

# JOURNAL OF AFRICAN CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY

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The *Journal of African Christian Biography* was launched in 2016 to complement and make stories from the online *Dictionary of African Christian Biography* ([www.DACB.org](http://www.DACB.org)) more readily accessible and immediately useful in African congregations and classrooms.

Now published quarterly, with all issues available online, the intent of the *JACB* is to promote the research, publication, and use of African Christian biography within Africa by serving as an academically credible but publicly accessible source of information on Christianity across the continent. Content will always include biographies already available in the database itself, but original contributions related to African Christian biography or to African church history are also welcome. While the policy of the *DACB* itself has been to restrict biographical content to subjects who are deceased, the *JACB* plans to include interviews with select living African church leaders and academics.

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\*\*Denotes women

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*Cover images: Jacob Modi Din as a prisoner of the colonial powers and Edward Mnganga, first Black Catholic priest of South Africa.*

## The Project Luke Scholars Issue: Introduction

By Michèle Miller Sigg, Editor

The Project Luke scholarship program ran from 1999 to 2011 at the Overseas Ministries Study Center where DACB Founder and Director Emeritus Jonathan Bonk served as Executive Director from 2000 to 2013. This issue of the *Journal of African Christian Biography* retraces the history of Project Luke by recounting the stories of seventeen men and two women in these pages.

“Project Luke,” as the program was commonly called, funded two African scholars, church leaders, or lay people every year, offering them a monthly stipend and residence, just down the street from the Yale Divinity School and the Day Missions library. During the twelve years of the program, OMSC welcomed twenty-one men and women who accepted the fellowship opportunity with the agreement that they would write ten original biographies of African Christian figures to be included in the DACB.

Among our Project Luke scholars, the best represented regions were East Africa (seven from Kenya, Tanzania, or Uganda) and West Africa (five from Nigeria or Ghana). There were two from the North-East region and the Horn of Africa (Sudan, Ethiopia), three from Central Africa (DRC and Cameroon), and two from Southern Africa (South Africa, Madagascar). Four of our authors came from Francophone countries (DRC, Cameroon, Madagascar). There was a wide diversity in their church affiliation as well: there were Anglicans (the largest group), Protestant Evangelicals (Presbyterian, Baptist, Africa Inland Church, Reformed), Independents or Pentecostals, a Seventh-Day Adventist, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics. Many were not formally trained scholars or professors when they came to OMSC but some later went on to doctoral studies. Several were working priests, pastors, or missionaries in their home regions. Some came with backgrounds in library science, administration, teaching or archival work. Most wrote in English but a few wrote in French.

Project Luke scholars contributed approximately one hundred seventy biographies to the DACB. Their national, confessional, professional, and experiential variety as authors and the ecumenical wealth of their choice of subjects captures the DACB’s mission, scope, methodology, and hybrid appeal as a project directed to both church and academy. The nineteen biographies presented in this issue, taken together, express recurring themes as well as the fundamental joys and sorrows, successes and failures, theological challenges and innovations present in African Christianity as a whole.

The subjects described here were founders (Dolphijn, Otieno), leaders (Kisula), healers (Latunde, Ravelonjanahary), theologians (Muge), evangelists (Milyango), prophets, missionaries (Shukai), educators (Vou Gyang Bot Dung), martyrs (Anuarite). They confronted colonial exploitation (Modi Din), racism (Mnganga), witchcraft, political and religious opposition (Nyerere), persecution (Tewoflos), and the vicissitudes of missionary life such as deadly diseases

perspectives and then apply the gospel message meaningfully to the life of African Christians. Chapter seven deals with the emergence and historical development of African Biblical Studies (ABS), noting its relevance and how Africans can benefit from it. The main contention of the chapter is that Africans will better understand and apply God's word to their lives if they read the Scriptures in an African way. The volume then explores how African languages can be used to derive the meaning of scripture and apply it to real-life situations. Here, the authors contribute to the development of MTBH by developing a methodological framework for this interpretative tool. The next chapter of the volume deals with mother-tongue theologizing in Ghana. The final chapter considers the legitimacy of female leadership in the Church within the African context through the examination of two Pauline texts. This volume will be of interest to undergraduate and graduate seminary students, students of Biblical Interpretation in religions departments, as well as practicing pastors. ([Amazon.com](#))

Nyanni, Caleb Opoku. **Second-Generation African Pentecostals in the West: An Emerging Paradigm.** Pickwick Publications, 2021. \$32.00 [Amazon.com](#). ISBN-10: 1532697732 ISBN-13: 978-1532697739

**Description:** The rise of African Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in the West has become a growing phenomenon and a starring feature in many social, religious, and political conversations. Most of these discussions are generally centered on the first-generation churches and their missionary attempt to evangelize the West. Here Caleb Nyanni offers a fresh insight into the African diaspora church from the perspective of the growing second-generation members and their contributions to the life of the church. He explores the changing nature of the African diaspora Pentecostalism by paying close attention to the Church of Pentecost in the UK, which serves as a case study. The book explores the frustrations, challenges, opportunities, and culture of the second generation and examines what they bring to Pentecostalism in general. ([Amazon.com](#))

Kighoma, Eraston Kambale. **Church and Mission in the Context of War: A Descriptive Missiological Study of the Response of the Baptist Church in Central Africa to the War in Eastern Congo Between 1990 and 2011.** Langham Partnership International, 2021. \$37.99 [Barnes&Noble.com](#) ISBN-13: 9781839730627

**Summary:** The church in the Democratic Republic of Congo is no stranger to conflict, yet little research has been done on the impact of war in shaping the local church's understanding of itself and its mission. In this in-depth study, Dr. Eraston Kambale Kighoma traces the survival and theological development of the Baptist Church in Central Africa over a twenty-year period of conflict. Utilizing a combination of descriptive, contextual and integrative approaches, he examines the effect of war on the church's theology in action, especially its understanding and practice of mission. This study sheds new light on existing theories of missions, while offering specific insight into the church's missionary task in contexts of conflict. It offers an excellent addition to missiological studies for scholars and practitioners alike. ([Barnes & Noble](#))

Recent Print and Digital Resources Related to  
Christianity in Africa  
Compiled by Beth Restrick, Head, BU African Studies Library

Battle, Michael. **Desmond Tutu: A Spiritual Biography of South Africa's Confessor.** Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2021. \$45.26 (Hardcover) [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com/dp/0664231586) ISBN-10: 0664231586 ISBN-13: 978-0664231583

**Description:** The first biography of its kind about Desmond Tutu, this book introduces readers to Tutu's spiritual life and examines how it shaped his commitment to restorative justice and reconciliation.

Desmond Tutu was a pivotal leader of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and remains a beloved and important emblem of peace and justice around the world. Even those who do not know the major events of Tutu's life--receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, serving as the first black archbishop of Cape Town and primate of Southern Africa from 1986-1996, and chairing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission from 1995-1998--recognize him as a charismatic political and religious leader who helped facilitate the liberation of oppressed peoples from the ravages of colonialism. But the inner landscape of Tutu's spirituality, the mystical grounding that spurred his outward accomplishments, often goes unseen.

Rather than recount his entire life story, this book explores Tutu's spiritual life and contemplative practices--particularly Tutu's understanding of Ubuntu theology, which emphasizes finding one's identity in community--and traces the powerful role they played in subverting the theological and spiritual underpinnings of apartheid. Michael Battle's personal relationship with Tutu grants readers an inside view of how Tutu's spiritual agency cast a vision that both upheld the demands of justice and created space to synthesize the stark differences of a diverse society. Battle also suggests that North Americans have much to learn from Tutu's leadership model as they confront religious and political polarization in their own context. ([Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com/dp/0664231586))

Amevku, Frederick Mawusi and Isaac Boaheng. **Biblical Exegesis in African Context.** Vernon Press, 2021. \$37.00 [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com/dp/1648891764) ISBN-10: 1648891764 ISBN-13: 978-1648891762

**Description:** *Biblical Exegesis in African Context* explores how the Church in Africa can affirm its uniqueness in terms of the African identity and experiences, and at the same time, remain faithful to the gospel message.

The volume begins with an explanation of exegesis and hermeneutics, and the agenda for the rest of the book is set. The second chapter deals with textual criticism, which is the task of determining the originality of a biblical text. In chapter three, issues related to the context of the text are considered, after which the volume proceeds to examine the various literary forms present in the Bible- prominent among them being- Narrative, Law, Poetry, Prophecy, Wisdom Literature, Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles and Revelation. The authors then dedicate the next chapter to discussions on socio-rhetorical interpretation.

The final chapters of the book deal with matters solely related to the context of Africa; this part intends to equip readers to be able to interpret the Bible from African cultural

(Hinderer), cannibalism, violence and warfare. But they also experienced God's presence and power in transformative ways, which in turn enabled them to be exemplary witnesses to the redemptive liberation of the Christian message. For some, their prophetic message to secular powers cost them their life (Muge, Tewoflos).

Five women are depicted in these biographies, including one missionary wife, Anna Hinderer (Nigeria). Their stories open a window into gender-related themes and issues that African Christian women have dealt with and continue to deal with, even today. Anuarite died a martyr's death after suffering gender-based violence for defending her virginity. Vou Gyang Bot Dung had to resist pressure from her family to enter into an unwanted marriage. Njangali Spetume advocated for women's ordination in the church for years and did not live long enough to be ordained herself. The way in which Ravelonjanahary became a revival leader contains many elements common to stories of other female revival leaders: Jesus's direct appearance to call and train her, her dying and rising with a vision from heaven, her supernatural gift of healing, and her ability to quote Scripture without knowing how to read. Vou Gyang and Anna Hinderer, on the other hand, were highly educated women in their day. Their education equipped them to teach children or translate Scripture, two of the most important of sustainable Protestant missionary practices that help to ensure the survival of the church.

The Project Luke scholarship program began in an effort to bring African stories told by African writers into the DACB. Since the end of the program in 2011, we have received many more such stories from authors spread across the African continent and the diaspora. The DACB today is simply the reflection of all our committed writers--in this case, lay historians for the most part--who devote their time sacrificially to telling the stories of the African Christian elders--the Mothers and Fathers of African Christianity--so that their memory is not forgotten.

**Ndaruhutse, David**  
1955-1997  
**The Living Church of Jesus Christ**  
**Burundi, Rwanda**

David Ndaruhutse was a Rwandan church leader who died in a tragic plane crash in 1997.

David was born in 1955 at Gahini, Kabugo commune, Rwanda to Isaiah Rubagumya and Esther Nyaramgure. His father, a pastor, was killed when he was four. He grew up in a refugee camp in Uganda where he studied at Nyakasura High School and where he was converted. He then went on to Makerere University in Kampala and led the Fellowship of Christian Unions' prayer groups there, graduating in 1982 with a B.A. in Economics and Statistics. In 1986 he continued his studies at Rofey Place in England. He married Ruth Uwayesu and they had five children. He spoke Kinyarwanda, Luganda, English, French, and Kiswahili fluently.

After serving as the Secretary of the Diocese of the Burundi Anglican Church, Ndaruhutse founded African Revival Ministries in August 1989 at Nyakarago in Burundi and in July 1992, *l'Église Vivante de Jésus Christ* (The Living Church of Jesus Christ). His preaching was accompanied by healing. He planted several churches, built the hospital of Jabe, and the primary School in Himbaza in Rwanda. He also founded a Bible College and a center for the mentally handicapped at Nyakarago. These ministries spread to Rwanda in 1994, and the Congo in 1995 with branches in Uganda, Kenya, and Senegal.

Ndaruhutse was among the leaders of the peace and reconciliation efforts in the Great Lakes' Region when their plane crashed on December 9, 1997 in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Francis Manana

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Penny Relph, *An African Apostle: The Story of David Ndaruhutse*, Kent, United Kingdom:

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Mr. and Mrs. Straton Gataha, Eglise Vivante de Jesus Christ, interview, Kigali, Rwanda.

Mr. William Budedeli, East Africa School of Theology, interview, Nairobi, Kenya.

Mr. Samuel Kampayana, Nairobi International School of Theology, interview, Nairobi, Kenya.

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This story, submitted in 2000, was written by Dr. Francis Manana, Professor of Evangelism and Missions and DACB Liaison Coordinator, Pan African Christian College, Nairobi, Kenya.

Watson Omulokoli

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\*For the full, unabridged version of this biography, visit <https://dacb.org/stories/kenya/otieno-erastus/>.

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**End Notes:**

1. There were two printed sources which were most useful to the author in the construction of this brief biographical sketch. One of these is *Pentecostal Fire*, Vol. 1, April, 2005, A Publication of the All Africa PEFA Desk, Nairobi, Kenya. The other one is the Funeral Service booklet for Rev. Erastus Otieno Ngao. The service for Nairobi was held on Thursday, November 9, 2000, at the All Nations Church, Gikomba, Nairobi. Other useful sources include interaction and communication with Rev. Otieno's successor, Bishop Samuel Mwatha, as well as a leading PEFA clergyman, Bishop Moffat Kilioba.
2. David B. Barrett, et al., *Kenya Churches Handbook: The Development of Kenyan Christianity, 1498-1973*, Kisumu, Kenya, Evangel Publishing House, 1973, 38.
3. *Ibid.*, 183-191, A compilation by the author.
4. Peter Deyahs, "Brief History of PEFA," in *Pentecostal Fire*, 17.
5. *Ibid.*

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This article, which was received in 2011, was written and researched by Rev. Prof. Rev. Prof. Watson Omulokoli, Professor of Church History, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Kenyatta University, Kenya; Adjunct Professor, Akrofi-Christaller Institute, Accra, Ghana; and Chancellor, Africa International University, Nairobi, Kenya., and a recipient of the Project Luke Scholarship for 2010-2011.

endowments and abilities together with his excellent training was noticed by his fellow leaders. When the need for the first general overseer of the PEFA arose, the leadership of the church thrust him into that position. He served in that capacity from 1966 until the time of his death on October 30, 2000.

Once he assumed leadership responsibilities in the church, it soon became obvious that in Otieno, PEFA had found the right man to steer its affairs in the days ahead for the relatively new constituency that made up the PEFA family. Subsequent history confirmed this reality. For the thirty-four years during which the church was under his leadership, there was measurable stability, progress, development, and expansion in many directions.

As the head of the PEFA from 1966 to 2000, Otieno was intimately involved in all of its affairs from the grassroots through the regional level, to the national, and even the international levels. It was a boost to his ecclesiastical role and duties that Otieno was a powerful and effective preacher who was much sought after for preaching and teaching in churches, conferences, conventions, and rallies. Additionally, he was a facilitating speaker in many church seminars on the local, regional, and national levels in the PEFA structure. This type of participation shielded him from being an armchair leader, and instead enabled him to distinguish himself as one who was actively engaged and who readily felt the pulse of the PEFA Church in all its being and activities.

Otieno had a keen interest in and participated closely in the affairs of the leading PEFA institutions of higher learning in his general area. He was the official sponsoring representative and chairman of the Board of Governors of Nyabisawa Girls Boarding School, as well as chairman of the Board of Governors for Taranganya Boys High School, and Sori Secondary School. Thus, in a number of these institutions, he did double duty, being also the official representative of the parent sponsoring body, PEFA.

Even in life generally, Otieno was perceived to be, and functioned as, a community leader. In this role, he contributed to the total well-being of those in society around him. Among the many examples that could be mentioned, one of his key contributions was that he was instrumental in the founding and sponsoring of the Marindi Multi-Purpose Technical Training Institute.

### **Concluding Focus and Reflection**

The history and details of the expansion of the PEFA belong elsewhere. Suffice it to say that under the leadership of Erastus Otieno, the PEFA built strong foundations, made immense progress and development, and experienced unprecedented growth and expansion, especially in East Africa and the central parts of Africa. Otieno's distinctive value and unique contribution to PEFA in particular, and to the church in Africa in general, is that he played the indispensable role of having been a successful transitional leader when foreign missions handed leadership over to the African church. In critical moments, reliable bridges are invaluable!

For Erastus Otieno, what ultimately counted was to faithfully discharge the mandate of his call and training. As a result, the leadership of the church was satisfied and happy, and God's work went forward.

### **Kato, Byang Henry (B)**

**1936-1975**

**Evangelical Church of West Africa** (now Evangelical Church Winning All)  
**Nigeria**

From Juju to Jesus Christ.

Byang Kato, a Nigerian evangelical theologian of the Evangelical Church of West Africa (now Evangelical Church Winning All), was born in June 1936 to the pagan family of Heri and Zawi in Sab Zuro, Kwoi of Kaduna State in Northern Nigeria. His father dedicated him to be a juju priest and made every effort to instruct him in fetish practices. At the tender age of ten, Byang underwent a traditional Jaba initiation ritual that lasted for one week.

Soon after this initiation rite, Kato came into contact with Ms. Mary Hass, a missionary of Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) who frequently visited his village to tell the story of Jesus to the children in the difficult language of Jaba. Kato was among the children who listened to Mary Hass. Thereafter he began to attend the Sunday school and the primary school established and run by the SIM.

As Kato's father considered school a waste of time, he did not allow him to go so that he would concentrate on their farm work. Another missionary named Ms. Elsie Henderson went along with an elder of their church to plead with his father to allow him to continue his schooling. Afterwards, even though he was allowed to continue, his father denied him food and clothing. When Kato's teacher taught them about salvation in Christ Jesus, with the illustration of Noah's ark, Kato desired to enter Christ's Ark of salvation. He made a public declaration of faith in Christ. When his father heard this, he was livid and stopped paying his school fees. As a result, the missionaries provided him with part time employment which enabled him to pay his school fees and buy clothes and books for his use. To pacify his father, Kato helped him with the farm work in the mornings and went to school in the afternoons. He completed his primary school training with flying colors.

In 1948 Kato was baptized by Rev. Raymond Veenker and given the name Henry. Thereafter, he became involved in Boy's Brigade, Sunday School, Youth for Christ and other church activities. When Kato was 19 years old, he went to a Bible college at Igbaja. He graduated in 1957 and was assigned to teach in a Bible school in his village, Kwoi, on a salary of about \$15.00 a month. While he was teaching he took correspondence courses from England in preparation for his General Certificate of Education exams. He passed the GCE Ordinary and Advanced levels exams in 1961 and 1963 respectively.

In the midst of his academic strivings, he got married in January 1957 to Jummai, a young woman from a Christian home. The couple placed great emphasis on prayer and Bible reading in their home. They showed by their family life and work what a Christian home should be like. They were blessed with three children: Deborah Bosede, Jonathan Nzuno and Paul Bulus Sanom.

After serving for two years as a Bible School teacher in his village from 1957 to 1959, Byang was transferred to Lagos to serve on the staff of the publishers of what today is called “Today’s Challenge.” While in Lagos, he received some training in journalism. From 1961 to 1963 he went back to his village as a Bible teacher. Later in 1963 he enrolled at London Bible College and graduated from there with a B.D. degree in 1967. That year, he was appointed to the office of the General Secretary of the Evangelical Church of West Africa – the ECWA. He was the first person from Northern Nigeria to hold that post. As a result of this appointment, Kato moved to Jos, where the ECWA headquarters were located.

Later, with the support of his church, the ECWA, he enrolled for his post graduate studies at Dallas Theological Seminary. He concluded his doctoral studies there and received his Th.D. in May 1974. The topic of his dissertation was “Universalism and Syncretism in Christianity in Africa.” It was later published by the Evangel Publishing House in Nairobi, under the title *Theological Pitfalls in Africa*. Having finished his doctoral studies, Kato was unanimously chosen to be the General Secretary for the African Evangelical Association, the first African to hold that post. He was also appointed Executive Secretary of the Theological Commission of the ECWA. Since his services were needed at the Igbaja Theological Seminary, he was given financial grants to enable him to travel to the Seminary to give lectures. Byang was in great demand to preach and teach both in Nigeria and internationally. He attended the third All Africa Conference of Churches General Assembly meeting in Lusaka, Zambia in 1974 as an observer. He was one of the keynote speakers at the International Congress on World Evangelization held in Lausanne Switzerland in 1974. Byang served as a member of the Lausanne Continuation Committee on World Evangelization as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the World Evangelical Fellowship and the chairman of its Theological Commission. He attended the fifth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches held in Nairobi in December 1975. During the course of this General Assembly, the Katos entertained many guests.

In view of the many speaking engagements he had in different parts of Europe, he decided to go with his family to the sea shore at Mombasa for some rest, reflection and relaxation. There, a most unexpected tragedy happened. On December 19, 1975, Byang, a swimmer, drowned in Mombasa River under mysterious circumstances. His body was recovered a day after he disappeared. The people of Kwoi, his hometown, think that someone must have attacked him. Others believe that witchcraft, – that is, the powers of darkness of this world – was involved in Byang’s untimely death. Some think Byang might have died of exhaustion.

In fact, the real cause of Byang’s death remains a mystery. He died at a time when he was very much needed. The whole evangelical world both in Africa and in the rest of the world were greatly shocked at his tragic death. Byang was an African evangelical theologian of outstanding merit. His life as a prophet was marked by courage, boldness, moral purity, and discipline. He will always be remembered for his selfless service to the cause of Christ, not only in Africa but throughout the Christian world.

He was first posted to Lwala Primary School near his home area in 1956, before he was sent to Bware Primary School. The next school he was assigned to was Nyabisawa Girls Boarding School, which belonged to the Elim Missionary Assemblies (EMA). While teaching in these schools, Otieno acquired the reputation of being very competent in training choirs, especially for competition at music events, and he was also a proficient adjudicator in music competition festivals.

In 1957, Erastus married Naomi Adhiambo. Through this union, they had three sons: Jack Otieno, Frederick Awuor, and Paul Odhiambo. Later, the couple adopted two other boys, Michael Okoth and Miltone Obote. This brought the total number of Otieno children to five, and they were brought up together as one cordial and warm family.

### **Spiritual Transformation and Career Change**

While Otieno was teaching at Nyabisawa Girls Boarding School, some radical changes occurred in his life. The school belonged to the Elim Missionary Assemblies and had a strong Christian tradition with a pervasive spiritual atmosphere. Not only was Otieno saved and spiritually transformed through the impact of the school, he also ended up changing his career. He gave up teaching and embraced full-time Christian ministry as his calling. As it has been appropriately summarized, “He got saved after seeing the miraculous working and in-filling of the Holy Spirit. After his conversion he resigned from his teaching career. He went to North Mara in Tanzania and together with Stephen Mageri, [and] Abel Gasirabo, [he] pioneered PEFA churches there.” [5]

Otieno committed himself fully to the demands of Christian ministry as his new career. God equipped him and used him to be a blessing to others. As someone with a comparatively high level of education, he was quite an asset in Christian endeavors in that he was versatile and operated with a broad perspective. His involvement in Christian work soon caught the attention of those who were in charge of further training for church workers, which prepared the ground for the next stage of his life.

### **Ministerial Training, Deployment, and Leadership**

When the need arose for someone to study abroad, Otieno was given the opportunity so that he could enhance his effectiveness in Christian ministry. He was sent to the U.S.A. in 1963 to study theology and train for the Christian ministry at the Elim Bible Institute, in Lima, New York. At the end of his studies at Elim, Otieno obtained a Diploma in theology and returned to Kenya in 1966 to use this investment in service to God and to the church. He is to be commended for returning to Kenya at the end of his studies, just when many doors around him were opening for the acquisition of higher credentials.

When Otieno left for the U.S.A. in 1963, the merger of Elim Missionary Assemblies (EMA) mission and the International Pentecostal Assemblies (IPA) missions had produced PEFA the year before, in 1962. Upon his return to Kenya in 1966, he took up service in the church and soon established himself in the mainstream leadership of the PEFA. Before long, his many



Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK) 1970  
East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends (EAYM) 1964  
Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) 1964  
Reformed Church of East Africa (RCEA) 1963  
Salvation Army (SA) 1970

### Transition in PEFA under Erastus Otieno

When the process of transition from foreign leadership to African oversight was taking place in the Kenyan Church in the 1960s, even some latecomers to the Christian field joined the race. Such was the case with the PEFA. As a distinct entity, the PEFA itself came into being in 1962 as a merger between two missions, the Elim Missionary Assemblies (EMA) Mission, and the International Pentecostal Assemblies (IPA) Mission. The entire development showed that the missionary leaders involved were acutely aware of the times in which they were operating. It is with this in view that the relevant action was taken in order to keep up with the pace of change.

All along until 1962, churches were still under the Elim Missionary Assemblies or the International Pentecostal Assemblies. But the political winds of change that were sweeping across the continent of Africa did not spare Kenya. Soon there was agitation for independence.

The Elim Fellowship Mission and the International Pentecostal Churches of Christ Mission saw the need of relinquishing their authority and handing over power to the nationals under a new order of church leadership and administration. To do this, a PEFA constitution was drafted in 1961, and was registered with the Kenya government in 1962. [4]

Erastus Otieno Ngao was the person chosen to usher in this new era and he played the most crucial role in this changing of the guard. Strictly speaking, however, he was not the first African to be at the helm of the PEFA. That honor belongs to Rev. Frederick Mwawaza, who was the first African president of the PEFA. It was when Mwawaza left the PEFA in 1966 that Otieno was chosen to fill the vacant position, after a short and fleeting period of leadership.

### Early Years

Erastus Otieno Ngao was born at Kamagambo, Sare, in southwestern Kenya, on July 7, 1935. His father was Mzee Stephen Ngao Awuor, and his mother was Mama Turphosa Ojele. He was the eldest child in the family.

Otieno started school in 1946 at Sori Primary School in his home locality. From there he proceeded to Kodero Bara Primary School, where his education continued from 1949 to 1950. He was then selected for intermediate school at Kamagambo Training School, where he studied from 1951 to 1953, and where he sat for the national Kenya African Preliminary Examinations (KAPE) in 1953. He passed these examinations and was assured of a promising future.

Otieno qualified for and was selected to undertake a teacher training course at Kisii Teachers College, in Kisii, in 1954-1955. When he completed this course, he was awarded a Teacher Pupil Two (P2) level certificate. This qualified him to teach especially in upper primary school classes.

Emele Mba Uka

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This article, received in 2001, was researched and written by Rev. Dr. Emele Mba Uka, a Project Luke Fellow, Professor of Theology in the Department of Religion and Philosophy at the Federal University of Calabar, Nigeria (UNICAL).

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### Kisula, Jeremiah Mahalu

1902-1984

Africa Inland Church

Tanzania

Jeremiah Mahalu Kisula was the first bishop of the Africa Inland Church of Tanzania. He was born at Sima, Kitongo-Magu Mwanza in Tanzania, a Msukuma by tribe and belonging to the Bagolo clan. His family name was Kisula Mahalu and his nickname Mlindajulya. His father's name was Kisula and his mother's name was Luli. He dreamed of being a medicine man and a traditional dance leader. His education only went as far as the fourth grade but he spoke Kisukuma, Kiswahili, English, Kikerewe, and Kijita.

He accepted Christ on August 20, 1920 at Lugeye, Sima Mwanza in an AICT church under Paulo Masalu, a teacher. He was baptized on May 21, 1921 at Kijima Nera (Kwimba) by Rev. H. H. Zemmer, an Africa Inland missionary. He became a local unordained pastor (*Nangi*) in 1923 after two months of Bible training. He was assigned to the Bushini local church as an unordained pastor from November to December 1923 when he left the ministry because of his wife's health and living conditions in the area.

He and his wife, Kahabi, had seven children: Salome, Mathias, Samson, Jairus, Anna, Joyce, Eva, Joshua, and Adellah. They also had thirteen grandchildren: Charles, Agnes, Monicah, Sama, Stanley, Annet, Paul, Leah, Georgia, Lilian, Savonarora, Jane, and Grace.

He left the ministry to seek secular work with more pay on January 7, 1924 after his transfer request was denied by the missionaries. That same month he left for Tabora to seek clerical employment with the British Government, but he was not competent enough in English for the job. He then left for Tanga to join sisal plantation workers for a wage of 24.00 shillings per month.

After two years he came to his senses and remembered his call to the ministry. In December 1926 he left Tanga to return to Mwanza, arriving later that year, tired and sick. After recovering he began preaching without consulting the church leaders and eventually his

flourishing ministry attracted their attention and they came to see what was happening. He was officially re-installed into the ministry on November 15, 1927.

He ministered in Bushini-Nera, Kwimba from August to November of 1923, in Chabula from November 1927 to 1932 and in Hamuyebe-Ukerewe starting in 1932. Then, in September of 1936, he took a pastor's ordination course until June 30, 1938. That same year, he was elected secretary of the church synod and was ordained on January 8 of the following year at Kazilankanda-Ukerewe. On November 23, 1938 he was sent to Kitengule-Mwibara where he began his ministry as an ordained minister and remained there until 1955.

From 1941 to 42 he was Vice-Chairman of the church synod and was elected Chairman the following year. He was re-elected Chairman of the synod in 1947 and 1948. From January 12, 1955 to November 14, 1957 he worked in Bukongo-Ukerewe and then was transferred to Kijuka-Sengerema, Mwanza. On August 11, 1960, he moved to Kasamwa-Geita, Mwanza to become the first African Director of the Africa Inland Church of Tanzania. On September 25, 1965, in his capacity as Director, he moved to the church headquarters at Mwanza.

He is remembered for his church planting and good leadership in the church as a whole. He visited his churches extensively and prayed for the sick. His book *Chunguzeni Maandiko* ("Search the Scriptures") was published. He was known to people like Pastor Thomas Yegela of Mwanza (deceased), and Batholomew Ihema of Nassa.

Some of his ministry is described in the booklet, *The Short History of the AICT Church* published in 1977 by Inland Publishers, Mwanza, and edited by Bishop Samwel Magessa of the Mwanza diocese who died in January of 2000.

Bela B. Kalumbete

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*Mubtasari wa Historia ya Kanisa*, (A Short History of the AICT Church), edited by Bishop Samwel Magessa (Mwanza: Inland Publishers, 1977).

Masanagulilo, Anna, interview by the author, November 2000, Mwanza, Tanzania.

Masanagulilo, Mathew, interview by the author, November 2000, Mwanza, Tanzania.

Nyagwaswa, Leah, interview by the author, November 2000, Mwanza, Tanzania.

Additional reading: Kisula, Jeremiah, *Chunguzeni Maandiko* ("Search the Scriptures").

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This article was researched and written by Bela B. Kalumbete, a Project Luke Fellow associated with the Africa Inland Church, Tanzania.

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#### Anuarite Nengapeta (Marie Clémentine)

1939-1964

Catholic Church

Democratic Republic of Congo

#### Otieno, Erastus\*

1935-2000

Pentecostal

Kenya

Erastus Otieno Ngao served as the president of the Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa (PEFA) in the period of transition between missionary and local leadership. As the person chosen to usher in this new era, he played the most crucial role in this changing of the guard. Whatever else he may have accomplished, his greatest achievement was to have served as a successful transition figure during this delicate and critical period in the PEFA. Otieno emerged as a pioneer African leader because he effectively took over the leadership from the foreign missionary personnel. [1]

#### Historical Context

The last major British colonial Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, depicted the 1960s in Africa as being characterized by the "wind of change" blowing across the continent. This was the wind of change from domination by colonial powers to independence and self-determination by the various African countries. The immediate shift had begun with Ghana's independence in 1957, and by the time the 1970s set in, the political landscape of Africa had been altered beyond recognition. What was true in the political arena was also generally paralleled on the Christian scene, particularly in churches. The pace of transition was fast and furious in countries like Kenya, and a few examples will suffice to illustrate this point, with emphasis on the 1960s and the early 1970s.

In the broader picture, Mr. John C. Kamau became the first African general secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) in 1963. In the following year, 1964, Rev. John T. Mpaayei was the first African executive secretary of the Bible Society in East Africa and continued as the general secretary of the Bible Society of Kenya (BSK) from the time of its inauguration in 1970. In 1968, Mr. (now Prof.) Elijah F. Akhahenda became the first African travelling secretary of the Kenya Student Christian Fellowship (KSCF).

When it came to the churches, the critical element of selfhood was achieved in all the major denominations during this period. In the transition process, the level and extent of power transfer differed from one group to another. From a legal constitutional point of view, however, it is clear that virtually all the major denominations were affected in a fundamental way. (...) [2]

At times the attainment of the status of selfhood did not necessarily mean an immediate takeover by indigenous African leadership. What was important was the beginning of the process of transition from a foreign mission to a local church. Below is a partial list of the major churches that emerged at that time: [3]

Africa Gospel Church AGC) 1961

Africa Inland Church (AIC) 1971

Church of God in East Africa (CGEA) 1964

Lutheran Church of Kenya (LSK) 1966

Methodist Church of Kenya (MCK) 1967

Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) 1962

53. Hone, p. 292.
54. Hone, p. 304.
55. Hone, 321.
56. Hone, 312.
57. Hone, 309-311.
58. Hone, 314, 315.
59. She left on January 5, 1869. D. Hinderer, Half Yearly Report of Ibadan Mission Stations Ending June 25, 1869, CMS C/A2/O49/121.
60. Hone, 322.
61. I. Oluwole to F. Baylis, March 6, 1895, CMS G3/A2/O(1895)/57.
62. Hone, 327.
63. John Peel, "Two Pastors and their Histories—Samuel Johnson and C.C. Reindorf," in *The Recovery of the West African Past: African Pastors and African History in the Nineteenth Century—C. C. Reindorf and Samuel Johnson*, ed. Paul Jenkins (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1998), 78-79.
64. Daniel Olubi, journal entry, July 21, 1873, CMS C/A2/O75/29.

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#### Others

- Interview with Chief Emmanuel Alayande, Ibadan, January 2004.

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This article, received in 2011, was written and researched by Dr. Kehinde Olabimtan, Coordinator of educational ministries, Good News Baptist Church and Adjunct Teacher, Akrofi-Christaller Institute, Ghana, and a recipient of the Project Luke Scholarship for 2010-2011.

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Anuarite was born in Wamba (D.R. Congo) on December 29, 1939. She belonged to the Wabudu tribe. Her father's name was Amisi Batsuru Batobobo and her mother's Isude Julienne. After having six daughters—Anuarite was the fourth one—her father, a former soldier, dismissed his wife in order to take another wife by whom he might have a son. But he made an unlucky choice as his second wife was sterile. Even though she had to endure the pain of having divorced parents, Anuarite forgave her father with all her heart.

Anuarite's parents were heathens. Nevertheless, her mother was baptized the same day she was in 1945. Anuarite's baptism name was Alphonsine. It seems she was even baptized twice simply because her original certificate of baptism was lost.

The name Nengapeta signifies "riches deceive." Anuarite, which means "one who laughs at war," was actually her sister's name and became her own after a clerical mistake. One day, Léontine Anuarite took her little sister Nengapeta Alphonsine to register for school. The Belgian sister who received them must not have been aware of African ethnology and philology or perhaps was absent-minded. In any case, when she saw Léontine Anuarite there to register her sister, she signed the little girl up as Alphonsine Anuarite. From that day on, the name Nengapeta was lost and does not reappear in the rest of Anuarite's story.

Anuarite was a sensitive child. One day, after seeing a goat butchered, Anuarite refused to eat the meat, saying that the blood was just like hers. She was also very helpful and after school she loved to help her grandmother with her work.

Even as a young girl, Anuarite aspired to be a nun and inspired the same desire in her friends. She admired the nuns in her village and wanted to follow in their footsteps. Sister Ndakala Marie-Anne, her third year teacher, remained a spiritual mother for her. At first Anuarite's mother was against her desire to become a nun. But Anuarite was not easily discouraged and, on her own initiative, requested to be admitted to the convent. Nevertheless, the sisters refused to take her because she was too young at the time.

One day, a truck arrived at the mission to take the postulants to the convent at Bafwabaka and Anuarite seized the opportunity to climb aboard, unseen. Her mother looked for her for several days only to discover her whereabouts from one of the village children. Even though Anuarite had run away, her mother did not demand that she return home.

After many days at the convent, Anuarite took her vows on August 5, 1959 and became Sister Marie-Clémentine. Her parents were present at the ceremony and gave two goats as presents to the nuns to show how proud they were that their daughter was consecrating herself to God. Nevertheless, later on, her mother tried to persuade her daughter to renounce her vocation in order to come home and support the family financially.

In her life at the convent, Anuarite devoted herself to serving others and to making them happy. She would even tackle the chores that others avoided. Nevertheless, sometimes she would openly scold those who had shirked the work.

She had vowed never to belong to a man and she wanted the other sisters to keep the same vow. One day, furiously angry, she attacked a hoodlum who was making overtures to one of the other nuns.

In 1964, the Mulele rebellion broke out and in the space of a few weeks it occupied most of the country. The Simba rebels opposed westerners but also indigenous monks and nuns

because they suspected them of being in cohorts with foreigners. On November 29, 1964, they arrived at the Bafwabaka convent and loaded all 46 nuns onto a truck to take them to Wamba. The move was for security reasons, the nuns were told. Nevertheless, the truck changed direction and went to Isiro where the nuns were taken to Colonel Yuma Déo's house.

That night, all the sisters except for Anuarite were moved again, this time to a nearby house called "the blue house." One of the Simba leaders, Colonel Ngalo, with the help of a soldier named Sigbande, tried to convince Anuarite to be his wife. Fearful but defiant, she categorically and repeatedly refused, even after the furious soldiers isolated her and threatened her with death. Mother Léontine attempted to defend her but in vain.

Meanwhile, the other nuns in the blue house refused to eat without the presence of their mother superior. Colonel Pierre Olombe brought along sisters Banakweni and Marie-Lucie, to report the situation to Colonel Ngalo who asked for his help in seducing Anuarite. Sure of his success, Olombe accepted.

At supper time, Anuarite shared a dish of rice and sardines with Mother Xavéria but could not eat much. She warned her sisters not to drink the beer provided by the Simbas because they were in mortal peril. She declared that she was ready to die defending her virginity.

Later that night, Colonel Olombe, with a group of Simbas, sent the nuns to bed, allowing them to sleep in one room as long as Anuarite remained behind. Very troubled and anxious, Anuarite asked the mother superior to pray for her. Olombe again pressured her to yield to Ngalo's request. Then he changed his mind and decided he wanted Anuarite for himself. When she categorically refused, he hurled insults at her but she remained defiant.

Then the colonel forced Anuarite and Sister Bokuma Jean-Baptiste-whom he wanted for himself-into a car. Anuarite, followed by Sister Jean-Baptiste, attempted an escape while Olombe went to get the car keys in the house. Unfortunately he caught them and a fierce struggle ensued. Mother Léontine and Mother Mélanie, who were witnessing the scene, implored the colonel to have pity on the two nuns. But the colonel was furious and silenced them.

Colonel Olombe then began mercilessly beating the two nuns. Sister Jean-Baptiste fainted, her right arm broken in three places, but Anuarite continued to resist courageously, saying she would rather die than commit this sin. Her words only heightened Olombe's fury.

Between the blows, Anuarite had the strength to say: "I forgive you for you know not what you are doing." In a new fit of rage, Olombe called some Simbas over and ordered them to stab Anuarite with their baionettes. After they had done this several times, Olombe took his revolver and shot her in the chest.

The colonel then seemed to calm down a bit and ordered the nuns to come and take away her body. Still breathing feebly, Anuarite lingered on for a few more minutes before dying at about one o'clock in the morning on December 1, 1964.

Anuarite was buried in a common grave along with other prisoners executed by the Simbas. Nevertheless, eight months later, her body was disinterred and buried with all the honors in the cemetery near the Isiro cathedral. In 1999, she became the first Congolese woman to be canonized by the Catholic Church.

After the rebellion, Sister Fidélia Sembo confirmed meeting Colonel Olombe in Kisangani. He had been taken prisoner by General Yossa Malasi of the Congolese national army

11. In 1876, Samuel Johnson noted in his journal that the people of Ibadan generally viewed Christians as "quiet people, averse to fame and worldly honor." S. Johnson, journal entry, April 5, 1876, CMS C/A2/O58/6.
12. Hone, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, 81.
13. Hone, 99.
14. Hone, 85.
15. Hone, 138.
16. Hone, 292-294.
17. Hone, 188.
18. RH Hone, 104-106.
19. Hone, 124.
20. Hone, 179.
21. Hone, 275.
22. D. Hinderer to Secretaries, February 25, 1858, CMS C/A2/O49/32.
23. Hone, 302.
24. Hone, 117.
25. Hone, 196.
26. Hone, 71.
27. Hone, 178.
28. Hone, 184.
29. Hone, 120, 121.
30. Other occasions of baptism of children took place in 1860 and in 1861. On the latter occasion, five out of the eighteen baptized were Mrs. Hinderer's charge. Hone, 128, 129, 223, 256.
31. Hone, 220.
32. Hone, 226, 227.
33. Hone, 223, 224.
34. Hone, 228.
35. Hone.
36. Hone, 229.
37. Hone, 230.
38. Hone, 233.
39. Hone, 234.
40. Hone, 234, 235, 245.
41. Hone.
42. Hone, 236, 237.
43. Hone, 255, 256.
44. Hone, 240.
45. Hone, 254, 255.
46. Hone, 256.
47. Mr. Hinderer wrote that relief materials of "cowries and substantial provisions" were sent to Ibadan Mission through Abeokuta, but the missionaries and their agents stopped their onward transmission. According to him, they claimed that "no carriers could be got for any load." D. Hinderer to H. Venn, March 10, 1863, CMS C/A2/O49/61.
48. Hone, 276.
49. Hone, p. 283.
50. Hone, p. 284, 285.
51. Hone, p. 288.
52. Hone, p. 290.

his exploit in documenting for future generations the history of the Yoruba nation, a venture that also fulfilled the deep desire of Mr. Hinderer.

Robert Scott Oyeboade became the schoolmaster at Aremo and was ordained in January 1895. [61] He served creditably well as a minister among his people in Ibadan. Francis Lowestoft Akielle, the first boarder in Mrs. Hinderer's home, also became the schoolmaster at Kudeti in 1869 and later married Ogunyomi. [62] From the 1890s he was assigned responsibility for the church at Ogbomosho and was ordained in 1898 as a minister. [63] Apart from Samuel Johnson who died an untimely death in April 1901, these contemporaries, under Daniel Olubi, rooted and strengthened the faith in the country in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and well into the early years of the twentieth. Hence, it may be said that although not all the sprouts that came out of Mrs. Hinderer's planting grew to fruition, those that did proved that she did not labor in vain.

Mrs. Hinderer's memoirs were eventually published in 1870 after the compilers, Miss Hone of Halesowen Rectory and her sister, succeeded in persuading Mr. Hinderer to allow them to publish her story. The first profit realized from the sale of the book *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, amounting to £31.4.8, was sent to Ibadan mission in July 1873 in support of the work now under Mr. Daniel Olubi. [64] And so, although dead, Mrs. Hinderer was still speaking.

Kehinde Olabimtan

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#### Notes:

1. R. B. Hone, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country—Memorials of Anna Hinderer* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1872), 1-6. Although they did not sign the book, the real compilers were two Hone sisters who were friends and acquaintances of Mrs. Hinderer. [Daniel Olubi](#), journal entry, July 21, 1873, CMS C/A2/O75/29.
2. Hone.
3. Hone.
4. Hone, 8-10.
5. Hone, 55.
6. Ajayi is of the view Olunloyo's commitment of his children to the missionaries' care for training was consistent with Yoruba tradition, which allows families to dedicate their children to the divinities. In this case, he was handing over his children to "an unknown God" the missionary couple might have come to proclaim. J.F.A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891- The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longmans, 1965).
7. Chief Emmanuel Alayande, interview in Ibadan in 2004. Yejide's memory has been sustained by naming an Anglican secondary school in Ibadan after her, Yejide Girls' Grammar School. Surprisingly, however, I find Yejide's name hard to come by in Ibadan missionary records; not even in Mrs. Hinderer's memoirs after the incident of the first day she was given to the missionaries.
8. Hone, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, 69.
9. Hone, 67.
10. Hone, 123; J. T. Kefer was another Basel trained German missionary from Wurtemberg. He was unmarried at the time of his death.

in 1966 and sentenced to death for rebellion. When the Belgian mercenary Jean Schramme attacked the Congo at Bakavu, Olombe had fought on the side of the Congolese army. Consequently, his sentence was reduced to five years of prison which he spent in the Ndolo prison.

After being released, he had nothing and came to the nuns for food,—the same nuns whom he had freed after killing their colleague in Isiro. Sister Léontine gave him what he requested saying: "Sister Marie-Clémentine forgave you; we must follow her example."

Yossa Way

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- Otene Matungulu, *The Spiritual Journey of Anuarite* (Nairobi: St. Paul Communications/ Daughters of St. Paul, 1998).
- Brochure picked up in the street by this author and which recounts her life. The pages with the author's name and the place of publication were lost.

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This article, received in 2001, was researched and written by Rev. Yossa Way, Project Luke Fellow and Professor of Theology at the Institut Supérieur Théologique Anglican in Bunia, Democratic Republic of the Congo.

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#### Dolphijn, Francis 1800s-1900s Seventh-Day Adventist Ghana

When Seventh-Day Adventists (SDA) in Ghana celebrated their church's hundredth year in the country in 1988, they were looking back to their 1888 origins. In that year, according to official SDA archival records, Francis I. U. Dolphijn of Apam in the Central Region of modern Ghana formally accepted the Seventh-Day Adventist faith at home there in Ghana.

On his own testimony, this came to him in early 1888 after reading an SDA pamphlet he got from a ship captain who stopped over with his vessel at his coastal home of Apam. In other words, Seventh-Day Adventism made its first convert in Ghana through the literature ministry and not through a preacher. From the word go, Francis Dolphijn accepted his newfound faith

warmly and wholeheartedly. He determined to help build up the church on a sound and lasting footing in his home country. A convert from Sunday observing Methodism to Sabbath (Saturday) observing Adventism, Dolphijn straightway entered into a four-year correspondence with Adventist headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, USA and other SDA centers and mission stations both in the United States and Africa. He asked for more reading materials with which he could work for his Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and His cause in Ghana, and for the SDA Church to send official resident missionaries to his country.

Dolphijn's efforts culminated in the first official visit of an SDA minister to his home, Apam, in 1892 to undertake a feasibility study of Adventist prospects in that country. Upon the recommendation of this visiting official, –Lawrence Chadwick,– the General Conference of SDA headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, USA dispatched the church's first foreign resident missionaries to Ghana in early 1894. These pioneer missionaries, Karl Rudolph and Leroy Sanford, Americans, first landed at Apam on Thursday, February 22, 1894. That marked the opening of the first SDA mission station in Real Africa (referred to some people as "Black Africa"). Francis Dolphijn and his small band of Adventist believers warmly welcomed Rudolph and Sanford to Ghana for Seventh-Day Adventism.

For some two decades or so after his conversion to Adventism in 1888, Francis Dolphijn became one of the pillars upon which the Adventist church was built in Ghana. Seventh-Day Adventism became a Dolphijn family ministry in which Francis, his wife, and their three kids, Isaac, Fred and Joyce, all were involved. In collaboration with foreign missionaries and indigenous believers like J. D. Hayford and George Peter Grant, the Dolphijns worked wholeheartedly for Christ and Seventh-Day Adventism in Ghana during the last years of the 19th century and the opening years of the 20th century.

Francis Dolphijn was one of the first literature evangelists to work for the SDA Church in Ghana. He also served as an itinerant preacher as well as an interpreter for the foreign missionaries of the SDA Church in coastal Ghana. His home, Apam, became the first SDA base and headquarters in Ghana until Cape Coast took over in late 1894.

Pioneer Francis Dolphijn, his two sons Isaac and Fred, and George P. Grant were the first SDA converts to be formally baptized into the church's fellowship, a ceremony performed by an American SDA ordained minister and missionary in Ghana, Dudley Hale, in March 1897.

The Dolphijn boys later left home for foreign adventures. Fred Dolphijn left for Britain for more studies, with the support of people like J. D. Hayford. It was hoped they would return home and continue in the SDA work and cause. They did return but did not continue for long in either the work or the faith of Seventh-Day Adventism. Much of this new trend in the Dolphijn story could be attributed to the early death of both parents. After Mrs. Francis Dolphijn died, her husband became both father and mother to their three children for about two decades – he apparently never remarried following the early death of his wife. Francis Dolphijn himself died about the mid or late 1910s and the last great Adventist influence on his children died with him.

In spite of this anticlimax of the Dolphijn story, Francis Dolphijn established his indelible mark as a pioneer founding father of Seventh-Day Adventism in Ghana.

Kofi Owusu-Mensa

Konigbagbe were serving at Ogunpa as schoolmaster and mistress there and were making an impact. Mrs. Hinderer wrote, "Koni is so energetic; she had my best powers spent on her, and she is capital. Laniyono is doing well, persevering and industrious." [55] Samuel Johnson too was serving at Kudeti, another sign of hope for a virile indigenous leadership.

However, the year 1868 was one of mixed blessings. In spite of the hard times, Christian witness was gently but steadily penetrating families and compounds through the quiet work of the converts in their homes. [56] The unconverted were taking more interest in the message and were asking questions as never before. Adeyemi of Katunga, an old prince of the defunct Oyo metropolis, embraced the faith after many years of belligerent argument against it and was baptized on Advent Sunday, November 30, with seven other candidates. Mrs. Hinderer was cheered by these silver linings in the horizon.

But bereavement also struck the mission in the death of one of the young girls, fourteen-year-old Moleye. [57] Soon after, two of the "big boys" in the mission lapsed from the faith and veered into dark, pagan practices. [58] Ill health also continued to ravage the lives of the couple. In fact, it became clear in 1868 that Mrs. Hinderer's health had become materially damaged, and it would not be possible for her and her husband to remain in the country much longer. Hints on their situation again reached Governor Glover in Lagos, who, possibly with the solicitation of the missionaries now restricted to Lagos, planned their exit. As in 1865, he sent a secret expedition that cut its way through the forest to fetch them to the coast, arriving unexpectedly in Ibadan on New Year's eve.

And still because they were unprepared for the arrival of the mission, only Mrs. Hinderer, who was in a bad state of health, returned with them to Lagos on January 5, 1869, closing her seventeen years of service in the Yoruba country. [59] Less than eighteen months after, she passed away in Martham, Norfolk, in England, on June 6, 1870.

### **The Legacy of Anna Hinderer**

By giving her energy to the nurturing of the children in Ibadan, Mrs. Hinderer chose to invest in the future of the work. Her impact can, therefore, be assessed mainly by following the track of those who profited from her spiritual, moral, and intellectual formation. From this perspective, her success can only be judged as modest. For she herself knew that not all the children that came under her care turned out right. Among classical failures, Laniyonu ranked first. He showed much prospects as a child and as a trained agent of the mission, only to derail and bring the faith into disrepute. When he was dismissed from the service of the mission in 1868, he was one failure too many for Mrs. Hinderer who lamented, "These are deeper and more heart-searching trials than anything from the poor heathen." [60]

Nevertheless, others who profited from her vindicated her training and went on to become the pillars of the mission. Samuel Johnson, Laniyonu's colleague under Mrs. Hinderer's teaching from January 1858 and at Abeokuta, became the schoolmaster at Kudeti, catechist at Oke Aremo, and the first ordained pastor placed in charge of the church at Oyo from 1886. Johnson may be said to have fulfilled the deep aspiration of the missionary couple in his contribution to the attainment of peace in the war-torn country from 1888. To this may be added

under Mrs. Hinderer. The next mail brought them the sad tiding of the death of Eyila, the little baby that had grown fond of Mrs. Hinderer. [49] Mr. Hinderer had recounted to his wife on arrival in England that she could not understand her “mother’s” absence at first. At daybreak, on the day Mrs. Hinderer left Ibadan, Eyila:

[C]ame joyfully into Mr. Hinderer’s room, thinking her Iya would be waiting to give her the usual greeting; but when her bright eyes looked for her in vain, she climbed on Mr. Hinderer’s knee, and throwing her arms around his neck, sobbed convulsively. She could only explain her grief by leading him to the door, to make another vain search for her Iya on the road by which she had seen her set out. [50]

### Winding Down

Mrs. Hinderer returned with her husband to Ibadan again in December 1866, having been away for about eighteen months. The mission and the converts remained steady, and Konigbagbe was now married with a child. [51] By February 1867, she was in full force again:

Three of the boys are learning harmonium; it is a work of patience...I have Akielle and Oyeboode every morning for lessons, general history, geography, Nicholl’s Help, &c., the girls for sewing from twelve to two o’clock, and I am now forming a class of women who live near us, to teach them to sew, once a week. These are some of the regular doings, and the irregular may be called legion, doctoring [i.e. nursing the sick and wounded], mending, housekeeping, receiving visitors. [52]

One of the fruits of their trip to England was the printing of the *Pilgrim’s Progress* in Yoruba language, the translation of which Mr. Hinderer undertook with his agent, Mr. Henry Johnson, during the wars that shut the mission in from 1860 to 1865. Mrs. Hinderer reported that her class of women on Sunday afternoons “were greedy for it; we each read a paragraph, and talk about it; and on the Sunday evenings, after a little scripture repeating, and hymn-singing, I read it with my girls and D. with the boys; they are perfectly charmed.” She goes on to write that, “Their open mouths and exclamations, when the full meaning of something in it presents itself vividly before them, are most entertaining.” [53]

Things were easing up for the mission in Ibadan when the riot broke out in 1867 at Abeokuta, during which the churches were plundered and destroyed and the missionaries were prohibited from the country by the Egba and Ijebu authorities. The rampaging elements at Abeokuta sent some of their loots to the chiefs in Ibadan indicating to them to do the same to the mission in their midst, but Ibadan authorities acquitted their missionaries. [54] Nevertheless, the mission lost its momentum under the missionary couple after this incident. Ill health plagued them over and again, and the same privation they experienced before they returned to England played out before them as Ibadan was shut in again for entertaining their presence in the country. Yet, there were occasions for joy.

By the time they returned from their trip to Europe, some of the children they had trained were coming into service with the mission. Hethersett Lanionu, one of the earliest recruits of 1853, and Samuel Johnson, who joined them in January 1858 from Sierra Leone, had finished their studies at Abeokuta Training Institution in December 1865. Lanionu and

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### Shukai, Butrus Tia

1931-1985

Anglican Communion (Episcopal)

Sudan

Butrus Tia Shukai was from the Katcha tribe in the Nuba Mountains region. He was born in 1931 at the village of Tuna in the Katcha area in southern Kordofan Province (Nuba Mountains). His mother died when he was less than a year old. His father was a rich man but abandoned him and went to live with his second wife. His aunt took care of the child and brought him up.

At the age of twelve (1943), his uncle sent him to school at Katcha Elementary School, which was one of the mission schools established by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in the Nuba Mountains region. Butrus and his brother were the only Christians in their family. All his parents and other relatives practiced African traditional religion.

In 1947, Butrus completed his elementary education and was baptized the same year. He spent two years (1947 and 1948) in intermediate school, at the end of which he became an elementary school teacher.

On January 1, 1950 he married Roda Ali Kuku and on February 19, 1951, Nabil, their first baby boy was born. They had eight children, four sons and four daughters. That same year Shukai felt the call to serve the Lord. Mr. Roland Stevenson, his headmaster, and Bishop Morris Gelsthorpe supported Shukai and encouraged him to pursue this calling. He then had to go back to school for two more years (1951 and 1952) in order to complete his intermediate education in order to prepare and qualify him for theological training for the ordained ministry at Bishop Gwynne Theological College.

In 1953, he began his studies at Bishop Gwynne Theological College and completed the three years of theological training in 1955. Shukai was the first Nuba to be ordained as a deacon at Katcha in 1956. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1958.

Shukai was a quiet, hardworking man, who loved his people. As his main concern was to take the Gospel to all the tribes in the region, he would go on journeys that would last for weeks or months, traveling long distances on foot and sometimes on a donkey. In 1960, he decided to go and work among the Moro, Leira and the Atoro tribes, leaving his home district under the care of some of the evangelists he had trained. At that time, the Sudanese Church of

Christ (SCC) had established some preaching centers in some of the areas. So as to avoid duplicating evangelization efforts and stirring up rivalry, he always left such places and went to work among the unreached tribes. In so doing, he evangelized all of the Eastern Nuba Mountains region.

From the beginning of his ministry, Shukai saw the need for more evangelists, for “the harvest is plentiful, but the laborers are few.” (Matt. 9: 37). The Nuba Mountains region is so vast that Shukai alone could not reach all ninety-nine tribes. As a result, he not only preached the Gospel, evangelized and baptized the people, but he also prepared and trained leaders and evangelists from among the converts. Among those he prepared and trained are Yacoub Idris Kuku from the Moru tribe, now archdeacon of Kadugli Diocese; Kurkeil Mubarak Khamis from the Atoro tribe, late bishop of Kadugli Diocese who died on September 17, 1996, and Yousif Abdalla Kuku from the Leira tribe, now bishop of Port Sudan Diocese. Shukai also encouraged and organized the revival groups in the region, kept them within the church, and harnessed their energy for the advancement of the church in the Nuba Mountains.

Given such a responsibility in a very vast and largely animistic region, Shukai had to be active and creative in order to keep the work of the church of God alive and moving. He had no money to pay his evangelists so he introduced the idea of church farms which every congregation was to have. This enterprise,—which taught the principle of collective or cooperative work,—was so successful that all the evangelists had more than enough food for their families. The spirit of collective work was further applied to the building of schools and churches, and to cultivating crops. Consequently, nobody was thinking of salaries for church workers in terms of money.

In 1964, Shukai was transferred to Khartoum to take care of the Nuba Christians who had immigrated to the city in search of education and job opportunities. Khartoum being a cosmopolitan city, Shukai found himself among Arab Muslims and Christians, Black African Christians from South Sudan, European Christians and missionaries. But he was able to fit into this society with its diverse ethnicities and religious affiliations.

Upon his arrival at Omdurman, plans were immediately put forward for his promotion, and in 1968, he was made archdeacon for the Archdeaconry of Northern Sudan. He immediately embarked on a tour of the whole archdeaconry, visiting every parish, thus acquainting and familiarizing himself with the situation of the archdeaconry and the conditions of the people put under his charge. He set up a systematic visitation program for himself. In summer when the temperatures fluctuate between 100 and 120° F in the north, Shukai would visit all the parishes in the Nuba Mountains as the weather there is cool at this time. During the winter, when it is cold in Khartoum and the rest of northern Sudan, Butrus would tour and visit the few parishes in the north, as the roads in the Nuba Mountains at this time have become impassable due to heavy rains.

In 1971, Shukai was consecrated as an assistant bishop by Bishop Oliver C. Allison in All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum. It is worth noting that by that time Bishop Allison was bishop for all of Sudan. When the Diocese of the Sudan became independent from the Church of England and was inaugurated on October 11, 1976, four dioceses were created, constituting the Province of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan, namely Juba, Yambio, Rumbek and Omdurman.

to them for one full year. When Mrs. Hinderer later sent her some cowries in recognition of her services, she refused to take the payment saying, “I did it because you were strangers in a strange land, and I will not take anything for it.” [44]

Their woes deepened with months and years. When Mr. Hinderer undertook a dangerous trip to Lagos in March 1861 through the forbidden territory of Awujale, the Ijebu king, he lost much of what he got. The caravan he used to send them to Ibadan was attacked and he lost his provisions. What he got for money in Lagos to change to cowries was swindled by the Ijebu trader who promised to bring him cowries in Ibadan. He was only mercifully protected himself on the journey as the Awujale set a price on his head for staying in Ibadan and daring to pass through his territory to the coast. His successful return, though near empty-handed, elicited rapturous joy throughout the town; and gifts of food and cowries poured in for the mission from all quarters in celebration of his safe arrival. [45]

Years passed on, and although Ibadan succeeded in destroying Ijaye in 1862, the conflict continued on different fronts with the Egba and Ijebu peoples; and Ibadan remained shut in. Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer remained at their post, but not much could be done to advance the mission except to keep it running. Survival became paramount in the face of recurring illnesses of both of them. But creativity was not all lost although everything that could fetch them cowries had been disposed of. The children continued their lessons and Mrs. Hinderer cultivated beds of onions, which one of the women in the church sold for her, again far below their values just to have cowries to purchase food. [46] Between 1862 and 1864, attempts by the colonial administration of Captain Glover in Lagos were made impossible by the hostility of the Ijebu king who would not give his embassies passage. Their missionary colleagues at Abeokuta too were half-hearted in relieving them, having taken side with their Egba hosts in the feud. [47]

The work continued, however, but there were no teaching materials for the children. They had no Bible, and Mrs. Hinderer’s stock of teaching aids had worn out by 1864 and had to be carefully held together while teaching. Happily, the children were making good progress in their religious and temporal education. [48] It was in the midst of these woes that the tiny tot, Eyila, was retrieved from the brook and brought to the mission.

Relief finally came to the couple in April 1865 when the governor sent his officer, Captain Maxwell, to Ibadan to fetch the missionary couple. Maxwell cut through the pathless forest to reach Ibadan at 10.00pm with provisions for the couple to make the journey back the next morning. Caught unawares by the governor’s provision, only Mrs. Hinderer could make the journey so hastily. She had to set out very early before the enemies became apprised with the venture and before the children woke up to make parting difficult. But Konigbagbe, the eldest of the lot, accompanied her mistress on the non-stop march to the coast. Mr. Hinderer stayed for few more weeks to make his own exit, after making arrangements for the mission in his absence.

The return to England offered them opportunity to recoup their health and to visit friends, both in England and in Germany. It was also an opportunity for them to raise support for the impoverished Ibadan Mission and their work with the children. While they were doing these things they were receiving news of the proceedings at Ibadan. The first news they received in their mail was the death of Arubo, the boy they had rescued from starvation on Ijaye road eleven years before. In these years he had made significant and all-round progress in his formation



of the overwhelming persecution of her relations and returned to good health afterwards. These two incidents gave the critics of the mission occasions to triumph. [33]

The social environment of war was particularly distressing as Mrs. Hinderer wrote, “We are weary with war, sounds of war, talks of war, anticipations of war; but we have been mercifully kept and comforted.” [34] Of all their woes, the unrestrained bias of the Egba elements in their mission was most troubling, because it brought the conflicting sentiments of war mongers under their very roof. [35] And, much more, the missionary couple found it embarrassing and Mr. Hinderer had to keep it under control as it was a major threat to the continuous existence of the mission. With all these troubles at hand and the store of cowries greatly diminished, Christmas was not celebrated in December 1860. [36] But the Christmas day service held with the children “in church, washed, and oiled, and dressed in their very best, their woolly hair freshly plaited (which sometimes is not done for months altogether), and looking as cheerful as possible...” [37]

Mrs. Hinderer had to be resourceful in providing for the seventy mouths for which the mission was responsible—herself and her husband, the children in the mission, and the agents and their families. She devised various ways of preparing yam for meal to make it palatable and managed with beans and palaver soup while her husband relished the Indian corn flour made into porridge. There were enough of these foods in town, but there were no cowries to purchase enough. [38] An attempt to take loans from the chief saw Mr. Hinderer visiting the camp on the eve of the New Year, 1861. Although Ifa forbade giving him the loan he asked for, some of the chiefs gave personal donations in acknowledgement of his person and the good work he was doing in the town. [39]

With the evident proof that the situation in the mission was no longer sustainable, Mrs. Hinderer sent back home all the children in her custody who had parents to support them. From home they came to school daily. Another woman volunteered to take an orphan to herself to relieve the pressure on Mrs. Hinderer. [40] The dire situation was also an occasion to reproach them by people for whom lack of trouble was a sign of favor with the gods. They say, “What is the use of their serving God? They die, and they get trouble; and Ifa and Sango, &c., &c., often help us. The Mohammedans say, God loves us well, but we do not worship Him the right way, and do not give honor to His prophet.” [41]

In the adverse situation the couple found themselves, Mrs. Hinderer began to sell some articles in the home some of which she had earlier considered useless; but now she knew the people would like to buy them. She and the children brought out and spent hours in polishing old tin match-boxes, biscuit boxes, and the lining of deal chests. When they exhausted selling these, they began to dispose household utensils for cowries at prices below their values, just to have cowries to buy food. [42] Later, she sold her gown to get cowries worth just £1, far below its value. [43]

But there were also occasional supports from unexpected quarters, such as gifts of cowries from a member of the church and loan from a relation of their agent, Olubi. On one of those difficult days she received gifts of Indian corn from a woman passerby who was impressed that she could speak her Yoruba language and entered into an interesting conversation with her on her mission in Ibadan. Another assistance came from her milk supplier who, although would never want to hear the gospel, insisted on supplying her household their need for milk at no cost

Four assistant bishops were enthroned as bishops for these newly created dioceses. The Rt. Rev. Elinana J. Ngalamu became the first archbishop of the new Province of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan and bishop of Juba Diocese, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin W. Yugusuk became bishop of Rumbek Diocese, the Rt. Rev. Yeremaya K. Datio, bishop of Yambio and the Rt. Rev. Butrus T. Shukai of Omdurman (now Khartoum) Diocese.

Of the four dioceses of the Sudan, Khartoum was the largest, in terms of area, and had a predominantly Muslim population. Christians were found in the Nuba Mountains, and in the major cities in the north, such as the tri-city capital (Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Omdurman), Wad Medani and Port Sudan, to mention only a few. And as mentioned before, people of different nationalities and cultures live in these cities,—a diversity which exists even within the Christian community. The bishop’s challenge was then to preserve the unity of this diverse Christian community living in the heart of an Arab Muslim culture. As bishop, he struggled to maintain an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence between the Muslims and his small Christian community. He had to build bridges of understanding and trust between the church and the Muslim government in Khartoum.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, a huge movement of Christians and Muslims brought many people into the northern cities and towns from South Sudan and from the Nuba Mountains in search of employment and or education. These people lived a miserable life and Shukai had to provide relief assistance for them,—Muslims, Christians, and animists alike. Before the government confiscated the Church Missionary Society (CMS) hospital in Omdurman, Bishop Butrus opened its doors for the service of the people regardless of ethnicity, religion or race. During his time as the first bishop of this vast and ethnically, culturally, and religiously diverse diocese, Shukai confirmed large numbers of baptized Christians.

Although he could not curb the persecution of Christians which was, and continues to be, sponsored by the Arab Muslim government, the bishop managed to keep the high tension between the Muslim majority and the Christian minority at a considerably low degree. He maintained the Christian spirit of love for their enemies, and tolerance between Muslims and Christians. Among other achievements, he established the Omdurman Bible Training Institute (OBTI) before his enthronement as bishop of Omdurman Diocese. He raised up and trained leaders for the church, sending some pastors away for theological training in Kenya. He ordained Kurkeil Mubarak Khamis and Butrus Kuwa Kuku as deacons and as priests and consecrated Kurkeil Mubarak Khamis as assistant bishop. His love and vision for trained leadership was so strong that in 1977 he sent Ismail Badur Kuku to Cairo, Egypt for theological training, so that after his training, Ismail Badur could help Rev. John Barff, an English priest who was asked to promote Omdurman Bible Training Institute (OBTI). The institute is now called Shukai Bible Training Institute (SBTI), after him.

Shukai loved everyone and was loved by all who knew him even before he became a deacon. He was a quiet person who always avoided problems. He established the link between the Diocese of Khartoum in Sudan and the Diocese of Bradford in England, a relationship that has now grown to its fullness in the Christian witness of the Gospel, not only to the congregations of these two sister dioceses, but even to the whole Anglican Communion.

At the beginning of 1985, his health started to deteriorate and he died on May 11, 1985, leaving behind him his beloved wife, Roda Ali Kuku, and their four sons and four daughters.

James Lomole Simeon

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- (b) Mrs. Roda B. Shukai, wife of the late bishop.
- (c) Mr. Akila B. Shukai, fourth of the eight children of the Shukai family.

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This article, received in 2003, was researched and written by Mr. James Lomole Simeon, Esq., Chancellor of the Diocese of Khartoum, Sudan, 2002-03 Project Luke Fellow.

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#### **Milyango, Ibrahim**

**1880-1978**

**Independent**

**Tanzania**

Ibrahim Milyango lived from 1892 to 1978. He served the Lord as an independent evangelist and was neither responsible to the AICT, nor to the AIM leadership. He had seven children.

Milyango believed that he was called to the work of evangelism to be a missionary to the yet unreached. He traveled in the Mara, Shinyanga, and Mwanza regions for two purposes: to evaluate the needs and to evangelize. He stayed at a particular place until he noticed that those to whom he preached had grown spiritually mature. He then moved on to another place.

Milyango continued evangelizing until he was unable to walk because of age. Even then, although he was too old to walk, his heart burned to get to the unreached. Anyone who visited Milyango realized that he was a man of determination. I remember one day at a certain Sunday service at Imalaseko, Shinyanga, in 1971, when he contributed the amount of 270 Tanzanian shillings for an evangelistic campaign to the Wataturu of Bukundi, situated about 160 miles southeast of the Shinyanga municipality.

In my opinion, Milyango was best at propagating the gospel because he knew how to get his audience's attention. In 1980, at the funeral ceremony of the late Rev. Andrea Kabupu Midetelo of Kolandoto Shinyanga, Milyango testified to the life of Midetelo. Milyango said,

This young man (even though Kabupu was 85 years old when he died) laid in a coffin on our front. I met him when he was a dealer of hides. He was young, handsome, and smart. I called to him, 'Kabupu, leave those dead skins, follow me

children. Unlike the depressing situations they left behind in 1856 because of the intense persecutions of their converts in their homes, things looked up in 1858. Although they returned shortly before the hot season set in, they coped very well, possibly because the mission and its converts were less troubled this time. Evidently, the Spirit was also at work in the wider community as more people began to appreciate their work and acceded to the church. In February 1858, she was reporting on 27 children in her care; few months after, she wrote, "My thirty children are very prosperous, very good, very naughty, and very noisy, just as it happens..." [27]

Mrs. Hinderer continued to take joy in working with her children and delighted in their company. She once wrote, "I do wish you could see my children, we take great pains with them, and they are in some order, and are getting on very well. They are always about us, and out of school hours I can never stir without a flock around me." [28] In her teaching, she drew lessons from nature and used picture illustrations she brought from England, and these both delighted the children and brought home the lessons she was passing across to them. [29] It was at the height of the domestic persecutions that eight of them were baptized along with six others on November 9, 1855. Mrs. Hinderer decked her children—Onisaga, Akielle, Lanionu, Arubo, Elukolo, Abudu, Ogunyomi, and Mary Ann Macaulay—all in white for the occasion. It was a significant event in which some of the neighbors of the mission came to acknowledge the futility of their conspiracy to keep their people from going to the mission. [30]

#### **Times that Try the Soul of Men**

The work of the mission was on a good footing and arrangements were being made for expansion into the interior when war broke out between Ibadan and its neighbor, Ijaye, in January 1860. In the alliances that complicated the war, Ibadan was shut in by their Egba and Ijebu neighbors to the south. The drumbeat of war reminded the missionaries how much still needed to be done to transform the bloodthirsty town into a city of peace. Meanwhile, the war brought the mission much woes. At first, Mrs. Hinderer stored food in the house for her children, and they had a large store of cowries to meet their purchasing needs. But as the war became protracted the store steadily grew empty and the cowries were exhausted; the war did not restrain the children's appetite. [31] With her husband's illness at hand and the need to continue to care for those children who had nowhere else to go, she was occupied with domestic affairs. The gifts sent from England by Lady Buxton could not be delivered for the fear of their being impounded on the way to Ibadan. Eight months into the war, she wrote with near despair, "Our future looks very dark." [32]

The year was indeed a tough one for the missionary couple, and Mrs. Hinderer was emotionally stretched. As the year wore on and the economic situation of the town became increasingly difficult, the Christian band suffered bereavement in the death of a woman who had been badly persecuted by her family members for becoming Christian. The incident became useful in the hand of the people as they criticized the missionaries when they could not raise her back to life again. They wondered what value was in a religion that made people to abandon the good ways of their fathers only to be struck dead by the gods while the missionaries could not bring the person back to life again? At the same time, another woman lapsed from faith because

The rank of children in Mrs. Hinderer's school also swelled from the additions to the families of the agents. When the couple was returning from their vacation in England in 1857, they stopped over in Sierra Leone where they recruited two agents, Mr. Henry Johnson and Mr. William S. Allen. The two families brought to Ibadan six children. [22] The growing family of Daniel Olubi, their much trusted servant and agent, continued the expansion, first in Daniel, Jr. and, then, in Bertha.

But male and adult sufferers of the age also benefitted from the home of the missionary couple. Antonio, a former slave and returnee immigrant from Brazil, and his family found shelter with the mission, away from the hostility of his relations. Although he spent much of his time on his farm, for ten years he found refuge with the missionary couple and converted from his catholic faith to evangelical Christianity. Antonio died in 1867, and he was soon followed by his wife. The missionary couple took care of their two children—Talabi, a girl, and her brother—whom their unconverted, extended family members wanted to inherit as slaves. Mrs. Hinderer described Talabi as “a wonderful trouble, ten Topsy's in one...I have much anxieties, now that she is growing up.” [23]

### **Mother, Playfellow, and Teacher**

Mrs. Hinderer took a lively interest in her children and they soon grew fond of her. She managed the first team she had from 1853 as a playgroup. When she gave them a break at the end of the year, the children did not like the fact they would miss their time with her. When she gave them the option of coming from home to take lessons, they readily jumped at the offer. They found her stories and lessons stimulating. In the midst of the multifarious demands on her as the mother of the mission, the presence of the children was her most pleasant joy. “Our home life is one of privation,” she wrote early in 1855, “and often of trial and difficulty, but a very occupied one, and one of much hope and interest.” “I have not time to be idle, truly,” she continued, “and I think never a night has come without my being thoroughly tired...The dear children are my greatest outward comforts. I like to hear them singing, not with the taste and mellowness of our English children, yet with much heart and real enjoyment.” [24]

Mrs. Hinderer's education program for her children was a total one. She gave attention to their grooming and demeanor, and spiced their training with music. The girls were also introduced to needlework. They initially found daily washing “unheard-of absurdity,” but with discipline they soon got entrenched into the regimen. [25] Coming also from a society where noise and chattering was the norm, they thought it strange to be ordered to be quiet and silent. It was at the family prayers that their appreciation for silence began to emerge, and Mrs. Hinderer wrote soon after a few months of gathering them, “Nothing composes them so much as music. We always sing a hymn with the harmonium at prayer, with which they are delighted. But though decidedly a care and no slight trouble, I would not for anything be without them; they will lose their wildness in time, and they are so affectionate.” [26]

When the couple returned from their trip to England in January 1858, Mrs. Hinderer was happy for the management of her children and school in her absence by their catechist, Barber, and Olubi and his wife. She even saw the evidence of the Spirit at work in the life of the

and let us deal with living skins, which are God's people who are dying in their sins.' He followed me. Now that he has served His Master, and finished the race, let him have a rest. Stop crying for him, he is victorious. Let us be of great joy that he is in His Father's hand. If your desire is going there, believe in Jesus just now. I assure you, the time will come when you will meet Midetelo face to face in heaven.

On that occasion, I saw numerous people receive Jesus as their master and personal Savior. His story challenges me deeply. I remember when one of Milyango's daughters got married, Milyango and his wife gave the church all of the dowry money which was instead used to build chairs in the Central Church of AICT at Makongoro in Mwanza. Using a dowry in such a way was extraordinary to Wasukuma culture.

Milyango evangelized in such places as Bushitala, Nyida-Luhumbo and Ishigamoto, Maswa; Idukilo, Shinyanga; Mihama, Shinyanga; Buzinza, Shinyanga; Kalasani, Magu; Dindilyani, Magu; Imalaseko, Meatu; Bariri, Bunda; Mirungu, Musoma. When he was in Bunda in 1952, he planted an orange tree at Bariri. *Bariri* means “cold.” That tree stayed there as a living reminder of what Milyango had done there. Today, there is a big church in the town of Bunda.

Joseph N. Gisayi

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This article, submitted in 2003, was written by Rev. Joseph N. Gisayi, 2003-2004 Project Luke fellow, a minister in the AICT for the past twenty-four years, as well as a member of the Africa Inland Executive Council and chairperson of the AICT Mission and Evangelism Department. This article was reviewed and approved by AICT bishop Peter Kitula, David N. M. Nghosha, historian of the Africa Inland Church Tanzania and by Stephen Kapongo, coordinator of AICT Department of Mission and Evangelism.

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### **Vou Gyang Bot Dung**

**1908-1966**

**Sudan United Mission (today Pioneers UK)**

**Nigeria**

Vou Gyang, as she was popularly known in mission records, was born in 1908 to Gyang and Tiri in Foron. Foron eventually became a Sudan United Mission (British Branch) station and the headquarters of Christian mission activities among the Berom. Tiri was the first Berom woman to convert to Christianity through the missionary activities of the SUM now known as Action Partners.

The Berom people are the major ethnic group on the Jos Plateau in central Nigeria. Their habitat was devastated by tin mining during British colonial rule. When the SUM missionaries first appeared among this people along with assistants from the southern parts of Nigeria in 1907, few were converted, if any. The turning point in the Christianisation of the Berom took place in about 1920, when “four Berom lads” between fourteen and sixteen years old, against their parents’ strict instructions not to have anything to do with the white men, began to visit the mission compound in Foron (a new SUM station). They eventually became the first crop of Berom evangelists.

Through the evangelistic activities of one of these lads, Toma Tok Bot (who began as a missionary houseboy), Tiri became a Christian. Her husband Gyang was not interested. Tiri introduced her daughter Vou to the church as early as possible. The young Vou followed her mother’s example and was committed to the young SUM church in Foron. Vou attended church regularly, defying her father’s threats and enduring his persecutions.

Determined to see her daughter grow as a Christian, Tiri enrolled Vou in the mission Class of Religious Instruction (CRI) in Foron. During this period Vou learned to read and write in both Hausa and Berom, the first Berom girl to achieve such a feat. The mission records report that she was “in the top class in school and... making much progress” but also that Vou’s father would often deny her food because he was disappointed in her for wasting time “with those new fangled ideas about reading and writing.”

In those days as there were few young Christian men, the first challenge Vou faced as a Christian was whom to marry. Her father had promised her hand in marriage to a young man who was not a Christian. But if Vou married this person she would compromise her faith by having to brew the local beer, and perhaps would not be allowed to go to church. Missionaries had taught absolute abstinence from alcohol as mark of true conversion. Vou’s response to her father urging her to agree to marry the young man was, “I have never known the taste of beer. How could I go into a compound where I would have to make it for all who live there?”

However, in Foron there was a Christian man, Bot Dung, who had lost his wife. Even though Bot was much older than Vou, she preferred him to the non-Christian man. Consequently, they were engaged when Vou was ten. Her friends teased her for being willing to marry someone old enough to be her father. Vou’s reply to such ridicule was “he [Bot] loves me and I am content and happy to be his wife.” At that tender age Bot could not take her to his house until she had grown older. In 1924, when Vou had turned sixteen, Bot and Vou were married in the Foron Church (now Church of Christ in Nigeria, Foron). In 1926 Vou and her husband Bot were baptized.

A year after their baptism, Vou and Bot were called to evangelize a neighboring ethnic group called the Aten. The self-named Aten are better known as Ganawuri, so named by the Hausa, whereas the Berom call them Jal. Vou and Bot’s call to be evangelists was significant in many ways. First, they would be the first resident missionaries among the Aten. Second, the Aten were considered a very dangerous people: they were not only wild and warlike but were considered notorious cannibals as well. It was believed that no stranger stayed alive in their midst. As such the Berom feared them in spite of their own numerical strength. Missionaries had only paid

her mother, she rushed into her lively embrace, screaming “Iya mi, iya mi!” The other children made a hasty return home shouting, “Ogunyomi has found her mother!”

Ogunyomi’s mother was told all the missionaries had done for her daughter, and she recounted her own journey into slavery in Ibadan. She rejoiced at the redemption of her daughter and paid her regular visits. But soon these stopped and Ogunyomi fell back into her melancholy. The missionary couple investigated the reason for her stopping the visit and found that she had become seriously ill beyond any hope of recovery. For the sake of her daughter, they paid her ransom fee and brought her to the mission where they nursed her to life again. On recovering they employed her as a domestic helper, cooking for the children. Lucy Fagbeade became a Christian and happily lived in the mission with her daughter until her death in 1867. She lived to serve the mission for eleven years. [16]

Sophie Ajele’s story was a direct contrast to Ogunyomi. When the missionary couple was away to England in 1856, their catechist, James Barber, took in a little girl because her mother wanted to sell her. When the matter was taking before the chief, the father agreed that the missionaries could take her up if they were willing. Before her adoption to live in the mission, she had suffered neglect. She had measles and for three days her mother refused to give her food. After she was received into the mission, the mother relocated to Ijaye and was not seen for a long time. Then she sneaked into town to steal the child away, but found her still with measles. She pretended to have come to take care of her. When she began to rain abuses on her daughter’s benefactor she was forced out of the mission compound, but not until she had administered to her daughter a dangerous dose of poison. Days later, she returned and the same scenario of verbal abuse played out again. The poor girl held tenaciously to Mrs. Hinderer, begging her not to allow her mother to take her away because she would only sell her away.

Sophie was an affectionate child who took interest in always sitting near her adopted mother, gazing at the picture of Jesus blessing children. But she had a weak constitution and eventually succumbed to the fatal scourge of the disease that wasted her. Yet her short spell in the mission gratified Mrs. Hinderer who gave her utmost attention and care. She and the other children were affected by her death. The same evening, when she died, Mrs. Hinderer wrote that she and the other children in residence, “followed her to the silent grave, where we laid her just as the shades of night were coming over us.” [17]

The stories of Ogunyomi and Sophie are not isolated cases of the Hinderers’ acts of mercy. Several others reaped from their home. In 1854, they retrieved Arubo and brought to the mission this “cold, starved, and filthy” slave boy who was thrown out of a compound and was pleading with passers-by on Ijaye road to buy him. [18] The following year, another smart boy was redeemed from slavery and found security in living with Mrs. Hinderer. [19] About the middle of 1858 when Mr. Hinderer was touring the interior to prospect for mission posts, Olubi retrieved a little baby, less than a week old, abandoned by a stream. Suspected to have been thrown away because he was a twin child, he was brought to the mission where Mrs. Hinderer nursed him for three weeks. He had suffered much through the cold night and eventually died. [20] Still, in the war years that followed that of Ijaye, another child, about six months old, in similar circumstances was retrieved from a stream in 1864. She rallied again to full health and was given the name Eyila, meaning “this is saved.” She became a bundle of joy in the mission. [21]

A unique value the missionaries were promoting in Ibadan and which readily struck the people was the work of mercy the missionary couple made part of their missionary work. The perennial slave-raiding wars of Ibadan produced a large slave population in the town some of whom eventually survived their ordeals and were integrated into families. This happened mostly where women slaves became additional wives in the households of their masters. But many also did not survive. Hunger and diseases wasted some, and there were occasions of abandonments when slave owners considered their captives too costly to maintain for reason of their ill health. A few women in such situation were given succor in the mission and were nursed by Mrs. Hinderer. The children, however, benefitted most from this rescue mission and became part of the fledgling mission community. The story of a small girl and her mother from the Efon country, that is Ekitiland, well illustrates one of such works of mercy.

In 1854, Ibadan war boys raided the country with fierce violence, destroyed the towns, captured many of the people and brought their victims home as slaves. During the raid, a woman and her daughter fled into the forest to avoid being captured. Their husband and father seems to have fallen in the puny resistance their town mounted against the overwhelming force of their assailants. After several days in the forest, surviving on leaves and roots, they decided to take their rest under a tree. Two of the invaders suddenly swooped on them and quickly tore mother and child apart and escaped in different directions. They did not listen to their plea for mercy. The unhappy seven-year-old girl was brought to Ibadan as a slave. A convert of the mission who himself had come to Ibadan as a slave tried, though unsuccessfully, to cheer her up; but she remained disconsolate. When he heard that her owner was about to sell her to traders going to the coast from where she might never be retrieved again, he went hastily to Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer to explain the situation. He encouraged them to redeem the girl as he had no money to effect her ransom. The couple gave him the money, and in no time he appeared at the mission with the child.

The poor child was initially terrified at the presence of her “white” benefactors; but with the cheerful encouragement of the other children in residence, she was assured that at the mission she would never be a slave. Ogunyomi soon became a happy girl in the Hinderers’ home, intrigued by the songs and the alphabets she was learning and the magic of needle work. But with time, she fell into melancholy again. When she was asked the reason for her cheerless mood, “She burst into tears ‘Iya mi,’ ‘iya mi!’” —“My mother, my mother!” Mrs. Hinderer encouraged her to pray to God to bring her mother if that was his will for her. Such prayer was a tall order in a town of over one hundred thousand people and where slaves were often given new names on arrival. The chance of such reunion was extremely low, if not impossible. But providence had not yet finished with Ogunyomi.

Six months after she had taken residence at the mission, she went to the nearby Kudeti stream with her mates to draw some water. A woman was passing by who was intrigued by the children’s white dresses. But, more than that, she heard a voice that sounded like her daughter’s among the lively chatters of the children and took time to listen very well. She recognized the unmistakable voice of her supposed lost child and exclaimed, “Ogunyomi!” Ogunyomi turned around at the direction of her caller and stared for a moment at her. On recognizing that it was

exploratory visits to the Aten in 1924, but no local or foreign missionary was willing to stay among this people.

But one day, in the SUM church at Foron, Rev. Thomas L. Suffill (the longest serving foreign missionary among the Berom) made a strong appeal to evangelize the Aten, saying: “Who is willing to go among these cannibal people and bring them the Good News of Salvation?” The church was quiet as everyone was afraid of the cannibals. The Berom had no dealings with the Aten; they were, in fact, enemies. So Suffill was quite surprised when Bot Dung approached him and said he felt God was calling him to go to the Aten. He said, “*Da Lo* [“father” in Berom] I believe that the Lord wants me to go to Ganawuri, but how can I ask my wife, who is still a young girl with her first baby on her back, to make such a sacrifice?” Suffill approached Vou with the matter. She replied, “If the Lord Jesus wants me to go and teach the cannibals, I am quite willing to go.” This was quite a relief as the mission records of 1927 reveals: “The outstanding event of the month was the calling out of Bot Dung and Vou Gyang for their work among the Ganawuri.” According to the records, in August 1927, “the little family set off on their big adventure with their belongings on their heads, the baby on Vou’s back, and a deep love of God in their hearts.” Thus Bot and Vou trekked to Dangaran, the Aten settlement.

The couple was received in Dangaran with mixed feelings. The Aten chief, however, was happy to receive them and gave them a piece of land on which to build a house. This was not without intense opposition from some of the Aten, who threatened to demolish their house and force them out of the village. The chief was always present to rescue them. The chief had requested Christian teachers to live among his people three years earlier. Soon there were converts, the first being an old man, Da Gyang, and his wife; a Muslim Imam, Ibrahim, and a twelve-year old Aten boy named Song. The next year, 1928, four men and a woman joined the Aten church.

Soon the evangelists ran into cultural problems. The first Christian couple, Da Gyang and his wife, had twins. According to Aten culture, twins must both be put to death. Vou Gyang stood firmly against killing the children whom she considered a special gift from God. She prevailed. The twins were spared, to the chagrin of Da Gyang’s non-Christian relations who prophesied doom for the family if the twins were allowed to live. But both twins survived, grew up, and married.

The SUM had a policy of not paying its local evangelists because it was believed that the local church should support them. Farming became the preoccupation of Bot and Vou after preaching and teaching the Word of God. In 1928 Bot and Vou had their second child. The joy of having another baby was, however, shortlived because Bot contracted sleeping sickness. At that time, Dangaran was infested with tsetse flies, the flies that cause sleeping sickness. Bot had to be hospitalized in the mission hospital in Vom for treatment. Vou was faced with the decision to follow her husband to the hospital or to remain in Dangaran with her teeming Christian community which now included the village chief. She chose to stay to teach the Aten the good news of salvation.

After treatment, Bot returned but his eyesight was bad and he could not read. As a result, when the need arose for a Bible in Aten, Bot could not help. Vou, with the help of Rev. Suffill (who came from Foron), translated portions of the Bible into Aten. Vou had not only learned Aten which was unintelligible to the Berom, but she also could write Aten using Roman

characters. Later the whole Gospel of Mark was translated from Hausa to Aten to the delight of the Aten. This was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society and a copy presented to Vou in the church in gratitude for her hard work and service to the church. A team of Aten is working on translating the whole New Testament into Aten (2004), which will be published by the Nigerian Bible Translation Trust.

The evangelistic and pastoral work among the Aten was solely handled by Vou who was full of joy when Song, one of their first converts, was ordained in the church. Pastor Song became the shepherd of the church. With this achievement, Bot and Vou felt their work among the Aten had come to an end. Having served the Aten church for about five years, Bot and Vou returned to Foron. Bot and Vou had succeeded in taming the Aten and destroying the myth that the Aten were unassailable cannibals. As they were able to stay in Dangaran unmolested, Bot and Vou helped to establish relations between the Berom and the Aten which have survived in trade and intermarriage.

Back in Foron, Vou continued to be active in the church. She became the leader of the Christian women and brought life into the women's fellowship by encouraging them to learn to read and write. She taught the women to be submissive to their husbands and to work hard. She taught them not to fold their hands and do nothing, looking to their husband for their needs but, instead, to acquire land and farm it. The independence which Vou taught the women was helpful when the men were later conscripted to work in the tin mines; then the women kept the homes. This is why the Berom women are self sufficient and among the hardest working women on the Jos Plateau.

From 1939 to 1949, as Vou was still healthy and strong, the Foron church sent them to Gashish, a Berom village where they worked for ten years, helping to build the young church there.

Finally Vou Gyang and Bot Dung retired and moved to a mining camp at Gidin Akwati, where Vou built a piggery. Later the couple returned to Foron due to Bot Dung's failing health. He died in 1964 at the approximate age of seventy-five. Vou did not live long after the death of her husband. She was diagnosed with cancer and eventually died in the Vom Hospital in 1966. On her death bed, Vou reportedly occupied herself praising God who had seen her through to the end.

Musa A. B. Gaiya

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Interview with Da Andarawus Bot Dung, 70, a retired civil servant and Vou Gyang's son, living in Foron.

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authorities in the country, added to these problems as they did not like to see Christianity rooted among the people.

The third challenge to Mrs. Hinderer's work flowed from the second. Domestic persecution of the converts erupted with the success of the mission as the Christian message made its slow but sure inroad into Ibadan society. Although there were no town-wide persecutions like those of 1849 Abeokuta, the years 1855 and 1856 were particularly difficult for the mission.

These challenges undermined Mrs. Hinderer's work and occasionally slowed it down. Recurrent illnesses made her sometimes unavailable to the children, and inconsistencies in enrollment at her school bothered her. Whereas four months after her arrival in Ibadan, the initial rank of four pupils she started with had swelled to sixteen in August 1853, [12] enrollment fell with her absence to Abeokuta to recuperate her health early in 1854. This was in contrast to earlier expectation of receiving seven more children to the home after the completion of the bigger house Mr. Hinderer was working on. When she returned to the new and bigger accommodation in May, after a few weeks in Abeokuta, she discovered that two of her boys, Adelotan and Abudu, had been withdrawn by their parents. The former was not allowed to appear around the mission while Abudu approached his teacher with grief that his father had effected his withdrawal. [13] Ifa had told his parents at his birth that Abudu was to be a "book boy," and they had consequently given him a Muslim name, Islam being the only religion of book known to the country then. [14] Apparently with the coming of Christianity they had thought of another possibility, hence their sending him to the mission. But the social ambivalence of the age threatened his continued residence at the mission. Happily, he eventually found his way back like his companion, Laniyonu, who was also withdrawn for a time by his contentious father, Mele.

In the heat of the domestic persecutions directed at the converts, three more boys were withdrawn by their parents early in 1855, ostensibly at the instruction of local divinities but actually at the counsel of the local priests whose trades were under threat. When, the following year, another boy who was sick was taken from Mrs. Hinderer, she lamented her loss:

You must share my sorrow...Another little boy has been taken from me by his heathen parents, a child who has been a long time with me. The worst is, I can never see him, he does not come near me, so that I cannot tell whether his heart is still with us, or whether he has been turned to former fashion [i.e. Yoruba religions]. It is a sore trial to me, I have felt I would rather have laid him in our quiet burial ground. [15]

This spate of withdrawals was, however, compensated for by additions from unexpected quarters. When the missionary couple visited Oyo in 1856, just before their vacation in England, a small girl became endeared to Mrs. Hinderer and pleaded that she be allowed to follow her to Ibadan. At the Alafin's permission, Konigbagbe returned with them to the mission in Ibadan. Additions also came from the opportunity to redeem some traumatized child slaves in Ibadan. This did not only compensate for their loss, but it also publicly brought to the fore the contrast in the values of mid-nineteenth century Ibadan society and those the missionaries were commending to the people.

### Life where Death Reigned

death took him away in the battlefield while the couple was away to England between 1856 and 1857. He only had a foretaste of what conversion could mean when Akielle refused to participate in one of the family's traditional sacrifices after taking residence with the Hinderers. His quiet acquiescence in the face of his son's vehement refusal is the only evidence that a longer acquaintanceship with the mission might have led him in the way of the new faith. However this relationship is understood, Christian tradition in Ibadan today rightly recognizes his children, Yejide and Akielle, as the first converts to Christianity in Ibadan. [7]

Another child that resided early with the missionary family was Laniyonu, the son of Mele, a difficult neighbor of the mission. Mele was once very influential in the politics of Ibadan, but he fell into bad times and had to relocate to the fringes of the town. His misfortune demonstrated the delicate and ruthless nature of Ibadan politics. At any rate, his son was among the children who came to live under the roof of the Hinderers. The fourth child was an orphan and a brother of the mission schoolmaster. Within the first month of her residence in Ibadan these four children were entrusted to the care of Mrs. Hinderer. [8] Although she was still an object of curiosity with the womenfolk, she had no doubt that they loved and appreciated her; hence, she could write soon after arriving in the country about "their kind and respectful and really polite way of speaking, and...their tender and affectionate feeling towards me..." [9]

### **Swimming against the Current**

In spite of the initial acceptance the missionary couple received on arriving in Ibadan, three major challenges soon confronted them. The first was the challenge of ill health. Mrs. Hinderer experienced her first bout of seasoning fever barely a week after arriving in Lagos on January 5, 1853; this delayed the couple's movement to Ibadan via Abeokuta. During her temporary stay at Abeokuta she saw what would become a familiar pattern in serving as a missionary in the country: the deaths of missionaries as a result of the tropical environment that was not conducive to the constitution of Europeans. And both she and her husband had many health breakdowns and near-death experiences throughout their time in Ibadan. The missionary couple and their colleagues and assistants in the town, therefore, spent much time nursing one another as illnesses incapacitated them at turn, with Theophilus Kefer becoming, in May 1855, the first fatality in their team. [10]

The second major challenge in their early years in the country was the social ambivalence of the people towards the mission. On the one hand, they enjoyed the novelty of having this exotic species of human beings in their town and did not cease to be intrigued by their novelties in religious practices and building construction. On the other hand, many were afraid of the radical nature of the religion they were promoting, which some considered dangerous and socially drab and weak, fit only for women and children. [11] They feared that the abandonment of the tested ways of the ancestors could incur their wrath and those of the traditional divinities. Expectedly, the priests of traditional religions were not wanting in intensifying this fear. Moreover, the Christian ethos was at variance with the social ethos of the ambitious younger generation who wanted wealth and fame, which were easily attainable through their wars of pillage and conquests. The perceived intrigues of the Muslim clerics, who were connected with political

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**Muge, Kipsang Alexander**

**1948-1990**

**Anglican Communion**

**Kenya**

Alexander Kipsang Muge was the first bishop of the Anglican diocese of Eldoret in Kenya.

Alexander Kipsang Muge was born sometime in March 1948 to Anna Chepkoskei, known as "the woman of dusty roads." She fetched firewood from the hills, carrying a heavy burden on her back to feed her little ones. She was a good peasant, tilling the land and providing food for the elders and warriors of the land. Even though he was born into the Kamelilo clan, to astonishment of his parents and the village elders, Kipsang refused to attend traditional ceremonies and to succumb to normal initiation patterns of the clan. This behavior was a mystery because at that time neither he nor his parents were Christians.

According to his mother, as a child Kipsang loved the solitude of the forest and yearned to know the meaning of things around him. He was a very obedient and a fearless child whose deep love for truth was unquestionable. When his father, a businessman, discovered Kipsang's hidden qualities, he enrolled him in the Africa Inland Church Primary School at Tangaratwet where he received excellent marks in the standard four Common Entrance Examination in 1962. Later, Kipsang studied at the Anglican Mission School where he passed the Kenya Primary Education Examination.

Kipsang was converted and baptized on October 25, 1970 at St. Michael and All Angels Church in Ruiru after hearing a sermon based on the encounter of Jesus with Zacchaeus the tax collector. Kipsang, then a soldier, lived a sinful life and lacked true freedom and peace. Nevertheless, he encountered Christ in a very personal way. After his conversion, he was encouraged by born again Christians to pursue the path of faith to its ultimate end. Rev. John Kago baptized him and, from then on, Kipsang became totally committed to the revival movement. As a result, his values and lifestyle changed completely.

In 1973, three years after his conversion, he decided to resign from his work as a soldier and begin studies at St. Philip's Maseno Bible School. In 1975, he was ordained a deacon at St. Stephen's Church, Jogoo Road, in Nairobi. The following year, he was ordained a priest and made a curate there. Later, he served as a priest at St. Mark's Church, Westland, Nairobi, before going to London Bible School in Britain in 1979. While in London, his eloquence earned him many good friends and he became secretary to a Pan-African student body.

He graduated with a bachelor of arts in divinity from the London Bible School and returned to Kenya in June of 1982. He rejoined the diocese of Nairobi and on July 1st of that same year, he was appointed assistant provost of All Saints Cathedral. Muge served at All Saints

for eleven months before being appointed bishop of the newly created diocese of Eldoret on June 5, 1983.

He started the diocese from nothing. At first, his study room doubled as his office. Later, after some renovations, the garage and a timber house served as an office. There were only two vehicles in the diocese: one for the mother's union and the other for the rural services in west Pokot. At the beginning, the diocese had only eighteen parishes and two missionary areas, with a total of twenty-three clergy. Because Mug's first priority was evangelism, his initiatives enabled the diocese to undergo tremendous spiritual growth. He personally participated in youth camps, evangelistic missions, rallies, and church activities. Because of his love and care for the youth, he was appointed provincial (national) chairman of the Kenya Anglican Youth Organization (KAYO), a position he held until his death. His evangelistic vision bore fruit and, at the time of his death, there were twenty-eight parishes, six missionary areas and thirty-six clergy. His diocesan staff also had grown from two (Muge and his secretary) to one hundred and forty. By then the diocese owned thirty-six motor vehicles and nine motorcycles.

As a bishop, Muge was a prophet who articulated his mission and vision for the people of Kenya. Muge, who had a spirit of discernment, was a very daring person. He devoted his life entirely to advocacy and the proclamation of social truth. He believed in the power of the pulpit to transform and reform the society. He advocated social truth and scared politicians whose interest was just to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor. Nicholas Otieno, in his book, *Beyond the Silence of Death: Life and Theology of the Late Bishop Alexander Kipsang Muge*, says that; "When Muge set out for a mission, however dangerous it was, no one, not even his family could stop him. He was a man of depth and total commitment to the cause of truth. He had faith beyond the fear of death" (p. 27). As a bishop, Muge refused to see himself through the lenses of ethnic affiliations characteristic of the politics of the day. Even when pressured by leaders from his community to make decisions along ethnic lines he denounced them, responding; "We have nothing in common with those who call themselves Nandi (his tribe) leaders. I am not a tribal leader. I am a spiritual leader with pastoral responsibilities over many tribes in my diocese." (Otieno, p. 41) When warned by politicians not to visit certain areas for security reasons, he defied the warnings, swearing to go and perform his work, saying: "My call to serve the Lord is such that personal security is secondary compared to the primary task of taking the Gospel of the Lord to the outmost parts of the diocese. If it is the will of the Lord that I be with him in heaven, then that is welcome, for death to a Christian is gateway to Heaven." (Otieno, p. 20)

Muge made a radical and uncompromising choice to defend the poor and oppressed children of God. He once said; "The source of the little man's right has been turned into a spring of injustice." (Otieno, p. 49) Having served in the armed forces before his calling to the ministry, he often conceptualized his vocation as a prophet and a shepherd in terms of being a watchman over the Lord's flock.

Muge held high the authority of Scripture and its traditional interpretation. On May 17, 1990, during a visit to the U.S.A., he openly condemned homosexuality, appealing to the authority of Scripture in its classic understanding which, he said, must not be compromised. Rev. T. Barnum quotes Muge:

After her temporary stay at Abeokuta waiting for her husband to get their house ready in Ibadan, Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer finally arrived in the town at the end of April 1853. They received a rousing welcome, full of excitement,

[A]s soon as we touched the town there was such a scene, men, women, and children shouting and screaming, "The white man is come!" – "Oibo 'de!" and "The white mother is come!" and then their thousands of salutations, everybody opening eyes and mouth at me. All seemed pleased, but many frightened too when I spoke; they followed us to our own dwelling place with the most curious shouts, noises, and exclamations. All seemed perfectly bewildered; horses, sheep, goats, did not know where or which way to go. Even the pigeons looked ready to exclaim, "What is happening?" [5]

Mr. Hinderer had had a foretaste of his missionary environment during his five-month reconnaissance visit to Ibadan in 1851, and he knew there were obstacles to overcome before his mission would be firmly established there. In addition to the possible conflicts conversion from indigenous religions might generate, the Muslims too mounted open and subtle opposition to the mission. And although Ibadan's domination of the country was a potential advantage to his plan, since, by extension, it opens the country to his missionary exploit, the social values of the people were inimical to his message. Mid-nineteenth century Ibadan was a violent society. Rustic and completely out of touch with the outside world, the town was under a military aristocracy. Yoruba religion and Islam held sway among the people, both of which were being practiced in syncretistic union. Toughness was regarded as manliness and the warlords of the day hardly exercised restraints in pursuing their ambition. The cost was the ruthless decimation of the country in fratricidal wars of conquest, plunder, and slave raiding.

The missionary couple adopted a two-prong approach to the evangelization of the town. Regular street preaching was addressed at adults. But the agency that would root the work in the country must be developed from the rank of the children who had not been fully socialized into the prevailing culture of violence. As Mr. Hinderer led the mission but concentrated on the work of the church, Mrs. Hinderer derived a fulfilling ministry in working with children whom they boarded in their modest house at Kudeti station.

The first two children they received into their home were given them by a young war chief, Olunloyo. He committed his six year old daughter and four year old son, Yejide and Akielle respectively, to the couple. Yejide insisted on returning home at the end of the first day with the missionaries and persuaded her younger brother to follow her back home, because she had been told that white people eat human beings at night. Akielle, at first, followed her counsel but soon returned to the mission house while her sister passed the night with her parents. Yejide was only convinced of her safety with the missionary couple when she returned the following day and found her brother alive and well.

It is not certain why Olunloyo gave his children to these strangers in town, about whom many were still uncertain. [6] It may not be possible to ascertain his motive, since he did not live long enough to commit himself to Christianity. However, he was deeply committed to the wellbeing of the missionaries and did all that was within his capacity to see them fully settled in the town. He appears like one of those drawing close to the light of the gospel by degrees when



something of her life for God's service. But she perceived that her adopted parents would consider her too young to do anything presently. She later wrote about these early days in Lowestoft:

I longed to do something. I had a strong desire to become a missionary, to give myself up to some holy work, and I had a firm belief that such a calling would be mine. I think this was from a wish to be a martyr; but I wanted to do something then. Dear Mr. and Mrs. Cunningham knew little of me then; they looked kindly at me often...I often thought if I might have a few little children in the Sunday school to teach, it would be an immense pleasure. I was afraid to ask it, but having my aunt's consent, when I was between twelve and thirteen, I ventured one Saturday, after passing dear Mrs. Cunningham three times, to make my request, fearing all the time that she would say I was too young, and too small; but what was my joy when she smiled so kindly upon me...and told me to go to the school at eight o'clock the next morning...I was up early enough; a heavy snow was upon the ground; but that was nothing. I went, and six little ones were committed to my care... [2]

Mrs. Hinderer would also date her conversion to this period of service when, in the course of her teaching, she wondered if she herself had appropriated the lessons she was teaching the younger ones:

I felt the want of something to make me happy, something that the world could not give; and I think, while talking to these little ones of Jesus, it entered my mind, "Had I gone to Him myself?" I went on seeking and desiring, and often said and felt "Here's my heart, Lord, take and seal it; seal it for Thy courts above," and I was comforted in the sense that God would do it. This was doubtless the movement of the Blessed Spirit in my soul. I saw my need of a Saviour, and in the Saviour I felt there was all I needed, and I was by degrees permitted to lay hold on eternal life... [3]

Although she was acutely aware of her sinfulness, which was typical of evangelical Christianity of her day, Anna Martin found purpose in her increasing occupation in the vicarage and the godly influence radiated by Mrs. Cunningham who treated with "sweet dignity" the visitors that daily streamed into the vicarage. Diligence, respect and compassion were the legacies bequeathed her by the venerable couple, [4] and how much of these she imbibed would become manifest when her missionary aspiration was realized some twelve years later.

On October 14, 1852, she married Rev. David Hinderer of Schondorf, Wurtemberg, Germany; a missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) who had briefly returned to Europe to fully prepare for service in the Yoruba country. She was deliberate and resolute in her commitment to the young missionary who had just located in Ibadan the possible place of his lifelong vocation. Happily, the years of residence and children work in Lowestoft had prepared her for what would be her peculiar assignment as she labored alongside her husband.

### Entering the Lion's Den

We have it plain and clear that Scripture condemns all sorts of immorality. Ordaining practicing homosexuals and appointing them as rectors, and blessing homosexual unions are indeed signing the death certificates for our churches. Our historic and loving God does not appease people when they go wrong. He calls upon them to repent and be put right with God. We need to go to the foot of the Cross for the salvation of Christ... The discipline of the church of Christ throughout the world must be maintained. Sin should be rebuked by any and all means. (P. 2)

He also warned the church in Kenya against sinking into corruption instead of leading the nation. He maintained that the church, as the nation's conscience, must rid itself of anything that could rob it of its moral authority. Maintaining this moral authority, he said, meant that church leaders must examine themselves time and again. Addressing a 1985 National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) seminar on the topic of "Effective Communication of the Gospel," Muge, quoted by Francis Ayieko in the *Daily Nation Newspaper*, said: "To the best of my knowledge, the church, as an institution, has nothing to lecture to our nation about because all the evils that eat our nation, such as tribalism, favoritism, nepotism and other isms, have found true shape in the NCCCK." Anglican bishops Muge, Henry Okullu, and Rev. Timothy Njoya of the Presbyterian Church and others repeatedly linked moral rectitude within the church with the high moral ground from which the church judges the state.

Muge preached a holistic gospel, incorporating evangelism with development and educational activities intended to increase the community's capacity to plan and implement development projects. To achieve this, he initiated Christian Community Services (CCS) to oversee all development activities within the diocese. By the time of his tragic death, Eldoret diocese was the strongest diocese in Kenya in terms of development work and spiritual growth.

On August 14, 1990, Muge set off on a journey from which he would never return. He had been warned by Minister for Labor Mr. Peter Habenga Okondo not to set foot in Busia. However, Muge defied the ban and traveled to Busia. On the way back, he lost his life in a road accident near Kipkaren, Uasin Gishu district. Many say that this was not an accident at all but the direct result of his stand for the Gospel of Jesus Christ in his nation. He was forty-four at the time of his death.

Muge, who is survived by his wife, Mrs. Herma, and four children, Esther, Andrew, Elizabeth and Ammon, was admired and highly respected by many, not only for his God-given courage as he spoke for justice and reconciliation, defending the poor and the oppressed, but also for his unequalled humility. Muge will always be one of the most unforgettable personalities in the history of the church in Kenya.

Alfred Sheunda Keyas

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This story, submitted in 2005, was researched and written by Rev. Alfred Sheunda Keyas, a priest in the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), diocese of Mumias, serving as a missionary in Mwingi, Eastern Kenya Province, and *DACB* Project Luke fellow (2004-2005).

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## FRENCH ENTRY – ARTICLE EN FRANÇAIS

**Boymandjia, Simon-Pierre**

**1874-1989**

**Union des Eglises du Comité Baptiste**

**République Centrafricaine**

Boymandjia Seremandji Simon-Pierre était un visionnaire à l'époque où l'attitude paternaliste de certains missionnaires occidentaux représentait un sérieux obstacle à l'émergence des autochtones.

Boymandjia naquit vers 1874 à Bondengué, en République Centrafricaine, de parents Seremandji et Fembeti. Ses cinq frères sont morts très jeunes. Après la mort de ses parents, Boymandjia devint revendeur ambulancier du sel à cuisine et parcourait des villages à pied pour vendre ses marchandises. Finalement, il quitta son village et alla s'installer à Fort Crampel (actuellement Kaga-Bandoro), une ville qui pouvait lui offrir plusieurs possibilités de gagner sa vie. C'est dans cette ville qu'il fut converti et baptisé à l'âge de 47 ans au sein d'une église baptiste.

Le récit de sa conversion est frappant. Avant de venir à Jésus, Boymandjia était ancré dans l'animisme. Féticheur, métamorphoseur et charlatan, il pouvait se transformer en vent ou en arbre d'une manière mystérieuse. Un jour, il passa devant l'église Baptiste Mid-Mission où l'on chantait un cantique chrétien en langue sango:

*Dis tout à Jésus*

*Il connaît le cœur de l'homme*

*Il surpasse les frères et les amis*

*Dis tous à Jésus aujourd'hui.*

Il fut saisi par le contenu, et après un entretien avec les missionnaires, il donna sa vie à Christ. Il fut baptisé la même année. A cause de sa vie et de son aptitude, il ne tarda pas à être désigné comme moniteur de l'école de dimanche.

Les missionnaires de Baptist Mid-Mission furent marqués par son dévouement, son courage et son sens éclairé. C'est ainsi que le statut de Boymandjia passa de celui de garçon de course, à celui de domestique et d'étudiant-évangéliste. C'est après sa formation d'évangéliste que le nom de “Boymandjia” lui fut attribué par les missionnaires, émerveillés par ses prestations: “Hé, Boy-Mandja !” (Hé, ce garçon de l'ethnie Mandja!). Dès lors, son nom de famille “Seremandji”

*amaningi* (How the Theme of Protestantism is Perceived by Other Nations); see also *UmAfrika*, August 16, 1929. He was heavily involved in preaching; see *UmAfrika*, “Intshumayelo,” [Preaching] January 2, 1931.

58. *UmAfrika*, August 16, 1929.

59. See *UmAfrika*, “Intshumayelo,” January 2, 1931.

60. Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg: 4/1/2/3, 2/4/2/2/45, “Native Affairs. Native Estates: Estate: Mnganga, Edward Müller,” Last will, June 15, 1938.

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Booklet on Fr. Mnganga's life for download: [Abuse of a Genius: Edward Muller Kece Mnganga 1822-1945: The Story of Father Edward Mnganga, The First Zulu Catholic Priest](#), by T. S. N. Gqubule

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This article, received in 2009, was written by Dr. George Sombe Mukuka, a faculty research manager at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa, and 2008-2009 *DACB* Project Luke Fellow.

**Hinderer, Anna**

**1827-1870**

**Anglican Communion (Church Missionary Society)**

**Nigeria**

The English wife of the nineteenth century missionary to the Yoruba country, David Hinderer, Anna Hinderer (née Martin) was born in Hempsall, Norfolk, on March 19, 1827. She lost her mother at the age of five and was brought up by her father. At twelve she moved over to reside in the home of her grandfather and aunt, Rev. Francis and Mrs. Cunningham, in the parish of Lowestoft, England. [1] Her religious formation, which was temporarily slowed down by her mother's death, received new impulse from her residence with the Cunninghams. The church environment made strong impression on her, and very early she grew desirous of making

39. Mncadi interview.
40. Harriet Deacon, "The Medical Institutions on Robben Island 1846-1931," in *The Island: A History of Robben Island, 1488-1990*, ed. Harriet Deacon, (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Mayibuye Books and David Philip, 1996), 57-75.
41. See Julie Parle, *States of Mind: Searching for Mental Health in Natal and Zululand, 1868-1918*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007); see also, Julie Parle, "States of Mind: Mental Illness and a Quest for Mental Health in Natal and Zululand, 1868 to 1918," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2004), 107-174; Julie Parle, "The Fools on the Hill: The Natal Government Asylum and the Institutionalisation of Insanity in Colonial Natal," (paper presented at the Africa and History Seminar Series, University of Natal, Durban, March 17, 1999), 11.
42. Parle, "States of Mind," 107-174.
43. Parle, "The Fools on the Hill," 12.
44. Parle, "The Fools on the Hill," 16-17.
45. See Parle, "States of Mind," 107-174.
46. Archbishop of Durban Archives: File on the first Black Clergy, "Medical Superintendent of Natal Government Asylum, Letter to Rev. Father A Chauvin, Roman Catholic Mission," Pietermaritzburg, February 8, 1911. (...) Interestingly, the oral sources state that he stayed there for a period of seventeen years, which means that since he was arrested in 1906, he only came out in 1922. Reliable sources about Mnganga in this period, however, are scarce.
47. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238.
48. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238.
49. Mncadi interview.
50. *The Catholic Directory of South Africa, 1921-1951* (Pretoria: SACBC, 1952); see also in *Izindaba Zabantu*, September 7, 1928.
51. Archbishop of Durban Archives, "Father Ballweg, Letter to the Bishop," May 26, 1927.
52. Archbishop of Durban Archives, "A. M. Fleischer, Letter to a Bishop," January 3, 1929.
53. Inkamana Monastery Archives, Vryheid, "E. Mnganga, Letter Addressed to Bishop Spreiter OSB," May 4, 1932.
54. Inkamana Monastery Archives, Vryheid, "E. Mnganga, "Letter Addressed to Bishop Spreiter OSB," January 30, 1934.
55. Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg: 4/1/2/3, 2/4/2/2/45, "Native Affairs. Native Estates: Estate: Mnganga, Edward Müller," Last will, June 15, 1938.
56. Inkamana Monastery Archives, Vryheid, Black Clergy File #1, "R. M. Fleischer, A Letter addressed to 'My dear Lord'," Mariannahill, January 27, 1929.
57. Inkamana Monastery Archives, Vryheid, Black Clergy File #1, "Rev. Edward, A letter addressed to 'My Lord'," Mariathal Mission, 30 January 1934. He also wrote several books, one of which was entitled, *Isiguqulo sama Protestanti siteka kanjani namazwe*

laissa la place au sobriquet "Boymandjia" qui devint désormais son nom officiel. Sa prouesse linguistique était telle qu'il parlait sango, sara-madjingai, français, arabe, et anglais.

La popularité de Boymandjia commença avec sa vie de féticheur, de revendeur du sel et enfin d'évangéliste charismatique au sein d'une église baptiste conservatrice. Cette popularité facilita son contact avec les leaders politiques émergents aux premières heures des mouvements nationalistes qui conduisirent le pays à l'indépendance en 1960. Un de ces leaders était le prêtre catholique Barthélemy Boganda qui avait l'ambition de transformer l'Oubangi-Chari, longtemps sous la tutelle colonisatrice de la France, en République Centrafricaine. Lors d'une de ses tournées de sensibilisation à Fort-Crampel, Boganda eut un entretien personnel avec Boymandjia. Ce dernier fut ainsi mis au courant de la vision de Boganda qui était d'aider le pays à rompre avec la politique coloniale au moyen d'un référendum. L'approche de Boganda était de sensibiliser les chrétiens, tant catholiques que protestants, pour qu'ils votent pour le changement. Ce changement consistait à rendre aux autochtones le droit de se prendre en charge et de se diriger dans tous les domaines. Comme il était d'accord avec la vision de Boganda, Boymandjia ne tarda pas à exercer son influence sur d'autres chrétiens protestants.

L'adhésion de Boymandjia à ce projet de réforme politique et sociale déplut aux missionnaires qui tentèrent en vain de l'en détourner. Boymandjia échappa à plusieurs tentatives d'assassinat et finit par être excommunié de l'église Baptiste Mid-Mission. En 1956, il quitta l'église avec beaucoup d'autres membres pour fonder sa propre dénomination appelée Comité Mission Baptiste. Cette nouvelle église autochtone fut aussitôt reconnue par un décret gouvernemental. D'autres personnes clés de cette église étaient Boyfini, Mete-Fara et Mondoyangba. Deux ans plus tard l'église adopta une nouvelle appellation, Union des Eglises Comité Baptiste (UECB). Il fallait rompre avec le mot "mission" qui d'une part, avait une connotation colonialiste et, d'autre part, suggérait l'idée que la propriété de cette église revenait aux "missionnaires blancs." Avec ce changement, ils précisèrent dans les statuts de l'église que les "biens mobiliers et immobiliers sont la propriété personnelle de la famille Boymandjia."

Boymandjia et ses collègues amorcèrent un travail étonnant. Leur vision était de faire de l'UECB une église au-delà des barrières ethniques, une église du Christ présente partout en Centrafrique. En sa qualité de fondateur et premier responsable de l'église, Boymandjia parcourait le pays, pour la plupart de temps à pied, d'est en ouest, et du nord au sud pour prêcher et inciter les autochtones à la prise en charge. Avec l'appui de Boganda qui était déjà dans les arènes du pouvoir politique, Boymandjia et son église initièrent des activités sociales, principalement l'implantation des écoles.

Dans sa vision expansionniste, Boymandjia se rendit dans trois pays limitrophes pour prêcher l'Évangile et tenter d'implanter les églises, notamment au Tchad, au Cameroun et au Congo-Brazzaville. Au Tchad, il fut sévèrement et publiquement battu par les intégristes arabes. Ses efforts dans ces pays furent aussitôt étouffés soit par les missions protestantes, soit à cause de l'antagonisme islamique.

Boymandjia eut également l'occasion de visiter la France et la Suisse. Ses voyages à l'étranger suscitérent un soutien moral, spirituel, et matériel de la part de certaines églises occidentales pour appuyer l'effort local de l'UECB.

Boymandjia mourut le 17 novembre 1989 à l'âge de 115 ans, laissant treize enfants issus de trois mariages successifs et soixante-six petits-fils. A sa mort, l'UECB comptait cinquante-et-une églises locales avec 55.000 membres.

### L'héritage de Boymandjia Simon-Pierre

Après sa mort, la direction de l'église revint à ses enfants et aux anciens qui n'avaient malheureusement pas le même charisme que Boymandjia. Cette crise de leadership conduisit au schisme de l'église. L'Eglise Baptiste Centrafricaine qui en résulta fut à son tour divisée. L'Eglise de la Coopération Evangélique en Centrafrique vit le jour de cette scission. En 1984, deux églises, l'Eglise Liberté Evangélique et l'Eglise du Christ en Centrafrique, sortirent de cette lignée et, en 2001, naquit la Fédération des Eglises Evangéliques Baptistes. Comme on peut le constater, Boymandjia est l'ancêtre commun de la plupart des églises protestantes existant aujourd'hui en République Centrafricaine.

Fohle Lygunda li-M

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Cet article, reçu en 2005, est le produit des recherches du Révérend Fohle Lygunda li-M. Récipiendaire de la bourse du Projet Luc en 2004–2005, directeur exécutif du Centre Missionnaire au Coeur d'Afrique ([www.cemica.org](http://www.cemica.org)) à Kinshasa (Rép. Dém. du Congo) et coordinateur régional du *DIBICA* pour l'Afrique francophone.

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### Latunde, Elija Titus

1905-1983

Christ Apostolic Church (Aladura)

Nigeria

that soon after his arrival Mnganga was speaking Latin, English, Italian, German, and Greek as if they were his mother tongues. In 1928, he contributed two articles to the *Izindaba Zabantu* newspaper: "Umlando we Bandla" (History of the church) and "Nohambo lwabangcwele" (The way of the saints).

17. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238.
18. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 237.
19. *Idem*.
20. Reginald Myeza, interview by author, April 17, 2007, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg, tape recording.
21. It is interesting to note that Bryant was a Zulu ethnographer. He was well known academically and popularized the term "Nguni" to refer to Zulu- and Xhosa-speaking people following the publication of his book. This has great impact on the story in the sense that Bryant was supposed to know Zulus better than Zulus themselves. Yet, when he encountered Mnganga (a real Zulu) he could not handle the situation.
22. The present author chose to interview two bishops because they are the only ones who both knew something about Mnganga's life and also were willing to be interviewed.(...)
23. The sources he referred to in the interview are from the two books, one by Joy Brain and the other by Godfrey Sieber.
24. Mansuet Biyase, interview by author, April 22, 1997, Eshowe, tape recording; see also, Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238.
25. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238; see also, Biyase, interview.
26. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 237. The problem with Biyase's story is that he relied too much on information garnered from books and thus reconstructed some of his narrative. He nevertheless managed to complement this with information gained from other black priests.
27. Dominic Khumalo (d.2005) was auxiliary Bishop of Durban. (...)
28. Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview by author, March 25, 1997, Pietermaritzburg, tape recording.
29. Khumalo interview.
30. Khumalo interview.
31. Myeza interview.
32. Myeza Interview.
33. Father Natalis Mjoli, interview by author, October 22, 1997, Empangeni, tape recording.
34. Mjoli, interview.
35. Mjoli interview.
36. Mjoli interview.
37. Mjoli interview.
38. These reasons were given by four priests who requested that their names not be disclosed. These four young Zulu priests, who were ordained in the late 1980s and early 1990s, spoke to me on condition of anonymity.

native congregation of St. Francis of Assisi, all of them in the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannhill. [60]

George Sombe Mukuka

Notes:

1. As most of the missionaries could not pronounce his surname Mnganga, when in Rome he adopted the surname Müller. In some archival sources this name is sometimes used. The name Kece is a Zulu clan name for Mnganga.
2. Mariannhill Monastery Archives, *Monastery Chronicle 1882-1895*, 50. See also Respondek, "Die Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum," 45-55; Aldegisa M. Hermann, *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*. (Mariannhill: Mariannhill, 1982), 19.
3. Vitalis Fux, "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus," *Vergissmeinnicht* 63 (1945); Mariannhill *Monastery Archives*, *Monastery Chronicle*, 235-238. (...)
4. Malukati Mncadi, interview by author, September 1994, Mariathal, Ixopo, tape recording.
5. Mariannhill Monastery Archives, *Monastery Chronicle*, 50.
6. Alfred Thomas Bryant (also known as David Bryant after he joined the Trappist missionaries) describes the coming of the Trappist missionaries to Dunn's household. (...) Inkamana Monastery Archives, Vryheid, "David Bryant, 'Some Sweet Memories'," manuscript, 1947.
7. Joy B. Brain, "Early History of the Roman Catholic Church 1846-1885" (M.A. thesis, University of South Africa, 1974), 245.
8. Joy B. Brain, *Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond* (Durban : T. W. Griggs, 1975), 118.
9. Brain, *Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond*, 119.
10. Alfred Thomas Bryant was a Zulu ethnographer. (...)
11. Inkamana Monastery Archives, Vryheid, "David Bryant, 'Some Sweet Memories'," manuscript, 1947.
12. Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238.
13. Maffeo Barberini was born in Florence in April 1568; elected pope, August 6, 1623; and died in Rome, July 29, 1644.
14. Archbishop of Durban Archives, file on the first black Catholic priests, "Rt. Rev. Mgr. Hook, A Letter to the Bishop for Mnganga," The Presbytery, Queen's Road, Aberystwyth, Wales, England, September 5, 1923.
15. Mariannhill Monastery Archives, *Monastery Chronicle 1896-1911*, 111. See also, Hermann, *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill*, 19; Brain, *Catholics in Natal II*, 252; Respondek, "Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum," 47-49.
16. Brain, *Catholics in Natal II*, 120. See also Fux, "Der erste Priester," 235-238. Mariannhill Monastery Archives, *Izindaba Zabantu*, September 7, 1928, where it says

Elija Titus Latunde was born in January 1905 at Ile-Lodi, Moore, Ile-Ife in the present Osun State. Latunde's parents were Pa Fasanmoye and Madam Fapowopo Eluyo who were both idol worshippers. Latunde had a sister named Alice Omiwara and a brother named Samuel Adebajo.

On January 7, 1917 Latunde was baptized in St. Phillip's Anglican Church, Ayetoro, Ile-Ife and received the name Titus. In January 1922 Latunde entered All Saints School, Osogbo. From 1924 to 1927 Latunde was at Government School Oranyan, Ibadan. And between 1928 and 1929, Latunde attended Government Teachers Training College, Warri, now in Delta State.

Latunde was offered a government job for his brilliance at college. However, he refused it because he first wanted to get a degree in education. Unfortunately, his educational pursuits were cut short by an eye defect on the day of the examination. Oyebanji, who worked under him for fifteen years, puts it thus:

When he was living with his uncle, Mr. Arewa, he obtained the admission to sit for the entrance examination at Warri and one of his fellow candidates at the examination was Chief Festus Awosika. Before he entered the examination hall, Latunde was hail and hearty but as he sat down to start the examination, he discovered that he could not read the question. That was how Latunde's ambition to further his education was aborted (pp. 181-182).

Latunde then opted to work in petty trading, selling shirts, ties, and suits in Ibadan. Latunde's worsening eye problem became a major source of worry for his family who sought medical help in many ways and places.

Assisted by a man named Mr. Ademakinwa, Latunde went to seek medical treatment in Lagos where doctors declared his condition hopeless. Not discouraged by the poor medical report, Latunde returned to Ibadan where he heard about Faith Tabernacle Church. Latunde joined the church and resorted to marathon prayer and fasting for victory and healing. He regained his sight after washing his eyes in a bowl of blessed water at the worship place in the house of Oba Akinyele. This marked a turning point in Latunde's life.

In 1930 Latunde became an evangelist under Prophet Ositelu in Ijebu Iremo in the present Ogun state. In 1931 Latunde became one of the preachers in Oba's palace. In 1932 Latunde became a salaried catechist, receiving a salary of one pound ten shillings (300 Naira or \$3) per month and was later posted to Akinkemi village as a catechist.

In 1935, Latunde was ordained a pastor in Christ Apostolic Church. In 1938 Latunde was sent to oversee the church in Ile-Ife, his hometown, and other places like Apomu, Ikoyi, Ago-Owu, Ikire, Gbongan, Ile-Ife, and Modakeke—all in the present Osun state.

Latunde's arrival at Ile-Ife brought unprecedented revival to the church. His revival services were marked by miraculous events. For instance, on one occasion, rain threatened to fall. Not only would it have disturbed those at the venue, but it also would have prevented many people from coming to the revival grounds. Latunde declared it would not rain and, true to his words, it did not rain again. This amazed many people who later gave their lives to Jesus. At another revival in Ipetu-Modu, a suburb of Ile-Ife, about 600 people attended the services every day.

In 1937 Latunde married Miss Comfort Oyepeju Abioje, a native of Ibadan. The family was blessed with many children, one whom is Pastor Layi Latunde, an ordained pastor in Christ Apostolic Church.

Latunde experienced stiff opposition from witchdoctors and the forces of darkness. In 1936, the church needed a parcel of land at Ile-Ife. Latunde made his request to the Ooni of Ife, Oba Adesoji Aderemi who gave them a sacred forest named *Igbo Olose* which means “the abode of evil spirits.” The forest was dreadful and only fetish and Ifa priests dared venture into it. There were many sacred trees worshippers had draped with cloths, sacred hens without feathers, goats, and many other things.

Nevertheless, in January of 1937, the youths lead by Latunde entered the forest. Before clearing the forest, Latunde asked Mr. Ademakinwa to read Psalm 24 and everyone sang a hymn. Then Latunde took his cutlass, shouted “In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit!” and started to clear the forest. Seeing this, all the youths followed suit and the forest was cleared. The headquarters of Christ Apostolic Church and Ile-Ife district coordinating council stand on that land today.

Latunde’s influence in Ile-Ife extended to other towns like Osogbo, Ikere, Modakeke, Apomu, and Ikoyi. Nearly all the other branches of Christ Apostolic Church can trace their origins to his influence. Latunde rose to the rank of district superintendent and assistant general superintendent (AGS) of Christ Apostolic Church. In 1967 Latunde was promoted to the highest office in the hierarchy of Christ Apostolic Church and became the president of the church. As president of Christ Apostolic Church Worldwide, Latunde moved to Ibadan where the headquarters are located.

Latunde performed feats in the area of education in the church. In 1939, Latunde established primary schools in Christ Apostolic Churches at Oke-Isegun, Moore, and Ile-Ife. Other primary schools were started in Ifetedo, Ipetu-modu, Edunabon, and Tonkere. Latunde was the coordinator/manager of these schools until May 19, 1960, when the government of Nigeria took over the management of the schools.

Latunde’s tenure as the third president of CAC Worldwide (1967-1983) brought unprecedented growth to the church. The church grew in its different dimensions: numerically, organizationally, cross-culturally, and spiritually. During his tenure the CAC publicity department and CAC Printing Press were established. Other projects and programs which grew up during that time were the *CAC Almanac*, the *Christ Apostolic Magazine*, the CAC Youth Fellowship, and the CAC Ordained Ministers’ Wives Fellowship. These all still exist today.

Latunde was a prayerful man of God. According to Oyebanji, Latunde was a good example of prayer and holiness, humility and faithfulness. Oyebanji reported that Latunde once said that if he did not pray for three hours every morning before daybreak the devil was justified for what he did in his life that day. Latunde prayed between three and six a.m. everyday. His favorite Bible verse which he often used in sermons and lectures was: “Therefore, my beloved brethren, be steadfast, unmoved, always abounding in the work of the Lord knowing that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.” (1 Cor. 15:58)

Latunde did not only limit himself to church activities. For example, Latunde was a member of a cooperative organization, Ife Produce Marketing Union Limited, of which he

do so on the 18th inst. as to be ready for the journey the following day. Moreover, I would like to beg your Lordship to spend this holiday at your vicariate. Kindly inform the two native priests that I am coming.” [53]

The school kept him busy most of the year: “Again I shall be giving lessons at the time to the catechist students who are five in all this term. Moreover I heard rumor that the Natal Vicariate intends to start her own catechist school, thus we hope their undertaking will be blessed with success.” [54]

Mnganga tried to secure the future of the catechetical school by providing some scholarships for future catechists in his will. He established “... a fund for bursaries to scholars of the catechists’ school of the Mariannahill Vicariate.” [55]

### His Zeal for Indigenous Vocations

Mnganga’s invaluable contribution to the encouragement of local vocations is seen in the letter of Bishop Fleischer to the abbot which states:

Please send Father Edward word that he can go. He states that he is waiting for that. I need him really badly. Our native brothers stay [still] more than a year above with Brother Gerald, two-and-a-half hours outside Oetting [Highflats]. Now I have at last appointed Father Odo in charge of them, immediately after Christmas and he is eagerly waiting at Maria Stella to go there but first must Father Edward replace him. Should you intend to incardinate him and would Father Edward agree, I certainly will make no difficulties. But that could be settled, while he stays at Maria Stella. So please don’t delay longer but tell him that he might proceed immediately to Maria Stella. In June next year there are again several ordinations and it will become easier. [56]

And also in Mnganga’s own letter to Bishop Thomas Sprieter:

It is a great consolation for all native people to hear that Rome is in great favor of native religious movements and that your Lordship has already succeeded to have at least three candidates for clothing. Great pity that I am so far away from Inkamana else I would have liked to be present, again I shall be giving lessons at the time to the catechist students who are five in all this term. [57]

Mnganga also wrote several books, one of them entitled *Isiguqulo sama Protestanti siteka kanjani namazwe amaningi* (How the Theme of Protestantism is Perceived by Other Nations). [58] He was also heavily involved in preaching. [59] This shows that he functioned as a normal priest and excelled at most of his duties. He also supported indigenous vocations until his death. For example, in the will he made before he died in June 1938, he left a large sum of money amounting to £1,063-9-8 (\$140,000) for the fostering of vocations among the natives:

I devise and bequeath all my estate and effects, real and personal, which I may die possessed of or entitled to absolutely unto the following: ecclesiastical vestments, chalice (if any) books and similar things to poor mission stations of the Mariannahill Vicariate; clothing to be given to poor natives, especially to relatives; money to be given to the native seminary and native familiars of St. Joseph and especially to the

period between 1895 and 1909, six male patients-classified as clergymen, missionaries, and preachers-were admitted. [45] Unfortunately, the source does not give us their names; however, it is quite possible that Mnganga was one of these.

From February 1, 1911, Mnganga was treated as a “free patient” and thus did not have to pay for his medical treatment. A letter to this effect was sent by Dr. James Hyslop. In part, it reads:

I duly received your letter of the 18th ultimo which was submitted for the consideration of the government, and I have now pleasure in informing you that under the circumstances disclosed by you the secretary for the interior approves of the native priest Rev. Father Müller being treated as a free patient in this institution, from the 1st of the current month. [46]

### **Mnganga’s Release from NGA and Later Pastoral Work**

In 1922, Jerome Lussy, a Mariannahill priest residing at the monastery, negotiated Mnganga’s release. Thereafter, Mnganga went to Mariathal and worked as an assistant priest. [47] From the year of his release, Mnganga was actively involved in the mission station at Mariathal. Later, he started a catechetical school at the same mission. He was also interested in writing books and articles and fostering black vocations, right up until the time of his death on April 7, 1945. [48] Mrs. Malukati said that the community in Mariathal “felt bad and felt good. But to Father Edward it was not so bad to me. Only his death was miserable, because...immediately after he became ill...because he was around here at Mariathal...he became ill then...he was taken to Sanatoli. We were willing to go to Sanatoli to pay a visit, but we were refused....Our hearts tended to be very sad then.” [49]

The *Catholic Directory* records that he worked at Centocow Mission from 1921 to 1924 and at St. Joseph’s Ratschitz Mission, Waschbank, today referred to as Wasbank, Natal, from 1925 to 1928 [50] as assistant priest. [51] In 1929, he was transferred to Maria Stella in Port Shepstone at Bishop Fleischer’s request:

I am in very great need of a priest at Maria Stella. I have called off Father Edward to St. Joseph’s as there was always only one priest at that Station St. Joseph. Father Boniface there can easily proceed alone, I think I have however told Father Edward, if he would not like to come to my vicariate and you would agree to incardinate [receive a priest from another diocese] him. I, from my part, would make no difficulties to incardinate him. I have written my letter to Father Edward by post. [52]

### **The Catechetical School at Mariathal, Ixopo**

When Mnganga moved to Mariathal, Ixopo, in 1922 he initiated and ran the catechetical school with the support of Bishop A. M. Fleischer, CMM. This is evident from the following letter: “His Lordship Bishop A. M. Fleischer passed here yesterday and I presented the case to him who agreed that I could close the catechist school for winter holiday and reopen it week earlier. Thus I shall

eventually become the supervisor. In 1944 Latunde became the manager of the organization. In 1954 Latunde became one of the founders of the Ife Cooperative Bank. The same year he was appointed vice chairman of the Cooperative Union of Western Nigeria, eventually becoming chairman in 1963. In 1965, Latunde became treasurer of the Cooperative Bank of Western Nigeria and in 1969 moved on to be chairman. In 1965, Latunde became chairman of the Cooperative Federation of Nigeria and from 1960 to 1970, he was a member of the central committee of the International Cooperative Alliance. From 1955 to 1965, Latunde was one of the directors of the Western Nigerian Marketing Board and Western Nigerian Development Cooperation. Later, Latunde joined the board of directors of the West African Cocoa Research Institute and Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria.

Latunde thus had the opportunity to travel to places like West Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Israel, France, Australia, Brazil, the U.S.A., England, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. He spoke Yoruba and English.

Latunde was a peacemaker. He was appointed by the Ooni of Ife to settle disputes among the Muslims in Ile Ife land. With prayers Latunde resolved matters amicably. As a result, the Ooni offered Latunde a chieftaincy title of “Atunluse of Ile Ife.” Not wanting to confuse his followers, Latunde respectfully declined the offer saying he was satisfied with his position as president of Christ Apostolic Church.

Latunde died peacefully on May 22, 1983 at the age of seventy-eight. He was a wonderful leader who welcomed all people regardless of their rank.

Kemdirim O. Protus

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**Tewoflos (B) (Meliktu Welde Mariam)\***

**1910-1979**

**Ethiopian Orthodox Church**

**Ethiopia**

Patriarch Tewoflos was the second Ethiopian patriarch but the first patriarch ordained in Ethiopia. He served his country as a spiritual leader for a total of twenty-eight years, and was considered a martyr of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church after he was killed in 1979 by the Dergue regime.

Meliktu was born in 1910 in Debre Elias located in Gojjam province. His father's name was Welde Mariam (Jemberie) Wubie and his mother's, Zertihun Adelahe. Meliktu attended school in his birthplace and learned to read the Psalms from *Merigegeta* ("Guide Master") Aredahegn and studied songs (*Zema*) from *Grageta* ("Left Master") Sahilu Negussie. Then he continued his studies in *Qene* (poetry) and what is now known as biblical hermeneutics as well as in other spiritual books under a *membir* ("teacher"), a famous authority in these fields. Meliktu eventually graduated and became a *membir* himself.

In 1927 Meliktu left his home to go to Addis Ababa where he continued his studies in the interpretation of the New Testament and *Fitba Negest* ("Chronicles of the Kings") from the other Ethiopian authority in these fields by the name of *Membir* Haddis Telke who was later ordained as Bishop Yohannes. Having finished these studies, Meliktu was now able to teach and produce many graduates useful for the church. At the same time, he studied English, Italian, and Arabic.

In 1937, Meliktu went to Debre Libanos where the Abuna Tekle Haimanot Monastery is located and dedicated himself to the service of God by becoming a monk. Four years later Abba Meliktu was one of twenty church candidates selected by the Emperor Haile Sellassie I to study English. The emperor did this to modernize the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and enable its clergy to communicate with the people and clergy of other churches in the rest of the world. Abba Meliktu was one of the very few who finished this language program as most of the other candidates quit gradually. This language school was later brought under the Ministry of Education and became the Trinity Theology School in the Trinity monastery—the first theological college in the country.

In 1942 Abba Meliktu was appointed director of this theological school where he was also a teacher. Three years later, the emperor renamed the Trinity Monastery *Menbere Tsebaot Qidist Sellassie* Trinity ("Residence or Chair of Almighty Holy Trinity") and Abba Meliktu, as director, was given the rank of *Liqe Siltanat* ("Highest of Authorities"—possibly equivalent to the rank of professor), a title which always preceded his name thereafter. On his appointment day, the emperor gave Abba Meliktu a golden crown and gown when he awarded him this rank.

In April 1943, the churches of Ethiopia and Alexandria agreed to ordain bishops from among the senior monks of Ethiopia. On April 27, 1946, by the permission of the emperor, *Liqe Siltanat* Meliktu was one of five nominees elected unanimously to the position of bishop and sent to Egypt to be ordained with the other four bishop elects. But, for various reasons, the appointment was postponed for two years and all five candidates came back home.

Nevertheless, on July 23, 1948 the five candidates returned to Alexandria to be anointed bishop by Patriarch Yosab of Alexandria. *Liqe Siltanat* Meliktu took the name Tewoflos and was appointed bishop of Harar province while the Alexandrian Church made Abuna Baslews patriarch of the Ethiopian Church. In 1950, by permission of the synod of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the goodwill of Patriarch Baslews, Abuna Tewoflos was made vice

Another interesting explanation is given by the cousin of Alois Mncadi, Mrs. Malukati Mncadi (b. 1894), who later became a cook for Mnganga. Mrs. Malukati Mncadi observed that the clash came about because Mnganga was very intelligent, rather than because he was insane. "On his arrival from abroad...he stayed, then he was put into custody '...*osibhinca makhasane*' (police...they arrested him). It was said that he was insane. But he had much intelligence to the extent that he looked insane." [39]

Even though the causes of Mnganga's anger are explained differently, all the testimonies concur in saying that Mnganga was somehow provoked to react in the way he did and that he was not "mentally disturbed."

### The Natal Government Asylum (NGA)

The Natal Government Asylum, which opened in February 1880, was not the first so-called psychiatric health facility in southern Africa. Robben Island had its own facility from 1840 on [40] and the "mental asylum" in Grahamstown was opened in 1875. Prior to this, those considered insane or mentally ill were housed in jails and hospitals in the colony.

The Natal Custody of Lunatics Law (Act No. 1, of 1868) gave colonial medical and legal practitioners the authority to define and detain those considered mentally insane or suffering from psychotic disorders. Medical certificates were issued when a person entered and exited the asylum. [41] Section 1 of the Law stated that, if a person was discovered to be insane, and circumstances denoted that he was insane, or if a person had committed a crime for which s/he could not be formally charged due to the circumstances of the crime, the resident magistrate could call upon two medical practitioners to help him. If they were convinced that the person was a "dangerous lunatic" or a "dangerous idiot," [42] the magistrate would then issue a warrant, so that the person could be committed to a jail or public hospital. For such a patient to be released, permission had to be granted by the Supreme Court judge, or else the lieutenant governor could affect a transfer to a lunatic asylum, such as the Natal Government Asylum. At the time that Mnganga was committed there, the facility was headed by Dr. James Hyslop, an important figure in Natal medical circles. [43] Hyslop was appointed medical superintendent of the Natal Government Asylum in 1882, and remained in this position until he retired in 1914.

There is very little available clinical information on the patients. Until 1904, Hyslop and his deputies entered the clinical information in large leather-bound books, known as "case books." The case book system was in accordance the British Lunacy Act of 1853, and there were separate books for "Europeans," "Natives," and "Indians." These books, however, offer very little information about the patients because of the limited amount of space they provided for doctors' observations. Up until 1980, several original case books were still kept at Town Hill Hospital, Pietermaritzburg, as the asylum is now called. Today, however, only the European case books remain, hence any attempts to try to establish Mnganga's clinical history at the asylum is almost impossible due to the lack of sources. It appears that some of these books may have been deliberately destroyed or stolen from the hospital. [44]

Mnganga went to the Natal Government Asylum after 1906. From the statistics of the asylum, two preachers were admitted there during the year ending December 31, 1900. In the



For Mjoli, it was a well-known fact that the so-called natives had never been accepted in the church as full-fledged Catholic ministers. They were subjected to perpetual subservience towards whites. Mnganga knew African culture and the African way of life better than Bryant. He was sent to Ebuhleni to assist Bryant, who allotted him the outstations and the boarding school. Consequently, Mnganga became the tutor of the students and attended to the outstations.

Apparently, Mnganga was successful, in the sense that he had many students, much to Bryant's dislike. Mjoli emphasized, "I still have few people to testify to the fact that when Mnganga had to go out to the stations which extended as far away as Nongoma on horseback, he had to be away for two or three weeks. Whenever he returned from the outstations, some of his best students had been expelled by Bryant for no apparent reason. Mnganga took exception to this, because he could not understand." [34]

If the students had misbehaved, Mnganga thought Bryant should wait for him so that they could decide the issue together. When he inquired, he was not given an answer; "he was also neglected as to his status, after all, he was nothing." [35] This went on for some time, until Mnganga's temper flared up.

I understand he went to him and wanted to physically assault him. Father Bryant sneaking through the back door, had his horse carriage harnessed and drove up to Umtunzini and enlisted the assistance of the police and the magistrate, maintaining that Father Mnganga was mad, wanted to assault him for no reason and was breaking windows and doors! He wanted the magistrate and the police to come and arrest Father Mnganga. So they came, and after much humiliation and assault at Umtunzini he was transferred to Pietermaritzburg as a mad man where he stayed for seventeen years. [36]

According to Mjoli, the main reason for the disagreement was anger, but in this testimony, a reason lays behind his anger. The black priest was treated unfairly because he was successful in his mission work and because he was black. Interestingly, the above interviewee emphasized that there were people who could attest to these facts. As proof that Mnganga was sane, Mjoli concluded by stating that:

When the mental institution officially recognized that Mnganga was not mad they referred the matter back to the diocese requesting that they collect Father Mnganga... Father Mnganga adamant, wanted the bishop of Durban and Father Bryant to collect him... He wanted the people who had committed him to the asylum...to come and declare that he was sane. Since they failed to do this, he stayed there. When he eventually came out he was then assigned to a mission station in the diocese of Mariannhill, later to Mariathal where I met him. I could have learned much from him. I am sorry to say that the people who knew much, Moseia, are now late. [37]

Other explanations for Mnganga's anger can be found in the testimony by anonymous interviewees who described how Bryant burned and buried Mnganga's vestments and how Mnganga found Bryant pointing to the private parts of a naked Zulu woman while studying Zulu ethnography. [38]

patriarch and was given delegation to Patriarch Yosab of Alexandria according to the agreement made by the authorities of these two churches.

During his stay in Harar, Abuna Tewoflos managed to secure a huge meeting hall from Emperor Haile Sellassie I where students of all seven schools and of the Teacher Training Institute in Harar could come to learn about the doctrine of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. There many qualified Bible teachers taught those who came. Many years later, while he was head of Trinity College, Abuna Tewoflos showed how far-sighted he was in his vision of service for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church by producing many educated individuals who became teachers, researchers, church leaders, and ordained ministers in the church. Many graduates of this college were sent abroad for further education and many of them are presently (2004) serving the country and the church in various positions.

In addition to his work in education, Abuna Tewoflos traveled on foot and on horseback to neighboring provinces to evangelize many people while he was bishop of Harar. The number of believers gradually increased in Harar and twelve modern churches were built in that province with the financial support of the emperor and the Harar people. In addition, Abuna Tewoflos built a new modernized training institute for monks, priests, and deacons in Harar and renovated the old church buildings in the city. He also established a spiritual association called *Kesate Berhan* ("Light Emission"). Using the money from the membership fees of this association he opened a library in Harar where people could come, free of charge, to read and learn. In his evangelization efforts in Bale province, he baptized twenty-four thousand people who converted to the Orthodox faith from the Awama faith and other religions in 1956 and 1957 alone.

As vice patriarch, he traveled to different countries to build many Ethiopian Orthodox Churches and completed his apostolic mission by spreading the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in many parts of the world. Some places he traveled for this purpose were the U.S.A., Trinidad, Togo, British Guinea, and Sudan.

He was given financial support from the government to establish a printing press in the city of Harar and he used the money to build an elementary school for orphans for grades one to six. He also opened two other new schools—one in Harar and the other in Qulbi Monastery—to provide modern education for monks and young people. Many educated people have come out of these schools. For example, the present Patriarch Paulos and four other bishops are living products of the Harar Teacher Training Theological School.

In his position as *Liqe Siltanat*, Abuna Tewoflos worked diligently as an Ethiopian delegate to Egypt and made frequent trips to Alexandria with a group of Ethiopian delegates to attend meetings in which they had long discussions to seek permission for the Ethiopian church to ordain her own bishops and patriarchs in Ethiopia. Traditionally these spiritual leaders had always been appointed in Alexandria (Egypt) since the 4th century when Frumentius was the first bishop of Ethiopia ordained by Athanasius of Alexandria. The negotiations were finally successful and Abuna Tewoflos was appropriately rewarded by being ordained patriarch, the highest church position in Ethiopia. He was also the first to ordain bishops in own country.

On April 6, 1971, at age 61, Abuna Tewoflos was elected patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church—the second patriarch of the church but the first to be ordained in Ethiopia. Abuna Tewoflos' historical and highly celebrated appointment was held on April 8, 1971, in the

Holy Trinity Cathedral in the presence of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, princes and princesses, the ecclesial body of the Orthodox Church, high ranking officials, people of the country, many delegates from all over the world, and his own family members. (As a family member, the writer of this article was present at this celebration with her father and fiancé.) The original Amharic biographer claims that on that day of celebration from 11:00 a.m. to the end of the celebration, a sign of a spectrum miraculously appeared, encircling the sun directly on top of the apex of the cathedral.

Patriarch Tewoflos traveled extensively throughout the world to attend ecumenical meetings as a delegate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In particular, he attended meetings of the World Council of Churches and of its executive committee in 1948 (Amsterdam), 1955 (England), 1971 (Ethiopia), and 1975 (Kenya). At the 1975 meeting Patriarch Tewoflos was elected president of the next general assembly but this did not materialize as he was arrested by the Dergue regime the following year. (...)

In 1959, he chaired the general assembly of African Churches Association held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. He was present at the Eastern Orthodox Church Leaders Assembly held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1963 as head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church delegation. On that occasion His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie made an opening speech that made everyone happy and was given the honorary name Constantine II by the assembly.

Patriarch Tewoflos boldly opposed the Dergue regime in a number of ways and the government developed grudges against him because of them. For example, he said that the responsibility of a spiritual leader is to advise and to teach against the killing of innocent people. He refused to collaborate or support murders in cold blood when the government asked him to publicly voice his support after the Dergue regime assassinated sixty-two officials of the imperial government on November 21, 1974. He also wrote an article which appeared in the May 8, 1975 issue of a church magazine called *Addis Heywet* (New Life), [p.20] expressing his concern regarding the establishment of a stable rule of law for the country. He said that all sectors of the nation should be included in this rule of law, not only the armed forces. The reason for this statement was that the controlling body of the Dergue regime consisted of 120 officers of the armed forces. In the same magazine (p. 16), he stated that God's wrath was aroused by the fact that the Dergue regime had unjustly confiscated property (for example, much of the church's property had been confiscated). As a result he wrote a letter describing the seven steps the government had taken and was planning to take—steps which violated the rights of the church—and demanded that these actions be stopped or corrected (p. 32).

When the death of the emperor was announced, he went to the Dergue government office accompanied by two other bishops to ask for the body of the emperor in order to carry out the appropriate burial rituals but his request was denied.

As the internal and external ministry of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church expanded, the patriarch saw the need to ordain three more bishops. He presented this need to the synod and, with their approval, the three bishops were ordained in 1976. But the Dergue dictatorial regime interfered in church affairs and imprisoned the three bishops. A few days later, it also arrested the patriarch on the basis of false charges issued by a fault-finding ad hoc committee consisting of people personally opposed to him due to differences in ethnic origin and or to issues of jealousy

know. Both things happened to him. He was detained here as a mental case and also appeared in court against the accusations of the priest.” [28]

Bishop Khumalo also attributes the misunderstanding to Mnganga's anger:

He seems to have hit him. He was tired of the insults he was getting from him, I think. Mnganga, evidently, was a big, tall man. I never met him. He was brought to Greytown court, to stand his case. The magistrate, who was chairing that case, told the priest who was at Inchanga with us what happened. He said, “Father, I have always had great respect for the Roman Catholic Church because they always accepted anybody who has been ordained as a child of God. I was very unhappy when I saw a very unchristian gesture given to Father Edward Mnganga, who was accused of having assaulted a white priest.” He stood for him and defended his case. [29]

Bishop Khumalo continued to state that when Mnganga spoke, even the magistrate felt ashamed to try his case, realizing that he was a far more educated man than he was himself. He concluded by saying that “this is the only story I know of those first four priests.” [30]

Mr. Reginald Myeza was born in Amanzimtoti in 1932. While he was growing up, his parish priest was Father Bonaventure Dlamini, later made bishop of Umzimkulu in 1954. Myeza went to school at Mariathal Mission. As he recalled:

I went to school in Mariathal from 1950 to 1953 before I was expelled. I do not know why I was expelled. I was the head prefect. The priest in charge did not know why my name was on the list there because I was not there. I subsequently went to Adams College. In 1959 I had to leave the country for Lesotho because the special branch was following me. [31]

Myeza joined the teachers training college run by the Sacred Heart brothers in Lesotho and later taught there. He then went to England, returning in 1980. With regard to the experiences of Mnganga he went on to state that:

People used to say that Mnganga should be canonized as a saint. The stories that we were told were that during mass, Father Mnganga having forgotten the key to the tabernacle, it would open on its own. Then there were some other miracles which were associated with this priest. There was so much talk about him being a saintly person. Mnganga was not mentally disturbed; we were told that it was persecution by the missionary priests—the same kind of persecution which Benedict Waller Vilakazi experienced. When Mnganga was working in Zululand he physically assaulted Father Bryant-wamshaya bambizela amaphoyisa (“Mnganga physically assaulted Bryant who later called the police and he was arrested”). [32]

Second, Natalis Mjoli, a diocesan priest in the Eshowe diocese, believes that Mnganga's anger flared because Bryant unnecessarily interfered with his school. Mjoli stated that “they [the priests and parishioners] used to tell us stories that happened to Mnganga, after he returned. He worked in the diocese of Natal at Ebuhleni parish, under Bryant. We happened to know these stories, because of what happened to him. I do not know whether I should tell you what actually happened.” [33]

cruel reality on the other side fought a dangerous battle against his existence... He had to go all this way, till the height of Calvary in deep darkness. He no longer worked as a priest. Instead, he had to stay in a mental institution for seventeen years... He, nevertheless, fought a good battle and still believed in God. [18]

It is important to note that “white racism, human faults, passion, and jealousy” [19] are considered to be the key difficulties that Mnganga faced. The main problem that is not addressed in Fux’s article is that Mnganga clashed with Bryant and, in his anger, resorted to physical violence. In oral testimonies, Mnganga’s anger is explained in four different ways.

First, according to Bishop Biyase, Bishop Khumalo, and Mr. Myeza, [20] Mnganga lost his temper because he was annoyed with Bryant [21] for ill-treating him because he was black. [22] Bishop Biyase (d. 2004), was the bishop of Eshowe Diocese (consecrated in 1975); he went to St. Peter’s Seminary and was ordained in 1960. He had never met Mnganga but heard stories from black priests during and after his seminary training. He attributes the clash to a misunderstanding between Mnganga and Bryant. [23] In trying to unravel this story Bishop Biyase explained:

Some simply say [Mnganga] had some kind of psychological sickness. It is not true. The people who lived with him at that time, they know the whole story. There wasn’t a good understanding between the two—the white priest [David Bryant] and Mnganga. It was here in my diocese... They had their ups and downs. And at one time Mnganga was so angry he lost his temper and almost killed this white priest. He lost his temper! This priest ran to the police and said Mnganga was mad! At that time, if a white man said such a thing about a black man, it was gospel truth! So the police never asked any questions, they went to the mission, took Mnganga to Pietermaritzburg as a mad man into the government asylum. [He] stay[ed] there [for] seventeen years. [24]

This interview clear states that the reason given for Mnganga’s arrest was because he was angry with the white priest. This story, according to the interviewee, seems to have been well-known by the people (other priests and parishioners) who were living with Mnganga. To prove the fact that Mnganga was not mentally disturbed, Bishop Biyase concluded by saying:

At the end they discovered that... he was very much sane, it would seem. He too, was already disillusioned and angry about it. He had said that “I will never go out of this asylum [Natal Government Asylum, Pietermaritzburg], until the man who brought me here comes.” Seemingly the man was not prepared, that is why he stayed there for so long. They pleaded with him to come out and he certainly came out. It is said, when he came out, he had forgotten how to say mass. [25]

With the help of Jerome Lussy, a Mariannahill priest from the monastery, Mnganga was released in 1922, staying for some time at Mariathal and beginning pastoral work there. [26] Another interviewee, Bishop Khumalo, [27] on the other hand, saw the deep sorrow and embarrassment embedded in the story when he recounted it. He said that the priest who had been in charge of Greytown and the surrounding areas, told them the “story of Mnganga, which was a very sad story, that he was accused of being mad and whether he went first to the mad-house, I don’t

and power struggle. This committee, called the “Transitional Revival Commission,” pressed charges against him, saying that Tewoflos did not qualify to be a patriarch but had attained to that position because he was a close friend of the emperor. He was also accused of having a capitalist mentality because he built houses and received large sums of money. The third strike against him was the fact that he owned twenty different bank accounts in his name and many more accounts in the name of his friends and servants. Tewoflos justified some of this in his written will where he showed that these were false accusations made to defame and remove him from his position of authority and hurt him as much as possible. Other charges were brought against him including neglecting evangelical work and showing no concern for the legacy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. (...)

On the evening of February 17, 1976, Tewoflos was taken to the Jubilee palace and was imprisoned alone in the house of Commander Eskindir Desta. One afternoon, he was delivered by obeying a loud voice ordering him to leave. But later he was arrested again and beaten by the police. He never accepted money or food from the Dergue officers. (...)

Tewoflos spent most of his time in prison fasting and praying, sometimes for whole nights at a time. In the morning and evening, he led corporate prayer with other prisoners. Much of the time he read books and talked with people. He also studied to improve his Arabic and French. At times he assembled the prisoners and preached to them, asking them to forgive one another for their bitterness, hatred or guilt towards each other. He also told his friends that he would soon be killed by the Dergue regime.

On Saturday, July 14, 1979, at around 11:00 a.m. he was taken away by guards with two other prisoners. For thirteen years, no one knew what had happened to them. But after the Dergue regime collapsed, it was discovered that he had been killed with thirty-three others by strangulation and his body buried inside Ras Asrate Kassa’s compound in Addis Ababa. Thirteen years after his execution, his body was exhumed on April 29, 1992 and buried the next day in a designated burial place he had built for himself in Gofa Gebriel Church.

Dirshaye Menberu

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*\*To read the unabridged biography, visit <https://dacb.org/stories/ethiopia/tewoflos2/>.*

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**Njangali, Spetume Florence**  
**1908-1984**  
**Anglican Communion**  
**Uganda**

Florence Spetume Njangali strived to make women's ministry in the church of the Province of Uganda a reality. Not only did Njangali seek ordination for herself but through her work and ministry she also influenced the church of the Province of Uganda to pass a resolution allowing women's ordination in all the dioceses in Uganda.

Njangali was born in Parajwoki, in present day Hoima District, on April 10, 1908 to Nyakwebara and Eva Kacungira Amooti. She was baptized on October 31, 1920 in Saint Peter's Cathedral, Hoima. Even though Njangali's parents strongly adhered to the faith and practices of the Anglican Church, her uncle Bisereko Duhaga II, King of Bunyoro, was mainly responsible for her spiritual nurture.

Njangali began school in 1920 as one of the pioneer students of Duhaga Girls' Boarding School, a church founded institution. In 1928 Njangali was appointed a teacher and was later promoted to deputy headmistress of the school. In 1938, Njangali became headmistress. Although by this time Duhaga Girls' Boarding School was more than fifteen years old, no headmistress had stayed for more than a few years and the school was suffering from a lack of constructive long-term leadership.

By the time Njangali became headmistress, Hoima was a small town, and Duhaga Girls' Boarding School had grown into a small institution. But Njangali foresaw that Hoima would become a great town and she envisioned the school, at its center, responding to the needs of the growing town. Her vision was to see Duhaga Girls' Boarding School give its best to the people of Uganda. Hoima church leaders supported Njangali and proudly followed her lead in the role she played in the larger life of the school.

On October 18, 1938, Njangali was converted and became an active member of the East African revival movement. The revival movement invigorated and renewed her life and offered her the challenge of a deeper experience of salvation in Christ and a more radical commitment to Christian discipleship. As a result of her transformation, Njangali enrolled in Bishop Tucker Theological Seminary, Mukono, in 1942 for a two-year lay reader's course. She was the only female student in a class of thirty.

Njangali completed her lay reader's course in 1944 and returned to Hoima to continue her duties as headmistress. Soon the Native Anglican Church in Uganda recognized Njangali's work and influence and, in 1953, she was appointed a member of the Native Anglican Church Synod in Uganda. As a representative body, the Synod counted among its members many of the most powerful traditional leaders in the country. Consequently, the Synod had a remarkable influence in the church, and commanded, as no other body did at the time, the confidence of the country. Njangali was proud to belong to such a powerful entity.

Njangali was also a member of the Diocesan Council that acted for the Synod in the interval between its sessions. Njangali's experience in the Native Synod and the Diocesan Council,

completing his studies at the Collegium Urbanum in Rome. [12] The Collegium Urbanum had been established in 1627 by the bull *Immortalis Dei* and placed under the direction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Its main purpose was to train candidates from around the world for the diocesan priesthood. These priests, if commanded by the pope, would then promote or defend the faith anywhere in the world, even at the risk of losing their lives. Urban VIII (1568-1644) [13] realized that it was necessary to establish a central seminary for missions where young ecclesiastics could be educated, not only for countries with no national colleges, but even for those endowed with such institutions. He thought it desirable to have in every country priests educated at an international college where they could get to know each other and thereby establish important relationships for the future.

An example of how Urban VIII's vision of ideal future relationships could work in real terms is captured in an extract from a letter to Mnganga by one of his former classmates at Urbanum: "I have the honor to enclose a small alms for the Zululand Mission. I was a student some thirty years ago in Rome with a Zulu priest. I think his name was Müller. May I ask a kind prayer, as my health is very poor." [14]

Upon Mnganga's arrival, "Bishop Jolivet decided that he would be of most use to the vicariate among his own people in Zululand and sent him there to assist A. T. Bryant (later known as David), who was working amidst the Zulu at Ebuhleni." [15] We learn afterwards that:

After April 1898 Bryant was assisted by the first Zulu priest, Father Edward Mnganga (Kece) who was to take charge of the school. Father Mnganga, who had left for Rome in 1887, was a [diocesan] priest who had his early education at Mariannahill and was to spend most of his life in the Black missions. Once the school was on its feet and a reasonable number of pupils attending each day, two Dominican sisters were brought from Newcastle to undertake the teaching; and when the number of pupils reached thirty Bryant applied for a government grant. [16]

By 1898, the Emoyeni Mission was serving about eighty Christians and catechumens while, at Ebuhleni, Bryant had two hundred people attending his Sunday services.

### **Mnganga's Early Work in the Diocese of Mariannahill 1898-1906**

Mnganga worked at this mission from 1898 to 1906. While there, he encountered many problems. [17] In particular, there was a violent clash between Mnganga and Bryant when the latter provoked Mnganga, who then became angry, lost his temper, and threatened Bryant. Consequently, Bryant, probably with the assistance of some white missionaries and in collaboration with the civil white authorities of the time, placed Mnganga in a government asylum in Pietermaritzburg for seventeen years, under the pretext that he was mentally deranged.

In his *Vergissmeinnicht* article, Vitalis Fux outlined the main reasons for Mnganga's difficulties:

The difficulties he faced as a priest were white racism, human faults, passion, and jealousy. These dangers grew so much that it managed to destroy his soul. His ideas of a priest and holy faith on one side and the difficulties from the outside and a

Bryant. [5] Bryant had been ordained that same year and, after his return to South Africa, had worked in the Transkei, as it was then known, later being transferred to Ebuhleni, near Emoyeni.

Ebuhleni had been founded as a result of a series of events closely associated with the white Zulu chief, John Dunn. Although Bishop Jolivet had despaired over whether a mission in Zululand would be possible, an ideal opportunity arose when Dunn—who realized that his life was coming to an end—met with the resident British commissioner, Marshall Clarke, to discuss possible ways of securing a good future for his offspring. [6] Dunn had forty wives and over one hundred children of mixed race. As it happened, Bishop Jolivet and Clarke were good friends, having been prisoners of war together during the first Transvaal War of Independence; their relationship continued when Clarke was made resident commissioner in Basutoland. [7] As a result of Dunn's overtures, and with the vicarial bursar William P. Murray acting as go-between, an agreement was reached and Catholic missionaries were sent to Dunn's farm at Emoyeni, just outside Eshowe, Zululand. The aim of this mission was:

To provide for the education of the children of the late John Dunn. Dunn's chief wife Nontombi was willing to provide a schoolroom and quarters for the teachers. The official application to open the mission was made by Murray and approved by Clarke. Father Anselme Rousset, Brother Boudon, and three Dominican sisters from Oakford set out in February 1896 to begin the new venture. The party was accompanied by Father Mathieu, the most experienced among the Oblates missionaries to the Zulus, who assisted with the luggage and with the setting up of the mission itself. [8]

After establishing themselves, the missionaries built a school at Emoyeni, close to Dunn's homestead. In June 1896, Anselme Rousset applied for land at nearby Entabeni Hill for the purpose of cultivation. Later, he established the Holy Cross Mission there, a facility that catered to the Zulu peoples in the area. On his first visit to the station in December 1898, the bishop confirmed the presence of "about thirty neophytes, most of them being of the Dunn family." [9] With these new converts and a number of white children who had been accepted at the school, the mission was set to grow.

In the meantime, Bryant [10] was moved in October 1896 from the Transkei to Zululand. He stayed a short time at Emoyeni, during which time he negotiated for a further mission site and was given ten acres of land at Ongaye Hill, Ebuhleni. He subsequently wrote:

After I had spent a few months there [Emoyeni], roaming the Zulu country looking for a suitable site for my first native mission (R.C.) among the Zulu, I at length struck upon one of the loveliest spots in all South Africa, and I immediately named it Ebuhleni. Situated just below the oNghoye all-range (with its great forest, ten miles long by two through), the country was an extensive expanse of hundreds of gentle hills, all of various shapes and heights, and all covered with beautiful woodlands, and having numerous crystal brooklets running along the valley. The whole place was furthermore thickly covered with Kraals, all heathen, there being not a single "town native" anywhere around. [11]

A chapel and hut were built for Bryant who held a well-attended service after Christmas in 1898. It was in this same year that Mnganga returned to South Africa after successfully

gave her a unique opportunity to learn about the principles of democracy, self-government, and self-support.

During Njangali's time the Native Anglican Church of Uganda objected to the ordination of women. But Njangali took it upon herself to defend the rights of women as equal partners in church ministry. At the Synod, although a lay woman, whenever she was allowed to address the members she always made a passionate appeal to awaken the Native Anglican Church of Uganda to its need to abandon its patriarchal attitudes.

Undoubtedly Njangali did more than any other woman in the Native Anglican Church in Uganda to help women gain access to theological education. In 1957, she retired from her position as headmistress of Duhaga Girls' Boarding School and returned to Bishop Tucker Theological College for an ordination course the following year. When she signed up for theological training alongside men at the college, she was not easily accepted in classes by her male counterparts.

When Njangali graduated from Bishop Tucker Theological College in 1960 she was posted to Ankole-Kigezi diocese as a "church commissioned worker" to head the Mothers' Union Department.[1] Njangali worked to further the ideals of the organization and to promote the dignity of women by presenting monogamy as the best solution for marital relations, for example. She taught that openness, integrity, and honesty—characteristics of healthy relations between committed Christians—should apply even more to the marital relationship to foster real sharing, mutual love, and respect. Thanks to her efforts within the Mothers Union in Ankole-Kigezi Diocese, women gained the right to confess, testify, preach, and pray on an equal basis with men.

In 1965 she transferred her services to Rwenzori Diocese and eventually to Bunyoro-Kitara Diocese in 1972. In all three dioceses, Njangali assumed a position of great significance, and came to be recognized as a foremost figure in the Church of the Province of Uganda.

Njangali regarded baptism as the sacrament whereby an individual is introduced into the spiritual life of the church. However, she always insisted that the grace received at baptism had to be worked out in a visible way. In regards to the Eucharist, Njangali believed in the real presence, the doctrine whereby the body and blood of Christ are in some way really present in the bread and wine. She was however, adamant that the sacraments themselves do not have power to mediate salvation. In particular she warned people not to trust in their baptism as a guarantee of salvation. For Njangali, salvation only comes through being washed in the blood of Christ, the blood shed on Calvary.

Even with such a good track record, Njangali was denied ordination on the grounds that she was a woman. This act of discrimination was rooted in the cultural bias of the Banyoro. During Njangali's time the Banyoro argued that God had appointed women to be subordinate to men and, therefore, there was no basis for Njangali to rule over men in any capacity.

While Njangali's male counterparts were ordained into the priesthood she worked as a commissioned worker until September 10, 1973 when her former classmate, the Rt. Rev. Yustus Ruhindi, ordained her as the first deaconess in East Africa.

In 1980, after taking a close look at Njangali's ministry as a deacon, Bunyoro-Kitara Diocese decided to make the ordination of women into the priesthood an official practice of the

church. This filled Njangali with hope for the good ministry of women during her last years of work in Bunyoro-Kitara Diocese.

In 1981, at age seventy-three, feeling that her ministry was complete, Njangali decided to retire because of her age and due to an incurable disease from which she was suffering. However, the Dean of Saint Peter's Cathedral asked her to plant a daughter church in Katasiha during her retirement and she did so willingly.

Njangali's last days were spent with her family and dearest friends. On January 20, 1984 Njangali passed away in Mengo Hospital after what seemed to be only a short illness. Her funeral took place on January 23, 1984 at Saint Peter's Cathedral, Hoima, where she had served her diaconate.

Few women priests in their ministry have been able to respond to the challenges of the time in as many ways as Canon Florence Njangali did in the Church of the Province of Uganda.

Christopher Byaruhanga

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#### Notes:

1. As women were not allowed to be ordained as deacons even at the outcome of the ordination course, they were called "church commissioned workers."

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Amooti Katebaliirwe, one of Njangali's relatives, interviewed by the author, January 2005.

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**Modi Din, Jacob\***

**1876-1950s**

**Evangelical Lutheran Church of Cameroon  
Cameroon**

that the Malagasy people should also be Catholic. They took over the Protestant churches by force, and those who continued to frequent them were required to become Catholics.

4. Concerning "Mama" or mother: in a Malagasy family, it is customary for children to have nicknames. The oldest girl is either called *ramatoa* (eldest girl), or "mama" or mother, as she is the one who takes care of her brothers and sisters, and who is responsible for all the household work.
5. *Ranovelona* is the journal of the former protestant students of the School of the Protestant Mission (Foreign Friends Mission Association, or FFMA) in North Ambohitovo, later called Paul Minault School.
- 6.

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This article, which was received in 2008, was written and researched by Ms. Berthe Raminosa Rasoanalimanga, directress of the FJKM National Archives Center (1984-2007), who was the recipient of the *DACB* Project Luke Scholarship in 2008-2009.

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**Mnganga, Edward Müller Kece**

**1872-1945**

**Catholic Church**

**South Africa**

Edward Müller Kece Mnganga was the first black Catholic priest in South Africa.

In November 1887, "a promising boy" by the name of Edward Mnganga from the Latin School at Mariannahill presented himself to Father Franz Pfanner, the Prior of Mariannahill Monastery, who subsequently decided to send him to Rome to study for the priesthood. [2]

Mnganga originally came from Mangangeni in Mhlathuzane. [3] As Mrs. Malukati Mncadi recalled, "The thing he used to tell me was that he was coming from Mangangeni...as he [Edward Mnganga] was called Mangangeni. I think that place is close to Mariannahill." [4] Mnganga travelled to Rome with a young Mariannahill priest from England by the name of David

and he was healed. He was an Indian, and he is presently in Ambalavao. To another person who has had asthma for twenty-four years, she said, “Believe in Jesus” and the person was healed...The important thing for her is that people believe in Jesus - healing can come later. The wisdom that God has given her is quite useful and she deserves to be respected.

Finally, the newspaper *Gazety Ranovelona* (“Fresh Water”) had this to say, by way of conclusion:

Based on what we have read, people have different opinions about Ravelonjanahary. But there is a great lesson to be learned from this woman: respect for everyone’s conscience. She is a Protestant, but she exerts no influence on people to follow her in that. She asks that people who are already in a denomination not change their faith. She invites those who are still outside the church to enter it as they wish.

Neny Ravelonjanahary (“Mother” Ravelonjanahary - among the Malagasy people this epithet is a sign of respect for her age and her mission) always told people who came to her that she was not the one doing the healing, but that it was Jesus, if they would trust in Him and in His power. When her mission started, Ravelonjanahary received people at home, but later, as there were so many people, the evangelization meetings would take place in the church, and she would see people in her home in turn. Given how many of them there were, some of them waited their turn for weeks, but they did not lose their patience. They stayed in the few small hamlets that were there, or set up tents, or waited in their cars.

Ravelonjanahary lived simply. God transformed her so that she would live in humility, in faith, and in love for other people. She was called *Ravelonjanahary, mpanetry tena, mpivavaka bo an’ny firenena* (Ravelonjanahary, woman of humility, who prays for her country).

She died on November 8, 1970, in Manolotrony, about 120 years old. Manolotrony has become a place of pilgrimage and now welcomes people who come for a retreat, to pray or to be healed. Other revival centers linked to the revival movement of Manolotrony have sprung up almost everywhere in Madagascar.

Berthe Raminosoa Rasoanalimanga

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Notes:

1. *The Natives Law* was adopted June 28, 1881. In 1887 the French government put it into effect in all of its colonies. In general terms, the law subjected natives and immigrant workers to forced labor, forbade them to travel at night, made them subject to searches and to a tax on their reserves, and subjected them to a whole range of similarly degrading measures. (...) See online [version](#) for full note.
2. The newspaper *Mifoha I Madagasikara* (“Madagascar Wakes Up”) strove to destroy superstition as well as belief in God; the paper *Masoandro* (“The Sun”) also aimed to destroy the Christian faith by presenting the scientific side of things and the “scientific” truth.
3. On the war of religion between Catholics and Protestants: When Madagascar was colonized by France (1896), the Jesuits took advantage of the situation and declared

One of the pioneers and firsthand witnesses to the history of the church in Cameroon, Modi Din Jacob also contributed greatly to social development there. German colonization of Cameroon began in 1884, (when Modi was eight years old), interrupting the peaceful everyday life of all the ethnic groups in the country. Modi received a very good education early on in his life from the Basel Mission. His teenage and early adult years were spent under the German occupation, and he spent several years in prison around 1914-1916 after being unjustly accused of being a political activist. It was during this time of imprisonment that he became deeply impressed with his calling to pastoral ministry.

From 1915 to 1917, he became a tireless evangelist to his people, the Sawa. When he heard of the need for missionaries to the interior, he answered the call. From that moment on, he became the Cameroonian missionary *par excellence*, unrivaled by any pastors from that region in his intercultural ministry. He was one of the few native missionaries who attracted the significant attention of mission historians. Who was this man from the Douala tribe, and why did all the people, including missionaries, pay such attention to what he did?

### Childhood and Youth

Modi was born in 1876 in the village of Bonaduma in Douala. His father was a very important man who had six wives but only eight children. Modi’s mother, Muanjo, gave him four of those children. His family practiced the traditional ritual religion of the Douala. Four weeks after his birth, Modi was presented to the people and received a black mark on his forehead, the tattoo that was the mark of free men. His father died while he was still young, and his mother took over his training in religious practices as well as his general introduction to life.

Modi was ten years old when the Basel Mission arrived in 1886. They had been invited by the colonial government, which had established itself in Douala in 1884. He was one of the first students in the boys’ school that was opened by the mission, and he adapted quickly, being both intelligent and hard-working. The Bible story lessons were always of particular interest to him, and he happily related these newly discovered stories to his mother. His mother began to fear that he would move away from the practices of his ancestors, and encouraged him to concentrate more on learning arithmetic and to pay less attention to the stories the white people taught about God. He attended Sunday worship and catechism regularly, and was eventually baptized in secret, unbeknownst to his mother.

On the evening of his baptism, as he went home full of joy, his mother greeted him with insults and a beating, as the neighbors had told her about the event. She was so shocked by what he had done that she banished him for two days and refused to give him medical attention and food. Since her son stubbornly continued to hold to what he had chosen, she called on his grandmother to prepare a purifying potion that was supposed to neutralize the “magic drink” that he had taken during the baptism and cause him to vomit it back out. Modi refused to drink the potion and told his grandmother: “What I have received is not in my stomach, it is in my heart and in my blood.” [1]

In 1896, when he was twenty, Modi finished his studies in the German Middle School, which was equivalent to a ninth or tenth grade education in the French system, and he received the equivalent diploma. He had been in school for ten years, and now he needed to find work.

His older brother had a thriving business on the Wouri River, and wanted Modi to come help him there, as he was now literate and adept at mathematics. To the great surprise of his family, Modi turned down the offer. He wanted to become a teacher. From that day on, he fell out of favor with his family. They harassed him continually because he had refused to reinforce their reputation as a rich and powerful family, but he never gave in.

### Teacher

Modi had just gone through a period of intense pressure on the home front, so he went to the missionaries nearby for some encouragement. Some emissaries from the village of Bonamakembe, who had just come to the mission station to ask for a teacher, were surprised by his arrival. Without hesitation, the missionaries acceded to their request and offered to give them Modi as a teacher. The emissaries happily accepted him and took him back to their village. Modi was happy too, because he did not want to go back home to say good-bye to his family. The way it happened made Modi feel that God had planned it, and his presence was a source of great joy to the people of Bonamakembe.

Students enrolled, and Modi began to teach the classes. In addition to teaching, he went to visit people in their homes, and also started a Sunday worship service. His gifts as an evangelist were noticed right away. He also showed his love for the people by defending them from shady Douala merchants who took advantage of them. These merchants scorned the people there and treated them like ignorant and uncultured bushmen. His opposition to this behavior, which came from his own Douala people, earned him the trust of all the locals. In addition, the Douala openly wondered how it could be that one of their own could prefer another people to them.

After having spent two and a half years in Bonamakembe, Modi was brought back to the Bonanjo School in Douala, where the palace of King Rudolph Douala Manga Bell was located. There was still no girls' school in Douala at that time. Modi taught in the Bonanjo School from 8 a.m. to noon, and from 2 p.m. to 3 p.m. On his own, he began to offer classes for girls, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. He started out with ten girls, but there were soon one hundred.

His family continued to harass him and to pressure him to quit his miserable work as a teacher so that he could work for the family business and make a lot of money. However, Modi remained steadfast in his faith and resisted all the temptations and possibilities extended to him by his family as they tried to turn him away from his vocation.

It was at this time that he got married, and this decisive step in his life also brought about many problems related to his choice of a wife and the significant dowry he needed. Once again, he had to show firmness of character and resolution in his faith.

### Pastoral Ministry

In 1905, Modi was transferred to the Girls School in Bonaku, which was also where the home office of the mission was located. His work took place all over Douala, and he served Christians and non-Christians alike. On Sundays, he went to the surrounding Bassa churches. When Pastor

Protestant Church...But the most remarkable thing is that Ravelonjanahary is not asking for money from anyone... The number of people who have come to see her over the last five weeks or so is up to 871, and that number includes six *vazaha* ("Europeans"). There were also Indians and Chinese, as well as childless people who came asking to have children.

The newspaper *Gazetintsika* ("Our Paper") said:

"Amazing Healing, they said!" Here in Ambalavao, there is a woman of a certain age, already known by many, who dares to say publicly that she has been sent from God. She says that about twenty years ago, she died and her body putrefied, but that she came back to life in order to heal the sick. She is a Protestant, and it is reasonable that her co-religionists believe in her... Dear Catholic friends, why do allow yourselves to be influenced by such things, especially you who have spent a lot of money and have come from afar to Ambalavao? Many of you have already come here - ask them if they have been healed or not. As for those of you who are sick and want to be healed, and for those of you who have sick family members and want the best for them, why are you all driving like mad to the Betsileo? The road to Tsienimparihy is worn down from so much travel...Instead of spending your money for gas, spend it on medications and spare your sick all the troubles of traveling, which will only make their sickness worse! I'm not telling you lies or falsehoods, but if you don't believe me, ask the other families who have already come, and they will tell you the truth.

The newspaper *Diavolana* ("Moonlight") had this to say:

If Ravelonjanahary is not telling the truth about her resurrection, then has Jesus Christ entered into a woman who is a liar? She is only doing good works in order to save souls, and she preaches only Jesus Christ...We have right here before us people who have been healed or who are being healed according to the strength of their faith, and who have received the grace of the Lord Jesus. These are people who are trusted by the state and the church, people who don't spend their time trying to think up ways to cheat and tell lies...According to one journalist, no one who was sick has really been healed. Perhaps he didn't want to hear the truth or didn't want to find out everything he could about the topic. As for me, I'd say that many of the sick have really been healed and that others are on the path to healing. I have already met and spoken with many of them.

The newspaper *Fahasambarana* ("Happiness") said:

God has chosen Ravelonjanahary to do miracles for Him. If you don't agree, all of you doctors, theologians, philosophers, etc.,...that's your business. As for us, there's no disputing it - someone who is dead is dead. We don't know whether it's a scientific death, or a philosophical or a theological one...If you say that you can make mistakes, we're here to confirm that, yes, you can make mistakes.

She (Ravelonjanahary) told a man who had been paralyzed on one side for five years: "Go and plunge your right hand into the first river you come to, then run it over the inert side of your body, and you will be healed." He did as she said,



It was in heaven that God baptized her and gave her the name Ravelonjanahary (“brought back to life by God”). God taught her the Holy Scriptures and melodious songs, and these songs are still sung today. When she came back to earth, her marriage to Rainiboto was held as a religious ceremony.

Later, the voice of the Lord told her that she was going to die a second time, but that this time it would be like the death of Jesus Christ, crucified on a cross. A force took her and held her to the wall, arms outstretched, but no one could see what was holding her there. People came to hold a wake for her, and sang continuously. She died on a Friday and came back to life on Sunday. That is how God prepared her for her being sent to preach the Gospel, to deliver the demon-possessed, and to heal the sick in her region and in several other regions in the island. She started the revival center in the protestant church of Andravoahangy Fivavahana in 1928.

Nearly the whole southern part of the region of Fianarantsoa was shaken by this revival movement. A French Protestant missionary named Siegrist attended one of the revival movement meetings held by Ravelonjanahary and reported that approximately one hundred *mpisikidy* and *mpimasy* (“traditional healers and seers”) had converted and were stamping on their idols, proclaiming out loud that from then on they would only believe in Jesus Christ!

She encountered difficulties in her ministry, but never renounced the Lord. Some people who had known her before she was converted believed that what she was doing was just fakery and that she was still using her fetishes. She was taken to court for having meetings in her home without a permit and for using powerful remedies to heal people. On November 11, 1928, she was summoned to the court in Ambalavao-Tsienimparihy, which was thirty-five kilometers from Malonotrony; she made the trip on foot. A missionary came from Fianarantsoa to help her. She answered her accuser by saying that it was God who gave her the power to heal, and that she received no money from those she healed. She was acquitted for lack of proof.

The journal called *Gazety Ranovelona*, (“Living Water”) [5] which was a journal for former students of the Protestant Mission, tried to clear up the events surrounding the resurrection of Ravelonjanahary in an article which was published on January 31, 1928, in Antananarivo. The article quoted the commentary of various newspapers that had been published previously, as follows: [translation by the author]

The Malagasy newspaper *La Grande Ile* was the first to publish a report on the resurrection of Ravelonjanahary on November 17, 1927. On Friday November 25, 1927, the other papers also covered the story and people rushed to buy the papers, so much so that the police had to intervene. The next day, the rush to Malonotrony was on: wealthy people went by car, while others took the bush-taxi with their sick, hoping to get them healed. Still others were just curious.

The newspaper *La Grande Ile* published this report:

Putrefaction can only come from the dead. Was there really an occurrence of this nauseating odor that is putrefaction? If the answer is yes, then it is true that Ravelonjanahary really did rise from the dead. According to what people are saying, the blind are recovering their sight, the deaf their hearing, the mute are speaking, paralytics are standing on their feet and other ills are being healed as well. The Gospel that she is preaching to sinners is not a shame, but rather an honor for the

Deibol died, the churches of Bonaduma and Bonapriso were put in his care. He underwent pastoral training and was ordained on December 3, 1912, by the director of the Basel Mission to Cameroon, Pastor Lutz. The ceremony was held in the church at Bonaduma, and the text for the sermon was John 21: 15-18, (“Feed my sheep.”)[2] These words became the solid rock of his faith, and he often turned to them for comfort in the difficult times of his ministry. He fulfilled his calling in body and soul, and served the country churches around Douala that he was charged with.

He was faithful to his family and his love for them was always made manifest. Members of his family were so affected by this love that some were eventually baptized, and so he won them over. His own mother, who was near death at the time, thanked him for his faithfulness and perseverance, and told him: “If you had not been so firm when you were a small boy, and if you had allowed us to turn you away from your faith, I would have died today as a pagan, in fear and anguish. But now I can die rejoicing, because I know that I am going to be with my Savior, and that I will see you all there once again.”[3]

### Prisoner of the Colonial Government

Very early in his life, because of his own family, Modi had gone to the school of suffering that often serves as preparation for men of God who need to learn to learn about death and perseverance in the faith. When the First World War began, the colonial government suspected that Modi and many other influential men in Douala were involved in political activities. The administration tried to get Modi to use his influence with the Douala people in order to convince them to leave the Joss plateau, as they wanted to build a European city there. Having come up against his refusal to do their bidding, they instigated a trumpety quarrel with him. He was put under guard, and as soon as the war began, he was arrested and transferred to the military tribunal of Sopo in Buea, where he had to prove his innocence. Although he was acquitted by the judge there, he was not freed. He was kept as a hostage and transferred to prisons in the interior at Abong Bang and Akonolinga, and then on to Yaoundé. Altogether, he spent twenty months in prison. He spent the time reading his Bible in depth and meditating on what he read. The words he meditated on kept him from despair and became the foundation of future projects in his ministry. Both his attitude and his calm and assured manner made quite an impression on the prisoners and the guards, and even the townspeople. They all attributed his behavior to supernatural forces.

Late one night, an army of red ants invaded the prison compound. Modi had been suffering from a bout of malaria and was running such a high fever that his body was shaking. The guard had offered to let him come out of his cell, but Modi had refused the offer, thinking that if the guard's benevolence were discovered, he would be severely punished or might even lose his job. The prisoners all woke up noisily, jumping up and down to try to get rid of the ants.

In the morning, there were large groups of ants here and there, so many that in certain places, they blocked the way. Unable to reach Modi to check on his condition, the desperate guard began to think that he must surely be dead. He regretted not having let Modi out of his cell the night before and gave up trying to reach Modi's cell because he didn't want to see the

man of God eaten by the ants. Someone else tried to make his way to the cell, running all the while, to avoid being stung by the ants. He cried out to Modi, to see if he was still alive. Everyone was stunned when they heard him answer “yes.” What had he done to escape the ants? It seems that his temperature had been so high that his body had simply been covered in sweat all night, and that even though he was asleep, the ants could not attack him. Modi had also had a dream in which he overcame a certain difficult situation. When he woke up, he understood what God had done.

Modi led some of the people in prison to faith. Some Make chiefs had been arrested and condemned to death because a Hausa had been killed in their territories and the body had never been found. The authorities knew that some of those tribes practiced cannibalism and that they could have killed him and eaten him, so they threw the chiefs in prison to await confirmation of their sentence. The Make chiefs were very much afraid of death, but when they saw how hopeful Modi looked even after he had been in prison for so long, they thought he must have a fetish or that he must be a witchdoctor. They were amazed that Modi had not been executed after such a long stay in prison. They asked him to give them his fetish so that they too would escape their sentence. Modi’s answer was that his fetish was the Word of God. He spoke to them about the love of God and about the life of Jesus, from his birth to his death and resurrection. They were amazed that this was all that Modi had by way of protection, and they secretly thought to themselves that he must have a fetish. Modi asked them to reveal why they had been condemned to death and why they wanted his fetish. The oldest of the four chiefs admitted that they had killed the Hausa and had eaten him, but that they could not admit this to anyone. Modi helped them to understand these words of Jesus: “He who believes in me will live, even though he dies, and he who lives and believes in me will never die.” He helped them to receive Jesus into their hearts. When the sentence of death was announced, they went to their execution without fear or embarrassment. They said their goodbyes to their companions, with shining eyes full of peace.

After the execution, the white man who was in charge came to find Modi and reprimanded him severely with these words: “Who told you to change the governor’s sentence? What have you done to make these people go to their death so peacefully? The governor didn’t send you here as a pastor, but as a prisoner! If this happens again, I’ll hang you.” [4] Those words proved that the Make chiefs had kept the faith to the end.

### **Evangelist and Missionary**

In the period of time between the capitulation of Germany and the division of Cameroon by France and Great Britain, Modi carried out a significant evangelization campaign among his own ethnic group, the Sawa. He undertook this ministry without thinking of how he might be paid. Even his own people thought that with the War, the mission work would also come to an end. They sent messengers to help him find work that would provide for his daily bread. This was Modi’s answer:

While I was in captivity I had enough time to think about what I would do, with God’s help, when I went back home. I promised God that I would do nothing but

Ravelonjanahary’s real name was Renilahy. She lived in Malonotrony, in the Iarindrano-Fianarantsoa region. She was the oldest child in a pagan family, and was called “Mama” (mother) [4] until she was married. Her father was an *ombiasa*, (wise man, healer and seer) and was very well-known in the region. For instance, people consulted him to keep hail from falling on their rice fields or to make the crocodiles flee when they had to cross a river. Renilahy was raised and educated in a completely pagan milieu and inherited the gift of being a healer and a seer from her father and paternal grandfather.

She married Rainiboto, who was also called Rainidalo. They had a daughter who died at a very young age after having a little girl of her own. They took her in but she also died very soon. Then they adopted Renilahy’s nephew, Ranisana. They were a couple who lived simply, and they were well-loved by those in their community.

The spirit of an ancestor possessed Renilahy, making her life difficult. The spirit also made her practice certain prohibitions. For example, her plate and spoon were not to be mixed in with anyone else’s. Around her neck she wore an amulet collar, and a silver coin was attached to the back of her braid.

Her conversion started in 1900. It happened little by little as a result of visions that came to her. Later, she heard a voice tell her that God had chosen her to work for Him. The job He had for her was to deliver people from whatever was holding them captive and to heal them from any sickness if they had faith in the power of God. If Renilahy had refused, she would have died. She asked her husband for advice, and he advised her to accept. Another time, a voice told her to look at her hands. She looked and writing appeared. According to the voice, these were the Ten Commandments - five on each hand. The voice also told her that anyone who came to belief in God through her teaching would be healed after she laid hands on them. One Sunday, the Holy Spirit showed her all her sin, even the very least of them. She could see God’s wrathful face and wanted to flee, but didn’t know where to go. She repented, and God accepted her repentance. The amulet collar and the silver coin disappeared.

In 1910, she was about sixty years old, but still in very good health. The Holy Spirit told her that she was going to be dead for six days and that on the seventh day, she would come back to life. She told her family this news and advised them not to bury her, not to put her in an unclean house (where there were still amulets) and not to cry for her.

When the day came - a Thursday, around noon - a force carried her up to the ceiling and let her fall. She died from the fall. Her body was carried to the village where she had been born, in Lohafy, and was put in the temple of Ifanda, where there was a wake with singing and praying. On the sixth day, a terrible odor came from her body, and her flesh fell off little by little, but her muscles and bones were not affected. On the seventh day, a bell rang around midnight and a pleasant odor filled the temple, replacing the other smell. The parish pastor arrived early the next morning and found that Renilahy had come back to life and was standing next to the pulpit. She was wearing a strikingly white garment and her flesh had been renewed, being now like the skin of a baby. She said that during her death she had been carried to heaven, where she had sat down with angels and saints.

It is also said that two years later, God took her soul up to heaven for three days, in order to teach her. This time, her body did not die, but God put another soul in it to keep it alive.

developing economic and educational opportunities in Tanzania while preserving human rights and dignity. His Christian life as a political leader was exemplary. May God bless all the things he achieved for the well-being of mankind.

Angolwisye Isakwisa Malambuigi

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For access to the unabridged biography, visit <https://dacb.org/stories/tanzania/nyerere/>.

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**Ravelonjanahary**

**1850-1970**

**Reformed Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar (FJKM)  
Madagascar**

The second revival movement that occurred in Madagascar came about because of Ravelonjanahary. Her conversion to Christianity was both preceded and followed by extraordinary events. The most spectacular of these occurred in 1910, and was covered by several newspapers in Antananarivo, which caused huge crowds of people to go to Manolotrony.

Ravelonjanahary lived in a time that was difficult for the people of Madagascar. The island had been under French colonial power since 1896, and all insurrectional movements directed against colonialism were firmly put down by the military government that was directed by General Galliéni. These insurrections led to a considerable number of deaths, and the survivors were subjected to severe rules of obeisance to the colonizers. As of 1900, men above the age of sixteen were forced to pay taxes. On July 7, 1901, *The Natives Law* was put into effect [1] in order to restrict the freedom of the Malagasy people. General Victor Augagneur, who succeeded general Galliéni, introduced atheism to the land through several newspapers [2] in order to draw people away from Christianity, which was already having a very significant impact in the country. Forced labor, as well as epidemics of smallpox and plague were taking a heavy toll on people both physically and morally. There was also a religious war going on between the Catholics and the Protestants [3] and it had reached all the way to Fianarantsoa.

preach the Gospel. The mission is not dead as you may think. Even though missionary work had to stop during the War, it doesn't mean that things will go on being like that.[5]

Modi agreed with Pastors Ekollo and Kuo that they would work in the city of Douala and the immediate area, and that he would go to the churches in the interior to reassemble, strengthen and encourage the Christians there. This is how he came to travel the paths in Malimba, Bakoko, Edea and Sakbayeme, and the paths along the Sanaga and the Wuori rivers, as well as the paths in Longsi and the paths near the railway line leading north all the way to Nkongsamba.

In 1917, Modi wrote the following letter to a missionary named Rhode de Buea, on the subject of his evangelism campaigns: "As far as my travels for the work of the Lord, I must say that they are not useless. In the entire region around Douala, (...) I can attest that the Spirit of God is at work among them, drawing them to Him. He does this because I take care of them and visit them from time to time." [6]

Modi not only carried out a far-reaching work of evangelization, he was also a great missionary to the tribes of the Interior: the Bamoun, the Bamileke, the Bameta and the Bakongwa in the Bamenda region, and in Bao-Balondo in the Buea zone. In some years, he spent less than two weeks at home, and in eight months he could make three round trips (that amounted to 3,000 km). His wife supported him valiantly in all that work and encouraged him in it even though two of their children died during his travels. [7]

The region where Modi worked as evangelist and missionary encompasses the present provinces of the Coast (County Seat: Douala), the South-West (County Seat: Buea), the West (County Seat: Bafoussam) and the North-West (County Seat: Bamenda). Because of his work, three denominations have been formed: The Evangelical Church of Cameroon, the Union of Baptist Churches of Cameroon, and the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. Most of the believers from these denominations live in those areas, and all together, they account for at least two million church members.

Robert Amadou Pindzié

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\*For the unabridged version of this biography, visit <https://dacb.org/stories/cameroon/modi-din/>.

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**Nyerere, Julius Kambarage\***  
**1922-1999**  
**Catholic Church**  
**Tanzania**

Julius Kambarage Burito Nyerere was born in 1922 at Butiama village, Musoma, Tanzania. He was a Zanaki by tribe. His father was Chief Burito Nyerere and his mother was Mgaya Wanyang'ombe. His father died while Kambarage was still young. His mother who raised him died in 1997 at the ripe old age of almost 100. Kambarage, the name he was given at birth, means "the spirit which gives rain" in Zanaki because the day he was born a very heavy rain fell.

In 1934 he was admitted to Mwetenge Primary School in Musoma, Tanzania, a school that was about forty-two kilometers from his home. Nyerere was a brilliant and hardworking student. He regularly scored the highest marks in the class and was the leading pupil in all examinations. He received the highest score in the country on the standard four examination. After that he undertook studies at Tabora Government School in 1937, graduating in 1942.

When he reached the age of twenty, he decided to join the Roman Catholic Church. For the occasion he was asked to take a baptismal name so he chose the name Julius. He was baptized on December 23, 1943 by Father Mathias Koenen. (...)

After Makerere University, Nyerere received a scholarship to go to Edinburgh University in Scotland where he studied history, politics, and economics. In addition, in his spare time he studied Greek and Latin. In 1952, he was the first Tanzanian to be awarded a Masters degree. When he returned to Tanzania, he was assigned to work at St. Francis School, Pugu. He married Maria Gabriel Majige, a primary school teacher, on January 24, 1953. Father William Collins officiated at their wedding.

In 1954, he started to get involved in politics and joined the political party called Tanganyika African Association (TAA). He decided to resign his teaching position and pursue politics. He traveled throughout the country campaigning for independence (*Uhuru* in Swahili), continuing on even in the face of numerous threats and obstacles from the colonial government. In 1958 he went in front of the United Nations Organization (UNO) to plea for the independence of Tanganyika which was then under the ordinance of the British Trusteeship Territory. On December 9, 1961, Tanzania received its independence and Nyerere became the first prime minister of Tanganyika. After a few months, he resigned from his position in order to strengthen the party and Rashid Mfaume Kawawa became prime minister. On December 9, 1962, Nyerere was elected the first president of the Republic of Tanganyika. When Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the United Republic of Tanzania on April 26, 1964, Nyerere became the first president of Tanzania.

He introduced the political ideology of socialism and self-reliance so "that people...could live together and develop in dignity and freedom, receiving the full benefits of their cooperative endeavors." (*Man and Development*, p. 37) Even as a politician, Nyerere practiced his Christian faith openly in concrete ways. First, he was a very devoted member of the

Roman Catholic Church. When at home he went to early Morning Prayer everyday from 6.00 to 7.00 a.m. at St. Joseph's congregation, Dar es Salaam. Also, instead of fancy titles, he preferred to be called *Mwalimu* which means "teacher" in Swahili. Secondly, for the sake of religious tolerance he helped to formulate the religious articles in the constitution of the government of Tanzania and endorsed them in the 1960s. These articles, which are still used at the present time, mainly focus on the right to freedom of religion. The article on freedom of religion was re-incorporated in 1984, 1992, 1995, and 1997. Thirdly, Nyerere made many efforts to cultivate mutual relationships with religious leaders.

Fourthly, whenever he was invited to participate in church functions, he challenged churches to strive to fulfill their calling. Nyerere was a committed and professing Christian and church member and, as a result, he felt it was his responsibility as a politician to challenge the church to remember her responsibility to society. In one of the speeches he gave at the Maryknoll Sister's Conference in New York on October 16, 1970 (quoted from *Man and Development*, p. 48), he emphasized the church's role in society in these words: "Poverty is not the real problem of the modern world. For we have the knowledge and resources which could enable us to overcome poverty. The real problem—the thing which causes misery, wars, and hatred among men—is the division of mankind into rich and poor." (*Man and Development*, pp. 98-99) (...)

As president of Tanzania from 1961 to 1985—and even afterwards—Nyerere continued to challenge the church until his demise in 1999. He often had the opportunity of speaking to church leaders and the laity and told them that the church had to serve the whole person, mentally, spiritually, and physically. Furthermore, he said that church had to serve people beyond the church. For instance, schools, hospitals, and income generating projects would not only benefit churches and Christians but also non-believers. This was a means of witnessing the Word of God to unbelievers.

For the well-being of individuals and the nation in general, Nyerere was committed to peace initiatives in Tanzania especially in the area of religious tolerance. Thanks to his wisdom, Tanzania has lived in a state of religious tolerance since independence in 1961 because of the foundation Nyerere laid, especially between Christians and Muslims. (...) For the sake of religious tolerance and equal access to education, he passed legislation requiring missionary schools to admit students of all denominations and faiths. Later, all private schools were taken over and made into state schools. (*The Guardian, September 28, 2006*). (...)

Shortly before his demise, Nyerere predicted his death and promised to pray for the people of Tanzania, saying, "*Najua sitapona toka ugonjwa huu. Nasikitika kuwaacha Watanzania wangu. Najua watalia sana. Lakini mimi nitawaombea mbele ya Mungu.*" ("I know that I shall not recover from this sickness. I am unhappy to leave my Tanzanians. I know that they will mourn very much. But I shall pray for them before God.") Indeed it was a very sad day for President Benjamin Mkapa, the cabinet, all of Tanzania, and friends of Tanzania worldwide, when Julius Kambarage Nyerere, "the father of the nation" died on October 14, 1999 at 10.30 a.m. at St. Thomas' hospital in London, UK. (...)

Nyerere was a great historical figure not only in Tanzania but also in the rest of Africa and the world, having committed his life to attaining independence for his country—and supporting the efforts of other surrounding countries—to establishing peace and stability, and to