey powerful messages for any Christian. But the way these and other methods are used in the contexts of pentecostal-charismatic Christianity is noteworthy - their apparatus may not dare to take on tangible space-time realities like bones, bells and beads but they nevertheless wield great power when used in the spiritual realm by their ministers. We will think about the place of the blood, songs, words, commands, authority, Jesus' name, fear (offering rescue from 'trouble'), voice, and other Spirit manifestations (tongues), which offer evidence of encounter, due manipulation of the forces seen by the eye of faith and the successful provision of the needs of the faithful in their daily lives.

Announced from the bumper sticker of a *Toyota Hiace* mini-bus (*matatu*) is the divine protection of the blood of Jesus (*damu ya Yesu*). Cleansing by the blood, protection by the blood, the covering of the blood are concepts that re-assure the packed passengers, despite all signs to the contrary that they endanger their lives by boarding this treacherous vehicle, they will reach their destination safely. But it is not just about the blood of Jesus providing assurance of an earthly destination: present journey and final heavenly destinations are also dependent upon the blood. 'If it wasn't for the blood of Jesus, where

would I be?’⁴²⁹ affirms the impact of conversion and new life; ‘I have nothing to hope in except the blood of the Lord’ is a well-known and often sung hymn that closes with the words ‘Your blood and sacrifice I rely on always; if everything here below ends, the Saviour will be enough.’⁴³⁰ But blood conveys much greater power than the mere reassurance of the saints. Blood becomes a vital instrument in exorcisms and healing ministry. Practitioners loudly pronounce the power of the blood: ‘the blood of Jesus cleanses (or purges) you: be cleansed!’ (*damu ya Yesu inakutakasa: takasika!*) which infers that sickness is evil and must be purged from the patient. In attendance at an exorcism the exorcists sing repeatedly and loudly songs about the blood of Jesus in order to provoke the evil spirits, a favourite being, ‘O, the blood of Jesus, O the blood of Jesus, O the blood of Jesus it washes completely.’⁴³¹ The person possessed by the evil spirits is then provoked to great ire and restlessness, allowing the exorcists to do their work in bringing release and freedom by the power of the blood and the name of Jesus.

Music is the soul of Africa. It gives deepest expression to the needs of the individual and the community in ways that other media cannot. The emotions that accompany music and song certainly bring swaying, movement, hand-clapping and dancing in joyful celebrations but they can also move the participants to tears and physical weakness and collapse as they give themselves completely in worship to their God. In charismatic and pentecostal settings in particular these ‘extremes’ of singing can be witnessed. Tanzanian

⁴²⁹ A popular Swahili chorus: ‘*Kama siyo damu yake Yesu, kama siyo damu yake Yesu, kama siyo damu yake Yesu, mimi ningekuwa wapi?*’

⁴³⁰ This very popular hymn is a translation from English of ‘My Hope is built on nothing less’, but the Swahili version is translated back to English here to show the added emphasis and meaning being construed by the words. ‘*Cha kutumaini sina, ila damu yake Bwana*’ and ‘*Damu yako na sadaka nategemea daima; yote chini yakiisha, Mwokozi atanitoshia.*’ See *Tenzi za Rohoni*, No. 15.

⁴³¹ ‘*Damu ya Yesu, damu ya Yesu, damu ya Yesu, husafisha kabisa.*’ In English, the original last line runs, ‘it washes white as snow’...

song leaders encourage their congregants to engage - they exhort them with shouts, instructions, and with musical chants call them to respond. The lyrics of music written in the African sphere are often repetitive and rhythmic, almost hypnotic. Songs are not sung twice as a good evangelical church in UK might do, but numerous times, repeating endlessly the same lines, occasionally changing a word or phrase, but returning to the refrain so all can join in.⁴³² Physical actions accompany both exuberant and contemplative songs and bolster meaning making it personal and public at one and the same time. In exuberant praise the hot and humid conditions leave singers sweating and exhausted; in slow repetitive incantations, the spirit and the spirit world become palpable as deep calls to deep from the souls of men and women given to worship. Western Christians, for all their trying, seldom go this far.

But all such paraphernalia are not the sole remit of the participant or even the community. The pastor, the song-leader, the elder, the choir, the soloist, the chair-person/leader, variously speak, direct, instruct and perhaps even manipulate the paraphernalia until the congregants are brought 'into the presence of God' (*katika uwepo wa Mungu*). In these addresses, the name of Jesus is oft repeated: Jesus, Jesus, Jesus! (Yesu, Yesu, Yesu!), expressions of 'hallelujah!', 'thank-you Jesus' (*'asante Yesu!*'), and the call to 'let yourself go' (*jiachilie katika uwepo wa Bwana*) in the presence of the Lord is not uncommon. The orchestrations of the leaders are usually well-crafted and oratorical skills of power, pause, punch and progress are practised to great effect. Leaders speak to

⁴³² Hymnbooks are scarce. KLB have their own hymnbook 'Nyimbo za Wakristo' (Christians' Hymns) which dictates often to their song choice although recently more choruses from an African origin have become popular as the old mission hymns (usually translated from English or German) fade. Among the 'revivalists' a popular little yellow hymn book called 'Tenzi za Rohoni' (Spiritual Songs) continues to be influential, but its content is almost entirely older hymns from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century British church scene.

the fears and anxieties of the believers, remind them of the power of the evil one who brings chaos to their lives, the tragedy or terror of their personal circumstances, the poverty and plight of the great majority. Such insight and authority, spoken in the presence of God comes to the listeners as prophetic words of knowledge. The power of the leader is underlined by his refined dress-code which sets him above his peers. He holds the office - 'pastor' (*Mchungaji*), 'evangelist' (*Mwinjilisiti*), 'bishop' (*Askofu*), 'apostle' (*Mtume*) or even just 'servant of the Lord' (*Mtumishi wa Bwana*) - and the formulae that will allow him to speak to God on behalf of the faithful and plead their cause. These formulae include the important prayer punctuated by 'in the name of Jesus'⁴³³ which when pronounced by the leader is often muttered again under the breath for a barely audible affirmation of faith from the believer.

6.8. Still Learning - the Complexity of Theological Expression

As we bring this brief review of some contemporary Christian practice to a close the reader has been directed to several areas where power plays, previously a feature within ATR, seem to share likenesses and significant overlap with expressions of Christian faith in Tanzanian pentecostal and charismatic contexts. Yet the matter that lies behind the external forms remains to be the internal function and heart-responses of the congregants in their spiritual encounters. Form and function are not disconnected: while some external forms may helpfully give expression to internal function and expression there are also dangers of potential misconstrual or misunderstanding of the function

⁴³³ Prayer formulae in Western settings would regularly end with 'in the name of Jesus, Amen' or similar. In pentecostal and charismatic expressions of prayer in Tanzania, this phrase is used almost as magic in every context where 'power' or 'answers' are needed urgently - it can often of itself be repeated several times in a row.

through an inappropriate use of a form closely associated with other meanings. External observation while informative and instructive leaves other questions unanswered. The complexity of unpicking such theological expression is obvious. In this study, we have tried to alleviate such dangers by probing below the surface observations by direct engagement with the people of Tanzanian *Kanisa la Biblia* (Bible Churches). Through the survey using Q Methodology we explored their subjective opinions on a range of issues related to Christian faith and practice and sought to uncover and better understand the heart of the matter. The external observations and the expressions previously given in Q to the matters of the heart help to align and affirm our conclusions reached in this chapter.

One question that remains for us to more adequately assess is whether *Christian theology* is shaping the life *practice* of these Tanzanian believers or whether *life experience* is shaping their *theology*. Walter J. Hollenweger's methodology in examining Pentecostalism was to favour the latter approach suggesting that this is the very reason that Pentecostalism adapts so well in intercultural contexts. The challenge that he lays down in his own intercultural theology is that 'the search for "Truth" cannot be short-circuited by a ruling group, be it from the Western academy, church and culture, any other, by imposing a norm to which others are expected to conform and by which they are judged.'⁴³⁴ However, his conviction that 'Theology is a process, not a definitive result', while initially an attractive proposition, takes us to the realm of an open theology that may involve only theological dialogue with partners who are many and widely varied in faith and conviction. Hollenweger is comfortable in such a setting since he sees the Spirit

⁴³⁴ Lynne Price, *Theology Out of Place: A Theological Biography of Walter J. Hollenweger* (Sheffield Academic Press: London, 2002) p. 90.

in 'all flesh', which he takes to mean even in the World.⁴³⁵ This approach proffers equal partners coming to a round-table where even the historic creeds and the Bible sit alongside other faiths and non-Christian cultural contexts in order to reach pneumatological/theological conclusions. Perhaps this methodology is 'essential to a dialogical, non-colonial approach' but the weight given to 'outsiders' must surely be considered with care.⁴³⁶ While we ought not to be intimidated in our confidence in the biblical revelation as a necessary signpost and guide - even a limitation upon our theologising - we should remain ready to learn from others as we bring their understanding of the Spirit's revelation to Scripture for careful evaluation.

We will do well then to learn from Hollenweger who drew attention to our tendency as Western Christians to have an exclusively Christological pneumatology. Drawing attention to the *Ruach Yahweh* of the Old Testament as he did may well be a helpful way to approach the interpretation and significance of form and function among Tanzanian people today. He helpfully calls us to give 'due attention to creation as well as to revelation and salvation' as we seek to understand and express what is happening, what is to be learned and what is to be spurned in an intercultural approach to pneumatology.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Price, *Out of Place*, p. 141. Quoting Hollenweger in translation she writes, 'The spirit is not only at work in the Church, but also in the World.'

⁴³⁶ Hollenweger recognised the value of 'Others' in determining his pneumatology - this was out of the conviction that 'Creator Spiritus' has been poured out on 'all flesh'. He tends not to make any distinction between 'the breath of life' and 'the Spirit of life'. Rather, as Price puts it, '...he points out that in the early Hebrew writings the Spirit is the giver of life, of all life, not just religious life. All life is sustained by the breath of God, the *ruach Yahweh*, which is feminine in Hebrew. Not only good, righteous and religious life, but the whole of life is sustained by her. This Spirit of God is associated with the *force vitale*, as for example, in leadership qualities, ecstatic experience, or extraordinary strength; it does not operate only in God's chosen people.' (*Out of Place*, p. 130.)

⁴³⁷ Price, *Out of Place*, p. 132.

With these cautions in mind, we will now offer ideas in the penultimate chapter as we try to explain biblically, culturally, and sociologically, the phenomena we have observed so far. We hope to offer an explanation as to how the *theology* and the *practice* of the Charismatic Brethren of northern Tanzania may come together as they respond to what they believe to be God's intentions: that they might be his people called to live for him in abundant life; a life of blessing and wholeness (*uzima*).

7. CHARISMATIC BRETHREN WITH A HEART FOR SHALOM

God removes people's fear and restores them to their divine image of holiness and justice. More than that, God comes to people "in tender mercy" to shine as the rising sun on those in darkness and guide their feet into the way of peace.⁴³⁸

As we contemplate the elements of the study thus far we will now endeavour to reach some overarching conclusions. In doing so, we will endeavour to offer a model that may help us make sense of the form and function of Charismatic Brethren faith. We will seek to highlight some of the signposts and pointers that direct these Christians in knowing and experiencing God in their daily lives. We will suggest they are pursuing 'the way of peace'.

7.1 Summarising Key Lessons

In summary, we would suggest that there are several standout messages emerging from the study.

7.1.1. Heartbeat and Desire – a Shared DNA

Brethren and Pentecostal movements in Tanzania, and the expressions of church arising from them, demonstrate a common core motivation that drove their shared agenda. Both movements saw themselves as responsible for taking the word of the Lord by the power and call of the Spirit in the last days to the ends of the earth in order that the true church of the early apostolic age might be established in the present generation. This desire was born out of a biblical conviction that required literal obedience to the command of Christ to 'Go' to the nations, acting in faith and dependent upon the Spirit's leading. It was fulfilled in the most part not by reason but by faith, not by the ways of the

⁴³⁸ Pieter G.R. de Villiers (2016) Peace in Luke and Acts. A Perspective on Biblical Spirituality, *Acta Patristica et Byzantina*, 19:1, p.118.

world but by the leading of the Spirit. It is hardly surprising that the children of these movements today share much resemblance.

7.1.2. Pentecostal and Evangelical – an Emerging Paradigm

Labels in Christian dialogue and discussion can be dangerous and slippery. Nowadays both the terms pentecostal and evangelical serve to envelope huge swathes of Christian faith. Not all pentecostals look alike, think alike, believe alike, practice alike. As to the evangelical descriptor, it has often been noted that the word has lost much of its original meaning. Many bemoan the liberalism or ecumenism that have crept under the evangelical umbrella while others call for a return to essential core doctrines or confessions alone. Indeed, as a movement it has been said evangelicalism is ‘moving in several directions’ simultaneously.⁴³⁹ Nevertheless, these terms can still be useful in describing the nature of much of Christian faith in the global south and beyond. As Pentecostalism continues to grow and flourish as a movement, the definition of Pentecostal Evangelical may be heard more regularly. It could be described as the outcome of pentecostal influences on the evangelical movements of the past, like Methodism, Brethrenism, etc. In fact, in more recent times the pentecostal evangelical scholar Amos Yong has taken to describing himself and others as “Pent-evangelicals”.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ Bauder, *et al.*, *Four Views on the Spectrum of Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2011). Four evangelical scholars set out their definitions of ‘evangelicalism’ and then self-identify individually as ‘fundamentalist’, ‘confessional’, ‘generic’ and ‘post-conservative’, although they also identify progressive, pre-progressive and post-progressive as descriptors used by others. See also, David Wells, *No Place for Truth: or, Whatever Happened to Evangelical Theology?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993).

⁴⁴⁰ Amos Yong, *The Future of Evangelical Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014)

7.1.3. Mission and Method – a Mutual Respect

The world today has been shaped by the weighty missional influence of the Christian message and the two movements under consideration in this study have played significant roles in spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Brethren's commitment to mission enterprise was motivated and driven by their pre-millennial eschatology that taught an imminent and secret rapture of the church – all true believers. Their contribution to modern mission movements worldwide was out of all proportion to their size as a sending denomination and has resulted in Brethren work being established in 185+ countries in the world at the latest count.⁴⁴¹ Pentecostalism shared these eschatological convictions including the need for rescue from an evil and corrupt world – their contribution to world mission has been truly phenomenal, especially in the Global South. While the Brethren historically saw the Pentecostals as the new kid on the block in the early twentieth century, resulting in considerable scepticism of one another, tension and occasional animosity, the two movements in Tanzania, at least, appear to share a mutual respect to a large degree in the early twenty-first century. This is certainly true among indigenous believers.

7.1.4. Church and Practice – a Common Framework

The phenomenological outworking of the ecclesiology of the two movements under scrutiny in this study of Tanzanian Christianity demonstrates afresh the shared heritage that is theirs. The language of the 'assembly' is common to many pentecostal fellowships

⁴⁴¹ Brethren Historians and Archivists Network (BAHN) www.brethrenhistory.org suggests 200 countries. Echoes Mission Magazine article, *Seizing the Moment, Shaping the Future* (Vol. CXLVI No. 2073, September 2017), p.389, points to 6200 mission workers from UK alone who have served in 135 countries worldwide.

(often using the English word) and to Brethren churches (often using Swahili language, *mkusanyiko*). The mutual insistence on the autonomy and independence of the local church which is also a feature of many pentecostal churches remains enshrined in their ecclesiology as a common historical framework even when institutional shape may be required by government agencies for Church registration purposes. Strong convictions towards anti-institutionalism, the plurality of eldership and a separatist ideology shape them – they are after all, as Hirsch would remind us, Jesus-movements, Spirit-movements in their essence.⁴⁴²

7.1.5. Culture and Religion – a Similar Stance

We have learned that, the Charismatic Brethren and the Pentecostal Evangelicals, as ‘evangelicals’, share a decidedly less favourable stance towards African Traditional Religions. Rather, both movements are committed to what they see as a biblical worldview; while not denying the reality of the spirit world that pervades the Tanzanian culture they are unwilling to accept or incorporate it in its nascent forms into their religious horizons. The stance of Pentecostals and their Brethren cousins is one set over-against the spiritual forces of darkness that they identify arising in ATR. It is a response of power encounter, of overcoming the evil spirits and in so doing they work from a biblical theology of victorious living rooted in the cross-work of Christ – the power is in the blood.

⁴⁴² Alan Hirsch, *The Forgotten Ways: Reactivating Apostolic Movements* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2006 (2016)), p. 319.

7.1.6. Continuities and Discontinuities – Divided Opinions

Nevertheless, while there is much that is common to these two movements in Tanzanian Christianity, we have seen that there are significant points of difference – there are gaps that make them yet distinctive movements. Brethren conceptions of wholeness, healing, authority (agency), hope, etc., remain significantly more spiritualised than the materialised conceptions that have arisen in pentecostal pragmatism. The tensions arising in the Tanzanian Christian’s experience between faith vs reason are such that both poles of that debate might as well categorise the leanings of Pentecostal and Brethren inclinations respectively. But the divided opinions of the two movements may in fact be the very place where emergent dynamics cause them to shape one another resulting in new growth. The common ground holds them together but in a tension which is significant in important areas. The resulting fusion of the movements in the heat of theological and practical tensions holds promise for the generation of new solutions, new expressions and perhaps even the beginning of a new movement at the confluence of these two great molten rivers of church history.

7.2. Towards a Solution: Pointing Desires and Affections

Tanzania is a nation experiencing phenomenal growth not simply in Pentecostalism but in population. By 2050, not only will Dar-es-salaam be one of the top twenty megacities of the world, but Tanzania will be among the top twenty most populous nations of the world.⁴⁴³ Estimates of 88 million by 2050 are probably low and the country could reach

⁴⁴³ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: OUP, 2007), p. 99.

100 million on some projections.⁴⁴⁴ Of that number as many as 60 million could be Christian. The proportion of Africans living in urban areas will grow from around 40 to 66 percent by 2050.⁴⁴⁵ These facts propel our study forward with an appetite to better understand this growing nation's place within the church family of Jesus Christ.

As we wrestle with finding a solution to the 'African Christian Problem' (see Kailing earlier) – to see clearly what African Christianity will increasingly look like going forward – we recognise afresh the dilemma faced by many in the Tanzanian scene. Mainline orthodoxy fails to deliver too often for the African. Similarly, certain expressions of Brethren orthodoxy are weak and ill-adjusted to the cultural context. Heterodox solutions are often recognized by African Christians to be led by mavericks who extort, mislead or confuse the masses. Yet the Bible and its message have taken firm root in the soil of Africa. African Christians are still finding their own ways of expressing Christian faith in their own lands. As Andrew F. Walls so helpfully states:

For African Christianity is undoubtedly African religion, as developed by Africans and shaped by the concerns and agendas of Africa; it is no pale copy of an institution existing somewhere else. On the other hand, the sorts of development occurring in African Christianity may be important beyond Africa; for instance, as indicating how Christianity itself has been reshaped during the present century.⁴⁴⁶

7.2.1 Desiring the Kingdom

Walls offers us a vital signpost: 'shaped by the concerns and agendas of Africa'. Kailing believed he saw a solution emerging in west African contexts which he called 'pentecostal

⁴⁴⁴ Jenkins offers projections of 88million for 2050 based on a 2025 population of 60 million. His figures however need revision since the 2016 population is most likely nearer 56 million. Assuming his projected growth rates from 2025 to 2050, the figure ought to be revised to 68 million for 2025 and 99 million for 2050.

⁴⁴⁵ Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, p. 108.

⁴⁴⁶ A.F. Walls, African Christianity in the history of religions, *Studies in World Christianity*, 2 No. 2, 1996, p.183-203. p.186.

evangelicalism'. This genus of Christian expression is also evident in many of the churches arising from the Pentecostal and Brethren movements in Tanzania (and indeed across East Africa) and we have seen something of their profile in the earlier chapters of this study. Philip Jenkins, assessing the growth of Christianity in the Global South, quotes one observer who suggests that the rising new churches of Africa, '...present a God that you can use. Most Presbyterians have a God that's so great, so big, that they cannot even talk with him openly, because he is far away. The pentecostal groups have the kind of God that will solve my problems today and tomorrow. People today are looking for solutions, not for eternity.' And again, 'Southern religion is not otherworldly in the sense of escapist, since faith is expected to lead to real and observable results in this world.'⁴⁴⁷

While this critique of African Christianity resonates with the pragmatism that we have identified in this study among *some Kanisa la Biblia* believers (the *pragmatic experimentalists*), when applied as a general evaluation to the continent as a whole, it seems in danger of being reductionistic at best, and prejudicial at worst. To suggest that Tanzanian Christians are not interested in eternity is quite simply wrong. We would concede that some might give expression to a form of pragmatism as Jenkins suggests but the spirituality and Christian vitality that has been discovered among others, especially among the churches we have studied, is much more holistic and well-balanced. It is this manifestation of Christian theology that appears to hold promise for the sustained growth and development of what we are calling 'pentecostal evangelicalism' today; in truth, this form of African Christianity may be important beyond Africa herself.

⁴⁴⁷ Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, p. 91.

James K.A. Smith in *Desiring the Kingdom* insightfully sets out a liturgical anthropology which, he opines, ‘has implications for the social sciences, particularly social-scientific accounts of religion and religious phenomena.’⁴⁴⁸ He asserts that all human beings pursue ‘the good life’ and this target (whatever it may be for any individual) then points or directs the heart. He is at pains – and helpfully so – to separate the rationale from the instinctive response of the heart (which he sometimes refers to as the imagination). Quoting Pascal he says, ‘The heart has reasons of which reason knows nothing.’ Essentially, he is intent on turning on its head the classic Western understanding that reason governs the identity (‘I think, therefore I am.’) and purports that instead what we love (truly desire) governs the lifestyle and beliefs of an individual (‘I am, what I love’). Our heart rules our head more often than our head ruling our heart. He says, ‘The point is to emphasize that the way we inhabit the world is not primarily as thinkers, or even as believers, but as more affective, embodied creatures who make our way in the world more by feeling our way around it.’⁴⁴⁹ He has construed the human being as a desiring animal above all else.

This idea sits well with biblical Christianity and may serve to help us understand what we have been observing of ‘pentecostal evangelicalism’ in Tanzania. Avoiding the lenses that may cause us to disdainfully slander the African Christian for her expressions of faith as merely pragmatic or earth-bound, we have another perspective that may offer insight to her worldview and the resultant embodied religious practice. ‘One of the core tasks of cultural discernment will be to “read” the particular configuration of the kingdom that is

⁴⁴⁸ James K.A. Smith, *Imagining the Kingdom: How Worship Works* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2013), p. xix.

⁴⁴⁹ James K.A. Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom: Worship, Worldview and Cultural Formation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2009), p. 47.

assumed by different cultural institutions and narratives.⁴⁵⁰ Smith's conceptual framework resonates well with the first and greatest commandment, to love the Lord your God with all your soul, heart, mind and strength. It echoes again in the chamber of the second commandment, which is like it, to love your neighbour as yourself. Of course, it is also reminiscent of Jesus' teaching that where the heart is there your treasure will be also (Luke 12.34). In other words, what Smith is pointing us to is to try first and foremost to understand the heart of human beings so that we may understand their beliefs and behaviours.

7.2.2 Aligning the Affections

This triad of analysis – beliefs, practices and affections - also recalls the work of Steven J. Land in his *Pentecostal Spirituality*. Land is insistent that this is the nature of Christian spirituality for the pentecostal believer although he doesn't prioritise one aspect over the other: 'God who is Spirit creates in humanity a spirituality that is at once cognitive, affective, and behavioural, thus driving towards a unified epistemology, metaphysics, and ethics.' In other words, he relates these aspects of spirituality in '...a way analogous to the interrelations of Holy Trinity.'⁴⁵¹ Like Smith's work it does offer a rounded and holistic view of the Christian life that emphasizes salvation as participation in the divine life more than just the removal of guilt. Embodying and longing for kingdom life are the very ideas that Smith and Land appear to espouse. Land's delineation of the 'pentecostal affections' and the way they come to shape and empower this kingdom life is helpful:

⁴⁵⁰ Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom*, p. 55.

⁴⁵¹ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 31

Pentecostal Affections ⁴⁵²			
	Cognitive	Affective	Behavioural
	Gratitude (thanks, praise)	Compassion (love, compassion)	Courage (confidence, hope)
Sources in God's:	Righteousness	Love	Power
Testified to as:	'Saved' - Regenerated	Sanctified	Baptized in Spirit
Opposed by:	World	Flesh	Devil
Which are overcome by:	Faith (1 Jn 5.4)	Crucifixion (Gal 5.24, Rom 8:13)	Resistance (Jas 4.7)
So, walk:	In Light	In Love	In Power of Spirit
Evoked and expressed in:	Worship	Prayer	Witness
Christ as:	Saviour	Sanctifier	Spirit Baptizer

Table 7.1 Steven J. Land's 'Pentecostal Spirituality'

Considering these holistic descriptions of Christian life both sociologically and theologically, we begin to recognise that we might now better understand the expressions of this pentecostal evangelicalism as the holistic rule and reign of Christ in Tanzanian believers. To do so most effectively, however, we must find not only "roots and shoots", but we must discern the very life-force that courses through the vines and that produces the fruit subsequently manifested. We must try to perceive the spirituality of a people who seem to desire Kingdom living now and for ever. We must seek to understand where people's hearts are; it is here that Smith and Land have directed us.

7.3. Understanding the Whole Person

David J. Hesselgrave in his widely acclaimed introduction to missionary communication entitled *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally* has shown that there is a broad conglomeration of factors worthy of consideration as we endeavour to understand and

⁴⁵² Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 135. With slight amendment inserting cognitive, affective and behavioural.

communicate with a people from a different culture to our own. He is of the conviction that ways of perceiving the world (worldviews) are structured around, among other things, ways of thinking and ways of acting and interacting.⁴⁵³ This is true of all cultures.

As we endeavour to grapple with the Tanzanian culture – recognising that we are ‘outsiders’ – we must seek that understanding not only in assessing the heartbeat of the Tanzanian people as Smith and Land suggest but we must also examine their thought processes, their actions and the interactions among one another and with outsiders like ourselves. Neither should we be neglectful of our own lenses.

This difficult endeavour has been undertaken by others, not least of whom is Walter Hollenweger. His search for understanding the peoples of Africa and their resonating engagement with Pentecostalism resulted in him focusing upon traditional religious and cultural factors to offer an answer. His particular emphasis lay on features like the oral transmission of story, narrative theology, and other community characteristics like shared oral witness, further testimonies about dreams, interpretation of life events, the significance of religious dance and celebration, as well as the power of prayer in connecting with the divine. Hollenweger noted that these features were not exclusively for a priesthood or a clergy, they were not confined to the few but for the many. They

⁴⁵³ Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ*, p. 192-212. He also cites, ways of expressing ideas, ways of channelling the message and ways of deciding. Stephen B. Bevans offers a range of models for contextualising faith and suggests they might be understood on a spectrum driven by “Culture & Social Change” and “Gospel Message & Tradition”. Doug Priest criticises the tendency to dichotomize on the extremes of this spectrum, stressing ‘It is not contradictory to hold a high value of both Gospel and culture, not is it wrong to take one’s theological agenda from various sources: society at large; the current world scene...; the Biblical data; or the guidance of the Spirit.’ (sic) in Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1992), p. 111.

were embraced and practiced by the *whole* congregation, *wholeheartedly* and in *all* the circumstances of their lives.⁴⁵⁴

At the risk of over-simplification or reductionism, perhaps it is in this feature of oneness, of wholeness and of holism, that we can find a handle which might allow us to see more clearly the heart and mind of the Tanzanian Christian with whom we have been conversing in this study - a handle that might explain their actions and interactions.⁴⁵⁵

7.3.1. The Goal of Living: Uzima (Wholeness)

Clifton R. Clark makes well the point that the culture and traditions of Africa – like our own cultures and traditions – are not stagnant as though one might stop all influences from re-modelling present expressions of life and living.⁴⁵⁶ We are in many ways trying to hit a moving target. Yet, undoubtedly, although the influences coming to bear appear to have their effect rather slowly, it might be argued that in an age of globalization and cultural relativity the openness to change and alternate worldviews is growing like never before.

Nevertheless, it appears to remain a persistent feature of Tanzanian living and culture over many decades that people are singularly pursuing wholeness as the ultimate goal in life – what Smith might be calling ‘the good life’. Implicit in this expression of *uzima* (wholeness) as we saw earlier in our study is the fundamental pursuit – one common to

⁴⁵⁴ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972 (2012)) p.269-271.

⁴⁵⁵ C. Fred Smith, *Developing a Biblical Worldview* (Nashville, TN: Baker Academic, 2015), also promotes a very simple framework for recognising ‘worldview’. He deals with four questions: Who are we? Where are we? What is wrong? What is the answer? These are not unlike the three ideas we will now propose in Goal, Means and Outlook.

⁴⁵⁶ Clifton R. Clarke (Ed.), *Pentecostal Theology in Africa* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), p.72.

all humankind – the pursuit of happiness or contentment. *Uzima* for the Swahili-speaking peoples gives expression to a desire for fullness of life that eliminates all that might tarnish, weaken, spoil, or destroy. It is a focus on health, wellbeing and life itself. We have seen earlier in the study that *uzima* is what is held out in the promise of the Christian gospel – the concept of the gift of eternal life, classically expressed in a Scripture like John 3.16, is given voice in the words ‘*uzima* that never ends’, or ‘*uzima* forever’ (*uzima wa milele*). However, two observations are important here: firstly, the language of the communities in Tanzanian Christianity would never be content with restricting *uzima* to a particular spiritual paradise set somewhere in the future (*zamani zinazokuja* – the ages yet to come). The future as Mbiti reminded us is fundamentally a foreign concept.⁴⁵⁷ But the prospect of *uzima* provides a hope continuously sought after and although proving elusive for many, may be tasted, if all too briefly, by the few. Secondly, *uzima* is a concept of realised well-being in the here and now. As we have seen health, well-being and life as dictionary definitions of *uzima* struggle to give expression to this idealised picture of human flourishing. A person reaching physical maturity in Tanzanian culture has peaked and is known as reaching adulthood – *utu uzima*. The individual adult is known as *mtu mzima*. But the related words here do not merely depict physical growth and maturity. When asked how one is doing it is not uncommon to hear the respondent say, ‘*mzima*’ (whole, healthy). Clearly, they are now not meaning that they are an adult. Rather they are conveying something of the satisfaction of life – things are good, matters are under control, life is blessed, stress levels are down, health is stable, the family are well. It may

⁴⁵⁷ Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 15-28.

also suggest – certainly, for the Christian believer and probably implicitly for others in Tanzanian culture also – spiritual peace and security. It is a bold and affirmative response to an enquiry concerning the general well-being of an individual.

Lisa Sharon Harper in her book titled *The Very Good Gospel* takes us back with careful exegesis and exposition to the first three chapters of Genesis (under the supervision of biblical scholar Walter J. Brueggemann) and to a re-discovery of the notion of *shalom*. Harper writes out of a personal history of family roots bedded in African-American experience with all its injustice and pain, inequality and prejudice. Her desire to find answers to a ‘thin’ gospel that she finds as characteristic of the West and North suggests to her the need to rediscover a ‘thick’ gospel in Christianity that truly deals with the whole of life – the global crises facing the world today.⁴⁵⁸ She insists that *shalom* sums up that gospel. Harper explains that *shalom* addresses these crises in ways that no other message can: she takes time to demonstrate *shalom* as it impinges upon gender issues, ecology, family breakdown, race relations, and even international relations. As she goes on to apply her ‘thick’ gospel to the personal aspects of human life and living she calls upon her deep-rooted African heritage to discover that *shalom* is her answer to the problems facing the human race.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁸ Lisa Sharon Harper, *The Very Good Gospel* (New York: Waterbrook, 2016). Harper herself acknowledges Miroslav Volf as the one who introduced her to ‘thin’ and ‘thick’ faith in his own critique of the Western Christian message (p. 10). Brueggemann in the foreword, however, notes the concept’s ‘important pedigree’ by citing Gilbert Ryle as using it first in explaining his personal discontent with ‘simple scientific explanatory positivism’ (p. xiii). He also goes on to cite Clifford Geertz and George Lindbeck as others who employed the concept in cultural anthropology and theological method respectively.

⁴⁵⁹ Harper’s thesis is built around the notion that the crises of the world are a result of sin – ‘to miss the mark of perfection’. She sees sin’s origins in Genesis as falling short of God’s perfection – that which he declared ‘very good’ (בְּרָאִתָּהּ, *tov me’od*). And further elicits *shalom* from the declaration saying, ‘...*tov me’od* gives us a sense of what God considers emphatically good (perfect): relational wholeness and wellness.’ p. 47.

In hearing Harper's thesis, there are clear echoes of *uzima* which come to mind as she drives the final chapter of the book towards *shalom* and its relation to '...Life...and Death...and Life'. For Harper, the *shalom/uzima* idea is very much for the present time – it is for the here and now – it is 'the good life' that we all seek. It is not merely passive but an active peace that addresses the concerns of the everyday trials and tribulations of human existence. The Christian gospel is no gospel as far as she is concerned if it is not the 'very good' *shalom* of God's original intent. That *shalom* holds out what was once ours for the taking; it offers human flourishing to all people, in all of life and in the most holistic of ways so that even that dreaded bookend of life, death itself, is dealt with, as the Swahili also believe, in the promise of *uzima wa milele* (everlasting wholeness).

Dwelling with Harper a little longer allows us to see the way in which her explanations of *shalom* dovetail so well with what we have understood of the African way of life being pursued in *uzima*. *Uzima* is concerned with perfect balance and peace in one's life, one's relationships, one's family, one's ancestors, one's gods, one's God. Indeed, *uzima* is the epitome of realised holism that impinges upon the whole human race. Harper concurs. '*Shalom says we are all connected. Every relationship created by God is strung together in a web of intimate relationships. To affect one is to affect all.*' (Italics mine)⁴⁶⁰ She quotes Perry B. Yoder, a theologian, who explains *shalom* is 'both a state of being and the state of relationships' (Italics mine).⁴⁶¹ But the relationships of life in Africa do not stop with the animate creation or with the Creator alone. Indeed, the African sense of *uzima* extends to include one's health and general well-being as well as even the inanimate: one's wealth,

⁴⁶⁰ Harper, *Very Good Gospel*, p. 73.

⁴⁶¹ Harper, *Very Good Gospel*, p. 49.

one's income, one's possessions, one's employment, one's land, one's nation. Again, Harper concurs. She shows the connectedness of *shalom* with creation, with agriculture, with the land. She reminds us that Western agendas have forgotten much of what *uzima* looks like and calls us to look again for a lesson to be learned.

The Western march toward so-called civilization is what introduced colonization, monocropping, deforestation, and inequitable protection of people even as it exploited the land. The developed world must humble itself and turn toward the ones Jesus would call "the least of these"—women, indigenous people, and small family farmers. From these people, we can glean the wisdom God has given them through the land.⁴⁶²

Yet there is something of a paradox here. 'The least of these', characterised as weak and small – in Harper's view, indigenous female subsistence farmers – are portrayed seeking, and perhaps at times living, *uzima*. As she suggests, their worldview has a received wisdom worthy of sharing with their global neighbours. And they may also serve to remind the populous and powerful West of their need to humble themselves and to learn about the nature of the most important things in life as shown in the pursuit of *shalom* in the global South and East. Taking up that challenge would have significant ramifications for the North and West calling them to recalibrate present Western worldviews. But at one and the same time even the weak are looking for power. Power to do better, power to improve their lot, power to ensure the dream of *uzima* is realised. While it may be clear that we all pursue the good life and we may even be able to explain what it ought to be like, the means to achieve such an end infers a need for power.

⁴⁶² Harper, *Very Good Gospel*, p. 115.

7.3.2. The Means of Tanzanian Living: Nguvu (Power) (Overcoming fear)

It is worth noting that daily living in Swahili language is seldom described as *uzima* – rather it is *maisha*. *Maisha* describes the earthly experience of living from day to day. *Maisha* is the noun related to the verb for daily living – *kuishi* – to live, to be alive. This significant distinction means that recognition is given to the ideal of *uzima* separately from the reality of daily experience in *maisha*. *Uzima* can never be bad. *Maisha* on the other hand can be good or bad (*maisha mema*, au *maisha mabaya*). *Maisha* usually refers to the here and now; *uzima* is more idealistic and tends to be oriented toward the life to come, especially when that is considered as bliss, heaven, paradise, eternal life.

The point is that for many within Tanzanian society today, *maisha* is bad: it is difficult, troublesome, wearying, burdensome, and at times seemingly impossible. It is granted that someone can live a bad life (*anaishi maisha mabaya*, he is living a bad life) because of poor moral choices, laziness, neglect, carelessness, etc. But for most, the ‘bad life’ of daily experience is not so readily within the control of the individual. We have seen in this study the place of fatalism, luck (good or bad), of belief in powers of a spiritual nature beyond the individual which invade and control day to day life (*maisha*). And it is here that we see the search for a better *maisha* being worked out in Tanzanian society. How can one live well? How can a life of struggle and hardship be turned around to be ‘the good life’? Can I reach a place where I might have a foretaste of *uzima* – wholeness? To do so, one needs power (*nguvu*). One needs a powerful neighbour, a powerful relative, a powerful witchdoctor. One needs a power that will enhance one’s condition with ability (*uwezo*). The answer to these questions and longings is often sought in the powers of the spiritual

realm, especially when other means fail. Spiritual power is much more effective if one can but harness it.

Being in a state of helplessness or trouble, whether self-inflicted or because it lies in the lap of the gods, creates a situation of fear for many. Consequently, uncertainty marks daily living and contributes to anxiety, stress, frustration, resentment, sometimes anger and a pervading hopelessness. Such fearful living is unsustainable in the long term; it is exhausting, and remedies are sought among the powers that be. Even if one cannot attain *uzima*, at least we might strive for *maisha mema*. Empowerment becomes the means to overcome fear, dispel threats and to attain *maisha mema* (the good life) as a foretaste of *uzima*.

In essence, then, many Tanzanians are looking for power to overcome the dis-ease of life.⁴⁶³ Philip Jenkins says, 'The practice of healing is one of the strongest themes unifying the newer Southern churches...'⁴⁶⁴ In quoting Andrew Walls, he helps us see that the pervasive forces arrayed against the individual and the community in the struggle for the good life are nothing less than an attack – warfare – against the success and blessing that might otherwise be had. Some power is needed to overcome this fearful situation.

Healing is being addressed to the person, as the center of a complex of influences. It is addressed to the person as target of outside attack, as sufferer from unwanted legacies, as carrier of the sense of failure and unfulfilled duty. It is the long established African understanding of the nature and purpose of healing that is at

⁴⁶³ This could be said of many countries in the African continent, but is particularly true of Tanzania, which often ranks among the poorest of the countries in the world. E.g., see Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, J. *World Happiness Report 2017*, New York: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017. Tanzania ranked the third most unhappy country out of 155 surveyed countries behind Burundi and Central African Republic which scored worse. Key factors used in measuring happiness/satisfaction include economic factors (such as income and employment), social factors (such as education and family life), and health (mental and physical).

⁴⁶⁴ Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, p. 145.

work. What distinguishes its Christian phase is that the central Christian symbol of Christ is identified as the source of healing.⁴⁶⁵

7.3.3. The 'Outlook' in Tanzanian Living: Pragmatism (Does it Deliver?)

The troubling conditions of daily life mean Tanzanian culture is markedly pragmatic. If the primary objective is to overcome 'the bad life' and to seek 'the good life', then intervention is required and it must be effective. The question as to whether the proposed remedy works or not, is fundamental.

Mbiti's delineation of life in Africa as time divided into the past (*zamani*) and the present (*sasa*) has been rehearsed in the discussion previously. The small framework which he reserved for the future as perceived and acknowledged by African peoples has been robustly critiqued by Kato but even he had finally to concede that the present and the past are 'stronger than the future concept'. While he goes on to insist that 'this does not mean that African peoples do not think of the distant future' the reality seems to be that they think less of the ultimate future in the daily routines of their *maisha*. For sure, there is thought of the afterlife – the traditional understanding of the future often focused on the living dead, etc – but the final dwelling place with God himself seems such a distant reality, which has only been clarified and expanded in more recent Christian thought. The eschatological hope of the Christian faith while comforting and uplifting is nevertheless markedly absent as a solution to present day trials and trouble. The tendency for many is to seek a practical solution now rather than to lift one's eyes to a better future. Kunhiyop, even when addressing the subject of eschatology in his *African Theology*, betrays this

⁴⁶⁵ Andrew F. Walls, *Christianity in Africa in the 1990s* (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1996), quoted by Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, p. 145.

emphasis on the present world when he says, 'Death and the afterlife loom large in the African worldview. At death, one moves into the presence of the ancestors, *and so while living here on earth* one is taught how to prepare to meet them. There is no clear, systematic teaching regarding judgement after death, but *it is generally understood that a good life will result in being joined with the ancestors after death...*'⁴⁶⁶ (emphasis mine).⁴⁶⁷ It would be difficult to separate Kunhiyop's moral 'good life' here from the attendant blessings associated with it but what is more important for our argument here is that the focus is on the present as preparation for what is yet to come. *Maisha* is a place for preparing for future *uzima*. A bad life now may be the consequences of curse, poor moral choices, sin, judgement, disaffection of the ancestors, or any number of other 'attacks'. This sets the priority for the rectification of such problems firmly in the pragmatic outlook of finding a workable and effective solution.

Before we turn to consider how this description of the whole African helps us see the attraction of the pentecostal religion it will be worth noting briefly its resonance with a solidly African concept and identity. In this study, we have been observing and learning from Bantu peoples. The Bantu language base contributes to the Swahili language of Tanzania and unites great swathes of peoples across central, eastern and southern Africa. The *bantu* are 'the people' and *ubuntu* is the philosophy by which they live. It is quite set apart from Platonic ideas and abstract forms of thought that shape the lives of *Wazungu* (white people, esp. Europeans). It is a high moral ideal of humanity at its best, described

⁴⁶⁶ Samuel Waje Kunhiyop, *African Theology* (Nairobi, Kenya: WordAlive Pub., 2012), p. 213.

⁴⁶⁷ Mbiti would describe 'one moves into the presence of the ancestors' as moving back into a known past rather than forward into a hazy future. In fact, he speaks of *Zamani* in glowing, almost heavenly terms when he states: "The 'golden age' lies in the *Zamani*, and not in the otherwise very short or non-existent future." Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 24.

in lists of virtuous traits and behaviours, but rooted in ‘a system of thought which *guides the way of being and living*, in an ontological sense of the word’ (emphasis added). It is ‘philosophy by African people in their own terms’.⁴⁶⁸

Mtishiselwa further describes *Ubuntu* as communalism as opposed to individualism, liberation rather than oppression, moral standing confronting evil and sins, a concern for one’s neighbour, and a desire for wholeness and humaneness. He finds these same concepts being given voice in Isaiah 58 (esp. 6-14) and describes them as ‘themes of comfort and healing’ that are presented as part of ‘moral regeneration [which] forms part of holistic restoration.’

This approach to a chapter from Trito-Isaiah is fascinating for our study because it acts as another sign-post towards the centrality of *shalom* as an important theological node in African pentecostal hermeneutics around which many of the points of our discussion revolve. Isaiah’s message of hope for the present in-breaking kingdom of God (Isaiah 61.1ff cf. Luke 4.18ff) and for the eschatological future of God’s people (Isaiah 65.17ff cf. Revelation 21.1ff) is a message focused on peace, on comfort, on human flourishing, on unique identity, on justice served, and on rest (Isaiah 66.12).⁴⁶⁹ It is a message that extols concepts found in *Ubuntu* that can also be seen as parallel with a biblical *shalom*. It is a message that resonates as ancient truth: built upon fifteenth century BC Torah, confirmed by eighth century BC prophets, announced by a first century AD Rabbi – *Yeshua*

⁴⁶⁸ Mtishiselwa, Bhele Ndikhokele. ‘An African Philosophical Analysis of Isaiah 58: A Hermeneutic Enthused by “Ubuntu”’. *Scriptura* 116, No. 1 (2017): 1–12.

⁴⁶⁹ Space does not allow a development of these ideas but we take note of some of the factors here that may help develop a framework of *shalom* in future research.

Minetzeret, and applied in the earliest first century AD communities of primitive biblical Christianity.⁴⁷⁰ In as much as Pentecostalism models these truths they will strike a chord in the lives of African peoples at least.

7.4. Understanding the Pull of Pentecostalism: Signposting Christianity Going Forward

Having laid out the landscape of what we understand to be key features of a Tanzanian worldview we have come to recognise that Pentecostalism offers significant and well-founded scriptural answers to the problems faced by many in Africa. For this reason, many Tanzanian Christians are attracted to it.

Julie and Wonsuk Ma have set out what these answers look like when pentecostal theology is proclaimed in the Majority World. In their book titled, *Mission in the Spirit*, these Korean missionary scholars suggest that four big characteristics dominate the pentecostal/charismatic movement in its missional outlook; Graham Hill brings them to our attention as empowerment, creation, eschatology and practices. These themes engage exactly with the discussion above and need to be identified here again as we enter a discussion on the alignment of the Tanzanian worldview and the Pente-evangelical worldview.⁴⁷¹

Ma and Ma identify four notable features:

a. Empowerment as Foundational

⁴⁷⁰ We are referring here to a simplified biblical theology of *shalom*: Deuteronomy 6.4-5; Isaiah 56-66; Luke 4.18ff and Acts 2.37-42; 4.32-37.

⁴⁷¹ Julie C. Ma and Wonsuk Ma, *Mission in the Spirit: Towards a Pentecostal/Charismatic Missiology* (Oxford, UK: Regnum Books International, 2010) Chapter 2, p.17-27. See also Graham Hill, *Global Church* (Downers Grover, IL: IVP, 2016).

“For Pentecostal theology, the most influential theological ground is its theology of empowerment, often anchored on the unique experience called baptism in the Holy Spirit.” Such an affirmation reinforces the view that power is an attractive ‘commodity’ offered by the Pentecostal community which is widely sought after and free to all who will receive. The readiness of individuals, who often find themselves in great extremity, to give themselves wholeheartedly over to the Spirit and to experience a baptism of empowerment results not only in emboldened witness or testimony concerning the experience, but also evidential change in their circumstances and outlook. Healing comes. Deliverance, restoration and power are theirs for every new circumstance.

b. Creation Restored

Building on a biblical theology of creation, the focus of blessing for the community of humankind is shown to be at the heart of God’s great purposes in the world. Albeit a fallen world, the *missio dei* is about the ‘restoration of God’s creation’. This holistic solution to the world of brokenness is at the centre of the pentecostal mission – it not only affirms the ‘very good’ but stands against the ‘very bad’. It upholds and affirms moral and ethical values while standing against injustice, poverty, exploitation and oppression, etc. It does so in dealing with the individual in new creation because as Harper said, ‘Humanity’s broken relationship with God is the ultimate cause of all other brokenness.’⁴⁷²

c. Eschatology Almost Realised

The explanation of the eschatological vision points towards a more realised eschatology than many reformed theologians might be comfortable with. The work of the

⁴⁷² Harper, *The Very Good Gospel*, p. 61.

Spirit of God in the world offers ‘an attempt to bring a foretaste of kingdom life through proclamation, serving and miracles... Pentecostals have an understanding that the advent of the Spirit in the modern times is the sign of the beginning of the end of the end of time, *vis a vis* the first outpouring of the Spirit at the beginning of the end. Consequently, their mission engagement should be the expression of their eschatological conviction.’⁴⁷³ Here we see that necessity in pentecostal eschatology for a pragmatic outworking of the kingdom in the here and now.

d. Practices as Applied in Context

Missionary zeal – often at high personal cost – drives the practical agenda which is bathed in prayer. Power encounters are expected when gospel proclamation happens. Spiritual warfare and deliverance ministries are normative. Personal renewal and community transformation are preached and predicated on the Spirit’s presence in individual lives and church life. As a result, churches grow with enthusiasm, spontaneity and ready participation because these practices reach and touch every niche and crevice of Tanzanian society as a whole and minister to the breadth of felt needs.

When considered in the framework of the present study we can see that characteristics of pentecostal evangelicalism present in Asia are present also in East Africa. Tanzania’s cultural and social context is thoroughly prepared and ready for this pentecostal ‘Mission in Spirit’ to maximise its effectiveness. Yet as Ma and Ma suggest there are still blind spots for the “pent-evangelicals” to be aware of as they take the mission forward. Let’s consider further the alignments we are uncovering:

⁴⁷³ Hill, *Global Church*, p. 133.

7.4.1. The Goal of Pentecostal Mission Matches the Goal of Tanzanian Living

In favour of the pent-evangelical message, its direct application to the lives of the listener in Tanzania should be noted. In truth, the answer to the question about the effectiveness of the pent-evangelical message in delivering *shalom* (or pragmatic solutions that come near to it) is a resoundingly positive one. This is not only the answer being sought by many in the Tanzanian community but it is also at the heart of pentecostal proclamation. One might say it is a match made in heaven; others might be more sceptical.

Ma and Ma helpfully discuss the nature of the pentecostal mission by indulging us in an examination of the message proclaimed. They take note of the fact that, as we have seen in our own study, 'God is experienced in Pentecostal worship in rather tangible ways.' Quoting McGavran, they assert that: 'Pentecostals...believe that our God stands at our very elbows, knocking at the door of our hearts, speaking in our intuition and dreams.' The imminence of God in the everyday trials and troubles of life in Tanzania provides the believer of the pentecostal message with a solution to their problem. The transcendent God is present in the moment of need. This is not to suggest the gospel message has changed or is corrupted *necessarily*. The 'common Christian doctrine is believed by all denominations but Pentecostals appear to believe it more than most.'⁴⁷⁴

The hopelessness of many in Tanzanian society, often bound up with matters of poverty (lack of wealth), ignorance (lack of education), disease (lack of healthcare), and oppression (lack of being heard) creates a hunger after 'the good life'. This is not always

⁴⁷⁴ Ma and Ma, *Mission in the Spirit*, p. 153.

to be equated with our Western measures of what might constitute the good life. Rather they long for improvement – in wealth, in education, in healthcare and being heard, etc. And so here, the proclamation of Pentecostalism holds forth the words of life and calls them by the Spirit to believe. Ma and Ma recall the ‘can do’ preaching of Yonggi Cho, but similar messages are heard across the pentecostal movement and in Tanzania; calling the believers to have faith in God’s ability – ‘I can do all things through Christ’ (Phil. 4.13). Hughes describes it as ‘a faith producing sermon’. ‘It is ‘faith of an unusual nature, immediate faith, miracle faith’ produced as the word is proclaimed. In Pentecostal worship, one’s faith is often challenged to believe in something humanly impossible.’⁴⁷⁵

The goal is achieved, therefore, when some manifestation of that which has been received by faith comes to pass. For the Tanzanian Pentecostal that must be evident in daily life, not in the theory of a classroom, or church sermon. But the sermon is often the source for the Spirit to be at work producing and energising faith. Impassioned and strident in nature, authoritative and biblical in content, the sermon becomes difficult to argue with – difficult to disagree with, especially considering the desperate need of one’s present situation. The Spirit takes the word and drives it into the soul. And, as we have seen in our study, singing, dancing, personal testimony, prayer and speaking in tongues all make their contribution to make this experience of communion with God ‘a living reality’ – a window on *shalom*. Any call to respond quickly draws the believer to the altar to secure that which has been stirred in the heart through faith – here they can truly meet with God. ‘Experiencing God can refer to anything from an emotionally charged state, to

⁴⁷⁵ Ray H. Hughes, quoted in Ma and Ma, *Mission in the Spirit*, p. 152.

the baptism in the Spirit, to physical healing’, says Ma and Ma but they also note that these God encounters are dealing with ‘life-related issues’ and that believers respond for help with ‘praying over life’s problems, blessing, business, children, marriage life, etc.’⁴⁷⁶

Perhaps the blind spot in such a message of salvation is that there has been a significant shift in the application of the gospel since the times of the earliest Pentecostal movement. We noted above the way in which the present is dealt with as the priority area for knowing and experiencing one’s salvation. While we may want to celebrate the holistic orb of salvation in these terms when God is proclaimed, heard, seen with our eyes, been looked at and our hands have touched, the peripheral vision may be impaired. Salvation is strongly oriented to the present day. The danger of neglecting or failing to see the value of salvation in the past and that which is yet future is that the so-called holistic nature of salvation which we affirm, is likely to be increasingly limited to this world alone – my world, my needs, my desires. We may domesticate God and have him merely as our Fixer.

This potential blind spot also has implications for the life of holiness which has been a foundational feature in the Pentecostal movement worldwide until now. With such an over realised eschatology, are we not in danger of neglecting the incomplete nature of holiness until the eschaton? Classically, the understanding of Christian sanctification has been expressed in the affirmation that ‘we were sanctified, are being sanctified and will be sanctified’. Salvation and sanctification that is skewed to the present, will result in distortions to our doctrines of sin, the cross, suffering and perseverance, ecology and humanity, etc. Luther’s warning is pertinent here: ‘That person does not deserve to be

⁴⁷⁶ Ma and Ma, *Mission in the Spirit*, p. 153.

called a theologian who looks upon the invisible things of God as if it were clearly perceptible in those things which have actually happened... He deserves to be called a theologian, however, who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross.'⁴⁷⁷

Kanyandago makes an attempt to wrestle with the question of suffering as an African from a Roman Catholic perspective. He makes some inroads by tracing a helpful review of Mark's Gospel and then recalling Jean-Marc Ela's work drawing stronger connections between Jesus' death and his life lived dealing with suffering in a host of ways. 'Jesus's death *cannot be separated either from his life that precedes and illuminates it, or from his resurrection that gives it meaning*' (emphasis mine). We are hopeful as he further asserts, 'Theologically, it is true that Jesus died in order to save us from our sins, but this statement needs to be situated in its proper biblical and historical context which also brings out the human and political drama of Jesus' passion.' But although this offers promise of a more balanced view, the direction of Kanyandago's work tails off into a political and liberation agenda. While this is not entirely unhelpful, he fails to address Mark's 'son of man' motif which three times over in the gospel (Mk. 8.31; 9.31; 10.33) shows that the way of suffering and death leads to resurrection and implied glory. Here is a place to build a theology of the cross and suffering – even in the midst of Kanyandago's valid assertions of combating and seeking victory over suffering as exemplified in Jesus' own ministry. The victory Jesus offers in this life can only ever be temporary but it is evidence of the arrival

⁴⁷⁷ Quoted in Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, 'Theology of the Cross: A Stumbling Block to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality?', in Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (eds.), *The Spirit and Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Russell P. Spittler* (London: T & T Clark, 2004), p. 150-63. Quotes in the paragraph from p. 129 and 131 respectively.

of the kingdom among us, and since it is secured at the cross and resurrection it is therefore guaranteed to overcome, finally, in the new heaven and earth.⁴⁷⁸

7.4.2. The Means of Pentecostal Mission Provides the Means for Tanzanian Living

There is power in the message of the cross (1 Cor. 1.18ff) and that has not completely passed by the attention of the pent-evangelicals. In fact, as we have seen from our study the power of the name and blood of Jesus has been a recurring note. The almost synonymous nature and use of the two terms, the name of Jesus and the blood of Jesus are a means to invoke the power that is believed to be resident in the name (character and person) of Jesus and the blood (life-giving, sin/evil-cleansing).

Kunhiyop believes that this use is very much a carry-over from ancient invocations that called the gods to act or intervene for specifically desired solutions or outcomes; his critique is clear as he writes, 'Before their conversion, many Africans were accustomed to invoking the names of deities and ancestral spirits to resolve particular problems. Once converted, they tend to carry on the practice, simply substituting concepts like "the blood of Jesus" and "the name of Jesus".'⁴⁷⁹ Noting the extensive use of blood in many religions as well as in ATR he explains the perceived power in blood. He goes on to caution his readers, presumably expected to be Christians themselves, by asking rhetorically if this usage is correct even although it is common. He concludes that the NT teaching points to the source of power as Christ himself. He states, 'We have no right to extract the "the

⁴⁷⁸ For a liberation theology approach to contextualising the cross and suffering see, Peter Kanyandago, 'The Cross and Suffering in the Bible and The African Experience' in Hannah W. Kinoti and John M Waliggo (Eds.), *The Bible in African Christianity* (Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Publishers, 1997) p. 123-144.

⁴⁷⁹ Kunhiyop, *African Christian Theology*, p.124.

blood of Christ” in order to use it for our own little battles here on earth.⁴⁸⁰ We might recognise his point as well made in contesting the frivolous application of the blood to cars, *pikipikis* (motorbikes) and coaches, nevertheless, the theology of the western world, and of the earliest Pentecostals also, has often put great store in the blood, and it seems this could be justified as a means to an end even from the biblical data. Sure, it needs to be ‘the precious blood of Christ’ (1 Pet 1.18-19) which firmly tags *him* as the *source* of power, but that *blood* is the *means* by which the saving power is secured for the believer. ‘There is power, power, wonder-working power in the blood of the Lamb’ is a refrain that marked early mission endeavours into Tanzania and still is a well-known and much loved song in Swahili among the churches.⁴⁸¹

Yet, perhaps Kunhiyop is correct in his judgement in seeing a certain blind spot here. The blind spot might be the danger of elevating the external practices and missing the underlying belief systems. Of falling into a mere superstitious use of the phrases cited like a mantra with magical power while at the same time failing to recognise the powerful truth of the cross-work of Christ which the Christian believes lies behind it. Paul Gifford is also sceptical of these power wielding traits in Pentecostalism and reverts to calling it ‘primal Christianity’, which he acknowledges may offend some people’s sensibilities. By primal he means enchanted – embracing a specific worldview – an African worldview. And so, he is determined not to allow us to pass over the question of the popularity of Pentecostalism by referring only to its overt manifestations. He seems concerned about

⁴⁸⁰ Kunhiyop, *African Christian Theology*, p.129.

⁴⁸¹ *Imo nguvu, nguvu, nguvu ya ajabu, damuni, mwa Yesu*. See *Tenzi za Rohoni* (Spiritual Songs).

covert blind spots that may endanger the species or spread like a deadly cancer. He forces us to consider this matter carefully.

Studies that imply that African Pentecostalism is just rousing hymns, congregational participation, personal empowerment, and biblical preaching and make only passing reference to the enchanted imagination underlying most forms of it are entirely inadequate.⁴⁸²

We feel the edge of this critique in the present study where an assessment of what we might call 'mainstream' pentecostal and charismatic evangelicalism has been under scrutiny. We want to affirm what is best and good and proper and helpful – to be humble enough to learn from the Global South.⁴⁸³ But there would be a decided naivety about us if we did not recognise the sometimes-severe aberrations around the edges of the pentecostal/charismatic movement. This is not a phenomenon exclusive to this movement alone – the Brethren have had their own fair share. But Gifford's critique comes in the middle of an essay that has spent time reviewing the Mountain of Fire and Miracles church in Lagos. Gifford is highly sceptical throughout the article even questioning statistics for the church, etc., and so, perhaps his anxieties are heightened. Caution is most definitely required, yet to reach the conclusion that this so-called enchanted worldview is 'the biggest single reason for the success of Pentecostalism in Africa'⁴⁸⁴ is perhaps as overstated as his disregard for the positives of the movement. Don

⁴⁸² Paul Gifford, *Evil, Witchcraft and Deliverance in the African Pentecostal Worldview*, in Clifton R. Clarke, Ed., *Pentecostal Theology in Africa* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), p.112-131.

⁴⁸³ Lamin Sanneh may prefer us to use the notion of 'World Christianity' here owing to his perception around the colonial hegemony suggested by the term global Christianity, originating, as he claims. Extraneously to Africa and Asia. World Christianity is in his view, 'more spontaneous and rooted in the lives of (mainly poor) inhabitants'. See Jenkins, *New Faces of Christianity*, p.x.

⁴⁸⁴ Gifford, *Evil Witchcraft and Deliverance*, in Clifton (Ed.), *Pentecostal Theology in Africa*, p.130.

Carson's conclusions in assessing another 'movement' in recent church history come to mind:

So which shall we choose? Experience or truth? The left wing of an airplane, or the right? Love or integrity? Study or service? Evangelism or discipleship? The front wheels of a car, or the rear? Subjective knowledge or objective knowledge? Faith or obedience? Damn all false dichotomies to hell, for they generate false gods, they perpetuate idols, they twist and distort our souls, they launch the church into violent pendulum swings whose oscillations succeed only in dividing brothers and sisters in Christ.⁴⁸⁵

7.4.3. An Outlook Seeking *Shalom*...Thick and Thin Practices in Religion

Finally, we return to the question of outlook, here we depict it in terms of worldview or cosmology. If Tanzanian Christians are truly pursuing *shalom*, is that enough? How are we to reconcile observations made that suggest there are discrepancies between beliefs and behaviour, between felt needs being met and true religion? Is *shalom* sufficiently well understood as a theologically astute answer on the ground among everyday Tanzanian believers or might their own definitions of *shalom* skew the faith and make it less or other than it ought to be?

We have noted that these matters are not easily resolved. No simple solution emerges. We have suggested that *shalom* may be a way to see where Tanzanian Christians are going, a centre to anchor what they believe and how they practice their faith, a node of reference of theological reflection. But the nagging indictment that their Christianity is mere posturing or a response of convenience; a simple pragmatism or delivery system for the good life looms large on the horizon. There is no question about the challenge many

⁴⁸⁵ D.A. Carson, *Becoming Conversant with the Emerging Church: Understanding a Movement and Its Implications* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2005), p. 234.

Tanzanians face in straddling two worldviews – seemingly opposing accounts of the world they inhabit – one from their past and the biblical worldview of Christianity. ‘Like the proverbial hyena split in two by indecision, [sometimes] they are neither here or there.’⁴⁸⁶

Orobator, commenting from a Roman Catholic point of view says,

While it is convenient for some Africans to profess a nominal adherence to Christianity, in times of socio-economic and cultural distress this superficial profession of Christian faith easily gives way to familiar traditional religious practices, which Christianity claims to have superseded. Jesus Christ seems to disappear from crisis situations in the lives of some African Christians. Desmond Tutu calls the phenomenon “faith schizophrenia.” For Udoh, it is “religious double-mindedness.” But it is Efoe-Julien Penoukou of Benin who has summed up very well the issue at stake here: “A person who claims to believe in Christ, yet has recourse to other spiritual, cosmic, or metacosmic forces, has not yet succeeded in identifying who Jesus Christ is, that he or she may profess him radically.” Why is this so?⁴⁸⁷

A simplistic answer to the question posed may be formed around the pragmatism that we have been discussing – ‘answers are needed and we need them now’ – but Penoukou’s summary points us back to the traditional African enchanted worldview that at one and the same time violently collides with and yet strikingly aligns with worldviews from biblical times. The collision course occurs when any ‘other’ power or authority is set up in contradiction to or in competition with Christ himself. The alignment is evident in the need for a spiritual, cosmic, or meta-cosmic force, not forces, to empower the believer in the trauma, toil and tension of daily life. Some solution is needed to remove this ‘religious double-mindedness’ or ‘schizophrenia’.

David Ngong warns us against a superficial reading of African traditional religious cosmology as we grapple to understand pentecostal responses to the Christian message

⁴⁸⁶ Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, *Theology Brewed in an African Pot* (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2008) p.73. [Sometimes] is provided by me as an adaption of his saying.

⁴⁸⁷ Orobator, *Theology Brewed in an African Pot*, p. 73-74.

proclaimed on the continent. He acknowledges the enchanted nature of the cosmology and its 'central place of human well-being'. The distinction we ought to recognise is that in the traditional context, engagement with the spirit world is 'for the *purpose* of human well-being' (emphasis added). Ngong seems to be suggesting that when human well-being is defined in traditional terms – 'long life and prosperity in this world and ancestorhood in the hereafter' – then it is inadequate in meeting the felt needs of Africans today – 'such as good education and good medical care'.⁴⁸⁸ Now this is an important issue – human well-being cannot be defined by African Christians or by debating theologians simply by a feel-good factor. But surely the point for pent-evangelicals is not whether the felt needs are relevant or up-to-date and contemporary rather than traditional. The question is not 'Does the pneumatology that takes the traditional cosmology at face value adequately address the aspirations of modern Africa or does it treat Africans as having static aspiration?'⁴⁸⁹ Rather, if *shalom* – ultimate human well-being – is to be upheld as a biblical model for helping us understand the philosophical and sociological responses to the pent-evangelical message proclaimed, then human well-being itself must be defined by that same message – the Christian worldview. The question then becomes, 'Does the pneumatology that takes traditional cosmology seriously sufficiently define the nature of human well-being, so that the *shalom* of God being offered is biblically rooted and indigenously adopted?'⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ David Ngong, African Pentecostal Pneumatology, in Clifton R. Clarke, Ed., *Pentecostal Theology in Africa* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014) p. 77-90.

⁴⁸⁹ Ngong, African Pentecostal Pneumatology, p. 83.

⁴⁹⁰ This may be indicative of an area for further study. A full 'biblical theology of *shalom*' worked out and aligned with an in-depth understanding of African cosmology would allow us to explore further the proposal that *shalom* offers a handle to opening up our understanding of the overwhelming response of Africans to the pent-evangelical message.

Arising out of his own Croatian background and the resultant violence in emerging from the old Yugoslavia, Miroslav Volf came to classify violence as arising out of “thin” religion and praised the value of “thick” religion. ‘Thin religion is superficial. Thick religion is deep. Thin religion has little solid content, but exists in slogans, clichés, hot-button issues and formulas used to quickly separate good from evil, friend from enemy. Thick religion is built on deeper reflection and awareness of the scriptures of the tradition, its history and a prophetic voice that questions all expressions of the faith.’⁴⁹¹

Here Volf’s model of thin and thick religion helps us properly identify with the danger that Ngong has highlighted. A superficial reading of the culture and religious responses to the pentecostal message results in a simple substitution of ideas which in the end may fail to produce long-lasting healthy believers as Tutu and Udoh have noted – a simple plug-in solution will not ‘deliver’ ultimately. Fill-in-the-blanks solutions and superficial answers are ‘[t]hin religion [that] lacks deep roots in the Scriptures and Christian traditions. ... Because thin faith lacks roots, it can be swept away, manipulated and even marginalized so that it has no bearing on the private or public lives of the faithful.’⁴⁹²

Thick faith that resonates well with African life-experience and cosmological outlook will, for the pent-evangelical, have its foundations in the Bible. We have seen their eagerness to keep the Bible central to faith. Consequently, *shalom* will be understood with an in-depth study and analysis of its 550 occurrences in the biblical text of Old and New Testaments. Beyond the overt mention of the word the idea is also evident conceptually

⁴⁹¹ Dick Keyes, *The Dangers of Thin Religion* (2006) http://www.christianheritage.org.uk/Articles/43923/Home/_MEDIA/Articles/The_Dangers_of.aspx (accessed 25.8.2017).

⁴⁹² Harper, *The Very Good Gospel*, p. 11.

under and beneath much teaching in both Old and New Testaments.⁴⁹³ Such study will take seriously the nuanced meaning of the word(s) used in Scripture to further elucidate the biblical concept of *shalom*. Contextual hermeneutics will help to bring the concepts from the ancient world of biblical literature to the present world of African life and aspiration. The promise of better alignment of thought and belief, of practice and emotional well-being holds forth a potential for improved holistic understanding of the African Christian today.

7.4.4. Corroboration of Data & Biblical Models Across Continents

Grace Milton, used the biblical concept of *shalom* to try to give expression to the nature of Pentecostal conversion. Her work, based upon an empirical study in Lighthouse Christian Fellowship, Birmingham, UK, explores the responses of her informants through a framework of *shalom*.⁴⁹⁴ Milton's work helpfully directs us to three aspects of conversion which she calls regeneration, identity and destiny, but she admits to the difficulty of locating *shalom* in the broader systematic theologies of soteriology. At times, she aligns *shalom* itself with God's saving action – 'the impartation of *shalom*' – *shalom* is salvation; at other times, *shalom* is the outcome of an act of salvation (the forgiveness of sins), and indeed point to the eschatological hope of the believer.⁴⁹⁵ This difficulty is not without its parallels in the biblical evidence where, in New Testament language, we read that salvation is described as having peace with God, that Christ himself is our peace and

⁴⁹³ Birger Gerhardsson, *The Shema in the New Testament: Deut 6:4-5 in Significant Passages* (Lund: Novapress, 1996), would be a significant starting point in developing a biblical theology of *shalom* with a view to understanding African pentecostal/charismatic Christianity.

⁴⁹⁴ Milton used a pseudonym for the church fellowship under study.

⁴⁹⁵ Grace Milton, 'Understanding Pentecostal Conversion: An Empirical Study'. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013.

also that he gives us his peace.⁴⁹⁶ It appears then that Milton's informants model (in a UK context) what we have been observing in the East African context of this study.

It is also important, if we are to take this suggested framework of *shalom* seriously, that the concept of *shalom* is properly understood in its biblical and theological setting: the Torah of the Old Testament. The *Shema* of Deuteronomy 6.4-5 is foundational to the cult of Israel: 'Hear O Israel, the LORD your God, the LORD is One'. The claim of Yahweh to be the one true God must be heard in its polytheistic context: this is the *One* God who rules and reigns over *every* aspect of life. The polytheism that suggests a god of fertility, a god of war, or gods of individual nations, etc., is a sham. Yahweh is God and God alone. There is no aspect of life over which he is not LORD. But when he *is acknowledged as* LORD then his will is subsequently worked out in the believer's life in *shalom*. Maurice Friedman affirms this perspective when he says, 'The man in the Israelite world who has faith is not distinguished from the 'heathen' by a mere spiritual view of the Godhead, but by the exclusiveness of his relationship to God, and by his reference of all things to him.' *Shalom*, then, sets the people of God apart. It is not to be defined by what we as human beings consider to be good and wholesome – our ideas fall short of the divine intellect; but is it about knowing the peace brought about by the comprehensive submission of all of life to a God who alone rules over that life in 'concrete and practical, as opposed to theoretical and speculative' ways.⁴⁹⁷ In New Testament language this is the rule of God, the kingdom of God.

⁴⁹⁶ Romans 5.1; Ephesians 2.18; John 14.27 respectively.

⁴⁹⁷ These ideas are drawn from Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch, *The Shape of Things to Come: Innovation and Mission for the 21st-Century Church* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), p. 127. Friedman is quoted there.

7.5. *Shalom* as the Renewed Vision of African Pentecostals

Harper insists, '*Shalom* is the stuff of the Kingdom. It's what the Kingdom of God looks like in context. It's what citizenship in the Kingdom of God requires and what the Kingdom promises to those who choose God and God's ways to peace.'⁴⁹⁸

In a religious milieu characterised by poverty and injustice, oppression and exploitation it is unsurprising that the peoples of Africa are searching for a better life. As we have tried to give representation to their world and worldview in this study it remains difficult to offer precise explanation for the popular response to the pent-evangelical message and religious culture that is sweeping the continent but there does seem to be a pattern emerging. The discussion has suggested that at the heart of the Christian message being shared in proclamation and in practice is a portrait of what every human being truly longs for – the good life. Our best suggestion at present – though in need of further exploration outside of this present study – is that a biblical *shalom* offers prosperity and justice, freedom and identity, a promise of well-being that is pragmatically relevant to the present age and to the age to come. Walter Brueggemann writes:

The vision of wholeness, which is the supreme will of the biblical God, is the outgrowth of a covenant of *shalom* (see Ezekiel 34.25), in which persons are bound not only to God but to one another in a caring, sharing, rejoicing community with none to make them afraid.⁴⁹⁹

The holistic message of Pentecostalism is best heard when shown to be biblically faithful; it is best practiced when characterised by the outpouring of the Spirit in

⁴⁹⁸ Harper, *The Very Good Gospel*, p. 13.

⁴⁹⁹ Walter Brueggemann, *Peace* (Understanding Biblical Themes Series) (St Louis, MO: Chalice, 2001) p.15. As quoted in Harper, *The Very Good Gospel*, p. 14.

relationship with God and it is most felt when the loving community joyfully comes together in mutual care and respect. To such a vision Africa is drawn.

7.6. Conclusion

In summing up this important chapter we have been able to offer some significant contributions to the study of pentecostal and charismatic Christianity.

It proposes that Charismatic Brethren in Tanzania are the result of the confluence of the Brethren movement and the Pentecostal movement. This is an important fact to be so established because the Charismatic Brethren of Tanzania are an example of 'pentecostal evangelism' which is being increasingly identified on the African continent as a solution to the pursuit of a genuinely African Christian identity. This new movement arises off the back of two Spirit-led movements or Jesus-movements which in and of themselves have brought great benefit to church growth and flourishing through the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Yet as the strengths and weakness of both these historic movements are acknowledged, strengths can be recognised, weaknesses excised, hope is given birth that the new movement might learn well from their forbears. The new movement of Pentecostal Evangelicals holds promise, not only for a new indigenously grounded African Christian identity, but also as a call sign around which many African Christians will be quick to gather. It offers a worldview that deals with Africa and Africans so that 'thick religion' can be practised 'without fear' and 'in the Spirit's power'. It allows Africa and Africans to live and model *shalom*-living in the here and now, anticipating God's blessing with great hope and expectation for the future eschatological age, but simultaneously it works out their salvation in practical living that allows God to

be all in all as the *Shema* has taught. It is a movement of great promise because it is grounded in the Bible – it allows biblical Christianity to be governed and controlled not primarily by culture, or felt needs, or relief from colonial hegemony, or any other such proposal; rather, it ensures that primacy is given to Word and Spirit to operate together to guide the movement. In this sense, the pentecostal evangelicalism that we have seen in some of the Charismatic Brethren of northern Tanzania bodes well for a fresh move of the Spirit, reminiscent in part of previous ‘movements’ but new and vibrant in the present generation.

The study has also suggested a basic framework for understanding the attraction of pentecostal evangelicalism’s model of Christian expression in African settings. We have set this framework under three heads which address the whole person: the goal of living; the means of accomplishment; and the outlook that serves as a backdrop of meaning. This same model will allow us to evaluate and contrast Brethren outlooks, means and goals in the closing comments of chapter eight.

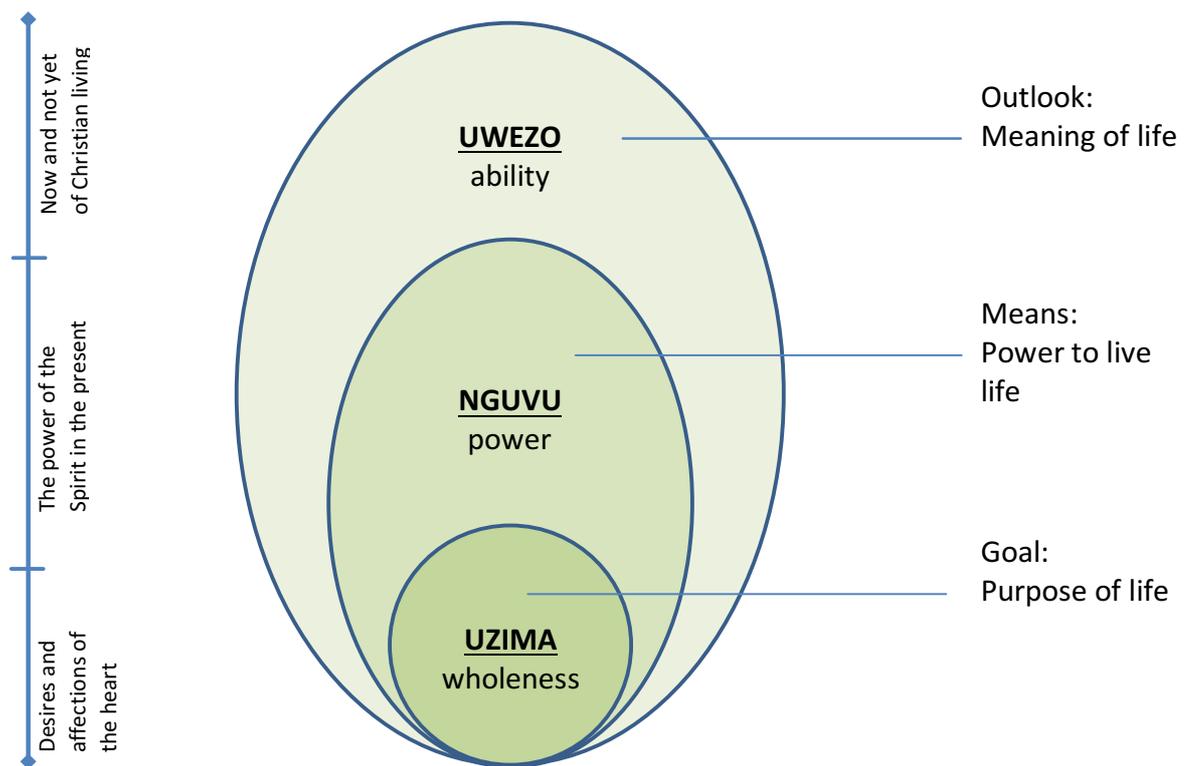


Figure 7.2. Framework used to assess alignment of 'pentecostal evangelicalism' with Tanzanian thinking.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE NEED FOR CHARISMATIC BRETHREN

The spontaneous expansion of the Church reduced to its elements is a very simple thing. It asks for no elaborate organization, no large finances, no great numbers of paid missionaries. In its beginning it may be the work of one man, and that a man neither learned in things of the world, nor rich in the wealth of this world. ... What is necessary is faith. What is needed is the kind of faith which, uniting a man to Christ, sets him on fire.⁵⁰⁰

8.1. Charismatics Movements Still 'Springing Up' in Distant Lands

The spontaneous expansion of the early Brethren movement in the nineteenth century and the corresponding free spirit of the wildly flourishing Pentecostal/Charismatic movements in the twentieth century are two striking examples of 'charismatic' movements which have challenged and shaped the church to be what it is in the present day. These movements are not perfect. They are marred by human failure on many fronts. Yet in their more glorious moments they have each in their own way successfully called the church back to its nascent roots. In so doing, they have often engendered simplicity, faith, and fire – characteristics that have sometimes been overtaken by the very success of the movements themselves, resulting inevitably in more institutionalised, complex and rationally shaped forms of church and a demise of the charismata. Therefore, the need for renewal and restorationist movements remains a constant challenge to the church for its organic growth and flourishing.

We have noted the way the fire of pentecostal and charismatic expressions of Christian faith have burned ever more brightly on the altars of some Brethren churches in Tanzania.

⁵⁰⁰ Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church – and the Causes which hinder it* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2006), p. 156.

The fire of the Brethren movement perhaps grew dim (especially for native Christians in that setting) because the residual emphases which were once important to Brethren identity in western Christianity were less than relevant to its new southern converts. These emphases lay not so much in properly contextualising the new-found zeal and faith for Christ arising in Tanzanian soil; rather, the mission-shaped faith was still bound by the historical correctives the Brethren movement had been known for; a call to see the purification of the established church considered by them to need severe pruning in hope of renewal and reform in western Europe and north America.

As we reflect on the framework used for assessing pentecostal/charismatic Christianity towards the end of the previous chapter we can now suggest a *goal*, a *means* and an *outlook* that might characterise the mission Brethren.⁵⁰¹ This will allow us to see more vividly the plight of the Brethren movement *per se* in its present condition as well as to indicate the present brightness of a new rising movement – a movement we have seen characterised in the Charismatic Brethren and which we have called pentecostal evangelicalism.

If the goal, means and outlook of Charismatic Christian Brethren faith in Tanzania was *uzima* (wholeness/*shalom*), *nguvu* (power) and *uwezo* (pragmatic ability - does it deliver?) respectively, then what might the historic mission Brethren profile have looked like? The *goal* of Brethren living might be said to have focused on the Assembly (purity of church expression). The *means* of Brethren living might be said to be the Word (the New Testament model) and the *outlook* of the historic Brethren enterprise might be

⁵⁰¹ Here I am aware that there is a great danger of merely caricaturing the Brethren but I think the suggestions made would resonate with many who have first-hand experience of the movement.

eschatological consummation of the church in the Rapture (often expressed by the Brethren in the idiom of being pilgrims and sojourners who long for a future outside of, or beyond this world). Set out side by side the contrast between these perspectives is clearer.

	<i>Tanzanian Charismatic Brethren Christianity (indigenous)</i>	<i>Historic British Brethren Christianity (mission)</i>
Goal:	<i>Uzima</i> (wholeness, the ideal of <i>shalom</i>)	<i>The Assembly</i> (the ideal of <i>ekklesia</i>)
Means:	<i>Nguvu</i> (power, conquer fear)	<i>The Word</i> (Bible authority, Scripture)
Outlook:	<i>Uwezo</i> (Pragmatic ability, realised hope) (deliverance now in the present age and for a future age)	<i>The Rapture</i> (Spiritualised, eschatological hope) (deliverance from this present evil world altogether)

Table 8.1 Goal, Means and Outlook of Tanzanian (Charismatic) and (British) Brethren Christianity

This study has shown that British Brethren (mission) Christianity has not fared well in Tanzania in recent decades. Table 7.1 lays out a grid whereby some evaluation of British Brethren mission endeavour might be had; it does not suggest as we will note below that the Charismatic Brethren are the answer or that the Historic British Brethren were a complete disaster. It is offered to allow a comparison of perspectives that may help chasten and better define the work to which God has called many in these Tanzanian churches. There is need for all to hear what the Spirit is saying to the church today and to respond appropriately. It is hoped that this discussion might stimulate further

conversations among those serving in *Kanisa la Biblia* as they respond to the moves of the Spirit springing up in their own country.

Although defined by the pursuit of an ideal expression of NT church, the pursuit of the *Assembly* as a Brethren distinctive has not proved meaningful to Tanzanians failing as it does to be thoroughly rooted in the daily life experience of its members. Too often, British Brethren mission Christianity in Tanzania has been restricted to doing church well without doing life well. There has been an emphasis on Acts 2.42 without concomitant attention being given to Acts 2.43-47. The goal has been too narrowly depicted for the all-inclusive and holistic outlook of the Tanzanian and this has stunted the growth of some KLB churches. The ideal sitting behind the notion of the pure assembly is that of the *ek-klesia* – the called-out people of God. This is a biblical and vital truth for holy Christian living but it is a truth that needs to be balanced by real interaction with the people of the world from among whom the people of God have been called. Old Brethren teachers would recount that they and their people were ‘in the world but not of the world’. The danger for the Brethren was that this truth was misinterpreted such that isolationism and detachment from the world often ensued. In such conditions the relevance to the world of Christian life, witness and service are quickly lost since the focus was increasingly inward looking. Pentecostal churches are not entirely immune from this same danger.

While the emphasis upon the *Word of God* as a means of authority has been an attractive feature even of British Brethren (mission) Christianity in Tanzania, the failure to deal with daily fear, through direct and ‘face to face’ encounter/confrontation, has often left ‘the Word’ weakened by apparent powerlessness in both the temporal and spiritual realm (to use western classifications). In the face of endemic suffering and helplessness

across Tanzanian society the Brethren mission response has not been so much to seek relief or help from the Almighty, let alone to command his immediate healing intervention. Rather their outlook has been to teach and recall that the suffering of this present age 'is but for a little while'⁵⁰² before the purified church is one day snatched up into glory and... 'so shall we be forever with the Lord',⁵⁰³ relieved of sin and suffering. Their strong eschatological hope for the future realisation of God's promises surely tends to fall on deaf ears when other Christians are promising something related to the here and now of daily life.

Therefore, when pentecostal and charismatic Christianity was subsequently proclaimed in and around these KLB 'assemblies' in the later twentieth century, the accompanying theological implication that the goal of Christian faith was intended for *the whole life* of the people of God - both in their churches *and* in their daily lives – was received as a vastly superior ideal. The associated suggestion that the written Word was not only authoritative but was *now* construed as a Word pregnant with applied power undoubtedly heightened the expectations of these Brethren believers. And when that Word was then taken on their own lips and verbalised, in authoritatively bold statements, in blessings and curses, new charismatic power was discovered in being able to command and take control again in all areas of life, by the blood and in the name of Christ. The birth of Charismatic Brethren had arrived. This new pragmatic approach held out the promise of a *shalom*-life to a people seeking peace in so many areas of life. The Brethren mission emphasis on God's intention to deliver his people in the rapture of the Church on some

⁵⁰² 1 Peter 1.6

⁵⁰³ 1 Thessalonians 4.13ff.

day yet future, was undoubtedly once a message of some comfort to a poor, oppressed and suffering people; but *now*, how much more comforting and empowering was this new charismatic truth that God was working his purposes out *now*, the kingdom of God was at hand *in this present age*, and the people of God are *being saved presently* in all manner of practical ways, not just passively waiting for their salvation to appear *then* at the Parousia. The *shalom* of God's peace could be a reality now.

Christian mission enterprise has always been a mixed blessing. Brethren and Pentecostal mission initiatives share this feature of success and failure. So, it would be a serious misrepresentation to suggest that pentecostal ideas only succeeded merely because they address the pragmatic needs of people in a material world. Nor would it be fair to suggest the Brethren were 'so heavenly-minded' they were 'no earthly-good'. Neither should we fall into the trap of idealising either of these movements as though in and of themselves they brought some flawless solution to the African Christian, the Global South or indeed to the world at large. But we may recognise them both as Spirit-movements or Jesus-movements – and although we see positive contributions from both Brethren and Pentecostals, we acknowledge them as movements peopled by imperfect messengers. Thus, we must also recognise that while they often met the real needs and aspirations of those they reached sometimes poor teaching and practice marred their work. Among some leaders the corruption of faith gave rise to personal self-interest. Preachers abused theology in the domestication of God teaching their people that he was at their beck and call for the execution of their own worldly ends and desires. Others restrained (grieved and resisted would be the biblical words) the Spirit by the meaningless preservation of human traditions. Still more arose masquerading as angels of light and

deceiving people in the melodrama of miraculous falsehoods. And other errors could be listed and verified by living example – from both Pentecostal and Brethren stables. Outcomes from these and other errors continue to play out in much belief and practice that frankly do not align well with the historic Christian faith.

Despite the flaws seen and the aberrations mentioned, we must acknowledge that the trend of the present day appears to be that the star of Tanzanian Charismatic Brethren Christianity is rising while British Brethren mission Christianity is on the wane. This new wellspring of spiritual life calls to mind the work of Jürgen Moltmann and the simple opening question of his book 'The Spirit of Life'. He begins in the preface by asking, 'When did you last feel the workings of the Holy Spirit?' and notes this is a question that embarrasses us.⁵⁰⁴ 'Religious experiences, as we all know, are not everyone's line of country.'⁵⁰⁵ Well, unless you live, work and serve God in Tanzania, for there they are everyone's line of country.

One of the great strengths of pentecostal/charismatic Christianity has been their recognition of the proximity of the spiritual world through all human experience. It is here that features of alignment and equivalence are drawn so closely with Tanzanian Christian Brethren Charismatic faith. No longer is the spiritual conceived of simply as an 'antitheses to matter and body', but rather the Old Testament *ruach* of God addresses, in Moltmann's words, 'the livingness of life in the inhaling and exhaling of air' – the very power and breath of life itself is, he says, nothing less than 'God's efficacious presence 'which reaches

⁵⁰⁴ Does one assume he is addressing a western audience...? A German audience...? A mainstream denomination...?

⁵⁰⁵ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1992), p. x.

into the depths of human existence.”⁵⁰⁶ This sits much more comfortably with the African outlook – God in all things; omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent to act for and on one’s behalf. *Mungu yupo*, is a regular catchphrase that punctuates Tanzanian Christian conversations: God is about.⁵⁰⁷

It is our conviction then that here at the confluence of two great church movements, the Brethren and the Pentecostals, we see the outflow of a new stream, perhaps a new spring, a growing upsurge of opinion, perspective and expression that helps the church re-capture the essence of faith, the wholeness of being, the power for living, an ability to see God at work in all things.

8.2. Charismatics Still Necessary in European Deserts

Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch highlight the way in which all organisations pass through a life cycle and suggest a local church may also follow such a pattern. Indeed, church movements, like the Brethren, and no doubt also the Pentecostals, are likely, if not destined to follow such a pattern (Figure 7.2).⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, p. 40-42.

⁵⁰⁷ This phrase may mean, God exists, God is there. God is about (my translation) delivers the dynamic meaning more than the literal meaning.

⁵⁰⁸ Diagram from Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch, *The Shape of Things to Come* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), p. 177.

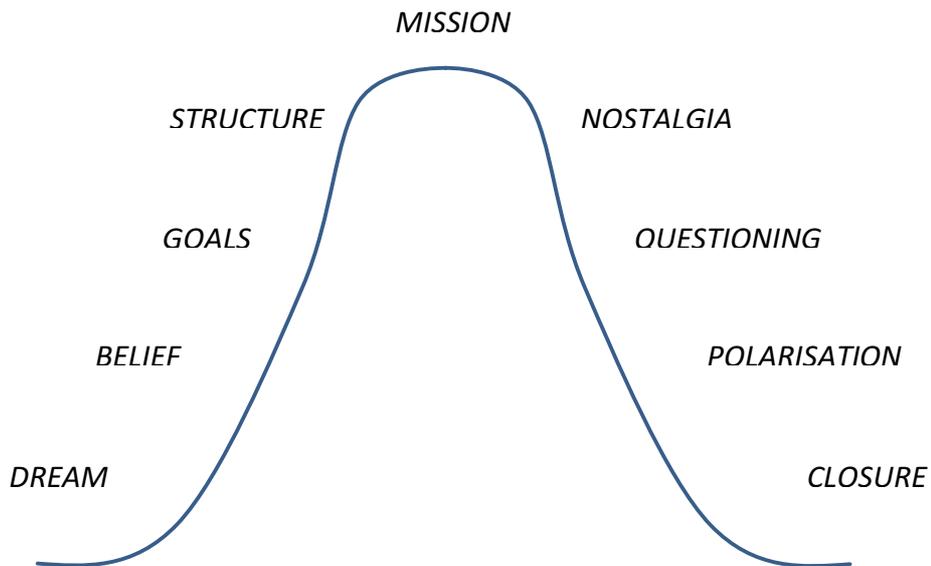


Figure 8.2 The rise and fall pattern of Jesus-movements (Alan Hirsch)

Assuming the model of movement atrophy to be accurate, we can trace the Brethren movement in Scotland and locate it on the graph. The Brethren in Scotland today are probably indicative of the trend facing the wider movement of Brethrenism across Europe at least and perhaps the West generally. It may also be predictive of Brethren mission Christianity in Tanzania.

Peter Brierley's *Growth Amidst Decline* shows the devastating condition of the movement in Scotland with attendance numbers dropping by 30% over 14 years (2002 – 18,200; 2016 – 12,390 and 2025 projected to be 9,800).⁵⁰⁹ Clearly, in Scotland at least, the Brethren movement is on the right-hand side of the graph, passing through 'questioning, polarisation and closure'. Devastatingly, the most common reasons for the decline of the Brethren are death (28%) and the irrelevance of their ministry to adults and

⁵⁰⁹ Peter Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline: What the 2016 Scottish Church Census Reveals* (Tonbridge, Kent: ADBC Publishers, 2017), p. 42.

their children (28%). Only 12% of those who left said they had lost their commitment or interest.⁵¹⁰

By striking contrast, the Pentecostal movement in Scotland remains at the zenith of the graph above with their consistent evangelistic and missional outlook. Their congregations are growing in number and in attendance (although there may be some indication of that slowing). Brierley estimates that in the same period of fourteen years, they have almost doubled their number of congregations (2002 – 94; 2016 – 98 added with possibly 20 closed – so 172 estimated; 202 projected for 2025). Church attendance in Pentecostal churches in Scotland is up from 2002 by 87% at 18,860 in 2016 and projected to be 21,400 by 2025.⁵¹¹

What reasons does Brierley offer for the ‘success’ of the Pentecostal movement in Scotland? Quoting Dione Gravesande, one-time Chair of the (now closed) Afro-Caribbean Evangelical Alliance, he asserts four key factors: the primacy of mission (evangelism); their relational and generous behaviour; their practical as well as theological outlook and their use of the latest communication technologies.⁵¹² Brierley goes on to opine:

The Pentecostal growth is important even though it does not compensate for decline elsewhere. It would seem that their prioritising of evangelism has been the key to their expansion, as well as *the practical teaching given in applying Christian theology to everyday life and circumstance.* (Italics mine.)⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 62. (These reasons for leaving church were taken from English statistics.)

⁵¹¹ Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 50.

⁵¹² Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 45.

⁵¹³ Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 55.

The suggestion seems to be that the features which have so endeared the Charismatic Brethren and the Pentecostal Evangelical traits to much of the populace in Tanzania are the very features that are responsible for church growth patterns in Scotland today. In personal conversations on the streets of Glasgow while exploring the felt needs of people with a view to planting a new church in their area, a similar conviction was expressed – ‘church needs to be practical and life-related’.⁵¹⁴

Brierley also addresses the rise of immigrant churches in the Scottish scene – what he calls, “Overseas National Churches” – by drawing attention to the fact that *their* growth is so significant that a new category has been established just for them. Overseas National Churches, whose origins are largely in West Africa (e.g. the Redeemed Christian Church of God from Nigeria)⁵¹⁵ are bucking all the trends of the smaller denominations.⁵¹⁶ Many of the congregants in these communities share the same ethnic or national heritage but they are clear about their intentions for the location in which they find themselves. The RCCG City of God church in Glasgow has adopted the city motto in its original form as their own mission statement, *viz.*, “Our mission as a church is to establish the kingdom of God in Glasgow through the preaching of the word and the praise of his name.”⁵¹⁷ This bold evangelistic zeal is a significant characteristic of other pentecostal and charismatic

⁵¹⁴ Informal personal interviews in which the author was involved were conducted by a group interested in church planting in Darnley, Glasgow at the Darnley Gala Day, on 2nd September 2017.

⁵¹⁵ <http://www.rccgscotland.org/about-us/our-beliefs/> (accessed 27.09.17), suggests this is a classic Pentecostal denomination. They have four large churches across Glasgow: Beautiful Gate; Fountain of Love; Open Heavens and City of God.

⁵¹⁶ Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 33, states, ‘starting in Britain in 1988... has planted over 700 church in the last 20 years throughout the UK with 64% of our cities and towns having such a church. ... It is strategically led by Pastor Agu Irukwu, who is the minister of the 3,000+ strong congregation at Jesus House of All Nations in Brent in west London.’ On p. 43-44, he lists the origins of Overseas National Churches as being Filipino, Japanese, South Korean, Iranian, Chinese (True Jesus), Syrian, Portuguese, Polish, Norwegian ‘and elsewhere’. The present author also knows of Swahili congregations.

⁵¹⁷ www.cityofgodglasgow.net (accessed 28.09.2017)

churches who also present their message through street evangelism. Brierley highlights the feature saying, 'Street evangelism was the activity undertaken least by all the churches on average, just one-tenth, 10%, of them. However, ...over half, 55% of the Pentecostal churches engaged in this ministry.' This compared to only 26% and 23% in Independent and Smaller Denomination churches respectively.⁵¹⁸ Almost 60% of Pentecostal churches had run an Alpha course at some time, while about one in four of them had run the course in 2015. Overall, only 35% of other churches had run Alpha at some time and one in six in 2015.⁵¹⁹

Once again, it is evident that the strength of evangelical conviction expressed in Tanzanian church practice by Pentecostal Evangelicals or Charismatic Brethren remains a feature in street evangelism and gospel crusades among their counterparts in Scotland today. The 'evangelical' zeal of these churches is blowing in the barren ecclesial landscape of Scottish decline and reversing the trend – *they* are the 'growth amidst decline'.

When it comes to engagement in meeting social needs of the communities of which they are a part, 72% of Scottish Pentecostal churches said they were active, but this is exactly the figure for all churches. Their involvement in Fair Trade, Eco-Congregational groups or Arts related interests barely registers in Brierley's survey. This almost 'zero-interest' trend is matched by the disinterest of the Independents and smaller denominations of the survey. It seems the felt needs of a pragmatic nature seen in Tanzanian society are not so keenly felt in the West. No doubt other systems of care and comfort mean the expectation laid on churches is lessened. The pragmatism we might

⁵¹⁸ Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 157.

⁵¹⁹ Brierley, *Growth Amidst Decline*, p. 158.

have seen in Tanzanian felt needs finds its expression in Scottish pentecostal and charismatic churches in life skills and lessons being conveyed through relevant biblical life applications.

8.3. Charismatics Still Necessary for Spirit Movements Worldwide

A preacher visiting Tanzania from Scotland once shared the story of a book he had read entitled, 'When the Storks Flew South'. The confusion that arose in the ensuing translation dilemma meant that the occasion of its telling went down in apocryphal history in that small Brethren church in Moshi. "Storks are instinctive migrants. Their departure is not triggered off by weather conditions or dietary variations, but by an inner clock. The day comes when it is time to go, it's that simple."⁵²⁰

Our study has traced the movement of the Spirit of God in his migration to the south through the channels of Brethren and Pentecostal missionary movements usually originating in Europe or North America. Of course, storks which fly south from Europe in August usually return when that 'inner clock' tells them so – it's that simple. Stian Eriksen and others⁵²¹ have been studying the theology and religion of migrant Christians from the Global South to northern Europe.⁵²² African theological perspectives feature strongly

⁵²⁰ Matthew McKinnon was the preacher and Derek Bingham, *When the Storks Flew South* (Belfast, NI: Ambassador Productions Ltd, 1995) was the book quoted. This quotation here is from Jean-Christophe Grange (Ian Monk, translator), *The Flight of the Storks* (Kindle Edition) (Vintage, 2012), location 84.

⁵²¹ See e.g., J.K. Olupona The Changing Face of African Christianity: Reverse Mission in Transnational and Global Perspectives, in: Okome M.O., Vaughan O. (Eds) *Transnational Africa and Globalization*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Oseias da Silva, Reverse mission in the Western context, *HOLINESS The Journal of Wesley House Cambridge*, Vol. I (2015) Issue 2 (Holiness & Mission): pp. 231–244; C. Währisch-Oblau, (2000), From Reverse Mission to Common Mission... We Hope, *International Review of Mission*, 89: 467–483; Israel Olofinjana (Ed.), *African Voices: Towards African British Theologies* (Carlisle, UK: Langham Global Library, 2017).

⁵²² Stian Eriksen, The Epistemology of Imagination and Religious Experience, *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology*, 2015, 69:1, 45-73. The similarities with the Scottish scene are striking: 'In the small country of Norway alone, it is estimated that more than half of all new immigrants today come from Christian backgrounds and that about 250–300 migrant congregations have been established here in the last few decades. In my research of Pentecostal migrant churches in this context, I have found it more to be the rule than the exception that people relate

among those involved in this paradigmatic shift in migrating global Christianity. Olofinjana, refutes the usual given label of ‘reverse mission’ and claims the results must be recognised as ‘God calling individuals and communities from where they [currently] are’ to where God wants them to be within his grand missional purposes. He prefers to retain the missiological watchword of the present-day which defines mission being from everywhere to everywhere. Despite this insistence, he does suggest there will be African British theologies emerging in the UK because of growing cultural diversity – ‘the new great fact of our day’. Significantly, in light of our present study, he calls this a ‘movement of Christians’ whose ‘brand of Christianity’ is marked by the central place give to their doctrine of the Holy Spirit.⁵²³ This is largely a charismatic mission movement.

This research gives a strong indication that in a movement of this nature lies hope for the future of a weakened and impoverished Christianity in the Global North. Alan Hirsch sees *liminality* and *communitas* as among the historical features of the Jesus-movements that have allowed them to grow and flourish.⁵²⁴ Migrant Christian communities in the Global North today are situated in the liminal experience of being thrown together, often by happenstance rather than by design, and living in a foreign culture. Here their bonding gives rise to new migrant churches often marked by African identities and theologies in which *communitas* is for them first, re-discovered. Yet the condition and expression of new communities of charismatic, vital Christian faith are not merely *observed* by the host

to a living kind of religion, often marked by experiential dimensions of the faith that extend beyond mere confessional statements and habitual religion.’ p. 46-47.

⁵²³ Olofinjana, *African Voices*, p.14ff.

⁵²⁴ Hirsch, *Forgotten Ways*, p.159-186. He acknowledges borrowing the ideas from Victor Turner. Liminality refers to the anthropological description of a cultural process of transition from one status to another in rites of passage. Communitas refers to outcome resulting from that liminal state of being – i.e., a new found identity and security.

culture but are *influential* upon it – increasingly the *communitas* of these small liminal groups renews and changes the ‘tribal’ culture in wider society.⁵²⁵

Hirsch further notes that the *liminality-communitas* theme is not just a sociological phenomenon but a biblical feature also when he highlights the impact of the liminal experiences of the people of God in shaping their collective identity. The charismatic call in the life of the people of God almost always brings them to the edge of extinction and then in a most profound way turns the tide to see them once again grow and flourish.⁵²⁶ The glimmers of hope held out in the Spirit-inspired prophetic word of the people of God suggest that *Christians* like storks, are ‘instinctive migrants’ – always on the move, always led by the Spirit, always growing in the margins. History suggests that when they lose that charismatic edge to their existence they tend to stagnate and decay, the fire dims and the zeal abates. The winter comes, and it is time; the inner clock reminds them it is time to go.

If the Charismatic Brethren of Tanzania have anything to contribute to our learning then it must be this at least: ‘The main stimulus for the renewal of Christianity will come from the bottom and the edge, from the sectors of the Christian world that are on the margins.’⁵²⁷ That is a reminder of their origins. It is also an indication to us of where this study may lead in the future: Pentecostal Evangelicals, like the Charismatic Brethren of

⁵²⁵ Hirsch, *Forgotten Ways*, p.163.

⁵²⁶ Hirsch cites examples from the Old and New Testament, including Abram, Isaac, Israel, Samuel, Elijah, Samson, David and his band. Jesus, his disciples, and Paul, concluding that ‘The book of Acts is so brimful with *communitas* and *liminality* that it reads like a rollicking adventure story.’ p. 167.

⁵²⁷ W.C. Roof, quoted in Hirsch, *Forgotten Ways*, p. 159.

Tanzania, on the move to the Global North - that will be a movement worthy of further research and analysis.

8.4. Conclusion

This work has offered some original and significant contributions to knowledge in the study of pentecostal and charismatic studies.

Firstly, we have set out a new perspective on the historical interactions between Brethren and Pentecostal movements. This re-telling of the story has celebrated the Spirit-led nature of the movements and demonstrated the close affinity of their belief and practice in several significant areas. We are not, by any means, suggesting that these movements are identical but we have highlighted the way in which their 'roots and shoots' have intertwined in such a way that they have grown together, pulling, pushing and shaping one another: at times loathing aspects of one another's theology or practice, and at other times loving and embracing one another in new expressions of Christian faith. This historic narrative has set the scene for a clearer explanation of the sometimes-puzzling expressions of 'Charismatic Brethrenism' in Tanzania.

Secondly, the study has offered an original historical commentary on the mission enterprise of the two movements in Tanzania, East Africa. We have surveyed the growth and expansion of mission Christianity in Tanzania, paying attention to the timings, arrivals, conditions, locations, strategies and outcomes for those missionaries who have served from both Brethren and Pentecostal backgrounds. This mission history is worth recording. But we have drawn attention also to the range of influences on mission Christianity throughout that period including the East African Revival and indigenous evangelists. This

has helped us recognise that the Spirit of Jesus in mission causes the church of Jesus Christ to grow, numerically and in maturity, despite human failings and failure. Competition between the two movements and conflicts of interest in service, serve under God's providence to allow indigenous Christianity to flourish nevertheless. At times, complementarity of purpose and endeavour in areas like evangelism, serves the two movements well and becomes a more positive model that demonstrates their fundamental unity of heart, mind and soul.

Thirdly, the study has contributed significantly to knowledge through an explanation of aspects of Tanzanian culture, religious background and philosophy of life. Although this explanation is offered by an 'outsider' we highlighted the privileged position that seventeen years of living working and serving in Christian ministries brings to the researcher. The views offered therefore are those of an '*mgeni mwenyeji*' (a naturalised visitor). Through observation, listening, questioning, cultural immersion, Swahili language fluency and careful analysis the researcher has brought to our attention insights that help explain the shape and development of Charismatic Christianity and Christian theology in the Tanzanian context.

Fourthly, this study has given the reader a window into the opinions and convictions among believers from *Kanisa la Biblia* (Brethren) churches in Tanzania. This grassroots case study, conducted using a Q Method survey, has been useful in helping characterise the range of opinion held by members of the Brethren churches in two Tanzanian locations (one urban, one rural). This has been significant both in introducing a new and useful methodology to the study of pentecostal/charismatic Christianity and in teasing out something of the heartbeat of some Tanzanian Christians. It has demonstrated that all

the respondents we surveyed have been influenced to one degree or another by pentecostal and charismatic teaching; for this reason, we used the descriptor, Charismatic Brethren. The study allowed the researcher to propose that respondents fall into three distinct categories: Cautious Brethren, Pragmatic Experimentalists and Pentecostal Evangelicals. This latter group are of special interest since they have been shown to bear resemblance to West African expressions of Christian faith. The survey is suggestive of the idea that pentecostal evangelicalism is a result of groups like *Kanisa la Biblia* (Brethren) churches and pentecostal/charismatic groups interacting with and mutually shaping one another so that they find a solution for themselves that is workable and comfortable in Africa.

Fifthly, the study has set out some simple but useful models or measures that can be used in taking forward the study of pentecostal/charismatic Christianity in Africa, especially East Africa and Tanzania. The data received from the Q Method survey has offered a range of descriptors for Christians who are living out their faith in the religious-cultural-social-milieu that is Tanzania. These are not invented by the researcher but arise from opinions expressed at grassroots. This model can be re-used and applied in other settings. Although the Q Method survey is a qualitative exercise, it stimulates questions that may call for further exploration of the phenomenon that is Charismatic Brethren, perhaps through a quantitative exercise. This may help establish the strength of opinion in specific areas of theology, geographical trends in practice, tribal beliefs and influence, and many other areas of interest. The simple approach to assessing something of the worldview of similar movements which, it has been suggested, rotate around three

questions: the goal of life; the means of living; and the outlook for living; suggest that the application of a biblical worldview may be more easily facilitated.

Finally, the study has pointed us towards new areas for research. For brevity, we list five of them below for further reflection:

First, the need for ongoing historical research of the growth and development in Pentecostal/Charismatic movements and Brethren movements in Tanzania. It has been apparent through this research that the growth of pentecostal/charismatic Christianity in Tanzania is vast in scope and disparate in nature. It would be highly valuable to survey and report on distinct groups like the Church of the Resurrection and the Life (*Kanisa la Ufufu na Uzima*). Led by Arch Bishop Josephat Gwajima, this Pentecostal denomination is now one of the largest and most controversial churches in East Africa. However, it is also important to record the history and development of Pentecostal 'centre-churches' which pursue more conservative expressions of pentecostal spirituality.

Second, additional cultural research could be useful through engagement with Tanzanian nationals, cultural analysts, missiologists and anthropological theorists with a view to an improved understanding of Christianity in its present forms in Tanzania. In this study, we have made two important points that lie behind this recommendation for further or ongoing research: one, that Tanzanian cultures are never static enterprises and so there is constant need for evaluation; two, that even if it were static or slow to change the learning of culture is a life-long enterprise.

Third, the pursuit of a better understanding of the 'pentecostal evangelical' paradigm as the emergence of a new form of Christianity that is committed to 'evangelical' and

'pentecostal' distinctives as well as developing its own expressions of faith in local theologies.

Fourth, building upon the present study by promoting the use of Q Methodology to better understand opinion, changes in opinion, and formation of opinion in Tanzanian Christianity. The use of Q Methodology in the social sciences is a trend that has been adding weight and reliability to the method over the last 30 years. Furthermore, it allows for data and informants to be re-visited in subsequent studies thereby offering understandings of the developmental nature of matters of faith and belief.

Fifth, an exploration of the biblical concepts of *shema* and *shalom* as foundations for explaining African theology: this might involve development of a biblical theology of *shema/shalom*; developing a hermeneutic of *shema/shalom*; and exploring the grassroots understanding of such concepts for verification of the thesis. Little has been written in this area of biblical theology despite the *shema* being quoted by Jesus as the Greatest Commandment. The biblical concept of *shalom* has perhaps been 'lost' to Christians in the depths of Judaism, but as an Old Testament fundamental, and a New Testament hope, it holds promise for greater Christian enlightenment and the development of a theology that helps explain pentecostal evangelicalism in biblical terms.

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamo, D.T. 'Christianity and the African Traditional Religion(s): The Postcolonial Round of Engagement'. *Verbum et Ecclesia* 32, no. 1 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v32i1.285>.
- Adeyemo, Tokunboh. *Is Africa Cursed?* Nairobi, Kenya: CLMC, 1997.
- . *Salvation in African Tradition*. Nairobi, Kenya: Evangel Publishing House, 1979.
- Allen, David. 'Signs and Wonders: The Origins, Growth, Development and Significance of Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland 1900-1980'. PhD Thesis, University of London, 1990. www.ethos.bl.uk.
- Allen, Paul L. *Theological Method: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London: T&T Clark International, 2012.
- Allen, Roland. *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962.
- . *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church - and the Causes Which Hinder It*. Cambridge, UK.: Lutterworth Press, 1927.
- Anderson, Allan. *The Spirit in a Spirit-Filled World: Religious Dis/continuity in African Pentecostalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018
- . 'Global Pentecostalism, Charismatic Movements and Independent Churches'. Lecture. Ecumenical Institute, Switzerland, 2013.
- . 'Precursors to Pentecostalism in South India: John Christian Arulappan (1810-67) and the Christianpettah Revival'. Paper, 2013.
- . 'The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism (3) Africa's Hands: Pentecostalism and Independency'. Lecture presented at the Student Lectures, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ, 1 December 2008.
- . *Spreading Fires*. London: SCM Press, 2007.
- . 'The Dubious Legacy of Charles Fox Parham: Racism and Cultural Insensitivities among Pentecostals'. Paper. 33rd Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Marquette University, Milwaukee, 2004.
- . 'Pentecostal Faith and Healing as Signs of the Kingdom'. Paper. Missiology Consultation, World Council of Churches, London, 2002.
- https://www.academia.edu/6068814/Precursors_to_Pentecostalism_in_South_India_John_Christian_Arulappan_1810-67_and_the_Christianpettah_Revival.
- Anderson, Allan H. 'Pentecostalism and the Pre-Christian African Spirit World'. Manuscript Paper. Uppsala, Sweden, June 2016.
- . 'The Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches: The Shape of Future Christianity in Africa?' *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 24, no. 2 (2002): 167–84.
- Anderson, Allan Heaton. 'Contextualization in Pentecostalism: A Multicultural Perspective'. *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 41, no. 1 (2017): 29–40.
- <https://doi.org/10.1177/2396939316674428>.

- . *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*. Second Edition. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- . *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Anderson, G.H. 'Bruno Gutmann, Mission Legacies : Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary'. *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 4, no. 4 (October 1980): 165–69.
- Anderson, James, ed. *They Finished Their Course*. Kilmarnock: James Ritchie, 1980.
- Anderson, W. B. *The Church in East Africa 1840-1974*. Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1971.
- Asamoah-Gyadu, J. Kwabena. *Contemporary Pentecostal Christianity: Interpretations from an Africa Context*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2013.
- Asamoah-Gyadu, Kwabena. *African Charismatics: Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill NV, 2005.
- Ashforth, Adam. *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- . *Madumo: A Man Bewitched*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- 'Assemblies of God World Mission Vital Stats (at 31/12/2013)'. Assemblies of God - World Mission, 2014. www.agwm.com.
- Auvinen-Pöntinen, Mari-Anna. 'Pneumatological Challenges to Postcolonial Lutheran Mission in the Tswana Context'. *Mission Studies* 32 (2015): 353–70. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15733831-12341414>.
- Awolalu, J. O. 'What Is African Traditional Religion?' *Studies in Comparative Religion* 10, no. 2 (Spring 1976).
- Baker, Rachel, Job van Exel, Helen Mason, and Stricklin, Michael. 'Connecting Q & Surveys: Three Methods to Explore Factor Membership in Large Samples'. *Operant Subjectivity* 34, no. 1 (2010): 38–58.
- Barbour, Hugh, and William J. Frost. *The Quakers*. San Francisco, CA: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Bauder, Kevin T, Albert R. Mohler Jr., John G Stackhouse Jr., and Roger E. Olsen. *Four Views on the Spectrum of Evangelicalism*. Counterpoints: Bible & Theology. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2011.
- Beattie, D. J. *Brethren: A Story of a Great Recovery*. Kilmarnock: John Ritchie Ltd, 2000.
- Bebbington, D.W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Becker, Felicitas, and P. Wenzel Geissler. 'Searching for Pathways in a Landscape of Death: Religion and AIDS in East Africa'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37 (2007): 1–15.
- Bediako, Kwame. *Christianity in Africa - The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*. Edinburgh (Maryknoll, NY): Edinburgh University Press (Orbis Books), 1995.
- Beidelman, Tomas O. 'Contradictions between the Sacred and the Secular Life: The Church Missionary Society in Ukaguru, Tanzania, East Africa, 1876-1914'. *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, 1981.

- Bellamy, Larry A. 'Witchcraft, Sorcery, Academic and Local Change in East Africa'. MA Thesis, Miami University, 2004.
- Bellet, J. G. 'Interesting Reminiscences of the Early History of "Brethren" With Letter from J.G. Bellett to J.N. Darby'. *bruederbewegung.de*, 2003.
- . 'The Person and Deity of the Holy Ghost'. In *Musings on Scripture*, Vol. 3. Accessed 30 May 2015. <http://www.stempublishing.com/authors/bellett/HLYGHOST.html>.
- . 'Walk in the Spirit'. Accessed 30 March 2015. <http://www.stempublishing.com/authors/bellett/WalkSpir.html>.
- Bevans, Stephen B. *Models of Contextual Theology*. Faith and Cultures Series. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994.
- Block, Jack. *The Q-Sort Method in Personality Assessment and Psychiatric Research*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles Thomas Pub, 1961.
- Blomberg, Craig L. *Neither Poverty Nor Riches: A Biblical Theology of Possessions*. New Studies in Biblical Theology 7. Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1999.
- Born, Jacob Bryan. "'Worlds of the Spirit": Exploring African Spiritual and New Pentecostal Church Relations in Botswana'. PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2009.
- . "'Promise of Power" : An Analysis of Bible Life Ministries in Botswana'. Masters, University of South Africa, 2002.
- Bouniol, Joseph, ed. *The White Fathers and Their Missions*. London: Sands, 1929.
- Brady, David, and Fred J. Evans. *Christian Brethren in Manchester and District: A History*. London: Heritage Publications, 1997.
- Brady, Steve, and Harold Rowdon, eds. *For Such a Time as This*. Milton Keynes, England: Scripture Union, 1996.
- Brand, Chad Owen, ed. *Perspectives on Spirit Baptism - Five Views*. Nashville, Tennessee: B & H Academic, 2004.
- Brand, Gerrit. 'Witchcraft and Spirit Beliefs in African Christian Theology'. *Exchange* 31, no. 1 (2002): 36–50.
- Brannan, Paul. 'Building...Mission Leadership in the Local Church'. *The Blueprint Series*, n.d.
- Brewster, P.S. *Pentecostal Doctrine*. Cardiff, Wales: P.S. Brewster, 1976.
- Brierley, Peter. *Growth Amid Decline: What the 2016 Scottish Church Census Reveals*. Tonbridge, Kent: ADBC Publishers, 2017.
- Bright, Bill. *The Joy of Spirit-Filled Living: The Power to Succeed*. Vol. 3. 10 vols. The Joy of Knowing God Series. Mumbai: St Paul Press, 2005.
- Brown, Colin. *Miracles and the Critical Mind*. Pasadena, California: Fuller Seminary Press, 2006.
- Brown, Graham. *Whatever Happened to the Brethren?* Carlisle [England]: Partnership and Paternoster Press, 2003.
- Brown, S.R. *Political Subjectivity: Applications of Q Methodology in Political Science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Brown, Steven R. 'A Primer on Q Methodology'. *Operant Subjectivity* 16 (1993): 91–138.

- Brueggemann, Walter. *Peace*. Understanding Biblical Themes Series. St Louis, MO: Chalice, 2001.
- Brumback, Carl. *What Meaneth This? A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question*. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1947.
- Bruner, Fredrick D. *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1970.
- Buchanan, James. 'The Order to Observed in a Church of God'. Wm. Jones & Wm. Carson, 1845. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001960496>.
- Budgen, Victor. *The Charismatics and the Word of God*. Enlarged. Durham, England: Evangelical Press, 1989.
- Bujo, Benezet. *African Theology in Its Social Context*. Faith and Culture Series. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992.
- Bundy, David. 'Swedish Pentecostal Mission Theory and Practice to 1930: Foundational Values in Conflict'. *Mission Studies* XIV-1&2, 27&28 (1997): 147–74.
- Burgess, Stanley M., and Eduard M. van der Maas, eds. *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2002.
- Carlin, David. 'Religion: Thick and Thin'. www.thecatholicthing.org, 24 February 2017.
- Carson, D.A. *Becoming Conversant with the Emerging Church: Understanding a Movement and Its Implications*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2005.
- . *The Difficult Doctrine of the Love of God*. Leicester, England: IVP, 2000.
- Cartledge, Mark J. *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives*. Studies in Pentecostal and Charismatic Issues. Carlisle, England: Paternoster Press, 2003.
- . *Charismatic Glossolalia: An Empirical-Theological Study*. Ashgate New Critical Thinking in Theology and Biblical Studies. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2002.
- Chan, Simon. *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition*. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
- Chester, Tim. *Unreached: Growing Churches in Working-Class and Deprived Areas*. Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2012.
- . *You Can Change: God's Transforming Power for Our Sinful Behaviour and Negative Emotions*. Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2008.
- Chidongo, Tsawe-Munga wa. 'Towards a Dialogical Theology: An Exploration of Inter-Religious Cooperation between Christianity and African Indigenous Religion among the Midzi-Chenda People of Coastal Kenya'. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010.
- Chitando, Ezra. 'High Density Spiritual Worlds and African Pentecostalism: Interpreting Religion in Africa'. *Swedish Missiological Themes* 93, no. 2 (2005): 271–83.
- Christensen, Nikolaj. 'Pentecost for Others: Dietrich Bonhoeffer According to Walter Hollenweger'. *PentecoStudies* 15, no. 1 (January 2016): 25–45. <https://doi.org/10.1558/ptcs.v15i1.26523>.
- Church, Joe. *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival*. Kampala: The Partner Press, 1981.

- Church Missionary Society. 'Church Missionary Society Archive. Section IV, Africa Missions, Part 18: Kenya Mission, 1880-1934', n.d.
- . 'Church Missionary Society Archive. Section IV, Africa Missions, Part 19: Tanganyika Mission, 1900-1934', n.d.
- Ciekawy, Diane. 'Witchcraft in Statecraft: Five Technologies of Power in Colonial and Postcolonial Coastal Kenya'. *African Studies Review* 41, no. 3 (December 1998): 119–41.
- Clarke, Clifton R., ed. *Pentecostal Theology in Africa*. African Christian Studies Series 6. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014.
- Climenhaga, Daryl. 'Pentecostals and the Brethren in Christ in Bulawayo'. *Mission Focus: Annual Review* 13 (2005).
- 'CMS Archives Microfilm CMS Archives Microfilm Collection, Reel 389 Tanganyika Mission Original Papers 1902 History of the CMS in German East Africa.', n.d.
- 'CMS Archives Microfilm Collection, Reel 360 Original Papers 1901 Extract from the Taveta Chronicle January 1901', n.d.
- 'CMS Archives Microfilm Collection, Reel 380 Original Papers 1932 Letter from the Archdeacon of Kavironda, W.E. Owen, January 1932', n.d.
- 'CMS Archives Microfilm Collection, Reel 390 Original Papers 1904 Notes from Usagara-Chigogo by J.H. Briggs.', n.d.
- 'CMS Archives Microfilm Collection, Reel 395 Original Papers 1927 Report of the Tanganyika Mission for 1926', n.d.
- Coad, F. Roy. 'Prophetic Developments with Particular Reference to the Early Brethren Movement'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal*, no. Occasional Paper Number 2 (1966).
- . 'Introduction - The Divine Encounter'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 9 (1965): 5–15.
- Coad, Roy. "'Aspects of Christian Brethren Spirituality" by Ian S. Rennie in J.I. Packer and Loren Wilkinson (Eds), *Alive to God: Studies in Spirituality*, IVP: Downers Grove, Illinois, 1992.' *Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review* 1 (1992): 59–61.
- . *A History of the Brethren Movement*. Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1968.
- Conrad, Sven-Axel. 'Select Chapters from an Unpublished Manuscript'. In *Bitter Coffee and Sweet Dates*, n.d.
- Corlett, Leah. *Unlock the Power of Tongues*. UK: Xtreme Glory Ministries, 2009.
www.leahcorlett.co.uk www.xtremeglory.co.uk.
- Corten, Andre, and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, eds. *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. London: Hurst & Company, 2001.
- Cotterill, J. C. 'The Pentecostal Movement and Its Teaching'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 9 (1965): 16–29.
- Cox, Harvey. *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995.

- Cox, James L. 'A Response to Retief Muller'. *Studies in World Christianity* 19, no. 1 (2013): 25–30. <https://doi.org/10.3366/swc.2013.0036>.
- Craston, Colin. *The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England*. London: CIO Publishing, 1981.
- Crawford, D. *Thinking Black: 22 Years without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa*. London: Morgan & Scott Ltd, 1912.
- 'Current Facts and Trends (at 31/12/2013)'. Assemblies of God - World Mission, 2014. www.agwm.com.
- Czeglédy, André P. 'A New Christianity for a New South Africa: Charismatic Christians and the Post-Apartheid Order'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38, no. 3 (2008): 284–311.
- Dagernäs, Andreas. "'Att ikläda sig ansvar" Inhemskt aktörskap i Skandinavisk Pingstmission i Tanganyika 1932-1945 ("To take on responsibility" Indigenous Agency in the Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission in Tanganyika 1932-1945)'. Master Thesis, Goteborgs Univesitet, 2013.
- Dahlberg, H, K Dahlberg, and M Nyström. *Reflective Lifeworld Research*. Lund, Sweden, 2008.
- Dann, Robert Bernard. *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves*. Bath, England: Authentic Media, 2004.
- Darby, J. N. 'On the Sealing with the Holy Ghost'. Accessed 31 December 2014. (<http://www.stempublishing.com/authors/darby/DOCTRINE/31019E.html>).
- Davies, Owen. 'Urbanization and the Decline of Witchcraft: An Examination of London'. *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 597–617.
- Dayton, Donald W. *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1987.
- 'Death of Rev. Karl Wittich and Rev. Clarence Grothaus in German East Africa'. *The Pentecostal Evangel* 2, no. 19 (9 May 1914): 2.
- de Villiers, Pieter GR. 'Peace in Luke and Acts. A Perspective on Biblical Spirituality'. *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 19, no. 1 (2008): 110–34.
- Deere, Jack. *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit*. Eastbourne, England: Kingsway Publications, 1993.
- Dempster, Murray W, Byron D Klaus, and Douglas Petersen. 'The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel'. London, England: Regnum Books Intl., 1999.
- Denscombe, Martyn. 'Communities of Practice: A Research Paradigm for the Mixed Methods Approach'. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 2, no. 3 (July 2008): 270–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689808316807>.
- Derr, Paul K. 'Preaching Christ to Africa's Millions'. *Pentecostal Evangel*, no. 973 (November 1932): 1, 13–14.
- . 'A Good Letter from Africa'. *Pentecostal Evangel*, no. 901 (June 1931): 3.
- . 'One Hundred Saved in Four Months'. *The Latter Rain Evangel* 22 (October 1929): 22.
- Dickson, Kwesi A. *Theology in Africa*. London, England: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1984.

- Dickson, Neil T R. *Brethren in Scotland 1838-2000: A Social Study of an Evangelical Movement*. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Carlisle, England: Paternoster Press, 2002.
- . 'Brethren and Baptists in Scotland'. *The Baptist Quarterly* 33, no. 8 (1990): 372–87.
- Dickson, Neil T. R. 'Scottish Brethren, Division and Wholeness, 1838-1916'. *Christian Brethren Review* 41 (1990).
- Dickson, Neil T R. 'The History of the Open Brethren in Scotland 1838-1999 (Vols. 1 & 2)'. PhD Thesis, University of Stirling, 2000.
- Dickson, Neil T R, and Tim Grass, eds. *The Growth of the Brethren Movement: National and International Experiences*. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2006.
- Dilger, Hansjorg. 'Doing Better? Religion, the Virtue-Ethics of Development, and the Fragmentation of Health Politics in Tanzania'. *Africa TODAY* 56, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 88–110.
- . 'Healing the Wounds of Modernity: Salvation, Community and Care in a Neo-Pentecostal Church in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37 (2007): 59–83.
- Dixon, Larry E. 'The Importance of JN Darby and the Brethren Movement in the History of Conservative Theology'. *Christian Brethren Review* 41 (1990): 42–55.
- . 'The Pneumatology of John Nelson Darby (1800-1882)'. Unpublished PhD, 1985.
- Donner, Jonathan C. 'Using Q-Sorts in Participatory Processes: An Introduction to the Methodology'. In *Social Development Papers: Social Analysis Selected Tools and Techniques*, 24–49. 36. Washington, D. C.: The World Bank, 2001.
- Donovan, Vincent. *Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1978.
- Dorricott, Keith. 'The Brethren Movement'. unknown, n.d.
- Dronsfield, W. R. 'The Brethren since 1870'. Accessed 1 July 2015.
<http://www.brethrenonline.org/articles/1870HIS.HTM>.
- Dundas, Charles. *Kilimanjaro and Its People: A History of the Wachagga, Their Laws, Customs and Legends, Together with Some Account of the Highest Mountain in Africa*. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, n.d.
- Dunn, James DG. *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today*. London: SCM Press, 1970.
- . *Baptism of the Holy Spirit*. London: SCM Press, 1970.
- Dyer, Anne E. 'Missionary Vocation: A Study of British Assemblies of God's World Missions 1965-2000'. PhD Thesis, University of Wales, 2008.
https://www.academia.edu/4135847/Missionary_Vocation_and_AoG_Missions_1965-2000.
- . 'The History of British Assemblies of God Overseas Missionary Activities 1945-1966', n.d. <https://cliffcollege.academia.edu/ADyer>.

- Eliot, Charles. *The East Africa Protectorate*. London, England: Edward Arnold, 1905.
- Ellington, Scott A. 'Pentecostalism and the Authority of Scripture'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 9 (1996): 16–38.
- Embley, Peter L. 'The Origins and Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren'. St Paul's College, Cheltenham, 1996. <http://www.bruederbewegung.de/pdf/embley.pdf>.
- Englund, Harri. 'Witchcraft and the Limits of Mass Mediation in Malawi'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12, no. 2 (2007): 295–311.
- Eni, Emmanuel. *Kukombolewa Kutoka Nguvu Za Giza (Delivered from the Powers of Darkness)*. Dar-es-salaam: Niim Computers & Graphics, 2012.
- Eriksen, Stian. 'The Epistemology of Imagination and Religious Experience'. *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology* 69, no. 1 (2015): 45–73.
- Evans, Eifion. 'John Calvin: Theologian of of the Holy Spirit'. *A Quarterly Journal for Church Leadership* 10, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 82–105.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Guildford University Press, 1983.
- Fee, Gordon D. *God's Empowering Presence*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1994.
- . *Gospel and Spirit*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1991.
- Ferguson, Sinclair B. *The Holy Spirit*. Contours of Christian Theology. Leicester, England: IVP, 1996.
- Fiedler, Klaus. *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa*. Oxford, England: Regnum Books International, 1998.
- Fischer, Morttz. "'The Spirit Helps Us in Our Weakness": Charismatization of Worldwide Christianity and the Quest for an Appropriate Pneumatology with Focus on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 20 (2011): 95–121.
- Fitzgerald, Walter. *Africa: A Social, Economic and Political Geography of Its Major Regions*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1934.
- Forster, Roger. 'The Alternative Church and the Alternative Society'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 29 (1977): 63–68.
- Fox, George. *A Journal*. Edited by Rufus M. Jones. Public Domain, 1872. www.strecorsoc.org/gfox/title.html.
- Freeman, D., ed. *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Frestadius, Simo. 'The Birth of a Pentecostal Tradition: The Early Content and Method of the Elim Argument'. Seminar Paper. Centre for the Study of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity, 2015.
- Frodsham, Stanley Howard. *Smith Wigglesworth, Apostle of the Faith*. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2010.
- Frost, Michael, and Alan Hirsch. *The Shape of Things to Come: Innovation and Mission for the 21st-Century Church*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003.

- Gallagher, Robert L. 'The Holy Spirit in the World: In Non-Christians, Creation and Other Religions'. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 9, no. 1 (2006): 17–33.
- . 'Zlinsendorf and the Early Moravian Mission Movement'. Unpublished, Wheaton College, 2005.
- Gathongo, Julius Mutugi. 'The Reason for Studying African Religion in Post-Colonial Africa'. *Currents in Theology and Mission* 36, no. 2 (April 2009): 108–17.
- Gee, Donald. *Wind and Flame*. Croydon, UK: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1967.
- . 'Pentecost: A Review of World-Wide Pentecostal Missionary and Revival News'. *Donald Gee* 1 and 2 (September 1947).
- Gee, Donald, and Howard Carter. 'Assemblies of God, Home Reference Missionary Council, Minute Book No. 13. Sept. 1943-1946'. University of Southern California. Libraries. Accessed 6 April 2017.
<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll14/id/18085>.
- . 'Assemblies of God, Overseas Missionary Council (Home Reference Missionary Council), Minute Book No. 14. May 1946-1948'. University of Southern California. Libraries. Accessed 6 April 2017.
<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll14/id/18856>.
- . 'Assemblies of God, Overseas Missionary Council (Home Reference Missionary Council), Minute Book No. 16. June 1951 - July 1954'. University of Southern California. Libraries. Accessed 6 April 2017.
<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll14/id/19302>.
- Gee, Donald, and John Wallace. 'Assemblies of God, Overseas Missionary Council (Home Reference Missionary Council), Minute Book No. 15. May 1946- Mar. 1948'. University of Southern California. Libraries. pcr-a-dgc-19115. Accessed 6 April 2017.
<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll14/id/19086>.
- Gehman, R. *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective*. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Educational Publisher, 1993.
- Gehman, Richard. 'The East African Revival'. *East African Journal of Evangelical Theology* 5, no. 1 (1986): 36–56.
- Gerhardsson, Birger. *The Shema in the New Testament: Deut 6:4-5 in Significant Passages*. Lund: Novapress, 1996.
- Gewald, Jan-Bart. 'Colonial Warfare: Hehe and World War I, the Wars Besides Maji Maji in South- Western Tanzania'. *African Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (2008): 1–27.
- Gibbs, Philip. 'Beyond the Fence: Confronting Witchcraft Accusations in the Papua New Guinea Highlands'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 8–11.
- Giblin, James, and Jamie Monson, eds. *Maji Maji: Lifting the Fog of War*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Gicharra, Jonathan Katheru. 'A Comparative Study of Christian Baptism Vis-a-Vis the Meru (African) Rite of Circumcision of Boys'. *Black Theology* 11, no. 2 (2013): 240–68.
<https://doi.org/10.1179/1476994813Z.0000000005>.

- Gifford, Paul. *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Hurst, 1998.
- . “‘Africa Shall Be Saved’”. An Appraisal of Reinhard Bonnke’s Pan-African Crusade’. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 17, no. 1 (1987): 63–92.
- Glassman, Jonathon. ‘Rethinking Race in the Colonial World’. In *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar*, 3–22. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Gordon, Iain, ed. *Looking for a Rain God*. Nairobi: Macmillan Kenya, 1995.
- Gorringe, T.J. *Furthering Humanity: A Theology of Culture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- Gräbe, P.J. ‘The Pentecostal Discovery of the New Testament Theme of God’s Power and Its Relevance to the African Context’. *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 24, no. 2 (2002): 225–42.
- Grange, Jena-Christopher. *The Flight of the Storks (Kindle Edition)*. Translated by Ian Monk. Vintage, 2012.
- Grass, Tim. *Gathering to His Name*. Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster Press, 2006.
- . ‘The Church’s Ruin and Restoration: The Development of Ecclesiology in the Plymouth Brethren and the Catholic Apostolic Church, c.1825 - c.1866’. PhD Thesis, King’s College, 1997.
- Green, Gene L., Stephen T. Pardue, and K.K. Yeo, eds. *The Spirit over the Earth*. Carlisle, England: Langham Global Library, 2016.
- Green, Maia. *Priests Witches and Power: Popular Christianity and the Persistence of Mission in Southern Tanzania*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . ‘Remembering Christ’s Death or the Promise of Salvation: Reinterpreting Communion in Southern Tanzania’. *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3, no. 2 (2002): 179–99.
- . ‘Why Christianity Is the “Religion of Business”’: Perceptions of the Church Among Pogoro Catholics in Southern Tanzania’. *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXV, no. 1 (January 1995): 25–47.
- Green, Maia, Clair Mercer, and Simeon Mesaki. ‘Faith in Forms: Civil Society Evangelism and Development in Tanzania’. *Development in Practice* 22, no. 5–6 (2012): 721–34.
- Green, Michael. *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*. London, England: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975.
- Greenfield, Sidney M, and Andre Droogers, eds. *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas*. Oxford, England: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- Griffiths, Michael. *Serving Grace*. Bournemouth, England: MARC Europe, 1986.
- Groves, Jonathan D. *Reading Romans at Ground Level: A Contemporary Rural African Perspective*. Global Perspectives Series. Carlisle, England: Langham Global Library, 2015.
- Grudem, Wayne A. *The Gift of Prophecy*. Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway, 2000.
- Hacking, Keith J. *Signs and Wonders Then and Now*. Nottingham, England: Apollos (IVP), 2006.

- Haldane, James Stewart. 'Thoughts on the Importance of Special Prayer for the General Outpouring of the Holy Spirit'. *The Religious Tract Society* No. 263 (1821).
- Hammond, Geordan. *John Wesley in America: Restoring Primitive Christianity*, Oxford, England: OUP, 2014.
- Hampate Ba, Amadou, and Helene Heckmann. 'Africa: The Power of Speech.' *UNESCO Courier* 46, no. 9 (September 1993): 20–24.
- Hanegraaff, Hank. *Christianity in Crisis*. Oregon, USA: Harvest House Publishers, 1997.
- Hansen, Richard. 'Transforming the Dualistic Worldview of Ethiopian Evangelical Christians'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 3 (July 2015): 138–41.
- Harding, Patricia. *A Woman of Africa*. London: Janus Publishing Company, 1995.
- Harper, Lisa Sharon. *The Very Good Gospel*. New York: Waterbrook, 2016.
- Harries, James Osmar. 'Pragmatic Theory Applied to Christian Mission in Africa: With Special Reference to Luo Responses to 'Bad' in Gem, Kenya.' PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2007.
- Hassing, Per. 'German Missionaries and the Maji Maji Rising'. *African Historical Studies* 3, no. 2 (1970): 373–89.
- Hastings, A. *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Hasu, Päivi. 'World Bank & Heavenly Bank in Poverty & Prosperity: The Case of Tanzanian Faith Gospel'. *Review of African Political Economy* 33 (2006): 110, 679–92.
- Haustein, Jörg. Strategic tangles: Slavery, colonial policy, and religion in German East Africa, 1885–1918, *Atlantic Studies* (2017), 14:4.
- . 'Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Ethiopia: A Historical Introduction to a Largely Unexplored Movement'. *Multidisciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa* 1 (2014): 109–27.
- Heading, John, and Cyril Hocking, eds. *Church Doctrine and Practice*. Neath, West Glamorgan: Precious Seed, 1984.
- Heibert, Paul G. *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1997.
- Helliwell, J, R Layard, and J Sachs, eds. 'World Happiness Report 2017'. Sustainable Development Solutions Network, NY, 2017.
- Hesselgrave, David J. *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*. Second., n.d.
- Hilborn, David. 'Charismatic Renewal in Britain: Roots, Influences and Later Developments'. Evangelical Alliance, n.d. <http://www.eauk.org/church/resources/theological-articles/charismatic-renewal-in-britain.cfm>.
- Hill, Graham. *Global Church: Reshaping Our Conversations, Renewing Our Mission, Revitalizing Our Churches*. Downers Grove, Il: IVP Academic, 2016.
- Hirsch, Alan. *The Forgotten Ways: Reactivating Apostolic Movements*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2006.
- Hocken, Peter. 'A Catholic Reflection on the New Charismatic Churches: An Initial Attempt at an Ecclesial Discernment', 2011. <http://www.epcra.ch/id-2011-riga>.

- . *Streams of Renewal: The Origins and Early Development of the Charismatic Movement in Great Britain*. Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1986.
- Hollenweger, Walter J. *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1997.
- . 'Intercultural Theology'. *Theology Today* 43, no. 1 (1986): 28–35.
- . 'Mr. Chips Looks for the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal Theology'. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 12 (1975): 39–50.
- . *The Pentecostals*. London: SCM Press, 1972.
- Holm, Nils G. 'Pentecostalism: Conversion and Charismata'. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 1, no. 3 (1991): 135–51.
- Holm, Randall, Matthew Wolf, and James K. A. Smith. 'New Frontiers in Tongues Research: A Symposium'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 20 (2011): 122–54.
- Holmes, Frank, ed. *Spiritual Renewal*. Devon: Quest (Western), 1977.
- Hopkins, Dwight N., and Edward P. Antonio, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Black Theology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hore, Edward Coode. *Tanganyika: Eleven Years in Central Africa*. London: E. Stanford, 1892.
- Horrobin, Peter J. *Healing Through Deliverance*. Kent, England: Sovereign World, 1995.
- Houston, J. M. 'Needed - A Third Force'. unknown, 1963.
- Howley, G. C. D. 'The Need for Revival - the Assemblies in an Age of Crisis'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 1 (1963): none given.
- Huebner, R. A. *John Nelson Darby: Precious Truths Revived and Defended (Volume One, Revival of Truth, 1826-1845)*. Jackson, NJ, USA: Present Truth Publishers, 2004.
- Hunt, Stephen, Malcolm Hamilton, and Tony Walter, eds. *Charismatic Christianity: Sociological Perspectives*. London: Macmillan Press, 1997.
- Hurley, J. Finley. *Sorcery*. London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Hurst, Wesley. 'To Meet a Chief'. *Christ's Ambassadors Herald* 28, no. 10 (October 1955): 8–10.
- Hussein, Ebrahim N. *Mashetani*. New Drama from Africa 2. Dar-es-salaam: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Ice, Thomas. 'Alleged Irvingite Influence on Darby and the Rapture'. Liberty University, 2009. http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/pretrib_arch/126.
- Idowu, E.B. *African Traditional Religion*. London: SCM Press, 1973.
- Ireland, Jerry M. 'African Traditional Religion and Pentecostal Churches in Lusaka, Zambia: An Assessment'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 21 (2012): 260–77.
- Irvin, Dale T. 'Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins'. *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 27, no. 1 (2005): 35–50.
- Iverson, Hans Raun. 'Tanzanian Lutherans and the East African Revival'. *Swedish Missiological Themes* 88, no. 3 (2000): 477–87.
- Jacobsen, Douglas. *Global Gospel: An Introduction to Christianity on Five Continents*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2015.

- Jardine, Samuel. *Floods Upon the Dry Ground*. Bristol, UK: Precious Seed Publications, 1975.
- Jenkins, Philip. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. New York: OUP, 2007.
- . *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South*. New York: OUP, 2006.
- Jennings, J. Nelson. 'Witchcraft and Mission Studies'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 1–2.
- Johnson, Todd M. 'Christianity in Its Global Context, 1970-2020: Society, Religion, and Mission'. Centre for the Study of Global Christianity, 2013.
- Johnson, Todd M., Gina A. Zurlo, Albert W. Hickman, and Peter F. Crossing. 'Christianity 2015: Religious Diversity and Personal Contact'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 28–29.
- Kailing, Joel B. 'A New Solution to the African Christian Problem'. *Missiology: An International Review* 22, no. 4 (1994): 489–506.
- Kalu, Ogbu. *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*. New York: OUP, 2008.
- Kalu, Ogbu U. 'Holy Praiseco: Negotiating Sacred and Popular Music and Dance in African Pentecostalism'. *Pneuma* 32 (2010): 16–40.
- , ed. *Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities*. Studies in the History of Christian Missions. Cambridge, UK.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008.
- . 'Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa, 1970-2000'. *Mission Studies* 24 (2007): 9–45.
- . 'Preserving a Worldview: Pentecostalism in the African Maps of the Universe'. *Pneuma* 24, no. 2 (2002): 110–37.
- . 'The Dilemma of Grassroot Inculturation of the Gospel: A Case Study of a Modern Controversy in Igboland, 1983-1989'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 25, no. 1 (February 1995): 48–72.
- Kampen, Jarl K., and Peter Tamas. 'Overly Ambitious: Contributions and Current Status of Q Methodology'. *Qual Quant DOI 10.1007/s11135-013-9944-Z*, Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht, 2013.
- Kanisa la Mennonite. *Tenzi Za Rohoni*. 2016 Reprint. Musoma, TZ: Musoma Press, 1968.
- Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti. "'From the Ends of the Earth to Ends of the Earth" - The Expansion of Finnish Pentecostal Missions from 1927-1997'. *The Journal of European Pentecostal Theological Association* XX (2000): 116–31.
- Kato, Byang H. *Theological Pitfalls in Africa*. Kisumu, Kenya: Evangel Publishing House, 1975.
- Kay, William K., and Anne E. Dyer, eds. *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies: A Reader*. London, England: SCM Press Ltd, 2004.
- Kay, William Kilbourne. 'A History of British Assemblies of God'. PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1989. <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/13082/1/346415.pdf>.
- Keck, Claude. 'Sinking of the "Zam Zam"'. *The Christ's Ambassadors Herald* XIV, no. 8 (August 1941): 6–7.

- Keen, Samuel Ashton. *Pentecostal Papers or The Gift of the Holy Ghost*. London, England: FB & c Ltd., 1895.
- Keener, Craig S. *Miracles: The Credibility of the New Testament Accounts*. Vol. 1 and 2. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2011.
- Kelly, William. *An Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles*. Oak Park, Il.: Bible Truth Publishers, 1890.
- . *The New Testament Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*. Paternoster Row, London: W. H. Broom and Rouse, 1867.
- . *Lectures on The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*. Oak Park, Il.: Bible Truth Publishers, n.d.
- Keyes, Dick. 'The Dangers of Thin Religion'. L'Abri, Massachusetts, 2006.
https://www.christianheritage.org.uk/Articles/43923/%20Home/_MEDIA/%20Articles/The_Dangers_of.aspx.
- Kimario, Nicholaus B. *Maombi Katika Ufahamu Pia Katika Roho*. Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, n.d.
- King, Gerald W. *Disfellowshipped: Pentecostal Responses to Fundamentalism in the United States, 1906-1943*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 164. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011.
- Kinoti, Hannah W., and John M. Waliggo, eds. *The Bible in African Christianity: Essays in Biblical Theology*. African Christianity Series. Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Publishers, 1997.
- Kirby, Jon P. 'Toward a Christian Response to Witchcraft in Northern Ghana'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 1 (n.d.): 19–22.
- Kirsch, Thomas G. *Spirits and Letters: Reading, Writing and Charisma in African Christianity*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Kirwen, Michael C. *The Missionary and the Diviner*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Orbis Books, 1987.
- Kitururu, Beatus B.A. *The Spirituality of Hospitality: African and New Testament Perspectives*. Nairobi: CUEA (Catholic University of East Africa) Press, 2009.
- Klaver, Miranda, and Linda van de Kamp. 'Embodied Temporalities in Global Pentecost Conversion'. *Ethnos* 76, no. 4 (2011): 421–25.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2011.632691>.
- Kollman, Paul. 'Classifying African Christianities, Part Two: The Anthropology of Christianity and Generations of African Christians'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40 (2010): 118–48.
- . 'Classifying African Christianities: Past, Present, and Future: Part One'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40 (2010): 3–32.
- Koschorke, Klaus, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, eds. *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Source Book*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2007.
- Krueger, Richard A., Mary Anne Casey, Jonathan Donner, Stuart Kirsch, and Jonathan N. Maack. 'Selected Analysis: Selected Tools and Techniques'. *Social*, n.d.

- Kunhiyop, Samuel Waje. *African Christian Theology*. Nairobi, Kenya: Hippo Books, WordAlive Publishers, 2012.
- . *African Christian Ethics*. Nairobi, Kenya: Hippo Books, WordAlive Publishers, 2008.
- Kyriakakis, Ionanniz. 'Traditional African Religion, Cosmology and Christianity'. *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 11, no. 32 (Summer 2012): 132–54.
- Land, Steven J. *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom*. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Lang, G. H. *The Local Assembly*. Belfast: Raven Publishing, 1955.
- . *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. London, England: The Paternoster Press, 1951.
- . 'Earlier Years of the Modern Tongues Movement'. www.sermonindex.com, n.d.
- . 'Personal Indwelling of the Holy Spirit'. www.sermonindex.com, n.d.
- Languille, Sonia. 'Secondary Education Expansion in Tanzania, 2004-2012 : A Political Economy Perspective'. PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2014.
- Lema, Anza A. 'Chagga Religion & Missionary Christianity on Kilimanjaro. The Initial Phase 1893-1916'. In *East African Expressions of Christianity*. Oxford/Dar es salaam: James Currey/Mkuki na Nyota, 1999.
- Lennie, Tom. *Glory in the Glen: A History of Evangelical Revivals in Scotland 1880-1940*. Fearn, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2009.
- Lindhardt, Martin. 'Continuity, Change or Coevalness? Charismatic Christianity and Tradition in Contemporary Tanzania'. In *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publications, 2015.
- , ed. *Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publications, 2015.
- . 'Miracle Makers and Money Takers: Healers, Prosperity Preachers and Fraud in Contemporary Tanzania'. In *Minority Religions and Fraud: In Good Faith*, edited by Amanda van Eck Duymaer van Twist. London, England: Taylor Francis Group, 2014.
- . 'Who Bewitched the Pastor and Why Did He Survive the Witchcraft Attack? Micro-Politics and the Creativity of Indeterminacy in Tanzanian Discourses on Witchcraft'. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 46, no. 2 (August 2012): 215–32.
- , ed. *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- . "'If You Are Saved You Cannot Forget Your Parents": Agency, Power, and Social Repositioning in Tanzanian Born-Again Christianity'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40 (2010): 240–72. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006610X530330>.
- . 'More Than Just Money: The Faith Gospel and Occult Economies in Contemporary Tanzania'. *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 13, no. 1 (2009): 41–67. <https://doi.org/10.1525/nr.2009.13.1.41>.
- . 'The Ambivalence of Power: Charismatic Christianity and Occult Forces in Urban Tanzania'. *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 22, no. 1 (2009): 37–54.

- Lineham, Peter J. 'Tongues Must Cease: The Brethren and the Charismatic Movement in New Zealand'. *Christian Brethren Review* 34 (1984): 7–52.
- Lotasaruaiki, Stephen Loilang'sho. *Miujiza Katika Siku Ya Leo*. Arusha, Tanzania: Stephen Loilang'sho Lotasaruaiki, 2011.
- . *Ni Upako Na Neno La Mungu (An Anointing and the Word of God)*. Arusha, Tanzania: Business Printers Limited, 2006.
- Louw, Daniël J. 'Noetics and the Notion of "ubuntu"-Thinking within an Intercultural Hermeneutics and Philosophical Approach to Theory Formation in Practical Theology'. *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology* 15 (2011): 173–92. <https://doi.org/DOI.10.1515/IJPT.2011.033>.
- Lovejoy, Paul E. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Ludwig, Frieder. *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of Changing Relationships, 1961-1994*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill NV, 1999.
- Lukwata, John. 'Church and Mass Media: Harnessing Opportunities for Evangelization in Eastern Africa'. *African Ecclesial Review* 57, no. 3–4 (2015): 148–68.
- Ma, Julie C, and Wonsuk Ma. *Mission in the Spirit: Towards a Pentecostal/Charismatic Missiology*. Oxford, England: Regnum Books International, 2010.
- Ma, Wonsuk, Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, eds. *Pentecostal Mission and Global Christianity*. Vol. 20. Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series. Oxford, England: Regnum Books International, 2014.
- Ma, Wonsuk, and Robert P. Menzies, eds. *Pentecostalism in Context*. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Mackenrodt, Lisa. 'The Jinn Fly on Friday. On Spiritual Healing Practices of the Swahili Coastal People in Contemporary Tanzania'. KANT 1 University of Koeln, 2007. http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/afrikanistik/kant/data/ML1_kant1.pdf.
- Magembe, Moses. *Maadili Ya Vijana (Ethics for the Youth)*. Dar-es-salaam: Niim Computers & Graphics, 2015.
- . *Kanisa La Kweli Ni Lipi? (Which Is the True Church?)*. Mbezi Beach, Dar-es-salaam: Assemblies of God Press, 2013.
- Majige, Zakayo. *Siri 10 Za Ushindi (Ten Secrets of Victory)*. 1998th ed. Mwanza, TZ: Inland Publishers, 1993.
- Malcolmson, Keith. 'J. Nelson Parr (1886-1976)'. Keith Malcolmson, 2008.
- Marsden, George, and Frank Roberts, eds. *A Christian View of History?* Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1975.
- Massey, Richard Dan. "'A Sound and Scriptural Union.'" An Examination of the Orgins of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland During the Years 1920-1925'. PhD, University of Birmingham, 1987.
- Masters, Peter, and John C Whitcomb. *The Charismatic Phenomenon*. London: The Wakeman Trust, 1982.

- Mattia, Joan Plubell. 'Walking the Rift: Alfred Robert Tuckert in East Africa Idealism and Imperialism 1890-1911'. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2007.
- Mabala, Leo Bassu. *Watutsi: Mila Na Desturi*. Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1988.
- Mbewe, Conrad. 'Against P-PC: Why Is the Charismatic Movement Thriving in Africa?' *Grace and Truth Magazine*, 2013.
- Mbiti, John. 'The Biblical Basis for Present Trends in African Theology'. *Missiology: An International Review*, no. Occasional Bulletin (July 1980): 119–24.
- Mbiti, John S. *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*. Nairobi, Kenya: OUP, 1986.
- . *Concepts of God in Africa*. Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Press, 1970.
- . *African Religions and Philosophy*. 1987th ed. Nairobi, Kenya: Heinemann, 1969.
- Mbogoni, Lawrence E. Y. *Human Sacrifice and the Supernatural in African History*. Dar-es-salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2013.
- McAlpine, Rob. *Post-Charismatic?* Colorado Springs, USA: David C Cook, 2008.
- McCullough, David J. 'Ritual Water, Ritual Spirit: An Analysis of the Timing, Mechanism, and Manifestation of Spirit-Reception in Luke-Acts'. PhD Thesis, Middlesex University, 2014.
- McGraw, John J. 'Doing Rituals: An Enactivist Reading of Durkheims's Elementary Forms'. *Intellectica* 63, no. 1 (2015): 37–48.
- McIlhinney, Alex. 'Support Structures and Inter-Congregational Links'. In *The Strengthening, Growth and Planting of Local Churches*, 53–58. Carlisle, England: Paternoster, 1993.
- McKeown, Bruce, and Dan Thomas. 'Q Methodology'. In *Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences*. Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications Inc., 1988.
- McKinnon, Allan S. 'Strengthening Strategy, "Soma" and Structure: A Study of British Brethren Missionary Work in Tanzania, East Africa'. Unpublished MTh Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2001.
- McLoughlin, William G. *The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1976.
- McQuoid, Stephen. *Anabaptist: The Forgotten Reformation*. Kilmarnock: Christian Year Publications, 2010.
- Melton, J. Gordon, and Martin Baumann, eds. *Religions of the World*. California, US: ABC-CLIO, 2010.
- Menzies, Robert P. 'Coming To Terms With An Evangelical Heritage — Part 1: Pentecostals And The Issue Of Subsequence'. *Enrichment Journal*. Accessed 25 March 2017. http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/200501/200501_heritage_pt1.cfm.
- Meyer, Birgit. 'Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 447–74. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143835>.
- Middlemiss, David. *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*. London, England: SCM Press Ltd, 1996.

- Miletzki, Janna Lucia. 'Waiting for Citizenship: Pragmatics of Belonging of Burundian Refugees in Protracted Exile. The Case of Ulyankulu Settlement, Tanzania'. PhD Thesis, London School of Economics: Human Geography, 2014.
- Milton, Grace. 'Understanding Pentecostal Conversion: An Empirical Study'. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013.
- 'Minute Book No. 14, PMU, AoG GB, HRMC, May 1946 - Mar. 1948, 12th Jul. 1946 248.5 p.12.', n.d.
- 'Minute Book No. 14, PMU, AoG GB, HRMC, May 1946 - Mar. 1948, 19th Mar. 1948 265.1 p.183.', n.d.
- 'Mission Studies as Intercultural Theology and Its Relationship to Religious Studies'. *International Review of Mission* 97, no. 384/385 (April 2008): 149–53.
- Mitchell, Ella P. 'Oral Tradition: Legacy of Faith for the Black Church'. *Religious Education* 81, no. 1 (1986).
- Mitula, Mkumbo G. *Silaha Za Maangamizi (Weapons of Destruction)*. Dar-es-salaam: Ecumenical Gathering of Youth Artistes (EGYA), 2013.
- Moltmann, Jurgen. *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1992.
- Moore, George F. 'Protestant Missions in East Africa (Pt. 2)'. *THE ANDOVER REVIEW: A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY* 1, no. V (May 1884): 524–33.
- . 'Protestant Missions in East Africa (Pt. 1)'. *THE ANDOVER REVIEW: A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY* 1, no. IV (April 1884): 387–404.
- Moore, Sally Falk, and Paul Purrit. *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania*. London: International African Institute, 1977.
- Morgan-Wynne, John Eifion. *Holy Spirit and Religious Experience in Christian Literature Ca. AD 90-200*. Studies in Christian History and Thought. Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2006.
- Moyo, Herbert. 'The Importance of the Physicality of the Bible in African Churches'. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 153 (November 2015): 128–40.
- Mtishiselwa, Bhele Ndikhokele. 'An African Philosophical Analysis of Isaiah 58: A Hermeneutic Enthused by "Ubuntu"'. *Scriptura* 116, no. 1 (2017): 1–12.
- Mugambi, J.N.K. *Christianity & African Culture*. Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Publishers, 2002.
- Müller, George. *A Life of Trust*. Edited by Wayland H. Lincoln. EBook (2008). New York: Gould and Lincoln, 1861. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/27288/27288-h/27288-h.htm>.
- Muller, Retief. 'Historiography and Cross-Cultural Research into African Indigenous Christianity (AIC): A Challenge to Human Dignity'. *Studies in World Christianity* 19, no. 1 (2013): 5–24. <https://doi.org/10.3366/swc.2013.0035>.
- Mundell, George H. *The Ministry of the Holy Spirit*. Darby, Pa. USA: Maran-atha Publications, nd.
- Munisi, E.S., J. Kimeme, and M. Magembe, eds. *Historia Ya Kanisa La Tanzania Assemblies of God*. Dar-es-salaam: Idara ya Uanafunzi na Maandiko TAG (HQ), 2014.
- Murphy, Jim, and Carolyn Murphy. *Jinsi Ya Kuwashinda Pepo: Kitabu Cha Mafunzo Kwa Mataifa Yote*. Arusha, Tanzania: Mwandani Publishers, 1996.

- Muzorewa, Gwinyai H. *The Origins and Development of African Theology*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985.
- Mwakimage, Jotham. *Historia Ya Kanisa La Tanzania Assemblies of God: Kuasisiwa Na Kuimarika*. Tanga: Jotham Mwakimage, 2011.
- Mwaura, Philomena Njeri. 'Woman Lost in the Global Maze: Women and Religion in East Africa Under Globalization'. *Oxford Handbooks Online*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2015. www.oxfordhandbooks.com.
- . 'East African Instituted Churches'. *Studies in World Christianity* 10 (2004): 160–84.
- Myers, Bryant L. 'Progressive Pentecostalism, Development, and Christian Development NGOs: A Challenge and an Opportunity'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 3 (July 2015): 115–20.
- Myerscough, Ian. 'Thomas Myerscough', 20 February 2015.
- Neatby, William Blair. *A History of the Plymouth Brethren*. London, England: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901.
- Nee, Watchman. *Changed into His Likeness*. Eastbourne, England: Victory Press, 1967.
- . *Release of the Spirit*. Carlisle [England]: STL Publications, 1965.
- . *Sit, Walk, Stand*. Eastbourne, England: Victory Press, 1957.
- . *The Assembly Life*. Living Stream Ministry, 1934. www.ministrybooks.org.
- Neill, S. *A History of Christian Mission*. (Revised by O. Chadwick). England: Penguin, 1986.
- Newel, Sasha. 'Pentecostal Witchcraft: Neoliberal Possession and Demonic Discourse in Ivoirian Pentecostal Churches'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37, no. 4 (2007): 461–90.
- Newton, Benjamin W. 'Occasional Papers on Scriptural Subjects'. Houlston and Wright, London, 1861.
- Newton, Ken, and Jeanette Newton. *The Brethren Movement Worldwide: Key Information 2015*. 4th ed. Lockerbie, UK: OPAL Trust, 2015.
- Ngong, David T. 'Theology as the Construction of Piety: A Critique of the Theology of Inculturation and the Pentecostalization of African Christianity'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 21 (2012): 344–62.
- Nilsson, Nils-Olov. 'Sociological and Theological Factors in the Increase of Women Ministers in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement in the 1990s. A Brief Analysis of the Debate about Women Ministers 1978-2000'. Lecture presented at the Society of Pentecostal Studies Conference 2002, Lakeland, 16 March 2002.
- Nkurunziza, Deusdedit R. K. *Bantu Philosophy of Life in the Light of the Christian Message: A Basis for an African Vitalistic Theology*. European University Studies, XXIII. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989.
- Nnamani, Amuluche-Greg. 'The Flow of African Spirituality into World Christianity'. *Mission Studies* 32 (2015): 331–52. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15733831-12341413>.
- Noll, Mark A. *The New Shape of World Christianity*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009.

- Oborji, Francis Anekwe. 'Missiology in Its Relation to Intercultural Theology and Religious Studies'. *Mission Studies* 25 (2008): 113–14.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/157338308X293981>.
- Oden, Thomas C. *Life in the Spirit - Systematic Theology: Volume Three*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Prince Press, 1992.
- Oliver, R. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London: Longmans, 1965.
- Olofinjana, Israel. *African Voices: Towards African British Theologies*. Carlisle, UK: Langham Global Library, 2017.
- Olupona, J.K. 'The Changing Face of African Christianity: Reverse Mission in Transnational and Global Perspectives'. In *Transnational Africa and Globalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Orobator, Agbonkhianmeghe E. *Theology Brewed in an African Pot*. Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa, 2008.
- O'Sullivan, Anthony Daniel Forster. 'Reconciliation and Renewal in Roger T. Forster: The Doctrine of the Atonement In Teaching and Practice of a Restoration Theology'. PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2001. www.etheses.whiterose.ac.uk.
- Owen, John. *The Works of John Owen: Volume III (The Holy Spirit)*. Edited by William H. Gould. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965.
- Paas, Steven. *The Faith Moves South: A History of the Church in Africa*. Kachere 27. Zomba: African Books Collective Oxford, 2006.
- Packer, James I. *God in Our Midst*. Milton Keynes, England: Word Publishing, 1987.
- Packer, J.I. *Fundamentalism and the Word of God*. London, England: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1958.
- . *Knowing God*. 1975th ed. Sevenoaks, England: Hodder & Stoughton, 1973.
- . 'Theological Reflections on the Charismatic Movement – Part 1'. *Churchman* 94, no. 1 (1980).
- Packer, J.I., and Loren Wilkinson, eds. *Alive to God: Studies in Spirituality*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1992.
- Park, Sung Kyu. 'Charismatic Spirituality: Could It Be a Viable Option for Contextual Spirituality in Kenya?' *International Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 14 (n.d.): 1–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/IJPT.2010.2>.
- Parrat, J. K. 'The Witness of the Holy Spirit: Calvin, The Puritans and St. Paul'. *The Evangelical Quarterly* 3 (1969): 161–68.
- Parratt, John. *Reinventing Christianity: African Theology Today*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995.
- Parrinder, Geoffrey. *African Traditional Religion*. London: SPCK, 1954.
- Patterson, George N. 'Pentecostalism, East and West'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 9 (1965): 30–37.

- Pawlikova-Vilhanova, Viera. 'The Role of Early "Missionaries of Africa" or "White Fathers" in the Study and Development of African Languages'. *Asian and African Studies* 20, no. 2 (2011): 267–88.
- Pawson, David. *Word and Spirit Together: Uniting Charismatics and Evangelicals*. London, England: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993.
- Payne, J. Barton. 'Book Review of The Unbelievable Pre-Trib Origin by Dave MacPherson, Kansas City, Mo., Heart of American Bible Society, 1973'. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 17, no. 1 (1974): 55–56.
- Peddie, J. Cameron. *The Forgotten Talent*. London: Arthur James, 1985.
- Percy, Martyn, and Peter Ward, eds. *The Wisdom of the Spirit: Gospel, Church and Culture*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014.
- Peterson, Robert L. *Robert Chapman: A Biography*. Colorado Springs, USA: Lewis & Roth, 2007.
- 'PewForum Survey: Sub-Saharan Africa Religion Database 2010'. Accessed 21 June 2016. www.pewforum.org/2010/01/15/executive-summary-islam-and-christianity-in-sub-saharan-africa.
- Pickering, HY, ed. *Chief Men Among the Brethren*. 2nd (1964 reprint). London, England: Pickering & Inglis Ltd, 1918.
- Pierard, Richard V. 'Allied Treatment of Protestant Missionaries in German East Africa in World War I'. *The Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 12, no. 1 (1993): 4–17.
- Pinnock, Clark H. *Flame of Love*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1996.
- Pirouet, M. Louise. 'East African Christians and World War I'. *The Journal of African History* 19, no. 1 (1978): 117–30. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002185370001598X>.
- Pobee, John. *Towards an African Theology*. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1979.
- Pollner, Melvin, and Robert M. Emerson. 'Ethnomethodology and Ethnography'. In *The Handbook of Ethnography*, 118–35. London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2001.
- Price, Lynne. *Theology Out of Place*. London, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Priest, Robert J. 'Putting Witch Accusations in the Missiological Agenda: A Case from Northern Peru'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 3–6.
- Purves, James G. M. 'An Examination of the Person and Function of the Holy Spirit within a Trinitarian Framework with Special Reference to Developments in Theology and the Reception of the Charismatic Movement within the Scottish Context'. PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1993.
- Ramlo, Susan. 'Mixed Method Lessons Learned From 80 Years of Q Methodology'. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, October 2015, 1–18. <https://doi.org/1558689815610998>.
- . 'Using Word Clouds to Present Q Methodology Data and Findings.' *Human Subjectivity* 9, no. 2 (2011): 99–111.
- Randall, Ian. 'Graham Scroggie and Evangelical Spirituality'. *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 18, no. 1 (2000): 71–79.

- . “‘Outside the Camp’: Brethren Spirituality and Wider Evangelicalism in the 1920s’. *Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review* 2 (2000): 17–33.
- Randall, Ian M. ‘Old Time Power: Relationships between Pentecostalism and Evangelical Spirituality in England’. *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 19, no. 1 (1997): 53–80.
- Rasmussen, Steven D. H., and Hannah Rasmussen. ‘Healing Communities: Contextualizing Responses to Witch Accusations’. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 12–18.
- Ridout, Samuel. *The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit*. New Jersey: Loizeaux Bros., 1954.
- Rockel, Stephen J. ‘Caravan Porters of the Nyika: Labour, Culture and Society in Nineteenth Century Tanzania.’ PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1997.
- Rognlien, Robert Phillip. *Experiential Worship*. Colorado Springs, USA: NavPress, 2005.
- Ronzani, Rinaldo. *Christian Initiation: Baptism and Confirmation*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2007.
- Root, Sheryl. ‘The Healing Touch: Spiritual Healing in England, C. 1870-1955’. PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2005.
- Roura, Maria, Ray Nsigaye, Benjamin Nhandi, Joyce Wamoyi, Joanna Busza, Mark Urassa, Jim Todd, and Zaba Basia. “‘Driving the Devil Away”: Qualitative Insights into Miraculous Cures for AIDS in a Rural Tanzanian Ward’. *BMC Public Health* 10 (2010): 427ff.
- Rowdon, H. H. *The Origins of the Brethren*. London, England: Pickering & Inglis, 1967.
- Rowdon, Harold, ed. *Christian Brethren Review: Scottish Brethren 1838-1916 and Other Papers*. Vol. 41. Exeter: Paternoster Press, n.d.
- . ‘Gathering to His Name: The Story of Open Brethren in Britain, A Review Article’. *Brethren Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (n.d.): 94–97.
- Ruel, Malcolm. *Belief, Ritual and the Securing of Life*. Study of Religion in Africa 18. Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1997.
- Ryrie, Charles C. *Dispensationalism Today*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1965.
- Sæbjørnsen, Siv Elin Nord, Ingunn T. Ellingsen, James M.M. Good, and Atle Ødegård. ‘Combining a Naturalistic and Theoretical Q Sample Approach: An Empirical Research Illustration’. *Operant Subjectivity* 38, no. 2 (2016): 15–32.
<https://doi.org/10.15133/j.os.2016.005>.
- Sahlberg, Carl-Erik. *Kutoka Krapf Hadi Rugambwa: Historia Ya Kanisa Ya Tanzania (From Krapf to Rugambwa: A History of the Church of Tanzania)*. Nairobi: Scripture Mission, 1987.
- Sanders, Ethan R. ‘Missionaries and Muslims in East Africa before the Great War’. Lecture presented at the Henry Martyn Seminar, Westminster College, University of Cambridge, 9 March 2011.
- Sanders, J. Oswald. *Spiritual Maturity*. Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1994.
- Scheunemann, Detmar. *Huduma Za Roho Mtakatifu (Ministries of the Holy Spirit)*. Dodoma, Tanzania: KLB Publishers, 1989.

- Schmidt, Heike. '(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, no. 1 (2010): 27–62.
- Schnabel, Eckhard J. *Acts*. Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2012.
- Schreier, Robert. *Constructing Local Theologies*. London, England: SCM Press Ltd, 1985.
- Scotland, Nigel. 'From the "Not Yet" to the "Now and the Not yet": Charismatic Kingdom Theology 1960-2010'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 20 (2011): 272–90.
- . *Charismatics and the Millennium: Do They Have a Future?* London, U.K.: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995.
- 'Seizing the Moment, Shaping the Future'. *Echoes Mission Magazine*, September 2017.
- Sella, Elifuraha Emanuel. *Imani Itendayo Kazi Katika Nguvu*. Arusha, Tanzania: Habari Maalum Press, n.d.
- Sendoro, Elinaza E. *Uamsho Na Karama: Roho Mtakatifu Katika Makanisa Ya Kihistoria Tanzania*. Moshi, Tanzania: New Millennium Books, 2010.
- Shabani, Malaki. *Jinsi Ya Kutoka Kwenye Laana Ya Magonjwa Na Laana Ya Elimu*. Dar-es-salaam: Malaki Z. Shabani, n.d.
- Shakarian, Demos, and John and Elizabeth Sherrill. *The Happiest People on Earth*, n.d.
- Shaull, Richard, and Waldo Cesar. *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches: Promises, Limitations, Challenges*. Cambridge, U.K.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000.
- Shaw, Rosalind. 'Agency, Meaning and Structure in African Religion'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 18, no. 3 (1988): 255–66.
- Sheppard, Gerald T. 'Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship'. *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6, no. 1 (1984): 3–55.
- Shillington, K. *A History of Africa*. London: Macmillan Press, 1995.
- Shorter, Aylward. *The Church in the African City*. London, England: Geoffrey Chapman, 1991.
- . 'Spirit Possession and Christian Healing in Tanzania'. *African Affairs* 79, no. 314 (January 1980): 45–53.
- Shuff, Roger N. *Searching for the True Church*. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster Press, 2004.
- Silva, Oseias da. 'Reverse Mission in the Western Context'. *Holiness: The Journal of Wesley House Cambridge* 1, no. 2 (2015): 231–44.
- Simpson, Donald. *Dark Companions: The African Contribution to the European Exploration of East Africa*. London: Paul Elek Ltd, 1975.
- Sjöberg, Tage. *Kanisa La Mungu*. Arusha, Tanzania: Habari Maalum Press, 1990.
- Smith, Fred C. *Developing a Biblical Worldview*. Nashville, Tennessee: B & H Academic, 2015.
- Smith, James K. A. *Imagining the Kingdom: How Worship Works*. Vol. 2. Cultural Liturgies. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2013.

- — —. *Desiring the Kingdom: Worship, Worldview and Cultural Formation*. Vol. 1. Cultural Liturgies. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2009.
- Smith, Peter. *Global Warming: The Fire of Pentecost in World Evangelism*. Antrim, NI: Elim Pentecostal Irish Churches, 2006.
- Snyder, C. Arnold. *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction*. Ontario: Pandora Press, 1995.
- Somerville-Meikle, J.M., ed. 'Pentecostalism: Special Issue'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 9 (1965).
- Sommers, Marc. *Fear in Bongoland: Burundian Refugees in Urban Tanzania*. Refugee and Forced Migration Studies 8. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.
- Spear, Thomas, and Isaria N. Kimambo, eds. *East African Expressions of Christianity*. East African Studies. Dar-es-salaam: James Currey/Mkuki na Nyota, 1999.
- Spiese, Fanny. 'Difficulties in Getting Established in a New Field'. *The Latter Rain Evangel*, August 1928.
- Stålsett, Sturla J., ed. *Spirits of Globalization: The Growth of Pentecostalism and Experimental Spiritualities in a Global Age*. London, U.K.: SCM Press Ltd, 2006.
- Stambach, Amy, and Aikande C. Kwayu. 'Take the Gift of My Child and Return Something to Me: On Children, Chagga Trust, and a New American Evangelical Orphanage on Mount Kilimanjaro'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 43 (2013): 379–95.
- Stephenson, Christopher Adam. 'Pentecostal Theology According to the Theologians: An Introduction to the Theological Methods of Pentecostal Systematic Theologians'. Dissertation, Marquette University, 2009.
- Stephenson, Lisa P. 'Propheying Women and Ruling Men: Women's Religious Authority in North American Pentecostalism'. *Religions* 2 (2011): 410–26.
- Stephenson, W. *The Study of Behaviour: Q Technique and Its Methodology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Steven, James H S. *Worship in Spirit: Charismatic Worship in the Church of England*. London, England: Paternoster Press, 2002.
- Stevens, Lesley. 'Religious Change in a Haya Village, Tanzania'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21, no. 1 (1991): 2–25.
- Stewart, Charles, and Rosalind Shaw, eds. *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London, England: Routledge, 1994.
- Stibbe, MWG. 'The Theology of Renewal and the Renewal of Theology'. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 3 (1993): 71–90.
- Stock, Eugene. *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol III*. London: CMS, 1899. <https://archive.org/details/churchmissionary03stocuoft>.
- Stoeffler, F. Ernest. *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden, Belgium: EJ Brill, 1973.
- Stoner-Eby, Anne Marie. 'African Clergy, Bishop Lucas and the Christianizing of Local Initiation Rites: Revisiting "The Masasi Case"'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38 (2008): 171–208.

- Stott, John. *Calling Christian Leaders: Biblical Models of Church, Gospel and Ministry*. Leicester, England: IVP, 2002.
- Stott, John RW. *Baptism and Fullness*. London: IVP, 1964.
- Strachan, C. Gordon. *The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving*. London, England: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973.
- Strijdom, Johan. 'Towards a Critique of Indigenous African Religion'. *HTS Theological Studies* 67, no. 1 (June 2011): Art. #950. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.950>.
- Stunt, T. C. F. *The Elusive Quest of the Spiritual Malcontent: Some Early Nineteenth Century Ecclesiastical Mavericks*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2015.
- . 'Leonard Strong: The Motive and Experiences of Early Missionary Work in British Guiana'. *Christian Brethren Review* 34, no. Cautionary Tales from Brethren History (1983): 95–105.
- Stunt, Timothy C. F. 'Irvingite Pentecostalism and the Early Brethren'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 10 (1965): 40–48.
- Sundkler, B. *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania*. Virginia, USA: Hurst & Company, 1980.
- Sundkler, B., and C. Steed. *A History of the Church in Africa*. England: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Synan, Vincent, ed. *Spirit-Empowered Christianity in the 21st Century*. Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House: A Strang Company, 2011.
- Synan, Vinson, ed. *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movement in the Twentieth Century*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997.
- . *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*. Plainfield, N.J., U.S.A.: Logos International, 1975.
- TACAIDS. '2011-12 Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey: Key Findings'. National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Dar-es-salaam., 2013.
- . '2011-12 Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey (THMIS)'. National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Dar-es-salaam., 2013.
- Tan, Jonathan Y., and Anh Q. Tran, eds. *World Christianity: Perspectives and Insights*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2016.
- Tanner, R. E. S. 'Word and Spirit in Contemporary African Religious Practice and Thought: Some Issues Raised by Translation into Swahili'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 9, no. 2 (1978): 123–35.
- Taylor, John Vincent. *The Go-Between God: The Holy Spirit and the Christian Mission*. London, England: SCM Press Ltd, 1972.
- . *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence and African Religion*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1963.
- Taylor, Malcolm John. 'Publish and Be Blessed: A Case Study in Early Pentecostal Publishing History 1906-1926'. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1994.

- Taylor, William D., ed. *Global Missiology for the 21st Century: The Iguassu Dialogue*. Globalization of Mission Series. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2000.
- 'The Christ's Ambassadors Herald, Vol. XIV. No. 8, August 1941', n.d.
- 'The Gospel in East Africa'. *The Pentecostal Evangel*, no. 1622 (9 June 1945): 11.
- 'The Latter Rain Evangel, Vol. 12. No. 12, September 1920, P. 20', n.d.
- 'The Latter Rain Evangel, Vol. 20. No. 11, August 1928', n.d.
- 'The Pentecostal Evangel, No. 1394, January 25, 1941', n.d.
- Thiselton, Anthony C. *The Holy Spirit - In Biblical Teaching, through the Centuries, and Today*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2013.
- Thomas, W. H. Griffiths. *The Holy Spirit of God*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1963.
- Thompson, Phyllis, ed. *Challenges of Black Pentecostal Leadership in the 21st Century*. London, England: SPCK, 2013.
- Thornton, Douglas M. *Africa Waiting or The Problem of Africa's Evangelization*. London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 1897.
- Torrey, R.A. *The Holy Spirit: Who He Is and What He Does*. Alachua, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2008.
- Tozer, A.W. *How to Be Filled with the Holy Spirit*. Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, nd.
- Tshabalala, Bhekani G., and Cynthia J. Patel. 'The Role of Praise and Worship Activities in Spiritual Well-Being: Perceptions of a Pentecostal Youth Ministry Group'. *International Journal of Children's Spirituality* 15, no. 1 (March 2010): 73–82.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13644361003603074>.
- Turner, Max. *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*. Revised. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 1996.
- Turner, M.M.B. 'The Concept of Receiving the Spirit in John's Gospel'. *Vox Evangelical* 10 (1977): 24–42.
- UNESCO. 'Tanzania Education Analysis: Beyond Primary Education, the Quest for Balanced and Efficient Policy Choices for Human Development and Economic Growth'. Dakar: UNESCO, Pôle de Dakar, 2011.
- Unknown. 'Max Weber (1864-1920)'. In *SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY IN THE CLASSICAL ERA*, 153–220. http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/30609_4.pdf: SAGE Publications Inc., 2004.
- Ustorf, Werner. 'The Cultural Origins of "Intercultural Theology"'. *Mission Studies* 25 (2008): 229–51. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338308X365387>.
- Vallotton, Kris. *Spirit Wars: Winning the Invisible Battle against Sin and the Enemy*. Bloomington, Minneapolis: Chosen, 2012.
- various. 'Why I Left the Brethren'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 8, no. 5 (1965): 5–22.
- Veitch, Thomas Stewart. *The Story of the Brethren Movement*. London: Pickering & Inglis, n.d.
- Versteeg, P. G. A., and A. F. Droogers. 'A Typology Of Domestication In Exorcism'. *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 8 (2007): 15–32.
- Volf, Miroslav. 'Christianity and Violence'. University of Pennsylvania, 2002.

- Vondey, Wolfgang. 'The Making of a Black Liturgy: Pentecostal Worship and Spirituality from African Slave Narratives to American Cityscapes'. *Black Theology* 10, no. 2 (2012): 147–68. <https://doi.org/10.1558/blth.v10i2.147>.
- . *Beyond Pentecostalism: The Crisis of Global Christianity and the Renewal of the Theological Agenda*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2010.
- . 'Pentecostal Ecclesiology and Eucharistic Hospitality: Toward a Systematic and Ecumenical Account of the Church'. *Pneuma* 32 (2010): 41–55.
- Vreeland, Derek. 'Edward Irving: Preacher, Prophet & Charismatic Theologian'. *Pneuma Review* 5, no. 2 (2002).
- Wagner, Peter C., and F. Douglas Pennoyer, eds. *Wrestling with Dark Angels*. Tunbridge Wells, England: Monarch, 1990.
- Währisch-Oblau, C. 'From Reverse Mission to Common Mission... We Hope.' *International Review of Mission* 89 (2000): 467–83.
- Währisch-Oblau, Claudia. *The Missionary Self-Perception of Pentecostal/Charismatic Church Leaders from the Global South in Europe: Bringing Back the Gospel*. Vol. 2. Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill NV, 2009.
- Walker, Andrew. *Restoring the Kingdom: The Radical Christianity of the House Church Movement*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985.
- Wallis, Arthur. *The Radical Christian*. Eastbourne, England: Kingsway Publications, 1981.
- . 'Springs of Restoration: Origins of the New Charismatic Churches in the UK'. *Restoration Magazine*, August 1980. www.revival-library.org/pensketches/charismatics/springs.html.
- Walls, Andrew F. 'An Anthropology of Hope: Africa, Slavery, and Civilisation in Nineteenth-Century Mission Thinking'. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 4 (October 2015): 225–30.
- . *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark International, 2007.
- Walz, Brad. 'To Advance from "Talking" to "Walking:" Recognizing the Reality of the New Sending Countries'. *International Journal of Pentecostal Missiology* 1 (2013).
- Ward, Gertrude. *Letters from East Africa, 1895-1897*. London: Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1899.
- Ward, Kevin. "'Tukutendereza Yesu": The Balokole Revival in Uganda'. *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 1991. <http://www.dacb.org/history/uganda-balokole.html>.
- Ward, Kevin, and Emma Wild-Woods, eds. *The East African Revival: History and Legacies*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.
- Wariboko, Nimi. *The Pentecostal Principle*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2012.
- Warrington, Keith. *Pentecostal Perspectives*. Carlisle [England]: Paternoster Press, 1998.
- Waterhouse, Helen. 'Yearning to Belong: Discovering a New Religious Movement'. *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 12, no. 3 (September 2011): 342–44.

- Watterson, John A. 'Origins of the Plymouth Brethren or How and Why Did the Brethren Movement Begin'. unknown, n.d.
- Watts, Simon, and Paul Stenner. *Doing Q Methodological Research: Theory, Method and Interpretation*. London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2012.
- Wedin, Asa. 'Literacy and power—The Cases of Tanzania and Rwanda'. *International Journal of Educational Development* 28 (2008): 754–63.
- Wells, David. *No Place for Truth: Or, Whatever Happened to Evangelical Theology?* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1993.
- White, John. *When the Spirit Comes with Power*. London, England: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992.
- 'Why Is the Kingdom of God so Important?' www.vineyardchurches.org.uk, January 2015.
- Wijsen, Frans, and Robert Schreiter, eds. *Global Christianity: Contested Claims*. Vol. 43. World Christianity and Interreligious Relations. Nijmegen, The Netherlands: Rodopi, 2007.
- Wilkens, Katharina. *Holy Water and Evil Spirits: Religious Healing in East Africa*. Beitrage Zur Afrikaforschung. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011.
- Wilkin, Paul David. 'To the Bottom of the Heap: Educational Deprivation and Its Social Implications in the Northwestern Province of Zambia, 1906-1945 (Also E-Book)'. PhD Thesis, Graduate School of Syracuse University, 2014.
- Williams, J. Rodman. *Renewal Theology*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1996.
- Willmer, Haddon. 'The Significance of Restorationism'. *Baptist Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (January 1987): 19–27.
- Wilson, Bryan R. 'An Analysis of Sect Development'. *American Sociological Review* 24, no. 1 (1959): 3–15.
- Wittich, Marion E. 'Pioneering amid Perils of War: Suffering the Loss of All Things'. *The Latter Rain Evangel* 11, no. 9 (June 1919).
- Wolf, James B., ed. *Missionary to Tanganyika, 1877-1888, by Edward C. Hore*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1971.
- Womack, David. *The Well-Springs of the Pentecostal Movement*. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1968.
- Wright, Marcia. *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Xi, Lian. *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*. Yale University, Michigan: Sheridan Books, 2010.
- Yoh, John Gay. *Christianity in Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi*. Amman, Jordan: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 2000.
- Yong, Amos. *The Future of Evangelical Theology*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014.
- Young, Harry, David G. Lillie, and K. N. S. Counter. 'Why I Left the Brethren'. *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal* 8 (1965): 5–22.

Zabala, Aiora, and Unai Pascual. 'Bootstrapping Q Methodology to Improve the Understanding of Human Perspectives'. *Plos One*, February 2016.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0148087>.

10. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Q SORT STATEMENTS (ENGLISH)⁵²⁸

1. The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming
2. The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith
3. The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein.
4. The Bible should be taken literally: what we read about happening then does happen even now
5. The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions
6. The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy
7. Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism
8. Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately
9. Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation
10. The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches
11. Speaking in tongues is one sure evidence that Christ is still your Lord and Saviour
12. Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit
13. The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion
14. There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ
15. The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus
16. We need the power of the Holy Spirit to become more like Jesus
17. All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit.
18. The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God.
19. Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today
20. We can ask God for miraculous healing but we should qualify our prayers by submitting to his will
21. We believe God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors, and prayer
22. God does miracles from time to time
23. We believe God heals through people who are anointed with the gift of healing
24. We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will
25. All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today
26. The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved
27. Demons have no authority over believers
28. Mental illness can be a factor to consider when ministering to people who say they are demon-possessed
29. Demons can only come out by prayer and fasting
30. Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons
31. The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism
32. Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective
33. The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days
34. The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar
35. The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit
36. As the end approaches God will unite his true people without denominational divisions by pouring out his Spirit
37. The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days
38. Local church elders have authority under Christ for the local church
39. Women must remain silent in church
40. Women should have full equality with men in church in role and responsibility
41. Apostles and prophets are two vital leadership gifts for churches today
42. The Lord's Supper should be held weekly on a Sunday morning
43. When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ
44. The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements
45. The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements
46. Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper
47. We should have communion from time to time but weekly communion serves to reduce its value
48. Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others
49. The right heart attitude matters more than worrying about the amount you give
50. It is wrong to drink alcohol because the Lord's money could be used for other valuable things.
51. Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God
52. We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit
53. Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so that He can bless you
54. Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord
55. Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing and shouts of praise

⁵²⁸ The researcher has noted a weakness in some of these statements after use in the field. It is not advisable to have complex statements, or statements that offer a qualification (e.g. No. 5) or condition to the initial clause (e.g. No. 26) This can raise doubts or confusion in the mind of the respondent. For a more accurate interpretation of the data emerging from Q methodology, one ought to craft the statements in a more careful manner. See discussion in the main thesis at p.

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE Q-SORT RECORD

Q Sort Record

No. 24

Date of completion: *08.07.2014*
 Name: *Mr Daniel John*
 Church: *KL B Pasua - member*
 Gender/age: *Male age 31-45*
 Status: *Married*
 Education: *Form 4*

Most Disagree								Most Agree
2	5	7	8	11	8	7	5	2

19	21	11	36	55	29	9	8	46
40	44	41	48	28	27	2	53	20
	26	7	22	39	24	18	51	
	30	50	16	6	43	15	34	
	32	14	17	49	5	38	4	
		45	42	1	54	23		
		35	3	47	10	13		
			12	25	52			
				31				
				37				
				33				

APPENDIX C: Z-SCORES FOR FACTOR ARRAYS 1, 2 AND 3

Factor Array 1

No.	Statement	No.	Z Score
51	Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God	51	2.011
2	The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith	2	1.597
46	Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper	46	1.575
53	Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so that He can bless you	53	1.507
20	We can ask God for miraculous healing but we should qualify our prayers by submitting to his will	20	1.432
27	Demons have no authority over believers	27	1.281
52	We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit	52	1.195
15	The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus	15	1.143
16	We need the power of the Holy Spirit to become more like Jesus	16	1.121
13	The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion	13	0.977
18	The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God.	18	0.944
4	The Bible should be taken literally: what we read about happening then does happen even now	4	0.912
34	The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar	34	0.911
31	The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism	31	0.910
33	The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days	33	0.768
3	The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein.	3	0.709
38	Local church elders have authority under Christ for the local church	38	0.615
55	Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing and shouts of praise	55	0.581
8	Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately	8	0.570
9	Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation	9	0.445
1	The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming	1	0.417
5	The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions	5	0.282
23	We believe God heals through people who are anointed with the gift of healing	23	0.223
35	The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit	35	0.221
54	Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord	54	0.214
25	All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today	25	0.172
10	The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches	10	0.164
50	It is wrong to drink alcohol because the Lord's money could be used for other valuable things.	50	0.074
43	When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ	43	-0.013
49	The right heart attitude matters more than worrying about the amount you give	49	-0.019
6	The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy	6	-0.076
22	God does miracles from time to time	22	-0.085
17	All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit.	17	-0.163
47	We should have communion from time to time but weekly communion serves to reduce its value	47	-0.297
12	Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit	12	-0.467
11	Speaking in tongues is one sure evidence that Christ is still your Lord and Saviour	11	-0.573
37	The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days	37	-0.604
42	The Lord's Supper should be held weekly on a Sunday morning	42	-0.616
36	As the end approaches God will unite his true people without denominational divisions by pouring out his Spirit	36	-0.656
24	We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will	24	-0.670
28	Mental illness can be a factor to consider when ministering to people who say they are demon-possessed	28	-0.689
45	The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements	45	-0.837
41	Apostles and prophets are two vital leadership gifts for churches today	41	-0.903
39	Women must remain silent in church	39	-0.927
29	Demons can only come out by prayer and fasting	29	-1.031
21	We believe God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors, and prayer	21	-1.063
40	Women should have full equality with men in church in role and responsibility	40	-1.126
7	Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism	7	-1.210
26	The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved	26	-1.235
44	The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements	44	-1.239
14	There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ	14	-1.339
32	Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective	32	-1.475
48	Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others	48	-1.727
19	Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today	19	-1.840
30	Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons	30	-2.092

APPENDIX C: CONTINUED...

Factor Array 2

No.	Statement	No.	Z Score
2	The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith	2	2.113
1	The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming	1	2.051
42	The Lord's Supper should be held weekly on a Sunday morning	42	1.685
15	The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus	15	1.472
51	Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God	51	1.459
21	We believe God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors, and prayer	21	1.265
37	The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days	37	1.215
20	We can ask God for miraculous healing but we should qualify our prayers by submitting to his will	20	1.060
39	Women must remain silent in church	39	0.987
3	The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein.	3	0.918
43	When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ	43	0.822
35	The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit	35	0.744
46	Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper	46	0.689
5	The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions	5	0.638
36	As the end approaches God will unite his true people without denominational divisions by pouring out his Spirit	36	0.622
9	Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation	9	0.577
8	Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately	8	0.414
6	The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy	6	0.412
16	We need the power of the Holy Spirit to become more like Jesus	16	0.405
44	The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements	44	0.401
55	Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing and shouts of praise	55	0.399
45	The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements	45	0.383
33	The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days	33	0.370
38	Local church elders have authority under Christ for the local church	38	0.367
22	God does miracles from time to time	22	0.279
17	All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit.	17	0.255
54	Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord	54	0.021
49	The right heart attitude matters more than worrying about the amount you give	49	0.014
18	The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God.	18	0.004
7	Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism	7	-0.035
14	There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ	14	-0.049
4	The Bible should be taken literally: what we read about happening then does happen even now	4	-0.141
28	Mental illness can be a factor to consider when ministering to people who say they are demon-possessed	28	-0.156
34	The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar	34	-0.158
26	The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved	26	-0.358
27	Demons have no authority over believers	27	-0.376
11	Speaking in tongues is one sure evidence that Christ is still your Lord and Saviour	11	-0.384
13	The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion	13	-0.407
52	We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit	52	-0.469
48	Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others	48	-0.554
41	Apostles and prophets are two vital leadership gifts for churches today	41	-0.627
29	Demons can only come out by prayer and fasting	29	-0.721
25	All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today	25	-0.761
10	The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches	10	-0.812
31	The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism	31	-0.940
19	Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today	19	-1.128
53	Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so that He can bless you	53	-1.145
24	We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will	24	-1.276
23	We believe God heals through people who are anointed with the gift of healing	23	-1.318
12	Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit	12	-1.406
50	It is wrong to drink alcohol because the Lord's money could be used for other valuable things.	50	-1.511
32	Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective	32	-1.585
47	We should have communion from time to time but weekly communion serves to reduce its value	47	-1.667
40	Women should have full equality with men in church in role and responsibility	40	-1.992
30	Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons	30	-2.066

APPENDIX C: CONTINUED...

Factor Array 3

No.	Statement	No.	Z Score
51	Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God	51	1.834
1	The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming	1	1.718
15	The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus	15	1.638
31	The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism	31	1.474
16	We need the power of the Holy Spirit to become more like Jesus	16	1.448
4	The Bible should be taken literally: what we read about happening then does happen even now	4	1.226
20	We can ask God for miraculous healing but we should qualify our prayers by submitting to his will	20	1.139
13	The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion	13	1.139
17	All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit.	17	1.126
18	The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God.	18	1.116
3	The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein.	3	1.115
46	Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper	46	1.098
53	Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so that He can bless you	53	1.058
35	The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit	35	1.037
52	We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit	52	0.829
2	The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith	2	0.828
38	Local church elders have authority under Christ for the local church	38	0.509
5	The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions	5	0.455
45	The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements	45	0.382
44	The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements	44	0.280
41	Apostles and prophets are two vital leadership gifts for churches today	41	0.218
40	Women should have full equality with men in church in role and responsibility	40	0.216
22	God does miracles from time to time	22	0.215
36	As the end approaches God will unite his true people without denominational divisions by pouring out his Spirit	36	0.186
49	The right heart attitude matters more than worrying about the amount you give	49	0.132
21	We believe God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors, and prayer	21	0.027
33	The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days	33	0.026
27	Demons have no authority over believers	27	-0.037
43	When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ	43	-0.050
6	The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy	6	-0.061
25	All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today	25	-0.165
55	Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing and shouts of praise	55	-0.199
10	The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches	10	-0.260
50	It is wrong to drink alcohol because the Lord's money could be used for other valuable things.	50	-0.289
34	The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar	34	-0.298
37	The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days	37	-0.361
12	Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit	12	-0.366
23	We believe God heals through people who are anointed with the gift of healing	23	-0.494
28	Mental illness can be a factor to consider when ministering to people who say they are demon-possessed	28	-0.525
11	Speaking in tongues is one sure evidence that Christ is still your Lord and Saviour	11	-0.544
9	Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation	9	-0.580
54	Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord	54	-0.673
42	The Lord's Supper should be held weekly on a Sunday morning	42	-0.872
47	We should have communion from time to time but weekly communion serves to reduce its value	47	-1.063
24	We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will	24	-1.066
32	Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective	32	-1.117
29	Demons can only come out by prayer and fasting	29	-1.143
14	There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ	14	-1.163
8	Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately	8	-1.173
26	The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved	26	-1.438
48	Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others	48	-1.455
7	Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism	7	-1.631
39	Women must remain silent in church	39	-1.783
30	Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons	30	-1.797
19	Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today	19	-1.866

APPENDIX D: FACTOR INTERPRETATION CRIB SHEET FOR FACTOR 1

Items ranked at +4

- 02 The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith
 - 51 Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God
-

Items ranked at +3

- 20 We can ask God for miraculous healing qualifying our prayers by submitting to his will
 - 27 Demons have no authority over believers
 - 46 Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper
 - 52 We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit
 - 53 Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so that He can bless you
-

Items ranked **higher** in Factor 1 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

- 08 Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately +1=
 - 09 Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation +1=
 - 10 The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches 0=
 - 12 Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit -1
 - 13 The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion +2
 - 18 The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God +2
 - 23 We believe God heals through people who are anointed with the gift of healing 0
 - 24 We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will -1
 - 25 All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today 0=
 - 33 The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days +1
 - 34 The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar +2
 - 54 Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord 0=
 - 55 Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing & shouts of praise +1=
-

Items ranked **lower** in Factor 1 than in Other Factor Arrays

- 01 The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming +1
- 03 The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein +1
- 05 The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions +1
- 06 The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy 0
- 15 The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus +2
- 17 All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit 0
- 21 God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors, and prayer
- 28 Mental illness can be a factor to consider when ministering to people who say they are demon-possessed -1=
- 35 The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit 0

- 36 As the end approaches God will unite his true people without denominational divisions by pouring out his Spirit -1
37 The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days -1=
41 Apostles and prophets are two vital leadership gifts for churches today -2
43 When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ 0=
45 The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements -2
-

Items ranked at -3

- 14 There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ
26 The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved
32 Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective
44 The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements
48 Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others
-

Items ranked at -4

- 19 Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today
30 Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons

APPENDIX E: FACTOR INTERPRETATION CRIB SHEET FOR FACTOR 2

Items ranked at +4

- 01 The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming
 - 02 The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith
-

Items ranked at +3

- 15 The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus
 - 21 We believe God heals but through different means today including medicine, doctors, and prayer
 - 37 The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days
 - 42 The Lord's Supper should be held weekly on a Sunday morning
 - 51 Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God
-

Items ranked **higher** in Factor 2 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

- 03 The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein +2=
- 05 The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions +2
- 06 The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy +1
- 07 Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism 0
- 08 Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately +1=
- 09 Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation +1=
- 14 There is no need to mention the Holy Spirit so much because his role is to point us to Christ 0
- 19 Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today -2
- 26 The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved -1
- 28 Mental illness can be factor to consider when ministering to people who say they're demon-possessed 0
- 35 The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit +2=
- 36 As the end approaches God will unite his true people without denominational divisions by pouring out his Spirit +1
- 39 Women must remain silent in church +2
- 43 When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ +2
- 44 The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements +1=
- 45 The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements +1=
- 48 Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others -1
- 54 Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord 0=
- 55 Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing & shouts of praise +1=

Items ranked **lower** in Factor 2 than in Other Factor Arrays

- 04 The Bible should be taken literally: what we read about happening then does happen even now 0
- 10 The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches -2
- 12 Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit -3
- 13 The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion -1
- 16 We need the power of the Holy Spirit to become more like Jesus +1
- 17 All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit 0=
- 18 The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God 0
- 20 We can ask God for miraculous healing but we should qualify our prayers by submitting to his will 2
- 24 We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will -2=
- 25 All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today -2
- 27 Demons have no authority over believers -1
- 31 The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism -2
- 33 The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days 0=
- 34 The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar -1=
- 38 Local church elders have authority under Christ for the local church 0
- 46 Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper +2=
- 52 We should not be drunk with wine because we should be filled with the Holy Spirit -1
- 53 Remember to give God a tenth (or tithe) of your income so that He can bless you -2

Items ranked at -3

- 12 Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit
- 23 God heals through people who are anointed with the gift of healing
- 32 Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective
- 47 We should have communion from time to time but weekly communion serves to reduce its value
- 50 It is wrong to drink alcohol because the Lord's money could be used for other valuable things

Items ranked at -4

- 30 Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons
- 40 Women should have full equality with men in church in role and responsibility

APPENDIX F: FACTOR INTERPRETATION CRIB SHEET FOR FACTOR 3

Items ranked at +4

- 01 The Bible is God's sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming
 - 51 Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God
-

Items ranked at +3

- 04 The Bible should be taken literally: what we read about happening then does happen even now
 - 15 The Holy Spirit cooperates with us in the work of sanctification so that we become more like Jesus
 - 16 We need the power of the Holy Spirit to become more like Jesus
 - 20 We can ask God for miraculous healing but we should qualify our prayers by submitting to his will
 - 31 The blood of Jesus and the authority of Jesus' name must be at the forefront for effective exorcism
-

Items ranked **higher** in Factor 3 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

- 03 The Word of God should be studied carefully: understanding its spiritual truths are more important than the historical events therein +2=
 - 10 The same miraculous tongues which amazed the crowds on the day of Pentecost can still be heard today in our churches 0=
 - 12 Speaking in tongues is a necessary evidence of having been baptised in the Holy Spirit -1=
 - 13 The Holy Spirit indwells every believer at conversion +2=
 - 17 All Christians should seek Holy Spirit baptism because not all Christians are filled with the Spirit +2
 - 18 The Holy Spirit can make us holy and sinless so that we can always live pleasing lives before God +2=
 - 25 All miracles are still available and to be expected in the church today 0=
 - 32 Exorcism of demons requires strident rebuke and authoritative speech to be effective -2
 - 35 The kingdom of heaven is seen here and now as God's power among his people by his Spirit +2=
 - 38 Local church elders have authority under Christ for the local church +1=
 - 40 Women should have full equality with men in church in role and responsibility +1
 - 41 Apostles and prophets are two vital leadership gifts for churches today +1
 - 44 The elders should lead the Lord's Supper service and distribute the elements +1=
 - 45 The pastor should lead the communion service and distribute the elements +1=
-

Items ranked **lower** in Factor 3 than in Other Factor Arrays

- 02 The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith +1
- 05 The Bible is important but God also speaks to us today through dreams and visions +1=
- 06 The Scriptures are important but God still speaks to us today through prophecy 0=
- 09 Tongues may be available to the church today but should only ever be used when there is an interpretation -1
- 24 We can ask God for miraculous signs because our prayers can change his mind and will -2=
- 28 Mental illness can be a factor to consider when ministering to people who say they are demon-possessed -1=
- 33 The increase of persecution and false teaching are the evidence it is the last days 0=
- 34 The rapture of the church is the next big event in God's calendar -1=

- 37 The increase of the gifts of the Spirit to the church are evidence it is the last days -1=
42 The Lord's Supper should be held weekly on a Sunday morning -2
43 When coming to Holy Communion we should recognise our sin but thankfully take refuge in the cross-work of Christ 0=
46 Special personal spiritual preparation is necessary before taking the Lord's Supper +2=
54 Worship is essentially a heart attitude – as the Bible says, making music in your hearts to the Lord -2
55 Worship is the opportunity to express our feelings before God with singing, dancing and shouts of praise 0
-

Items ranked at -3

- 07 Tongues were only for the time of the apostles and were known languages to help in early evangelism
08 Tongues are sometimes available for the church today but are a gift for edifying yourself and should be used privately
26 The ministry of demonic exorcism is not valid because its practice is not like that of Jesus and the results cannot be proved
39 Women must remain silent in church
48 Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others
-

Items ranked at -4

- 19 Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today
30 Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons

APPENDIX G: FACTOR MATRIX WITH AN X INDICATING A DEFINING SORT AND RESEARCHER COMMENT/DECISIONS.

Bold figures indicate Q-sorts with a 0.60+ correlation.

Q-Sort	FA 1	FA 2	FA 3	Comment/decision
1	0.6149X	0.1371	0.4812	Retained for strong FA1 loading
2	0.7218X	-0.0245	0.2667	FA1
3	0.3442	0.1926	0.4813X	FA3
4	0.5842X	0.3243	0.4460	Leaning to FA1
5	0.5102X	0.0723	0.2719	FA1
6	0.4966	0.3424	0.6262X	Retained for strong FA3 loading
7	0.6021X	0.4116	0.2938	Retained for strong FA1 loading
8	-0.0797	0.4425X	0.2442	FA2
9	0.0862	0.1096	0.6076X	FA3
10	0.6616X	0.0394	0.2516	FA1
11	0.2343	0.0017	0.5551X	FA3
12	0.4218	0.0374	0.5115X	Retained for bias to FA3 loading
13	0.5510X	0.4694	0.2572	Retained for bias to FA1 loading
14	0.3861	-0.0553	0.3815	Confounded
15	0.5175X	-0.0794	0.3767	FA1
16	0.2550	0.0411	0.4775X	FA3
17	0.1535	0.1458	0.6309X	FA3
18	0.2975	0.5097X	0.3392	FA2
19	0.6388X	-0.0501	0.3628	FA1
20	0.3675	0.2932	0.4018	Confounded
21	0.3294	-0.1881	0.4920X	FA3
22	0.4914	0.1002	0.5672X	Leaning to FA3
23	0.3335	-0.2460	0.5015X	FA3
24	0.8149X	0.0920	0.0483	FA1
25	0.5406X	0.2157	0.2854	FA1
26	0.5464X	0.2062	0.3210	FA1
27	0.4894X	0.2865	0.3322	FA1
28	0.2723	0.6630X	0.1744	FA2
29	0.6061X	0.1064	0.0592	FA1
30	0.6174X	-0.1646	0.3222	FA1
31	0.3867	0.1872	0.5488X	FA3
32	0.7125X	-0.0022	0.3024	FA1
33	0.0936	0.2688	0.6805X	FA3
34	0.5129X	0.0297	0.4874	Retained for bias to FA1 loading
35	0.2630	0.0566	0.4986X	FA3
36	0.1575	0.1752	0.5009X	FA3
37	0.3873X	0.1391	0.2510	Non-significant (barely attaining 0.38 min)
38	0.0464	-0.0356	0.4255X	FA3
39	0.4226	0.0577	0.5173X	FA3
40	0.5334X	0.1458	0.4110	Retained for bias to FA1 loading
41	0.4581	0.2136	0.6096X	Retained for bias to FA3 loading
42	0.6222X	-0.1091	0.3004	FA1
43	0.5197X	-0.0372	0.3358	FA1
44	0.4179	-0.4362	0.4014	Confounded
45	0.3947	-0.2141	0.4839X	FA3
46	0.5171X	-0.1954	0.2620	FA1
47	0.2869	-0.2788	0.6159X	FA3
48	0.6909X	0.0505	0.2139	FA1
49	0.4640	-0.2001	0.6668X	FA3
50	0.2141	0.0224	0.4156X	FA3
51	0.6225X	-0.4624	0.2015	FA1
52	0.4818	-0.2155	0.4346	Confounded
53	-0.1479	0.3153X	0.1694	Non-significant in any FA.
54	0.5758X	-0.1376	0.3615	FA1
55	0.1422	-0.1904	0.6263X	FA3
56	-0.0064	0.0654	0.3026X	Non-significant in any FA.
57	-0.0140	0.0848	0.4638X	FA3
58	0.4409X	0.0833	-0.1698	FA1
59	-0.0114	0.1130	0.4574X	FA3
60	0.5675X	0.2241	-0.0331	FA1
61	0.6440X	-0.2105	0.2391	FA1

APPENDIX H: GEOGRAPHICAL COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO Q SORT STATEMENTS

Notes:

1. Only statements ranked in +4, +3 or -4, -3 positions have been compared. This indicates the strength of opinion on these matters. Some statements have been omitted because of non-significant data.
2. This data does **not** allow for quantitative methods to be applied to the wider population of KLB members, the sample being so small.
3. This data is useful in offering indicative strength of response between the two centres of study on specific statements. A simple hypothesis was anticipated. **The null hypothesis** was that a majority of Moshi respondents would affirm Brethren-type statements ($H_{0m}:p>.50$) and similarly, a majority of Tabora respondents would affirm Pentecostal-type statements ($H_{0t}:p>.50$). **The alternative hypothesis** was a minority of Moshi respondents would affirm Pentecostal-type statements ($H_{am}:p<.50$) and a minority of Tabora respondents would affirm Brethren-type statements ($H_{at}:p<.50$).
4. The table shows the \hat{p} scores when account is taken of person responses in the most strongly expressed opinions of +4 and +3 statements taken together, or -4 and -3 statements taken together. No weighting has been applied to the total – it is merely indicative of the number of persons expressing these strong opinions.
5. Highlights outlined in GREEN appear to support the null hypothesis. Highlights in RED appear to support the alternate hypothesis and overturn the null hypothesis.

No.= Statement reference no. (see Appendix A); M=Moshi response; T=Tabora response.

No.	+4	+3	Total	p-hat	No	-4	-3	Total	p-hat	Comment
1M	15	2	17/31	.584	1M	0	0	0/31	-	Brethren statements on Scripture
1T	2	3	5/30	.166	1T	0	1	1/30	.033	
2M	10	7	17/31	.584	2M	0	1	1/30	-	
2T	4	2	6/30	.200	2T	0	1	1/30	.033	
3M	1	12	13/31	.433	3M	0	2	2/31	.067	
3T	1	7	8/30	.267	3T	1	0	1/30	.033	
4M	2	9	11/31	.355	4M	0	0	0/31	-	Pentecostals statements on Scripture
4T	2	6	8/30	.267	4T	0	2	2/30	.067	
5M	0	4	4/31	.133	5M	0	1	1/31	.033	
5T	0	0	0/30	-	5T	0	0	0/30	-	
6M	0	1	1/31	.033	6M	0	3	3/31	.100	
6T	0	0	0/30	-	6T	1	3	3/30	.100	
7M	0	0	0/31	-	7M	2	9	11/31	.355	Brethren statements on Tongues
7T	0	1	1/30	.033	7T	4	4	8/30	.267	
8M	0	3	3/31	.100	8M	0	1	1/31	.033	
8T	0	2	2/30	.067	8T	3	3	6/30	.200	
9M	0	0	0/31	-	9M	0	2	2/31	.065	
9T	0	2	2/30	.067	9T	0	3	3/30	.100	
10M	0	0	0/31	-	10M	0	1	1/31	.032	Pentecostals statements on Tongues
10T	0	3	3/30	.100	10T	0	2	2/30	.067	
11M	0	0	0/31	-	11M	1	2	3/31	.098	
11T	0	2	2/30	.067	11T	0	4	4/30	.133	
12M	0	1	1/31	.033	12M	1	3	4/31	.129	
12T	0	1	1/30	.033	12T	0	3	3/30	.100	

13M	2	6	8/31	.258	13M	0	0	0/31	-	Brethren statements on Holy Spirit	
13T	3	6	9/30	.300	13T	1	2	3/30	.100		
14M	0	0	0/31	-	14M	1	9	10/31	.333		
14T	0	0	0/30	-	14T	1	7	8/30	.240		
15M	0	4	4/31	.129	15M	0	0	0/31	-		
15T	0	10	10/30	.333	15T	0	0	0/30	-		
16M	1	7	8/31	.258	16M	0	0	0/31	-	Pentecostals statements on Holy Spirit	
16T	1	9	10/30	.333	16T	0	0	0/30	-		
17M	1	0	1/31	.033	17M	0	0	0/31	-		
17T	3	7	10/30	.333	17T	0	2	2/30	.067		
18M	1	5	6/31	.194	18M	0	2	2/31	.065		
18T	2	3	5/30	.167	18T	0	0	0/30	-		
19M	0	0	0/31	-	19M	10	8	18/31	.580	Brethren statements on Miracles	
19T	0	0	0/30	-	19T	4	4	8/30	.267		
20M	2	3	5/31	.161	20M	0	0	0/31	-		
20T	1	4	5/30	.167	20T	0	1	1/30	.033		
21M	0	3	3/31	.097	21M	2	3	5/31	.161		
21T	0	3	3/30	.100	21T	2	3	5/30	.167		
22M	1	2	3/31	.097	22M	0	0	0/31	-		
22T	2	4	6/30	.200	22T	1	1	2/30	.067		
23M	0	1	1/31	.032	23M	0	4	4/31	.129	Pentecostals statements on Miracles	
23T	0	2	2/30	.067	23T	0	3	3/30	.100		
24M	0	1	1/31	.032	24M	4	5	9/31	.290		
24T	1	0	1/30	.033	24T	2	5	7/30	.233		
25M	0	2	2/31	.032	25M	1	1	2/31	.066		
25T	0	1	1/30	.033	25T	0	5	5/30	.167		
26M	0	0	0/31	-	26M	4	9	13/31	.419	Brethren statements on Demons	
26T	0	1	1/30	.033	26T	4	4	8/30	.267		
27M	3	5	8/31	.258	27M	1	0	1/31	.032		
27T	0	6	6/30	.200	27T	1	1	2/30	.067		
28M	0	0	0/31	-	28M	0	5	5/31	.161		
28T	0	0	0/30	-	28T	1	3	4/30	.133		
29M	0	0	0/31	-	29M	3	9	12/31	.387	Pentecostals statements on Demons	
29T	0	1	1/30	.033	29T	3	3	6/30	.200		
30M	0	0	0/31	-	30M	8	11	19/31	.613		
30T	0	0	0/30	-	30T	7	10	17/30	.567		
31M	0	5	5/31	.161	31M	0	0	0/31	-		
31T	4	5	9/30	.300	31T	0	0	0/30	-		
32M	0	0	0/31	-	32M	2	15	17/31	.548	Brethren statements on Ethics/Behaviour	
32T	1	0	1/30	.033	32T	3	6	9/30	.300		
...		33-47 missing
48M	0	1	1/31	.032	48M	7	4	11/31	.355		
48T	1	0	1/30	.033	48T	6	11	17/30	.567		
49M	0	3	3/31	.097	49M	1	1	2/31	.065		
49T	0	1	1/30	.033	49T	0	2	2/30	.067		
50M	0	1	1/31	.032	50M	1	1	2/31	.065		
50T	0	1	1/30	.033	50T	2	4	6/30	.200		
51M	4	14	18/31	.580	51M	0	0	0/31	-		
51T	10	6	16/30	.533	51T	0	0	0/30	-		
52M	0	4	4/31	.129	52M	0	2	2/31	.065		
52T	4	7	11/30	.367	52T	0	1	1/30	.033		
53M	1	10	11/31	.355	53M	0	2	2/31	.065	Pentecostal statements on Ethics/Behaviour	
53T	7	9	16/30	.533	53T	1	3	4/30	.133		
...	54-55 missing	

Conclusions (over)/

Conclusions:

Statement No. 1 “The Bible is God’s sole means of revelation for us today, without error or shortcoming.” This statement was expected to appeal to Christians from Moshi owing to its ‘orthodoxy’ and its attempt to limit revelation to the Scriptures alone. In fact, Moshi respondents *upheld the null hypothesis* ($\hat{p}=.584$) with a majority affirming the statement (17/31 placing it in +4, +3 categories). *The null hypothesis was also upheld in this statement by those from Tabora* who rejected this statement in favour of others – only a minority agreed with the statement (5/30 placing it in +4, +3 categories) ($\hat{p}=.166$).

Responses to Statement No. 1 follow the simple hypothesis that was anticipated prior to the study being undertaken and therefore it upholds the null hypothesis.

Statement No. 2 “The Scriptures are the supreme authority in matters of life and faith.” Like statement No. 1, KLB Christians from Moshi were expected to affirm this statement and did so in equal numbers to the response to statement No. 1 ($\hat{p}=.584$) but with slightly less *strength* of opinion. Again, *they uphold the null hypothesis*. Their Tabora colleagues, as anticipated, deny the proposal with only one fifth of their number responding positively – a minority, as predicted ($\hat{p}=.200$). So far, *the two opening statements of the Q-Sort seem to uphold the null hypothesis*.

Statement No. 19 “Miracles ceased after the time of the apostles and are not available today.” This statement exploring the opportunity for the miraculous was expected to be more positively regarded by Moshi Christians, influenced by cessationist missionary theology. Expectations might have been for strong rejection/denial of the statement from Tabora Christians who were projected to be more pentecostal in outlook. In fact, *the \hat{p} scores overthrow the null hypothesis*. Surprisingly, a majority of Moshi residents strongly *refute* the statement ($\hat{p}=.580$) while the Tabora residents feel much less concerned about the statement of cessationist opinion ($\hat{p}=.267$), however no single respondent affirmed the statement. The surprise is that it was anticipated to be a favoured statement in Moshi and strongly rejected in Tabora.

Statement No. 30 “Only a gifted and bold church leader can effectively exorcise demons.” The researcher included this statement after observing the prevalence of KLB church leaders involved in exorcism in Tabora. The pentecostal nature of this statement meant for an expectation that the null hypothesis would be upheld, but it was not in this sample. Both respondents from Moshi and Tabora strongly rejected this proposal with respective \hat{p} scores of .613 and .567. It is also noteworthy that no respondents affirmed this statement in categories +4 and +3. This close likeness of response from Moshi and Tabora on what one might consider a pentecostal-related ministry *overthrows the null hypothesis*.

Statement No. 48 “Preaching the gospel is more important than doing acts of kindness to others” This statement may be expected to draw support from Moshi Christians over Tabora Christians surveyed. Partly this is related to theology but also the practical circumstances and needs of their geographical locations: urban Moshi being better off than rural Tabora. In fact, this is exactly the response – strong rejection of the proposal by Tabora respondents ($\hat{p}=.567$) looks to confirm the null hypothesis. But the rejection of the statement is upheld by some from Moshi, albeit not a majority. This *casts doubt on the null hypothesis again*, for expectations would have been a stronger affirmation from Moshi. Only one respondent from Moshi and one from Tabora affirmed this statement.

Statement No. 51 “Disciples of Jesus Christ should always behave in a way pleasing to God.” The statement explores the strength of opinion to be placed by respondent on good behaviour in Christian living. Respondents from both Moshi and Tabora affirmed this statement with almost equal

vigour. Moshi saw 18/31 respondents affirm its significance ($\hat{p}=.580$) while 16/30 Tabora respondents also affirmed its importance ($\hat{p}=.533$). This similar response from respondents from the two separate geographical regions *overturns the null hypothesis* that there might be more obvious distinction between the cohorts. In fact, from this small sample there is apparently quite a mixed reaction.

Summing up, this brief review of the data of those who completed the Q-Sort has shown us that on specific occasions there has been some verification of the null hypothesis as seen in responses to Statements No 1 and 2. However the null hypothesis does not hold true for other statements: for example, statements 19 and 30 have shown that the null hypothesis has been overturned. Statement No 48 casts doubt on the null hypothesis. Statement No 50 appears to suggest that the simple hypothesis proposed at the outset is unlikely to be consistent across the board. Nevertheless, we would want to stress again that this methodology has not been designed for such analysis and the outcomes we have observed must remain tentative. To reach more certain conclusions in these matters a more quantitatively oriented study would need to be undertaken with a much greater sample of the population. Nevertheless, the present study may be regarded as a pilot study suggestive of future research.