

BECOMING THE CHURCH  
IN TANZANIA*Faustin Mahali*

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT)<sup>1</sup> has about 4.6 million members, which is 11.5% of the national population of 40 million.<sup>2</sup> This figure makes the ELCT the fourth largest church in the Lutheran World Federation and the second largest church in Tanzania after the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup> This number, however, includes all the baptized, regardless of their active or inactive status in their congregations. Despite the statistical growth of the ELCT, which surpasses those of all other Protestant bodies in Tanzania, there is still great concern as to whether the number of new members matches the number of those leaving—a situation that raises questions about the degree to which the church is really growing.<sup>4</sup> Reasons for leaving the ELCT range from failures by pastors and evangelists in pastoral care and counseling to poor administrative infrastructure, from favoritism to persistent tribalism, and to long-unresolved conflicts within the ELCT about the growing influence of Pentecostalism.<sup>5</sup> Less has been said about the contribution of the historical legacy of both foreign and indigenous missionary strategies to the emergence of this alarming situation.

In my experience, as a pastor and professor of the ELCT, the challenge faced by the church today, whether rejoicing in its numerical growth or grieving for the daily loss of members, has to do with lack of proper theological analysis of the impact of the sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural dynamics in biblical, local, and global contexts. As I recount the history of our church here, I will also attempt to express a theological account of what has happened so far and where we need to go next.

*German Mission Societies and the Establishment of the ELCT*

The birth and growth of the ELCT is the result of the work of missionary societies who worked in Tanganyika and East Africa.<sup>6</sup> The major mission societies that shaped the formation of the seven churches in Tanganyika were Berlin III, which worked in the Usambara Mountains and Bukoba<sup>7</sup>; Berlin I, which worked in the southwestern highlands of Tanganyika<sup>8</sup>; and the Leipzig Mission, which worked in the region around Mount Kilimanjaro.<sup>9</sup>

To begin with Berlin III, it is obvious that the mission society was directly linked to the establishment of a colonial infrastructure in Tanganyika, which made critics at the time ask whether its missionary goals were not connected to the establishment of a German colony in East Africa.<sup>10</sup> Berlin III subsequently changed its name to the Bethel Mission and concentrated on humanitarian activities.<sup>11</sup> This transition, though, did not bring any paradigm shift in its mission, because the tacit assumption was that Africans needed material improvement more than the gospel. An inadequate theology actively undermined Berlin III's mission efforts.

When Berlin III proved to be unsuccessful because of its colonial involvement, it asked Berlin I for help in avoiding dependency on the German government. In 1903 Berlin I took over the work from Berlin III in Dar es Salaam, as a strategic point for mission outreach from the southern highlands to the coast.<sup>12</sup> The mission strategy was changed by a missionary from Bethel University from evangelism to engagement in humanitarian aid. The group then concentrated on the northern coastal area of Dar es Salaam extending to the Usambara Mountains.<sup>13</sup>

A German missionary named Johanssen from the Bethel Mission had come to Usambara to go to Rwanda and Burundi, and he visited Bukoba twice in 1907 and 1910 on his way to those destinations.<sup>14</sup> Johanssen's request to start mission activities was denied by the German colonial government official, presumably because Bethel missionaries had accused German colonialists of misdirecting their funds to build a government hospital in Tanga instead of allowing them to use the money for evangelism.<sup>15</sup> Johanssen did send a German agriculturist, however, and he used him to establish the work of the Bethel Mission.<sup>16</sup> Later, in 1912, a pastor named Ernst Doering was put in charge of Bukoba.<sup>17</sup> The influence of Bethel on Berlin III goes back as far as 1890, when Berlin III struggled to detach its work from government interference with the mission's objectives.<sup>18</sup> The influence of Friedrich von Bodelschwingh from the city of Bethel in Bielefeld stemmed from his convictions about humanitarian relief, beginning in 1867 when he established a hospital in Bethel for epileptics.<sup>19</sup> Diaconal

zeal went hand and hand with the objectives of establishing schools and mobile health care units.<sup>20</sup>

The missionary work in the Haya area cannot be attributed only to the Bethel mission. There had been relations between the people of Haya and Ganda through trade links with Uganda. It is said that eight people were baptized between 1901 and 1906, including Abraham Mpandakaryo and Isaya Kibira; later in 1906, Andrea Kadjerero, a tribal king of Ruzinga, was also baptized.<sup>21</sup> These new Christians met secretly in Kibira's house because the Germans had ordered that only the Catholic White Fathers were permitted to do mission in the area.<sup>22</sup> Sahlberg's account of the role of indigenous evangelists in establishing the church in the Haya area is confusing, however. On the one hand, he attributes the initiatives of the Lutheran church in Haya to the efforts of Johansen and his colleagues, but on the other hand he emphasizes the role of indigenous evangelists in building the foundation of the church through the Anglican Church Mission Society.<sup>23</sup> One should note here that the indigenous people had problems with the German government in establishing Protestantism, which was demonstrated through the latter's terrorizing of Kadjerero during World War I.<sup>24</sup>

A description of the prewar Bethel Mission should not omit the work of two missionaries who contributed to the establishment of the first public school in Tanga in August 1890, two weeks after their arrival.<sup>25</sup> One was a companion of August Kraemer from Bethel Mission who came from Basel, Johan Jacob Greiner. Greiner was skilled in "building, gardening, and well-digging."<sup>26</sup> He received two years of missiological training in Basel, not a full course of studies in theology.<sup>27</sup> In Dar es Salaam, Greiner had been criticized for being an ineffective missionary; instead, he was a good agriculturist.<sup>28</sup> The contribution of these two missionaries is most evident in their translations of a Lutheran hym-

nal from German into the local Swahili.<sup>29</sup>

The Berlin Mission Society, or Berlin I, which had been present in South Africa from the beginning of the 1880s, limited itself to preaching the gospel without interfering with the Boers, who had already started victimizing and threatening the survival of the indigenous tribes.<sup>30</sup> A group of Berlin I missionaries who served in the southern highlands of Tanganyika arrived on September 25, 1891.<sup>31</sup> They knew that East Africa was already under German colonial rule.<sup>32</sup> The fact that German missionaries were protected by their fellow German colonialists caused them to accept the oppressive colonial system uncritically.<sup>33</sup> Sahlberg's assumption that the Berlin Mission Society started a mission in a remote area of Tanganyika to avoid contact with the German colonial government is baseless; there was in fact a strong government presence in this particular mission area.<sup>34</sup> The reports sent back by the missionaries show that they refrained from preaching the liberating message of the Bible and consciously or unconsciously justified the oppressive system set up by their fellow Germans.<sup>35</sup>

Little has been written about the theological development of missions in the southern highlands by the Berlin Mission Society, compared to the contextualization initiatives made by Moravian missionaries who arrived at the same time in early 1891.<sup>36</sup> A Moravian missionary named Bachman made intensive studies of African cultural backgrounds to understand the ways in which Africans lived and thought.<sup>37</sup> Unlike the Moravians, the Berlin I missionaries failed to contextualize the Christian faith. This failure has been attributed to the frequent wars among ethnic groups and uprisings against the German colonists. A series of tribal wars among the Ngoni, Hehe, Sangu, Wanji, Nyakyusa, and Safwa,<sup>38</sup> and the Maji Maji uprising, set back the establishment of the mission.<sup>39</sup> Second, most of the missionaries who came to this area were

not trained theologians.<sup>40</sup> Unlike the Leipzig missionaries, who incorporated anthropological and communal expertise in their mission strategies, the Berlin Society missionaries emphasized the individual's future salvation.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the schools and handicraft guilds established through the Berlin Mission Society emphasized individual salvation to the exclusion of the incarnate, transforming, and liberating aspects of the gospel. Here we see another instance of the practical and detrimental outcome of inadequate theology in the life of the church.

Much has been said about the role of the Leipzig Mission as an exponent of sociocultural contextualization, but this is itself an ambiguous achievement.<sup>42</sup> One of the highly regarded theologians who used sociocultural contextualization to propagate Christianity was Bruno Gutmann, who worked among the Chagga around Mount Kilimanjaro beginning in 1902.<sup>43</sup> He insisted on preaching the gospel using such existing structures as clans, neighborhoods, and age groups.<sup>44</sup> Gutmann was said to be against imposing Western civilization on the indigenous people, but he believed he was helping local people discover the good news of the Bible in terms of their own sociocultural structures.<sup>45</sup>

Gutmann's efforts failed. The failure has been attributed to the opposition of members from his own mission society, who wanted Gutmann to preach the gospel filtered through Western methods of biblical interpretation.<sup>46</sup> A second possible reason for failure is that many indigenous people favored the new Western lifestyles so much that talking about the importance of their cultural heritage felt like a denial of access to new ways of life.<sup>47</sup> World Wars I and II, which forced almost all German missionaries to leave their mission stations in Tanganyika, also had inevitably negative effects.<sup>48</sup>

The question that no one has yet asked is: how was Gutmann's biblical and theological approach linked to teaching the Bible as a liberating mes-

sage in the context of German colonialism? There is plenty of evidence, as mentioned earlier, that almost all German mission societies were tied to German colonial interests in one way or another to make the country then called Tanganyika part of Germany. Therefore Gutmann's interests cannot be completely divorced from the theological and historical interests of his German church and nation. At the time, many German pastors were enthusiastic about socialist ideas but undecided about the proper relationship between church and national interests. Gutmann came from the lower middle class and was influenced by the psychological and philosophical ideas of Wilhelm Wundt.<sup>49</sup> He was therefore more inclined to emphasize communal life over the individuals who constitute communities.<sup>50</sup> Gutmann's problems with his fellow missionaries about the content of interpretation and the biblical message show that he concentrated more on social research than looking in detail at the ways in which the biblical message might interact with the cultural values of the Chagga community to *transform* it. He assumed too much that the indigenized gospel would leave the culture much the same as before.

For Gutmann, Christianity was only evident "in a genuine member-relationship of a folk-church congregation."<sup>51</sup> Such a hypothesis determined Gutmann's endeavor to search for biblical bases for considering African life as constituted by "primal ties."<sup>52</sup> But Gutmann never seems to have considered how clans were discriminatory and oppressive. In this he missed some of the very important aspects of holistic biblical soteriology, which radically challenges social institutions—constituted by individuals—as sinful and oppressive.<sup>53</sup>

The exposition of the biblical message at the beginning of mission work in Tanganyika was methodologically and practically handicapped by lacking a liberating essence. Instead of letting the liberating message penetrate into the oppressive and discriminatory

structures of both Africans and Europeans, challenging them to transform, the good news was either mystified into a futurist eschatology (Berlin 1), reduced to relief provisions without engaging the diseased in fighting corrupt structures (Berlin III/Bethel Mission), or focused on testing socio-anthropological theories that had little to do with Jesus' intent to redeem humankind from individual and structural sin (Leipzig Mission).

#### *The Impact of Two World Wars*

During the First and Second World Wars, mission stations were left to indigenous leadership after German missionaries had been repatriated by British soldiers in 1917.<sup>54</sup> During the First World War, the handover to indigenous people was marked by crash courses for evangelists and teachers of the established bush schools, trade/vocational schools, and Bible schools. Some missionaries baptized Christians without having completed baptismal teaching.<sup>55</sup> Despite weaknesses in training the indigenous to assume the role of missionaries, the wars allowed the indigenous to propagate the gospel on their own for the first time.

Ernst Johanssen of the Bethel Mission came back to Usambara Mountains in 1925 after having been repatriated during World War I.<sup>56</sup> The Lutheran church in Buhaya had been partly sustained by indigenous pastors, who also had contact with Anglican Church Mission Society missionaries from Uganda.<sup>57</sup> One of the remarkable achievements in Usambara was the ordination of indigenous pastors and establishment of a medical centre at Bumbuli. Heinrich Waltenberg from Bethel Mission remained at Lutindi and Wilhelm Hosbach from the same mission society stayed in Bukoba.<sup>58</sup>

The establishment of schools in Buhaya and Usambara enabled Bethel Mission to have literate people who were later ordained as pastors or recruited as teachers and medical assistants. It is important to note, how-

ever, that the main objective of Bethel mission was still diaconal ministry in the form of humanitarian service and charity. Therefore, despite all the efforts to indigenize leadership roles during the absence of missionaries, the ability of the local people to interpret biblical and theological ideas in their own contexts was greatly limited. The overemphasis on diaconal approaches for the needy undermined their ability to see the root causes of poverty and suffering.

In the South Western Highlands, the mission stations left by Berlin 1 missionaries in 1917 were partly supported by local members and partly by the Anglican and Presbyterian churches.<sup>59</sup> It is confirmed that in the areas where Berlin 1 worked there had been little recruiting and training of indigenous workers by the time World War I broke out in the area.<sup>60</sup> Some of the Berlin 1 missionaries' diaries from this time describe the excessive dependence of the indigenous on the missionaries' spiritual and material support, meaning that without their presence nothing could have had been achieved.<sup>61</sup> This implies as well that the missionaries were reluctant to engage indigenous Christians for the further development of stations.

With the return of the Berlin missionaries in 1925, they faced the challenge of increasing membership.<sup>62</sup> The conditions of work had changed rapidly, forcing them to have demographic subdivisions according to ethnicity, which were determined mostly by the locations of pre-existing mission stations.<sup>63</sup> At the time Berlin missionaries were not well supported by their society because the government had restricted transfer of money outside Germany.<sup>64</sup> This trend encouraged income-generating activities by the missionaries for the support of the preaching of the gospel.<sup>65</sup> The missionaries also finally trained indigenous people as evangelists. From 1932 to 1944, nineteen evangelists received pastoral training and were recruited to serve as pastors in some of the stations.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to Berlin I, the Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM) came to look for mission areas in 1938 before the outbreak of World War II.<sup>67</sup> The presence of SEM had a significant impact on the process of indigenization of the church in the Southern Highlands. There are contradictory stories about the role played by SEM missionaries who replaced repatriated German missionaries. It has been said, for instance, that by the time the German missionaries left, they had already arranged that indigenous pastor Yohana Nyagawa would take over the role of superintending the Berlin Mission stations. In 1939, Nyagawa was elected superintendent of the Southern Highlands Berlin I stations.<sup>68</sup> One Western historical account assumes that Nyagawa's dismissal by his fellow indigenous pastors from his post as superintendent was caused by his plans to ordain more pastors on his own and to be bishop for life.<sup>69</sup> However, indigenous accounts attribute Nyagawa's failure to the British colonialists' scepticism about his ability to handle issues of education.<sup>70</sup> They also say that the missionaries indirectly opposed him by not giving him moral and material support, thereby making the indigenous unhappy about his leadership.<sup>71</sup> They consequently did not re-elect him, and a SEM missionary became superintendent of the area instead.<sup>72</sup>

It appears, then, that the Berlin I missionaries emphasized education to assist individual Bible reading, but not overall biblical-theological education. There is no evidence that the missionaries thought of recruiting indigenous people for pastoral career between 1891 and 1917. World War I taught the missionaries a much-needed lesson, and from 1925 on they planned to establish a Bible school at Kidugala to train evangelists. When the Germans had to leave the country, the trained indigenous evangelists were recruited as pastors.

When the Leipzig missionaries left the northern part of Tanganyika in 1920, their stations were mainly in

the hands of local people who were not trained theologians but teachers.<sup>73</sup> It was only in Arusha and Pare that two Leipzig missionaries who were not of German origin remained and took care of those stations and the entire region.<sup>74</sup> In 1922, the Leipzig Mission and the Augustana Synod agreed that the Augustana Mission would take over care of the understaffed Leipzig mission areas.<sup>75</sup> When the Leipzig missionaries returned to Moshi in 1925, the Augustana missionaries agree to leave the Kilimanjaro area to Leipzig and open new mission stations instead.<sup>76</sup> For this reason the Augustana missionaries revived a poorly managed effort by a Leipzig missionary from before the First World War, in Singida in central Tanganyika.<sup>77</sup>

Learning from the mistakes of the past, the Leipzig mission quickly established a theological training school at Machame in 1932, and after just one year a batch of students who had received theological training were ordained pastors.<sup>78</sup> These pastors sustained the church during World War II when the missionaries were repatriated again. This paved the way to the real indigenization of the clergy and a positive contextualization of Christianity. The underside of this budding success is that such brief theological training for the first indigenous pastors was not enough to help them develop a sound theological interpretation of the gospel and ecclesiology.

#### *Becoming an Autonomous Church and the Indigenization of the Episcopate*

Around the time of World War II the Augustana Mission from America and various mission societies from Scandinavian countries came to Tanganyika to assist the established German missionaries. Most of these mission societies had an evangelical Lutheran background, but each group represented a different form of Lutheranism, especially in relation to Pietism and the episcopate. The Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM) partly

assisted the continuation of the work of Bethel Mission in 1942 when Germans missionaries were once again repatriated.<sup>79</sup> The SEM stemmed from a free church tradition but closely cooperated with the Church of Sweden Mission (CSM): the result was the long-lasting influence of both pietistic Lutheranism and a commitment to the episcopate in the later ELCT.<sup>80</sup>

The Augustana Mission from America was entitled to the stations of Bethel mission, but because of limited resources it asked the CSM to take over the work in Usambara and Bukoba.<sup>81</sup> Niwagila argues that Augustana asked CSM for help because it didn't trust the indigenous people with the mission work, and also that the British government did not allow the indigenous to lead the church without the assistance of *friendly* missionaries.<sup>82</sup> Another possible reason was Sweden's relative neutrality in World War II,<sup>83</sup> and CSM's close historical ties with the Augustana Mission in America, since Church of Sweden immigrants played a significant role in shaping the "confessional Lutheran" stance of the synod. However, one should also consider the treatment of the Augustana Synod at the hands of the Leipzig Mission after World War I, requiring Augustana missionaries to move on to new mission areas as soon as they got the old ones established.<sup>84</sup>

The strained economic situation of the new mission societies triggered invitations to other mission societies in search of new locales in Africa, to assist the work established by the old German mission societies.<sup>85</sup> That was also the reason why the SEM asked the Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM) to work in Mbulu, where they started in 1950. More than its moderately pietistic predecessors, the NLM stressed the participation of all believers in the administration of the Word and Sacrament as well as the experience of charismatic gifts.<sup>86</sup> The NLM generally held a negative attitude towards the episcopate and downplayed the role of clerics.<sup>87</sup> The conflict came to the fore during the attempt to unite the

Lutheran churches of Tanganyika before 1963, when the Evangelical Church of Iraqw (ECI/KKI), through its missionaries, expressed concern about the proposal for a united Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika which would include the episcopate, an office already in place in some areas.<sup>88</sup> One of the missionaries had indirectly terminated his contract at this particular time, likely in objection to the episcopate. The NLM, like other mission societies, started a remarkable number of educational institutions and healthcare units.<sup>89</sup> But the standard missionary problem remained the same: whether those services were to become self-governing and self-sustaining by the indigenous.

The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM) was the last mission society to come to the Southern Highlands (Wanjiland and Nyakyusaland) in 1952, replacing the Berlin Mission Society.<sup>90</sup> This mission society was peculiar in many ways because it was the Finnish Lutheran church was never a state church. Thus the FELM enjoyed a certain prophetic freedom in its missionary objectives; its missionaries understood the experience of oppression under Swedish and Russian domination, and Finland as a country had never been a colonizer.<sup>91</sup> The existence of the FELM in the Southern Highlands improved church's involvement in the provision of education and healthcare services.<sup>92</sup>

By and large the mission societies from the U.S. and Nordic countries came to support the work already put in place by German mission societies. The various missionaries fell into one of three categories. Some were extremely pietistic, such as the NLM, the SEM, and partly Berlin I. Others were still evangelical but abided under the umbrella of the state church, characteristic of the Lutheranism established during the Reformation. Third, the Church of Sweden Mission was unique in its influence on the establishment of episcopacy in the eventual ELCT.<sup>93</sup>

Despite all these phenomenological

and methodological differences in their approaches to mission, these societies were able to form a Mission Church Federation (MCF) in 1937.<sup>94</sup> This Federation first comprised the Leipzig, Berlin, and Bethel Missions, all from Germany.<sup>95</sup> The decision of the MCF in 1952 at Kidugala to establish a strong base for theological training at Makumira paved the way towards the unity of the whole church in Tanganyika.<sup>96</sup> In 1952 MCF became the Federation of the Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika (FLCT).<sup>97</sup> The General Assembly of FLCT in 1954, which was held in Northern Tanganyika, was dominated by indigenous members.<sup>98</sup>

However, the FLCT faced financial challenges, and to a large extent there were also theological problems concerning episcopacy.<sup>99</sup> The Second World War caused funds to dry up. Many congregations had to depend on small-scale projects to generate income to support their work, but this strategy in turn chased away some Christians. Altogether, the positive and negative impact of dependence on mission societies was felt right from the beginning. Little was recorded at the time about how missionaries addressed stewardship and diaconal activities at this very stage, other than the mere mention of financial crisis.

The two biggest practical problems were with the baptism of children of non-Christians and polygamy. Such problems were dealt with mostly in terms of church discipline without much theological reflection.<sup>100</sup> A whole range of solutions was employed, which in turn has left a significant legacy of confusion in the ELCT about how to deal not only with polygamy but with church discipline as a whole. While in some areas polygamy, and other contested practices like drinking alcohol, were tolerated, other synods and dioceses strictly banned practitioners of polygamy and alcohol drinkers from the church. Conflicts among the dioceses of the ELCT on these issues exist to this day.<sup>101</sup>

The question of the episcopate came to the fore in this period as

well.<sup>102</sup> While Pietist missionaries were in favor of diocesan superintendence, indigenous people favored the title of bishop for the leader of a synod or diocese.<sup>103</sup> The indigenous believed the episcopate to be an office chiefly concerned with guidance on spiritual matters, rather than the mainly administrative function of a president or superintendent. A number of missionaries and at least one member of the Lutheran World Federation considered the episcopate to be at odds with the priesthood of all believers, necessarily introducing undemocratic hierarchical infrastructures into the church.

It is my own conviction that episcopacy was plausible to indigenous because it was analogous to the role of a priest(ess) in African culture. Originally the priesthood had been introduced to the indigenous in the colonial period as a solely spiritual office. The indigenous thereafter came to understand it in terms of African indigenous priesthood, as leaders who sought prosperity from God in all aspects of life, political as well as religious.<sup>104</sup> In other words, African priesthood traditions<sup>105</sup> gave rise among the indigenous to a holistic and locally-defined understanding of episcopacy. In addition, this helped the indigenous grasp the christology of the Bible, wherein God incarnate in Jesus became the life-giver (cf. John 10: 10). This unspoken perception of the episcopate has been a factor in the growth of the church and also the number of dioceses in Tanzania. *✠*

*Read the rest of this article online at [www.lutheranforum.org/extras](http://www.lutheranforum.org/extras).*

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Notes

1. The ELCT has twenty dioceses scattered all over Tanzania. For more information, see [www.elct.org/dioceses.html](http://www.elct.org/dioceses.html), accessed February 1, 2009.

2. Tanzania is 30% Christian, 35% Muslim, and 35% indigenous religion. See [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tz.html](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tz.html).

3. The ELCT-Lectionary lists 2007 membership at 2,144,141 and 2008 membership at 2,218,901, with a growth rate of 3.4%. The ELCT magazine, however, claims membership to be 4,632,480, with a growth rate of 24%!

4. C. E. Sendoro, "The Mushrooming of Christian Sects as a Challenge to the Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam," B.Div. thesis at Makumira University College (2006): 34–35. J. K. Bakinikana, "The Impact of Pentecostalism on the Lutheran Church: A Case Study of Bukoba District of the ELCT North Western Diocese," B.Div. thesis at Makumira University College (2000): 27. L. L. Sanga, "Why Do Lutherans Leave Their Denomination: A Case Study on the Increasing Problem in the ELCT, South Central Diocese [Iringa] with Special Reference to Western District," B.Div. thesis at Makumira University College (1999): 27.

5. Cf. Sanga, 17–46; C. Baroin, "Religious Conflict in 1990–1993 among Rwa: Session in a Lutheran Diocese in Northern Tanzania," *African Affairs: The Journal of the Royal African Society*, 95/381 (October 1996): 429–555. "Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania Mkuu wa 17 wa KKKT (The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, 17<sup>th</sup> General Assembly)," held in Makumira, July 10–13, 2006, pp. 6–12.

6. The initiative to form the first "Mission Church Federation" in Tanganyika was taken by German Moravian missionaries in 1937, followed by the "Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika" in 1957. See Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Kraft to Rugambwa: A Church History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: Evangel, 1986), 161.

7. W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa 1840–1974* (Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977), 46. See also S. I. Kolowa, *The Impact of the Christian Church in Tanzania 1885–1985* (Usa River, Arusha: Makumira, 1991), 16.

8. Anderson, 55. See also Kolowa, 16–17.

9. P. Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings around Mt. Kilimanjaro: The First Forty Years* (Usa River, Arusha: Makumira, 1998), 47–48.

10. Berlin III, founded in 1886, declared among its other objectives to preach the word of God to pagans in the German colony in East Africa. See *Statut der Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft für Deutschostafrika* (Berlin: Buchdruckerei Gutenberg, 1892), 3. Berlin III was started by Karl Peters, who also formed a company for colonizing East Africa. See Sahlberg, 58–61; Anderson, 47.

11. Anderson, 47; Sahlberg, 61.

12. S. Von Sicard, *The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania 1887–1914: With Special Reference to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania Synod of Uzaramo-Uluguru* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1970), 166–69.

13. *Ibid.*, 165.

14. B. Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania* (London: Hurst, 1980), 25.

15. Anderson, 47.

16. Sundkler, 25.

17. Sundkler, 25.

18. *Statut der Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft*, 4. Here it shows that Pastor D. von Bodelschwingh was a permanent member of the board of the Evangelical Mission Society for German East Africa.

19. Sahlberg, 61.

20. Sundkler, 25–26.

21. *Ibid.*, 25–27.

22. *Ibid.*, 64.

23. Sahlberg, 63.

24. Sundkler, 25.

25. *Ibid.*, 61.

26. *Ibid.*, 62.

27. G. Menzel, *Die Bethel Mission: Aus 100 Jahren Missionsgeschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), 34.

28. *Ibid.*, 35–36.

29. *Ibid.*, 61–62.

30. G. Pakendorf, "For There is No Power: The Berlin Mission and the Challenges of Colonial South Africa," (June 2000) in [www.geocities.com/missionalia/germiss1.htm](http://www.geocities.com/missionalia/germiss1.htm), accessed on September 18, 2008. J. Richter, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft 1824–1924* (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft, 1924), 364. See also H. Lehmann, *150 Jahre Berliner Mission* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev. Luth. Mission, 1974), 41–44.

31. A. Mwakisunga, "Historia ya Maendeleo ya Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Ukanda wa Kusini" (The History of the Development of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Southern Zone), in *Karne ya Kwanza ya Injili 1891–1991 ya Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania Ukanda wa Kusini* (The First Century of the Gospel from 1891–1991 of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, Southern Zone) (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1991), 14. See also Anderson, 55.

32. G. C. K. Gwassa, "German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania," in *A History of Tanzania*, eds. I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1967), 90–94.

33. Cf. Von Sicard, 53.

34. Sahlberg, 66. Cf. Faustin Mahali, *The Concept of Poverty in Luke: From the Perspective of a Wanji of Tanzania* (Arusha: Makumira, 2006), 142.

35. Mwakisunga, 13–14.

36. Sahlberg, 68. See also Anderson, 55.

37. Anderson, 97.

38. M. Walsh, *A History of the Sangu Based Upon Written Sources Prepared for Mtwa alfeo Mgandilwa Merere* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1985), 35.

39. During war between Germans and natives, it was believed that bullets shot by Germans turned into water (*maji*), because of the local medicine's magic power. See J. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1979), 114. See also Mwakisunga, 20–21.

40. Mahali, 171.

41. *Ibid.*, 215–16. See also Sahlberg, 73.

42. It is said that the well-known champion of "communalizing" Christianity was Bruno Gutmann. See Anderson, 97–98.

43. E. Jaeschke, *Bruno Gutmann: His Life—His Thoughts—His Work: An Early Attempt at a Theology in an African Context* (Usa River, Arusha: Makumira, 1985), 12.

44. *Ibid.*, 17.

45. *Ibid.*, 23.

46. Anderson, 98. For details, see Jaeschke, 13.

47. Anderson, 98.

48. *Ibid.*, 74. Sahlberg, 108.

49. Wilhelm Wundt integrated psychology into his study of religious thought. His counterpart Emile Durkheim introduced the question of empirical moral research, arguing that "moral[ity] is not the content of consciousness, but a social reality that can only be identified through the observation of acts." H. G. Kippenberg, *Die Entdeckung der Religionsgeschichte: Religionswissenschaft und Moderne* (Munich: Beck, 1997), 199.

50. Jaeschke, 10–11.

51. *Ibid.*, 212.

52. *Ibid.*, 213–16.

53. *Ibid.*, 219–24.

54. J. W. Parsalaw, *A History of the Lutheran Church Diocese in the Arusha Region from 1904 to 1958* (Usa River, Arusha: Makumira, 1999), 151–54. See also Sahlberg, 108.

55. Anderson, 75.

56. Sahlberg, 116.

57. Anderson, 76.

58. E. R. Danielson, *Forty Years with Christ in Tanzania 1928–1968*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Rock Island: Elmer R. Danielson, 1996), 49A.

59. Sahlberg, 112–13.

60. *Ibid.*, 112.

61. For instance, a Berlin missionary in Magoye-Wanjiland, one of the stations in the Southern Highlands, remarks in his diary that whenever he left the station, sexual offences and other sins returned. E. Kaellner, "Tagebuch, Jahresbericht 1914" (archival material in Berlin Mission Work).

62. Sahlberg, 113.

63. It is not true that the need for subdivisions was caused by the increasing number of Christians (as in Sahlberg, 113). This process was motivated by the earlier demographically-

based location of stations founded before World War I.

64. S. N. Kilimhana, "Misioni ya Künjili 1914–1945" (The Evangelical Mission 1914–1945), in *Karne ya Kwanza*, 25. Cf. Sahlberg, 113.

65. *Ibid.*, 25.

66. *Ibid.*, 25.

67. Sahlberg, 114. See the details in Kilimhana, 25. However, the SEM did not start first in Mbulu but in Iringa. Cf. Ejose, Olav & Naman, Joseph, "Historia fupi ya KKT—Sinodi ya Mbulu 1938–1988" (archival material at Makumira University College, no date).

68. Sahlberg, 113. Cf. Kilimhana, 27.

69. Sahlberg, 113–14. Cf. Danielson, who writes, "By the time the Missions-Church Federation meeting was held at Kiomboi in October 1940, the weaknesses of that move were evident. It was the unity of the African delegates from the former German fields who showed the Southern Highlands delegates the lack of wisdom in their plan. Consequently, Pastor Yohana Nyagawa and the emerging church submitted themselves to the supervisory help of the Mission-Church Federation," 51B.

70. Kilimhana, 27–28.

71. *Ibid.*, 28.

72. *Ibid.*, 28.

73. Parsalaw, 157. Cf. Fleish, 105.

74. Fleish, 97.

75. E. R. Danielson, "Lutherische Missionare aus Amerika" in *Lutherische Kirche Tanzania*, ed. G. Mellinghoff (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1990), 97.

76. Danielson, "Lutherische Missionare,"

97. See also Sahlberg, 117.

77. Sahlberg, 117. Cf. J. W. Parsalaw, "The Repercussion of World War I and II for German Mission to Africa with Special Emphasis on Tanzania," in *Changing Relations between Churches in Europe and Africa: The Internationalization of Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Katharina Kunter and Jens Holger Schjørring (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 58.

78. Sahlberg, 118.

79. Cf. Danielson, 81–82.

80. Cf. the description of apostolic succession as inherited from Bengt Sundkler of the Church of Sweden Mission, S. Y. Swallo, "Uongozi Mikononi mwa Wananchi" (Leadership of the Church under Natives), in *Karne ya Kwanza*, 44–47.

81. Thus Sahlberg. Cf. C. J. Hellberg, "Andereya Kajerero: The Man and His Church (Biography)" in *Christianity in Contemporary Africa*, ed. W. B. Anderson (Kampala: Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy, 1972), 1–22. However, Hellberg mentions the year 1940 as the beginning of the Church of Sweden Mission in Bukoba.

82. W. B. Niwagila, *From the Catamcomb to a Self-governing Church: A Case Study of the African Initiative and the Participation of the Foreign Missions in the Mission History of the Northern-Western Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania 1890–1965* (Hamburg: Verlag an der Lottbeck/Peter Jensen, 1988), 277. But is also worth noting that the British colonial government did not favor Swedish missionaries because of the Swedes' involvement with the German Nazi regime during World War II; see Danielson, 52A.

83. Danielson, 52, 83–84.

84. Fleisch, 109–11.

85. In the Southern Highlands, the SEM requested assistance from the Finnish Evangelical Mission (Konde area) and the Danish Lutheran Mission (Ulanga Kilombero). The SEM also asked the Norwegian Lutheran Mission to take care of the Mbulu area.

86. B. Mathiesen, "Church and Civil Religion in Norway," in *The Church and Civil Religion in the Nordic Countries of Europe* (Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1984), 122–23.

87. Olav Ejose, "Sifa kwa Bwana: Historia ya KKT—Sinodi ya Mbulu 1939–1989" (Praise the Lord: The History of Church of Iraqw), Tanzania, 1950, 25.

88. *Ibid.*, 52.

89. *Ibid.*, 54–55.

90. O. A. Kasumba, "Vyama vya Kimision Baada ya Vita Kuu ya Pili," in *Kanisa la Künjili*, 29–30.

91. *Ibid.*

92. Sahlberg mentions the Finnish Missionary Society (in English commonly known as the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission) as having been asked by the SEM in 1952 to support the extensive work of school building as assigned by colonial government, 114. For details, see the speech by the President of the Republic of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari, at the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission's 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary in Helsinki on January 17, 1999 at [www.tpk.fi/ahtisaari/puheet-1999/P990117.lahetyen.html](http://www.tpk.fi/ahtisaari/puheet-1999/P990117.lahetyen.html), accessed January 20, 2009.

93. Cf. S. Y. Swallo, "Uongozi Mikononi

mwa Wananchi" (Leadership in the Hands of the Natives), in *Karne ya Kwanza ya Injili*, 47.

94. H. Smedjebacka, *Lutheran Church Autonomy in Northern Tanzania 1940–1963* (Åbo: Åbo Academi, 1973), 55.

95. *Ibid.*, 55.

96. *Ibid.*, 141.

97. *Ibid.*, 155.

98. According to Smedjebacka, at the first gathering of the Federation of the Lutheran Churches of Tanganyika, the number of missionary delegates and indigenous was half and half. At later meetings, the indigenous delegation outnumbered that of the missionaries, 155.

99. Smedjebacka, 160–61.

100. Mahali, 172.

101. Cf. a report of the presiding bishop of ELCT on the conflicts in the ELCT to the Lutheran Coordination Service (LCS) in the *Minutes and 1992 Manual*, a joint instrument for assistance to and exchange with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, 177 [hereafter 1992 LCS Manual].

102. On episcopacy in ELCT, see: Smedjebacka, 154–61; Swallo, "Uongozi Mikononi mwa Wananchi," 47; Sundkler, 153–78; and L. Kalugila, "Leadership Roles in the Lutheran Church in Tanzania," *Africa Theological Journal* 12/3 (Usa River, Tanzania: Faculty of Lutheran Theological College, Makumira, 1983), 143–58.

103. Misunderstanding arose because during the meeting of the Federation in Marangu the emphasis on episcopacy came from a political leader. See Smedjebacka, 158–61, and Sundkler, 155.

104. A careful description of African "divination" is attempted by Michael C. Kirwen, *The Missionary and the Diviner: Contending Theologies of Christian African Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987). Kirwen tries to (re)construct the meaning of the diviner from interviews with various "medicine-persons" and "indigenous orators", 80–106, especially 82.

105. The role of a leader in African "religiosity" should always be understood holistically, regarding humanity as equally physical, mental, and spiritual.