

A THEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE REVIVAL  
MOVEMENT (UAMSHO) WITHIN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF  
TANZANIA

BY

REV. FR. WILLIAM FABIAN MNDOLWA

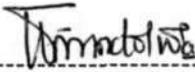
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## DECLARATION

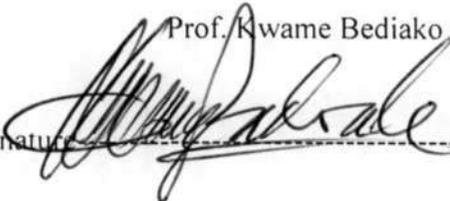
I here by declare that with the exception of the sources specifically acknowledged in this text, this dissertation is my original work. It has not been submitted to any other university for examination. I thus submit it for the first time in the School of Religion and Theology of the University of KwaZulu-Natal for the degree of Master of Theology in African Christianity.

Rev. Fr. William F. Mndolwa

Signature----------Date-----14/04/2005-----

Supervisor

Prof. Kwame Bediako

Signature----------Date-----14.4.2005-----

## DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to Chenga-Frida (my wife) and Msagati-Katindi (my son) who have ~~endured~~ endured my absence during the research period.

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I would like first of all to deeply thank God Almighty whose tender mercy and gracious favour has, in various ways, made this study possible. I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to my lecturers and fellow students at the University of Natal-South Africa and Akroffi-Christeller Memorial Centre (ACMC)-Ghana whose lectures; seminars, discussions and conversations have been a driving inspiration for this study. It may not be easy to mention them all here but Prof. Gerald West, Dr. Allison Howell, Dr. Mary Bediako, Prof. Robert Ado Fenning, Prof. Andrew Walls, Rev. Henry Amoako, Rev. Tichaona Dzinotyiei, Ms. Alizon Cleal, Mr. Thomas Atta-korsah, Ms. Limakatso Mafata, Mrs. Sonene Nyawo and Mr. Theoneste Rutayisire may represent them.

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## ABSTRACT

§

From the inception of Christianity, Jesus Christ and his followers, who had worked closely with Him, had certain objectives and perception about the faith. Jesus Christ, the fulfillment of the prophecies became the ideal of the new religion. In the fulfillment of time, God had revealed Himself to His people. Each person who accepted Christianity was urged to become Christ-like. The major objective of Christianity was to reveal the Father and to win followers for Him through His Son.

This was first preached to the Jewish people who were then the 'chosen people'. With the exception of a small community of followers in Jerusalem, these people rejected both Christ and His message. After this rejection, Christianity was preached to the Gentiles and spread to the countries of Asia Minor, North Africa and finally Europe. The major strategy of the propagators of the Gospel message was the preaching of equality of human beings as children of God and fraternal love.

By the time Christianity came to the rest of Africa and Tanzania in particular, it had gone through various interpretations and modifications. It had experienced schisms and heresies and the African, who was at the receiving end, became a victim of divisions', sects and sub-sects. The missionaries addressed themselves to individuals and through the individuals to society. Their major aim was not only to convert the individuals but also society. Those individuals who became converted to the

new religion accepted not only its ethics but also new religious values that contradicted their primal understanding of God. To answer the question of how they could become Christian yet remain African, some broke away from the European type of Churches to form African Indigenous Churches. Others felt that they were called to 'give light from within' their Churches. These were the revivalists and they are numerous in Africa. This study focuses on the Revival Movement (Uamsho), in the Anglican Church of Tanzania, which emphasizes 'new life'.

The Revivalists who brought this particular Uamsho did not aim to form new Churches but to reform the Church, which had ignored some important truths of the Gospel. This study discusses the origins and Theology of this Uamsho in the Tanzanian Anglican Church. The first chapter, which serves as an introduction, includes also the reasons why this is an important study and the methodology used in the research.

The second chapter gives background information about the political, religious, social and economic factors that have contributed to the emergence of the Uamsho. The chief aim of chapter three is to explain the emergence and spread of Uamsho. In order to clarify the development of Uamsho, three phases are identified. This order helps to identify the main theological emphasis of *wanauamsho* (revivalists).

The Theological issues raised in the above chapters are then drawn out and discussed in the next two chapters. Chapter four discusses the distinguishing theological characteristics of Uamsho: the meaning of being saved, the processes that lead to being saved and the life of a saved one. Following on from chapter four, chapter five discusses the Uamsho understanding of Salvation. This is then developed to the discussion of the Uamsho Christology, Pneumatology, Theodicy, and Ecclesiology. The purpose of this chapter is to test the authenticity of the Uamsho theology.

We finally conclude our discussion by stating that Uamsho emerged to revive the Church that had ignored some truths of the Gospel. This chapter also suggests some recommendations to the Anglican Church in Tanzania that may challenge to be relevant to members.

## ABSTRACT (IN KISHAMBAA)

Historia ya Ukiisto yatighambia kuti, Ukiisto uvokie mwe shi ya Palestina. Kuandia ijo vokio jakwe, Yesu Kiisto na wabiikizi wakwe, waja waghendiwo na Yesu ng'wenye (yuja mntu aizieye kwetionyesha ishe) ne weifanyanye kuti wantu woshe waikae na fanyanyi za kuikaa vyedi na weae wawe ne ndiho Zumbe Mlungu azeikaa nawo. Maighanyo ya dini yakaituka ni uyo Yesu ng'wenye. Mia mwe uwo mshi tishautiawo, Mlungu akakibunkula ng'wenye kwa wantu wakwe. Wantu woshe waitikiliwo mwitango wa Ukiisto wakaangwa waituke sa uyo Yesu ng'wenye aivyo. Chikundighwecho aha ni kuwaingiza washi woshe mwe unu mwitango wa ishe ja Yesu.

Mwitango unu ukavoka kwa Wayahudi hambu ne ndiwo washaghulwewo ni Mlungu. Mia ukieka bumba dodo jiiitikilelo mwe kaya cha Yerusalemu, Wayahudi wateemea kite kuitikila ntongonyezi za kiisto. Wahebinda kuamea, Ukiisto ukabiikiwa kwe Wanyika wa mwe shi ya Asia ndodo ne uhe sambaa mpaka uko Ulaya. Mwitango mkuu wa wabiikizi woshe ne ni kuikazanya vyedi na kukundishana kabisa kwa via wantu woshe ni wana wa Mlungu. Mia Ukiisto ukibinda kuingia mwe shi ya Ulaya, ukahitulwa hitulwa na kuhokea mahufyo mengi du. Kwa ivyoho uheiza mwe inu shi yetu teari ne uzaaza utanda Zumbe aukundiewo. Awo wamisioni wabiikiewo Ukiisto mwe inu shi yetu wawati wantu waseivane na

wandughu wawe kwa via wazaituka wakiisto. Wamisioni wawati kuti Mlungu wa Ukiisto nkakunda kabisa miviko na mivigha ya Washi.

Bontokeo ja waja wavotekewo ni kuhokea mahofyo na utamaduni wa Wazungu kunu wakibea wawe hambu waghambighwa ni wakishenzi. Mia wakibua gati waghombekeza kuti nkevidahika kueka utamaduni hambu newekueka uituke nw'ana shi. Ne wahovavuka na kushimika mabumba yawe yatongeana na utamaduni. Unu ne tiwo itanga Ukiisto wa bumba ja Waafiaka. Mia watuhu wangwe havitama kuvavuka, hambu uyo Yesu nkavavuke. Kwa ivyoho wazafanyanya kubadiika mumo kwa mumo kangwe wadahe kuwaambiza wandughu wawe wabanighwa ni Ukiisto wa Kiulaya. Awa ne tiweitanga wauamsho hambu fanyanyizawe se kuti nzakukuanzisha bumba tuhu ii, mia kuambiza bumba jimtaile Mlungu mwe inu shi. Mosie nwatanda hembu nkawashie weetievyo wamisioni na vituhu nkewahae na utamaduni wawe. Ukiwakaua ne uone mwe ntongonyezi za Kishambaa wamumo na za kiulaya wamumo. Kwe ivyoho tizagonda vokeo jawe, fanyanyi zawe za Mlungu na vyekueka waituke ivyoho weivyo. Watandea kusoma ne uone chetieka tione kuti mbui inu se ndodo.

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## OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

- Anglo-Catholics: Refers to the Churches or Christian communities (churches) founded by UMCA missionaries.
- Church: Is the wider body of Christians all over the world. It may also refer to the Anglican Church in Tanzania.
- Evangelical: Means Christian communities (churches) founded by CMS missionaries.
- Healing: Is an act or event or process of restoring a person to a state of well being making it possible to live in harmony with fellow human beings, the environment and God.
- Kiswahili: It stands for the lingua franca spoken in East Africa and the Great Lakes sub–regions.
- Ordinary-Christians: Christians who do not adhere to Uamsho
- Revival: Refers to an event or series of events in which a number of people, in the same geographical locality and at the same time, experience an extraordinarily powerful and unmistakable sense of the reality and presence of God. This experience is accompanied by Biblical truth especially as it relates to the relationship between the people and God. This powerful working of God may or may not be evidenced by dramatic physical manifestations but is always characterized by inner convictions and lasting

evidence in the changed lives-from immorality to purity and from dishonesty to uprightness of character-and strong affirmation of Biblical truth.

- Swahili: Is an ethnic community that emerged from the intermarriages between the Arabs and the indigenous people of the East African Coast and the Islands of Unguja, Pemba, Mafia and Pate.
- Tanganyika: Refers to mainland Tanzania.
- Tanzania : Stands for the United Republic of Tanzania.
- Wanauamsho: Adherents of Uamsho
- Zanzibar: Refers to the Islands of Pemba and Unguja. Sometimes it stands for the Unguja Island

## ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	Anglican Church of Tanzania
ADD	Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam
ADM	Anglican Diocese of Morogoro
ADT	Anglican Diocese of Tanga
CPT	Church of the Province of Tanzania
DCT	Diocese of Central Tanganyika
DMK	Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro
DVN	Diocese of Victoria Nyanza
GEARM	The Great East African Revival Movement
CMS	Church Missionary Society
LMS	London Missionary Society
ORP	Occasional Research Papers from Makerere University
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible
UMCA	Universities' Missionaries to Central Africa
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the the Gospel

## **Abbreviation of Biblical Texts**

### **1. Abbreviation of Old Testaments Texts**

Gen.	The Book of Genesis
Exodus	The Book of Exodus
Leviticus	The Book of Leviticus
Numbers	The Book of Numbers
2Chron.	The Second Book of Chronicles
Ps.	The Book of Psalms
Isa.	The Book of Prophet Isaiah
Jer.	The Book of Prophet Jeremiah

### **2. Abbreviations of the New Testament Texts**

Mat.	The Gospel According to Saint Matthew
Lk.	The Gospel according to Saint Luke
Jn.	The Gospel According to Saint John
1Cor.	The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians
2Cor.	The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians
Eph.	The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians
Col.	The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians
1Pet.	The First Epistle of Peter
Jam.	The Epistle of James
1Jn.	The First Epistle of Saint John
Rev.	The Book of Revelation

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Background to the Problem

The task of this study is to discuss the history and theology of the Revival Movement (Uamsho) in the Anglican Church of Tanzania. As a Christian movement, Uamsho is connected to the Christian history of Tanzania that goes back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the Portuguese preached the Gospel to the people of the Coast and Islands of the country. Even though the Portuguese did not found any lasting church, their presence in the area had a very serious impact on the peoples' religious life. Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran and Moravian churches, established later at the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary movements, came alongside colonialism through which the different churches gained strength. Local people saw no difference between the two, mainly because the missionaries supported the colonial government, and condemned their local beliefs and practices as heathen or pagan. Still, it was not easy for most Tanzanians to leave behind their African heritage.

While some Tanzanian converts were able to break with their traditional heritage because of slavery, the adoption of the new faith more frequently produced Christians with their feet in two worlds. The sharp division between Western Christianity and indigenous Tanzanian culture tended to lead to a dilemma in the experience of many African Christians. They found it difficult to reconcile their sense of belonging to either African heritage or Western Christianity. Consequently they began to address themselves to the question: 'How can we be Christians and Africans?' Some attempts to resolve this difficulty led to the founding of African Instituted Churches.<sup>1</sup> However, unlike in many other parts of Africa, the formation of these churches did not have a great impact due to the specific history of Tanzania<sup>2</sup>. Mainline churches reacted in a different way. To restrict their members against indigenous culture and Islam, they introduced new laws and codes of behaviour. Therefore the churches became more legalistic instead of depending on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

At the same time, the first wave of Christian missionaries were not aware that the Kiswahili language used in the churches was related to Arabic and therefore facilitated African's acceptance of Islam better than the Gospel they propagated. Later, it was realized that Western missionary Christianity had some serious shortcomings due to its collaboration with colonialism.

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<sup>1</sup> African Instituted Churches have been known by many names such as African Independent, Initiated and Indigenous Churches. All these names signify the genuine connection of these churches to African life.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Tanzania includes various influences: the Arabs, Portuguese, British and a socialist government that considered religion as part of personal affairs that has nothing to do with the government. That itself contributed to the more rapid spread of Islam than Christianity because Islam is compatible with some indigenous Tanzanian heritage (especially at the Coast). Chapter two of this study examines this further.

The Great East African Revival Movement (*Uamsho wa Africa Mashariki*) evolved from this background where the church did not seem to respond to the deep spiritual problems of the people. The church had become so involved with material progress that faith tended to be superficial rather than real. Faith was based on vague and erroneous assumptions rather than on revealed truth and living experience. Into such easy and often dead formalism, the Holy Spirit brought a new emphasis on aspects of the faith that had slipped into superficial acceptance or neglect.

From Rwanda<sup>3</sup> Uamsho spread to many other parts of East Africa where it gained more acceptances. Prominent individuals like Simeoni Nsibambi, Apolo Kivebulaya, Festo Kivengere and William Nagenda from Uganda and others from Kenya became the first adherents of *wanauamsho*<sup>4</sup> with a passion for winning souls for Christ. As lay evangelists they were determined to propagate the Gospel message beyond the borders of their countries. In Tanzania, they spread the message first to Kagera and later to

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<sup>3</sup> There are disagreements among scholars on the exact date and place of the beginning of Uamsho. We will discuss this in chapter three

<sup>4</sup> There are four Kiswahili alternative names for the adherents of Uamsho: *mpendwa*, *Ndugu*, *mlokole*, and *mwanauamsho*. While *mpendwa* and *ndugu* means brother or sister, the term the adherents of Uamsho use most when addressing each other, *mlokole* is a label mostly used by non-revivalists. *mlokole* is a derivative of Ganda and Haya denotation *Abalokole* that goes back to the origins of Uamsho but has now acquired a slightly mocking connotation. This study will maintain *mwanauamsho* (pl. *wanauamsho*). The Kiswahili “*wana/ mwana*” expresses adherents of something. It can also mean children/child, off spring/ off springs. For the description of wana/mwana. See TUKI, *Kamusi ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza*, Dar es Salaam: TUKI, 2001, pg. 234.

Kigoma and Dodoma. In late 1940s, for example, Kivengere had moved to Dodoma in Tanganyika (Tanzania) to teach at the Alliance Secondary School run by Anglicans and Moravians. In addition to teaching, Kivengere became a renowned evangelist and proved to be invaluable to the Anglicans. From Kagera, Dodoma and Kigoma the message of Revival spread to other towns, but at a very slow rate compared to other areas in East Africa such as Kenya and Uganda. This study attempts to explore why the Tanzanian situation was different.

In the late 1960s another wave of Revival emerged. It started in the Anglican Church (as did the first) but with time it became ecumenical. Its late appearance and the way it gained acceptance among Christians in Tanzania, leads one to ask, why this later Revival was more acceptable to Tanzanians. This study seeks to answer this question.

I was brought up in this Revival movement and ordained to the priesthood in the Anglican Church where I continue to serve. Among the difficulties that I have been facing is the need to answer questions concerning the Theology of Uamsho. Within my church alone, there has been a continuing discussion on whether Uamsho has any Theology. Since research and writing is a way of knowing and a process of systematizing knowledge, we hope that through this study, we shall come to some conclusions that could help the church in Tanzania solve such questions.

Furthermore, this variant of Revival is not as well documented as in other parts of Eastern Africa. The work of Anneth N. Munga<sup>5</sup> who wrote on the Revival movements within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania and the work of Christopher Comoro and John Silvano<sup>6</sup> about the Revival within the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania point to a gap that needs to be filled. In this respect, Josiah Mlahagwa, in his brief analysis of the Revival movement in Tanzania, has urged scholars to research this area so that we may have a full documentation of Uamsho.<sup>7</sup> It is hoped therefore that this study contributes to the literature on the subject.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

It has been observed above that Tanzania is currently experiencing another wave of Uamsho that began in the 1960s. Although this Uamsho emerged later it has gained greater acceptance among Tanzanian Christians than the GEARM. One of the persistent features of both strands of Uamsho is the reconciliation of human beings to God, and of human being to one another through Jesus Christ. That said, their similarities and differences raise the

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<sup>5</sup> Anneth N. Munga, *Uamsho: The study of the proclamation of the Revival Movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Lund University, 1998.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Comoro and John Silvano "The Marian Faith Healing Ministry: An African Expression of popular Catholicism in Tanzania" in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (eds.) *East African Expression of Christianity*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1999, pp.275-295.

<sup>7</sup> Josiah Mlahagwa, "Contending for the Faith: The Spiritual and Fellowship Church in Tanzania" in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, (eds.) *East African Expression of Christianity*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1999, pp.296-305.

following hypothetical question: Is the current Uamsho a delayed action of the GEARM or a new development within Tanzanian Christianity? It therefore becomes necessary to investigate the theological underpinnings of Uamsho as well as to analyse why it appeals to the majority of Tanzanian Christians. Consequently, two questions arise; is Uamsho appealing because it:

- (i) Has a simple and clear message?
- (ii) Responds to the spiritual and other needs of Tanzanian Christians?

Accordingly, Uamsho gives us an opportunity to investigate new theological concerns, which the African (Tanzanian in particular) church should be aware.

## **1.2 Objectives**

The main objectives of this study are to:

- (a) Identify and explain the factors that led to the emergence of the Great East African Revival Movement and why it did not take root in some parts of Tanzania.
- (b) Analyse the historical background of the development of the Uamsho.
- (c) Discuss the impact of Uamsho on the lives of Tanzanian Christians.
- (d) Evaluate the defining theological characteristics of Uamsho.
- (e) Investigate the Theology of Uamsho.

### **1.3 Research Premises**

- (a) The current Uamsho is a delayed action of the Great East African Revival Movement.
- (b) The current strength of Uamsho is due to the collapse of the practice of African communalism as taught by *Ujamaa* and the decline in the teachings of the church about discipline.
- (c) Uamsho is a spiritual process of change just like other social and political process affecting Tanzania in recent years.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

Many features make this study significant. Firstly, Uamsho contributes to the process of inculturation by making the Gospel relevant to people in terms of theology, liturgy and the general life of the church in Tanzania. Its application of the Gospel in daily life and its approach to health through public confession, faith healing and exorcism makes Uamsho significant, hence its appeal to large numbers of people from the rich to the poor. The mainstream churches could learn from Uamsho and make their churches a place to feel at home in every respect. Secondly, by identifying the historical background that led to the emergence of Uamsho, this study can be a pointer to investigations of other in-church groups of similar nature.

Thirdly, given that there are many schisms arising from neo-Pentecostalism in Tanzania today, and that *Uamsho* has still remained within church, this study will shed light on factors that help such groups to stay within the historical churches' boundaries. Finally, this study will reveal why denominationalism as presented by the European missionaries was problematic in Tanzanian Christianity.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The Anglican Church in Tanzania on which this study has focused, is unique in the whole East African sub region. This is due to the fact that the 'Evangelicalism' and the 'Anglo-Catholicism' that form Anglicanism are both represented in Tanzania.

We could not investigate the whole Anglican Church because of limits of time and finance. For the same reasons it was not been possible to visit the whole country and therefore this study is limited to East and Central Tanzania, an area covered by four dioceses. The diocese of Central Tanganyika (DCT)-Dodoma and that of Morogoro are both from the Evangelical tradition. While the importance of Morogoro comes from the fact that the first three Bishops of the diocese: Yohana Omari, Yohana Madinda and Gresford Chitemo were among the first prominent *wanauamsho*, DCT is significant for being the mother diocese of all Evangelical dioceses. Yohana Madinda was also the first African Bishop of

the diocese and therefore at certain time it was under *mwanauamsho*. Festo Kivengere preached the message of Uamsho for the first time at Dodoma also and therefore it was the third pioneer centre of Uamsho after Kagera and Kigoma. Dodoma is the ACT headquarters and the administrative capital city of the country.

The other two dioceses of Tanga and Dar es Salaam, located along the Northeast Coastal Strip are from the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Tanga is important because here Edmund John, on whom the third phase of Uamsho relied, was born, raised and started the healing ministry. Until November 26<sup>th</sup> 2000, Zanzibar and Tanga constituted one diocese with the headquarters at Korogwe in Tanga. Since this was the mother diocese of all the Anglo-Catholic dioceses, the majority of the archives were found at Korogwe.

Dar es Salaam is a metropolitan city where the current Uamsho started. It is the diocese that provided the first archbishop of Tanzania who was the brother of Edmund John. Moreover, Dar es Salaam is the headquarters of the Uamsho groups and therefore many leaders and *wanauamsho* are found here.

Since Tanzania is a multi ethnic country, there was a need to test our findings in other ACT dioceses in the country. Therefore people from the dioceses of Zanzibar, Mount Kilimanjaro, Victoria Nyanza, Masasi,

Southern Highlands and Kagera were interviewed. This implies that although the study restricted itself to the four dioceses, research was also conducted outside the study area in order to acquire diverse information about Uamsho.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

This type of study has attracted various types of literature. It has not been possible to review all of it. For the purpose of this study, key literature has been selected and discussed under two categories:

- (a) That which gives information pertaining to Uamsho's historical background.
- (b) That which has information about the emergence, spread and theology of Uamsho.

### **1.6.1 Literature on Tanzanian Church History**

We have noted in the preceding pages that Uamsho is connected to the history of Christianity in Tanzania that goes back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the Portuguese preached the Gospel at the East African Coast and Islands. Roland Oliver and Gervase Matthew provide much information on the coming, the settlement and the departure of the Portuguese.<sup>8</sup> Their work

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<sup>8</sup> Roland Oliver and Gervase Matthew (eds.), *History of East Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, Vol.1, 1963.

also provides more information on the interaction between the Arabs and the Africans prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. However, the Arabs with their *Ustaarabu* (Arabic civilization) dominated much of the Coastal area leaving the Interior under the control of African chiefs whose emphasis was African Traditional Religious practices.

Elizabeth Knox and Jerome T. Moriyama fill a gap that the work of Roland and Matthew has left.<sup>9</sup> Knox explains that the target of the CMS missionaries was not Tanzania but Uganda where they were responding to the invitation of Kabaka Mutesa I.<sup>10</sup> However, the difficult route to Uganda they followed that crossed over Mpwapwa on Central Tanzania, forced them to break their journey. This short stay at Mpwapwa necessitated the building of a mission station there. Mpwapwa became the mother of the CMS mission centres in the Interior leaving the Coast area under the domination of the UMCA. Moriyama's Thesis analyzes the UMCA mission work on the Coast and Islands of Tanzania.<sup>11</sup> Knox and Moriyama present us not only with information on the arrival and establishment of the Anglican missions in Tanzania, but also the effect of colonial domination on these missions.

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<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, Canberra: Acorn Press, 1991, Jerome T. Moriyama, *The Evolution of an African Ministry in the work of the Universities' Missionaries to Central Africa*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, London University, 1984.

<sup>10</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> Moriyama, *The Evolution of an African Ministry in the work of the Universities' Missionaries to Central Africa*.

According to Anderson, these colonial influences on mission activities and the interaction between Western Christianity and Tanzanian traditional values have the root for the emergence of Uamsho.<sup>12</sup> Sundkler and Steed add that the effect of the Arabic Slave Trade on the traditional life, prepared Tanzanians to accept Christianity but the Western missionaries' presentation of the Gospel was problematic.<sup>13</sup> According to Sundkler and Steed, the rise of different denomination and the resulting denominational pride increased separation between people of the same origin instead of uniting them. Neil shows that this is the root of the difficulties the Anglican Church in Tanzania is facing to this day.<sup>14</sup>

Two books of Kwame Bediako help us to interpret this Tanzanian situation. In his book, *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience*, Bediako states that the African pre-Christian religious practices are the memories that underlie the identity of Christians in the present.<sup>15</sup> This explains that the current wave of Uamsho is an attempt to discover that identity which was suppressed by foreign domination.

Accordingly, Bediako shows that although human beings differ in their traditional values, the Gospel that is universal unites their Christian

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<sup>12</sup> W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa: 1840-1974*, Dodoma: CTP, 1988, pp.53, 118-120.

<sup>13</sup> Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp.510-1017.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen Neil, *Anglicanism*, London: Mowbray, 1977, pp.344-348.

<sup>15</sup> Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience*, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2000, p. xi.

thinking. He clarifies this position by showing a continuity of thought from the Graeco-Roman Church Fathers of the Fourth Century to the African Scholarship.<sup>16</sup> Tertullian's aim of protecting the Gospel against the demonic world, for example, is reflected by some Africans such as Byang Kato.<sup>17</sup> Like Tertullian and Kato, *Wanauamsho* consider pre-Christian (African) religious experience to have no contribution in the process of salvation. This negative affirmation of African heritage reflects a destruction of the people's past. Therefore Tertullian and Kato represent one side of the Uamsho proclamation. Kato's strong affirmation of the centrality of the Bible (as discussed by Bediako) that is also observable in the Uamsho proclamation is also a help to our study of the impact of the Bible on the lives of the *wanauamsho*.

It is very clear in Bediako's book that Tertullian's theological posture is distinct to that of Justin and Alexander of Egypt who advocate their Graeco-Roman culture.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Kato's theological standpoint distinguishes him from John S. Mbiti and Idowu Bolaji who perceive their African pre-Christian heritage as an integral part of African Christian consciousness.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Mbiti, his predecessors (Justin and Alexander), and Bolaji are a great help in our attempt to identify the role of "African culture" in the emergence and spread of Uamsho in Tanzania.

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<sup>16</sup> Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa*, Oxford: Regnum, 1999, pp. xvi-xviii.

<sup>17</sup> For more detail, see Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, chapter three and ten.

<sup>18</sup> For more details see Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, chapter four and five.

<sup>19</sup> Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, p. xvii, chapter seven.

### 1.6.2 Literatures on Uamsho

As is often the case for many mass movements, the date and place of birth of the GEARM is not known. Osborn also shows those uncertainties.<sup>20</sup> However, he connects the Revival with Pilkington's revival that emerged earlier in Uganda.<sup>21</sup> According to Osborn, it was from these relatively unknown origins of Revival that in 1922 Simon (Simeoni) Nsibambi became saved. Nsibambi also played a key role in the conversion of his brother Blasio Kigozi as well as Joe Church. Osborn considers these three as among the pioneers of the GEARM.<sup>22</sup>

Just as Osborn had described the beginning of the GEARM, Joseph Namata describes an account of the emergence and spread of the second wave of Uamsho.<sup>23</sup> John Edmund, an Anglo-Catholic layman who had recognized his call through a Bible study and prayers, 'swept' his church into a healing ministry that has shaped the Anglican Church in Tanzania to this day.<sup>24</sup> Osborn and Namata's description of Uamsho are therefore a helpful source to our study.

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<sup>20</sup> H. H. Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, Winchester: Apologia Publication, 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, pp. 16-17, 25-27.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Namata, *Edmund John Mtu wa Mungu*, Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1980.

<sup>24</sup> Namata, *Edmund John Mtu wa Mungu*, pp. 2-6.

However, Osborn and Namata's writings left a gap: the spread of the GEARM in Tanzania that Bishop Elinaza E. Sendoro describes.<sup>25</sup> In Sendoro's book, *Uamsho na Karama*, Bishop Kweka describes the meaning of 'new life'<sup>26</sup> from which this study derives the definition of Uamsho. In addition to the literatures mentioned above, the researcher carried an extensive field research work in order to bridge the gaps that the literatures have left.

### 1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the methodology of Kwame Bediako. In his book, *Theology and Identity: The impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa*, Bediako argues that theology is called to deal always with culturally rooted questions.<sup>27</sup> He develops this argument by investigating the impact of culture in the Christian thinking of the Early Church Fathers (Tatian, Tertullian, Justin and Alexander of Egypt) of Graeco-Roman Christianity as well as modern African scholars (E. Bolaji Idowu, John S. Mbiti, Mulago gwa Cikala Musharhamina and Byang Kato).

From the general perception of Hellenistic culture as seen from a 'foreign eye' for example, Bediako shows that Tatian bequeathed to Hellenistic

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<sup>25</sup> Elinaza E. Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama: Roho Mtakatifu katika Mekanisa ya Kihistoria*, Moshi: Millenium Books, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*, p.7

<sup>27</sup> Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, p. xv.

Christianity a chronological demonstration of the priority of Moses and the Old Testament using Greek institutions and learning in spite of his intense repudiation of Hellenistic culture. By doing so, Tatian, who belonged to Syriac Christianity, indicated that the barbarians' culture was a place to feel at home despite being despised by the Greeks. In this case, with the fact that a human being is a product of culture and culture is a product of human beings' struggle for survival, Bediako's discussion of Tatian implies that human beings cannot escape the influence of culture on their actions. Thus the Tanzanian situation can be understood by considering the history of the country that includes the effects imposed by Arabic domination, Portuguese Christianity, the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary activities, colonial domination, Nyerere's socialist system and the new market economic system. The fact that the Arabs despised indigenous culture by calling it *shenzi*-barbaric- and yet used it in the propagation of Islam implies that something good is found in African culture. This clarifies why, in spite of their intense renunciation of African values, *wanauamsho* still uses some of them in their spiritual activities such as in healing.

Moreover, while some of the European missionaries and their Colonial counterparts called the indigenous culture 'pagan', others (European missionaries) used African values such as stories, and translated Scriptures, hymns and liturgies into the mother tongue. By doing so, they affirmed that Tanzanian culture was a *preparatio evangelica* despite being overlooked by the Arabs, Colonial government and some European missionaries;

something that Mulago has confirmed. Mulago has shown consistently that “African pre-Christian tradition does possess coherent body of beliefs and symbols and interpretation of life which alone can provide the foundation for authentic African Catholic Christianity.”<sup>28</sup> A consideration of Mulago’s argument helps us in our study of the ACT’s teachings that are affirmed by Uamsho.

Bediako’s discussion of these two groups (Graeco-Roman and African) of Christian scholars not only shows the significance of culture, but also helps us to observe unity and diversity of thought that Christianity has been experiencing throughout history. While diversity is due to the differences in culture, unity is brought by the experience of the Gospel: God speaks to individuals who have personal encounter with the Word Incarnate. The understanding of the experience of the Gospel however does not come once and for all but rather is a continual process guided by personal hearing of Christian Scriptures. Therefore the different message that one text may send to different people is due to differences on locations and time. This is because what a person hears is determined by his/her context. What matters, in turning to God in this sense is the understanding of who you are. This is a question of identity. In this case, turning to God is a process of turning individual’s identity to God. This is what brings ‘new life’ (new

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<sup>28</sup> Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, p. xviii.

consciousness) as St. Paul says in 2Cor .5: 17: “ if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation the old has gone, the new has come.”<sup>29</sup>

In other words Bediako is saying that the contextual experience of the Gospel reveals a theological diversity depending on who you are in relation to your past. This theoretical framework helps us to identify the impact of culture upon Uamsho proclamation. It also makes possible the study of theological ideas through questioning the encounters of the Gospel in the lives and achievements of the *wanauamsho* who are a significant part of community (Tanzania).

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

The major task of the study was to investigate the history and theology of Uamsho in the Anglican Church of Tanzania. Case study design has been used for this purpose. A great advantage is that a case study design is flexible enough to allow for an intensive examination of issues in the emergence and spread of Uamsho. It also allows the application of such research instruments as interview schedules, focus group discussion and checklists for observations of those aspects performed in public. Since there is scanty written literature dealing specifically with the historical

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<sup>29</sup> Erasto N. Kweka, “Utangulizi” in Elinaza E.Sendoro (ed.), *Uamsho na Karama*, p.7.

background, emergence, spread and theology of Uamsho in the ACT other than that mentioned above, it was therefore necessary to carry out an extensive field research work for this study. There are a few research papers on Uamsho in the ACT written by diploma and certificate Anglican students about history of Uamsho at their parishes. As for the theology of Uamsho in the ACT, absolutely nothing is recorded. Therefore the author relayed totally on field data.

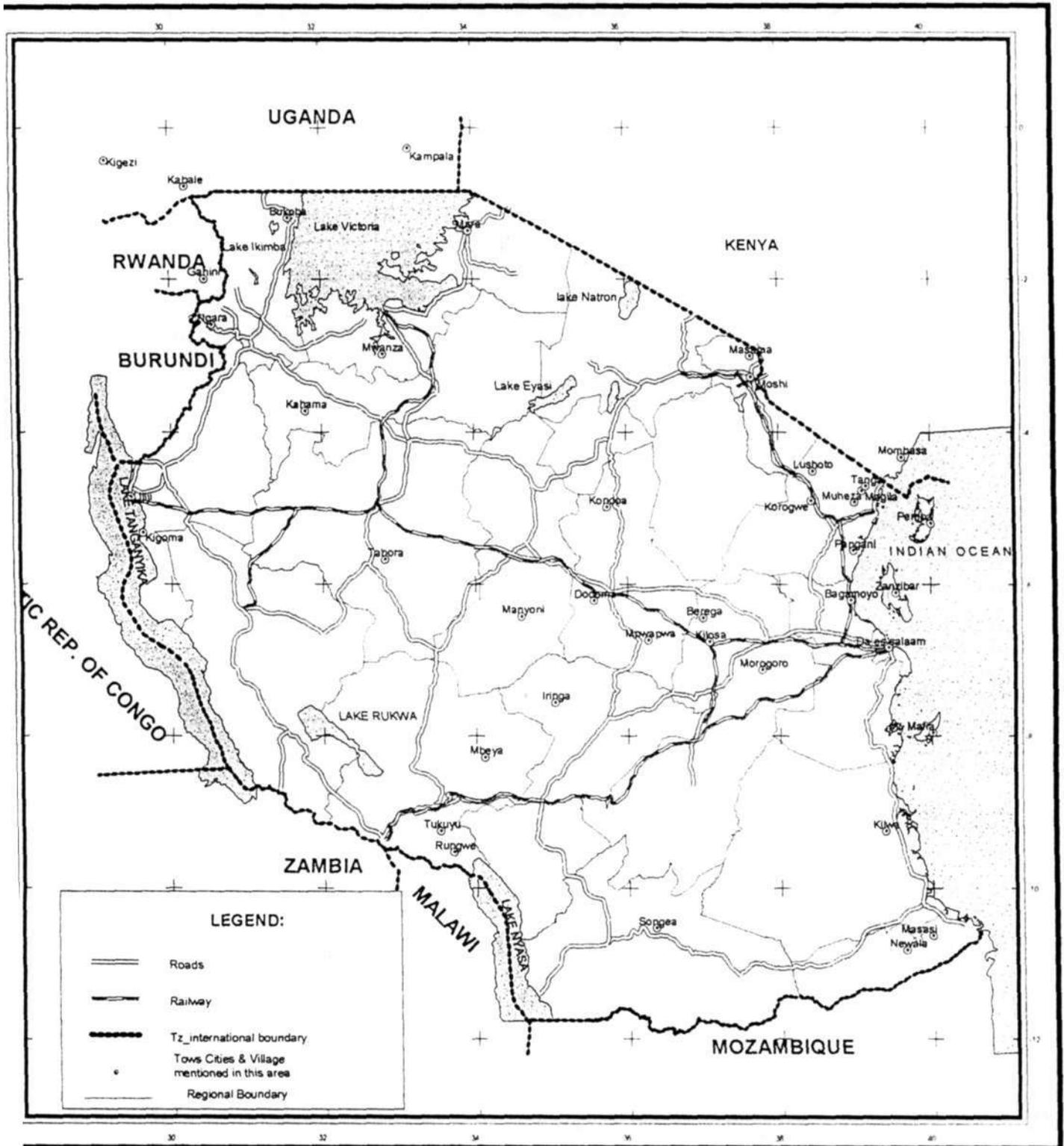
### **1.8.2 Study Area**

Our study is located in the Central and Eastern areas of the United Republic of Tanzania (see map on the next page). Geographically, Tanzania is located in the Eastern African Continent between longitude 29<sup>0</sup> and 41<sup>0</sup>. East: Latitude 1<sup>0</sup> and 12<sup>0</sup> South. The most Northerly point is Bukoba 1<sup>0</sup> South latitude and the most Southerly point is Mtalika 12<sup>0</sup> South Latitude. While Kigoma is the most Westerly point: 29<sup>0</sup> East of Greenwich, Mtwara is the most Easterly point: 41<sup>0</sup> East of Greenwich.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tz.html#Geo> printed 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

# TANZANIA MAP



Map Drawing and Printing by Surveys & Mapping

Tanzania borders the Indian Ocean to the East and has land borders with eight countries: anti-clockwise from the North, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (across Lake Tanganyika), Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique. The country occupies an area of 945,234 sq. km that includes Zanzibar with a population of 35,922,454 (July 2003 estimates). The estimates explicitly take into account the effects of excess mortality due to HIV/AIDS pandemic that has resulted in lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality, death rates, lower population, growth rates, and changes in the distribution of population by age and sex. The population includes various religious groups: Christianity (39% with 10% being Anglicans), Islam (35%), African Primal Religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and others (26%).<sup>31</sup>

Before 1964, Tanzania existed as Tanganyika (now mainland Tanzania) once called German East Africa, and Zanzibar (formerly the Islands of Pemba, Unguja and other small Islands of the Indian Ocean except Mafia). On April 1964, they united to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Tanganyika simply means “ thorny bush land”. It is a combination of two Bantu words namely, “ Tanga” (a field), and “nyika” which means a plain land with thorns.

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<sup>31</sup>[http://www.Tanzania-online.gov.uk/Business/businessdirecto\\_/countryprofile/countryprofile.htm#giogra](http://www.Tanzania-online.gov.uk/Business/businessdirecto_/countryprofile/countryprofile.htm#giogra) printed on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

Tanganyika received her independence on December 9<sup>th</sup> 1961 from the British who administered the United Nations Trusteeship of Tanganyika following the defeat of Germany in the First World War. Germany had colonized Tanganyika from 1885 after the Berlin conference.<sup>32</sup> It was a German who named the land “Tanganyika” after learning that the indigenous people called their fields “tanga” and the bushes on the plain land “nyika”.<sup>33</sup> Tanganyika consists of more than one hundred and twenty indigenous communities.<sup>34</sup> In the past, many of these people lived in the interior part of the country and some lived on the Coast. Some of the people on the coast migrated to the islands of Unguja, Pemba and others. They intermarried with the original indigenous communities there, the Pemba, Tumbatu and the Hadimu<sup>35</sup> and thereby formed family ties.

Zanzibar received her independence on December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1963 from the British.<sup>36</sup> The independent government however, was left in the hands of the Arabs who had been the rulers of the Islands until 1890 when the British assumed a protectorate over the Sultan of Zanzibar. On January 12<sup>th</sup> 1964 the Africans revolted against the Arabs. This action resulted in the recognition of the independence of Africans in Zanzibar. The name

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<sup>32</sup>J.N.K Mugambi, *African Christian Theology: An Introduction*, Nairobi: E. A.E.P, 1989, p.31.

<sup>33</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.ethnologue.com/show-map.asp?name=Tanzania&seq=1> printed 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

<sup>35</sup> The Tumbatu and the Hadimu claim to be Shiraz origin. They were probably slaves of the Oman Empire.

<sup>36</sup> William B. Anderson, “A Brief account of Christianity in Tanzania” in *Occasional Research Paper, (O.R.P)- Christianity in Contemporary Africa: Tanzania, Vol. XIII*, No. 67, December 1972, p.12.

Zanzibar is derived from the Persian word “ zangh” meaning “negro” and “bar” meaning a “coast”. The Arabic form and meaning of the name is similar, which forms the name Zanzibar.

According to the International Monetary Fund’s evaluation of the year 2002, Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world.<sup>37</sup> The economy depends heavily on agriculture, which accounts for half of GDP. Agriculture provides 85% of exports, and employs 80% of the work force. Topography and climatic conditions, however, limit cultivated crops to only 4% of the land area. Industry traditionally featured the processing of agricultural products and light consumer goods. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and bilateral donors have given loan to Tanzania to rehabilitate her outdated economic infrastructure and to alleviate poverty. Growth in 1991-2002 featured a pickup in industrial production and a substantial increase in output of minerals, led by gold. Oil and gas exploration and development played an important role in this growth. Recent banking reforms have helped increase private sector growth and investment. It is expected that continued donor support and solid macroeconomic policies should support continued real GDP growth of 8% by July 2004. However, drought that the country faces during this period may slow down the speed of economic growth.

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<sup>37</sup>[http://www.Tanzania-online.gov.uk/Business/businessdirecto\\_/countryprofile/countryprofile.htm#giogra](http://www.Tanzania-online.gov.uk/Business/businessdirecto_/countryprofile/countryprofile.htm#giogra) Printed on October 4<sup>th</sup> 2003.

This study was located in the Central and Eastern parts of this country in an area covered by four dioceses (see map on the next page). The diocese of Tanga occupies Tanga Administrative Region as well as small portions of four other Regions, which are also the boundaries with other dioceses. Tanga Region comprises seven Government Administrative Districts: Tanga, Muheza, Korogwe, Lushoto, Handeni, Pangani and Kilindi. Many of the parishes are in Tanga, Muheza, Korogwe and Handeni districts. Its Northern boundary was in the Kenya-Tanzania border while Northwest is *Same* District of Kilimanjaro Region (diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro). In the East of the diocese of Tanga is the Indian Ocean (diocese of Zanzibar). In the South the diocese of Tanga and Dar es Salaam share a border at Bagamoyo District of Pwani Region and in the West is the diocese of Morogoro with Kilindi District providing the border.

The ethnic communities that are found in the diocese of Tanga are the Shambaa, Bondei, Zigula, Digo, Masai and Segeju. The census of 2002 indicated that the diocese occupied an area of 28,348 square Kilometers with a population of 1, 280, 262 people.<sup>38</sup> Economically, the people of the Region depend on small-scale farming, fishing and livestock keeping. They produce fruits, tea, beans, maize, potatoes and sisal, which are exported through Tanga seaport.

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<sup>38</sup> Oral interview, Ernest Chambo, Korogwe, Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003.



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Dar es Salaam diocese is situated along the Coast- South of the diocese of Tanga. It occupies an area of 33,757 square Kilometres of two Administrative Regions namely Dar es Salaam and Pwani with a population of 3,243,944 comprising of four ethnic communities: Ndengeleko, Matumbi, Mwera and Zaramo and others small ones. The economic activities of the people vary from agricultural to industrial and trade. While small-scale farming and fishing are common in Pwani region, commerce industry and large-scale fishing dominates Dar es Salaam.<sup>39</sup>

The diocese of Morogoro covers the Administrative area of Morogoro Region and the Western part of Kilindi District of Tanga Region. The total area covered by the diocese is 21,339 square kilometers. The ethnic communities occupying the land are the Luguru, Sagara, Kaguru, Ndamba, Pogoro and Zigula. According to the census figures of 2002 the area has a total of 1,718, 513 people. The main economic activities of the area are agriculture and animal husbandry. The diocese is bordered in the West by the diocese of Mpwapwa and Dar es Salaam and Tanga in the East. In the South is the diocese of South West Tanganyika and Masasi and the diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro is in the North.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Oral interview, Bishop Valentino Mokiwa, Hala Dar es Salaam, 13<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>40</sup> Diocese of Morogoro. Special Report.

The diocese of Central Tanganyika occupies the districts of Rural and Urban Dodoma of Dodoma Administrative Region. It is a diocese centrally positioned in Tanzania and is bordered by four dioceses: Kondoa in the North, Mpwapwa in the East, Ruaha in the South and Rift Valley in the West. Much of the region is a plateau rising gradually from some 830 metres in Bahi Swamps to 2,000 metres above sea level in the highlands. The Gogo ethnic community mainly occupies the region with a population of approximately 781,000 people. Their main economic activities are small-scale farming and livestock keeping.<sup>41</sup>

### **1.8.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure**

Population for the study were the members of the Uamsho groups. The selection of the sample was based on several criteria such as gender, age, educational level, status and length of period in the Uamsho. It was assumed that these variables have influenced the attitudes of the *wanauamsho* towards the beliefs and practices of Uamsho. Purposive sampling was used to select respondents. Therefore, only those considered as having information relevant to the study were selected. Using this criteria we interviewed sixty-four informants during the field research period, which spanned July 2003 to June 2004.

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<sup>41</sup> Diocese of Central Tanganyika, Special Report.

#### **1.8.4 Methods of Data Collection**

The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data. Details of data collections, analysis and presentation are examined as follows:

##### **1.8.4.1 Secondary Sources**

The secondary sources we explored include the library, archival and Internet resources. The researcher visited various libraries including St. Mark's Theological College Library in Dar es Salaam, Tumaini University Library at Makumira-Usa River in Arusha, Segerea Roman Catholic Library in Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam Library, and Tanganyika Library in Dar es Salaam for Literature consultation. Others visited are Church archives of the diocese of Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Central Tanganyika, Tanga and Zanzibar National Archives.

##### **1.8.4.2 Primary sources**

To collect data, this study used two research methods: interviews and participant observation.

#### 1.8.4.2.1 Interviews

This involved administration of questions from prepared questionnaires (see appendix II). Thirty copies of these questionnaires were sent to various people. Unfortunately, only twenty-one copies were returned. Analysis was done. Throughout this analysis we have emphasized the need to take into consideration the participant's "subject meaning" in order to get a comprehensive picture of the Uamsho beliefs and practices. The researcher was able to reach informants through Uamsho leaders and church authority. In the course of the fieldwork it became necessary to visit areas that had not been in the original study area. This was because some of the scheduled informants had moved to other places.

The sixty-four interviews took place in church compounds, places of work, homes of *wanauamsho* and at fellowship meeting places. These included interviews with thirty-eight men and twenty-six women. Out of these numbers, there were five Bishops, six Canons, sixteen pastors, eleven Uamsho leaders. Thirty-four of the sixty-four were *wanauamsho* and thirty were ordinary Christians. While the Bishops helped us with the history and the way the Anglican system functions to bring a clear picture of how the Uamsho emerged, canons and pastors helped us to see how Uamsho was perceived from the beginning in various parishes. Canons deal with disciplinary issues in the dioceses and their appointment into the office depends on their wisdom, which is expected to be a result of their age as

well as their long service in the church. Their experience helped us to see how the emergence of Uamsho was related to the decline of the teachings of the church. Uamsho leaders are important because of their roles in guiding the group, developing and shaping 'theology'. The *wanauamsho* are an important group in checking the impact of Uamsho in the life of individuals. The rest helped us to see how others perceive Uamsho and the *wanauamsho*. A list of their names, respective dioceses and dates of interview is included in the Bibliography of this study. All interviews were conducted in Kiswahili.

#### **1.8.4.2.2 Participant Observation**

In a research study such as this one, which deals with the religious beliefs and practices of people, the participant observation technique was found to be highly suitable. Such phenomena like speaking in tongues, public confession, faith healing, exorcism, can only be observed during the Uamsho fellowship meetings and the spiritual mass conventions. We therefore participated in twenty fellowship meetings of both HUMANN and New Life Crusade. We also participated in four different open-air Crusades: the "Big Harvest" (Buguruni grounds in Dar es Salaam -August 3<sup>rd</sup> –10<sup>th</sup> 2003) and "Morogoro Back to God"(Kiwanja cha Ndege grounds in Morogoro -August 17<sup>th</sup> –21<sup>st</sup> 2003). Others attended were "*Mkutano wa Kiroho wa Waanglikana*- Kawe Anglicans Spiritual Convention" (Kawe

Anglican parish grounds-August 10<sup>th</sup> –15<sup>th</sup>) and “*Mkutano wa Injili wa Waanglikana-Dar es Salaam, Anglican Gospel Convention*” (Jangwani grounds-November 20<sup>th</sup> -23<sup>rd</sup>).

In the fellowship meetings and these crusades, *wanauamsho*, particularly leaders, articulated the Uamsho beliefs in sermons, prayers, testimonies, dances, choruses and songs. Other Uamsho activities attended were two funerals, twenty healing services and ten counseling sessions.

### **1.8.5 Data analysis**

Data collected were analysed and itemised in respect to the objectives of the study. They were then categorized to form chapters and sections of this study.

## **9. Problems encountered during the Research.**

It was noted previously that the researcher is *mwanauamsho* as well as an Anglican priest. This was an advantage in accessing information. Despite that advantage, two problems were encountered. One was the failure to interview two Bishops: Mdimi Mhogoro of Central Tanganyika and Dudley Mageni of Morogoro who seemed to be too busy with diocesan activities. The second was the fear of church authority expressed by some informants. This was found particularly in areas where *wanauamsho* live under the

authority of church leaders who are opposed to Uamsho. This difficulty resulted in receiving incomplete information and wasted of time and money.

The next chapter examines the historical background of Uamsho.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF UAMSHO

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the historical background and early developments of the Uamsho in East Africa. The discussion begins with a short account of important events, which disturbed the primal religious set up of the people in East Africa: the introduction and effect of Slave Trade and Islam, the establishment of Christianity, and colonial domination. A consideration of these factors will introduce us to the religious, political, social and cultural context in which Revival began.

#### 2.1 The introduction of Arab Slave Trade and Islam

The exactly date and place of the beginning of the Arabs Slave Trade in East Africa is not known. However, Coupland connects it with the early merchants from Asia.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Periplus of Erythrean Sea* document, the East African Coast has been in contact with both the

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<sup>1</sup> R. Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1938, pp. 17, 18n, 19-20, 28, 30-33.

Mediterranean region and the Far East (via India), possibly since the third century B.C.<sup>2</sup> Chinese, Indians, Malays, Turks, Ethiopians and Egyptians appear most frequently in the earliest history as the first people to visit the Coast in search of ivory, gold, skins and spices. They established trading centres where they could get commodities from the Interior easily. This made Kilwa in the Southeast Coast and Pangani (Rapta) in the Northeast Coast of Tanzania among the most rich, beautiful and well-constructed trading centres even before the Arabs from Persia were attracted to the area in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>3</sup>

Coupland shows that this was the time that the slave agents of Asia had started to steal men and women from East Africa and shipped them to slavery in Persia, Egypt, Oman, Turkey and India.<sup>4</sup> The trade attracted Arabs traders from Persia to the region. Their arrival brought two more significant changes to the indigenous people: The introduction and establishment of cloves, sugar cane and coconut plantations on the Islands and the intermarriage with the indigenous people. More people from the Coast of Tanganyika especially those with family connections, migrated to Zanzibar and Pemba to work on the plantations. Intermarriage, trade and

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<sup>2</sup> G. W. Huntingford "The peopling of the interior of East Africa by its modern inhabitants" in Roland Oliver and Gervase Matthew (eds.), *History of East Africa*. Nairobi: O.U.P., 1963, Vol.1, p.73n. Oliver & Matthew, *History of East Africa*, p.4; [http://www.ukans.edu/history/index/europe/ancientrome/E/Gazetteers//Periods/Roman/Texts/Ptolemy/4/home\\*.Html](http://www.ukans.edu/history/index/europe/ancientrome/E/Gazetteers//Periods/Roman/Texts/Ptolemy/4/home*.Html) printed 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: from antiquity to present*. London: SPCK, 1995, P.70.

<sup>4</sup> Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders*, pp. 18n, 32-33.

trading centres became the various means by which Islam built its strength after it had embraced African traditional beliefs, as did similarities in their religious views:

The reality of the spirit world is not doubted by Africans or Arabs. The working of spirits known as Jins is to Africans and Arabs a social reality. Hence, as long as traditional beliefs do not conflict with the absoluteness of Allah, "Islam does not ask its new adherents to abandon their accustomed confidence in their mystical forces. Muslim theology finds nothing wrong with divination, magic, witchcraft and sorcery. It condemns the two last forms of magic but has no doubt of their efficacy...these powers are controlled by some people called different names according to what they do. Some of them are diviners, others are witches, others are healers, and magicians.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, Islam did not reach the Interior of Tanganyika mainly because of the local chiefs who resisted it vigorously. Kimweri of the Shambaa kingdom, for example, considered the acceptance of Islam as becoming "mstaarahu" which to him did not mean only following the Arabic way of life but also breaking away from his Shambaa culture.<sup>6</sup> The mixed community of the Coast, however, would later bring a significant effect to the social and religious life of Tanzania and East Africa at large for it was through it that a new culture with a new distinct language (Kiswahili) and identity (The Swahili) was to evolve.<sup>7</sup> The Swahili would be a distinct

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<sup>5</sup> J. F. Safari, *The making of Islam in East Africa*, Peramiho, Benedictine Publications, 1994, pp.101 & 103.

<sup>6</sup> J.N.K. Mugambi, *African Christian Theology*, Nairobi: E.A.E.P. p.25. T.H. I. Guga, "Research into the History of Usambara-Digo Church and Bibliographies of some Pastors" in *Occasional Research Papers* (O.R.P). Vol. XIII, No.67, December 1974, pp.13-14.

<sup>7</sup> Mugambi, *African Christian Theology*, p.25.

society because they would neither identify themselves with the Arabs nor the indigenous people. Eventually, Kiswahili that evolved from the need for communication between the trading parties would become their language.<sup>8</sup>

## **2. 2 Portuguese Christianity and the impact of the Arab Slave Trade**

When the Portuguese arrived in Zanzibar in 1497, they found most of the people of the Coast and the Islands had been Muslim for centuries with Mosques standing in all towns and trading centers.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the only possible way of differentiating Muslims from those who followed their African Traditional Religion was by observing the Mosque attendance register. Islam was therefore part and parcel of the daily business of the people.

Since the Portuguese were competing for trade, they tried to undermine the Islamic Faith and the trade on which the prosperity of the Swahili city-states relied.<sup>10</sup> Their tactic of enforcing Christianity on a contender not only prevented a sincere conversion to Christianity but also led to conflict. They repeatedly attacked the people. As a price for the Portuguese impetus, a

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<sup>8</sup> Together with Arabic, Asian and Bantu influences, Kiswahili had also borrowed words from other languages such as Dutch, English, Turkish, and Portuguese. It would be therefore, a foreign language later to the people of the Interior part of the country.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar :Its History and its people*, London: Witherrby, 1931, pp.77-78. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, 'The Coast: 1498-1840', in Roland Oliver and Gervase Matthew (eds.), *History of East Africa*, pp.129-168.

<sup>10</sup> Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.70.

claimant to the Sultanate of Pemba, for example, accepted baptism.<sup>11</sup> In turn he lost his throne and life. The people of Pemba reacted to this with confusion and as a result more than 400 people were baptized by 1570, perhaps because of the fear of the Portuguese.<sup>12</sup> Since they did not have any meaningful encounter with the Gospel, they were to revert to Islam easily with the coming of the Turkish people to the Islands and the Coast through the fierce attack of Ali Bey.<sup>13</sup>

In 1585 Murad III, Sultan of Turkey authorized Ali Bey to fight against Portuguese domination in East Africa. Bey made a piratical progress down to the East African Coast. Coming with an Islamic agenda, Bey received a warm welcome from the inhabitants, who were being oppressed by the Portuguese. He captured Portuguese vessels and in 1586, took fifty Portuguese into exile and most of the towns became subjects of the Sultan of Turkey.<sup>14</sup> The Portuguese viceroy of India restored the towns but in turn Ali Bey set sail to re-conquer the towns. Most of the people from Pemba fled to Mombasa in Kenya and Tanga on the mainland for safety, some of them drowning in the Indian Ocean. Bey was nevertheless defeated later, forced to convert to Christianity and was sent to Lisbon in 1589. The defeat

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<sup>11</sup> G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African coast*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Collins, p.137.

<sup>12</sup> Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.70.

<sup>13</sup> E.N.F, "Zanzibar," in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Friday, July 24<sup>th</sup> 1931, [B1]. Some of these Christians were taken into captive in Zanzibar. See in Ingrams, *Zanzibar* pp.112-121.

<sup>14</sup> Ingrams, *Zanzibar*, pp.102-103.

of Bey became a source of humiliation to those Christians who had reverted to Islam and Bey's supporters.

The people who fled from Pemba to Mombasa found themselves victims of another war. Yusuf the son of Sultan Husain of Mombasa had once become a Christian under pressure from the Portuguese but had reverted to Islam after being despised by his people and marginalized by the Portuguese. He therefore led a revolt against the Christians on the Day of the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1631. Remembering the harassment they received from the Portuguese after the defeat of Bey, numerous Christians in Mombasa including those from Pemba refused to renounce the Portuguese religion and therefore decided to die, while 400 were deported as slaves to the market in Mecca.<sup>15</sup>

The martyrdom in Mombasa lit the 'fire of more rebellion' against the Portuguese as they were blamed by the people of Pemba for being the source of the deaths of their relatives in Mombasa. The Pemba (both Christians and Muslims) massacred Portuguese settlers, and as the *Diwani* (the chieftain) of Pemba was pro-Portuguese, they attempted to murder him too. He was rescued by the few surviving Portuguese and sailed to Mombasa. Although restored later, he was deposed soon afterwards, and

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<sup>15</sup> Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast*, p.140. The Slave Trade link with East Africa grew stronger after these slaves were presented in Mecca.

went back to Mombasa where he married a Portuguese woman and thus converted to Christianity.

When Yusuf heard of this, he held Mombasa against the attack of a Portuguese fleet and then withdrew to Arabia in search of reinforcements. However, Arab pirates killed him in the Red Sea in 1632 as they thought him an enemy.<sup>16</sup> Although the Portuguese were victorious in this uprising, in which at first the Coastal states had some success, it must have shaken the foundation of their rule. As a result in 1652, the Arabs from Oman conquered and easily wiped out the Portuguese in the Islands (Zanzibar, Mafia and Pate). The Arabs regained power over the Coast in 1660 by capturing Fort Jesus in Mombasa, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Pangani (Rhapta) and Dar es Salaam.<sup>17</sup> The Portuguese fled to Mozambique and Goa where they had strong base.

Finally, this first opportunity for the propagation of the Gospel was lost. Its consequences were conspicuous. First, it strengthened the interaction of Islam and African traditional beliefs due to the fact that these two religions tolerate each other. Each acknowledges the existence and practice of divination, magic, witchcraft and sorcery.<sup>18</sup> Both religions also encourage polygamy (*mitala*), extended families (*jamaa*) and moreover, politics is a part of a religious person. As a result Islam continued to flourish in the

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<sup>16</sup> Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast*, 1967.p.46, Isichei, *A History of Christianity in East Africa*, p.71.

<sup>17</sup> Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast*, p.141.

<sup>18</sup> Safari, *The making of Islam in East Africa*, p.101.

Islands and the Coastal Strip to encourage further development of the Swahili society.

Second, the Arabs successful defeat of the Portuguese on the Coast reminded most of the local chiefs of the necessity of having firearms so that they could defend their kingdoms against their enemies. As a result the Arabs accompanied by the Swahili expanded their trade by forming three slave routes from Zanzibar. The most important of the three routes was the Central route that passed through Bagamoyo, Morogoro, Mpwapwa, Dodoma, and Tabora to Buganda (Uganda) and Ujiji. The second was known as the North route that connected Zanzibar with Pangani and areas close to Mount Kilimanjaro. The South route crossed over the Southern Highlands and Lake Nyasa, via Kilwa. The effect of the trade in the Interior was devastating. The availability of firearms led to extensive slave and cattle raids and therefore increased fighting over wide areas. Many kings and chiefs were overthrown. Kibasila, chief of the Zaramo in Dar es Salaam threatened the fierce Hehe kingdom of Iringa. The Bondei and Zigula rebelled against Shambaa domination.<sup>19</sup> In the Southern part of the country the situation was even worse following the invasion of the Ngoni from Southern Africa.<sup>20</sup> As a result men, women and children were driven from their homes and communities.

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<sup>19</sup> Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990, p.124.

<sup>20</sup> Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.513.

Interference by Arab-Swahili traders led to the forging of new and competing alliances aided by mercenary armed soldiers. This altered the patterns of wealth acquisition and affected the loyalty of subjects to their chiefs. A new generation of African and sometimes Muslim trade-chiefs forcefully established themselves and created new commercial states. Mirambo and Nyungu ya Mawe (both Nyamwezi of Tabora) and Tippu Tib and Msiri (the Swahili) from the Coast became “important” at this time. The business of bark-cloth that had been major preoccupation among the local people in Kagera and the Ganda in the North was replaced by cotton cloth. Furthermore, intermarriage between the Arabs and local women took place while Islam, Kiswahili and firearms spread further to the Interior.<sup>21</sup>

Bagamoyo (literally- put down your heart), a small port on the Coast of Tanganyika, became the main point of departure for caravans going inland. It was also a point where a captured slave, after his/her long trip from the interior would ‘put down his/her heart’ and give up hope-because it was his/her last contact with his/her country before the trip to Zanzibar and a life of misery. Mkunazini in Zanzibar became the central slave market and therefore the final African stage in a *via dolorosa* of violence and torture from the inland to the Coast. African Muslims from the Yao, Gogo and Nyamwezi became bold entrepreneurs sharing the profits and perils of the long distance caravans. African Muslims, in most cases, found themselves

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<sup>21</sup> J. M. Gray, ‘Zanzibar and the Coast Belt’ in Oliver & Matthew (eds.), *A History of East Africa*, pp.213-252, see especially the map on page 252 of the same book.

identifying non- Muslim communities where slaves could be obtained since Islam condemned the selling of fellow- Muslims into slavery.<sup>22</sup> As many people were taken to slavery, traditional rites and rituals were all disturbed. Traditional legal processes were also distorted, their punishments being extended sometimes to entire families. Children of the murderers, for example, were sold as slaves among the Shambaa.<sup>23</sup> A new link between the people of the Coast with the kingdoms in the Interior had therefore been increased at this time but by violence, rapacity and domination.

Finally there was the introduction of new spirits to the local communities in the Interior. Feireman, Horton and Middleton show that communities that believed in *mizimu* (ancestors) and *mapepo* (evil spirits) began to experience the powers of new spirits namely *majini* formerly unknown to them.<sup>24</sup> Since these spirits were unknown to traditional healers, the healing (*kupunga majini*) had to be obtained at the Coast where the spirits originated. Since the healers at the Coast were Muslim *sheikhs* and *Akidas*<sup>25</sup> and the healing language was Arabic, Islam continued to extend its roots. To this day Bagamoyo, Pangani, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia, Tanga (Tanzania), Mombasa and Malindi (Kenya) are famous for these practices.

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<sup>22</sup> Mugambi, *African Christian Theology*, p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> John Iliffe, *A modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp.47-50.

<sup>24</sup> Feireman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, p. 201, Mark Horton & John Middleton, *The people of Africa: The Swahili*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pp.190-194. The term *Majini* does not translate well in English. Some translations use Jinns and others uses Belial. In order to reduce confusion, this study will maintain the term *majini*.

<sup>25</sup> Feireman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, p.134.

Factually, the trade had caused unimaginable havoc, confusion and misery to the traditional life of the people. Insecurity and disorder were the characteristics of the era. Individuals and communities had lost their established view of life. Witchcraft allegations were on the increase with enslavement as a common penalty for those accused as well as for their families. No doubt the escalation in witchcraft accusation was linked to the demand for slaves, adding to the vulnerability of individuals and their families. Therefore, when the European Christian Missionaries and Colonialists arrived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Slave Trade had already affected various communities that had previously had an orderly and fairly stable way of life.

New designs were needed to combat all these developments; a new faith and belief and a new identity were sought in order to liberate oneself from the fear of witchcraft accusations and enslavement. Prophets like Kighobo of the Shambaa, Kaswa of the Fipa (East of Lake Tanganyika), and others from the Safwa and Nyiha (in the Southern Highlands), from time to time predicted that extraordinary and frightening changes were ahead. This explains why in some places the missionaries received a warm welcome. The Bondei of Magila, Tanga, for example, would identify themselves as *wana wa mzungu* (children of the Europeans) instead of *wana wa Mungu* (children of God).<sup>26</sup> The Slave Trade was a system however that involved

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<sup>26</sup> This will be discussed in the next subsection.

not only Arab slave traders, but also their European backers.<sup>27</sup> Our next discussion shows that the suggestion to abolish it should have not been something to be celebrated immediately for there was a price to be paid.

### **2.3 Mission activities and its effect on the peoples' lives.**

David Livingstone and Johann Ludwig Krapf used the Islands of Zanzibar and Pate respectively as a point of contact with the Coast and Interior of East Africa. They were the first European missionary-explorers to open up Tanzania to their own people. Unlike Livingstone, however, Krapf was a German Lutheran missionary in the employ of the British CMS. He arrived in East Africa in 1844 and established a mission at Rabai, Kenya, Coast.

Krapf spent his first two years on Pate Island in Kenya and occasionally journeyed to visit the Mijikenda Coastal people. In 1846 and 1849, he welcomed Johannes Rebmann and Jacob Erhardt respectively and together they undertook eight journeys into the interior. Three of these journeys took them to Northern Tanzania to reach King Kimweri of the Shambaa and Mamkinga of the Chagga of Machame in Kilimanjaro in 1848 and 1852.<sup>28</sup> Unlike Mamkinga, Kimweri promised to establish a mission station. Kimweri never fulfilled his promise and therefore Krapf and Rebmann's journey to these places ended without founding a mission station.

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<sup>27</sup> Vincent J. Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered*, New York: Orbis, 1978, p.3.

<sup>28</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p.518.

David Livingstone, a Scotch Presbyterian, working at first for the London Missionary Society had been in Africa (not East Africa) for over twenty years before his temporary withdraw. On 4<sup>th</sup> December 1857, when he was in England, he appealed to the students and lecturers of Cambridge and Oxford Universities to replace Slave Trade with Christianity and commerce in Africa. On his way back to Africa he wrote to the officials of the two Universities: 'I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work, which I have begun. "I leave it with you"'.<sup>29</sup>

Within the next two years, Livingstone had opened up a fresh ground along the Shire highlands of Malawi. The UMCA (Universities' Mission to Central Africa) was born following these Livingstone's appeals. In 1861, Rev. Fr. Charles Fredrick Mackenzie was made its first missionary Bishop to Shire highlands. In its first stages in the area, it liberated slave-caravans and fought raiders. These militant actions undermined the mission's security. As a result Mackenzie and many of his party were murdered.<sup>30</sup> This necessitated the appointment of Bishop William G. Tozer on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1862, to succeed Mackenzie.<sup>31</sup> Tozer detected the insecurity of the area for the mission work. He realized that it was caused by Bishop Mackenzie's attempt to implement the policies of David Livingstone and Sir Bartle Frere

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<sup>29</sup> A.E.M. Anderson-Morshead, *History of the Universities' mission to Central Africa: 1859-1909*, Vol.1, London: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1955, p.3.

<sup>30</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.13.

<sup>31</sup> Anderson-Morshead, *History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, p. xviii.

of replacing Slave Trade with Commerce and Christianity.<sup>32</sup> Rejecting that approach, Tozer made a decision of transferring the mission activities to Zanzibar. Although the sponsors of the mission were unhappy about it, Tozer continued with his plans.

Two years earlier, other two Bishops unknown to each other had also planned via Zanzibar the establishment of a Coastal station as a stepping-stone for the Interior. They were: The Roman Catholic Bishop A.P. Maupont of the French Reunion and the CMS Bishop Ryan of Mauritius. Bishop Ryan's plan, however, did not materialize. Following that failure, Maupont's delegation that included Rev. Fr. Fava (the leader), three other priests and six sisters of the Daughters of Mary from Reunion became the first to practice mission work in Zanzibar in 1860. The nuns' liturgical outline of daily mass and their special medical skills acquired from their vocation as nurses among the slave population in Reunion was among the "parcels" they carried with them to Zanzibar. These nuns' "parcels" and their racial background became a driving force to immediate attraction of a large following among the Zanzibarians.<sup>33</sup> Four Holy Ghost Fathers or Spiritans from Alsace followed them shortly, in 1863. They were two

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<sup>32</sup> Livingstone's strong Calvinist background had forced him to expect human-to be sinful down to their roots and therefore he called Britain to save Africa by opening it to Christianity and commerce. These also were the claims of Sir Bartle Frere, a strong Evangelical British Governor to Bombay. See in Jerome Tomokazu Moriyama, *The Evolution of an African Ministry in the Work of the Universities; Mission to Central Africa in Tanzania*, pp. 8, 54.

<sup>33</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 521, 522.

priests: Rev. Fr. Horner and Baur and two lay Brothers.<sup>34</sup> Like their predecessors, they soon devoted themselves to their call, the ransoming of the slaves.

Therefore when the first Anglican mission to Zanzibar from the Shire Highlands of Malawi that was led by Bishop Tozer and Rev. Edward Steere had arrived in Zanzibar on August 1864, had witnessed two Roman Catholic missions practicing their Christianity. From that time Tozer focused at establishing a native church, native in the true sense of the word: the church of the people of the land, irrespective of European influences and adapting itself to the special circumstances of the race and country in which it exists.<sup>35</sup> With this aim in mind, Tozer interpreted Islam to mean, “Mohamed had really a divine commission to call back the Arabs to the faith of Abraham that they might be so prepared for the faith which is in Jesus Christ”.<sup>36</sup> This helped the mission to establish a good relationship with the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Muslims. As a result the Sultan lent him three buildings and presented him a gift of five slave boys: John Swedi, George Farijallah, Robert Feruzi, Arthur Songolo and Francis Mabruki. They became the first African Anglican Christians in Tanzania.

The training of Africans for mission work to their own people in the Interior of Tanganyika was the most urgent and practically the only work of both

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<sup>34</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p. 521.

<sup>35</sup> Neil, *Anglicanism*, p.343.

<sup>36</sup> Sundkler & Steed (eds.), *A History of the Church in Africa*, p.525

Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic missions. With this idea, Tozer set out to establish a training school in September 1864 in Zanzibar with the five freed slave boys given by the Sultan.<sup>37</sup> With the arrival of two female missionaries in June 1865, the training of freed slave girls also began: they were to be made good Christian wives to go along with their evangelist husbands for the conversion of their people in the Interior.<sup>38</sup> The number of pupils increased to twenty in 1866 by buying and stealing of more slaves from their Arab masters. When David Livingstone arrived in Zanzibar for the first time in 1866, he witnessed this progressive mission work. He therefore wrote an appreciation letter to the Church of England about this important mission work. This necessitated the promotion of the boys' school to the status of a college of St. Andrews Kiungani (Koorjee's *Shamba*)-Zanzibar. The mission established other stations at Mkunazini and Mbweni.

Within the first three years, the UMCA mission was believed to have reached steady development by preparing candidates for baptism, training of priests, and making steady attempts to assimilate the Gospel with the African ways. This was a new community with new identity that was emerging out of the 'Christian Village ideology' of the mission that was copied from the Roman Catholic missions. This ideology would spread to

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<sup>37</sup> Jerome T. Moriyama, "Building a Home-grown Church" in D. O'Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission*, London: Continuum, 2001, p.330.

<sup>38</sup> Moriyama, "Building a home-grown Church", p. 330.

other mission centres established later on the mainland at Magila-Tanga, Newala-Masasi in the South and Kichwele in Dar es Salaam.

While the UMCA were striving to make Zanzibar their stronghold, the Holy Ghost Fathers, between 1867-68, advanced their mission to Bagamoyo North of Dar es Salaam. Within that short time, the Bagamoyo station became also a 'Christian village' as increasing numbers of ransomed slaves swelled the ranks of the community. The increase in numbers of the freed slaves at Bagamoyo intrigued the missionaries. In order to meet the immediate demands, they decided to transfer quickly to Bagamoyo the orphanage, the agricultural and industrial schools that were flourishing in Zanzibar. A strict program of six hours work in the fields and workshop alternated with catechism, liturgy and singing brought about the motto: "prayer and work" of the new settlement.

Bagamoyo was, however, a very strong Islamic stronghold and therefore the presence of these first ex-slaves caused the Zaramo (the indigenous people of the area), to look down on the emerging community as inferior.<sup>39</sup> This was a challenge to the missionaries for any attempt to convert any freeborn Zaramo would imply making him/her inferior. However, this did not discourage the Holy Ghost Fathers who continued to buy and steal slaves from their owners. Later, the mission extended their idea of a 'Christian Village' to the Luguru country at Mhonda in Morogoro, Zigua country at

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<sup>39</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 526-527.

Mandera – Handeni in Tanga and Kilema, Kibosho and Rombo in Kilimanjaro.

The UMCA also extended their 'Christian Village ideology' from Zanzibar to Magila the Bondei country, Northwest of Tanga on the mainland where they received a warm welcome. This first UMCA Christian village on the mainland had a great significance: The Bondei identified themselves as children of the Europeans instead of children of God. Partly this was due to their baptism experience. It was reported that, as a person entered the river during baptism, they faced west and renounced the devil, and then faced East and confessed the Triune God. Since the Shambaa who had dominated the Bondei for many years were on the West side and the British missionaries came from the East (Zanzibar), this could imply that the Shambaa were the devil.<sup>40</sup> Their choice of European names instead of the Biblical ones suggested by the missionaries implied change of allegiances from the Shambaa to the British instead of God. This was the reason why they referred to themselves as *wana wa mzungu* (children of the British) instead of *wana wa Mungu* (children of God) and it is not surprising too that even their villages were given European names.

While the conversion of Tanga and Morogoro was in progress, the British consulate arrived in Zanzibar, following a treaty made between Britain and

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<sup>40</sup> Sundkler & Steed. *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 545-546.

the Sultan in 1873.<sup>41</sup> The British consulate persuaded the Sultan to decrease the Slave Trade following the anti-slave movement in Britain. However, since Zanzibar had become an essential point of business, the struggle to control the Island emerged between France, Germany, America and Britain. This led to conflict between themselves and the Sultan of Zanzibar over the question of Slave Trade abolition. This was a major issue for the Sultan as the Slave Trade was a great business that earned him much money. To seize it therefore meant to weaken him.

However, the Europeans later realized that the acquisition of colonies was a better means by which supplies of raw material and labour could be attained and maintained. The effect of this agreement was the abolition of the Slave Trade, which increased the number of freed slaves that the missions should take care of. To meet the demand from the South of the mainland the UMCA extended their missions to Newala and Masasi between 1875-76 where they opened a similar 'Christian Village' when Bishop Steere (successor of Tozer) brought a part of 55 freed slaves from Zanzibar under the care of four European missionaries.<sup>42</sup> In late 1876 Ngoni raiders captured the Masasi community. This disturbed the missionaries who finally concluded that forming a 'Christian village' meant also governing it, judging it, punishing it and even rescuing it when it was carried off in a raid. It was agreed that the best defence was to use a gun against any

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<sup>41</sup> Gay, *Zanzibar and the Coast Belt*, pp. 228-229.

<sup>42</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A history of the Church in East Africa*, p. 531.

external interferers. This decision had two effects. First, it increased dependence to European missionaries who were the only people who were expected to own guns. Africans' converts could therefore do nothing to defend themselves in the absence of their European missionaries. Second, it increased fear and anxiety in the lives of the indigenous people who already suffered from the traumas of raids and slavery. UMCA's Officials admitted later that their work among freed slaves had not been a success in promoting the spread of the Gospel.

Two other Anglican missions: The CMS (Church Missionary Society) and the LMS (London Missionary Society) arrived at this time with the aim of reaching the Buganda kingdom where the king (Kabaka Mutesa I) had invited missionaries.<sup>43</sup> On their search for the best route to their destination, the first CMS Mission station in the interior of Tanzania was established at Mpwapwa –Dodoma (the country of the Gogo) in 1876. The mission team included the leader Lt. George Shergold Smith, Alexander Mackay, Thomas O'Neill, William Robertson, James Robertson, Roger Price and George J. Clark.<sup>44</sup> The decision to establish a mission station at Mpwapwa was worth of praise as the area was a centre between Dodoma and Morogoro. Just as other missions, the Mpwapwa station started with ex-slaves who were drawn from Mbweni and Mombasa.

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<sup>43</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p.1

<sup>44</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p. 6. The LMS founded churches in Tabora that were later given to the Moravians.

It should be remembered however that Mpwapwa was one of the Slave Trade centres and therefore was predominately Islamic. Witchcraft, divination and magic were also in the increase. The fear of witches was wide spread within the Gogo just as in other communities. Families wore amulets to protect them. Cattle-pens were protected by a horn filled with magical items buried at the entrance. These charms were prepared by *mganga* (traditional medicine practitioner)<sup>45</sup> for a fee. Usually a goat was paid for a cattle-pen and a hen for a person. Witchcraft accusations normally resulted in death. The missionaries' presence at Mpwapwa brought the indigenous people under scrutiny as they challenged all these systems. The missionary in charge of the station criticized the people for fearing something that did not exist. This became the beginning of tension between the people, the chief and the mission. Since chief Lukoli (the chief of the Gogo people) was himself a diviner, and witchcraft accusations were on the increase, he called his people to continue with the practice. That meant a break away from Christianity.

By 1877, the CMS missionaries reached out to more areas: Nasa and Ukerewe in Mwanza, and Buganda in Uganda. With the permission of the Kabaka the missionaries began their work in Uganda. Mutesa learnt to read the Bible on his own and became active in conveying the Christian message

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<sup>45</sup> Although Kiswahili makes a clear distinction between *Mganga* (medicine practitioner) and *Mchawi* (wizard), the Kiswahili speakers sometimes use the term *mganga* to mean both a wizard and medicine practitioner. In order to reduce confusion, we will maintain the term *mganga* (*waganga-pl.*). We will expound these two differences more in the preceding chapters.

to his subjects.<sup>46</sup> The mission extended its work later to Kisokwe, Mamboya-Berega in Morogoro and Moshi in Kilimanjaro.<sup>47</sup>

The French Roman Catholic missionaries commonly known as “White Fathers” followed the Anglicans by earmarking Buganda (Uganda) and Ujiji on lake Tanganyika shore. They reached Buganda and started mission work there in 1878.<sup>48</sup>

From that very beginning, the Anglicans and the Roman Catholic missionaries in Buganda became rivals. Mackay, a CMS missionary, had denounced Islam as a religion of the false prophet Muhamad and blamed Mutesa for having accepted the Slave Trade; pointing out that by doing so the king had exchanged the “creation of God” (human being) for “man made things” (clothes). He also challenged what he called “the Baganda’s worship of hero gods” (*Lubaale*).<sup>49</sup> The Roman Catholic missionaries were also critical of all these but in a respectful manner. They even adopted the Arabic robe style (*kanzu*) that corresponded to their traditional white Cassocks and mantles, which had previously given them a nickname “White Fathers”.<sup>50</sup> They also taught their followers how to read and write. The Baganda referred to the Christianity introduced by the White Fathers as

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<sup>46</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.22.

<sup>47</sup> The CMS missionaries from Mombasa founded this station. See in Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p. 547.

<sup>48</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p.36.

<sup>49</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>50</sup> The actual name of the mission was “The Society of Missionaries of Africa”. See J.G.G. Norman, “White Fathers” in *The New International Dictionary of Christian Church*, Michigan: Zondervan, pg.1043.

“ to read” (*kusoma*) Christianity to show how their approach differed from the Anglicans. Practically this implied reading the Word of God, liturgy, learning the ways of Europeans, and acquiring education.<sup>51</sup> This was also true of all ‘Christian villages’ in Tanzania where the first generation of Christians was emerging from the freed slaves. Christianizing freed slaves was a principal method of the apostolate in all parts of Tanzania. Other missions such as the Berlin Mission Society (BMS), the Holy Ghost Fathers, the Benedictines, the Trappists, the Leipzig Missionary Society (LMS), the Evangelical Missionary Society (EMS), the African Inland Mission (AIM), Swedish Free Mission (SFM) and Bethel followed the same trend. It may not seem surprising therefore that the Christianity that emerged from this type of mission activity was commonly referred to as *kitumwa* (slavery) Christianity.<sup>52</sup>

Furthermore, it was *kitumwa* because missions took care of the ex-slaves and fed them on the products of the huge farms and plantations, run by ex-slaves themselves. Some of them became propagators of the Gospel, catechists, or teachers and others were interpreters.<sup>53</sup> Since they were trained in Kiswahili, their larger medium of communicating the Gospel and

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<sup>51</sup> With the death of Kabaka Mutesa I, the competition between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics to convert the King to their own denomination led into a friction with Kabaka Mwanga (successor of Mutesa I). The friction led to the martyrdom of Christian Converts in Uganda. The White Fathers fled to Kagera in Tanganyika where they established a strong mission, which produced the first African Cardinal-Laurian Rugambwa. The Anglicans in Kagera would be under Ugandan Church until First World War I. We will discuss this later.

<sup>52</sup> R. M. Githige, “ The issue of Slavery-Relations between the CMS and the State on East African Coast prior to 1895” in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1986, pp. 209-225.

<sup>53</sup> Sunkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p. 526-527.

teaching had to be Kiswahili. It was unfortunate however that Kiswahili had its own “pride” that misled both the communicators and the recipients of the Gospel. As implied by the Kiswahili word *ustaarabu* (civilization), Islamic culture at this time was regarded as superior and Muslims (particularly Arab Muslims) were highly respected. If one spoke Kiswahili he/she was *mstaarabu* (literally one who follows the Arabic way of life and therefore civilized-different from others) and was close to the White people. If one was not, he/she was regarded as *mshenzi* (literally –barbarous or uncivilized).<sup>54</sup> A struggle to gain a better understanding of Kiswahili emerged: every one was fighting to become *mstarabu*. Of course this was not their mistake since the colonial government had by 1904 declared Kiswahili the National language.<sup>55</sup> Although the idea of uniting people by using one language was good, the national language brought its own serious difficulty: the continuing influence of Islam and Arabic culture. Training these ex-slaves by using Kiswahili meant imparting them with both Islam and Arabic culture. Therefore, without the missionaries being aware these ignorant and poorly trained ex-slave preachers and catechists spread Islam and Arabic culture to others.<sup>56</sup>

This is a very clear picture as the Kiswahili they used shared much in common with the Arabic language, the Quran and the Swahili of the Coast.

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<sup>54</sup> Sunkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p.541.

<sup>55</sup> Gregory, H. Maddox, “Christianity and Cigogo” in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, *East African Expression of Christianity*, p.163.

<sup>56</sup> Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered*, p.7.

For while Muslim influence was not yet great in some parts of the country, translation of the Christian message into Kiswahili done by the missionaries through the interpretation of these ex-slaves tended to favour Islam, the dominant culture on the Coast. This is because Muslims “could claim that the translation conceded the inferior status of the message which in its original is to be encountered in the pristine untranslatable Arabic of the Quran”.<sup>57</sup>

These early missionary efforts in Tanzania had left their subtle mark of slavery on all succeeding mission works: the acquisition of baptism through education and the continuing spread of Islam. Literacy, which was thought the best way to capture converts, became a common phenomenon of all missions. Whoever got a school in a certain area was sure to get the Christians who came out of those areas. This was another battle that all missions had earnestly fought, trying with all their hearts to defend their areas of domination. Bishop Gallus Steiger of the Benedictines for example, had critically refused to allow any other mission work in his diocese of Peramiho (in the South) and so the White Fathers in Kagera (in the Northwest) and the Holy Ghost Fathers in the West did the same.<sup>58</sup> The

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<sup>57</sup> Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, New York: Orbis, 1989, p.187.

<sup>58</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp. 48, 50, Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

UMCA had to withdraw from the Shambaa because Lutherans had already occupied the area.<sup>59</sup>

The German Colonizers favoured this division of the areas in which each mission would work, as they did not wish to see Christian sectarianism introduced, as was the case in Uganda. The end result however was to produce Christians stuck in their denominational pride. Central Tanganyika produced Evangelical Anglicans who found it very difficult to enjoy fellowship with their brothers and sisters from the Coast (strong Anglo-Catholics) even at a time when they needed support.<sup>60</sup> The Northern part produced Lutherans and Roman Catholics while the West and South was for the Roman Catholics. The Southern Highlands became a strong hold for the Evangelical Lutherans and Moravians.

Although each mission was significant, each claimed to be either Catholic or Protestant. The Roman Catholic missions, for example, emphasized that the church is universal, not national. They therefore introduced a Latin liturgy in order to establish the universal and historic form of the Catholic tradition. With a similar emphasis the Anglo-Catholics, under the influence of their very conservative Bishop Frank Weston,<sup>61</sup> translated the first

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<sup>59</sup> T.H.I. Guga, "Research into the History of Usambara-Digo Church and Bibliographies of some Pastors", p.13-14.

<sup>60</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p.198.

<sup>61</sup> Bishop Frank Weston was a product of the Oxford Movement with a very strong spirit of Anglo-Catholicism. The Anglo-Catholic dioceses of ACT honour him as their hero who fought against division of the church. See Maurice Soseleje, *Kalendari Yetu: Maisha ya watakatifu*, Ndanda-Peramiho: 1986, pp.22-25, Frank Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana: For*

version of the English Prayer Book of 1549 (which was similar to the Roman Catholic Rite) into Kiswahili to produce what was commonly known as the Zanzibar Rite.<sup>62</sup>

Although other missions claimed to be Protestant, they found themselves practicing this 'Catholic' emphasis. They not only translated hymns and Creeds but also copied the worship services they were familiar with at home. CMS, for example, had translated the 1662 English Prayer Book to produce what was known as *Kitabu cha Sala kwa Watu wote* (Book of Common Prayer). All missions condemned polygamy and female circumcision rites, consulting *waganga*, and other African values not so much because it was so clearly condemned in the Bible but because this was a universal Christian attitude. In one sense however none of these missions were Catholic in the real sense of the word. They rather brought their own Christianity- what they had experienced when the Gospel was incarnated in their own cultural values and what they found and thought useful to Tanzanians who were at the receiving end.

Protestant missions were almost all evangelicals, coming from revival and pietistic movements.<sup>63</sup> They emphasized national church building: Churches should be localized. Such emphasis as the use of vernacular and

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*what Does She Stand? : An Open Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God, Edgar, Lord Bishop of St. Albans*, London: Longmans, 1913.

<sup>62</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 47, Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003. Much of the Zanzibar Rite is therefore similar to the English Missal, an Anglo-Catholic translation and revision of the Roman Missal of the Roman Catholic Church.

<sup>63</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

the civilizing emphases through bush schools, dispensaries and churches were common to these missions. In fact each mission was in some sense involved in both evangelism and civilization through medical work, school or church and therefore most of the 'Christian Villages' had all these facilities. The school-dispensary-church pattern produced what is more commonly known in East Africa as *Kusoma* Christianity.<sup>64</sup> People commonly used to say they went to church to *Kusoma* "to read" rather than to *kusali* "to pray" as Berega (Morogoro) church registers show: "*hatukusoma kwasababu jeman [sic] alifika na kampania yake* (we did not read (morning Prayer) because the German Officer and his company were here).<sup>65</sup>

This indicates that the majority of Africans were attracted by the *Kusoma* Christianity, not because they wanted to know the God of the "White people" but because that was the only way of getting the "White man's magic" which makes a person *mstaarahu*.

#### **2.4 Effects of colonial domination on missions' activities and on the people**

The Berlin conference that took place from 15<sup>th</sup> November 1884 to 26<sup>th</sup> December 1885 initiated the "Balkanization" of the East African region

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<sup>64</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.111. The Kiswahili term *kusoma* means to read and therefore *Kusoma* Christianity implies a Christianity practiced by reading what was already written: Word of God, liturgical prayers and songs.

<sup>65</sup> Berega service Register 30<sup>th</sup> July 1916 and 13<sup>th</sup> August 1916. [D].

under European control.<sup>66</sup> Rwanda and Burundi (Ruanda-Urundi) and Tanganyika became officially German East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar became British protectorates, while Kenya and Congo became colonies of Britain and Belgium respectively.<sup>67</sup> The German colonialists occupied Dar es Salaam in 1887 and this coincided with the arrival of two German missions: The Benedictines (Roman Catholic) and the Berlin (Lutheran). Both missions established themselves in Dar es Salaam and in the vicinity of the city. The Benedictines opened 'Christian villages' at Pugu and Kurasini in Dar es Salaam and the Lutherans did so at Azania Front in the city and Manelumango in Kisarawe.

The Germans ruled Tanganyika with an 'iron hand'. Military forces were frequently used to seize power from reluctant chiefs.<sup>68</sup> Refusing to concede to the German sovereignty, some chiefs such as Mirambo of the Nyamwezi and Mkwawa of the Hehe decided to kill themselves while Mputa of the Shambaa, Meli of the Chagga and many others were hanged.<sup>69</sup> The citizens received this with such total confusion that when the German settlers' farms opened in various areas such as Tanga, Arusha and Iringa and they demanded labourers the army was able to catch them easily. As a result, some African men (*manamba*) were drawn from as far as Kigoma, Kagera

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<sup>66</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.50.

<sup>67</sup> H.H. Osborn, *The Revival that Started in Rwanda: Fire in the Hills*, Crowborough: Highlands Books, 1991, pp.27-28.

<sup>68</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.50.

<sup>69</sup> Feireman, *Peasants Intellectuals*, p.205, Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 537, 547

and Tabora and were put to work in the plantations for longer periods.<sup>70</sup> In order to keep the men from deserting the plantations for their homes, young women were forced to accompany them so as to offer them sexual services.<sup>71</sup> To safeguard the financial support of the settlers and the government administrators, a taxation system was introduced. The remaining men in the communities had to struggle to get the money for the tax or else they were beaten. Its consequence was the dissolution of families and clans that resulted both from the system of forced labour and the prostitution it encouraged. Therefore, although the government participated in the abolition of Slave Trade, it can hardly be said to stem from a pure moral commitment since it incorporated economic interests.

These brutalities of the German government became unbearable to Africans. Within a short time of German rule, Africans were determined to rebel. Bushiri, an Afro-Arab who was the ruler of the Coast, with the assistance of Bwana Heri of Sadani, who was often host to missions' caravans, in 1887, led the first rebellion against the Germans.<sup>72</sup> During this rebellion, the Benedictine mission that had its centre at Pugu, outside Dar es Salaam, was destroyed. Three missionaries were killed and three others were taken prisoners. As resistance strengthened, the missions became isolated but the UMCA's positive perception towards Islam granted them protection from Bushiri. CMS missionaries, who were threatened, considered withdrawing.

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<sup>70</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, P.51.

<sup>71</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.51.

<sup>72</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp. 98-103.

Nevertheless the proposal had to be abandoned temporarily because the withdrawal would have meant crossing the Coastal Strip that Bushiri controlled. They were also blocked from the Coast as many porters had joined Bushiri's army. Bushiri withdrew to the Interior following the German's strong campaign on the Coast. Nevertheless, the indigenous people in the Interior could not conceal Bushiri since his cooperation with the Arabs in the Slave Trade was still memorable. He was caught and hanged by the Germans towards the end of 1889.

However, the defeat of Bushiri did not end the liberation movements. The forcefulness of the German colonial masters' occupation of Kilimanjaro land had led in 1892 to an extreme hatred and tension between them and the Chagga. The Chagga chiefs rebelled against the colonial government without disturbing the CMS missionaries. This embarrassed the German authorities that, after they had defeated the Chagga, forced the CMS missionaries to leave, while nineteen leading Africans including chief Meli were hanged on a tree. Three more chiefs found it safer to flee across the border to Kenya. The government handed over the CMS missions to the Leipzig, a German Lutheran mission.

Early the following year, a German officer, Hartman, came to Nasa (another CMS mission in Mwanza) in the missionaries' absence and killed people indiscriminately, burned houses, and took away captives. When a missionary censured him later he replied "if I would like to kill one

thousand people it is my business".<sup>73</sup> While this was happening in the Northwest, the increasing German domination and the Ngoni threat in the South frightened the Makua chief at Masasi into making him see no better future without the Whites. In his welcoming address to the Benedictine missionaries who had left their ruined station at Pugu on the Coast, he said: "I'm old and I have known past and present days, the future belongs to the Whites. Therefore I tell you, my children are free to follow you and to learn from the things of the Whites. I shall not hinder them".<sup>74</sup>

This was a valued success for the Benedictines and strengthened their pride to turn down other missions' work in the area.<sup>75</sup> In any case however that could be too early for the Benedictines as well as the chief to celebrate. The deterioration of the relationship between UMCA missionaries and the Bondei at Magila can explain this clearly.

The Bondei who had warmly welcomed the UMCA mission at Magila became suspicious of the missionaries' relationships with the colonizers. In 1897 for example, a Christian couple had twins. Since Bondei traditional religious practices did not accept twins and breech babies (*vigego*), and because Christian teaching was against killings, the mother refused to feed them and they died.<sup>76</sup> This was a clash between Gospel (as presented by

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<sup>73</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p.547; Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p.110.

<sup>74</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p. 534.

<sup>75</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.48.

<sup>76</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.53.

UMCA missionaries) and Bondei culture, which may clarify (as discussed earlier) that conversion to Christianity had not thoroughly taken place. Instead of considering it as an issue of the clash between Gospel and culture, the missionaries complicated it by sending men to investigate. The men reported that the parents had deliberately allowed their twins to die. The missionaries reported to the German authorities in Tanga. The Government took up the case charging the couple with murder and sentencing them to be hanged. As a result the Bondei respect for the missionaries lessened as they considered them to be another colonizer.<sup>77</sup> In a sense they were, for while many, if not all, missionaries saw themselves as practicing the religious equivalent of Indirect Rule they proscribed important elements of African cultures and practices interpreting them as anti-religious. So becoming a Christian always meant, in part, cutting oneself off from the inheritance of the past. Yet whatever the motivation of any individual in becoming Christians, Africans did not just follow blindly, but also challenged Europeans. This was true of the Bondei case mentioned above as well as of the Shambaa at Mlalo in Tanga who had challenged the conservative German Lutheran Missionaries: "Do you really believe that because of your words and stories you tell, anybody here would give up everything which a Shambaa inherits in his heart?"<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Diocese of Zanzibar, Special Report, February 1898.

<sup>78</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 47.

The people in the Southern Highlands came up with a more Africanised rebellion. Their traditional religious prophet named Kinjikitile Ngwale claiming to have been possessed by *Hongo* spirit led the revolt. The association of the war with the *Hongo* spirit made the whole uprising a religious one. The *Hongo* spirit which was related to one of the country's great territorial shrines near Rufiji in Pwani Region South of Dar es Salaam, was associated with a deity named *Bokelo* or *Kobelo* who had the power to give rain and fertility. Under oath taking, Kinjikitile and his followers provided special *maji* (water-medicine). This *maji* was believed to give supernatural power to the warriors. The expectation was that this power would turn European bullets into harmless water thus making the *maji* warriors invincible.

The war started near Kilwa in 1905, and spread West and South with repercussions throughout the whole country. The church authorities called upon the Christians to refuse any proposal of submission to the warriors. As a result Christians found themselves victims of the war, torn by divided loyalties and the missionaries deeply affected by the rebellion. Father Johannes Hafliger of the Benedictine Mission, who had preached against killing a week earlier, shot to death even those people who ran to him for defence. When people asked him later how he could act as a priest after shooting people, he replied that he did it only in selfdefence.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, the Benedictine Peramiho Mission was destroyed with priests and African

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<sup>79</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 59.

Christians killed. At the end of the war, which lasted two years, the *maji* warriors were defeated. 750,000 people were reported dead and many others were displaced.<sup>80</sup>

The defeat in the rebellion and the revenge meted out by the colonial masters broke more resistance, leaving many people feeling that the traditional faith was something of the past. This increased the demand for education. The CMS station at Mpwapwa in Dodoma that had opened in 1876 for example, by 1899 had about 200 converts and some rather discouraged missionaries it recorded little growth, however, in 1908 a need for schools began and the area sprang to life. The mission had to adjust to meet this new demand.<sup>81</sup> Holding on their ideology that Islam was a better religion for Africans than Christianity, the government's Officials became suspicious of the developments of mission activities as many people were joining Christianity through schools. As a result the Colonialists started to use Muslims to upset mission activities.<sup>82</sup>

To start with, the government initiated admission of more Muslims into government schools such as the one built in Tanga (now Tanga Technical School). With the same assumption, they appointed Muslims to become their "area leaders" (*Akidal Jumbe*), hired Muslim soldiers from the

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<sup>80</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp. 163-165, Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in East Africa*, pp.533-534.

<sup>81</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, p.168 also in Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, p.535.

<sup>82</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp.168-169, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.159.

Swahili, Arabs, Yao and Nubians for their army. By using persuasion and sometimes violence, Muslim soldiers and army officials furthered Islam to the “poorly trained Christians villagers”.<sup>83</sup> At Berega- Morogoro for example, an *Akida* named Mohamed violently burned churches, stole cattle that belonged to Christians and told the people that if they wanted to have their herds back they should convert to Islam.<sup>84</sup> They also made easy conversions to Islam in those areas which were controlled by the type of catechists mentioned previously. At Mhonda in Morogoro for example, Hilarion who was a poorly trained catechist, had led the whole village into Islam after they promised to make him *Jumbe* (area leader) of Mhonda.<sup>85</sup>

In 1914 the First World War began. The unsuccessful raid of the British on Tanga in November 1914 attracted German authorities’ attention to British missionaries on the assumption that they supported British naval forces.<sup>86</sup> The Anglo-Catholics who controlled the Coastal Belt found themselves victims of such government assumptions. Their fifty-six African teachers were arrested and marched a month’s journey to Kondoa Irangi in Dodoma. Two weeks later twenty-seven more were arrested, one of them dying on the way to Manyoni prison. The pressure against the Anglo-Catholics became very severe by the year 1915. In Masasi for example, Samwil

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<sup>83</sup> Most of the Swahili Muslims soldiers benefited from the government school had easily adapted to African life and needs. They persuaded Africans by using propaganda that *makafiri* (infidels- the Christians in this case) would be used as *kuni* (firewood) at heaven. Many people turned to Islam.

<sup>84</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountains*, p. 205.

<sup>85</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>86</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.73.

Sehoza, their most outstanding priest was imprisoned and was beaten severely while his people were starving as the Germans commandeered their millet harvest. The Rev. Fr. Petro Limo, another Anglo-Catholic African Priest and a grandson of chief Kimweri, was also thrown into prison where he was beaten until he became deaf in one ear, and his right arm paralysed.<sup>87</sup>

When the British army advanced into Central Tanganyika in 1916, CMS also found themselves in trouble.<sup>88</sup> Danyiel Mbogo, their outstanding teacher, and other evangelists were accused of signaling to the British army and imprisoned. In Muslim areas where converts were left unbaptized they easily reverted to Islam. In Bokwa (Southern Unguu-Morogoro) for example, the catechist was imprisoned and Muslims threatened his converts waiting for baptism with being buried alive if they refused to become Muslims. Many Christians fled southwards while all remaining British CMS missionaries were imprisoned under very unpleasant conditions. Mbogo determined to escape from prison. He succeeded and remained hidden until the end of the war.<sup>89</sup> The British forces and their allies' advance ended the suffering of the British missionaries and their Christians. They took the Southern Highlands without a fight, and immediately

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<sup>87</sup> Samwil Sehoza. *Mwaka katika Mnyororo*. Magila: UMCA, 1918; Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.74.

<sup>88</sup> Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp.204-209.

<sup>89</sup> Diocese of Central Tanganyika Special Report, Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp. 206-207.

detained the German missionaries. There was hardly a single German missionary allowed to continue working by 1917.

Some of these missionaries who had served Africans gently, kindly and with humble heart, left Africans under grave moaning. The African Christians at Rungwe and Tukuyu, for example, who had received the German missionaries with all hope reacted to their departure with fear and uncertainty.<sup>90</sup> They experienced a short outbreak of the Holy Spirit's possession and spoke in new tongues. However, the British army forbade them to worship for a time. The British army Officer ordered: "if you find them at prayer, we will punish them because they are praying for their Germans".<sup>91</sup> These were the Nyiha and the Safwa who had suffered from the poisonous spears of King Merere of the Sangu who had also built a fortress at Utengule before the arrival of the missionaries.

A Safwa prophet had once prophesied that spears (heroes) would come from a distance to end the problem and introduce a new way of life and that they will come with many things. "No one will recognize all the things that the spears will bring from a distance and the stones near Merere will have no power against the spears", the prophet predicted.<sup>92</sup> Christians interpreted the prophecy to apply to them: "and we say now the spears are the *wamisioni* (the white missionaries) who have come from the distance. The

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<sup>90</sup> Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1971, p.86.

<sup>91</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.75.

<sup>92</sup> Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika*, p.86.

many things they brought are tables, chairs, pen, paper, chalks, tools, medicines and so on".<sup>93</sup> The British's actions were not only a destruction of the inculturation process that had already started to take place at this place, but also weakened the expansion and growth of Christianity. They furthered their destruction in March 1917 by deporting two leading Christians from each of the eleven German Mission stations in the Southern Highlands to Zomba, Nyasaland (Malawi) and held them there for more than two years. As if that was not enough, the remaining worshippers were harassed acutely. Although this senseless act hindered Christian progress in the area at that time, as the cream of the African leadership was removed, it nevertheless prepared the people for the emergence of the African Independent Churches later.<sup>94</sup>

Disruption during the war was followed by uncertainties and then more disruption after the war. For example, the Leipzig mission had 100 schools and 8700 students in the Kilimanjaro area in 1914 but the number dropped to 57 schools and 2360 pupils by 1920. At Masama in Kilimanjaro, there were no medical facilities from 1916 until 1926 when the Germans returned with a nurse.<sup>95</sup> Most of the CMS missions at Morogoro and Dodoma had to be rebuilt after being destroyed by the German forces.<sup>96</sup> The weak Zaramo church in Dar es Salaam area received a serious blow when their two major

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<sup>93</sup> Wright, *German Mission in Tanganyika*, p.86

<sup>94</sup> Oral interview, Daudi Sichinga, Mbeya, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003, also in Terence O. Ranger "Christian Independence in Tanzania", pp.128-129. Sichinga claims that by July 2003 there were more than 200 Christian denominations in the area.

<sup>95</sup> DCT SR

<sup>96</sup> DCT SR.

churches, Azania Front and Manelumango, were turned into an army base. Their Christians at Kisarawe, the oldest church, witnessed their church destroyed by the British army.<sup>97</sup> Surprisingly, when the British had occupied these mission stations during the war, they reinforced the impression that most Africans in the army were Muslim. Rumours even circulated that the British themselves were Muslims or preferred Muslims.<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, the British administrators introduced Indirect Rule that went through Native Authority Administration, functioning as a medium between the rulers and the Africans. The British had also introduced the Native Authority Ordinance, Native Courts and Native Treasuries that united the local chiefs in one area together. While this unification implied that the chiefs could speak with a stronger voice than was the case when every one represented his own kingdom, it became easier for the British rulers to enforce their Laws effectively upon their subjects. Accordingly, it made it easier to secure tax revenues from their subjects. This led to a gradual loss of popularity of kings among their people.

When the Second World War broke out German Protestant Missions were left under the supervision of Danish, Swedish and American Lutheran missionaries. Since they were few, they could not meet the demands of the

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<sup>97</sup> Isaria N. Kimambo, "The Impact of Christianity among the Zaramo" in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Eds.), *East African Expression of Christianity*, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 1999, p.73.

<sup>98</sup> Kimambo, "The Impact of Christianity among the Zaramo", p.73

larger mission centres spread in Southwest, North, Northeast and Northwest. Many Tanzanians were also sent to other countries such as Myanmar (then Burma) to fight against the British antagonists. Like many other ordained British missionaries, the UMCA Bishop of Zanzibar was forced to leave his diocese to become the chaplain of the British army.<sup>99</sup> The natural effect of this was that much responsibility of church leadership had to be placed on African hands. When the War ended, most promising pastors and lay people were sent overseas for further studies. Their return stimulated the struggle for religious and political independence. Increasingly, Africans rejected European rule. In 1955, the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanzania for example, became autonomous and in 1958 it had its first Tanzanian president, Stephano Moshi who later became the first Bishop.<sup>100</sup>

Likely, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, after completing his studies at Edinburgh University, England, came back to Tanganyika where he led a political independence movement. The independence was finally attained in 1961. With the legacy of destruction of the traditional system of life in mind, after the independence of Tanganyika, Nyerere promoted an ideology that was based on Greek democracy. He pictured a democratic model of a Greek state where citizens participated directly in making decisions of their

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<sup>99</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>100</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.143.

own matters.<sup>101</sup> He urged both the missionaries from overseas and Tanzania to devote themselves to nation building, the struggle against poverty, ignorance and disease:

“...kindness is not enough; piety is not enough; and charity is not enough... the Church must work with the people in the positive tasks of building a future based on social justice...it is important that we should stress the working with, not the working for.”<sup>102</sup>

Nyerere’s government discouraged all religious intolerance. Every one was allowed to worship the way he/she wanted provided that she/he did not disturb others.<sup>103</sup> In 1964 Tanganyika united with Zanzibar that had received her independence in the same year. A year after, Kiswahili was declared the national language because it was more popular than other languages. In 1967, the Arusha Declaration nationalized the economy. All hospitals and other means of production were taken over by the government and Christians were told to care only for spiritual aspects of the peoples’ lives. In 1971, all schools were nationalized. Being a product of the Roman Catholic ‘Christian Village movement’, Nyerere, in 1972, created Traditional *Ujamaa* villages where people were expected to live a life

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<sup>101</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 1011-1017.

<sup>102</sup> John Parratt, *A reader in African Christian Theology*, London: SPCK, 1987, pp.122-123.

<sup>103</sup> C. K. Omari, “The Management of Tribal & Religious Diversity” in Colin Legum & Geoffrey Mmari, *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere* (eds.), 1995, pp. 23-30.

where they respected each other, and they worked and shared the produce of their work together regardless of their ethnic and religious differences.<sup>104</sup>

One cannot doubt the intelligence or the sincerity of Nyerere. He was an extraordinary man with a vision to create a spirit of nationhood, something that every Tanzanian clearly thanks God for today. He served as a sign of the time for Tanzania. His regime however hastened the decline in ethnic cultures. Many people were left in doubt about their relationship to their understanding of the past. The process of putting people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds together and the transfer of educated people to work far from their communities, for years created national cohesion, but cut them from their roots just as effectively as 'ex-slave Christian Villages' did previously. As a result, traditional religious rituals have been frequently displaced or discarded in favour of Swahili culture. However, the fear of witches, sorcerers, bad luck and magic accelerated by Swahili culture remained a powerful separating factor for people within the society.<sup>105</sup> In fact many people to this day suffer from what Andrew Walls calls "amnesia".<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Julius K. Nyerere, *Socialism and Rural Development*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, September, 1967, pp.1-31.

<sup>105</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.159.

<sup>106</sup> Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, p.65.

## 2.5 The formation of the Anglican Church in Tanzania

We have noted previously that Tanzanian Anglicanism is significant because the two traditions (Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism) of the Anglican world are strongly represented in Tanzania.<sup>107</sup> The roots of the two groups go back to the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century when the English Church participated in the rise of Protestantism. The English Church, which was founded by Gregory the Great through Augustian mission in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, was part of the Roman Catholic Church prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the English Church found herself in a critical moment of change due to three main factors. First, King Henry VIII wanted to break away from Rome because the Pope would not allow him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon who could not give him a son to keep the inheritance of England safe. The second, which was a consequence of the first, was the fact that Henry wanted to dissolve the monasteries and enrich his coffers at a time of great inflation. The third was the impact of the capitalistic economy geared by trade which in the 16<sup>th</sup> century economic system benefited the middle class and the capitalists, while undermining both the ancient aristocracy and the poor.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> See chapter one.

<sup>108</sup> Steven Julino, *Historia ya Uingereza*, Dar es Salaam: Longman Tanzania, 1965, p.v.

The rapid growth of cities in England witnessed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was therefore a result of the trade that was grasped and “clutched” by the capitalists and the middle class. Consequently, this gave rise to overcrowded slums, and the poor found themselves living and working in conditions of misery and exploitation. Meanwhile, economic and political liberalism made great strides, thus increasing the power of the House of Commons at the expense of the House of Lords. These conditions led to a vast wave of migration to the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Africa (South Africa especially). The labour movement, which made enormous progress from the beginning of the century when the Labour Party was a political power, united the workers to lobby for their rights. It was also in England, reflecting on the conditions of London proletariat, that Karl Marx developed many of his economic theories. All this influenced the church in England. Accordingly, the evils that had characterized the worst times of the medieval church: absenteeism, pluralism, and the use of ecclesiastical office as a means to further personal and dynastic ambitions, described the church.<sup>109</sup> William Law, quoted by Mpango, depicted the situation like this:

Why is it that so many so-called Christians do not seem to give to God the same attention and devotion which they devote as a matter of course, to getting on in the World? If they did give such energies to the things of God the result would be a quality of Christian living very different from what is often the

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<sup>109</sup> Steven Neil, *Anglicanism*, Oxford: Mowbray, 1977, pp.254-261.

normal. The reason for this is because religion for many lives only in the head; but something else possesses the heart.<sup>110</sup>

This was the characteristic of the eighteenth century. It was a period of spiritual neglect, demonstrated by a neglect of worship, of spiritual discipline and of holiness. In her attempt to reform the church, the government issued a number of decrees.<sup>111</sup> At that time, Christians who sought a more faithful church came to foreground. A group of people, who was profoundly influenced by European Pietism, described themselves as “Evangelicals” were among them. The members wished to see the Church of England more closely aligned with the rest of Protestantism. This gave rise to the Evangelical Revivals that covered England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and North America. Although the revivalists were nearly all Anglican priests, new denominations, especially Methodism emerged. The revival brought about a renewing effect on the English Church: new convictions, renewed vision for mission, a concern for prayer, a passion for evangelism and a seriousness of life and faith.<sup>112</sup>

Their accentuation that human beings were lost since the fall and therefore found salvation in Jesus Christ alone became a challenge to the church.

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<sup>110</sup> Gerald Mpango, “Uanglikana Kiroho-Anglican Spirituality: Mtazamo, Mwelekeo na Msimamo wa Kanisa la Anglikana katika mambo ya Kiroho” in Emanuel J. Kandusi (ed.) *Taarifa Kamili ya Semina ya Jimbo kuhusu Umoja-CCT Conference Centre, Dodoma, 21-25 August, 1995*, Dodoma: Private Printing, p.14, a quote from William Purcel, *Anglican Church Today*, p. 15.

<sup>111</sup> Examples of these decrees are found in Steven Neil, *Anglicanism*, p. 254.

<sup>112</sup> Adrian Chatfield, *Something in Common: An Introduction to the principles and practices of worldwide Anglicanism*, Nottingham, St. John’s Extension Studies, 1998, p. 21.

They also argued that salvation had nothing to do with church membership or reception of the sacraments but making a personal decision-conversion through conviction in the saving power of Jesus Christ. People like William Wilberforce (though he was a Parliamentarian) were totally convinced of the fact of sins and the need for self-denial and confession.<sup>113</sup> While some Evangelicals preferred fellowship in houses rather than going to churches, some like Rev. Charles Simeon, insisted strongly on attendance of church and the centrality of the Prayer Book.<sup>114</sup> Those who disregarded the significance of going to church and insisted on personal conversion were nicknamed "the Low-Church".<sup>115</sup> Frank Senn challenges them: "To be an evangelical Anglican does not strictly speaking necessarily mean one is Low-church although many Evangelicals have resisted the enrichment of the church's liturgical life in the last century".<sup>116</sup>

Furthermore, the Evangelicals believed that the Gospel has both divine origin and human relevance and therefore emphasized preaching the Gospel of salvation to all human beings. It was also their conviction that Christianity is not one of many religions, but the God's good news to the world. According to Mpango these convictions have become the foundation

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<sup>113</sup> Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p. 17-18. Translation is mine.

<sup>114</sup> Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p.18. Oral interview. Gresford Chitemo Dar es Salaam. 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003. According to Bishop Chitemo, the English parish system places too much authority in one person- the vicar and so ignores what he refers to as 'the immense reserve of spiritual power in the laity. As an Anglican pastor, Rev. Charles Simon was therefore defending his system of work as well as his position. This is a difficult that *wanauamsho* will feel acutely.

<sup>115</sup> Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p.18.

<sup>116</sup> Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p.18, a quote from George Carey, *Revitalizing Catholic Tradition*, p.21.

of the four conditions of the Anglican Church: Self-understanding (have a Theology of the church), self-organization (structures of the church), self-expression (have a message), self-sufficient (living church).<sup>117</sup>

Mpango sees that the challenges faced by these Evangelical emphases would be the danger of falling into “selfishness in an individualistic pursuit of personal salvation”.<sup>118</sup> It was out of these emphases however that CMS, a missionary body that later evangelized parts of Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya, was born.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century had three main significances in the history of the English Church. First, there was the rise of modern Anglo-Catholicism. The event that brought about what was to be known, as “Oxford Movement” was John Keble’s sermon in 1833. Keble was responding to the decision taken by the British Parliament to reduce the number of bishops in Ireland following the drop of the number of Anglicans. He and others resented the idea that the state might make decision about the future of the church, which was after all the Church of God. This plea for the church and State relationship brought about the Oxford movement nicknamed “Puseyism” after Edward Pusey, one of its founding father. The nickname was later changed to

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<sup>117</sup> Mpango, ‘Uanglikana Kiroho’, p.17 a quote from John Stott, *Contemporary Christianity*, p.116. See also p.11.

<sup>118</sup> Mpango, ‘Uanglikana Kiroho’, p. 18. a quote from Frank Senn, *Protestant Spiritual Traditions*, p.143.

become “Tractanism” which stood for the 90 “Tracts” or essays written to expound it between 1833 and 1845.<sup>119</sup>

It can be observed that the objectives of these two groups were the same, as they wanted the English people to live the true Christian faith. However, as William Wolf argues, they differed in their approach:

Both were engaged in the pursuit of holiness at a time when the English were engaged in the pursuit of self-gain of things and of power at whatever cost to others. Both were concerned to transform this world by the power of the other world. They differed in the ways by which they sought to realize their goals.<sup>120</sup>

The pioneers of the Oxford Movement increased the gap between them and the Evangelicals when they pointed out that<sup>121</sup>:

The position as well as the condition of the Church of England...was indeed very bad. How had this come about? The answer for the pioneers of the Oxford movement was that its essentially Catholic nature had at the Reformation been not so much destroyed but driven underground. It had lost its soul. Evangelicalism as an inward-looking movement had done nothing to make clear the unique nature of the Church as the body of Christ.<sup>122</sup>

The five features mentioned by George Carey, the retired Archbishop of Canterbury, can identify the distinctiveness of the Anglo-Catholics in the Anglican world:” true Incarnational faith, Sacramental Principal of Ministry, commitment to the original deposit of Faith, wholeness notion of

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<sup>119</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>120</sup> Mpango, ‘Uanglikana Kiroho’, p.15. a quote from William Wolf, *Anglican Spirituality*, p.74.

<sup>121</sup> Steven Neil, *Anglicanism*, 1977 pp. 254-262, 255,257

<sup>122</sup> Mpango, “Uanglikana Kiroho”, p.15. a quote from William Wolf, *Anglican Spirituality*, p.74.

the church, and corporate mode of Salvation". John Ramadhani adds, 'indeed these are the things that make them more confined to the Word and the Sacraments'.<sup>123</sup>

The second significance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the impact of "Reason" which by the mid of the century had resulted into the emergence of the third group of Anglicanism, "the Liberals". Although they do not like to think of themselves as, party, and pride themselves on being broad, their emphasis distinguishes them from the other two groups. They accentuate the need to enter into dialogue with new discoveries in science, in history and the like, serious consideration of historical and literary criticism, and universalism. Consequently, they play down the orthodoxy (right belief) and replace it by orthopraxy (right living). Furthermore, they challenge Christian Orthodox as then understood by Catholics and Evangelicals, especially in the areas like the doctrine of Trinity, of Objective atonement of Christ, the miraculous and baptism. Liberal Anglicanism is often called the "Broad Church" in the sense that it is not standing as a group on its own but rather is found within the other two groups.<sup>124</sup>

Finally, the 19<sup>th</sup> century was notable for the extraordinary expansion of the Christian church. Anglicans were fully involved in this expansion both through missionary societies and through various forms of locally

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<sup>123</sup> Adrian Chatfield, *Something in Common*, p. 23.

developed missions. The UMCA (noted previously as an Anglo-Catholic mission body formed in 1857 after the preaching of David Livingstone at Cambridge and Oxford about the need of European missionaries for Africa) arrived in Zanzibar in 31 August 1864.

In Zanzibar, the mission was believed to have steadily developed by preparing candidates for baptism, training priests and making attempts to adopt the Gospel to African ways within few years. The first CMS missionaries arrived in Central Tanganyika eleven years later on their way to Uganda. With their arrival and the establishment of a mission station at Mpwawa, Buigiri and later at Mamboya in Morogoro<sup>125</sup> the diocese of East Equatorial Africa, which comprised, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika was formed in 1884. Hannington was appointed the first Bishop but was killed on the Uganda border while travelling to Tanganyika and his successor died even before reaching Uganda.<sup>126</sup> Following the deaths of two CMS Bishops, their Tanganyika area was handed over to the diocese of Mombasa which was very strong by that time.<sup>127</sup>

It was the proposal of the UMCA mission head Office in London to build up a native church: the church of the people of the land, irrespective of European influences and adapting itself to the special circumstances of the

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<sup>125</sup> Gregory H. Maddox, "The Church & Cigogo" in Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (eds.) *East African Expression of Christianity*, p.154.

<sup>126</sup> DCT SR, Knox, *Signal on the Mountain*, pp., 71-73,76-84.

<sup>127</sup> DCT SR.

race and country in which it exists.<sup>128</sup> In Tanzania however, this aim was clearly set forth by four Bishops only. The first two were Tozer in 1865 and Hine in 1899. The other two who became its greatest exponents were, the Rev. Fr. W.V. Lucas of Masasi (later the first Bishop of Masasi) and Rev. Fr Neil Russell of Zanzibar (later the assistant Bishop for Zanzibar). Lucas had integrated Christian values with *jando* (male circumcision rite) and *unyago* (female circumcision rite) and the blessing of new homes while Russell had introduced the New Testament mode of healing.

The resignation of Bishop Hine in 1908 concluded the UMCA ideal of homegrown church in the diocese of Zanzibar. Bishop Frank Weston (Hine's successor) thought that Africans priests were too proud to work with their local people. He assumed this pride to be a result of their being ordained to the priesthood and being more exposed to European life style. Weston declared that the UMCA's work among freed slaves had not been a success in promoting the spread of the Gospel. He therefore decided not to ordain Africans. By doing so, he drew back the church into its English Catholicism since he had to rely on priests from Europe. In fact this was also true of the CMS at Mpwapwa.<sup>129</sup> Unlike the CMS however, the UMCA officials in the Church of England, which ratified appointments of UMCA indigenous church leaders, supported Weston and thus blocked any proposals sent to them by African priests such as Cecil Majaliwa and

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<sup>128</sup> Neil, *Anglicanism*, p.343.

<sup>129</sup> Gregory H. Maddox, "The Church and the Cigogo", p. 154.

Samwil Sehoza. The Rev. Cecil Majaliwa, an outstanding priest who could have become the first African UMCA Bishop was very discouraged by this discrimination.

This situation was even worse under Bishop Richardson (successor of Weston) who took no action on mistakes done by the 'white' missionaries while African priests were heavily punished if they did similar mistakes. Majaliwa withdrew from mission work in the mainland to oppose such discrimination.<sup>130</sup> Few European priests noticed the crisis at the time when Africans were tired: "Even padre Sehoza came back from Zanzibar with a new spirit and wanted to know the difference between a 'European' priest-in charge and an 'African'."<sup>131</sup>

In 1927 the CMS diocese of Mombasa was divided into the diocese of Mombasa (Kenya) and Central Tanganyika –DCT (Tanganyika) and Bishop Chambers became the first Bishop of DCT, consecrated in the same year. In 1943 W. Wynn Jones was consecrated Chambers' Assistant Bishop. When Bishop Chambers resigned from the DCT in 1947, he had seen a quantitative growth of the diocese as the number of mission stations increased from 6 to 15. Many of the temporary church buildings had been built as permanent structures and the mission schools and hospitals were flourishing.

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<sup>130</sup> Moriyama, "Building a home –grown Church", p.341.

<sup>131</sup> Woodward to Travers, Magila- Msalabani, January, 10 1912, [B2].

Unlike the UMCA at the Coast and the CMS in Central, the UMCA diocese in the Southwestern part of the country took a different direction. The formation of the Federation of Southern Rhodesia that had taken place in 1953 by including Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland<sup>132</sup> had naturally encouraged the church to adapt itself to it. The three dioceses of Rhodesia, together with Nyasaland (shorn of Tanganyika territories) and the Diocese of South West Tanganyika (founded in 1952) joined on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1955 to form the Anglican Province of Central Africa. It had been a unique province because it combined three entire countries and part of the fourth country, yet its numbers, both clergy and communicants were very few. Racism and the struggle for political independence during this decade brought the Province into a tragic failure. As a result the Southern part of Tanganyika, the Diocese of South-West Tanganyika (DSWT) withdrew, later to become part of the Province of East Africa.<sup>133</sup>

The process of Africanization was very encouraging in Central Tanzania. The European administration of DCT had already by the year 1955, consecrated Rev. Yohana Omari, assistant Bishop for Morogoro area, followed in 1962 by Rev. Musa Kahurananga, assistant Bishop for Western Tanganyika area.<sup>134</sup> Since this was the time that Tanganyika had received her political independence, the consecration of these Africans to the

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<sup>132</sup> Neil, *Anglicanism*, p.344.

<sup>133</sup> Neil, *Anglicanism*, p.344.

<sup>134</sup> DCT SR.

Bishopric office increased the pressure for the Africanization of church leadership.

The UMCA Bishop William Scott Baker (the successor of Richardson) responded by establishing three dioceses: Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Zanzibar (with its Pemba part), out of the diocese of Zanzibar. In 1963, he consecrated three assistant Bishops: Rev. Yohana Lukindo for Tanga, Rev. John Sepeku for Dar es Salaam and Rev. Neil Russell for the Islands. As the years went by, Lukindo proved a failure following his alcoholic behaviour. This necessitated the consecration of Rev. Yohana Jumaa instead for Tanga and Sepeku for Dar es Salaam. Russell's criticism of the Revolutionary government in Zanzibar soured his relationship with the government authorities. The government declared him *persona non-grata* and therefore he left Zanzibar. Thereafter Zanzibar remained part of the diocese of Tanga to form the diocese of Zanzibar and Tanga under Jumaa.<sup>135</sup> However, Bishop Jumaa was not strong enough to challenge the impact of the reign of Bishop Frank Weston. As a result the diocese continued to exercise European Anglo-Catholicism.

With nearly a million Anglican Christians in East Africa, it might seem that the time should have come long ago for the formation of an East African Anglican Province. The idea was, in fact, discussed as early as 1927; but

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<sup>135</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003. The UMCA diocese of Tanga and Zanzibar was divided into two dioceses in 2000 after John Ramadhani the grandson of Cecil Majaliwa ordained priest in 1976 at Zanzibar and consecrated the third African Archbishop of Tanzania had done a respectable work.

though the East African Bishops met regularly and unofficially for consultation, progress towards a province was slow in coming. There were several reasons for this. One was Ecclesiastical: the very strong Evangelical dioceses that stem from the work of the CMS found it very hard to picture themselves associated in one organization with the very strong Anglo-Catholic dioceses of the UMCA.<sup>136</sup> This was a unique problem for Tanzania. Bishop Ramadhani felt that this was a result of a deep division between the two traditions during the colonial time. Ramadhani argues that sharing was so minimal that it can seriously be said that the Anglo-Catholic church authorities encouraged their Christians to go to the Roman Catholics when moving to Evangelical Anglican areas and the Evangelicals encouraged its Christians to go to the Lutherans when moving to the Anglo-Catholic areas. It is clear therefore that Christians from the two wings did not know each.

The second reason was political. Kenya had been declared a 'white man's' country by some of the white settlers during the colonial era. With such intense suspicion, any suggestion of the provincial union, which would involve closer fellowship with the church of Kenya, met with fierce opposition in the church of Uganda.<sup>137</sup> The effort to unite the three territories, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, had to be abandoned as impracticable.

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<sup>136</sup> This is a difficulty that comes to be more acutely felt by the Christians of both traditions in Tanzania. For more see, H. P. Mtingele, "Mamlaka katika Kanisa Anglikana Tanzania na umoja wa Jimbo" in Emanuel J. Kandus (ed.), *Taarifa kamili ya semina*, pp.59-80, 99.

<sup>137</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

According to Bishop Ramadhani, it was the question over the bishopric of the diocese of Masasi (a UMCA diocese in the South in Tanzania) that had led to the formation of the province. The complaints which had reached Geoffrey Fisher, the then Archbishop of Canterbury from the people of Masasi that their Bishop, Markway (the successor of Bishop Lucas), treated them with contempt, had led to the ousting of Bishop Markway from Masasi.

Later, when the people of Masasi were asked to choose the person they wanted to succeed Markway, they supported the Rev. Fr. Trevor Huddleston a priest of the Community of the Resurrection whose strong opposition to the 'Whites' domination of the majority Blacks in South Africa was known in Tanzania. When Fisher asked the Bishops in East Africa to comment on this choice of the people of Masasi, they agreed that Huddleston was the best candidate. This was a great challenge to Fisher who, antecedently, had ousted him from mission work in South Africa because he did not like his standpoint. Although he released this priest for the Masasi Bishopric, Fisher refused to consecrate him. Instead, he suggested that the East African Bishops should agree to choose an Archbishop who would consecrate Huddleston in Tanzania. Tanzania and Kenya agreed to elect an Archbishop. This meant the formation of one Province that would combine Kenya and Tanzania.

The Province of East Africa was inaugurated on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1960 after L. J. Beecher, the then Bishop of Mombasa was elected the first Archbishop of the Province. On 30<sup>th</sup> November 1960, Huddleston was made the third Bishop of Masasi at St. Nicholas Cathedral in Dar es Salaam. His strong support of Nyerere and Africans in general in their struggle for Africanization is well remembered in Tanzania. The second province that included Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi followed shortly on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1961.<sup>138</sup> It should be remembered however that Kenya was strongly Evangelical while Tanzania had both strong Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic. This implies that unlike the Province for Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, that of Kenya and Tanzania was built on shaky foundation.

By 1970, Tanzania had nine dioceses: four from the CMS and five from the UMCA missions.<sup>139</sup> The liturgical differences between the two traditions and the struggle for full independence brought challenges for the Tanzanian party to withdraw from the East African Province.<sup>140</sup> Under the influence of J.K. Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, the Church of the Province of Tanzania (CPT) was inaugurated in 1970. A friend of Nyerere, John Sepeku, the UMCA Bishop of Dar es Salaam became the first Archbishop. Although the term 'Anglican' was totally rejected due to the conviction that it had colonial connotations, still CPT followed the English parish system.

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<sup>138</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>139</sup> The dioceses were Zanzibar and Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Masasi, South West Tanganyika and Ruvuma from the UMCA while those from the CMS were Central Tanganyika, Morogoro, Mount Kilimanjaro and Victoria Nyanza.

<sup>140</sup> Oral interview John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

which placed too much authority on one person, the vicar, and so ignored what Bishop Chitemo referred to as 'the immense reserves of spiritual power in the laity'.<sup>141</sup>

Uniting the two traditions could not however end their fear and distrust of each other. In Iringa town, for example, where there were strong UMCA as well as CMS Christians and no other alternative, they had tried to worship together but with continuing conflict. The tensions were slightly resolved by establishing different services to enable each group to worship the way they wanted. Surprisingly, the Evangelical Anglican Bishop refused to visit the Anglo-Catholic congregations. The situation forced CPT to review its constitution where it was agreed that dioceses should encourage exchange programs for priests and lay people. It was also agreed that the church should form a united theological college for the purpose of producing clergy with the spirit of unity. These agreements were stressed further in the Provincial Synod of 2000 which also agreed to change the name of the church to ACT under the conviction that many people do not understand that CPT is the Anglican Church of Tanzania. The change of name has been well received but the impetus to fulfill the other agreements mentioned above has been very slow to this day. Among the reasons mentioned is that most of the church leaders are worried of losing various aids from overseas which are sent to the dioceses with conditions. Customarily,

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<sup>141</sup> Oral interview, Gresford Chitemo, Upanga, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003, see also footnote 110 above.

sponsors who are Evangelical donate to the Evangelical dioceses and so are to the Anglo-Catholics sponsors.

What is happening now is the formation of Evangelical Anglican Churches in cities like Dar es Salaam, which is Anglo-Catholic by history. These churches compel to have priests not only from the Evangelical dioceses but also from their indigenous community. This is particularly in the churches which are mainly dominated by the Gogo from Central Tanganyika.

There are different opinions about these churches. Some think that the coming up of Evangelical Anglican Churches in the Anglo-Catholic areas of domination is a reaction over the unsatisfying type of Christianity as practiced by the Anglo-Catholic priests. Others think that it is one way of amalgamating the two traditions. If this were true then we would expect to see, in the near future the Anglo-Catholics too making their way on the other side. The situations however may change slowly with time as more Tanzanians travel more widely and see more of the world especially America, South Africa and Canada.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Our main objective in this chapter was to identify Tanzanian situation that has brought Uamsho. Initially in this chapter we have described the way the Gospel was presented and the people's response. We have shown that some missionaries tried from the start to indigenise the Christian faith by making

it genuinely African. Scriptures and liturgies were translated: African catechists, preachers and evangelists continued slightly to translate the faith. Africans were ordained into holy orders and took office. Doctrines they had been taught were put into expressions and stories, which were readily intelligible to the people. They had applied Christian teachings to some extent to the daily lives of the people.

Nevertheless, education had created a very significant problem: the failure to apply the faith to African life. As a result religion had become "of the head" among those who professed to be Christians but their hearts were occupied by something else: the desire of obtaining literacy, 'the white man's magic' and status in the new colonial order. Baptism was the only means for both. Some therefore read the Gospel avidly and others listened to the reading attentively since there was a test to pass and not for their personal life guidance.

Kiswahili, the chosen language for instruction, was yet another problem. It helped the spread of Swahili customs, but was highly influenced by Arabic culture and Islam that had their own understandings of the spirit world. The use of freed slaves in the propagation of the Gospel, who were trained by using Kiswahili and who were cut from their traditional values led more to confusion than building the sort of church intended by the missionaries. So Christianity became conformity to rules or copying of customs, but not the birth of a new conscience or new life of freedom and life.

Very little help was given to African Christians troubled by witchcraft. Not one hymn in all Kiswahili hymn books- *Nyimbo za dini* of the UMCA and *Nyimbo Standard* of the CMS- even so much as mentioned witchcraft, for it was not an important issue to the European missionaries. This tells us that for full indigenization, European missionaries needed not only to translate their hymns, Bibles and their faith, which was highly influenced by their cultural values, but also to listen to what Africans were saying. There was a need to know what African traditions meant and what values they carried. There was a need to fill the gap created by the Slave Trade and Islam. The ex-slaves could not make it because they were already cut off from a culture. The freeborn people who joined the 'Christian Villages' Christianity later through schools, dispensary and church could not help because they were also told to be ashamed of their traditional values. The failure to fill the gap left by Slave Trade, Islam and the colonial domination had led Africans themselves to try to find the "bridge". It was in such struggles that various spiritual Movements such as the Uamsho emerged. We shall discuss this in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE EMERGENCE AND SPREAD OF THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN TANZANIA

#### 3.0 Introduction

We have seen in the preceding chapter how the impact of formal Western education, the denominational pride, the economy and the First World War had continued to disrupt the structures of African community life along with the effect of Islam and the Slave Trade. The chapter has also shown that as the church passed into the second generation around the mid 1920s it began to show signs of numerical decline and spiritual stagnation. Christianity had become a common phenomenon within churches. Godly love in the churches had disappeared. The CMS Bishop Alfred Tucker who had been a missionary in Uganda between 1890-1911 confessed that missionaries had baptized numbers of Africans without much evidence of something inside, except “an intelligent knowledge of the way of salvation, which was tested”.<sup>1</sup> It was against this background of spiritual decline in the life of the church that the Uamsho, which came to be commonly known as the Great East African Revival Movement (GEARM), emerged.

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<sup>1</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegaya, St. Marks Theological College, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

It is worth noting however, that 'Revival' has been taking place in the church as early as the first century of the Christian era. But in the sense in which Evangelical Christians used that term, it meant a phenomenon that occurred in Europe and North America in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike the European and American revival, a unique characteristic of the Revival in discussion was the merging of two streams of remarkable spiritual life (European and African). The struggle to bridge these two streams led to the emergence of this Revival (Uamsho), a movement that has remarkably shaped Tanzanian Anglican Christianity. The emergence and spread of Uamsho is therefore the focus of this chapter.

We enter this discussion with the assumption that there are factors that had contributed to the fast spread of Uamsho in some areas, which could not work in other places. Another assumption is that Uamsho is a spiritual process of change just like other social and political processes. In order to observe this we have divided this chapter into three sections. We shall first discuss the early revivals in East Africa and the influence of these revivals in the emergence of GEARM. We have named this section as the first phase of Uamsho. The second section deals with a period in which Uamsho does not seem to have been active. This section is named the second phase. The third phase in which we also discuss the rise of Edmund John and his healing ministry and women in Uamsho, is the last. This chapter concludes by stating that the theological emphases of *wanauamsho* contain the seeds of the success of Uamsho.

### 3.1.0 The First Phase

#### 3.1.1 Early 'revivals' in East Africa

We have mentioned in the previous chapter that the CMS missionaries had arrived in Uganda in 1877 to establish mission work. The Ugandan Anglican Church later became the mother of the church in Rwanda and Northwest Tanzania (Kagera Region). Some of the missionaries who came to work in Uganda and Rwanda were also members of the Keswick Convention, which was founded in a weeklong convention at Keswick-England in 1875. According to J.I Packer, the convention institutionalized for the first time the teachings of John Wesley about 'Holiness'. Wesley had claimed that God rose up Methodism to spread scriptural holiness, and taught that God roots out all sin from Christian hearts in this life. Consequently this meant that Christians become all love. This grace was held to be wrought instantaneously in response to earnest seeking, and to be attested immediately by the inner witness of the Holy Spirit. The Keswick convention put these Wesleyan teachings in four doctrinal statements:

- (i) "'The second blessing' while increasing one's love and transforming one's life does not eradicate one's sin.
- (ii) The blessing itself is essentially a matter of being filled with the Spirit for the ongoing battle with inward corruption.
- (iii) A single decisive act of trustful self-surrender brings the blessings automatically: one may 'take it by faith', whether one feels it or not.

(iv) In the moral battle one must not strive against one's sinful impulses directly ('in one's own strength') or defeat will follow. Instead, one must prayerfully remit them to Christ to counteract, looking to him in trustful and expectant passivity.<sup>2</sup>

These statements became the basis for the teachings of the group, which continued to meet each year for a week (now two weeks) for Bible study and reflections on the challenges in mission work. Sceats adds that the Pentecostal denominations, the current Charismatic movements and the Salvation Army were among those whose foundation was John Wesley's teachings<sup>3</sup>. Joe Church (a CMS missionary to Rwanda) and George Pilkington (a CMS missionary to Uganda) who were significant figures of the revival in East Africa were among the many people who were inspired by the Keswick spirit.<sup>4</sup>

George Pilkington, for example, who was a very gifted linguist, had engaged himself in localizing Christianity by translating the Bible into Luganda. Although other members of the mission were excited about the successes that Pilkington's work had brought to the church as the number of Christians increased and many appeared to be eager to read God's word, Pilkington was not. The very low level of spiritual life exhibited by the converts saddened his heart. The truth of the Gospel, which people appeared

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<sup>2</sup> J.I Packer, 'Holiness Movement' in Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright, *New Dictionary of Theology*, Leicester: iVP, 1988, p.314.

<sup>3</sup> D.D. Sceats "Perfect/Holiness" in Sinclair B. Ferguson & David F. Wright (eds.) *New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, Leicester: iVP, 1988, pp.505-506.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, Winchester: 2000, pp.9-11, H. H. Osborn, *The Revival which Started in Rwanda: Fire in the Hills*, Croborough: Highlands Books, 1991, P.63, also in Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.37.

to accept with such enthusiasm, made very little impact in their moral life. Therefore, George Pilkington felt the dearth of spiritual life in the lives of those who professed to be Christians. He became so discouraged that he spoke of giving up missionary work altogether.<sup>5</sup> He nevertheless remembered the Keswick statements and thus decided to go alone for a visit to the Island of Kome (one of the Sese Islands in Lake Victoria). While at Kome, he devoted himself to Bible reading and prayers and from that he learned the great secret of the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit that transformed his whole life. Pilkington came back from Kome as a changed man and started to preach to other people about salvation. He emphasized that a person's conversion to Christianity should simultaneously imply inner convictions and urged people to 'choose new life'.<sup>6</sup> Such emphasis strengthened the challenge that people were facing with respect to their Christian Faith as that was the period of Ugandan Martyrdom<sup>7</sup>. Faced by nominal believers and martyrs, Pilkington together with other missionaries organized a ten-day mission where he continued to urge people to "choose new life".

Suffering amidst the Namugongo flames that were lit by the order of Kabaka Mwanga, the martyrs sang a song-*tukutendeleza Yesu* (we praise you Jesus),<sup>8</sup> which came to be the hymn of the GEARM. Subsequently

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<sup>5</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp.37-38.

<sup>7</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp.28-32.

<sup>8</sup> Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania*, London: C. Hurst & Co. 1980, p.114, John Mbiti described the hymn as a source of courage, a source of witness and

there was a growth of eagerness amongst the Christians in Uganda for Bible reading and Evangelism. Considering the close relationship between the Haya of Kagera in Northwest Tanzania and the Ganda and the fact that even Kagera was part of the Ugandan Anglican Church, and that some Christian missionaries had fled from the martyrdom to this place<sup>9</sup>, it was possible that the so-called "Pilkington revival" had reached Kagera.<sup>10</sup>

Kenya had her first experience of revival through Alfayo Odongo. Following a healing from his long illness and his conversion to Christianity through a local prayer group, Odongo, experienced the Holy Spirit possession and thus formed his own prayer house. He became an active preacher who attracted the attention of the Anglican mission. The mission sent him to Freretown to study for ordination and he later became a pastor of his own church.<sup>11</sup>

In Tanzania, as we have noted in the previous chapter, the people of Rungwe and Tukuyu in the Tanzanian Southern Highlands had had an experience of the Holy Spirit revival in 1916. The Nyiha and the Safwa who had warmly welcomed the German missionaries following the predictions uttered by a prophet prior to their coming, had received the departure of

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assurance, a hymn which signals tremendous fellowship and unity among Christians from the shore of the Indian Ocean to the depths of the Zaire forest. See John Mbiti, " 'Cattle are Born With Ears, Their Horns Grow Later': Towards an Appreciation of African Oral Theology" in *Africa Theological Journal* Vol.8, No. 1, 1979, p.23.

<sup>9</sup> Sunkler, *Bara Bukoba*, pp.24-34.

<sup>10</sup> Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, p.114, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp.54-55.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Spear, "Towards the History of African Christianity", in Thomas Spear and Isaria I. N. Kimambo, *East African Expression of Christianity*, p.16 also in Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.118.

these missionaries during the First World War with uncertainties. Consequently, they experienced a short outbreak of the Holy Spirit possession, and they spoke in new tongues. However that moment was brief because the British army officers forbade the Christians to worship. The leaders of these Christians were also deported to Zomba in Malawi. Anderson quotes the army officer uttering threats against these Christians saying: "If you find them at prayer, we will punish them because they are praying for their Germans"<sup>12</sup> and that concluded the end of that revival. Although the German missions (Lutheran and Moravian) came to Tanzania from Malawi where people were experiencing what was known as Donald Fraser's revival (another product of Keswick pietism),<sup>13</sup> there is no significant evidence that Fraser's revival had influenced the Rungwe and Tukuyu revival.

Kenya experienced another significant wave of revival that emerged among the Friends African Mission led by Arthur Chilson. In 1926, Chilson visited a school at Chavakali in Western Kenya where he told the students that their parents, even though many of them were church leaders were not real Christians at all. His preaching was mainly from the Epistle to the Romans 10: 9 through which he challenged the students:

"If you confess with your mouth that ' Jesus is Lord' and believe in your heart that God raised Him from the dead, you will be saved'. How many,

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<sup>12</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Sundkler & Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa*, pp. 474-476, 535-540.

Chilson challenged the students, had real openly confessed and believed? The students were astonished and therefore wanted to know more. Chilson started his mission by leading them into an open confession after a retreat in the forest."<sup>14</sup>

All these revivals reflect a reaction to an African situation. This interaction of the Gospel with African life had become the foundation of the GEARM.

### 3.2.2 The Great East African Revival Movement: 1920-1950

Like many mass movements, the date and place in which this Uamsho began cannot be specified.<sup>15</sup> Other scholars however use the events that had brought Pilkinton's revival (discussed previously) to trace its origin. Sundkler, for example, called that epoch 'the origin of the Revival'<sup>16</sup> with regards to its inspiration while Sahlberg refers to that period as 'the first phase'.<sup>17</sup> Osborn concluded that it was because of those relatively unknown products of revival that in 1922 Simon (Simeoni) Nsibambi got saved after he had struggled hard to find a guide to his life.<sup>18</sup> Nsibambi finally resolved his struggle by discovering that the only true guide of his

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<sup>14</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp.119-120.

<sup>15</sup> Several sources mentions the year 1928 when Dr. Joe Church visited Uganda from Rwanda and met Blasio Kigozi's brother Simon (Simeon) Nsibambi at Namirembe and returned at Gahini as a changed man. See for example J. Mbaya, "A critical assessment of Revival in the North Imenti Division of Meru District" in *Occasional Research papers*, No.245, Vol.25, 1974, p.3, Emmanuel K. Twesigye, "The Revival Movement in Uganda up to 1974" in *Occasional Research Papers on African Religions and Philosophies*, No. 226, Vol.28, Kampala, 1975, p.9; Bishop Elinaza E. Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama: Roho Mtakatifu katika Makanisa ya Kihistoria ya Tanzania*, Moshi: New Millennium Books, 2000, p. 14; Others mention the year 1929 see for example, Josiah M. Kibira, "Church Clan and the World", in *Studia Missionalia Upsalinsia*, Uppsala: Greenup, 1974 .p.298.

<sup>16</sup> Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, p.176.

<sup>17</sup> Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa*, Nairobi: Evangelical Publishing House, 1986, p.121.

<sup>18</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in East African Revival*, p.16.

life was Jesus Christ, through Bible study and prayer.<sup>19</sup> Nsibambi took this as a call to preaching the Word of God and therefore he left his job and devoted himself to Bible study and prayers.<sup>20</sup> He became instrumental to the conversion of Blasio Kigozi (his brother), William Nagenda and Dr. Joe Church (a member of Keswick Convension).<sup>21</sup> In 1929, Kigozi moved to Gahini in Rwanda where he became a head of a school that trained evangelists. In the same year that Kigozi had moved to Gahini, his brother Nsibambi met Dr. Joe Church at Namirembe Cathedral in Kampala Uganda. After sharing Scriptures, they prayed together and when they left, they discovered that they were changed men.<sup>22</sup> Joe went back to Gahini and Nsibambi continued to preach in Uganda.

The spiritual state of the mission work at Gahini was deteriorating. Jealousy and hatred had destroyed unity amongst leaders of the hospital, the school and the church, which adversely affected students and patients. As a result, a conflict arose in the school and the students went on strike. Somehow, Joe Church became involved in the conflict. Blasio became discouraged about his life and work as he thought that the European missionaries were behind the strike so that they might prove that Africans were not capable of assuming high positions in the mission work.<sup>23</sup> Eventually, Kigozi, Church, and others, after Bible study and fervent prayer for God's help and guidance

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<sup>19</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in East African Revival*, pp. 17, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, p.17, 26.

<sup>21</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, pp.12-13, 25-27,112-113.

<sup>22</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, pp.25-26.

<sup>23</sup> Osborn, *The Revival which started in Rwanda*, p.65.

(which they did individually each in his/her house), felt that they were commanded by God's Spirit to go and ask for forgiveness from each other.<sup>24</sup> As they obeyed the command, they started to confess grudges they held against each other. After they had done this, they discovered one another as Christian Brethren.<sup>25</sup> The assurance of being forgiven brought new joy, which led to a realization that full salvation in Jesus Christ could be obtained through true confession. As a result of this experience, they went out to other people with the new joy and fresh testimonies. As they testified about this 'new life' many people were convicted of their sins and confessed.

Writing in Rwandan language (*Nyarwanda*) to Canon Lawrence Barham (CMS missionary at Kabale in Uganda), Kigozi described the confessional experience, in two *Nyarwanda* words: *ukwicuza* (to regret) and *ukwihama* (to confess).<sup>26</sup> According to Kigozi, *ukwicuza* is the word used in the Bible to describe Judas Iscariot's experience after betraying Jesus. He was sorry for his sins, but it was only remorse, because he went away and killed himself. *Ukwihama* is the word used in the story of the prodigal son, which depicts three emotions. The prodigal son was sorry for his sins, he repented of them openly, and he turned his back on them. Kigozi confessed to his

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<sup>24</sup> Hanna. W. Kinoti, "Christology in the East African Revival Movement" in J.N.K. Mugambi & Laurent Magessa (eds.), *Jesus in African Christianity: Experimentation and Diversity in African Christology*. Nairobi: Acton, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1998, pp. 63-64

<sup>25</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.63.

<sup>26</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.124. Thanks to Theoneste Rutayisire for the translation of these words. Rutayisire, an MTh student at ACOM in August-December 2003, hails from Gahini in Rwanda.

friend that his own teachers in the past had never emphasized strongly that 'being born again' was necessary for salvation. Anderson's interpretation was that Kigozi touched the center of the problem: "Since *Kusoma* Christianity had few bridges with African life, the African Converts themselves had to provide the bridges".<sup>27</sup>

As the power of God worked among the men at Gahini, women had the same experience too. Christ transformed family relationships to an extent that husbands and wives enjoyed their fellowship with each other. Although this was evidence of the power of God at work, it was nevertheless a moment of division. The "revived" placed a sharp dividing line between 'light' and 'darkness', which became a source of controversy. Christians who were not members of the group were perceived as living in the 'darkness' and those in the group saw themselves as living in 'the light'. Those 'in the light' recognized and accepted the blazing purity of God's holiness contrasted with the awful sinfulness of anything and everything that did not correspond to God's holy character while those 'in the dark' refused to recognize sin in their lives and to repent from it whole heartedly. Among the problems that this distinction had brought was the breaking of marriages and relationships in the family.

Another difference arose within the group. Those, whose transformed lives had proved that they lived in the light more, claimed to have been set alight

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<sup>27</sup> Anderson *The Church in East Africa*, p.124. Also in Kinoti, "Christology in East African Revival Movement", p. 64.

more to 'the world' than others in the group. Their claim that their salvation was higher than that of others and that 'they were burning for salvation' (living on fire) led the Gahini sub-chief to nickname them 'Abaka' (literally- the burning ones or men on fire).<sup>28</sup> Kigozi was among them. The new emphasis on living on fire threatened the Christianity of elders and they accused Kigozi of misleading their children and wives. Ironically, at the Church Council, two men who stood up to testify against Kigozi, confessed their sins instead. The whole council was swept into the *abaka*. This made people receive the testimonies of Kigozi and that of his friends with astonishment and trembling. An awakening was poured out in the church and the whole society was touched. After conversion of a female witch at Gahini for example, people became interested in the church.<sup>29</sup>

However, the claims of the *Abaka* met strong criticisms from other Revivalists. The important question they faced was: "If a Revival, which claimed to lead to unity in Christ, was expressed in events which caused division, could it be a genuine Revival?" After a long discussion it was agreed that Revival was the work of God and since it was experienced individually, the interpretation of what was happening varied from individual to individual. Nevertheless, division was discouraged in favour

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<sup>28</sup> H.H. Osborn, *The Revival which Spread from Rwanda*, pp. 87-88. In Uganda the term was changed to *Abalakole*- a Luganda term for the saved ones. For the *Balakole* see Hanna W.Kinoti, "Christology in the East African Revival Movement", p.66. The term *Balokole* was used in Tanzania until the emergence of the second phase where the *wanaumsho* would be referred as "walokole".

<sup>29</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.124.

of oneness in Christ. This led to strong fellowship within the Revival group and as a result the movement for repentance spread to other places in Rwanda and South of Uganda. Kigozi died suddenly however in 1936 at a time when the new movement was about to sweep through much of the church in Uganda.<sup>30</sup> As time passed on, *Abakijijwe* in Rwanda and Burundi and *Abalokole* in Uganda replaced the term *Abaka*. Both were more inclusive terms that meant 'the saved ones'.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2.2.1 The Spread of the Uamsho to Tanzania

Most of the Uamsho sources consulted generally agree that Uamsho arrived in Tanzania from both Rwanda and Uganda. According to Andrea Kadjerero (one among the first generation Haya Christians), the Uamsho reached Kagera in 1930 when two unnamed young men from Rwanda came to Butaimwa (Kagera) and said to the church meeting: "We have received the Holy Spirit. We have come here to confess before all the missionaries that when we were serving them at Ndolage (South of Bukoba), we were stealing from them."<sup>32</sup> The courage of these young men to confess their sins publicly astonished Andrea Kadjerero. He prayed to God that He should give to the Haya the Spirit that was poured out in Rwanda.

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<sup>30</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.124.

<sup>31</sup> Osborn, *The Revival which spread from Rwanda*, p. 97.

<sup>32</sup> Carl J.H. Lyamahoro, Andrea Kadjerero: The man and his Church (Biography) in *Occasional Research Paper: Christianity in Contemporary Africa-Tanzania*, No.71, Vol.8, 1972, p.21.

Kadjerero's prayer was answered by a visit of Pastor Shuburika with an unnamed evangelist to Bukoba from Mwanja (Rwanda). They deplored the sins of all people who refused to confess what they had done. They revisited Bukoba twice and did the same at Kigarama (North of Bukoba close to Uganda-Tanzania border), Kashasha (Northeast of Bukoba) and Ndolage (South of Bukoba).<sup>33</sup> At its initial stages, it was thought of fanatical due to its emphasis on public confession. As days passed however, the peoples' context continued to remind them of their traditional African aspect of public confession which was discouraged by the European missionaries.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, a delegation of two people (Yoel Byemerwa and Simon Tegamasho) was sent from Bukoba to Bugufi (Southwest of Kagera Region) to find out more about Uamsho. They were saved from their sins during their visit. When they returned they spread the Uamsho to many Haya areas.<sup>35</sup>

According to Sendegeya and Mpembelwa, in 1932 a European missionary from Bugufi came to Kashasha and Katoke and invited missionaries of various denominations from Bukoba.<sup>36</sup> They went to see him with some of the Haya Christians and he preached about Uamsho. Some among the Haya Christians praised God for what they had heard and that triggered the guilt

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<sup>33</sup> Eliabu Mpembelwa, *The impact of Revival Movement on the Contemporary Moravian Church in South-West-Tanzania*, Diploma Research Paper, St. Mark's, Theological College, 1995, p.9.

<sup>34</sup> This will be discussed in the next pages.

<sup>35</sup> Hellberg, *Andrea Kadjerero*, p.22.

<sup>36</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegeya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Eliabu Mpembelwa, *The impact of Revival Movement on the Contemporary Moravian Church in South-West-Tanzania*, p.9.

of Elisa Kalwani from Misenye, Kianja of Ikimba (Bukoba) who in turn confessed publicly that he had committed adultery with a Muslim woman. According to Canon Fareth Sendegeya, this was a revolution to European Christianity. The Haya were called back to their traditional African way of confession. Sendegeya argues that the Haya suffered from high rates of Gonorrhoea at that time and therefore the risk of infection from sexual intercourse with the Haya women was very real as they were feared to be the source of the disease. So the only way to escape the problem was to engage in sex with women from other ethnic group. This was done in secret. Kalwani's confession therefore opened a discussion about the problem.

Munga suggest that the Uamsho came to Tanzania accidentally. At Karagwe (West of Bukoba) for instance, in 1932, Felix Kabunga had happened to offer shelter for a night to two people coming from the Rwandan-Tanzanian border who were on their way to Uganda to work as carriers in coffee and sugar –cane plantations. Kabunga got convicted of his sins when his visitors begun to tell him about salvation. Kabunga confessed his sins, got saved and spread the good news to other people.<sup>37</sup>

Osborn and Anderson assert that Uamsho reached Kagera in April 1939, when a Revival team from Uganda, led by Nsibambi came to Ngara (Southwest of Bukoba) and Katoke.<sup>38</sup> According to Osborn, this was the

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<sup>37</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.70.

<sup>38</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, p.78, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.125.

hardest place spiritually that the team members had visited. Osborn explains that there were various ecstatic moments that made it very difficult for the team members to discern between God's power and that of Satan.<sup>39</sup> Sundkler concluded that this was a result of the fact that the second generation of Christians was experiencing alienation. The Biblical message that had been an inspiration to the first generation of Christians had become strange and incomprehensible:

A whole people had assembled around the baptismal font. Baptism had once been a radical experience but one which had tended to dry up. The patriarchs and the prophets of the Bible had once been dominating, if remote, personalities. A new generation may have felt that this gallery of mythical figures and roles was very alien and did not speak to them personally.<sup>40</sup>

Bishop Kibira had the following to say about the crisis:

"Although the European missionaries had succeeded in convincing our people to become Christians, and our people had been ordained into various types of ministries after their Bible schools, colleges of Theology, etc... the Church was however decaying under the blanket of nominal Christianity. The Church had become a place where religion acted as a big coat that actually hid superstitious activities and disobedience towards God".<sup>41</sup>

Various other sources mention Gerson Matovu, Blasio Kigozi, Simon Nsibambi, Ezekiel Balaba, Tito Masozera, Joel Church, Rev. Sywulker, Lionel Bakewell (principal at Katoke Teachers Training College and chaplain of the English Church in Bukoba), and Jack Bennett (a captain of

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<sup>39</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, p.32, p.79.

<sup>40</sup> Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, p.127.

<sup>41</sup> Josiah Kibira, *Barua ya Askofu*, Son: Vuga Press, 1966, p.12, Translation is mine.

Salvation Army) in connection with the early period of Uamsho in Tanzania.<sup>42</sup> What becomes clear is that this phase of Uamsho entered Kagera from more than one direction before World War II and spread vigorously in a chain reaction within and outside the region.

The beginning of Uamsho in Kagera brought tension in various congregations in the region. The *wanauamsho* denounced sin particularly drunkenness and adultery. A person was considered an adulterer if he/she lived with some one unsaved. Boys and girls were also discouraged from marrying unsaved people. In addition they denounced smuggling, having debts, smoking and chewing coffee seeds (a common practice in Kagera region). The *wanauamsho* leaders prohibited their members from the use of smart clothes, ornaments, head-clothes, shoes, braided hair and perfumes.<sup>43</sup> To stress the power of the Word of God in disciplining compared to the use of the rod, people were prohibited from whipping children or adults. Instead, they were urged to replace it with the Bible. Moreover, there were those who expected an *immediate Parousia* and believed that it was necessary to be watchful and the only way to do so was to use the Bible effectively. The Holy Spirit, a communicator of the good will of God, was at the center of all decisions that had to be made. During evangelization for example, they believed that the Holy Spirit was there to guide them in every respect.

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<sup>42</sup> Oral interview, John Semgaya, Maramba, Tanga, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 2003, also in H.H. Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, pp.78-79.

<sup>43</sup> Munga, *Uamsho* p. 72.

When planning for instance who should preach and which Bible text should be chosen for a particular convention, *wanauansho* believed that the Holy Spirit would give them the right information. Therefore, the team members would sit in seclusion for some time until one of them “heard” (*kusikia*) God’s voice and informed the others. It was also believed that the Holy Spirit could communicate God’s Will to His people through visions (*maono*) and dreams (*njozi*).<sup>44</sup>

The particular emphasis on the confession of sins (*kutubu dhambi*) publicly became a source of conflict with the CMS’s pastors (Europeans especially) in that though the concept of salvation was not new to CMS (the Anglo Saxon Evangelicalism had emphasized it), the idea of public confession of sins was considered alien. *Uamsho* was therefore perceived as a lifestyle that stood in contrast to the Christianity of the elders as taught by the missionaries. As a result those who joined the *Uamsho* movement experienced persecution from family members and missionaries who were against the movement. The penalty for being saved included being chased away from home and congregations. As it was at Gahini, the *wanauamsho* teaching about the distinction between ‘light and darkness’ led crisis situation, in particular for married people in the Hayaland. Some dissolved marriages just because one was saved and the other was not.

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<sup>44</sup> Oral interview, Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

Compared to other areas however, the Uamsho in Kagera region spread faster and stayed longer. To explain why this was so, four reasons are obvious. First, is the language factor. There was a common language, Kihaya, which most people could understand and which was related to Luganda of Uganda. There was also Kihangaza of Ngara, which has similarities with the languages of Rwanda, Burundi and Kigoma and therefore *ukwicuza*, or *ukwihama* was not something new to many people. Uamsho had put therefore the words of the Bible into the people's beloved mother tongue.

Second, their emphasis on being cleansed by the blood of Jesus Christ was assimilable to the Haya and Nyambo concept of making new bonds by blood. Within the Haya traditional background for example, blood was used in sacrifice and making new bonds of friendship between former enemies and people not related by kin.<sup>45</sup> Connected to that is the 'New Clan with Christ' concept. Kibira, who deals with the clan concept in the Haya/Nyambo system from a theological point of view, distinguishes between the old traditional clan (the ordinary one), which was oppressed by the Germans, and the 'New clan of Christ'.<sup>46</sup> Jesus was regarded as the head of this new clan, which lasts forever. The new clan emphasized fellowship and provided new community in time of sociological rupture. The new clan expressed itself in teams that went out for evangelization, lived together.

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<sup>45</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegeya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, pp.122-127. Kibira, *Church, Clan and the World*, pp.46-52.

provided a place for rejects or social 'misfits' and held meetings with other groups-even from neighbouring ethnic communities.

Thirdly, the aspect of public confession was a common traditional African value among the people of the area. Sendegeya argues that the people of Ngara, Bukoba and Kigoma were familiar with the concept of public confession. Traditionally, someone asking forgiveness was required to call elders and prepare local brew and sometimes slaughtered a cow or a bull to feed them first. Then he or she confessed before the elders, family and the offended.<sup>47</sup> The same procedure had to be followed by a wizard if he/she was to convince the community that he/she would no longer practice witchcraft. The only difference in this case was that the wizard had to display all the things he/she used in the profession. Since the church had condemned this practice, people were left insecure. The coming of Uamsho therefore, revitalized it. According to Sendegeya, this bridge that *wanauamsho* had made helped the Uamsho to survive longer in Kagera than anywhere else.

Finally marginalization and violence perpetrated against women led to the spread of guilt feelings among many women so much so that they wanted to

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<sup>47</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegeya. Sendegaya here reminds us a point raised by Kigozi (see 3.1.2 above) that his teachers in the past had never emphasized the necessity of confession which was a way of being born again in the traditional beliefs. This aspect is also common to some other communities in Tanzania such as the Shambaa of Northwest. It was because of that aspect among the Shambaa that prophet Kighobo (Farler to Steer, Magila, 7<sup>th</sup> October 1881 [B2]) had called the Shambaa for Baptism at river Umba even before the coming of Christianity.

repent.<sup>48</sup> Sundkler has argued that the custom of paying bride-wealth among the Haya was a commercial system that humiliated women and limited their freedom.<sup>49</sup> The breaking up of families due to childlessness, the blame being normally attributed to the wives, and general economic stress led women into prostitution. This resulted in an extensive spread of venereal diseases. Additionally, 'the Haya image of correlation between venereal diseases and the dying of people' could easily create a feeling of guilt, which they wanted to confess.<sup>50</sup> As a result, the number of women in the group increased as they felt at home in the group which did not marginalize them as their official churches did.

From Kagera, Uganda and perhaps Kenya, Uamsho spread to other parts of Tanzania during this first phase. Anderson mentions Matovu as the first person to take the message to the Ha of Kigoma in early 1940.<sup>51</sup> Although he went there as a teacher, his passion for winning souls to Christ moved him to become a preacher. The Ha were amazed to see his simplicity compared to other teachers. He was unkempt with messy clothes and tyre-sandals on his feet. Matovu preached the Uamsho message to the Ha but

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<sup>48</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegeya, also in Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, p.15.

<sup>49</sup> This practice is common in many Tanzania communities up to today but Uamsho had emphasized that *wanauamsho* should not receive bride price. Its effect however, was a creation of a community of the *wanauamsho* who could marry each other but not marry outside their group. This has some connection to both African Traditional life where people were not allowed to marry outside their ethnic community boundaries and the time when the Europeans had introduced Christianity when the first converts were not allowed to marry non-Christians. Uamsho in this case bridges African Traditional Religion and European Christianity. See Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*; p. 54.

<sup>50</sup> Oral interview, Fareth, Sendegeya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2003, Munga, *Uamsho*, p.75.

<sup>51</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.126.

found hardly anyone willing to accept this message. The effect of German colonial rule on the Ha created a tendency among the Ha men to leave their country undeveloped in favour of public or private business elsewhere. Spouses were left helpless, something that led them to prostitution. To discourage prostitution was to discourage survival. Seeing the hard life of the people,<sup>52</sup> and the advice he had perhaps from his wife and other *wanauamsho*, Matovu had to change his attitudes towards some developmental activities that he had rejected in Kagera. He therefore encouraged growing of coffee and bananas in Kigoma.<sup>53</sup> This encouraged some Christians to follow him. It was probably among this group and the school children from the schools in which he taught that the first *wanauamsho* in Kigoma were found. Matovu ended up a priest and Canon of the Anglican Church at Kigoma. The Ha Anglicans honour him as a pioneer of church planting in their country.

Another notable contribution of Matovu's mission to Tanzania was the conversion of Yohana Omari. According to Mlahagwa, Matovu met Yohana Omari who was working in a public dispensary at Kasulu-Kigoma.<sup>54</sup> Omari got saved and decided to return to his home area (Ulugulu in Morogoro) where he was made a priest in the Anglican Church.

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<sup>52</sup> Oral interviews, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Otto Chiduo, Christ the King parish, Kinondoni- Dar es Salaam, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2003, Rev. Canon Julius Lugendo, St. Nicholas Cathedral Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Sauli, S. Lengoliga, St. Mark's College Dar es Salaam, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>53</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.126. Bananas sometimes were used to make local brew.

<sup>54</sup> Mlahagwa 'Contending for the Faith' p. 298.

While Matovu was busy in the West, another Ugandan, Festo Kivengere, was sent to the Central part of the country in October 1940. Festo Kivengere was among the prominent *wanauamsho* with a passion of winning souls for Christ. He moved to Central Tanganyika from Uganda to take a teaching post at Alliance Secondary School in Dodoma.<sup>55</sup> In addition to teaching, Kivengere became a renowned evangelist and proved to be invaluable to the Anglican Church. Under the influence of Kivengere's work, Bishop Chambers of Central Tanganyika Diocese ordered *wanauamsho* from Katoke Teachers' Training College (Kagera) to visit Dodoma.<sup>56</sup> Yohana Madinda and Gresford Chitemo became *wanauamsho* at this time.

After being satisfied with the significant role of Uamsho in the church, Bishop Chambers appointed Rev. Yohana Omari, the chaplain of Mpwapwa College to expose students to Uamsho. The strong Islamic background and the Gogo traditional religious beliefs at Mpwapwa proved to be strong barriers against Omari's Uamsho influencing the indigenous people. Many

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<sup>55</sup> Alliance Secondary School (now Mazengo) was built by the CMS, and run in Alliance with the Moravians, and the African Inland Mission. The school recruited staff and students from a wide area within and outside Tanganyika. Other Alliance Schools in Tanganyika were, Rungwe Teachers Training Center, Musoma Secondary School and Kigoma Secondary School. These Schools were a result of the coming together of Missions in 1918 with an object of creating a Church, by training the Church along 'the converging lines. Earlier on, the proposal was for a formation of a Federation an idea that was strongly opposed by Bishop Frank Weston, an Anglo-Catholic Bishop of Zanzibar. Weston accused CMS, Bishops, Peel and Willis of "heresy and Schism". Anglo-Catholics put much stress on Bishops and so Weston felt that recognizing Churches without Bishops was a denial of Anglicanism. The Archbishop of Canterbury rejected both Weston's accusation of Peel and Willis and the notion of a Federation. See Gerald Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho-Anglican Spirituality', pp.15-17, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, pp.71-72, Weston, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, pp.1-70.

<sup>56</sup> Diocese of Central Tanganyika Special Report (DCT SR), Eliabu Mpembelwa, Research paper, p.9.

people had confessed their sins yet they continued to suffer from strong demonic forces. Healing and assurance for protection against these powers could be the only good news that these people waited for, but this Uamsho could not provide and therefore was no different from the Christianity of the elders. Omari however managed to influence his students, for a number of them declared themselves *wanaumsho*.

This was also the time when Chitemo was made head of a school at Mgugu where he impressed his students so much that half of them became *wanaumsho*. Besides Katoke, Mgugu, Mpwapwa and Alliance Secondary Schools, Mwika Bible School in Moshi (a Lutheran institution) was mentioned as a 'society' that had received the message of Uamsho. After this it started to spread through the work of evangelist students and teachers to other places in Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Tanga.<sup>57</sup> There were also pupils from Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Tanga who were influenced by the message of Uamsho during their studies in Mwanza, Mpwapwa and elsewhere. From Schools and working places the message of Uamsho fanned out to other parts of the country such as the Southern Highlands and South West Tanganyika. Unlike Kagera therefore, Uamsho in these other places had come from schools and working places and therefore it was a religion of the learned.

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<sup>57</sup> DCT SR.

As was the case at Kagera, the beginning of the Uamsho movement in other places in Tanzania was marked by tension between the *wanauamsho*, ordinary Christians and society. Church leaders such as pastors, evangelists, and church elders also tried to suppress *wanauamsho* in their congregations.

Unlike in Kagera, however, most of the *wanauamsho* in these other places were accused of misconduct and boastfulness and therefore chased out of churches and homes. There were many reasons for these reactions. First, is the language factor. Uamsho had come to these places from schools and working places where Kiswahili and English were fluently spoken. The two languages, the non-ethnic and non-denominational character of working places and of most of the schools had facilitated the penetration of the Uamsho message to the workers and students. Even though some of the people who did not go to school could speak Kiswahili, the religious concepts and phrases used by Uamsho were complicated. Terms and phrases like *Kuokoka* (to be saved), *Kutubu* (to confess), *Kutembea nuruni* (walking in the light) and *shingo ngumu* (stiff necked) could easily be misunderstood.

Second, the Uamsho brought embarrassment to those communities, which did not have an aspect of public confession in their traditional religious set up. It was difficult and uncomfortable for a respected parent to confess before his/her family. Finally, there were many people (in the rural areas

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especially) who had been experiencing the possession of demonic forces such as *majini which* could only be treated by consulting *waganga* but Uamsho, just as the missionaries had done before, had declared it evil without giving another alternative.

Uamsho had become therefore a religion of the people who could speak foreign languages: Kiswahili and English. This had been the reason why most of the conversion to Uamsho had happened in schools and working places than in the rural areas. The tensions in the parishes portray the same picture. When such tensions affected the *wanauamsho* however, they considered it as part of the plight that accompanied true Christian discipleship and thus proof of their uprightness.<sup>58</sup> They were never discouraged; rather they persisted in their belief that God had chosen them to give light from within their churches. It was because of this belief that they continued to bring new converts to their particular parishes for baptism and other sacraments. Normally the new Uamsho members reacted to the Uamsho realities with a “burning heart”. Leaders were however available to teach and guide them.

While the Uamsho had started with non-clergy taking the lead, a number of these *wanauamsho* lay preachers were soon ordained pastors. The involvement of pastors however was much more noticeable in Bukoba where the Uamsho had gained a strong foothold earlier than in Central

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<sup>58</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegeya, Dar es Salaam, 11th March 2003.

Tanganyika.<sup>59</sup> It is interesting to note that up to this time the Uamsho had not brought any significant effect on the Anglo-Catholics who dominated mainly the Coastal Strip and the South. We can understand the reasons behind this by reminding ourselves of the two historical facts mentioned in chapter one and two above. Firstly the fact that Anglo-Catholics emphasized the corporate mode of salvation symbolized by the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and Eucharist hindered any individual claims of being saved outside the church. Similar to that was their emphasis on the universality of the church. These two elements had an impact on African sense of belonging: 'I'm because we are' (*mtu ni watu*) and therefore the claims that one was saved could have been perceived as a sign of seclusion from that united family or denying its corporate claim.

Third was the fact that most of the Anglo-Catholic churches were established in strong Islamic areas where they had taken serious measures to integrate the Gospel with African life. Although the requiem mass, for example, was derived from Roman Missal and therefore foreign, its African significance had to do with ancestral veneration in the liturgy of the church. Sick people were anointed by using holy unction; homes, farms and cattle-pens were sprinkled with blessed water that could be understood as a reliable protection against 'evil eyes'. New marriages, initiation rites and pregnancy were prayed and blessed by a priest. Uamsho had declared

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<sup>59</sup> Mlahagwa, 'Contending for the Faith', p. 298.

ancestral veneration, the requiem mass and all these other practices evil. The Kiswahili religious concepts and phrases used by Uamsho therefore had not engaged with the religious context in the same way as their Anglo-Catholic traditions.

### **3.2 The Second Phase: 1950-1970**

The period between 1950 and 1960 was occupied mainly by political independence struggles. The political and the social revolution that took place at this period had effects on the spread of Uamsho. The Uamsho vigour of the Rev. Yohana Omari gave him a chance of becoming the first African Assistant Bishop of Central Tanganyika for the Morogoro area. Although Morogoro was Omari's motherland, the same factors that had impacted on Mpwapwa also faced Morogoro and so the place was as difficult to open up to Uamsho as Mpwapwa.

Furthermore, TANU a political party formed in 1954 under the leadership of Julius K. Nyerere had at once opposed racial parity on principle and irritated the colonial government by criticizing the prevailing system of Indirect Rule in Tanganyika. TANU also advocated an end to the old reliance on native authorities. Nyerere, being a faithful Roman Catholic, united people to lobby for independence. TANU gained popularity from the majority as compared to the interracial United Tanganyika Party (UTP). Three years later, TANU declared Kiswahili its official language. By

December 1961, TANU's political ascendancy had become so complete that as the Tanganyikan nation achieved its freedom, it did so in the form of a single-party state. TANU had therefore become the uniting factor for most people in Tanganyika leaving issues of faith and race untouched. The political pressures for change facilitated the appointment of three Anglo-Catholic assistant Bishops discussed in the preceding chapter.

The year 1964 has three religious and political significances. First, Bishop Omari died in this year and Rev. Yohana Madinda (another *mwanaumsho*) was appointed his successor. Like Yohana Omari, Yohana Madinda (who was not a native of Morogoro) could not influence many people to turn to Uamsho partly because of the political changes and the effect of Islam on the people of Morogoro.

Second, although the number of Christians in Zanzibar was small, John Okero, a Ugandan policeman, baptized in Kenya, had in January 1964, led Africans, in a clumsily planned but totally successful revolution which overthrew Arab control of the Island.<sup>60</sup> With the history of Christianity in the Islands (see chapter two) still in people's memory, the revolutionists placed in power Abeid Aman Karume, instead of Okello. Karume, a committed Muslim, pressurised his government to use Islamic *Sharia* Law. The European missionaries opposed him. In return Karume ordered them to leave the country within twenty-four hours as he thought that they were

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<sup>60</sup> William B. Anderson, "A Brief Account of Christianity in Tanzania," in *Occasional Research Papers*. Vol.8, No.67, p.12.

among those who did not want Africans to be in power. In order to prevent possibilities of persecution of the minority Christians, Neil Russell (the UMCA assistant Bishop for Zanzibar) opposed the order. He was therefore put into prison and later sent to the mainland. It was realized then that Christians in Zanzibar would be in trouble. In order to stop the possibility of persecution of the minority Christians in Zanzibar, Nyerere proposed Unity between Zanzibar and Tanganyika.<sup>61</sup>

Third, on 26<sup>th</sup> April 1964, a United Republic of Tanzania was formed from Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The Arusha Declaration that followed three years later imposed *Ujamaa* (community village- influenced by Roman Catholic 'Christian village') policy. The Declaration nationalized all means of production and allowed freedom of worship. Christians in Tanzania reacted to the policy in different ways. In developed regions people deeply resented it on the basis that its introduction not only prevented capitalist exploitation but also inhibited private enterprise and initiative.

In less prosperous regions people welcomed the security it brought, together with new opportunities for education, medical care and involvement in the life of the community.<sup>62</sup> Of course the hunger for human fellowship of the kind that transcended racial and religious boundaries had existed for many years at the Coast and the Islands especially where Islam had taken strong

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<sup>61</sup> There are various political and socio-economical reasons for the union but this was the immediate Theological aspect of it.

<sup>62</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

root. Warren describes the crises as "ferment" in the lives of large numbers of people that was related to critical sociological and cultural conditions: 'There was a deep hunger for human fellowship of the kind which would be an effective demonstration of the power of God to establish right human relationships.'<sup>63</sup> Admittedly this was the result of the rupture of human relations that had become a problem of particular generations due to the disintegration of many traditional patterns of life and the destruction of so many ancient unities.<sup>64</sup>

One way the Uamsho had profiled itself as a reaction against such unsatisfactory social conditions was as a new clan of Christ, thereby offering an alternative system to an old one as previously discussed. Bishop Sendoro remembers one incident when *wanauamsho* had contributed money for a convention and at the end of the convention there was more money in reserve. The *wanauamsho* decided to open a bank account. When the bank teller asked them who would be their signatory they replied, "Jesus Christ". The bank teller emphasized that they should elect one of themselves as signatory: that was the beginning of the 'New Life Crusade' group.<sup>65</sup>

It was interesting however that while those who joined Uamsho were calling for awakening of the church (a small community within the larger

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<sup>63</sup> Max Warren, *Revival: An Enquiry*, London: SCM, 1954, p.38-41, Munga, *Uamsho*, p.81.

<sup>64</sup> Warren, *Revival*, p.39, A.A. Lema, "The impact of Christianity on a traditional Education System" in C. K. Omari (ed.), *Essays on Church and Society in Tanzania*, Arusha: ELCT, 1976, pp.65-86.

<sup>65</sup> Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*, p.24.

Tanzania society), there were also *wanaujamaa* (communalists) calling for awakening and reform of the whole society at large. In this case the effect of *Ujamaa* on Uamsho was obvious. With the coming of *Ujamaa* villages for example, many pastors including *wanauamsho* were overjoyed to find that their visitation work and house-to-house witnessing (*kushuhudia nyumba kwa nyumba*) were cut short since the congregations had all come to live in the new *Ujamaa* village.<sup>66</sup> The increased realization that *Ujamaa* was based upon fundamentally Christian principles- community life, openness, solidarity, sharing, respect and equality- astounded the *wanauamsho* who thought that *Ujamaa* was more acceptable than what they were teaching which resulted in the stagnation of the spread of Uamsho.<sup>67</sup> These factors even had forced many Independent Churches to return to their parent churches.<sup>68</sup>

The effect of independence struggle on Uamsho can be observed from the fact that the first phase of Uamsho had very little impact in the rural areas where the majority of people lived. The struggle for independence and the series of events that followed after independence gave hope to the learned *wanauamsho* that the government was moving in the right direction. This however was not really true. The majority of people were in search of solutions to their various spiritual problems, which could not be met

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<sup>66</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.138.

<sup>67</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.137-138, *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, Bulletin*, 1967, p.2.

<sup>68</sup> Terence O. Ranger, "Christian Independence in Tanzania", pp.123-124.

through politics. Therefore, while Tanzanians were celebrating ten years of Tanganyika's independence by 1971, the church was in mess spiritually. Canon Martin Mbwana (the then Principal of St. Marks Theological College in Dar es Salaam) described the situation: "even my Archdeacon had asked me to go overseas and search for the Holy Spirit as he felt that the spiritual state of the church was at dearth."<sup>69</sup> It is clear that something new was needed to revive the church from that spiritual slumber.<sup>70</sup>

### 3.3 The Third Phase: 1970-2002

As it was noted above *Ujamaa* had started to show its inadequacy. Partly this was accelerated by the distinction made by *wanaujamaa* themselves that one should not mix religion and politics, which indicated to *wanaumsho* that something was wrong in the *Ujamaa* policy.<sup>71</sup> More development achieved in the better understanding of Kiswahili revealed *Ujamaa* to have not taken sufficient account of the evil inherent in human nature. With exception of the success in the Universal Primary Education, the problems posed by the three enemies of development, poverty, ignorance and disease on which Nyerere declared war soon after independence continued to exist. With time, more enemies (bribery, irresponsibility, theft, bureaucracy, and laziness) emerged.

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<sup>69</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p.121, Translation is mine.

<sup>70</sup> Oral Interview, John Ramdhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>71</sup> Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, p.19, David Westerlund, "Christianity and Socialism in Tanzania: 1967-1977" in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. XI, 1980, p.34.

In 1971 all mission schools in Tanzania were declared to be state schools. The schools that had been the church's most important means of contact with many people were at that time taken over by the government. This action affected Tanga and Dar es Salaam where majority of priests were also teachers. Priest-teachers contributed to the image of the church. This image was going to disappear as the priest-teachers were given the choice to be either teachers (paid by the government) or priests (paid by the church). The majority decided to be priests. The battle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, Christianity and Islam that had existed since the coming of European missionaries to Tanzania, was coming to an end as students from all these different religious traditions came to live and study together. More chances were opened for the poor families to educate their children. The number of girls in schools was also boosted.

This mixture of students led Christian education and Bible knowledge (previously treated as compulsory subjects in the mission schools) to become optional subjects, placed on Friday so that Muslims too could attend their worship. This led to decrease in the influence of the church resulting in the decline of morality. Additionally Teachers Training Colleges produced no more teachers for those subjects and instead pastors, already heavily occupied by their parish work, were expected to teach these subjects for free. As a result a new slogan emerged: any work done for free was church work. Unfortunately everyone was after money. To lose a job

meant to lose one's life and livelihood. The direct effect of this was that many people tried wholeheartedly to defend their jobs. Charms and amulets gained a new market and this led to the rise of false *waganga*. Church leaders were silent because Nyerere was seen as an unchallengeable political theologian and a hero who was determining a better future for Tanzania.<sup>72</sup> As a result Christians were returning to the evils of the past.

The Anglo-Catholic Bishop John Sepeku of Dar es Salaam however became aware of a need to revive the church and therefore thinking that Tanga was safe, spiritually and educationally, he asked for a priest from there to come and work at St. Nicholas Cathedral in 1970. John Ramadhani, a very regular Anglo-Catholic church member (later the Bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga and Archbishop of Tanzania), who by then was working with the ministry of education, suggested the type of a priest who could help to revive the sleeping church beginning with St. Nicholas Cathedral, Ilala-Dar es Salaam. Sepeku rejected the proposal and appointed instead the priest he wanted but later he realized his mistake after this priest had led the Cathedral into conflicts about traditions (*mapokeo*).<sup>73</sup> It was within this sleeping and confused church that God raised Edmund John (brother of Bishop John Sepeku) whose work revived the church.

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<sup>72</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>73</sup> Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

### **3.3.1 Edmund John and his healing ministry**

Edmund John was born on September 1922 at a Bondei village -Misozwe-Muheza (Northwest of Tanga). He was baptized in his early childhood and raised in the Anglican Christian home of Roda and Tito, his parents. He attended his Primary and Secondary education at Misozwe Anglican School. Thereafter, he joined St. Andrews Anglican College, Minaki (Northeast of Dar es Salaam). In 1938, he completed his studies as a teacher. He taught at Magila Msalabani, an Anglican school (Northeast of Tanga) for two years. In 1943, the British colonial government sent him to Burma to work in their army. He came back in 1945 with the rank of Sergeant. He worked with the Development Department until his appointment to work in Radio Tanzania in Dar es Salaam. At this time, Edmund was also very much involved with St. Albans Church Choir to an extent that he became one of the best cantors of the Church in Dar es Salaam. From 1962, Edmund started to hold regular Bible studies with Christians from the Pentecostal Church.

Edmund John's wife says that Edmund John received his call in the midnight of 9<sup>th</sup> July 1967, but came to understand it clearly when he visited Amani (Northeast of Tanga) after he had resigned from the government service in order to serve the Anglican Church that, according to him, was

deteriorating spiritually.<sup>74</sup> He soon devoted himself to a healing ministry, which manifested itself through him after his own healing from a severe illness and then in the healing of another man through a prayer at Amani in 1970. Through this healing Edmund understood that God had called him to a ministry based on the operational principles of the first New Testament Church as shown in the book of Acts, especially the first four chapters. After this experience, he left Amani because people had started to call him *mganga*, which he did not like. He therefore decided to preach the message to the Shambaa at Lushoto in Tanga Region before returning to Dar es Salaam. Sengaya and Sallu contend that in Dar es Salaam, Edmund John came into disagreement with his Pentecostal Bible study group because of their 'holier than thou' attitude and their criticism of everything done by the Anglicans. The group members criticised the Anglican use of minimal water baptism, infant baptism, use of incense, blessed water, the requiem mass and the prayer book.<sup>75</sup> In spite of these disagreements, Edmund John continued to devote himself to prayer and Bible study and preaching.

Edmund became a household name, especially in Anglican circles as he moved around Dar es Salaam preaching the message from house-to-house. His brother, Bishop John Sepeku who was the first Bishop of Dar es Salaam

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<sup>74</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.158, Namata, *Edmund John Mtu wa Mungu*, p.5. Bishop Gresford Chitemo added that was his first time to see a humble and Godly man.

<sup>75</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Sengaya, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Korogwe.

and the first Archbishop of the Anglican Church in Tanzania, discovered the significant gifts in Edmund's ministry and thus sent him on a visit to the Holy Land. On his return, Sepeku made him a catechist of St. Nicholas Cathedral for Minyonyoni outstation, which was surrounded by local beer clubs. While working at Minyonyoni, Edmund noticed that by meeting only on Sunday his church members were experiencing a big gap in their spiritual journey. He therefore started, in his house, a house-to-house prayer group where people could study the Bible and pray together. The group would later register as (HUMANN)-*Huduma ya Maombi Nyumba kwa Nyumba*-house to house prayer ministry.

By 1972 the Pentecostal movements that had influenced John Edmund, had become very strong. Namata mentions a group of Anglicans who were attracted by the 'emotional' preaching of one evangelist from overseas and therefore wanted to break from the Anglican Church.<sup>76</sup> Moreover Moses Kulola and Emmanuel Lazaro had left the African Inland Church and Lutheran Church respectively and joined their strength to form the Assemblies of God Church in Tanzania (which splitted later).<sup>77</sup> Preaching from an Anglo-Catholic point of view, Edmund urged people not to be troubled by those moving from their Anglican Church to another. He said to the people, "If you cannot find Jesus in your church, do not expect to find Him in the new church that you want to go to".<sup>78</sup> From this preaching and

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<sup>76</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p.20.

<sup>77</sup> Mlahagwa, "Contending for Faith", p.297.

<sup>78</sup> Oral interview, John Semgaya, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

the fact that Edmund John was from a priestly family, he was regarded as the defender of Catholicism and this made him more trusted by the church authorities.

His healing power, exorcism, prayers and fasting were the great source of his strength. He would spend days in prayer and fasting, sometimes completely cut off from the world surrounding him, before a major assignment and he would often go without meals during his campaigns. His ministry attracted a large following from the crippled, the sick, the blind, witches, the bewitched, the demonic possessed, the weary and people with ordinary complaints.

In May and July 1973, he was invited to conduct healing services at St. Nicholas Cathedral in Dar es Salaam, which attracted many people including Muslims and Sheiks.<sup>79</sup> The news about the healing attracted 'poor' people from as far as Mwanza, Kagera and Kigoma. The healing of Thomas, Cyprian Sallu's child who suffered from yellow fever and the healing from blindness of Mambaruku, Sallu's mother on this occasion touched Sallu so deeply that he changed his whole life. Eventually Sallu became Edmund's disciple.<sup>80</sup> Thereafter other dioceses including Morogoro, Masasi, South West Tanganyika, Central Tanganyika, Mount Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar and Tanga, Mara and Western Tanganyika invited

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<sup>79</sup> Oral interview, Canon John Mwamazi, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.158, Namata, *Edmund John*, pp.32-33.

<sup>80</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p.50. Cyprian confirmed that what Namata has written was his true story. Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

him.<sup>81</sup> In his invitation letter to Edmund John, Bishop Gresford Chitemo of the Evangelical Diocese of Morogoro wrote:

Man of God Edmund John, Peace with you. We were told about the possibility of your visit to our people who wants to see you so that you may pray for their difficulties. Many people came to me to ask when exactly you will come. These are the cries of God's people who need your help. So please let us know when you will come so that we can assure them. Forgive us in case this request is against the lead of the Holy Spirit.<sup>82</sup>

Edmund arrived in Morogoro on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1973. He was surprised to see more than 160 people in the church grounds waiting for healing. He started to fast (*Kufunga*) immediately. Those who needed healing were given some guidance that included the importance of confession of all sins, accepting Jesus Christ as the only true healer, praying, abstaining from alcohol and smoking, throwing away amulets and fasting on the day of healing day, which was Friday.<sup>83</sup> At midnight before the healing day, he and a few *wanaumsho* who had accompanied him from Dar es Salaam, took their Bibles and sanctified the church grounds by walking round while praying silently (*'kulimega Kanisa'*- literally-to scoop up the Church). According to Namata, this service was based on the Old Testament (Joshua.6) where God instructed the Israelites to carry the Arc of the Covenant and walk round the fortified walls of Jericho, an action which led

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<sup>81</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, pp. 54-67,94-108. The news for the healing convention at Musoma (Mara) spread to other countries to attract people from Burundi and Rwanda.

<sup>82</sup> Gresford Chitemo, *Barua ya askofu*, 10<sup>th</sup> October 1973. Translation is mine. It is very rare for an Anglican Bishop in Tanzania to write this way to a layman. This was a revolution.

<sup>83</sup> Joseph Namata, *Edmund John*, p.17.

to the fall of the walls and therefore the defeat of the people of Jericho. Namata explains further that from the end of *kulimega kanisa* service to the morning of the healing day, the demonic forces continued to reveal themselves. This signified the beginning of the defeat of Satan's army.

The healing day started with a sermon and was followed by public confession of sins, which led to exorcism. The healing was done in four ways. The first was by laying hands on the sick people. This was specifically for exorcism. The second was by asking the sick person to put his/her hand on the ailing parts of the body. This was intended to help those people with ordinary complaints to understand how to do it privately. Edmund sometimes asked his assistants to put their hands on the body instead of the sick person doing it himself or herself. Thirdly was by using items of the patient such as their clothes and shoes. Acts.19: 11-12 was used to justify this process. This method was used especially for those who could not come to the healing places. Fourth, they prayed without touching or lying on of hands. Other people were healed even before the beginning of the prayers for healing. The complaints prayed for varied from ordinary ailments such as headaches to complicated ones such as blindness, childlessness, other abnormalities and grave ailments.

In appreciation of the results of another healing convention at Masasi mission, Rev. Fr. Richard Norgate (later the fifth Bishop of Masasi) wrote:

One of the amazing blessings I saw was the confession of sins you led which for me was also a type of healing. I know the difficulties that you may face in describing something that should be done by us (priests), -but please tell me how you do it. For I think your [kind of confession] can help our Christians more than our Sacrament of repentance (although helpful, many people do not come to confession because the priests themselves have proved to be unfaithful to their call).<sup>84</sup>

Betty Brown, the secretary to the Bishop, wrote about the healing done in Dodoma:

“... A couple at Mvumi is sending their appreciation with us for the healing of their child who could not walk for twelve years and now is walking. All of us are surprised by the great wonders that God has shown us for the first time through your ministry...”<sup>85</sup>

The healing ministry done in these regions proved to the ‘Revivalists’ of the GEARM that the old GEARM had omitted a very important Christian element (healing), which was in great demand in Tanzania. Edmund John insisted on the participation of the priest in praying for the sick because for him, healing was a sacrament. His understanding was that, just as God uses the priest in other sacraments, so, He could use him in healing too. By doing so however, Edmund challenged the clergy that the gifts of the Holy Spirit were for the service for the whole church and not personal. As a result of a continued healing ministry in these other areas, the number of Revivalists increased. At Berega in Morogoro for example, after the healing miracles performed by Bishop Chitemo and Edmund, the area came back to life and

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<sup>84</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, pp.61-63, Translation is mine.

<sup>85</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, pp.108-109.

the laity preached the Gospel to unchurched areas.<sup>86</sup> Undoubtedly, Edmund was a powerful minister, filled with signs and wonders confirming to the Word and the Sacrament but it rested almost entirely on one individual.

Edmund's ministry was, according to Anderson, a reaction to the increased troubles faced by Africans.<sup>87</sup> Fear of witchcraft was on the increase in both the urban and rural areas. In the cities like Dar es Salaam where people live crowded together, witchcraft and witchcraft accusation had affected many people's lives while many sicknesses could not be cured by Western scientific medicine. There was no cure for people under a curse nor could missionary medicine give protection from witchcraft. Many civil servants were afraid of losing their positions as well as their money. The fear of *Wamumiani* (people, who bleed others and sell their blood) had affected many people. As a result, many false *waganga* through their magical activities came up and cheated many people including clergy who gave the little money and many other material things they had in the hope of being protected magically. Since the church had neglected these felt needs of the people for so long, people were looking for immediate solutions. John therefore came up as a God's response to the cries of His people.

As it can be observed, Edmund John's ministry touched both sides of the two Anglican traditions. It is beyond doubt therefore that his ministry had

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<sup>86</sup> Oral interview, Gresford Chitemo. Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August, 2003. During the interview, Bishop Chitemo took the researcher into a room where he keeps a bunch of scratches and rods that the healed people had left.

<sup>87</sup> Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p.158. Anderson also argues that, in Dar es Salaam, there was a *mganga* for every 700 people.

also helped to some extent in the whole process of breaking the barriers that the Christians from the two traditions had been experiencing.<sup>88</sup>

This second phase started like the first with lay people, but gained clerical strength soon when Rev. John Mwamazi, Rev. K.T. Thomas, and Rev. C. Mlangwa joined the group.<sup>89</sup> Mlangwa became the second Bishop of Dar es Salaam and Mwamazi became Vicar General of the diocese. The presence of these priests greatly helped to shape John's emphases. Even the plans for a healing ministry were treated sacramentally (in the church or in a well-prepared house for that purpose and not anywhere else).<sup>90</sup> The sacramental understanding of the ministry made Edmund even use *holy unction* and *blessed water* during healing sessions. Healing began with counseling where the sick person was given a chance to express his/ her problems and given guidance before coming for healing in public. Sometimes people were healed during counseling especially those who suffered from curses.<sup>91</sup>

More problematic for the Anglo-Catholics as compared to the Evangelical Anglicans however, was the use of the term *kuokoka* – “to be saved”. As discussed in chapter one and two, the emphasis on corporate salvation, which stressed salvation of the whole body of Christ: “if you are in the church, you are saved,” could have been misunderstood by the Anglo-

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<sup>88</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p.18.

<sup>90</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p.22.

<sup>91</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003. There are some similarities with the Anglo-Catholic method of confession where a person is asked to come to a confessional box where he / she will meet a priest.

Catholics. Under such stresses it is difficult to comprehend someone who claims personal salvation.<sup>92</sup> Moreover the Anglo-Catholics embrace the wholeness of the Church.<sup>93</sup> This also explains the reason why from the beginning their mission was accompanied by a Bishop unlike other Protestant missions.<sup>94</sup> With this conviction and people who looked to the decisions of their bishop, it was therefore difficult for a layman's claims to be accepted. This is what makes John's ministry so significant: he gained that acceptance

Edmund's humble desire of shedding light from within the Anglican church link him very clearly to the founders of the East African Revival Movement and perhaps that is why even Mlahagwa referred to this third phase as a revised version of the GEARM.<sup>95</sup> Compared to the first phase however, the third had adapted with more emphasis on healing. The main difference between the two is, therefore, that while the third phase put more emphases on healing, it was rare in the first phase.

Edmund believed that the secret of a powerful healing ministry is fasting and prayers. He eventually overstretched himself and died in 1975.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> The reaction of Bishop John Ramadhani to Rev. Yohana Omari at Mpwapwa in 1952 about whether he was saved or not, explains this. Bishop John Ramadhani, had visited a brother at Mpwapwa when he was a student at St. Andrews-Minaki Secondary school. On this visit he met Rev. Yohana Omari, the chaplain of Mpwapwa College. Oral interview, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>93</sup> Gerald Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p.17.

<sup>94</sup> See the preceding pages.

<sup>95</sup> Mlahagwa, "Contending for the Faith", p.297.

<sup>96</sup> Oral interview, John Mwamazi, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2003 also in Anderson, *The Church in East Africa*, p. 158.

Edmund John is today remembered because he swept the church into a wave of excitement that would never have been associated with the old Anglo-Catholic traditions. His style of life reminds us that for certain things to happen, one needs to live a certain type of life.

After his death, Cyprian Sallu, his disciple, continued with the work. By 1978, the work had spread further to other dioceses. However the war between Tanzania and Uganda that broke out in this year affected the spread of this Uamsho. Many people who had gone through National Service were commanded by the government to be prepared for army duties. Worries and despair occupied families. The government declared that both non-material and material support for the army was needed. Uamsho took this as a call for more prayers and fasting. Although the war ended in 1979 with Uganda's defeat, it had serious repercussions. Tanzanians suffered economically. Most of the industries and companies were about to close down and therefore most of the shops had no sugar, clothes, soap and other necessary commodities. To get these things one needed to stand in a long queue at a co-operative shop. This was a time when people had to use tree leaves for washing and wear sacks instead of clothes. Life had reached a high pitch of poverty. The Uamsho emphasis on carrying burdens became meaningful at this time. Sharing and helping others motivated many people to join Uamsho. However, Uamsho is not a political movement and therefore the only immediate solution to combat the situation was to call people for prayers and Bible study.

In 1985, Nyerere stepped down and Alhaj Alli H. Mwinyi, a strong Muslim from Nyerere's political party, became the second president of Tanzania. Mwinyi's regime had two major effects on Tanzanian Christianity. First was his ambition of making Tanzania an Islamic country. Church leaders were startled by Mosques that were already built in almost all schools, such as Pugu High school, Minaki High school, Mazengo High school and hospitals such as Bugando, Mkomaindo and KCMC, which used to be Christian institutions. The government was also trying with all its might to find a silent way of registering Tanzania in the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC). Furthermore, more Muslims were favoured in admissions in schools and many were appointed to government posts. Christian young men were offered chances to go to work and study in Islamic countries so that they could be exposed to more fundamentalist Islamic groups such as the *Answar-Sunnah* and *Mujahhidinah* while many young women got married to Muslim young men who converted them to Islam.<sup>97</sup> All these increased the *mihadhara ya dini* (Islamic mass convergence) that was used to refute Christian truth.

Second, under the pressures of The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, Mwinyi used the Zanzibar Declaration to change the Arusha Declaration. This enabled him to establish privatization, and as a result, politicians and government officials started to become rich. Social

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<sup>97</sup> For more details about Mwinyi's regime and Christianity in Tanzania see *Biblia ni Jihu* pamphlet, pp.1-15.

services to all people that Nyerere's had geared were no longer available to the majority. Most people started to lose their jobs as many foreigners especially from Arabic countries, were invited to invest in Tanzania. Most of the national companies had to pay off staff so that they would attract investors. Considering the economic situation of the time, the paying off of staff increased the number of jobless people and this created classes of people: 'the haves' (*magabachori*) and 'the have nots' (*walala hoi*).

The third president, who is still in power, is a strong Roman Catholic Christian and a former student of Nyerere at Pugu High School. It is under this third president that major changes have happened economically, socially, politically and religiously. The gap between the rich and the poor has continued to grow. Muslims think that they are disregarded in many aspects. The confrontation between Muslims and the police (believed to be Christians from the Mainland) that caused loss of life in Pemba on January 27<sup>th</sup> 2001 was an indication of such mistrust between Christians and Muslims.<sup>98</sup>

Uamsho perceives all these political changes negatively. This is because, as we have mentioned previously, Uamsho is a non-political movement. Therefore, *wanauamsho* believe that most of the political leaders get their positions through witchcraft, bribery or lies. Prayer is given credence as

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<sup>98</sup> [http://www.islamtz.org/nyaraka/barua\\_halmashauri.htm](http://www.islamtz.org/nyaraka/barua_halmashauri.htm) printed on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

<http://www.islamtz.org/nyaraka/majibu-mkapa.htm> printed on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

the only effective means for change. The main questions *wanauamsho* ask are: How can the same people who came to office by corruption do away with corruption? How can the same people who were brought to office by lies do away with lies? How can justice lead a nation when the leadership justify their office occupation through witchcraft? *Uamsho* emphasizes that lies, witchcraft, corruption and other similar vices are the works of the devil. Since the most effective means of defeating the devil is prayer, *wanaumsho* expect prayers to bring God's intervention.

Islamic refutation of Christianity by using the Bible was another problem. *Wanauamsho* who were once Muslims reacted to this by forming a group they named *Biblia ni Jibu* (The Bible is the Answer). The aim of this group was to react to Islamic groups, which used the Bible to preach against Christianity when the church leaders are silent. Compared to the other *Uamsho* groups, *Biblia ni Jibu* is more vocal and tries to interpret all that is written in the Bible as factual. They have focused their attention on converting all Muslims to Christianity and help Christians understand themselves better.<sup>99</sup> Although the group operates ecumenically, many of their leaders are Anglicans and that makes it more active within the Anglican Church. Unlike other *Uamsho* groups, *Biblia ni Jibu* has no fellowships but conducts various conventions and seminars.

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<sup>99</sup> Oral interview, Cecil Simbaulanga, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003. Simbaulanga is a lay Anglican who is currently studying Theology at St. Marks College. He is the chairperson of the group.

Therefore, with the on going spiritual crusades, seminars and workshops that are open to every one, today's Uamsho in the Anglican Church can be divide into four in-church groups. Those who trace their background from the first phase organized themselves into a ministry commonly known as "New Life Crusade".<sup>100</sup> The ministry combines different denominations especially those under the Christian Council of Tanzania, mainly Lutherans and Anglicans. In the Anglo-Catholic dioceses, this is more common where the leaders had worked in the CMS diocese and returned home after retirement. A good example is that of Muheza town in Tanga where Lugendo (the father of Julius Lugendo), a *mwanauamsho* who had worked in Morogoro and Dodoma had come back home and was elected a leader of Uamsho. Here the fellowships meet in different parishes once a month. Parish fellowships continue to meet in their respective parishes each Thursday evening.

Their fellowship meetings incorporate dancing, clapping with many shouts of joy, and put more emphasis on preaching the word, testimonies and prayers for their common needs. Healing and speaking in tongues are sometimes practiced but not much emphasized. In areas like Dodoma and Morogoro, the ministry works within the Anglican parishes. This is due to the historical significance of the Anglicans in these areas in relation to Uamsho.<sup>101</sup> In Dodoma for example, although there is a fellowship for all

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<sup>100</sup> Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*, p. 24.

<sup>101</sup> This is explained on chapter of this study.

CCT (Christian Council of Tanzania) churches, Anglicans have their own fellowship commonly known as Dodoma Anglican Fellowship (DAF).

The second group traces its roots from John's ministry and has formed a ministry known as (HUMANN)-*Huduma ya Maombi Nyumba Kwa Nyumba*-House to House Prayer ministry. All other elements found in the New Life Crusade fellowship are also found in the HUMANN fellowship. The main difference between the two is that while healing is crucial in HUMANN fellowships, it is rare in New life Crusade's Fellowships. Both groups are also very critical of speaking in tongues following Pauline teachings that care must be taken with regard to speaking in tongues (1Cor.14: 1-4).<sup>102</sup> While HUMANN dominates Anglo-Catholic dioceses, New Life Crusade dominates the Evangelical ones. Although their constituency is more ecumenical, HUMANN is under the leadership of Cyprian Sallu, an Anglican layman to whom the ministry had been entrusted since the day Edmund John had died. Unlike New Life Crusade whose leadership is shared among those other denominations, HUMANN is officially registered but is still under the patronage of the Anglican Church of Tanzania.

The third group is in fact found within the first two but distinctively, adds more Charismatic features by placing more emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and particularly speaking in tongues, which makes them more

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<sup>102</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

emotional.<sup>103</sup> Their preaching is always about the 'coming joy' and not the joys of this world, an emphasis that makes them hostile to the Anglican Church traditions as well as aspects of African Traditional Religion. They critically ask, for example, the value of the *misa ya wafu* (the requiem mass) since the Bible is clear that judgement follows death. They challenge the Anglican way of baptizing people (infants and use of minimal water). Some parishes in Dar es Salaam and Tanga dioceses have been greatly affected by this group. In Tanga for example, Herbert Mwaimu and Christopher Mgaya who were leaders of HUMANN but influenced greatly by this group, left the Anglican Church and formed their own schismatic groups that have very few members to this day. A fourth group is *Biblia ni Jibu* already referred to in the preceding paragraphs. This is a fundamentalistic group distinctively aiming at responding to Islamic groups, which use the Bible to discourage Christianity when church leaders are silent.

The ecumenical aspect of these in-church Uamsho groups distinguishes the Uamsho Movement in Tanzania from the Pentecostal churches with whom it is occasionally identified. Thus while the Uamsho groups have their denominational gatherings, they also have interdenominational fellowship meetings. All fellowships visited during the research start with a chorus (*pambio*) continue with Spiritual Hymn(s) (*Tenzi za Rohoni*), an opening prayer, *Tenzi* or choruses according to people's choice. A chorus follows to

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<sup>103</sup> Gerald Mpango, "Uanglikana Kiroho", p.23.

motivate testimonies. An example of such chorus goes like this: *shuhudia tuone kama unampenda Yesu*- testify so that we may know that you really love Jesus. Another chorus *Tenzi* follows to welcome the preacher of the day. A call to pray for what the preacher identified as problems or difficulties or even blessings follows after the sermon. Here everyone is encouraged to pray so that all issues raised are prayed for. Prayers are often separated by a moment of silence maintained purposely for *kusikia* (to hear). Thereafter follows special prayers for special concerns. There is also a time for thanksgiving offerings that succeed the prayers. Announcements follow after the prayers. Sometimes there is another time of prayers if the announcements raised issues to be prayed for. A concluding prayer (usually the "Lord's Prayer" or the "Grace of our Lord") is followed by a chorus, a time that *wanauamsho* shake hands each other cheerfully to mark the end of the fellowship.

When the researcher wanted to know why people join Uamsho, *wanauamsho* mentioned four reasons: To praise and worship God by praying together in enjoyable liturgies, personal health problems, material help and to gain eternal life. It is because of these reasons that about 48% of the Anglicans in Tanzania adhere to Uamsho.<sup>104</sup> However, this was in contrast to the response of many church officials and other ordinary Christians who said that *wanauamsho* are people with problems, especially psychological problems looking for a sense of identity and belonging.

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<sup>104</sup> <http://www.anglican.or.tz/history.html> printed 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

### 3.5 Women in the Uamsho

In all fellowships and conventions visited during the research period, most of the attendants were women. At Morogoro for example, 75% of the people who attended Morogoro Back to God spiritual convention were women. About the same was observed during the other conventions at Kawe, Buguruni and Jangwani grounds in Dar es Salaam. During confession and healing prayers, the majority who were prayed for were women. When the researcher asked why, some people denied this was so. But Jestina Fumbwani and Elizabeth Namaumbo said this was how it has always been since the time of Jesus' ministry here on earth.<sup>105</sup> Unlike Fumbwani and Namaumbo, Veronica Zayumba, Frida Mndolwa and Mariam Mustafa argued that it is because women experience many more difficulties in life.<sup>106</sup> Zayumba added that poverty has led many women to face various forms of temptations which according to Margreth Wasiwasi, makes women especially vulnerable to demonic possession.<sup>107</sup> Fumbwani agreed with Wasiwasi but she added that since 'a house is a wife' (*Nyumba ni Mwanamke*, a common saying in Tanzania); even Satan knows that if he can take control over the mother, he can influence the whole family. According to Mndolwa this is why Satan tempted Eve first and not Adam

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<sup>105</sup> Oral interview, Jestina Fumbwani, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2003, The Most Holy Trinity Cathedral, Morogoro. Elizabeth Namaumbo, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2003, DCT Holy Spirit Cathedral, Dodoma.

<sup>106</sup> Oral interviews, Veronica Zayumba, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2003, St. Nicholas Cathedral, Dar es Salaam, Frida Mndolwa, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2003, St. Mark's College, Dar es Salaam, Mariam Mustafa, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Korogwe. Also in Christopher Comoro & John Silvano, "The Marian Faith Healing Ministry" p. 282.

<sup>107</sup> Margreth Wasiwasi, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2003, HUMANN fellowship, Dar es Salaam.

(Gen.3). Perhaps Mndolwa interprets the Genesis story of the Fall in the light of African life that is full of temptations created by hardships. However, the Biblical story of the Fall shows that there were only two people in the garden.

The arguments of Fumbwani, Mndolwa and Wasiwasi bear similarities with the emphasis of Namaumbo that an African woman is a wife and mother. Namaumbo argues that it is by bringing children into the world that an African woman wins respects. Namaumbo added that due to various reasons such as poverty, lack of adequate instructions on sexual issues from teachers and parents, many young women find themselves using various unguaranteed means of preventing pregnancy. Later, at a time when the child is needed, they find it very difficult to conceive. The prayers in Uamsho through which many women have reclaimed their motherhood, have thereby drawn many of them into Uamsho.

It seems therefore that the life situations like poverty and marginalization that have affected mainly women are the leading reasons for many women joining Uamsho. For example barrenness/sterility, which in most cases, is blamed on the woman in an African marriage, has caused many women to suffer psychologically as they encounter bad relationship with both sides of the family, husband and friends. The end result is such a woman finds herself in need of a close friend with whom she may discuss her situation. The Uamsho emphasis that Jesus Christ desires to accept an individual as

he/she is, and meet his/her troubles at a very personal level makes Him a personal saviour and friend.<sup>108</sup> Women in the Uamsho have come to accept Him as a friend of the lonely and healer of those who are sick, whether spiritually psychologically or physically. "Although to some people this perception of Jesus is seen as more of a privatization of Him or else more of Pharisaism, it is useful to the marginalized among whom are women".<sup>109</sup>

The organized violence mentioned previously that had affected women during the colonial period, continues today in different ways. Eviction of squatters in rural and urban areas, beating and raping, harsh punishment meted out to women are a few of the many incidents of violence. Most of the women who have been victimised need to be healed of the trauma caused by such violence. Carroll Houle points out that talking about the experience to a friend or in a sympathetic group is enough for some people.<sup>110</sup> Therefore one reason why women join Uamsho is because Uamsho has a special service of talking about the experiences to other *wanauamsho*. The emphasis on walking in the light where a person gets a chance to discuss his/her personal problems with a leader or another member of Uamsho, testimonies, confession (with its aspect of counseling and healing) and the emphasis on carrying each others burdens are

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<sup>108</sup> This will be expounded in the next chapter.

<sup>109</sup> Theresa M. Hinga "Some alternative images of Christ in Africa and their implications for women" in Mercy Amba Oduyoye and Musimbi R. A. Kanyoro (eds.) *The will to Arise: Women tradition, and the Church in Africa*, New York: Orbis, 1992, pp.190-1991.

<sup>110</sup> Carroll Houle, "Empowering the Victims" in Mary N. Getui and Peter Kanyandago (eds.) *From Violence to Peace: A challenge for African Christianity*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1999, p.172.

undoubtedly, among the essentials that brings relief to women joining Uamsho.<sup>111</sup> Fumbwani, for example, testified that an African wife carries all responsibilities in the family including taking care of a husband and children and therefore the message of carrying a burden is easily understood by a wife than a husband. According to Wasiwasi, this is why most of the petitioners (*waombaji*) in the Uamsho are women. Wasiwasi emphasized that this has been so because women pray for their families and for well being of the society.

To be saved in the Uamsho means receiving ability (*uwezo*), authority (*mamlaka*) and power (*nguvu*)<sup>112</sup> from above that enables the marginalized to talk about their problems freely. Undoubtedly, women, as victims of oppression and muteness in the church and the society at large, find this message of Uamsho a meaningful one to them. In fact this is why some women in the Uamsho have started participating in the church public functions such as preaching, reading lessons, sitting on church councils and the like. In the Vestry meetings, Diocesan and Provincial Synods, women raise their voices against many issues in the church that offend them. Some have even become church teachers and some have been ordained to the priesthood something that was not possible before the Uamsho. It should be noted here however that ACT has not yet approved women's ordination constitutionally. Nevertheless, ACT has kept a door open for those dioceses

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<sup>111</sup> These aspects of Uamsho will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

<sup>112</sup> *Mamlaka, Nguvu and Uwezo* will be discussed in the next chapter.

which feel that they are ready to do so. Some Evangelical dioceses such as Mount Kilimanjaro (DMK), Mwanza (DVN), and Central Tanganyika (DCT) have already ordained women. However, it is in DCT alone where women are working in the parishes without much resistance from the parishioners mainly because the diocese had placed many women catechists there prior to their ordination. In the DMK and DVN they are still not well accepted.

None of the Anglo-Catholic dioceses has ordained women due mainly to resistance from women themselves. Unlike most of the Anglo-Catholic women who have stressed strongly that women should remain assistants in church leadership, Imani Ndendya the second Anglo-Catholic and *mwanauamsho* woman to complete theological studies argues that time has now come for the women to face the challenge. Ndendya's standpoint shows that Uamsho has enhanced the opportunities open to women in the church and the society at large. Through Uamsho Tanzanian Anglican women have new qualities of confidence and self-assurance, fluency in speaking and given a greater responsibility in holding offices such as priesthood, Mothers Union, Bible Colleges' principals and Diocesan Treasurers.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Our main objectives in this chapter were to identify factors that had facilitated or hindered the spread of Uamsho. We have seen that the

Uamsho in Kagera had taken root and thus lasted longer because of its interaction with the culture of the people. In other places it came from schools and therefore it continued to be alien just as it was for the Christianity of the elders. As a result, the problems of the people were not touched. The struggle for political independence and the implementation of *Ujamaa* policy were yet other factors that had stagnated the spread of Uamsho. But the continuing decline in teaching about discipline in churches, the corruption within *Ujamaa* and the vulnerability to evil forces led to the emergence of the second wave of Uamsho with much emphasis on confession and healing.

It may be noted here that the process of changes in Uamsho have contributed to the qualitative and quantitative growth of the Anglican Church in Tanzania in these three decades. Undoubtedly this is attributed to the *wanauamsho* voluntary service of "giving light from within" which has at its base on a meaningful encounter with Jesus Christ that has transformed, and above all transfigured them. One could argue therefore that the Movement with its emphasis on making decisions, brokenness, repentance through open confession, breaking down of the barriers of race, sex, tribe or clan, healing, giving light and living victoriously held the roots of their success. The next chapter elaborates the significance of these elements to the success of Uamsho.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE MEANING OF BEING SAVED

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the main distinguishing theological characteristics of Uamsho. We will begin by looking at *Kuokoka* (to be saved). Here we will explain the meaning of *kuokoka* in Uamsho and then discuss the various stages of *kuokoka*. In this process we will need to identify *kuguswa* (to be touched), which is the primary stage of *kuokoka* and then we will connect that with *kuvunjika* (to be broken) that leads to a response (*kukata shauri*). Usually *kukata Shauri* is followed by *kutubu* (confession), an action that takes place in public. We will include a discussion of healing in this area because Uamsho considers it a consequence of confession. The implication here is that confession itself includes healing (as Rev. Norgate had clearly mentioned in the preceding chapter) and therefore the two are related.

Next we shall discuss the consequences of “being saved”. In the Uamsho one is expected to act or live in accordance with the scriptures. Uamsho refers to this as living a victorious life- a life that testifies to ‘the unsaved’ that God is with the saved and therefore attracts them to be saved. Walking in the light (*kutembea nuruni*), which practically means unveiling one’s faith in deeds and words, is another aspect of victorious life that we discuss in this section. *Wanauamsho* are preachers and teachers of the word to

individuals and families and therefore our discussion on *Kutembea nuruni* will include testimonies, preaching and teachings. In this section we will also discuss 'living for others' (*kuishi na mzigo*) as an aspect of victorious life since it is necessary to overcome the temptation to selfishness in order that one may consider others as important as Christ has taught. Success in living this life is what Uamsho refers to as 'new life'. We will conclude this chapter by showing that all these elements are the foundations for the success of Uamsho.

#### 4.1 Being Saved (*Kuokoka*)

The Kiswahili word for being saved is *kuokoka*. Literally the word means being rescued from a certain danger. Similarly, in the *Uamsho* use, when someone is saved it means that his/her life has been made well. Since well being is coming from God, to be saved is 'leaving Satan' and going to Jesus Christ who is God. *Wanauamsho* believes that Satan is connected to hell and the World; therefore the unsaved are perceived as people of this world who belong to Satan. Being under the dominion of Satan means being person of the world or of the flesh<sup>1</sup> as compared to person of the Spirit. There is always a clear distinction between these two people. Drunkenness, telling lies, adultery, smoking and participation in secular dances, and similar entertainments are all considered as things of the people of the

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<sup>1</sup> According to Uamsho, the unsaved ones are people of the world who do not want to be born again.

“flesh”. This period, in which a person lives as person of the flesh, is defined in terms of spiritual drought, lack of total commitment to Jesus Christ, slavery, and lukewarm faith (cf. Rev. 3:14).<sup>2</sup> This is a period of practising routine Christianity (*ukristo wa mazoea*). It is a time when a person lives with the appearance of being alive but is dead spiritually. All this happens because of sin, which is defined as a state of living outside God’s intended plan for one’s life.<sup>3</sup> Satan is considered the source of all sin.<sup>4</sup> “The existence of sin and sickness has its explanation in him”.<sup>5</sup> According to Maganza, Satan is a tempter and the permanent, superior enemy of human beings. “It is he who presents various accusations against a human being before God.”<sup>6</sup> Sallu pointed out that the biggest accusation is to tell God that we do not love Him while he (Satan) knows that God loves us very much.<sup>7</sup>

It is with this understanding of a loving God that *wanauamsho* see the creation story of the Bible as showing clearly that God created human beings in His own image (Gen.1: 26). According to *wanauamsho*, at the act of creation, human beings were created to be within God (image of Him) and therefore God knows every human being and that He has set for him/her a complete plan (Jer.29: 11). This interprets the New Testament

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<sup>2</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>3</sup> Oral interview, Edward Komba Korogwe Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Oral interviews, Jared Maganza, Dar es Salaam, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Oral interview, Elisha Tendwa, Makorora, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Oral interview, Jared Maganza, Dar es Salaam, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

concept of 'Christ is the image of God' (Jn.14: 9), that human beings are created in the image of Christ.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, human beings can refuse to be part of God. Sallu argues that when God visited the garden, which He had intended to give to Adam legally, Adam deserted God (he refused to be part of God) but Satan did not need to desert God because he had already been separated from God. By deserting God, Adam legalized the occupation of the garden (world) by Satan and by doing so Adam submitted to him. This implies that whoever is confined to the world is under the dominion of Satan and is therefore living outside Christ.<sup>9</sup> In the Uamsho understanding therefore Adam disobeyed God in the presence of Christ. Thus the guilt of Adam as *wanauamsho* understand it is in all humanity not because human beings inherit it from nature but because all who love the world and become confined to it disobey God in the presence of Jesus Christ.<sup>10</sup>

This sense of the centrality of Jesus Christ makes *wanauamsho* emphasize a discontinuity between Christianity and non-Christian religions. All other religions besides Christianity are considered as idolatry because the God of Jesus Christ has to be wholly different from any 'god' worshipped outside Jesus Christ.<sup>11</sup> This implies that Uamsho understands 'God' other than 'God of Jesus Christ' as 'god'. Muslims in this case are regarded as "children of

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<sup>8</sup> Oral interview, Steven Zayumba, St. Nicholas Cathedral, Ilala Dar es salaam, April 30<sup>th</sup> 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Oral interview, Martin Mhina, Upanga, Dar es Salaam 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2003.

a second wife"-*watoto wa mama mdogo* (Gen.16) of the father of faith (Abraham) and therefore considered a result of adultery, which God had condemned. The claim here is that the Uamsho understands these children of the second wife as having no share in inheriting the heavenly treasures.<sup>12</sup> Since heaven is for the children of the "promised child", those of "the second wife" have no place unless they come to Jesus who is the first heir and the only way to that inheritance is to be reconciled to Him. In this case *wanauamsho* confirm that Muslims know the true God but are lost because they do not believe in Jesus Christ (the "Man-God"). Anyone who does not believe in Jesus Christ is lost. This suggests that idolatry begins by initially omitting belief in the one God of Jesus Christ and thereafter worshipping other gods. In the past even living with such people was highly condemned but with time, the emphasis had been slightly reduced. According to Bishop Chitemo, this is a result of the better understanding of "neighbourhood".<sup>13</sup>

Those who practice African Traditional Religions are seen as the lost sheep of Israel (*kondoo wa Israel waliopotea*)<sup>14</sup> in the sense that they are worshipping idols (*sanamu*) instead of the true God of Israel who is opposed to idols. The idols are perceived as worldly things that Satan uses to blind his worshippers. Satan gives them fear and anxiety. Therefore, they become insecure and that is why they fear witches, consult traditional

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<sup>12</sup> This practice is found among many communities in Tanzania where children of second wives in African marriage are illegitimate.

<sup>13</sup> Oral interview, Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Oral interview, Henry Sheshe, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

healers (*waganga*)<sup>15</sup> for divination and ritual healing, wear amulets, and venerate ancestors in search of protection.<sup>16</sup> They also engage themselves in protecting their crops, flocks, business with magical herbal medicines provided by their *waganga*. Thus, people worship those things hoping that God is in them, but in fact it is Satan.<sup>17</sup>

In other words those who follow African Traditional Religions are considered worshippers of Satan.<sup>18</sup> In this understanding, practices like ancestral veneration (*matambiko*), *miviga* (literally-propitiatory offering), are nothing less than idol-worship since the distinction claimed to exist between veneration and worship is not accepted in the Uamsho. From the Uamsho perception, venerating ancestors implies that either ancestors are elevated to the level of Jesus Christ, or else Jesus Christ is downgraded to the level of dead human beings. Thus, venerating ancestors implies that God and human beings are essentially the same. According to Uamsho, this is not the case, since neither the ancestors nor the Christian Saints can intervene at all on behalf of human being. As a result Uamsho regards veneration of ancestors as idolatry and therefore sinful. This makes the

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<sup>15</sup> As mentioned previously (see chapter two), *Mganga* (plural-*waganga*) are traditional healers. The term has two connotations. One is positive which applies to the herbalists and the second is bad which specifically speaks of those who practice witchcraft (*wachawi*). It is assumed that a person cannot be a *mganga* without learning some aspects of *uchawi*. It is from this aspect that when Uamsho speaks of a *mganga* it refers to the second connotation although there are efforts to make the *wanaumsho* aware of the other side of it. The aspect of *Mganga* that *wanaumsho* use unintentionally will be expounded later.

<sup>16</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Oral interview, Mariam Suki, Kondo, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>18</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, pp. 72-77. In these pages Namata shows the witnesses of Bishop Kahurananga and Chitemo over the issue of people's dependence on amulets and charms.

requiem mass (*missa ya wafu*) and “All Souls Day” of the Anglo-Catholics and “All Saints Day” celebrated by both the Evangelical Anglicans and Anglo-Catholics meaningless.

Christians who consult specialists of these religions are called lukewarm (*watu vuguvugu*). They are all referred to as people whom half-trust in God. Being lukewarm is described as an incomplete commitment to God.<sup>19</sup> Uamsho believe that all difficulties and problems have their solution in God. Consulting African Traditional Religious specialists is therefore considered as depending on human beings for solutions and not God. Since these specialists are considered agents of Satan, to consult them is understood as offering oneself to Satan. As a result the person becomes an agent of demons (*mapepo*).<sup>20</sup>

In contrast, a saved person is one who has confessed that Jesus Christ is Lord (God who answers), and lives, according to God’s desires (*maagizo ya Mungu*).<sup>21</sup> Such a person is safe because the good spirits of God protects him /her (Ps.91). Living outside God’s plan, the denial of the Lordship of Jesus Christ and living without following God’s orders defines sin in Uamsho. In other words Uamsho is telling us that sin is anything that hinders free and spontaneous fellowship between human beings and God (Christ) and between human beings themselves.

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<sup>19</sup> Oral interview, Steven Zayumba, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003.

<sup>20</sup> We will discuss this on healing.

<sup>21</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

*Kuokoka* therefore means a return to the plan of God (*kuurudia mpango wa Mungu*)<sup>22</sup>: implicit in this is the understanding of a time when a person discovers that in the past, he/she was lost (*zamani za upotevu*).<sup>23</sup> It is an awakening from a sleep caused by Satan (*kuamka toka usingizini*). It is a recovery, a restoration of good intentions and desire for God and a release from bondage<sup>24</sup>, turning from living outside to inside God through Jesus Christ.<sup>25</sup> It is walking in and within the light of God (*kutembea ndani ya Nuru*).<sup>26</sup> Moreover, *Kuokoka* is a healing process since it is an event by which a person decides to include God in his/ her business by making Him a senior partner instead of charms and amulets. Clergy who are not saved are all considered wage ministers (*watumishi wa mshahara*) in contrast to the servants of God (*watumishi wa Mungu*): the saved ones.<sup>27</sup> Immorality, irresponsibility, cowardice, sheer laziness and the ambition of safeguarding their position and privileges are considered among the things that make the wage ministers preach a Gospel that is not “touching people” (*injili isiyoghoshiwa*).<sup>28</sup> They are also blamed for encouraging people to sin by preaching individualism, division, and denominationalism (*roho ya ubinafsi, udhehebu na udini*) for their own benefit instead of Christ.<sup>29</sup> In

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<sup>22</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>23</sup> Oral interview, Augustine Galula, Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>24</sup> Oral interview, Mary Mustafa, Hale-Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003

<sup>25</sup> Oral interviews, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>27</sup> Oral interviews, Steven Zayumba, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, John Semgaya Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003. Also in Munga, *Uamsho*, p.119.

<sup>28</sup> Oral interview, Wallece Singano, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>29</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003. Also in Munga, *Uamsho*, pp. 120-122.

fact all church leaders who do not belong to Uamsho are perceived by *wanauamsho* as wage ministers or blind leaders (*viongozi vipofu*). Most of the parish priests interviewed have critically condemned this Uamsho perception of their church leaders. Canon Aidano Mbulinyingi says that this has lead *wanauamsho* to lack wisdom when they speak with pastors who are not *wanauamsho*.<sup>30</sup> In contrast to Mbulinyingi's criticism, many of the ordinary Christians interviewed are grateful to Uamsho for delivering the clergy from sinning openly. Uamsho has therefore helped the witness of the church.

#### **4.2 The process of *Kuokoka***

After discussing the meaning of *Kuokoka* and its importance, we need also to explain the process that a person goes through "to be saved". *Kuokoka* is a process that begins with God's call, proceeds to being convicted of sin and finally to making a decision to follow Christ. We shall now discuss each of these stages.

##### **4.2.1 God's Call or Touch (*kuitwa au kuguswa na Mungu*)**

*Wanauamsho* believe that a person, who does not realize that he/she is a sinner, will not be saved. Such realization of sins may vary depending on whether one had never been Christian or is lukewarm in his/her faith. To explain this *wanauamsho* identify four modes by which God is believed to

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<sup>30</sup> Oral interview, Aidano Mbulinyingi, Dar es Salaam, 17<sup>th</sup> January 2003.

call each group. Scriptures are considered as the first mode that God may use to touch His people. Sengaya refers to the story of the Ethiopian Eunuch and Philip in Acts 8: 26-40 to support this argument.<sup>31</sup> Most of the *wanauamsho* from the two Anglo-Catholic dioceses expressed a common belief that when a Bible is located at a place like in a living room, office or pocket where everybody can see and if it happens that a person sees and reads it, God can touch him/her. Perhaps this record is influenced by the story of St. Augustine whose narrative of conversion is commonly retold in these dioceses. According to the story, there was a time when St. Augustine visited a certain garden and there he heard a voice telling him to pick a book, which was placed on his wayside by unknown person. When he picked it, he found that it was St. Paul's letters. His life was challenged after he had read it.<sup>32</sup> Sengaya argues however that this method is effective if it is accompanied with prayers for the targeted person. According to Sengaya, this is clearly presented by Monica, St. Augustine's mother, who prayed continually for the conversion of his son.<sup>33</sup>

*Wanauamsho* see the content of the Bible as not only a Kerygma proclaimed by the Prophets and the Apostles of God, but also words uttered

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<sup>31</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>32</sup> For more about this story see Mourice Sosileje, *Kalendari yetu: Maisha ya Watakatifu*, Ndanda-Peramiho: Benedictine Publication, 1986, pp. 68-69. Its English version can be found on <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=print&docId=10515167&pgNum=91> printed on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2003. Some missionaries had the same perception. This is what we see in Gerald West, *Early Encounter with the Bible among the BaTlahping: Historical and Hermeneutical Signs*, University of Natal, Unpublished, pp.12-14.

<sup>33</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003. For more about Monica see Sosileje, *Kalendari yetu*, p.40.

by God Himself. The entire Bible is therefore “uttering of the Lord”. Such sayings as “the Bible says clearly” (*Biblia inasema waziwazi*) significantly implies “God says clearly” (*Mungu asema katika neno lake*). The *wanauamsho* are therefore ready to buy Bibles and give them to non-Christians for the purpose of putting them in touch with God. It is not surprising therefore to find Bibles in the pockets of the *wanauamsho* while at school, at work, travelling and even at rest. Reading a Bible while sitting in a bus is taken not only as a way of escaping temptation but also a testimony to the person sitting next to you who may not know the true way.<sup>34</sup>

The second is the “hot sermons” (*hotuba moto moto*) preached by the servants of God through the media, in spiritual mass conventions, fellowships and church services. It is believed that even if the person does not turn to God then the message will still continually provoke him/her and therefore will allow him/her no peace until he/she “makes the decision” of coming to God by confession.

During the “Big Harvest Crusade” conducted by HUMANN, evangelists are sent into the streets (especially the bus stops and market places) to preach the Gospel to all people. Furthermore, even though Muslims compare the Bible and Quran in their public preaching to attack Christian truth, the

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<sup>34</sup> This was observed ten times in Dar es Salaam commuter buses and three times in the up country buses.

*wanauamsho* consider this to be a way that God uses to touch Muslims because whoever takes time to read the Bible sees the truth. The words of Suki are important to note here: “since we see God through Jesus and one way of meeting Jesus is by ‘His word’ they will one day find the truth through the same Bible.” *Biblia ni Jibu* goes further from this by saying that they will know the truth only by teaching them.<sup>35</sup>

Third, it is considered that God can touch people through extraordinary experiences such as dreams (*njozi/ ndoto*) and visions (*maono*). Cyprian Sallu and John Sengaya use the story of Saul on his way to Damascus in Acts 26:19-20 as an example of this. Yakobo Msei cites the experience of visions in the confession of a witch at Vugiri Anglican Parish in Tanga: “I saw a fire burning all my things I used for witchcraft and a voice came telling me to meet you man of God, please ask your God to forgive me because I am now burning”.<sup>36</sup>

It is believed that a person can come to a full realization of his/her sinfulness at a brief yet critical moment through an intense feeling of guilt or mystical experience. Some for example have seen a sign of the cross with an image of the suffering Jesus. Grace Kitambi explains: “I saw a cross appear on which was written words; ‘come to me you who are troubled’

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<sup>35</sup> Oral interviews, Mary Suki, Kondo, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Cecil Simbaulanga, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>36</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Yakobo Msei Vugiri, Korogwe-Tanga, 21<sup>st</sup> January 2003.

and the servant of God told me that it was a call to confession. Although I was resistant I finally confessed my sins and since then I'm very happy."<sup>37</sup>

According to Augustine Galula, 2Chron.20: 13-17 and Acts 10 show that God can also touch others through messages delivered by other human beings.<sup>38</sup> With this understanding in mind, some of the *wanauamsho* who had received messages from God about their church leaders tried to deliver the messages. But whenever *wanauamsho* went to tell their "unsaved priests" what God said about them, conflicts arose. Yakobo Msei for example, saw a vision, of the lighting of the lamp in his room in the middle of the night after he had extinguished it. This happened three times and thereafter he was told the concern God had for the life of the parish priest at Vugiri. Msei was told to fast for three days (which he did) and then delivered the message. Unfortunately the priest thought Msei was crazy. Three days later all that Msei had told the priest happened to him, yet the priest continued to deny his mistakes.<sup>39</sup> This has been so because at times pointing to other people's mistakes was perceived as a "holier than thou" attitude. In other cases however it was because the *wanauamsho* themselves had delivered the message harshly. May be *wanauamsho* could learn from Nathan (2Sam.11: 2-12:31) that humility, sincerity and integrity are as important as the content of the message for effective results.

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<sup>37</sup> Oral interview, Grace Kitambi, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>38</sup> Oral interview, Augustine, Galula, Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>39</sup> Oral interviews, Yakobo Msei, Korogwe, 21<sup>st</sup> January 2003.

There are times when this method was also used to call those who had been suffering from various misfortunes but even that became a cause of conflict with church authorities. Canon Mwamazi explained how he suffered under the then Bishop of Dar es Salaam. God had told Mwamazi of a woman suffered from breast cancer and that she would attend the Sunday service. This was a Confirmation Sunday and the Bishop was present. God commanded Mwamazi to call the sick woman. She confessed in the presence of the Bishop that she was seriously sick and that she came to church to seek God's intervention in her sickness because her doctor had told her that she might not be cured. The Bishop who was against such practices felt embarrassed and suspected Mwamazi of organizing the incident. Although the woman got healed after a prayer offered by Mwamazi, the Bishop punished Mwamazi for performing healing in his presence.<sup>40</sup>

Fourth, testimonies (*shuhuda*) are also considered a method that God uses to touch people. Therefore every *mwanauamsho* is encouraged to give testimonies, which are part of their fellowship meetings. During the fellowship meeting testimonies are triggered by a chorus: *shuhudia tuone kama unampenda Yesu* (testify so that we may know that you love Jesus).<sup>41</sup> Testimonies have attracted a larger number of people into Uamsho and this makes each one of them an evangelist of some kind. It should be noted

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<sup>40</sup> Oral interview, John Mwamazi, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003.

<sup>41</sup> Oral interviews, Dickson Dirisha, Dar es Salaam, 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003

however that while public testimonies have been a powerful way of witnessing, they have also been a divisive method as illustrated in our fourth chapter.

We can rightly see that Uamsho perceive God's calling and eventually touching sinners through various methods. The convictions of Uamsho maintain that being called and touched take place in different ways; there is neither a single form nor a fixed pattern by which God calls or touches a sinner. God is God and therefore He can call and touch whenever and wherever it pleases Him. God can decide to speak to anyone at anytime because the Holy Spirit is not limited to work according to any particular scheme. Since this is possible and since God is everywhere, He can touch all people in Jesus Christ according to His will: the main call of God is in Jesus alone (Jn.1: 10-12).<sup>42</sup> Sallu, Semgaya and Galula add that the call of God will never take place outside Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit (Jn.10: 7-16).<sup>43</sup> God calls from within Jesus Christ because He is the way to the Father (Lk.9: 35)<sup>44</sup> but the voice one hears is His in the Holy Spirit<sup>45</sup> who awakens people from their sins (1Cor.12: 3).<sup>46</sup>

*Wanauamsho* believe that, the call of God is aimed at reestablishing the lost relationship with His people. The call of God to Adam "Where are you?"

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<sup>42</sup> Oral interview, Nuruel Shayo, interview, Yombo, Dar es Salaam, 21<sup>st</sup> April 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May, Augustine Galula, Maramba, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Oral interviews, Henry Sheshe, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>45</sup> Oral interviews, Mary Suki, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*, p.88.

when Adam was hiding remains a significant Biblical proof that God does not want anyone to get lost.<sup>47</sup> This agrees with May's argument that the banishment from Eden was to stop humanity getting more lost.<sup>48</sup> From that time God continued to call His people back to Him and whoever hears and turns to Him will be received with joy, as was the prodigal son.<sup>49</sup> As it was for Adam however, anyone who does not repent his/her sins and confess publicly will not receive God's forgiveness. Fumbwani added that the prodigal son is a good example of what should be done for he confessed to the father in front of other people.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Conviction of sins or to be broken (*Kuvunjika*)

The Kiswahili term *kuvunjika* literally means to be broken. The Uamsho use of this term specifically means convictions that one is sinful and needs to confess despite his/her baptism. In this case *Kuvunjika* begins with the call of God Himself: God has to show a person that he/ she is a sinner so that he/she may feel the guilt. The external methods of witness that God uses to touch people are not only proof that God is concerned about His people but also that He can use anything He wants because "all creation belongs to Him". Sallu refers to a burning bush in Exodus.3, and a Horse in the Balam

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<sup>47</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>48</sup> Gerald G. May, *Addiction and Grace*, San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1988, pp.111-112.

<sup>49</sup> Oral interview, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>50</sup> Oral interview, Jestina Fumbwani, Holy Trinity Cathedral- Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

story in Numbers 22 which God used to call Moses and Balam respectively.<sup>51</sup>

When a person is aware that he/she is a sinner, he/she is awakened from either unconsciousness or sub-consciousness to full consciousness. This is a very important step towards *Kuvunjika*. 'The realization of the crisis means abandoning over-optimism, based on an erroneous assumption of one's self-sufficiency, for the right awareness of one's inadequacy'.<sup>52</sup> For those without knowledge of their crisis, this is receiving a new knowledge of the presence of the God who saves (Jesus Christ) and the necessity of worshipping Him alone. For those who had been Christians, the crisis brings about full realization that as long as one lives in sin, baptism cannot save. Since the first phase of *Uamsho*, *wanauamsho* have called attention to the insufficiency of baptism by emphasizing that one needs to go a step further towards salvation through conviction and confession of sin. The result is that some have refused to baptize their children until they are able to confess their sins for themselves. Baptism was seen by many as a means of proselytizing by which the church had been receiving people without commitment to God in Jesus Christ. This denial of infant baptism is extreme among Charismatics to day. Sendoro argues that Pentecostal churches influenced this view.<sup>53</sup> Fergus King sees it as a problem of a literal understanding of the Bible. According to King, the New Testament

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<sup>51</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>52</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, p.41.

<sup>53</sup> Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*, p. 88.

accounts of baptism show the possibilities of infant and minimal water baptism. His four addresses he delivered to HUMANN had helped the group to have a different view of both infant and minimal water baptism.<sup>54</sup> However, the Uamsho claims here explain the realities that “unless we live a confessional life, baptism will not save us from sinning.”

In fact the Uamsho emphases are not far from that of the Anglican understanding of baptism that baptism is the sacrament of faith and therefore the beginning of faith. It is not a mature faith but one, which develops within the community of faith. If the community of faith does not put the faith into the daily life, the faith is dead and therefore needs to be revived. This is why *wanauamsho* describe baptism as insufficient for one’s salvation. Rather, it is a pointer to that salvation. This implies that even baptized Christians can only achieve *Kuvunjika* by being touched by God.

Uamsho understands the story of Isaiah (Isa.6: 5) as showing that when a person knows that he/she is a sinner and that God is holy and then realizes that without God nothing good can be exercised, that person can be saved. Otherwise, he/she remains a sinner. According to Mwamazi, the weeping of Isaiah: “Woe to me---I am ruined for I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips and my eyes have seen the King, the Lord

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<sup>54</sup> Fergus King, *Christian Baptism: New Testament Teaching & Contemporary, Four addresses delivered to Nyumba Kwa Nyumba fellowship, March, 1996.* Dar es Salaam, unpublished paper. This will be expounded more later.

almighty”, has two important features. The first is that Isaiah’s realization that he has “unclean lips” is similar to the teachings of Jesus that what defile a person comes from inside (Mat.15: 10-11,15-20). This implies that the centre of sin in human beings is the desires of the heart. It is understood in the Uamsho that the sins which are inside that person are the ones that makes him /her victim of “unclean lips”.

Second, Isaiah’s weeping also represents the effect of sins on the whole community. There is a time when a particular community may slip into communal sin unintentionally and, if the servants of God are not awakened, such sin will continue to exist in the people.<sup>55</sup> Isaiah in this case was convicted of his sins (*alivunjika*) and therefore became ready for transformation to become a prophet who would call the whole community back to God.<sup>56</sup>

Nevertheless, a person can be aware of his /her sinfulness and respond differently. Instead of bringing repentance the realization of sins may cause a pessimism which hinders the person from repenting. According to Uamsho this has two explanations. First, the person may not be aware of the fact that God, through Jesus Christ His son, offers forgiveness of sins. On the other hand, the person can be aware of the fact that God forgives sins but Satan can bring the deception that the person’s sins are

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<sup>55</sup> Oral interview, Imani Ndendya, St. Mark’s Theological College, Dar es Salaam 11<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>56</sup> Oral interview Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003.

unforgivable. According to Vailet Ngogo, Judas Iscariot killed himself because of this.<sup>57</sup> Satan who tells them that there is still enough time to enjoy worldly life deceives other people. As a result they postpone repentance by saying, "I shall confess tomorrow- (*nitatubu kesho*)".<sup>58</sup> This leads to human beings increasingly submitting to Satan's domination and therefore eventually being turned away from God.

Second, Satan's deception may lead others to ignorance of the fact that God has good plans for every human being. As a result a person becomes satisfied with what he/she is: "If God is aware He should have helped me to solve my problem(s). Others say, "God helps those who help themselves first".<sup>59</sup> This has led many people into searching for solutions to their daily problems<sup>60</sup> that are detrimental to their well-being. Most of them however, may end up getting more *mapepo* from the witchdoctors whom they mistakenly think can help them.

#### 4.2.3 Making a Decision (*Kukata Shauri*)

*Kuvunjika* does not end with realizing the state of sinfulness, but proceeds to a phase of being troubled at heart.<sup>61</sup> It is this state of being prompted by

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<sup>57</sup> Oral interview, Vailet Ngogo, Dar es Salaam, 29<sup>th</sup> April 2003.

<sup>58</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, also in Munga, *Uamsho*, p.139.

<sup>59</sup> Oral interview, Grace Kitambi, St Augustine Anglican Parish, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003. Kitambi was more concerned about two drug addicted young men and three prostitutes. She talked to them occasionally as they lived near to her own home. Nonetheless she was discouraged by their answers.

<sup>60</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.140.

<sup>61</sup> Oral interview, Imani Ndendya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

God's continual touch, that leads a person to the full realization that something is missing in his/her life.<sup>62</sup> This usually leads to *Kukata Shauri* (to make decision).<sup>63</sup> To make decision is a process of taking more steps towards God. It is a decision to accept Jesus as Lord and Saviour. There are usually two steps involved. First, a person is forced to go and meet a servant of God. The story of Saul on his way to Damascus and that of the witch at Vugiri (mentioned previously) explain this step. Saul heard the voice of Jesus Christ and, after a short conversation, he was urged to go and meet Ananias who God had already told what to do before Saul reached him. *Wanauamsho* consider such a move as a crucial step towards personal salvation. Galula and Semgaya observed that God blinded Saul purposely:

God knew that if Saul would see worldly things, Satan might convince his heart to turn to the Law which does not save. In the same way we ask people to close their eyes so that they may not be turned to the law of Satan: "To love the world more than anything else."<sup>64</sup>

Saul however responded to God and as he reached Ananias, he was told what to do and became a saved man (Acts. 9: 15-22). *Wanauamsho* also give the story of the prodigal son as another example. After he had been convicted of sin, the lost son decided to go back to the father and ask for

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<sup>62</sup> H.H. Osborn. *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, P.16. and Joseph Namata, *Edmund John*, pp.1-3.

<sup>63</sup> Oral interview, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003. Fumbwani argues that this has a negative effect on some people who may take wrong channel in searching for what they are missing. Most people of this kind are said to end up in the hands of Satan.

<sup>64</sup> Oral interview, Augustine Galula, Maramba, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003. " *Mungu aliufahamu udhaifu wa Sauli kvamba ulikuwa kwenye kukazania Sheria ambayo wala haiokoi*-God knew the weakness that the weakness of Saul was the Law.

forgiveness. The prodigal son was aware that, if the father would not forgive him, he could only be turned into a servant in his father's household. What was important to the prodigal son was to stay close to the father who knew him. Then the father's love would, in due course, help him to be accepted in full measure. The love he expected however was already waiting for him and that was why he was accepted. Uamsho emphasizes in this case that God is always ready to accept those who are not ashamed to accept His call. Those who are ashamed are destined to die in their sins, for unless one accepts the call, his / her sins remains.<sup>65</sup>

Thirdly, there are those to whom God must send a messenger to tell them about their sins. The story of Nathan and David over the incident of Bathsheba (2Sam.11: 2-12:31) is mentioned as an example in this case.<sup>66</sup> Since David was aware that he had sinned, God did not just tell him to confess. He sent the prophet Nathan so that David might know, first, that his sin was not a secret but common knowledge and, second, that it was affecting not only David himself, but others too (2Sam.12: 11-12).<sup>67</sup> The implication of this is that a person needs to be told how damaging his/her sins are in relation to God and other human beings. David responded positively: "I have sinned --- what can I do..."(2Sam.12: 13).<sup>68</sup> In the same sense *wanauamsho* would never hesitate to deliver to particular people the

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<sup>65</sup> Oral interviews, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>66</sup> Oral interview, Imani Ndendya 11<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>67</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>68</sup> Oral interview, John Semgaya Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

message God sent them through dreams and visions. Uamsho expects those who have been convicted of sins to respond like David. If that does not happen, the person is “stiff necked” (*mwenye shingo ngumu*).

This explains why the *wanauamsho* call people to come forward at their spiritual mass conventions and most of the fellowship meetings. Fear and shame caused by Satan may nevertheless stop others from coming forward alone unless the preacher draws them. John Sengaya argues:

That is why we ask those who are convicted of their sins to raise up their hands and thereafter encourage them to come forward for we know that it is only in coming forward, that a person clearly shows that Satan is defeated and now the person is ready to denounce him publicly (Mat. 10: 32-33).<sup>69</sup>

The response of coming forward is considered a starting point for defeating Satan. According to Sengaya those who do not come forward are telling God and other people that they are not ready to be reconciled with the community and God by committing their whole life to Jesus.<sup>70</sup> The emphasis on coming forward as observed in various fellowship meetings is now decreasing perhaps because these fellowships are mainly for the *wanauamsho* (who have already made this choice).

*Kukata Shauri* then asks those convicted of their sins to make a confession before a spiritually mature servant of God and not just anybody. Daudi

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<sup>69</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>70</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

Sichinga, Phillip Munguti, James Waziri, Grace Kitambi, all agree about this.<sup>71</sup> As we observed in chapter three (above), Anglo-Catholics had such a dimension in their confessional practice: confessing before a priest. It lost its authority because priests did not respect their calling and therefore their parishioners mistrusted them. Rather the parishioners perceived them as “blind leaders” or “wage ministers”. Therefore *wanauamsho* now confess before their leaders. By so doing, *wanauamsho* both confirm their Anglican practice and that church leaders need to respect their “call”.

However, some who come forward are not convicted of their sins. According to Sallu such come so that their employers may trust them since they appear to be saved. In reality they are not even though they can continue to conform to the life style of the families in which they live. “They are wild wolves in sheep’s skins” whose aim is survival in this world, not preparation for the world to come.<sup>72</sup> In most cases such people are house helpers who work in the homes or farms belonging to the saved.

#### 4.2.4.0 Confession of Sins (*Kutubu Dhambi*)

*Kukata Shauri* is followed by true confession (*toba la kweli*).<sup>73</sup> *Toba la kweli* comes from Jesus’ voice speaking to the individual through the Holy Spirit who always calls people to God. The *wanauamsho* frequent use of such phrases like “God’s need”, “God call” and “God’s aim” explain the

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<sup>71</sup> Oral interviews, Daudi Sichinga, Mbeya, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Philip Munguti, Dar es Salaam, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2003, Grace Kitambi, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>72</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>73</sup> Hypocritical confession, according to Sallu, is such of the house helpers discussed above.

fact that the call has its origin in a divine desire.<sup>74</sup> The first desire of God expressed in Christ is the repentance of the sinner. The fact that Jesus stated that He came to seek the lost (Mat.9: 13) is taken to be the primacy of this desire. On this basis, after the convicted have come forward, they confess their sins publicly by repeating the words that the “servant of God” says. In most cases these are the words of Psalm51: 1-12:

Have mercy on me o God, according to your unfailing love;  
According to your great compassion blot out my transgression.  
Wash away all my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin.  
For I know my transgressions, and my sin is always before me.  
Against you, you only, have I sinned and done what is evil  
in your sight, so that you are proved right when you speak  
and justified when you judge.  
Surely I was sinful at birth, sinful from the time my mother conceived me.  
Surely you desire truth in the inner parts; you teach me wisdom in the  
inmost place.  
Cleanse me with hyssop, and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be  
whiter than snow.  
Let me hear joy and gladness; let the bones you have crushed rejoice.  
Hide your face from my sins and blot out all my iniquity.  
Create in me a pure heart, O God, and renew a steadfast spirit within me.  
Do not cast me from your presence or take your Holy Spirit from me.  
Restore to me the joy of your salvation and grant me a willing spirit to sustain  
me.

The above prayer is a declaration that the person has taken another step towards God’s call, and that is public confession of sins. This confession has two implications. First, it declares a break from the pre-conversion period (*zamani*). *Zamani* as perceived by Uamsho is a period of life in

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<sup>74</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.134n.

which a person had very little knowledge about the true God. Therefore, nothing good from it can be incorporated into the ‘new life’ of the person. Life during the *zamani* means being under the slavery of Satan.<sup>75</sup> It means being lost and being under God’s wrath. Such frequently recurring phrases in the prayers like, “we denounce all charges sent to God by Satan about this person”, or, “by the blood of Jesus, we blot all contracts signed by Satan with his servants against this child of God, we demolish all curses and Satan’s chains by the blood of Jesus of Nazareth”, may explain how *zamani* is perceived. We can also note that the Uamsho understands that Satan as the accuser of all human beings. Put in existential language, Uamsho perceives life in the *zamani* phase as “less real” or “less true” than life in the after conversion period. The following chorus shows this view:

Hapo zamani	In the past
Nilikuwa mlevi sana	I was a drunkard
Nilikuwa malaya	I was a harlot
Kwa ujambazi huniwezi	I was hard core criminal
Kwa uchawi nilikuwa kiboko	I was a great witch
Na sasa naishi na mwokozi wangu	Now I’m living
Mwokozi wangu	with my Saviour. <sup>76</sup>

God’s wrath is thought to begin from the time when that person is conceived in her/his mother’s womb especially if the parents are among the unsaved. There is a clear distinction between those who are born to married

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<sup>75</sup> The term “slavery of Satan” here perhaps is given a further depth of meaning by the slave trade. As it was inhuman, any period named after it must also be considered corrupt, and a denunciation of God’s plans for human beings.

<sup>76</sup> Observed at the HUMANN fellowship, Buguruni Dar es Salaam, 15th April 2003.

*wanauamsho* and ordinary Christians. Those ordinary Christians who were married in church are called God's people and the saved ones are sons and daughters of God. Semgaya, Fumbwani, Namumbo and Galula consider Jn.1: 12 as the Biblical basis for this distinction.<sup>77</sup> It is therefore claimed that children of ordinary Christians are a consequence or result of sins. The frequent quoting of Ps.51: 5 (sinful from the time my mother conceived me) support this. Uamsho therefore underlines the power of sin and even perhaps its forensic dimension. However, the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, as something that can be passed down to all generations, is not found in Uamsho.<sup>78</sup>

Uamsho stresses the need for the convicted to confess all his/her sins and denounce those evils of the past (including those committed by parents who might have made blood covenants with Satan which might affect a child directly, not by transmission "through blood or the generations"), which had separated the person from God. In most cases this prompted dilemmas for the married (in church, civil, and traditional) and the dependant. It resulted in separation for the married and continuing conflicts between parents and the dependents. The diocese of Tanga in its 1993 Synod declared those who had divorced for such reasons heretics. They were not allowed to baptize their children in church. Only those who had married in church were

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<sup>77</sup> Oral interviews, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Jestina Fumbwani Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Raphael Namaumbo, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>78</sup> For an overview of the concept of original sin see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958, 344-374.

allowed to do so.<sup>79</sup> There was a problem: the church's ruling was in danger of validating nominal or formalistic Christian practice under the guise of proper Christian marriage.

Some activities of the "past life" recur in new forms in the Uamsho, and converts will meet them in their new shapes. Those who were used to disco and secular dances will eventually find themselves at home by playing *disko la Yesu* (Jesus' disco- a very significant aspect of Uamsho). Musicians will do so in the Uamsho choirs, and various other talents used to glorify Satan in the *Zamani* will be turned to glorify God. In this case, Uamsho complies with what Andrew Walls is saying:

The fact that 'if any man is in Christ he is a new creation' does not mean that his mind is a blank table. It has been formed by his own culture and history and since God has accepted him as he is, his Christian mind will continue to be influenced by what was in it before and this is true for group as for persons.<sup>80</sup>

This makes *Zamani* a period beyond which nothing can pass<sup>81</sup> and yet a period which needs to be converted. Therefore, *Kuokoka* is a denunciation of the evils of the past, which had separated the person from God. It is a creation of a new relationship, a new friendship, new life directives, new personality, new family and a new clan. It is a time to get washed from the dust of the evils of the past. In most fellowship and open-air spiritual conventions, this is the time when many people fall to the ground weeping

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<sup>79</sup> Diocese of Zanzibar & Tanga, 1993 Synod Report.

<sup>80</sup> Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996, p.8.

<sup>81</sup> John S. Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann, 1969, p.23.

loudly. John Semgaya and Ezekiel Kambanga agree that gnashing of teeth as the penitents remember the evils that had separated them from the love of God must follow a true confession. Julius Lugendo, Daudi Sichinga, Imani Ndendya and Grace Kitambi see that as alien: “for what saves is not that weeping but God’s grace.”<sup>82</sup> However, for others such physical signs of grief are the beginning of inner healing as the Holy Spirit touches the sources of their sufferings. Exorcism and faith healing against Satan is done in the name of Jesus Christ, his antagonist.<sup>83</sup> Satan, the cause of disobedient behaviour, which leads people to immorality, must be cast out of these children of God who have accepted the call of God.<sup>84</sup> Satan is also the distorter of the message of God and the one who causes confusion in the Church. Confession is therefore a declaration of enmity with Satan and his army, flesh, and the world.<sup>85</sup>

#### 4.2.4.1 Healing as an aspect of Confession

Many people consider the act of confession the beginning of inner healing as the Holy Spirit touches the sources of their sufferings. Namata mentions four types of sicknesses that may be in the body of an individual. First, there are the spiritual sicknesses that are caused by the sins that the person

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<sup>82</sup> Oral interviews, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Julius Lugendo, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Daudi Sichinga, Mbeya, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Imani Ndendya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2003, Grace Kitambi, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>83</sup> Oral interview, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>84</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>85</sup> In most cases Uamsho uses things of the world (*mambo ya Kidunia*) and of the flesh (*mambo ya mwili*) as synonyms and therefore it is difficult to know which one in particular is referred to. In order to reduce the confusion, we will use *mambo ya kidunia*.

had done: “we persecute the spirit in us when we sin and as a result we keep it weak.”<sup>86</sup> Such sicknesses often include those caused by curses, guilt, and bad dreams. According to Namata, these sicknesses are only healed through a deep prayer of confession in which a person is helped to realize his/her sin and is then guided to true confession.

Second, there are mental sicknesses. According to Namata, these are the result of troubles in their life which may be caused by other people. These may include marriage issues, family matters, sexual harassment and others:

“A person who suffers from such difficulties can be afflicted by his/her pains to the point that they may bring psychological problems, a heart attack etc. They can have a permanent effect on a person if he/she is not helped to overcome them.”<sup>87</sup>

Namata says that such sickness needs inner healing prayers that will make the person aware of the importance of forgiving others before he /she can be forgiven. Confession helps the person to release the tensions and stresses he/she has. Namata connects this idea with Jesus’ emphasis on the significance of forgiving others (Mk.11: 25), which has a psychological impact on the life of an individual.

Namata also mentions sicknesses of the body (*kiwiliwili*). These result from the infection by bacteria, virus and fungi on the body. Others in the same group are those caused by accidents. According to John Mwamazi,

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<sup>86</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, p.138-139.

<sup>87</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, pp.138-139.

European medicines and a prayer of faith heal these sicknesses.<sup>88</sup> The sick person needs to discover the sickness and he/she, with the help of the *mtumishi wa Mungu*, needs to believe that Jesus forgives and heals. Mwamazi emphasizes that Jesus alone is the healer and the *watumishi wa Mungu* and the medicines are just channels that God uses.

Finally there are those sicknesses associated with demonic possession. Uamsho describes demons and *majini* as real, concrete and harmful beings who work as subordinates of Satan and who desire with him the total annihilation of human beings. The classification of spirits in Swahili religious thought (and Tanzania in general) shows a distinction between *mizimu* (ancestors), *majini* and *mapepo* (evil spirits). The *Mizimu* are understood to be protective mediators between the Supreme Being and human beings while the other two are demonic. The *mizimu* are found throughout the towns. They do not possess people, but may make them ill.

The *Majini and Mapepo*, which include those known as *Shaitwani*, *Subiani* and *Rohani* and others, are commonly found in rich peoples' towns (*miji ya waungwana*) such as the capitals of the Administrative Districts and Regions. They can travel long distances and can possess people. The *Uamsho healers* (and even the *waganga*) know their names according to their behaviour in the possessed person. *Shaitwani* for example, which are of Arabic nature, are evil, dangerous and usually possess women who are in

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<sup>88</sup> Namata, *Edmund John* pp.139-140.

their menstrual period. They are also found in abattoirs. This identification with blood and their behaviour patterns may reflect the brutal and humiliating role of Arabs in the Slave Trade. The Christian Europeans who brought education which had turned people towards city and office life, are associated with *Rohani* who are found everywhere in the towns where they become the spirit-spouses of high-ranking men and women.<sup>89</sup>

*Kinyamkea* or sometimes *Chamkela* are more commonly used for “dust demons” which make people mad. *Dungumaro* are known for their behaviour of making the possessed look like a dead person or epileptic. Sometimes they are called *pepo maiti*. There are also *Shamng’ombe* demons. People possessed by *Shamng’ombe* possess strength like that of a bull or a Rhino. In Tanga and Dar es Salaam *Shamng’ombe* is also known as the demon of sea (*pepo bahari*), perhaps because these two places are close to the sea. In African Traditional Healing, beef is forbidden to those with *Shamng’ombe*, mutton to those with *Dungumaro* and fresh food to those with *Kinyamkea*.<sup>90</sup>

Other common demons are Dizzy (*pepo la marham*), Tambourine (*Mzuka*), and Qitimiri (*kibwengo*). Uamsho critically condemns the *wagangu* who force people to abstain from some foods. By food abstinence, the victims

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<sup>89</sup> The distinction of spirits on such ethnic and socio-political lines may reflect the historical factors contributing to Uamsho discussed in chapter two.

<sup>90</sup> Mark Horton & John Middleton, *The people of Africa: The Swahili*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, pp.190-194.

are saluting the demons and therefore become slaves to them. Cyprian Sallu and John Semgaya believe that committed *wanauamsho* cannot be affected by the *majini* or *mapepo* unless they relapse. However, it was observed that among the *wanauamsho* there is a common tendency of shouting “*umeshindwa katika jina la Yesu*”- “in the name of Jesus Christ, you have been defeated”, whenever one sees or hears strange things. This may not only denote a common fear of these creatures and witchcraft, but also their African nature: nothing happens naturally without a divine cause. Alternatively, it causes *wanauamsho* to put more trust in Jesus’ power and authority.

It can be argued therefore that the power of demons in the body of human beings is a question of who that person is in relation to God the Father of Jesus Christ. Semgaya asserts that ordinary Christians will be blinded so that they may not see the importance of trusting God alone while those who are not Christians will be blinded from seeing the realities that are claimed by the Gospel.<sup>91</sup> Sallu, Zayumba and Semgaya agree with Munga on the following points:

- (i) Demons are evil spirits who can be sent to or cast out from a person.
- (ii) Once occupying a person, they have the power to control their host.
- (iii) Demons are harmful. While inside their host, they can cause afflictions.
- (iv) Demons might exist in a person without his (sic) knowledge
- (v) Demons are described in anthropomorphic terms; they execute their duties by receiving and obeying orders from Satan; they read the Scriptures, they

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<sup>91</sup> Oral interview, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

reason out how to hinder the advancement of God's work and they act accordingly.<sup>92</sup>

According to Uamsho, a person with demonic possession must have offered him/her-self to the devil and therefore lived apart from God. Cyprian Sallu, for example believes that demons possess people only if they expose themselves to demonic influences such as participating in *tambiko* (veneration of the dead), dances of spirits and adultery.<sup>93</sup> Sengaya uses Jer.17: 5 ("Thus says the Lord, cursed is the man who trust in man...") to support this argument.<sup>94</sup> Sallu argues that, such people can be rescued only when they confess publicly what they had been doing.

The prayers for exorcism peculiar to these types of sicknesses are emotional compared to those for other types of sickness. According to Namata, the prayers for exorcism are in the form of a command directed to the demon while other prayers are directed to God who can never be given orders (Act. 16: 18).<sup>95</sup> Canon John Simalenga supports Namata by arguing that since demons are invaders and destroyers of relationship with God, there should be no dialogue. Nonetheless, it is important to force them out.<sup>96</sup> The force used to chase them out causes the whole healing events appear confusing.

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<sup>92</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.115.

<sup>93</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>94</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>95</sup> Oral interviews, Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August, 2003, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2003, John Mwanazi, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Joseph Namata, *Edmund John*, pp.140-141.

<sup>96</sup> Oral interview, John Simalenga, St. Marks Theological College, Dar es Salaam, June 11<sup>th</sup> 2003.

Leaders are always present to control and comfort the ones who begin to throw themselves around and onto the ground during healing prayers. Women helpers take special care to wrap sheets of clothes around the women to maintain a degree of modesty as they writhe and struggle with demons within. While this is going on, the rest of the *wanauamsho* continue with praying and others sing slow choruses such as:

Damu ya Yesu	The blood of Jesus
Husafisha kabisa	Washes away all evils
Nguvu za mapepo/ majini/kuzimu	The demonic powers hell powers
Zimeshindwa	are all defeated
Asifiwe mwokozi	Praise to our Saviour

Then comes a prayer for power which depends on the message that the Holy Spirit inspires the “servant of God” to speak. Usually such a prayer calls the Holy Spirit to descend upon the people for strength and guidance. The prayer also declares the person among the saved from that day. Those who are not baptized and want to become Christians are told to write their names and seek baptism in any church that is close to their residence. This implies that healing is also an aspect of *Kuokoka*.

By using Exodus 15: 26, Namata explains why some people do not receive healing. He mentions, lack of faith (Mat.17: 20), some positive reason from Christ (Gal.4: 13- 14), misunderstanding of the disease, sin, praying without touching the root of the sickness, disregarding medical treatments, uncleanness, bad family relationships, or dependence on the “servant of

God” for healing instead of God.<sup>97</sup> These regards show that receiving healing depends on two conditions: God’s will<sup>98</sup> and personal preparation for the healing.

#### 4.2.4.2 ‘Putting things in order’ as an aspect of Confession

From the beginning of Uamsho, *kutengeneza mambo*, the *Kiswahili* phrase which literally implies “to put things in order”, has been part of the reconciliation process. The phrase as used by *wanauamsho* means to obey the Holy Spirit and be reconciled with those with whom the penitent has been on bad terms. *Kutengeneza mambo* is effected by confessing face to face with the person who has been offended, whether he/she knew it or not. We have seen this in the preceding chapter when Kigozi and others had to ask forgiveness from each other. We have seen also how the two young men who came from Bugufi to ask forgiveness from the missionaries had inspired Kadjerero. According to Uamsho, face-to-face confession is based on Mat. 5: 23-26. Sins to be confessed in this way include offences, accusations, and the like. Witches are asked to bring and burn their magical things and ask forgiveness from the families that were affected by their practices. This is expected to restore social relationships with the community to which the saved belong.

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<sup>97</sup> Namata, *Edmund John*, pp. 141-145.

<sup>98</sup> This will be developed further in the next chapter.

In fact *Kutengeneza Mambo* goes further than verbal face-to-face confession. It is the time, for example, that all available stolen things have to be returned to the owner and the balance paid. In case of the stolen items already used, either returning them by buying new ones or refunding with money counts as restitution. The Scriptural basis for compensation is considered to be Lk.12: 58-59 and 19: 1-10. Ezekiel Kambanga, Augustine Galula and Cyprian Sallu added that this is an important step because it may not be easy for society to accept that a person has been converted just because of a verbal confession of faith. Uamsho demands more. Those offended or hurt by past sins are addressed directly, and given concrete signs of amendment of life. The return of stolen items is only one of many such signs.

We can now see that *Kuokoka* means being completely cleansed. The emphasis on the confession of sins makes the person realize other complications that might have been hidden in the body. The deliverance and putting of things in order restores a state of well being making it possible to live in harmony with fellow human beings, the environment and God. It opens the door for that person to trust more in God and in turn to be more trusted by the community. This is expected to bring prosperity in this life and in the hereafter. This makes the whole *kuokoka* a healing process for it involves the emotional, spiritual, social and physical aspects of a person's life through the direct intervention of God.

Since a new way of life corresponding to Christian beliefs and teaching has been adopted, what is expected is that the new *mwanauamsho* should demonstrate changes of life style. This is referred as bearing of good fruits (*matunda mema*) in contrast to the bad fruits (*matunda mabaya*) of the *zamani*. Although the demonstration depends much on God's grace, the new *mwanauamsho* has to use the power, ability and authority given him /her to fight all hindrances. This is already a battle in which the *mwanauamsho* must persevere and triumph, because of that *wanauamsho* calls it victorious life.

#### **4.3 Living Victoriously (*Maisha ya Ushindi*)**

As we discussed previously, confession of sins in traditional African Society was a way of purification, an escape from evil. It therefore brought the community a deep sense of reconciliation and trust by making people open to one another. In the same way the *Kuokoka* experience in the Uamsho strikes deep into the layers of one's personality. This is something that makes *wanauamsho* live in a warm fellowship. This is what *wanauamsho* call "victorious life". As lived by the *wanauamsho*, Victorious life has two aspects: "Walking in the light" (*Kutembea nuruni*), and carrying a burden (*maisha ya mziago*).

#### 4.3.1 Walking in the Light (*Kutembea Nuruni*)

After the *Kuokoka* event, the saved one has the duty to engage in proclaiming the word of God by 'walking in Him who is the light' as 1John 1: 5-7 asserts:

This is the message we have heard from him and declare to you: God is light; in him there is no darkness at all. If we claim to have fellowship with him yet walk in the darkness, we lie and do not live by truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with one another and the blood of Jesus, his son, purifies us from all sin.

The phrase, as employed by *wanauamsho*, may mean, "to reveal or bring out certain matters to few or to all members of the group for open discussion or solution."<sup>99</sup> It is a practice that brings two things together: confession and public testimony. Matters raised range from private, individual, public, communal, official or local. Individuals are expected to consult the brethren (*wapendwa ndugu*) instead of going to any of family elders, government or the "wage ministers". Usually one is free to choose with whom the *ndugu* may share his /her personal affairs. Whilst some issues are kept as absolute secrets, other testimonies or confessions are meant to demonstrate the genuineness of personal salvation and give the saved courage that they can gain victory in case they confront the same issue. Again testimonies warn them about the possibility of backsliding (*kukata taaa*). Backsliding may be a failure to do what one ought to have

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<sup>99</sup> Oral interview, Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

done such as helping the needy, the aged and the destitute.<sup>100</sup> It is because of these practices that those in need such as the widow, the weak, the handicapped, the sick and the aged are brought before the group for help.<sup>101</sup> Their names, where they live, and their problems are mentioned, prayed for, and responsibilities delegated among the *wanauamsho*.

Another aspect of walking in the light is the daily public confession of sins.<sup>102</sup> This is also *kutubu* but what makes it different is that it is done on day-to-day basis. Here, Uamsho points out that human beings live in the world full of evil. The only way to survive is to live victoriously: “since our God is a forgiving God, sins are to be confessed every time and not wait until Sunday”.<sup>103</sup> Usually sins confessed may include evil thoughts or dreams, certain sins one might have fallen into, such as anger, hatred, jealousy, laziness, self-pity, worldliness, rivalry, the unforgiving spirit, fear of human beings, smoking, drinking alcohol, theft, adultery or even looking at a woman or man covetously. These are to be confessed as often as they arise. When one has confessed his /her sins publicly he /she feels satisfaction and is convinced of God’s forgiveness and a special gift of joy is expected from this confession. Sins that one has repented of are not

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<sup>100</sup> Oral interviews, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Margreth Wasiwasi, Dar es Salaam, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2003.

<sup>101</sup> This is a very significant aspect of the early New Testament Church. See Acts.7

<sup>102</sup> This was observed in those groups associated with the New Life Crusade such as the Ambangulu group at Korogwe, The Muheza in Tanga group and Yombo Vituka group in Dar es Salaam.

<sup>103</sup> Oral interviews, Raphael Namaumbo, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

supposed to be repeated. If a group member repeats the same sin over and over again, the other members may send a delegation of *ndugu* to caution him /her.

The third aspect of *kutembea murumi* is preaching the word of God to the “unsaved”. It is a responsibility of every *mwanauamsho* to convey to other people the news about Jesus Christ so that they might receive Him into their lives. This includes testimonies and preaching. This might be done in buses, at spiritual mass conventions, seminars, nightclubs, and houses or even at work. All such preaching starts with testimonies in which the speaker described how he /she was before *kuokoka* and then tells of the benefits of the *wokovu* (salvation). By mentioning the bad old life he /she had, the testifier underlines the misery of the *zamani* (past) compared to the perfection of the *sasa* (now) in order to motivate people to make the decision of faith (*kukata shauri*). A key strategy is to discourage putting trust in anything or person that lies outside the scope of Uamsho.<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Carrying a Burden (*Kuchukua Mzigo*)

Although the responsibility to help widows, orphans, bereaved families, people with different abilities and other difficulties in life are aspects of walking in light, it is also considered as carrying a burden in love.<sup>105</sup> What

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<sup>104</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, p.174-175.

<sup>105</sup> *Wanauamsho* perception of those whom they consider as “Christians of good deeds” (*wakristo wa matendo mema*) who fear God (*hofu ya Mungu*) prior to *Kuokoka* is negative in as much as they are thought to be trying to bribe God.

makes it different in this case is that these activities include both co-operative and personal efforts of carrying the “load” to other people. The burden also includes planning and providing contributions for marriages among the *wanauamsho* themselves, praying for the needy and helping the aged with food, firewood, and fetching water. These are voluntary services that are rendered among the *wanauamsho*.

This can be understood in the Tanzanian context (and Africa in general) where poverty is a big problem. It is a part of the *wanauamsho* fellowship therefore to share the burden of others both in practical and spiritual problems. They support each other during situations such as illness, loss of property, or death. Uamsho considers doing these things as giving light to others (Mat.5: 14-16).<sup>106</sup>

Helping the needy in society and the way *mwanauamsho* live (speech, deportment and dress), are considered essential parts of bearing good testimony to others in the community: good works should accompany faith. It is believed that a *mwanauamsho* who does not behave according to Biblical teachings is misleading lukewarm Christians as well as the non-Christians (*kupoteza ushuhuda*). In order to fulfil that, elders in the Uamsho instruct other members in matters of hygiene concerning homes; bodies and

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<sup>106</sup> Two different occasions were observed: one was when William Pazia died on April 29<sup>th</sup> 2003 at Yombo in Dar es Salaam and at Ambangulu when Paulina, Elizabeth’s daughter died on 12th February 2003. On these occasions *wanauamsho* stayed together praying, singing and helping with house keeping until the day of burial and *kumaliza kilio* (a day when the family attend the church service intended to conclude the mourning period).

how to keep their lives clean spiritually.<sup>107</sup> The *wanauamsho* are expected to do likewise to the new Uamsho members and other people in the society. They are also instructed in economic matters, encouraged to work hard, and advised how to save money. *Wanauamsho* are encouraged by the elders to send their children to school and bring them up as good Christians and morally upright citizens. Since these activities include both co-operative and personal efforts, they are considered *maisha ya mzungu* (a life of burden). *Maisha ya mzungu* in this sense is living for others as if you are Jesus Christ.

Another aspect of *kuchukua mzungu* is prayer. Uamsho considers prayer as carrying a load or a burden. This could be a literal translation of the Biblical teaching: "Carry one another's burden" -*mchukuliane mizigo* (Gal. 6:2). The importance of prayer is described in various ways. There are times when it is 'a weapon for defeating the snake 'Satan' (*silaha ya kuulia nyoka-Shetani*). It is also referred to as a war against Satan since it implies going to the battlefield (*uwanja wa mapambano*) against the powers of the darkness.

Since prayer is a powerful weapon, *Wanauamsho* are expected to know how to pray individually as the Holy Spirit directs them instead of depending on written prayers of the Prayer Book. This does not mean that Uamsho disregards the Prayer Book but rather that each Christian should know how

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<sup>107</sup> This has been the Uamsho emphasis since the first phase. See H.H. Osborn, *Pioneers in the East African Revival*, p.28.

to pray individually too. Prayers of the Prayer Book require responses, which may mean that they cannot be said unless more than one person pray together. The *Hazina ya Sala* (Treasury of Prayers) and *Katekismo* (Catechism), designed to assist personal devotions, did not help because not all people are able to buy the books and they can be difficult to carry. Uamsho makes a very significant claim to Tanzanian Anglicans: religion is not that which is written but which goes with you wherever you go.

There is a structure usually followed in prayer. They open prayer with either “Lord Jesus Christ” (*Bwana Yesu*) or “Father in the name of Jesus Christ” (*Baba, katika Jina la Yesu*), then the human being(s) concerned, the ones who have prompted the prayer, are mentioned. The prayer then ends by invoking the name of Jesus with the help of the Holy Spirit who passes them on to the Father as exemplified in the following prayer:

Baba katika Jina la Yesu	Father in the name of Jesus Christ
Tunakutukuza kwa ajili	We praise you for helping
ya kumfaurisha huyu	your child to pass
Mtoto wako	his/ her examinations
Tunaomba Roho	May your Holy Spirit direct
wako Mtakatifu amlinde na	and protect him/her
kumtunza katika masomo yake	through out her further studies
Kwa Yesu Kristo	We ask this in the name of Jesus Christ
Bwana wetu	Our Lord
Amin	Amen <sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> St. Patrick Anglican fellowship, Ambangulu, Korogwe, 12<sup>th</sup> February 2003.

*Wanauamsho* pray for sick people, childless couples, people who persecute them, government, the church and those who have relapsed. They pray before starting to work, when at work and after work. They will also begin a journey with a prayer, pray on the way and thank God after the journey. There are also the so-called submergence prayers (*maombi ya kuzamia*) specifically for success against the powers of Satan during Sunday worship and spiritual gatherings.<sup>109</sup>

Uamsho has different explanations of the ways that prayer is answered. They believe that God responds and thus they wait for answers to prayer. If this does not happen, three possible reasons are considered. The first is that the one praying may not have persisted adequately in prayer.<sup>110</sup> Secondly, that God, who is omniscient, may know that a positive answer would be harmful and therefore withholds such a response in love. Thirdly, that God's perception of time is different from that of human beings. Therefore, God might answer a prayer after several years without it meaning that the answer has been delayed. The most important element is to believe that what you pray for has already been given because the saved possess the ability (*uwezo*) and the authority (*mamlaka*) to break the barriers that the evil one might have built to prevent prayer from reaching God. It is with this understanding and their emphasis on giving light from within, that

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<sup>109</sup> The African sense that before doing anything there is an actual need to ask divine blessings is very clear in the *Uamsho*.

<sup>110</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, pp. 1181-182.

*wanauamsho* continue to take part in all the sacraments, even those celebrated by the “wage ministers.”<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.4 New Life

The process of *kuokoka* shows that the main purpose of Uamsho is to attain ‘new life’. The best image to illustrate the meaning of this ‘new life’ in Uamsho as contrasted to the ‘old life’ (that of the *zamani*), is that of a butterfly (*kipepeo*) as discussed by Bishop Erasto N. Kweka.<sup>112</sup> The two stages of the butterfly’s life that symbolize this change are the caterpillar and the butterfly. A butterfly at the caterpillar stage is dangerous, gluttonous, chaotic, and unfriendly; it has a bad appearance and many false feet. It destroys crops and therefore causes hunger: it is at a destructive stage. Within a few days the caterpillar turns into a butterfly. As a result all its former behaviour changes completely. At this second stage the butterfly appears attractive, flying from one flower to another looking for nectar and as a result spreads pollen to increase cross fertilization (*kutia muru*-to give light in the Uamsho sense) and therefore creation continues. In observing these two stages, one may think that these are two different creatures.

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<sup>111</sup> With exception to minor cases, most of the *wanauamsho* still baptize their children; receive the Eucharist and all other sacraments of the ACT. It should be emphasized here that there is no single case discovered during the research of *wanauamsho* who dared to claim any authority to conduct the sacrament. They have always depended on their priests. This may mean that they are respectful to the authority God has given the priests.

<sup>112</sup> Bishop Erasto E. Kweka, “Utangulizi” in Elinaza E. Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama: Roho Mtakatifu katika Mekanisa ya Kihistoria*, Moshi: New Millenium Books, 2000, p.5.

Bishop Kweka compares the new life of the butterfly with 'new life' in Uamsho. When a person is a sinner, his /life is like that of a caterpillar ('the old') but as soon as that person gets saved, he /she ('the old is crucified' in the Uamsho sense) appears like a butterfly. Therefore, 'New life' is that which results in a total change of life style: when a sinner decides (*kukata shauri*) to accept Jesus as his/her personal saviour, his/her whole life changes for the better gradually. The change from a life of sin to new life has two effects. The first is the restoration of relationship with God described as *kutubu* (to confess). This has three stages:

- (i) Christ sets the convert free from the bondage of Satan at conversion.
- (ii) Christ frees the Christian from the sins which rob them of the liberty with which Christ set him/ her free.
- (iii) Christ sets the Christian free from the bondage of harmful habits, fear of human beings, jealousy and rivalry, the unforgiving spirit, and pride.

The second is the restoration of social relationships with other people through *kutengeneza mambo*-putting things in order (Mat.5: 23- 26). The second is triggered by the first which implies that it cannot happen unless the first has taken place. If both have taken place, other people will clearly confess that the person has changed greatly. According to Kweka this is what St. Paul meant when he said: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come (2Cor.5: 17)". The saved

one is therefore a new creation through Jesus Christ, the first heir of the new creation

#### 4.6 Conclusion

Our main objective in this chapter was to identify various theological characteristics that define Uamsho. We have explained the meaning of *Kuokoka* that is, leaving Satan and going to Jesus Christ who gives eternal life. It is a process that can happen within a very short time and is an expression of faith. The process that leads to *Kuokoka* points to the main purpose of Uamsho, "reconciliation" that begins with God Himself and then passes to a human being who is expected to respond positively. Human response can be limited by the world, which belongs to Satan. Demonic forces and various other temptations are all aim to pull human beings back to the world. The love of the world means to love Satan. Within this world that is ruled by Satan, there is a call/ touch of God that helps human beings to go back to Him. Confession is a way out of the evils of the world, brings reconciliation, and strengthens the bond between God and human beings. It brings trust and joy that lead to sharing which makes walking in the light possible. To be saved therefore means living in God instead of in Satan. Initially these features are what define Uamsho theologically.

These features make Uamsho to be a team of people who love each other, regardless of class, gender or race. Everyone in the Uamsho is a *ndugu* (brother or sister). This is a result of their meaningful encounter with Jesus

Christ whose encounter with people not only transforms the person but also transfigures him /her. The feeling that God has called them to give light (*kutia nuru*) from within has not only revived a sense of belonging but also challenged the spirit of denominationalism resulting from the European type of Christianity. Their emphasis on personal salvation and how to pray not only helps one's self understanding in relation to his /her God, church and the society, but also empowers individuals who in turn empower their respective churches. A question that one may raise is whether these Uamsho theological claims are authentic. The next chapter attempts to answer this question.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ASPECTS OF THE UAMSHO THEOLOGY OF SALAVATION

#### 5.0 Introduction

As our discussion above has shown, the theology of Uamsho is distinct and mainly oral, with much emphasis on conversion and the assurance that one is “saved” in a personal way by Jesus Christ. *Wanauamsho* understand that they have received a deeper insight into the meaning of several Biblical passages because of their experience of Jesus as Lord and Saviour. They emphasize the necessity of being born again spiritually and expressing it in daily life. Stress is also placed on the hope of life after death as a result of the forgiveness of sins. They particularly emphasize daily spiritual deliverance, cleansing and power for Christian living through the blood of Jesus, which was shed on the cross.

Therefore the crucifixion of Jesus and the shedding of this blood represent a central symbol in the thinking of the *wanauamsho*. Connected to it is the role of the Holy Spirit in their lives. This chapter presents a discussion of each of these central beliefs and practices. We will begin by looking at salvation (*wokovu*). The discussion is split into four sections namely salvation: the role of God, the role of Jesus Christ (his works and efficacy of his death), the role of the Holy Spirit, and the role of human being. All these

four are related in one way or another and therefore we discuss them under one main theme “salvation”. We will also discuss the *wanauamsho* perception of the existence of good and evil. Finally we will describe Uamsho Ecclesiology. This chapter concludes with a summary of the main ideas raised in the whole chapter that argues for the authenticity of Uamsho theology.

### 5.1.0 Salvation (*Wokovu*)

#### 5.1.1 The Role of God in Salvation

*Wokovu* is the most widely used term in Uamsho to express the concept of salvation and God’s role in it. The Uamsho use of the term indicates acceptance of an action from the outside by God who is the saviour. Human beings cannot save themselves by their own efforts as Sallu, Mwamazi and Lugendo stated:

*Wokovu* is a state where by a person is forgiven all his /her sins and is given ability (*uwezo*), authority (*mamlaka*) and power (*nguvu*) from above (*kutoka juu*) to please God who in turn blesses the person.<sup>1</sup>

In the preceding chapter, we explained that *Kuokoka* is leaving Satan and going to Jesus Christ who gives eternal life. The definition of *wokovu* shows that *kuokoka* is one stage of *wokovu*. This is because according to the definition, *wokovu* contains two main elements:

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<sup>1</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Mwamazi, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Julius Lugendo, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

forgiveness of sins and blessings (a result of better use of *uwezo*, *mamlaka* and *nguvu* attained from God). While the forgiveness of sins is attained during the process of *kuokoka*, blessings are received after *kuokoka*. Both elements come from God who is above. The idea of God being above is a common African perception of Him, which may imply ownership of and supremacy over everything. This is why even the true forgiveness of sins and true blessings come from Him alone.

Since true forgiveness is the primacy of *wokovu* and this is from Him alone, *Wanauamsho* believe strongly that *wokovu* depends on His grace alone. "None of us can be proud of his/her own efforts in the *wokovu* for we are all saved by His grace alone (*neema*)."<sup>2</sup> Such sayings as *mmeokolewe bure toeni bure*- "you are saved freely so give to others freely" are not only common in Uamsho but also point to the grace of God in salvation. Uamsho also considers such actions of God's calling as *neema*. It is explained that God calls each person by name, and confronts the person with Himself. Through that confrontation He gives faith by which the person can stand before God and other people to testify.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Oral interview, Pasis Simon, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Jestina Fumbani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Timothy Kihampa, Dar es Salaam, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

Uamsho describes salvation effected by grace. Grace, according to *wanauamsho*, is that power of God that exists in every human being through which he /she not only knows that God exists but also that He is a forgiving God.<sup>4</sup> Semgaya quotes 1Tim.1: 15 to insist that this power of God is expressed through the actions of Jesus Christ whose incarnation and atoning death took place in order that He might save sinners. Mustafa, Simon and Martin (who quotes Col.1: 13-14) support Semgaya.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Uamsho choruses like *Neema ya Bwana imenitangulia*, (the grace is over of me) or *Neema imefunuliwa* (the grace has been revealed) point to the fact that grace is a free gift of God and is constantly present.

Sallu, Maganza, Chitemo and Semgaya quote 2Tim. 3: 15 to show that grace is revealed in the Scripture<sup>6</sup>. According to Sallu and Suki, grace is effective for individuals through the preaching of the Gospel (1Cor.1: 21).<sup>7</sup> Quoting Rom.10: 9-10, Sallu argues that, if the Gospel touches an individual (*kugusa*) and the person in turn responds to that message with faith and repentance (*kutubu*), *wokovu* is attained. *Wanauamsho* believe that the Bible is the Word of God. To speak of the Gospel touching an individual authentically means it is God Himself who touches the person. In other words, *wanauamsho* understand the Gospel as the Word of God,

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<sup>4</sup> This is purely a Reformation Theology, Uamsho however, goes beyond this as the next discussion shows.

<sup>5</sup> Oral interview, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Gresford Chitemo, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Gerald Maganza, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Mary Suki, Kondo, 26<sup>th</sup> August, 2003.

which in fact may clarify St. John's Theology (Jn.1) that Jesus is the Word of God and therefore the Gospel is itself the Word of God. This agrees with Bediako argument that "the Gospel is in fact Jesus Himself".<sup>8</sup> In connection to Jn.14: 10 (the Son is in the Father and the Father is in the Son), it can be argued that the Uamsho emphasis on being touched by the Gospel points to the Father Himself. This may even help us to understand the relationship between human beings and God in the process of salvation.

### **5.1.2 The relationship between God and human beings in *Wokovu***

A clear distinction that *wanauamsho* make is that while faith is a free gift from God and is always present, repentance depends on a personal decision (*kukata shauri*). Although *wokovu* is dependent on the grace of God, knowing and believing are important acts that an individual should undertake. These two involve a believer's internalization of the will of God starting with a full acknowledgement of the crisis in the relationship with God. The process proceeds to the admission of the conscience that something ought to and can be done by the individual. In many cases such consciousness leads to *Kukata Shauri*. An act of "will" should therefore be incorporated in the *wokovu* of every human being.

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<sup>8</sup> Kwame Bediako, "Gospel and Culture: Some insights for our time from the Experience of the Earliest Church" in *Journal of African Christian Thought*, Vol.2. No. 2, December 1999, pp.8-9.

We have also mentioned that among the methods of God's calling and touching are hearing (*kusikia*), dreams (*njozi*) and visions (*maono*). These are all individually and personally experienced. The primary method of God's communication to humanity in this case, is understood by the *wanauamsho* as between God and an individual through the Holy Spirit who (although He is unseen) is a very significant communicator. In the Uamsho understanding, both human and non-human modes of calling/ touching human beings are subordinate to Him. He is also known to have a key role in calling human beings to God. It is obvious therefore that the individual has an important role to play in the whole issue of *wokovu*.

We can therefore describe the Uamsho understanding of *wokovu* as God's action in (1) rescuing individuals from their sins and the consequences of their sins committed during the *zamani* and in (2) bringing them into a situation where they experience and thus appreciate His blessings. Life in the *zamani* did not allow these blessings to reach the individual because of the state he /she was in. This implies that, although the state of forgiveness of sin exists, to obtain God's blessings, one needs power, ability and authority to fight the evil forces that are at work. All these come from God alone. *Wokovu* is therefore the sum-total of the benefits bestowed on the saved by God Himself through Jesus Christ who is the only true way to the Father (Lk. 19: 9; Rom.1: 16).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Canon Elisha Mtangoo, "Jesus, the Way, Truth and Life", Sermon, Kawe convention, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

This understanding of Jesus as the only true way to the Father marks a particular emphasis on the identity of God known through Jesus Christ Himself. The claim that the God proclaimed by the European missionaries existed prior to their arrival in Africa is inconceivable to *wanauamsho*. With this “Christ alone” stand point Uamsho opposes participation in African Traditional Religious practices thereby establishing a different approach to these religious practices compared to African Indigenous Churches, which allow such participation. The trends in theological thinking taken by African Christian Theologians like Bolaji Idowu, John Mbiti, Benezet Bujo and Byang Kato, can be aligned with the two corresponding wings represented by both Uamsho and African Independent Churches. While Bolaji, Mbiti and Bujo advocate recognition of some theological continuity, that is, that African Traditional practices are a *preparatio evangelica* for Christianity<sup>10</sup>, Kato advocates a complete break with these traditions.

Kato clearly shows that for him, Christ is the fulfillment of the Old Testament and of the deep spiritual need of human hearts...not the fulfillment of the African Traditional Religions or any other non-Christian religion.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the Uamsho’s claim that there is a complete

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<sup>10</sup> For detailed account about the discussion between representatives of the two theological wings see Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992, pp. 267-425.

<sup>11</sup> Byang H. Kato, *Theological Pitfalls in Africa*, Kisumu: Evangelical Publishing House, 1975, p.155.

discontinuity between the identity of God of the African Traditional belief resulting in a perception of traditional religious practices as sinful and idolatrous has parallels within African Theology.

### **5.1.3.0 The role of Jesus Christ in *Wokovu***

#### **5.1.3.1 The works of Jesus Christ in the *Wokovu***

Uamsho describes Jesus Christ as the true God who has become human so that He could reestablish fellowship with people. The Incarnation is the way that God came to call His people back to Himself.<sup>12</sup> The presence of the animals at the hut during His birth at Bethlehem, the coming of the three kings from the Far East and of the shepherds, are considered as the reversal of the Fall. It is thought that after the Fall God established enmity between human beings and other creatures because Satan had used a creature (snake) to destroy humanity. The purpose of the coming of Jesus Christ was to reestablish the good relationship planned by God before the foundation of the world.<sup>13</sup> The challenges that Jesus brought to the elders, and the cleansing of the Temple in Jerusalem are considered to be parallel to the present situation in the Tanzanian church, where His cleansing is also

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<sup>12</sup> Elisha Mtangoo, Sermon 'Jesus, the Way, the Truth and the Life', Kawe convention, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003. Sengaya explains the reasons why enmity still exists by pointing out that it is because Satan draws creatures back to the Fall.

needed. The following chorus very common in Uamsho reflects this comparison:<sup>14</sup>

Nyumba ya Baba	My Father's house
Imechafuka	is defiled,
Kristo akirudi	When the Lord comes back,
Atawakuta-	He will meet
Wachungaji wanalewa	Pastors enjoying alcohol
Waumini wahangaika	Parishioners are excited
Na dunia	with the worldly life

According to Uamsho, the church in Tanzania needs cleansing because worshippers have failed to conform to their baptismal vows. It is believed that Jesus Christ was baptized so that His followers would follow His example of being faithful to the Father.<sup>15</sup> This implies that through His baptism, Jesus Christ called His followers to join the chain of faithfulness. This is why Jesus' baptism has a very significant impact on *wanauamsho*. However, in the beginning, most of them struggled hard to understand why He elected to be baptized by immersion.<sup>16</sup> More problematic was the question of infant baptism, which they consider does not have a clear biblical mandate: Christ did not order it. This caused some people to seek to be re-baptized by immersion while others decided to go for a three days fast at Mtoni Shamba on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam to ask God for truth.

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<sup>14</sup> This church's situation is also stressed in sermons.

<sup>15</sup> Elisha Mtangoo, Sermon, 'Jesus, the Way, the Truth and the Life', Kawe convention, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Both traditions of the Anglican Church in Tanzania used minimal water baptism for both adults and infants. The Uamsho challenges had helped the Church to recheck its emphasis and as a result in 1995, a rubric was added which enables the new converts to choose the type of baptism they prefer. See *Kitabu cha Sala cha Jimbo*, Dodoma: CTP, 1995, p.143.

According to Sengaya and Cyprian Sallu who were among the fasting group, God responded by saying that a circumcised person need not undergo circumcision again, which was considered to mean there was no need for rebaptism.<sup>17</sup> The mention of the Old Testament view of circumcision which *wanauamsho* understood in the context of the covenant between God and His people (Gen.17: 9-14) led to a conclusion that baptism is also linked to the covenant. In order to ensure a thorough understanding of these doctrinal issues, Sallu was told (through a vision) to invite Canon Fergus King, then New Testament tutor at St. Mark's College, to address them which he did in May 1994.<sup>18</sup> In his four addresses, Fergus King confessed to the difficulties the New Testament raises concerning baptism.<sup>19</sup> First, he mentioned that the New Testament tells little about the rituals of Baptism (how the rite or practice was performed) because the writers' main concern was with the meaning and significance of baptism. According to King, such symbolism as baptism into Christ (Romans.6: 3-6), washing (1Cor.6: 11, 7:14, 15: 29; Eph.5: 26; Titus3: 5; Heb.10: 22; 1Peter.3: 21; Rev.15), sealing (2Co.1: 21-22, 5:5; Eph.1: 13, 4:30; Rev.7: 3-8, and adoption (Gal.4: 6; Romans.8: 15; Eph.1: 5) show more interest in what baptism does to a convert than how one does the baptism.

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<sup>17</sup> Oral interviews. Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003. John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>18</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>19</sup> Fergus King, *Christian Baptism: New Testament Teaching & Contemporary Problems-Four addresses delivered to Nyumba kwa Nyumba Fellowship*, May 1996. A shortened form appeared in Mch. Fergus King, "Je lazima Ubatizo uwe wa maji mengi?" in *Jarida la Kichungaji*, Juzuu.3, Na.3, 1996, pp.105-110.

Second, King mentioned that there is no clear text on the question of the 'timing' of baptism. Third, Acts.8: 16 (an early understanding) suggests that John's baptism and the receiving of the Holy Spirit need not happen at the same time while Acts 19: 1-7 develop the view that baptism and the Holy Spirit go together. According to King, passages describing instances of the rite say little that is definitive about how the baptisms were done. Any attempt to criticize baptism by a particular method based on one text does not do justice to the variety of traditions in the New Testament. Furthermore, interpretations often assume more details about the rites than are actually given. He also added that those who interpret these texts to support their own practice and criticize that of others should be aware that they are using Scriptures for their own ends rather than for the ends of God.

King pointed out four major areas that could be argued as suggesting infant baptism was possible in the early church. The first is found in Lk.3.21 where the author suggests that John the Baptist baptized all people, which may include women and children. Second, the promise of Acts 2:38-39 includes children. King argues that if children can receive promises they can also receive the baptism associated with it in Acts 2:38. Thirdly the holy children mentioned on 1Cor.7: 14 may mean that children are part of the community of faith. King's argument here is that if they are born holy, or become holy through the faith of a believing parent, baptism is meaningless. His conclusion is therefore that it is more likely that they become holy through baptism. King also derives his fourth point about children's

baptism from Acts 16:15, 31-34, 18:18 and 1Cor. 1:16. He argues that these passages suggest that Jewish and proselyte baptism included children. This background information may suggest that the 'house holds' baptized would have included children. According to King, an African slogan distinctive in Uamsho "*mtu ni watu*" (I am because we are) may emphasize that faith of the community of believers is significant in the whole question of whether a child has enough faith to receive the baptism (1Jn.4: 7-12; Mk. 2:1-12): faith is an activity of the "believing community", not just individuals.<sup>20</sup>

Being an Anglican priest, Canon King confirmed the Anglican teaching of baptism in which it is emphasized that regeneration or new birth takes place at baptism. Baptism is at once a baptism of water and the Holy Spirit. It is through the power of the Holy Spirit that baptism constitutes the source of new life. While baptism is the sacrament of faith in the Anglican Church, it is only the beginning of faith. It is not a perfected faith but one which develops within the community of faith. This is the reason why every year, at the dawn of Easter Day, the baptized have to renew their baptismal promises. It is believed that after the renewal of the promises, the Christian life of faith of the baptized continues to grow, being nourished by the other sacraments for which baptism is the foundation.

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<sup>20</sup> The argument raises the issue of whether the stress on the role of the faith of the individual at the expense possible communitarian models may reflect Western post-Cartesian worldviews of limited value in a discussion focused on an African context with a different worldview.

Accordingly, the linking of baptism to the covenant (discussed above) has led *wanauamsho* to have a very significant interpretation of the Great Commission (cf. Mat. 28: 19-20). The Uamsho understands that in the Incarnation God started a mission through which He calls all people from all corners of the earth back to Himself.<sup>21</sup> He began this Himself by coming to stay with human beings who initiated Him into the community (Jewish community) through circumcision and baptism. After He had established a common ground for mission, He sent other people to continue the work. The words “baptize them in the name of the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit and then teach them to abide by all that I have commanded you” (without any emphasis on circumcision) is considered to confirm that circumcision is replaced by baptism. Sallu, Semgaya and Suki support this by saying that, “it is God’s plan that through baptism and teaching all people will come to Him as mature people.”<sup>22</sup> This is an interpretation of the traditional African initiation rite through which young men and women, after being circumcised (or marked) and taught of what it means to be a member of a community, are inducted into the community. The “*mtu ni watu*”(I am because we are) African slogan very common among the *wanauamsho* and the Uamsho emphasis on living a confessional life discussed previously, implies therefore that baptism is God’s call to come into the covenantal bond of love that leads into a life of union with Him.

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<sup>21</sup> Elisha Mtangoo, Sermon, ‘Jesus, the Way, the Truth and the Life’, Kawe convention, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>22</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Semgaya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Mary Suki, Kondo, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

Significantly, the Uamsho emphasis here is that the union God wants is with mature people. He does not want slaves (people who are bounded by Satan) but partners (Jn.15: 15). Since true partnership can only be attained between parties that are free, God through Jesus Christ had to free all human beings from the 'powers' that had enslaved them. These were the 'power of the spiritual rulers and authorities (Col.2: 15)'<sup>23</sup>, and of the 'ruling spirits of the universe (Col.2: 18)'<sup>24</sup>, the 'power of this world' and 'man made teachings (Col.2: 20-22)'<sup>25</sup>, of 'earthly desires', of the 'old self with its habits (Col.3: 9)'<sup>26</sup> of 'racial and national divisions (Col.3: 11) and of the 'power of darkness (Col.1: 13)'<sup>27</sup>.

These are the powers, which God through Jesus Christ has come to defeat, and has therefore brought deliverance to human beings. His saving power and response is acknowledged when the danger or the calamity is over and the need is met and this is what makes Him Lord: God who answers.<sup>28</sup> In the area of justice, Jesus is called to the side of the weak and innocent. Jesus Christ in this respect becomes the final arbiter to whom the *wanauamsho* turn when all help and comfort flee. In the Tanzanian cultural

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<sup>23</sup> Sermon, Cyprian Sallu " Mungu aponyaye-The healing God". Col. 2:15, Big Harvest. 4<sup>th</sup> August, 2003.

<sup>24</sup> Cyprian Sallu, Sermon, -The healing God", Col. 2:15, Big Harvest. 4<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>25</sup> Oral interview, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>27</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>28</sup> Cyprian Sallu, Sermon on the difference between the Lord God and gods preached at the Big Harvest Spiritual Mass Convergence, Buguruni grounds, 31<sup>st</sup> July 2003. Sallu argues Jesus is "the Lord God" because He alone answers when asked by name.

setting, these are the *waganga*. The Kiswahili word “*mganga*”(pl. *waganga*) is derived from the root “*ganga*”, which means to “bind up, to cure, to mend what is broken or injured, to fasten together, repair and determine the end result”.<sup>29</sup> Jesus Christ has freed people from the “powers” that break, cause injuries, and destroy relationships and that point people in the wrong direction.

This proves Jesus to be a great deliverer or healer (*mganga mkuu*). This can be observed in one chorus, which goes like this- *Iwe nyangu tegheleza iwe Zombe Yesu ni mghanga mkuu* (from Kishambaa language)-“my dear, listen: the Lord Jesus is the Great healer”. This is very common to the Shambaa Uamsho which is similar to *Kimbilio letu ni kwako Bwana kwa maana unaouwezo wa milele* (Kiswahili)-“ our refuge is in you O Lord because you have everlasting power”. Another chorus with similar emphasis says: *Daktari wetu Bwana Yesu, tukiwa na imani kabisa tutaweza kupona* (Kiswahili) – “our doctor is Jesus Christ who heals by faith alone”.

This Uamsho perception of Jesus as the great healer has its basis in the New Testament accounts of exorcism and healing. In the Gospels, Jesus casts out demons, restores sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf, makes the lame walk and cures many other ailments. In his healing ministry Jesus emphasized that faith was the determining factor. Those who were brought

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<sup>29</sup> TUKI, *Kamusi ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza (Svahili-English Dictionary)*, Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 2001, p.84.

to Him were healed because of their faith (as a free gift of God). Thus Jesus facilitated a religious disposition that made healing possible. This is similar to the Tanzanian cultural setting where the pattern of thought in the *wanauamsho* healing belief statements is mainly inspired by *waganga*. The *Waganga* are consulted so that they may solve problems whose solutions seem to be coming from the powers unknown to mere human beings. They solve abnormalities by using magical solutions. Jesus on the other hand is described as *kiboko cha mapepo na majini* (a whip for the demons and *majini*) meaning that He holds the supernatural power to heal all seemingly 'impossible' or incurable disorders, which are always associated with divine causes. He is also likened to *Simba angurumaye* (a roaring Lion) as in one of the common choruses:

Simba wa Yuda ananguruma	The Lion of Judah is roaring
Akinguruma, mapepo yanakimbia	Demons comes out whenever He roars,
Akinguruma shetani ana tetemeka	Satan trembles when He roars
Akinguruma magonjwa yanapona	All sicknesses are healed when He roars

Jesus Christ in this chorus is compared to a lion whose power causes other animals to fear it. Just as a roar of a lion makes other animals run away, demons that invade human beings run away whenever they hear His voice even if channelled through a human being.

The name "Jesus Christ" itself is perceived to function in a mystical and supernatural way as verbal anti-magic during exorcism and healing by working against magic originating from "powers of darkness". Exorcists command the demons to leave the victim by shouting- *kwa jina la Yesu toweka* meaning, "in the name of Jesus Christ, come out," and the *mapepo* and *majini* submit to that command. In case of any resistance, the exorcist has to converse with these terrible creatures by asking them their names and why they have attacked the person. The purpose here is to identify the "binding" factors that make the *mapepo* or *majini* resistant. Some have claimed to make a blood covenant with the victim. If such a case happens the exorcist helps the victim to denounce the covenant first. This is where a clear parallel between Uamsho healers and the *waganga* methods of exorcism can be observed. *Mganga* have the knowledge of identifying a given spirit by divination and can exorcise (*punga*) periodically by appeasing it with gifts, or initiate the victim into 'a spirit-association'. This spirit association is formed by those possessed by the same spirit (one whose indwelling spirit has been recognized). The spirit then becomes the guest of those already known to possess that spirit. As soon as the *mgungu* has finished his acts of healing, the healed person and his /her company say " *taile taile*" (literally, "do you have the knowledge") and the *mgungu* responds " *ina Mungu*" (literally-it is God alone who knows every thing. I'm just a channel of Him). This shows that *waganga* acknowledge that not only does the healing belong to God but also the knowledge: God is all

knowing. The *wanauamsho* healers do the same in a different way. They ask the healed to praise God by clapping with many cries of joy and saying “thank you Jesus”. Thereafter he/she is told not to sin anymore and join a group of *wanauamsho* who were healed from the same problem. However, the dividing line between Jesus Christ and traditional African practice is very clear: “apart from the probability of damaging human relations by breeding enmity between suspects and victims, consulting *waganga* is regarded as exposing oneself to *nguvu za giza*.”<sup>30</sup> Obviously, such a victim inducted into a membership of a spirit possessed group, becomes part of a new demonic covenant.

This unintentional Uamsho use of the *waganga* healing method is a clear Uamsho inculturation of their understanding of Jesus Christ in their context, which is surrounded by the functions of the *waganga*. In fact this has some connection to the way John the writer of the book of Revelation uses imagery from magic in the visions he describes. Although, John condemned participation in magic as an activity leading to eternal condemnation (Rev.21:8), for example, in the oracles to the Church at Thyatira, Jesus, the Son of God is described as having ‘eyes like fire’ (Gk. *tous ophthalmous auto hos phloga puros*).

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<sup>30</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, pp. 224-228.

Fergus King suggests that this imagery is derived from Dan.10: 6 and builds on magical imagery from 1<sup>st</sup> century Asia Minor.<sup>31</sup> John here is using imagery from the “pagan” magic of his time to describe Jesus. He then asserts, through the use of this imagery, that Jesus is far superior to his rivals. John ‘shows that their power is second-rate: their power is based on Hekate, who is no match for Jesus.’ We can rightly see that this imagery depicts Jesus as the proto-Magician, superior to others in all respects. Jesus gave His followers authority to perform these works of His, but it may be impossible, according to Uamsho, except through prayers (*kusali*) and fasting (*kufunga*). In Uamsho understanding, fasting and prayers are woven together and are the most important aspect of fighting the devil.

Of course this Uamsho emphasis on fasting is taped from Jesus when he said: “But this kind does not go out except by prayer and fasting (Mat.17: 20). The Kiswahili term *kufunga*, as used by *wanauamsho*, is more than abstaining from certain type of drinks or food for a certain period of time. It is abstaining from eating, drinking and talk in order to get engaged with God, work hard, lock all worldly doors of communication and open the ears of the heart to listen to God alone. In other words Uamsho claims that in order to perform miracles, total commitment to God is required.

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<sup>31</sup> For a detailed account of this see Fergus King, “Inculturation & The Book of Revelation” in the *Journal of Mission Studies*, Vol. XVII, No.1-35, 2001, pp. 24-41.

Fasting is therefore considered to be a powerhouse that helps a person to be completely committed to God. Since the source of the 'power' to defeat the devil is God who is above all, fasting is considered as *kupanda mlimani* (going up to the mountain-Mat.4: 1-11, Lk. 4: 1-13, Mk. 1: 12-13; Mat.4: 1; Exodus 19; 1Kings.17-19)<sup>32</sup> where 'power' is attained (*kupokea nguvu*). It is *Nguvu* that makes a saved person fight a good fight against the evil powers. The general belief among the *wanauamsho* is that one cannot go up 'the mountain' unless the Spirit of God draws him /her there just as with Jesus Christ, Elijah and Moses. This belief makes the Holy Spirit the source of *nguvu* (Mat.4: 1; Exodus 19; 1Kings.17-19). Unlike Anglican Church emphasis on the forty days' fasting of Lent, *Uamsho* fasting is not limited to any particular dates of the year. It depends on God's demand and the personal need to converse with God and is therefore accompanied by strong prayers. *Wanauamsho* are encouraged to fast whenever they feel the need. Some of those who need healing are also encouraged to fast before the ministry so that they may be in touch with Jesus Christ.

### **5.1.3.2 The efficacy of the death of Jesus Christ**

We have described the work of Jesus Christ as *mganga mkuu*. We may articulate this more to relate it to reconciliation. The healing work of traditional *waganga* includes the use of blood. In most cases either a

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<sup>32</sup> *Uamsho* connects this idea with Jesus' success in defeating Satan's temptations, which came to Him soon after fasting in the wilderness.

chicken is slaughtered or one of its toes is cut and the blood is mixed with the herbal medicines so the sick person should drink, wash or smear it on depending on the sickness. At Vyeula in Dodoma and Idete-Morogoro, for example, the researcher found two Christian couples at different times and occasions attending healing by *waganga* where the blood of chicken was used. When the researcher wanted to know the significance of the blood, the *mganga* at Idete said that it helped to appease (*kupatanisha*) the spirits that were disturbing the sick person where the *majini*, *mapepo* and *mizimu* were all mentioned.

At the heart of Uamsho is the message of reconciliation (*kupatanisha*) of the human being to God and the human being to others (Lk.12: 58-59).<sup>33</sup> According to Uamsho this is achieved through forgiveness of sin that had only been possible through the shedding of blood on the cross (Col.1: 20)<sup>34</sup> an action, which had blotted out the recorded sins of the saved ones in heaven. A general understanding within Uamsho is, God records in His Book of Life good deeds and sayings as well as bad ones and that all will be judged accordingly<sup>35</sup>. The following song shows this:

Univute karibu Bwana	Draw me closer to you oh Lord
ufute dhambi zangu	Wash all my sins
katika kitabu cha hukumu	from the book of judgments
Kwa bei ya mauti yako	By the price of your death

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<sup>33</sup> For more about *kutengeneza mambo* see Bengt Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, pp.119-122.

<sup>34</sup> Oral interview, Mary Mustafa, Korogwe, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>35</sup> Cyprian Sallu, sermon, Nyumba kwa nyumba, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2003, also in Munga, *Uamsho*, p.146.

Uniandike uzimani

write my name in the book of life

At the moment of *Kukata Shauri*, Jesus is believed to present the confessions to God the Father. Since the Son pleases the Father, He grants forgiveness. The legitimacy of this forgiveness of sins is the fact that it is not a matter of cancellation by drawing a line over committed sins; instead, it is a question of starting a fresh page, which implies that every past trespass is forgotten.<sup>36</sup>

With regard to forgiveness of sins, the blood of Jesus Christ in Uamsho is considered to have a purifying function. It cleanses or washes the heart of the unsaved human being as depicted in the following chorus:

Damu ya Yesu husafisha kabisa	The blood of Christ cleanses or washes all
Dhambi na mauti vimefutwa	Sins and death are all defeated
Nguvu za kuzimu zimeshindwa	The powers of hell are defeated
Nguvu za mapepo zimeshindwa	The powers of demons are defeated
Asifiwe mwokozi	Praise to Jesus

Uamsho has two ways of explaining how this happens. First, the power of Satan is ousted and Jesus' power penetrates the heart (thereby) cleansing it from sin. Second, Uamsho perceives sin as leprosy (*Ukoma*), which separates human beings from God and from each other. This Uamsho

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<sup>36</sup> Gresford Chitemo, Diocese of Tanga clergy Retreat, Korogwe, 2- 9 January 2001, also in Munga, *Uamsho*, p.145.

perception of sin is influenced by the Biblical interpretation of leprosy. In Leviticus 13: 45-46, 49, for example, leprosy is portrayed as an impurity, which separates a person from his /her community. In the Gospels (e.g., Luke 17:12-19) Jesus Christ removes the leprosy and the victim is restored back to society. *Kuokoka* in the Uamsho is to be washed by the blood of Jesus Christ. In the Uamsho understanding therefore, the blood of Jesus Christ washes away spiritual leprosy (*Ukoma wa kiroho*) so that the person can join his /her community again. This implies that forgiveness is a restoration of the relationship between God and human beings, and the human being and society at large.

The efficacy of the death of Jesus on the cross is also perceived as a deliverance of people from “the powers” mentioned previously.<sup>37</sup> The blood of Jesus Christ delivers the repenting human being from the bondage of Satan as well as the powers that surround human beings. This explains why in the Uamsho fellowship meetings exorcism is carried out frequently, but not necessarily, in connection with the prayer of repentance as a mark of that deliverance. The penitents possessed by demons are prayed for either at the scene of the gathering or at another place as a continuation of the process of making decisions.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The powers are mentioned on 5.2.1 above.

<sup>38</sup> Munga, *Uamsho*, pp. 149-150.

Finally, Uamsho perceives the death of Jesus Christ on the cross as a way of receiving authority from above (*mamlaka toka juu*).<sup>39</sup> It is believed by *wanauamsho* that while Jesus' body was lying in the tomb He was also fighting with Satan in the pit of damnation (*shimo la Abuso*). After Jesus had defeated him, He came out victoriously. Jesus had to fight the battle on behalf of human beings because Satan had seized the power and authority that had been intended for human beings:

Siku ile Bwana Yesu alipokufa,	The day Lord Jesus died
Alishuka mpaka pande za chini ya nchi	He descended to bottom parts of the earth
Akamfitinisha shetani na malaika zake	He caused discord between Satan and his angels
Akampiga na kumweka chini ya miguu yake	He fought and trodden him under His feet
Akamnyang'anya funguo za kuzimu na mauti	He took from him the keys of hell and death
Akaivunja minyororo na kumdharirisha	He broke the chains and snubbed him
Akaichukua mamlaka na nguvu zote	He took all the authority and power
akatoka akiwa mshindi	and came out victorious
Kindumbwendumbwe cha	How glorious it is,
Utukufu Bwana Yesu yu hai	Lord Jesus is alive

After the defeat of Satan and since then, ability (*uwezo*) and authority (*mamlaka*)<sup>40</sup> are given to human beings as soon as they are saved

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<sup>39</sup> The belief that God resides above human beings is a basic one in African traditional religious beliefs.

<sup>40</sup> The question of authority is a complex one in theology. It involves a multiplicity of objective and subjective criteria, which must be correctly interrelated if an appropriate theological and spiritual equilibrium is to be established. Among the various elements that

(Col.2: 6-2, 10-15; Mat.28: 18-20; Mk. 16: 17).<sup>41</sup> As for the *nguvu*, God through the Holy Spirit provides *Uwezo*, while *mamlaka* derives from Jesus Christ through whom the saved person reins the creation as a king or a queen (Col.1: 15-16).<sup>42</sup> Therefore possessing *uwezo*, *nguvu* and *mamlaka* makes *mwanauamsho* attain victory against the powers of the evil enemy.

Jesus Christ is thus conceived by *wanauamsho* as having all powers. He is the great physician, healer, victor, redeemer and liberator. These are significant given that Uamsho has a functional Christology rather than an ontological one. This confirms the "Africanicity" of Uamsho in the sense that very rarely do Africans speak of an ontological Christology.

#### **5.1.4 The role of the Holy Spirit in *Wokovu***

Phrases like '*Roho wa Mungu yupo mahali hapa sasa*' -'the Holy Spirit is at this place now' or '*ninasikia Roho wa Mungu akisema nami sasa*' -'I hear the Holy Spirit whispering to me' are very common among Uamsho preachers. The frequent use of such phrases indicates that the Holy Spirit is understood as a communicator between God and human beings. All that

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may need to be included is the place and role of God (the Father, Son and Holy Spirit), the Bible, tradition, the church (Catholic and local), theological frame works and systems, reason, conscience, will, emotion or feeling and faith. Uamsho emphasizes the place and role of God in all these elements.

<sup>41</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Augustine Gallula, Maramba, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003.

<sup>42</sup> Oral interview, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Julius Lugendo, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Jared Maganza, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

God wants His people to know has to pass through the Holy Spirit<sup>43</sup> who is also considered a translator and enabler. Thus it is very common to hear *wanauamsho*-saying *tumwachie Roho wa Mungu* –“let’s leave it to the Holy Spirit”- meaning that since they have come into an impasse the Holy Spirit should be requested to intervene. Even if the issues take days *wanauamsho* will wait to hear from Him. This makes it clear that *Wanauamsho* understand the Holy Spirit not as power but God Himself.

*Uamsho* however makes a clear distinction between receiving Jesus Christ into the total life of an individual and receiving the Holy Spirit. This distinction appears clearly in phrases like “*je umejazwa Roho Mtakatifu?*” – “Have you been filled with the Holy Spirit?” or “*je umepokea uwezo wa Roho Mtakatifu?*”- “Have you received the enabling power of the Holy Spirit?” or “*umepokea lini upako wa Roho Mtakatifu?*”- “When were you anointed with the Holy Spirit?”. These phrases may be compared to those referring to the reception of Jesus Christ: “*ulimpokea lini Bwana Yesu kuwa mwokozi wako?*”-“When did you receive Jesus as your personal saviour?”. It might easily be thought that *wanauamsho* portray the Holy Spirit as impersonal but this is not the case. They think of Him as God Himself. This is very clear in their perception of the meaning and origin of *nguvu* (Power): God is the *nguvu* and the Holy Spirit is the provider of the *nguvu*.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The Holy Spirit is described as a communicator of God’s will to human beings by ‘telling’, ‘whispering’, giving clues’, ‘reminding’, and ‘asking again’. For more about this understanding see Munga, *Uamsho*, p. 185-186.

<sup>44</sup> Oral interview, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

Sallu strengthens our argument (above) that fasting is a power house by adding that the story of Jesus being led by the Holy Spirit (Mat.4) and the fact that Jesus was victorious over the temptations imply that the Holy Spirit is the provider of *nguvu*. It is that *nguvu* of the Holy Spirit that enables a fasting person to persist all difficulties that may be brought by the fasting.

This understanding of the Holy Spirit as the provider of *nguvu* has also led the *wanauamsho* to perceive Him as the *chief surgeon*.<sup>45</sup> During faith healing prayers for instance, what actually happens, according to *wanauamsho*, is that the Holy Spirit creates new tissues, cells, and organs that had been destroyed by the devil in the *zamani*. This is also what happens when a woman is found to be barren and therefore cannot conceive. A new creation happens within her body and she conceives.<sup>46</sup> In the same way those who suffer from cancer, the crippled, the blind, and the mentally disabled can be healed. The surgical work of the Holy Spirit however goes in parallel with the *mamlaka ya Yesu* (Jesus' authority). While the name of Jesus Christ has to do with the authority (*mamlaka*) of denouncing all dark powers, the Holy Spirit is the *nguvu*<sup>47</sup> that drives out demons, and heals the sick by renewing the damaged areas of the body.

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<sup>45</sup>John Semgaya, seminar on healing, Kuze, Tanga, May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2003

<sup>46</sup>Oral interview, Timothy Kihampa, Dar es Salaam, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

<sup>47</sup>Chapter two above has more about this.

This is what makes Him the architect of the network through which *wanauamsho* communicate with God and with each other. The belief among the *wanauamsho* that the Holy Spirit helps them to bring hidden things to light is based on this understanding. The argument here relies on the story of Ananias and Saphira (Acts.5) and of David and Bathsheba (2Sam.12) who thought that they could have secrets of their own. The Holy Spirit revealed them to others. It is through this understanding of the all-knowing character of the Holy Spirit that the *wanauamsho* receive visions and dreams concerning their lives and those of the other members so that they can discuss together and pray for each other.

Uamsho also understands the role of the Holy Spirit in salvation in terms of spiritual gifts (*karama*). There is a strong conviction among the *wanauamsho* that these are significant as they serve to glorify God. There are different opinions with regard to the possession of these gifts however. There are those who think that their possession is naturally integrated with *Kuokoka*<sup>48</sup> while others believe that it is possible to be saved without possessing the gifts.<sup>49</sup> Some of the *wanauamsho* (the Charismatics especially)<sup>50</sup> consider *glossolalia* as the most important one, while others seem to acknowledge that even the new life in Uamsho is itself a gift of the

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<sup>48</sup> Oral interviews, Ezekiel Kambanga, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Vailet Ngogo Yombo, 29<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Grace Kitambi, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Pasis Simoni, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, Nuruel Shayo, Moshi, 24<sup>th</sup> August, 2003, Mary Suki, Kondo, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>49</sup> Oral interviews, Aidano Mbulinyingi, Dar es Salaam, 17<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Stellah Mbona, Yombo, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Frida Msigwa, Yombo, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, Henry Sheshe, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Julius Lugendo, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>50</sup> See page on 3.4 above

Holy Spirit.<sup>51</sup> In spite of these disagreements, there is a general understanding that these are not true marks of *wokovu*. They are given so that the body of Christ (the church) should be built. According to Bishop Ramadhani this has been a very distinguishing theology of Uamsho: “we are called to serve each other so let us use these gifts for the betterment of the body of Christ”.<sup>52</sup>

## 5.2 Theodicy of Uamsho.

As perhaps can be observed, the main concern that *wanaumsho* have is the struggle between good and evil. God is perceived as the God who loves human beings and wants all of them to become good, but Satan with his servants draws them back. God’s love is also described in terms of His actions against those human beings who love Satan. The study of common Uamsho phrases such as “*amepigwa na Mungu*” – “he /she is disciplined (beaten) by God” give the impression of an actively punishing God. Others are similar, “God remember us again” – “*Mungu tukumbuke tena*” and “for how long oh God will your anger be with us?” – “*Hata lini ee Bwana hasira yako itakaa juu yetu?*”<sup>53</sup>; “*tunakusihi Baba katika jina la Mwanawako Yesu Kristo umwachilie huyu mjakazi wako*” – “We beseech you oh God to release this your daughter, in the name of your Son Jesus Christ”. All these indicate that Uamsho also perceives the occurrences of evil to be related to the

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<sup>51</sup> Oral interviews, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003. Gresford Chitemo, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

<sup>52</sup> Oral interviews, John Ramadhani, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

<sup>53</sup> An example given for God’s anger was in Numbers. 12: 9.

absence of God. There are five reasons *wanauamsho* give why God allows human beings to suffer.

First, there are those people who, by participating in traditional practices such as consulting *waganga*, submit themselves to Satan. Since Satan works twenty-four hours a day to destroy a good relationship with God, he ensures that the person remains under his control. If such a person was once saved, he /she will be punished severely by Satan because of his /her first escape from the hands of Satan. God's absence in this case is to discipline the person and rescue him/her from an attitude of half trust.

The second reason is explained by the slogan: "You reap what you sow". In fact it is humans, and not God, who engage in immoral actions such as prostitution that may lead to much suffering including infant mortality or injuries. The responsibility for the prevalence of immorality and the occurrence of such hardships on the unconverted human being, who is equipped with the faculties of consciousness and conscience, rests with the sinner. This explanation exempts God from the moral responsibility for the existence of evil.<sup>54</sup>

The third is explained by the way the *Uamsho* understand the story of the prodigal son. Sallu, Fumbwani, Sengaya and Lugendo argue that just as the father of that son had released him freely, so God releases human beings

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<sup>54</sup> Oral interview, Fareth Sendegeya, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> march 2003, Peter Kalambo, Dar es Salaam, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2003.

freely.<sup>55</sup> The Uamsho emphasis here is that God has given human beings freedom, either to trust Him alone and therefore use the gifts He gives them properly, or to love the world and misuse the gifts. Since His love is there always, whoever remembers turns to Him and will be welcomed. Whoever continues to love the world, sacrifices him /her-self to the calamities which are found outside God.

The fourth way is the Uamsho understanding of the history of Israel recorded in the Bible. Mustafa, Sallu, Namaumbo and Fumbwani note God's way of dealing with the Israelites in relation to the Tanzanian context where the role of a father as the head of a family incorporates the right and duty to discipline his children. By relating the two, Uamsho understands God's demand for respect from human beings to be like that of a strict father who demands obedience from His children. In this sense, God may use afflictions or calamities, which are in the world to discipline His people so they act in a certain way, but calamities have their origin in Satan.

Finally there is the Uamsho interpretation of Job's story. Since Satan was given this world legally (as discussed in the preceding chapter), he has the ability to bring anything he wants to terrify human beings and to try to bring down "the saved". Since he uses more power than he should the saved can

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<sup>55</sup> Oral interviews, Cyprian Sallu, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, John Sengaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Julius Lugendo, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Jestina Fumbwani, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003.

be wounded (*jeruhiwa*).<sup>56</sup> Bishop Chitemo argues that the wounds (*majeraha*) are what cause pains but because the saved are made sons and daughters through the blood of Jesus, their trust (*tumaini lao*) remains in God alone. Sallu added that these wounds are what others call God's temptations but in actual fact they are not. God will never tempt His people (James 1: 2-18).<sup>57</sup>

This explanation of the existence of evil discloses a fact that by using a series of explanations for the existence of suffering, *wanauamsho* manage to safeguard the benevolence of God. Satan is assigned the sole responsibility for the existence of evil. The defence of the benevolence of God makes *theodicy* partly resolved in Uamsho: it is not God but Satan who desires and designs evil. The moral responsibility of human beings in relation to the existence of evil and the principle of double effect—"You reap what you sow"—safeguards God's goodness. Uamsho, on the other hand, does not address the other part: How can a loving God permit the existence of suffering, even if He is not the direct cause? *Wanauamsho* in this case, do not deal fully with the problem of evil.

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<sup>56</sup> Cyprian Sallu, the Big harvest sermon.

<sup>57</sup> Cyprian Sallu, Big Harvest sermon.

### 5.3 Uamsho Ecclesiology

Our discussion on the defining characteristics of Uamsho in the preceding chapter implies that Uamsho distinguishes three types of churches: the institutional church, the true church, and the church of the triumphant. The institutional church is marked by the presence of unconverted clergy and laity who still live in the 'darkness' (*giza*) and emphasize 'denominationalism' (*udhehebu*). Thus, as already noted, a clear distinction is drawn between church ministers: There are servants of God and wage ministers. Since the spiritual state of a minister is reflected in their fruits (Mat.7: 15-16- "you will know them by their fruits"), the fact that the *watumishi wa mshahara* preaches *injili isiyoghoshiwa* (a mixed gospel) reflects a picture of a church, which is pointed in the wrong direction. It is on the basis of this perception that Uamsho blames the unconverted ministers for lack of power in the Anglican Church of Tanzania. On the other hand Uamsho argues that since the Holy Spirit is not limited to any person or anything, the "wage minister" can only contribute to the church invisibility, but cannot prevent its continuation. That is the work of the Holy Spirit who cannot be hindered.

The true church as Uamsho perceives it, is within the large institutional church, which makes a clear theological claim: "ecclesiola in ecclesia."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Wilson Niwagila, *From the Catacomb to a Self-Governing Church: A Case Study of the African Initiative and the participation of the foreign Mission in the Mission History of the North-Western Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, 1890-1965*, Hamburg: Verlag an der Lottbeck, 1988, p.248.

This is the church of the saved for which Christ had prayed for strength because it is undermined and persecuted (Jn.17: 6-19).<sup>59</sup> Its presence within the larger institutional church helps others (within and outside the institutional church) to know God. It is therefore called to give light from within and not from without.

The triumphant church includes most of the true church and consists of those living and the dead who are going to be uplifted in the clouds (*nyakuliwa mawinguni*) at the moment of Jesus' second coming. It is argued that not all members of the true church will survive as saved ones at the end. Some may relapse and die in that situation. Also as far as there is opportunity (*nafasi*) anyone who has not yet been saved still has the chance of being saved.

These perceptions make *wanauamsho* understand the church as a large traveling vehicle /Bus in which the Holy Spirit is the conductor. The Holy Spirit invites people to join the journey but never uses force to stop those who want to disembark before reaching the final destination. To get in to this bus one needs a ticket, which is *Kuokoka*. The name of the saved one is recorded in the Book of Life (the ticket book) as soon as a person is saved and therefore Jesus (the driver) and the Holy Spirit (the conductor) know it. This label of the church as a traveling bus appears in the Uamsho choruses like these two:

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<sup>59</sup> Oral interview, Robert Semsela, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

Yesu ni nani jamani	Who is Jesus to us
Yesu ni mwalimu	Jesus is a teacher
Tena dereva	Is a driver
Analiendesha basi letu	He drives our bus
Lifike salama	For safe arrival
Roho wa Bwana atuita	The Spirit of God invites us
Tupande basini	To get in the bus

The second which is common in Dar es Salaam, says:

Meli kubwa imeandaliwa	A big boat is prepared
Kwetu, Kwa hiyo ndugu	Brethren buy your ticket
Kata tikiti Uingie	it is your time to embark
Meli hiyo ndiyo makao	The boat is the eternal residence
Yaliyoandaliwa na Mungu	that are prepared by God
Na tikiti ndiye huyo	the ticket is
Bwana Yesu Mkombozi	Jesus, Lord and Saviour
Mwamini, ukoke	trust Him so that you may be saved

In our discussion of the work of Jesus Christ we mentioned that He is given the label of *mganga mkuu* (great healer). The *Mganga mkuu* in the Tanzanian context is also *mwalimu* (teacher) /Master-craftsman (*fundi*)<sup>60</sup> in the sense that all *waganga* depend on him /her. *Mganga mkuu* provides the other *waganga* with skills and knowledge for the purpose of helping other human beings to fight evil spirits and therefore he /she is a ‘driver’ of the journey of life in society. In the same sense Jesus is both a ‘driver’ (one who makes the journey continue. This includes teaching the saved ones

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<sup>60</sup> Mark Horton & John Middleton, *The people of Africa: The Swahili*, p.191.

methods of surviving its troubles) and a master (one who gives the exorcists authority to exorcise *mapepo* and *majini*). The identified presence of both the 'driver' and the 'conductor' in the bus gives the travelers confidence during the journey. The destination (heaven) is realized for there are good residences (*makao mazuri sana*) but the remaining distance before reaching the end is uncertain.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has identified the main aspects of the Uamsho Theology. The Uamsho description of salvation shows that *wanauamsho* understand God as one who forgives and blesses. Although these are free gifts of God, knowing and believing are personal actions in which human beings must engage. Therefore, Uamsho does not hold the Reformation doctrine of predestination, but also delegates responsibility to human beings. In this, *wanauamsho* could be described as classic Anglicans, heading for Arminianism (which included free will) rather than Calvinism.

The description of the works of Jesus Christ as great healer, great physician, deliverer from the powers of the darkness, and provider of authority from above, and of the Holy Spirit as enabler, who provides power and ability, provide a base for the Uamsho theology in their context. In this case Jesus is perceived as both human being and God. The *wanauamsho* affirmation of the two natures of Jesus Christ without digesting it deeper, the lack of a

concise comprehensive concept of Trinity and the nature of God all arise because they are satisfied by the church's traditional dogma. It is worthy to say therefore that *wanaumsho* see no need to formulate fresh definitions about those concepts. By the belief statements that explain the existence of evil and suffering, *wanauamsho* manage to safeguard the benevolence of God. *Wanauamsho* conclude that Satan holds the sole responsibility for the existence of evil.

The existence of evil in the church has led to the presence of the "wage ministers" who points the institutional church to a wrong direction. Within this church there are two other churches (the true and the triumphant church), which are distinguished by the presence of the saved. The saved are part of the institutional church because of their claim "we are called to give light from within" which helps in the visibility of the church as a travelling bus /boat with Jesus (the driver) and the Holy Spirit (the conductor). The Uamsho distinction of true, triumphant and institutional church, explains why Uamsho does not accept the concept of "saints" as those people already in heaven. In classic Christian terms, the "church triumphant" is the church in heaven as opposed to the "church militant" (the church on earth). In the Uamsho use the triumphant church is also on earth and will be revealed completely during the second coming of Jesus Christ when the living and the dead will be uplifted in the clouds.

The *wanauamsho* experience of the attributes of the persons in the Godhead as described by their actions shows that the focus of Uamsho is in the actions of God and not His nature. This marks and distinguishes the theology of Uamsho in its African context from the traditional understanding of Christian theology (of western Christianity). It is functional rather than ontological.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem that we tried to analyse in this study is whether the current Uamsho is a delayed stage in the Great East African Revival Movement or a new development within Tanzanian Christianity. In order to find the answer to this problem, we started a discussion with some basic assumptions. One of the assumptions was that there is a theology embedded in Uamsho teachings resulting from some Christians' reaction against 'problems' which emerged from the presentation and penetration of the Gospel in Tanzania.

Our discussion of the historical background of Uamsho initially revealed that the interaction between the Arabs and Tanzanian social, political, and religious heritage had created a gap that made it easy for the Tanzanians to receive Christianity. However the colonial masters' preference for Islam and the sharp division between Western Christianity and the disturbed Tanzanian culture resulted in the missionaries making their Christianity legalistic rather than depending upon the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The introduction of Western education, medicine and "Christian villages" as agents of civilizing Tanzanians increased the gap instead of eliminating it. Christianity became a means of getting education, "a white man's magic" as

well as a job. As a result the church became so much involved with material progress that faith became superficial rather than real. Because of this faith was increasingly based on vague and erroneous assumptions of what Tanzanian Christians should be rather than on revealed truth and living experiences.

However, through Bible study and prayers, Tanzanians discovered that the missionary church had a message, which could be lived. We have shown in chapter three that Uamsho emerged from the intention to maintain orthodox belief as taught in the Anglican Church and emphasized the need of living according to that teaching. In order to achieve that goal, *wanauamsho* have underlined particular elements in Christianity at the expense of others and introduced practices to ensure that the Christian Faith can be lived. As an outcome of that process, Uamsho has both maintained basic beliefs as taught in the Anglican Church and introduced new elements into that teaching as discussed in chapter four and five.

The Tanzanian context where many people are facing a difficult life because of poverty dictates and influences the Uamsho concepts of Christology and Pneumatology. This is why Jesus Christ is described as a great healer, great physician, deliverer from *nguvu za giza*, and a provider of authority from above and of the Holy Spirit as a chief surgeon and enabler who provides power and ability.

The *Wanauamsho* affirm the two natures of Jesus Christ without going into deeper theological discussion and accept Anglican Church doctrine of the Trinity. Accordingly, what matters to *wanauamsho* are the actions of God which the church seemed to ignore. It is obvious therefore that the Uamsho Christology and Pneumatology will differ from traditional Western understandings of theology.

Uamsho Christology and Pneumatology explain why Uamsho has a multiple perception of Salvation. Acceptance of Jesus Christ as one's personal saviour leads to an individual reconciliation with God through forgiveness of sins. But that is itself not enough unless the individual restores his /her social relationships through *Kutengeneza mambo* (putting things in order) and deliverance from physical problems, referred to as leprosy (sin), caused by Satan. If this has been done then the person is said to have returned to God's plan, where there is assurance of attaining peace and happiness, of material prosperity in this life, and of attaining eternal life here and hereafter. The fact that individual and communal, physical and spiritual, past, present, and future dimensions of life are brought up in Uamsho shows that there is a perception of the salvific work of Jesus Christ as related to all dimensions of the human being and his /her life. This has been adopted in the (w) holistic mission statement of ACT Development Department.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.anglican.or.tz/develop.html> printed on 14th October 2003.

Although the current Uamsho draws its roots from Tanzanian contexts, there are general similarities with other African manifestations of the revival. Dancing, clapping and speaking in tongues (Charismatic emphasis), exorcism, faith healing, and receiving *maono* (visions) link it with African Independent Churches that are wide spread both in and outside Africa. The *wanauamsho* critical perception of a spiritually decaying church, the three-fold pattern of salvation (before being saved-*zamani*, being saved, after being saved), and abstention from practices associated with worldly life are not unique to Tanzanian Uamsho. These beliefs and emphases connect Uamsho to the white missionaries' emphases mentioned in chapter two above and the Wesleyan emphasis on perfection which had influenced the Keswick convention, GEARM and Pentecostal denominations. These emphases were typical of the 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries' pietistic and revivalistic movements in Europe and America and are typical of revival and Charismatic movements found elsewhere in the Christian world of today. SOMA (Sharing Of Ministries Abroad) could be numbered among the Charismatic groups that have similar emphases within the Anglican world of to day.<sup>2</sup> In fact there is a natural connection between the Keswick revival and the Tanzanian Revival as has been observed in chapter three. Healing miracles are also not a new phenomenon to Tanzanian Anglo-Catholics. Bishop Neil Russell had performed such miracles earlier.<sup>3</sup> All

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<sup>2</sup> Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p.24.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Russell was a person of miracles. He performed healing but without publicizing himself. See also in chapter two above.

these factors show that the current Uamsho is not a new development but a delayed action within Tanzanian Christianity.

The European missionaries' and African clergy's resistance to Uamsho can be explained by the fact that Tanzanian Uamsho had embraced various values from both African and European Christianity which were unacceptable to them. Undoubtedly this marks the uniqueness of Uamsho. It is unique in the sense that it is a merging of two streams of spirituality (the European /North American and the African), and the merging of two cultures (industrialized White West and that of the agricultural Black Africa). By merging the two, Uamsho provides a bridge between the two that was not possible for the first generation Christians in Tanzania. This has made the most powerful impact in the lives of *wanauamsho*-a meaningful encounter with Jesus Christ that has transformed and transfigured their lives in their own context. This is observable in the life of the leaders of Uamsho. From the beginning, Uamsho leaders were from the ruling learned elite. People like Simeoni Nsibambi, Elsafati Matovu, Erica Sabiti, Festo Kivengere, Gresford Chitemo, Edmund John and Cyprian Sallu were leaders that God had prepared to have a humble understanding of the two worlds and the two cultures that brought Uamsho about. The way they used their education in their context and the way they have incorporated the inspiration of God have helped them to shape the Theology of Uamsho. This is a call to the church to have well trained

ministers who are not only committed to God but also ready to understand the significance of their context.

The African values that flourish in Uamsho are expressed through the mutual concern for one another's spiritual as well as physical well-being. Social cohesion and solidarity, which transcend differences in income, gender and ethnicity, are manifested distinctively in the Uamsho. All these were also found in *Ujamaa* policy. The *Ujamaa* policy's implementation, which included governmental efforts to promote national feeling among the citizens of more than one hundred and twenty ethnic groups, had defused ethnic and social differences in favour of unity. Being part of Tanzanian society therefore, the *wanauamsho*'s warm fellowship and feeling of brotherhood and sisterhood reflects Tanzanian secular thinking. As a result, women are permitted to hold positions of leadership. In the Tanzanian society where there is a strong belief that 'a house is a woman' (*nyumba ni mwanamke*) in the sense that it is the wife who knows what should be or should not be taught to the children; Uamsho revives the traditional Tanzanian understanding of family.

Uamsho is nevertheless a non-political movement. Thus the *wanauamsho* response to political, social and economic problems such as corruption, theft, excessive consumption of alcohol, absenteeism from work, gender discrimination and other issues, is directed to the immediate and concrete problems through prayers but not to the root causes that underlie such

problems. This is the reason why Uamsho has not made much impact socially.

In spite of this weakness and the experience of the history of the church that the church grows where there is resistance and oppression and cools down where there is freedom of worship and expression, (as it was the case with the first phase of Uamsho and the first century church), it is anticipated that the Uamsho will continue to grow. There are three reasons for this expectation. The first is the fact that the Uamsho has been able to maintain its tradition for more than half a century. The phases of Uamsho show that its emphasis has been changing by discarding what is unnecessary and adapting to what is inevitable. Therefore Uamsho is a spiritual process of change which is changing like all other social and religious forces that are changing in Tanzania to day. This implies that in this fast changing Tanzanian society, Uamsho has the potential to survive.

Second is the fact that Uamsho is working as a bridge between the European type of Christianity and African traditional values. There is a negative recognition of some traditional religious beliefs and practices such as consulting *waganga*, yet there is also use of a *tabooic* patterns of thought, accompanied by a focus on exorcism as well as faith –healing. Uamsho also engages with existential needs that the Tanzanian society acknowledges. All these keep Uamsho at a very secure position. Additionally, Uamsho is working as a bridge between the two Tanzania historical –economic

systems. The Uamsho description of sin, demonology, the function of the blood of Jesus Christ, deliverance from the powers of darkness, and others, reflects a society that has been caught somewhere between Nyerere's earlier socialist system and the new market economy system operating currently.

Finally there is a sense of ecumenism consistently found in Uamsho's fellowship meetings. In a society like Tanzania where national feeling has taken root since the introduction of *Ujamaa* policy, the spirit of denominationalism emphasized by European missionaries has no place. The Uamsho criticism of the *watumishi wa mshahara* (that they are preaching a spirit of denominationalism) has accompanied its ecumenical dimension. Although Uamsho recognizes denominations, it holds that they should not separate believers but should instead be used to bring people together. The relevance of Uamsho movement to the society at large is therefore a contribution to the growth of an African sense of oneness that also has its basis in the Biblical teaching about unity. It is a vivid example of the African renaissance, which is non-denominational.

By underlining the adverse efforts of unsaved clergy, Uamsho nevertheless actually legitimizes the clerical office. Uamsho demands the inclusion of lay members in the ministry of the proclamation of the word who may preach an undiluted Gospel. It argues that the experience of *Kuokoka* should be the main criterion for such participation. Of course we cannot deny the lay contribution to the rapid expansion of the Anglican Church in Tanzania.

When the church was formed from the East African Anglican Province in 1970 there were only nine dioceses. To day there are nineteen dioceses and four more to come in the near future (a minimum birth of one diocese every two years). This substantiates the Uamsho claims that every individual has the capacity to play a part in the task of making the church visible; for what makes a person qualified to proclaim the Gospel is not theological training, but an experience of God.<sup>4</sup> Although this is an important claim, it raises challenges not only for the hierarchical ACT, but also for the Uamsho. For the experience of God may not in itself be enough to preach the undiluted Gospel. The story of Priscilla, Aquila and Apollos where Apollos had to be instructed after his conversion (Acts. 18:24-28) illustrates this point.

Furthermore, it is true that ACT had an impoverished concept of the gifts of the Holy Spirit emphasizing holy orders (institutionalized gifts) given to men only. The emergence of Uamsho reminds the church about other varieties of gifts listed in the New Testament: Acts 2; Rom. 12; 1Cor.12; Eph. 4; 1Pet.4. These were not limited to the Apostolic Age alone.<sup>5</sup> However most of the *wanauamsho* have focused their attention especially on the gifts treated in the first letter to the Corinthians alone perhaps because of the influence of 'perfectionism', which put more emphasis on 1Cor.12. Due to the presence of evil, demonic spiritual powers at work in the world seeking to mislead the church (the spirit of antichrist is an

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<sup>4</sup> Oral interview. Cyprian Salfu, Buguruni, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Gerald Mpango, 'Uanglikana Kiroho', p.23.

obvious rival manifested in idolatry and occultism), there is a need to guide the *wanauamsho*. For unless church leaders and the *wanauamsho* work together closely, identifying true spiritual gifts may be a difficult task.

The danger is, on the one hand, to allow evil spirits to produce counterfeit devilish reproductions of the gifts of the Holy Spirit such as false teachings, false prophecy, lying visions, false tongue-speaking and interpretation, occult 'spiritual' healing powers, lying signs, emotionalism and wonders. On the other hand, undue suspicion of such spiritual manifestations may cause lack of recognition and denial of the true ones. The church needs to guard itself carefully against the twin dangers of either sinking into demonic gifts with disastrous results or rejecting the true and good gifts of God along with the false and evil. There is no greater need than a discerning, weighing or testing of the gifts to guard the church from these fatal errors. Biblical texts like Deut. 13: 1-5, 18: 21-22; Mat. 7: 15-20; 1Cor. 12: 1-3; 14: 29; 1Thes. 5:19-22; 1Jn. 4: 1-6 stress the need to test spiritual gift by its conformity to Scripture, consistency, and whether it exalts the Lord. Others like 1Cor.14 and 1Thes. 5: 19-21 demand that the use of gifts be properly regulated and overseen, but not quenched or forbidden. The church must ensure that freedom for the Spirit to work but in any case, the balance between good and compatibility must always be kept right.

The *Uamsho* practice of public confession poses a great challenge to the Anglo-Catholic party in ACT who emphasize private confession before a

priest. The fact that there are *watumishi wa Mshahara* who may have gone into immoral acts with their parishioners, promotes contempt of the ministers. Confessing before such a minister is difficult. As a result the saved ones go to the Uamsho leaders /colleagues who actually help each other. This reflects the African interpretation of, and demands upon, that Anglo-Catholic rite: leaders are elders who should themselves be respectable and God fearing. The HUMANN confession style during counselling is thus the preferred one. More research is needed in this area to identify more reasons for that preference.

Many people interviewed have explained that Uamsho has helped the life of the church as well as its witness by introducing new styles of dancing, singing, praying, receiving new hope through healing and increased the love of God.<sup>6</sup> The great danger expressed by many people is that ACT must address its previous lack of interest in the Uamsho groups. In the whole church, for example, only the diocese of Tanga has an organized structure of Uamsho leadership from the outstations to the diocesan level. The diocese of Dar es Salaam has a priest who looks after the groups but he is not recognized constitutionally. Neither Morogoro nor Dodoma has a priest for Uamsho. It is encouraging to see that *wanauamsho* have remained faithful to their call of giving light from within and victorious life through which they have remained in the church, and preserved unity in the face of

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<sup>6</sup> Many church leaders including the four Bishops have confirmed. See also, Elinaza E. Sendoro, *Uamsho na Karama*, pp. 41-51,112, Josiah Mlahagwa, 'Contending for the Faith', pp.296-297.

criticism, hostility and persecution. Ultimately many members of the church recognize their noble intention and they have become instrumental to its success. It will be wise therefore if ACT will consider this seriously and adopt the Uamsho groups as full Anglican organizations rather than partially as at present. This partial adoption of the groups points to a danger expressed by many informants of breaking from the Anglican Church if the faithful leaders, such as Cyprian Sallu of HUMANN, passes away suddenly.

It is my suggestion that the ACT Committee for evangelism establish itself as an ACT umbrella body for all Uamsho groups.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that the fast growth of the Anglican Church in the past few decades is attributed to the voluntary work of the *wanauamsho* who are determined to propagate the Gospel beyond the borders of their parishes and feel called by God to give light from within their parishes. This shows that *wanauamsho* have the potential to reach those un-churched areas. Moreover, they can also reach those church members who stay at places where a parish priest may not be able to visit them frequently. They only need appreciation and support from church leadership. If church leaders will work with them closely just as Canon Fergus King has done with HUMANN, the difference which some claim exist between Uamsho interpretations of Biblical texts and official church teachings will be seen to be minimized. There is need for

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<sup>7</sup> Oral interviews, Canon, Edward Komba, Korogwe, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, Canon Fareth Sendegeya, Buguruni, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Canon Edward Sichinga, Mbeya, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003, Canon Julius Lugendo, Ilala, Dar es Salaam Cyprian Sallu, Buguruni, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003, Ezekiel Kambanga, Buguruni, Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, John Semgaya, Korogwe, 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003.

collaborative work on how the message of the Gospel should be presented. This is a great task that should be taken seriously. Such groups as *Biblia ni Jibu*, for example, need to be helped to understand the way the Gospel may reach Muslims without using provocative language. It is good that the chairperson of that group is currently doing Theological Studies. This already shows that *wanauamsho* have started to see the need for undertaking formal theological studies. More people from Uamsho groups should be granted chances for further study.

From the beginning of this study I have shown that Uamsho is the work of the Holy Spirit. The history of the Church shows that Uamsho emerges whenever the church starts 'to fall a sleep' or is covered by a certain 'blanket'. With regard to the current Uamsho in Tanzania, the church should carefully consider issues that had led to the emergence of Uamsho and thus find strategies to defend herself from relapsing into the same mistakes in the future. Church authorities should remember that history has a tendency of repeating itself. As far as this work is concerned, I have identified some of the problems, but more needs to be done. One area might be the way the ex-slave women who were trained to become wives of the ex-slave catechists have contributed to the growth of the church. Another area could be why the Christian Village ideology could not work for Anglicans and yet did for the Roman Catholics.

The contribution of the wives of E. Matovu, Festo Kivengere and John Edmund, the Pioneers of the Uamsho in Tanzania could be another interesting topic. So far, only the voices of their husbands have been heard. The contribution of their wives is unknown. Osborn has discussed partially the role played by those coming from Uganda and Rwanda but no major work has been done about their history in Tanzania. There is also a great need to write comprehensively about Nyerere's political theology, which is undergoing resurgence. This may help us to understand more clearly the claims that Muslims are raising (which should not be ignored) that Nyerere, being a faithful Roman Catholic, had instituted his church's policies in Tanzanian politics. The work of J.S. Safari - *The making of Islam in East Africa* and J. Silvano - *The Influence of the Catholic Church in Tanzanian politics* is a welcome beginning. However, much more needs to be done.

During this research it was discovered that there are very few materials on Uamsho in the ACT written by Tanzanian Anglican students. A few papers written by certificate students from the dioceses of Western Tanganyika and Kagera are kept loosely in the small room of the ACT head office in Dodoma. This room could be developed into a church archive in the future so that the diocesan church documents are kept in a safe place or else one of the provincial theological college libraries (St. Mark or St. Philip) should be helped to develop an archive department. This may help researchers in the future. Three other Uamsho documents written by St. Mark's Diploma students were found in the College Library. Only one Anglican student

wrote one of these three documents. It seems as if our theological colleges (St. Marks and St. Philips) and Bible Colleges, are not alert to contemporary issues in our society, when compared to the materials found in the Makumira Lutheran Seminary Library written by Lutheran students about Uamsho in their parishes and dioceses.

A similar case was observed on the history of the Anglican Church in Tanzania. There are three documents, one is written by Jerome Moriyama-a Japanese man, one by Mwita Akiri- a Tanzanian and one by Elizabeth Knox-an Australian.<sup>8</sup> All these documents are mainly concerned with the church in the colonial period and not even one of them is in the Libraries of the two theological colleges. There is a need to document the history of ACT in its fullness: writing a history is to write about ourselves. Such history will obviously include the impact of Uamsho. Perhaps to start with, copies of the materials kept in Zanzibar National archive, those in the UMCA /USPG archives in London and Oxford (Rhodes House), and those in Dar es Salaam University should be produced and brought back to the ACT Theological College Libraries. If this could be done, tutors, students and researchers would be greatly advantaged. A series of the journals of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa donated to St. Marks Theological College by USPG during period of this study is highly appreciated.

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<sup>8</sup> See Literature review of this study.

As far as this study is concerned, I have shown that Uamsho is a response to the contact between the Christian message and the African situation in which both the traditional and modern ways of life play a leading role. Since more still needs to be done. This work is not intended to close the door. Others are invited to continue the work from where I have ended.

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### **1.4. List of Informants**

Anthony, Amos, *Mwanauamsho*, Priest, Student, St. Mark's Theological College, Dar es Salaam, 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2003, [Diocese of Masasi].\*

Almasi, Nathaniel, *Mwanaumsho*, Primary School Teacher, Ipagala Parish, Dodoma, 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Baji, Philip, Bishop, Anglican Diocese of Tanga, Korogwe, 7<sup>th</sup> February 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Boazi, Mary, *Mwanauamsho*, Parish worker, St. Thomas Parish, Yombo, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003 [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Chambo, Ernest, Diocesan General Secretary, Korogwe-Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Chally, Lamson, *Mwanauamsho*, Student, Msalato Bible College, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Chiduo, Otto, Franciscan Friar, Assistant Priest, Christ the King Parish, Dar es Salaam, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Chiduo, Wilson, Canon, retired Priest, *mwanauamsho*, Morogoro Bible School, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Morogoro].

Chitemata, Nelson, *Mwanauamsho*, Farmer, Ipagala Parish, Dodoma 16<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Chitemo, Gresford, *Mwanauamsho*, Retired Bishop of Morogoro, St. Alban's Church, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Morogoro].

Chiwanga, Nathaniel, Student, St. Marks College, Dar es Salaam, 21<sup>st</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Mpwapwa].\*

Fumbwani, Jestina, *Mwanauamsho*, Secretary of Morogoro Fellowship, Holy Trinity Anglican Fellowship, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Morogoro].

Galula, Augustine, Gobosi, *Mwanauamsho*, Catechist, St. Aidan Parish, Maramba- Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Kalambo, Peter, *Mwanauamsho*, Canon, Tutor, St.Marks Theological College, Dar es Salaam, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [Diocese of Victoria Nyanza].\*

Kambanga, Ezekiel, D. *Mwanauamsho*, HUMANN head office- Buguruni. Dar es Salaam, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Kingazi, Simon, J. *Mwanauamsho*. Video expert. St. Augustine parish- Kuze, Maramba –Tanga, 5<sup>th</sup> May 2003. [Diocese of Tanga].

Kihampa, Timothy. *Mwanauamsho*. Priest. St. Paul & Peter parish. Dar es Salaam, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Kitambi, Grace, *Mwanauamsho*. Secretary of the parish, St. Augustine parish, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Komba, Edward, *Mwanauamsho*, Canon, Principal, St. Barnabas Christian Training Center, Korogwe, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Lengoliga, Saul, S. Priest, Tutor, Morogoro Bible College 10<sup>th</sup> July 2003, [Diocese of Morogoro].\*

Lugendo, Julius. *Mwanauamsho*. Canon, Priest in charge. St. Nicholas Cathedral, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003. [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Maganza, Jared, *Mwanauamsho*. Catechist, St. Alban's parish. Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Mbona, Stellah. *Mwanauamsho*. House wife. Yombo Vituka. Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Mbulinyingi, Aidano. Canon. Tutor, St. Mark's Theological College, Dar es Salaam, 17<sup>th</sup> January 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].\*

Mgonja, Assa, M. *Mwanauamsho*. CDA, Dodoma, 16<sup>th</sup> August 2003. [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Mhina, Martin, *Mwanauamsho*. Railway Engineer, chairperson, St. Alban's Parish Uamsho group, Dar es Salaam, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Mndolwa, Frida, *Mwanauamsho*, Nurse, Tumaini Hospital, Dar es Salaam 21<sup>st</sup> November 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Mnung'a, Oscar, Canon, Priest in charge, St. Martin Parish, Kawe, Dar es Salaam, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Mnubi, Lawrence, *Mwanauamsho*, Canon, Priest in charge, St. Augustine Parish, Chumbageni, Tanga, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Mokiwa, Valentino, Bishop, Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam Head Office, Dar es Salaam, 13<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Dar es Salaam].

Msei, Yakobo, A relapsed *mwanauamsho*, Farmer, Ambangulu-Korogwe, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2002, [Diocese of Tanga].

Msigwa, Frida, *Mwanauamsho*, Nurse, Yombo Vituka, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Munguti, Philip, *Mwanauamsho*. Student, St. Mark's Theological College, P.O Box 25017, Dar es Salaam, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [Diocese of Zanzibar].\*

Mustafa, Mary, *Mwanauamsho*, Retired Primary School teacher, General Secretary, HUMANN Diocese of Tanga, Korogwe, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Mwamba, Kefa, *Mwanauamsho*. Treasurer, Ipagala Parish, Dodoma, 16<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Mwamazi, John, *Mwanauamsho*, Canon, Vicar General, Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam Head Office, Dar es Salaam, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003, [Diocese of Dar es salaam].

Mwihambi, Charles, Priest, Tutor, Msalato Bible College, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Namaumbo, Elizabeth, *Mwanauamsho*, Housewife, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Namaumbo, Peter, *Mwanauamsho*, Police, General Secretary, Dodoma Anglican Fellowship, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Ndendya, Imani, *Mwanuamsho*, Student, St. Mark's Theological College, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [Diocese of Ruaha].\*

Ngogo, Vailet, *Mwanaumsho*, *Mama lishe*, Dar es Salaam, 29<sup>th</sup> April 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Nkoma, Mathias, Vicar General, Student, St. Mark's Theological College, 5<sup>th</sup> March 2003, [Diocese of Ruvuma].\*

Ramadhani, John, A. Retired Archbishop, Christ the King Cathedral, Zanzibar, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [ACT].

Sallu, Cyprian, *Mwanauamsho*, Chairperson, Huduma Ya Maombezi Ya Nyumba kwa Nyumba, Dar es Salaam, HUMANN Head Office- Buguruni, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003 '[Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Sambai, Frank, *Mwanauamsho*, Canon, Dodoma, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Central Tanganyika].

Sambano, Basil, Retired Bishop of Anglican Diocese of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

Sendegeya, Fareth, *Mwanauamsho*. Canon, Tutor, St. Mark's Theological College, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003, [Diocese of Kagera].\*

Semgaya, John, Uamsho, *Mwanauamsho*, Chairperson, HUMANN Diocese of Tanga, Korogwe, Tanga 11<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Semsela, Robert, *Mwanauamsho*, Computer specialist, Chairperson, Tanga Municipal Anglican Fellowship, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Shayo, Nuriel, *Mwanauamsho*, Medical Doctor, Moshi, 24<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Mount Kilimanjaro].

Sheshe, Henry, Priest incharge, St.Francis Parish, Majengo, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Sichinga Daudi, Canon, Priest, Mbeya, 7<sup>th</sup> July 2003, [Diocese of Southern Highlands].

Simalenga, John, Canon, Priest, Principal, St. Mark's Theological College, Dar es Salaam, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [ACT Head Office].\*

Simbaulanga, Cecil, *Mwanauamsho*, Student, Chairperson, *Biblia Ni Jibu*, Dar es Salaam, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Simon, Pasis, Tutor, Morogoro Bible College, P.O Box 113, Morogoro, 17<sup>th</sup> August 2003, [Diocese of Morogoro].

Singano, Wallace, *Mwanauamsho*, Secretary, Tanga Municipal Anglican Fellowship, Tanga, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003, [Diocese of Tanga].

Suki, Mary, *Mwanauamsho*, Principal, Kondo Bible School, Kondo, 26th August 2003, [Diocese of Kondo].

Zayumba, Veronica, *Mwanauamsho*, Designer, Yombo Vituka Dar es Salaam, 21<sup>st</sup> November 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Zayumba, Steven, *Mwanauamsho*, Mechanical engineer, St. Nicholas Cathedral Uamsho group, Dar es Salaam, April 30<sup>th</sup> 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

Wasiwasi, Margreth, *Mwanauamsho*, Manager, Dar es Salaam Book Shop, 21st November 2003, [Diocese of Dar es Salaam].

\* These interviews were done at St. Mark's Theological College. Some of these informants were students, tutors, visitors and others came for seminars.

## APPENDIX

### 1.0 Glossary of the Selected Kiswahili Words

Bwana asifiwe	Praise the Lord
Dunia	The world
Hapo zamani	In the past
Hasira ya Mungu	God's wrath
Hofu ya Mungu	Fear of God
Hukumu ya Mungu	God's judgement
Kukata shauri	Making decision
Kuokoka	Being saved
Kurudi nyuma	Relapsing
Kusikia	Hearing
Kutembea nuruni	Walking in the light
Kutengeneza mambo	putting things in order
Kutia nuru	Sharing good news
Kuvunjika	To be broken
Kuchukua mzigo	Bearing a burden
Kupatanisha	To reconcile
Maono	Visions
Majaribu	Temptations
Majini	Literary- Belial, Jinns,

Mamlaka	Authority
Mapepo	Demons
Mganga (Pl. waganga)/	Traditional medicineman (men) or woman (women)
Mpendwa (Pl. wapendwa)	Brethren
Mtu (Pl. watu) wa Mungu	A person (people) of God
Mtumishi (Pl. watumishi)	Servant(s)
Mtumishi wa mshahara	Wage Minister
Mlokole (Pl. walokole)	Revivalist(s)
Mviga	Propitiatory offering
Mwanaumsho (Pl.wanauamsho)	Revivalist(s)
Nafasi	Opportunity
Ndugu	Brother/sister
Nguvu za giza	Powers of the darkness
Nitatubu kesho	I shall repent tomorrow
Pambio	Chorus
Sasa	The present
Tambiko	Ancestral veneration
Uamsho	Revival
Uwezo	Ability

## I.1 Questionnaires

### A. General particulars of all respondents

1. Name
2. Age
3. Marital status
4. Diocese
5. Level of Schooling
6. Position in Church
7. Sex
8. Occupation

### B. Questions for the Uamsho Leaders and the *Wanauamsho*

1. When did you become a Christian?
2. When did you become *Mwanauamsho*?
3. Can you explain in a few sentences what attracted you to become *mwanauamsho*?
4. Mention the name(s) of a person (people) who founded the Uamsho in your area and what prompted him/her (them) to start it?
5. Did he/she attract a large following and among who were the largest following? Mark the appropriate:  
(a) Christians [ ] (b) Outcasts [ ] (c) Ex-communicants [ ]  
(d) Others (specify)
6. Did the Uamsho encounter any problems in the initial stages? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
7. If Yes what were they?
8. If Uamsho was successful can you explain how this was manifested?

9. What was the message(s) of the founders?
10. Was this message influenced any way by: (Mark the appropriate)
- (a) Pentecostal traditions [ ]      (b) Anglican traditions [ ]
- (c) Others (specify)
11. (a) Are there other factors besides religious ones that influenced the emergence of Uamsho? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
- (b) if Yes what are they?
12. How was Uamsho received by the following?
- (a) Other Christians who are not *wanauamsho*?
- (b) Church authorities?
- (c) Government officials?
- (d) Others
13. (a) Can you list areas where Uamsho spread faster?
- (b) List few factors that you think have facilitated that fast spread.
14. Who took the message to these places?
15. How does Uamsho prepare you to be a better Christian and a good Tanzanian?

### **C. Questions on Beliefs and Practices of Uamsho**

- (a) What are the basic beliefs and practices of Uamsho?
- (b) Do *wanauamsho* believe and practice religious healing? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
- (c) When did Uamsho healers begin to practice healing?

- (d) Can you explain briefly the meaning of healing in Uamsho?
  - (e) What are people healed from?
  - (f) What causes diseases and suffering according to Uamsho?
  - (g) How are healers appointed?
  - (h) Who gives them power to heal?
  - (i) Do you believe in evil spirits and magic? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
  - (j) Do you believe in witchcraft and sorcery? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
  - (k) Do you believe in dreams and visions? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
  - (l) What are the importance of dreams and visions to *mwanauamsho*?
  - (m) Do you speak in tongues?
  - (n) What significance has speaking in tongues in Uamsho?
17. Explain the organizational structure of Uamsho
18. Do women hold any position in Uamsho? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
- (a) If Yes, what are they?
  - (b) Do you have any leadership positions that are exclusively for men and others for women? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
  - (c) If so, what are they?
  - (d) How are leaders chosen?
19. Are there some aspects of the Uamsho that you would like to see changed or modified?
20. Why?

#### **D. Questions for Ordinary Christians**

1. When did you become a Christian?
2. How did you become a Christian?
3. Where do you attend Church?
4. For how long have you been a member of that Parish?
5. Have you heard of Uamsho? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
6. If Yes, what is it?
7. Are wanauamsho among the members of your Church?
8. Are you among them? Mark Yes [ ] or No [ ]
9. If no, can you explain why?
10. What, if any, difference do you think Uamsho has made in your Church or community?
11. Are there some aspects of Uamsho you would like to see changed or modified?
12. Which are they?
13. Why?

#### **E. Questions for the Clergy**

1. When and how did you become a Christian?
2. Can you explain when Christianity came in this part of the country?
3. Can you mention some of the difficulties faced by the first converts?
4. How did the Anglican Church in Tanzania (ACT) become a

Province?

5. How big is your Church quantitatively?
6. What made it that big or small?
7. How effective is Uamsho in your area?
8. When was it started?
9. Who were the pioneers?
10. What was his/her message(s)?
11. What do you think are other factors beside religious ones that influenced the emergence of Uamsho in your area?
12. Do you think Uamsho has made any impact on the lives of people in your area?
13. What are your opinion(s) about Uamsho as a group within the ACT?