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Nehemia Godwin Moshi

# Stretching the Drum Skin

An Analysis of Power Relations in Leadership Development  
and Succession in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in  
Tanzania–Northern Diocese 1942–1993





## Nehemia Godwin Moshi (born 1963)

Master of Science, 1998, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania

Master of Theology, 2006, Makumira University College, Tanzania

Cover image: Drum at Makumira in Tanzania. Original photo by Hezron Mashauri.

Åbo Akademi University Press  
Tavastgatan 13, FI-20500 Åbo, Finland  
Tel. +358 (0)2 215 3478  
E-mail: [forlaget@abo.fi](mailto:forlaget@abo.fi)

Sales and distribution:  
Åbo Akademi University Library  
Domkyrkogatan 2–4, FI-20500 Åbo, Finland  
Tel. +358 (0)2 -215 4190  
E-mail: [publikationer@abo.fi](mailto:publikationer@abo.fi)

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Åbo Akademis förlag | Åbo Akademi University Press  
Åbo, Finland, 2016

## **CIP Cataloguing in Publication**

**Moshi**, Nehemia Godwin.

Stretching the drum skin : an analysis of power relations in leadership and succession in the Evangelical Lutheran church in Tanzania-Northern diocese 1942–1993 / Nehemia Godwin Moshi. - Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press, 2016.

Diss.: Åbo Akademi University.

ISBN 978-951-765-816-4

ISBN 978-951-765-816-4

ISBN 978-951-765-817-1 (digital)

Painosalama Oy

Åbo 2016

Dedicated to my father  
Rev. Godwin Anaeli Moshi





## Svensk sammanfattning

I föreliggande avhandling undersöks det norra stiftet (the Northern Diocese) i den evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Tanzania (ELCT). Syftet är att studera maktrelationer, i synnerhet manifesterade i framväxten av ledarskap samt i överlämnande och övertagande av ledarskap i detta stift. Undersökningen begränsas till perioden 1942–1993. Den är till sin natur kvalitativ och använder historiska metoder.

Forskningen visar att stiftets historia har karakteriserats av både bemyndigande, manipulativa och dominerande relationer. Sådana relationer är uppenbara på olika plan; a) i kampen för indigeniseringen av stiftets ledning, b) i strävan efter att inrätta ett episkopat – en ledarskapsform som ansågs vara relevant i den tanzanianska kontexten, c) i relationen mellan kyrka och stat, d) i uppdelningen av det norra stiftet i tre stift och därtill en självständig kyrka, samt e) i den process som ledde fram till att prästämbetet öppnades för kvinnor.

Relationerna i det norra stiftet kan karakteriseras som ett arv från både utländska missionärer och från ett nordtanzanianskt kulturellt sammanhang. Missionärerna som kom med evangeliet rekryterade personer på lokalplanet till sin hjälp. Dessa lokala kristna tog senare över ledarskapet och förde troget vidare arvet från missionärerna. Beträffande ledarskapsstrukturen förblev stiftet därför i det stora hela oförändrat även efter att ledningen blivit tanzaniansk. Med stöd av sin kontext antog stiftet emellertid ett episkopalt ledarskap med biskop, vilket byggde på ledarskapsmodeller i hövdingadömen i området. Denna sammanblandning av olika traditioner kan också ses i motståndet mot att viga kvinnor till prästämbetet – något som varken bland missionärerna eller inom den kulturella kontexten i norra Tanzania ansåg vara genomförbart. Rasbaserade, etniska och könsbaserade skillnader kan anses ha inverkat på relationerna inom stiftet.

Sammanfattningsvis kan konstateras att stiftets historia karakteriseras av en slags klassbaserad stratifiering, något som potentiellt kan påverka stiftets verksamhet ännu i dag och därför behöver synliggöras och medvetandegöras.

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## Acknowledgements

Gratitude is primarily due to God the Almighty whose manifold ways of sustenance have enabled me to accomplish this work.

Many people have contributed to the success of this work. I thank all of them for their help. I would, however, like to mention a number of people for their invaluable contribution. I would like to, first and foremost, express my appreciation to my supervisors, Professor Ingvar Dahlbacka and Dr. Kim Groop, for their guidance, backing and encouragement that they rendered during the whole period of this study. Without their continued assistance the research was destined to a halt. The financial assistance rendered by different organs related to the Åbo Akademi University is highly acknowledged.

The administration of Tumaini University Makumira, particularly the Vice Chancellor, Professor Joseph Parsalaw, and the Dean Faculty of Theology, Dr. Angela Olotu, is remembered for, among other things, bearing with changes in my work schedule and provision of a study break. The leadership of the Northern Diocese, specifically Bishops Dr. Martin Shao and Dr. Fredrick Shoo are remembered for their inspiration. Professor Ismael Mbise, my superior as I served as Registrar, together with my colleagues in the office, Ms. Rose Chuwa and Ms. Neema Sumari, deserve a special mention for their assistance in various ways. I also thank the Tumaini University Makumira Library staff, particularly Mr. Ndelilio Mbise, for bearing with the numerous inquiries regarding books and archival material. The general Tumaini University Makumira community is remembered for rendering an environment suitable for studies.

A word of gratitude goes to Bishop Dr. Erasto Kweka, Rev. Erasto Ngira, Rev. Dr. Elirehema Mwanga, Rev. Gabriel Kimirei, Rev. Dr. Mathias Mndeme, Rev. Elisante Mamuya, Rev. Dr. Rose Materu, Rev. Dr. Elieshi Mungure, Rev. Joyceline Njama, Rev. Sarah Urassa, Ms. Helen Byera, Mr. Seth Kitange, and Rev. Dr. Henrik Smedjebacka for the invaluable insight I received in the course of interviewing them.

Many thanks go to Joel Thoreson of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) archives in Chicago for promptly searching for and sending copies of minutes of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika (LCNT) meetings, constitution and other useful documents relating to the period of Augustana missionary engagements with the LCNT/ELCT-ND. I am indebted to Ms. Mattowo and Mr. Kimambo, the personnel of the ELCNT-ND archives, for the help they rendered during the time I spent in the archives.

During the seminars at Åbo Akademi, Åkesberg and Makumira a number of people provided some constructive criticism and advice for which I am thankful. Bishop Dr. Erik Vikström, Dr. Florence Ghamunga, Dr. Faustin Mahali, Prof. Dag Oredsson, Rev. Habakuk Lwendo, Rev. Godluck Kitomari and all members of the Faculty of Theology at Makumira are remembered for their insights and criticism. Ms. Diane Sonnenberg, and Rev. Tim Sonnenberg deserve a special word of thanks for proof reading and correcting the language of a large part of the manuscript. The language deficiencies in this work remain my responsibility.

I am indebted to Professor Marja-Liisa Swantz who gave critical reflections on the research framework at the beginning of this study. I also thank Professor Mika Vähäkangas and Dr. Carl-Erik Sahlberg, the pre-examiners for this work, for their insights and critiques.

Many thanks go to my wife, Phea, who bore the extra load of handling family related matters when I travelled or was held down by the demands of the research. She was in addition, a constant reminder of what lay ahead of me. Our children, Wuchawoeli, Joan and Ezra, are also remembered for putting up with a besieged thesis writer.

My mother, Ambiliasiaeli Moshi, my brothers, David and Ebenezer and sisters Dorcas and Shaeli, together with their families are thanked for the support they rendered in different ways.

Makumira, 11 March 2016

Nehemia Godwin Moshi

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

A Kiswahili saying goes, *kila mwamba ngoma, ngozi huivutia kwake*, literally, “everyone who stretches a skin on a drum pulls the skin to his/her own side”. This saying is a portrayal of what happens in a competitive environment; everyone favours her/his side. The saying tends to suggest that the desire by one side or person to outsmart the other is widespread in personal relationships. The history of Christianity has not been an exception to this. Ideally, Christianity is portrayed as an egalitarian system. In 1986 the New York Times published a quote by Daniel Niles that said, “Christianity is one beggar telling another beggar where he found bread”<sup>1</sup>. Niles seems to have reckoned Christianity to be a system composed of people of equal status i.e., beggars, who having received help acknowledge this by showing others the way to access what they themselves have accessed. Apparently, the ‘receiving beggar’ is responsible for instructing or empowering fellow beggars. The practices of Christianity in the ‘world of power’, however, seem far removed from Niles’ conception. The history of Christianity suggests that in many cases the ‘receiving beggar’ strips himself of the beggar status upon receiving and succumbs to patronage. On the other hand, the tendency has been such that the ‘instructed beggar’ demands his way even before coming to grips with what it entails to get the bread. The reality is, therefore, such that the drum skin stretching phenomenon holds.

The Northern Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) is a result of the work done by the Leipzig and Augustana missionaries. Apart from converting Northern Tanzanians to Christianity, the missionaries, particularly the Leipzig missionaries, also aimed at planting peoples’ churches

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.notable-quotes.com/c/christianity\\_quotes.html](http://www.notable-quotes.com/c/christianity_quotes.html)

– *Volkskirchen*.<sup>2</sup> The planting of churches entailed that the missionaries made efforts to nurture organisation and leadership among the missionised. This is so considering that the emergent churches were expected to grow and be able to run their own affairs, including planting churches, independent of the mission societies. The expected trend of the emergence of churches from the existing ones is reflected in the history of the ELCT. This church that began as a unity of seven churches has produced twenty-four dioceses.

Church planting and the subsequent developments have, therefore, much like the case of the two beggars, followed the rhythm of ‘give and take’ or ‘instruct and receive’. The history of church planting in Africa, however, suggests that the ‘take and give’ rhythm as implied in the ideal of the two beggars has not been smooth. Dualism has characterised the transition of power that results in formation of independent church bodies. The missionary endeavours to Africa can be described as both empowering and dominating. The missionary work has, on the one hand, been viewed as empowering considering that self-governing churches emerged. In addition, medical work also thrived, and people were enlightened through the education they received. The contribution of national churches to the performance of many post independent governments in Africa, in the realms of leadership, education and medical work, is attributable to the mission work that led to the establishment of the churches.

The missionaries have, on the other hand, been considered domineering. The missionary work has, for instance, been characterised at some points as one of fortresses.<sup>3</sup> The implementation of the Livingstone trio, i.e., Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation<sup>4</sup>, is also suggestive of imposition. Some authors

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<sup>2</sup> Winter 1979, 39. See also Bosch 1999, 331-332.

<sup>3</sup> Helander and Niwagila 1996, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Nkomazana 1998, 44.



see in the 'trio' an open gate to European imperialism.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps considering the degree to which Africans had to align to Western norms as a measure of true Christianity, Professor Gregory Maddox, who has researched some aspects of the history of Tanzania, remark "the question has often been asked how much Africans have to change to become Christians and how much Christianity had to change to be African."<sup>6</sup> Drs. Lori Ransom and Jonathan Bonk in the introduction to the book titled *Edinburgh 2010: Witnessing to Christ Today*, address some aspects of the relations between foreign mission and would be converts. According to them the missionaries' thinking sometimes expressed, explicitly or implicitly, the idea that Christianity was the actual inner clan of Western civilisation's lust and will to dominate.<sup>7</sup> Ransom and Bonk see in mission history a parallel to the political process of treaty making between European powers and indigenous peoples.<sup>8</sup> The drum skin stretching experience is evident in the facts that the westerners favoured their culture as a medium in spreading the gospel, in addition to raising an agenda that was incongruent to the gospel. These acts were countered by Africans who saw their culture ignored.

The history of church planting in Africa thus suggests that the practice of church planting has, far from Niles' ideal, followed patterns typical of the competition suggested in the drum skin saying. The status of some beggars seems to shift from penury to that of dominating master after receiving bread. The domineering attitude tends to contribute to the other beggar's dependency that this recipient beggar struggles to escape. It is, for instance, evident that even with the emergence of national African churches independent of direct control from the Northern churches, the relationship between the Northern and Southern

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<sup>5</sup> Nkomazana 1998, 45.

<sup>6</sup> Maddox 1999, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Ransom and Bonk 2010, 88.

<sup>8</sup> Ransom and Bonk 2010, 88.

churches has been characterised by efforts geared toward the construction of appropriate systems of partnership. Such efforts have led to the emergence of a number of partnership models.<sup>9</sup>

The Northern Diocese being in the realm of the 'receive and instruct' process would be expected to spearhead the emergence of other church bodies. The mechanisms through which the Northern Diocese developed its leadership and brought forth other church units are of interest with regard to power relations. Upon the birth of the LCNT, which would later constitute the Northern Diocese in the ELCT, the ministry of this church continued within a context of multiple ethnicities, age categories, as well as gender and class compositions. As the LCNT grew, circumstances would tend to dictate that more churches in the form of independent synods or dioceses emerged under the LCNT leadership. The role of the LCNT would then, like that of foreign missions that preceded it, be expected to be one of nurturing leadership in the emergent churches. The Lutheran mission to Northern Tanzania celebrated its centenary anniversary in 1993. The ministry of this church which has been battling dependence on foreign missionary and church aid and interference has tended to portray the same empowering-domineering duality referred to above. This is probably the result of the missionary legacy but perhaps more so it is the manifestation of the exercise of power characteristic in any context and culture such that the Northern Diocese is not an exception.

## **1.2 Aim**

The aim of this research is to scrutinise the history of the Northern Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania between the years 1942 and 1993 from a power relations perspective. The study deals with issues having a bearing on leadership development and transfer. It scrutinises leadership

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<sup>9</sup> Helander and Niwagila 1996, 14. See also Lindquist 1982, 163–167.

development and succession as an inclusive phenomenon. The inclusive approach to leadership growth is taken considering that the progression and handover of leadership have not been singular and smooth processes. On the one hand, the processes have involved acts that work in the direction of what development entails e.g., recruitment through training, exposure programmes and willingness to cede authority in order to let others access positions of leadership. On the other hand, the development has involved acts that are apparently contrary to the expectations. Consideration is here made of cases where people have been denied access to training or exposure, or where transfer of leadership was accompanied by acts of stark violence. The assumption in this study is that both scenarios i.e., smooth and rough handling or transitions, worked for leadership development and transfer in the history of the Northern Diocese.

Considering that the leadership is influenced by the narrow and wider contexts i.e., the Northern Tanzania socio-political and foreign missionary contexts etc., the study identifies and analyses contributions in the different spatial and temporal settings. The research addresses the Diocese that was born of foreign mission work. The Diocese has, however, gone through transformations and splits. The history is thus complex hence the need to narrow the study to relations accompanying leadership development and the succession and the circumstances surrounding the processes. The study seeks to investigate what characterises relations in leadership in the history of the Northern Diocese. The study, therefore, scrutinises leadership in the history of the Diocese along patterns of guidance i.e., empowerment and domination, and social contours, e.g., ethnicity, gender and class.

This research reads the history of the Northern Diocese under the lens of power. It analyses processes, events, themes and decisions. Events which are analysed are those that are considered more of turning points in the history of the Diocese. These processes and events reflect the desire by one of the facets/stra-

ta in the system to express its identity or grievances. Such events have made news in the time during which they occurred and were addressed at a certain level of the leadership of the Diocese or in the general assemblies (synods).

The church, like any institution, operates in its socio-political and economic context. It, therefore, functions in the 'world of power' and is both affected and favoured by this environment. The Northern Diocese is, conceivably, not an exception to what has characterised the church universally. The assumption is that the history of the Diocese is punctuated by instances of what may be considered desired and undesired employment of what the context offered.

The study is restricted to the Northern Diocese of the ELCT. In 1942, the Northern Diocese spanned an area that at the present moment covers four Dioceses namely: Pare, Northern, Meru and North-Central (formerly Synod/Diocese in the Arusha Region). The study tracks circumstances within what was constitutionally the Northern Diocese and does not encroach into the affairs of an emergent diocese that split from the Northern Diocese. The study, however, involves the whole of the ELCT at some points especially where events or decisions that relate generally to the ELCT are seen to have influenced the Northern Diocese directly or indirectly.

Northern Tanzania is a potentially rich source of information on the exercise of power in and by the church considering the nature of the early missionary activity which involved the encounter between foreign missionaries and Africans; the struggle for autonomy by the emerging LCNT; the conflicts associated with the birth of the different Dioceses, and struggles within the Diocese in its ministry.

The time period considered is from 1942 to 1993. The period chosen spanned from the birth of the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika in 1942, through its struggle for autonomy, to the birth of the ELCT and ELCT-ND, as well as the processes and developments that gave birth to three new dio-

ceses – North-Central, Pare and Meru – in 1972, 1975, and 1992, respectively; to the ministry of the Diocese.

### 1.3 Review of Literature

The landscape of historical accounts on foreign missionary enterprise in Africa reflects some ambivalence. On the one hand, historical accounts of the foreign missionary project voice the concern that the project was imbued by paternalism. Writers of this inclination are of the view that the missionaries in their approach mishandled the Africans. The anthology *East African Expression of Christianity*, edited by Professors Thomas Spear (University of Wisconsin–Madison) and Isaria Kimambo (University of Dar es Salaam), addresses some aspects of the missionary endeavours in East Africa. In an article titled ‘African Theology and the Search for the Universal’, Gregory Maddox reckons the propagation of Christianity in Africa in the same line with the dominance European states had over Africa.<sup>10</sup> The missionary project in Africa has on the other hand, been viewed more positively. In the article ‘Towards the History of African Christianity’, published in the anthology *East African Expressions of Christianity*, Thomas Spear draws attention to the empowering effect of the gospel preached by the missionaries. Against the inclination that Africans who converted to Christianity were after material gains, Spear points to the appropriation, interpretation and use that African converts made of the gospel in addressing contextual needs e.g., in seeking healing and comfort in diseases, and natural disasters, but also in addressing colonial oppression.<sup>11</sup> The ambivalence characterising relations between foreign missionaries and the emerging African churches has characterised relations in the ministry of the emerging churches.

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<sup>10</sup> Maddox 1999, 25.

<sup>11</sup> Spear 1999, 3.

A number of studies have investigated the relations between foreign mission and church, and relations in the ministry of the church born of foreign missionary efforts in Tanzania. In his article “Episcopacy, A Sociological Trend in the Lutheran Church in Tanzania”, Cuthbert Omari echoes concern over the trend in the 1980’s when the ELCT was progressively moving toward an Episcopal form of leadership. The different units within the ELCT had beforehand adopted titles i.e., president or bishop, reflecting the form of leadership in the mission’s origins. Omari considers episcopacy in the ELCT to be a sociological trend and cautions that future developments culminating in the adoption of the office of an archbishop would probably work against the mission of the church, on account of its being heavily bureaucratic.<sup>12</sup> Eila Helander and Wilson Niwagila have investigated power relations in partnership in their book *Partnership and Power*. According to them, partnership is becoming a focus of mission. Helander and Niwagila, however, see an imbalance in partnership relations leading to persistence of the parent-child mentality between Northern and Southern churches, the Northern churches imposing their own ideas on the Southern churches. Recognition of mission as *Missio Dei*, they contend, would help bring about more rewarding partnership.<sup>13</sup> In the book *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of Changing Relationship 1961–1994*, Professor Frieder Ludwig addresses church-state relations in the pre and post-independence era across the religious landscape in Tanzania. Ludwig points to the changing response of the churches to state policies characterised by hesitance, euphoria and criticism.<sup>14</sup> In his PhD thesis titled *Jesus and Leadership: Analysis of Rank, Status, Power and Authority as Reflected in the Synoptic Gospels from a Perspective of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT)*, George Fihavango

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<sup>12</sup> Omari 1987, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Helander and Niwagila 1996.

<sup>14</sup> Ludwig 1999.

(2007) alludes to the influence that political and social developments have on the leadership of the church.<sup>15</sup> Wilson Niwagila (1988) investigates the development of the North Western Diocese of the ELCT in his book (PhD thesis): *From a Catacomb to a Self-Governing Church*. Niwagila tracks the history of this Diocese from the missionary era, which was heavily dominated by African initiatives, through crises e.g., in the emergence of the Spirit Church within the church, to the adoption of Episcopal leadership. Niwagila's work shows that tensions have reigned between mission agencies and church as well as in the ministry of the church itself.<sup>16</sup>

In Northern Tanzania, relations in the mission and church leadership have been addressed by a number of researchers. Henrik Smedjebacka, former Finnish missionary in Tanzania, in his doctoral thesis, *Lutheran Church Autonomy in Northern Tanzania* published in 1973, aimed at investigating the developments that occurred during the years 1940 to 1963 with regard to the "three-self formula" namely, self-propagating, self-governing and self-support. Smedjebacka's choice of the year 1940 as a beginning for his research targeted the election of a Northern Tanganyikan, Rev. Solomon Nkya, to the position of vice president of the church. The election of Nkya was a significant step with regard to indigenisation of the leadership of the church and hence self-government. Smedjebacka sees in the Second World War a turning point with regard to leadership i.e., from foreign to indigenous leadership. Smedjebacka notes developments in self-support and self-propagation, in the different fund raising strategies and the efforts by the church to evangelise the Sonjo people, respectively. The year 1963, which marks the end of Smedjebacka's research, relates to the end of autonomy of the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika as the church merged with other churches in Tanganyika to form the ELCT. In the book *The Foundation of the Lutheran*

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<sup>15</sup> Fihavango 2007, 309.

<sup>16</sup> Niwagila 1988.

*Church in Kilimanjaro*, Dr. Anza-Amen Lema, a Tanzanian educationalist who has also served the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) as associate general secretary, critiques the work of the Leipzig Mission Society in Kilimanjaro and the surrounding areas. Lema's work addresses the interaction between the Europeans and Africans, restricting itself to the early Lutheran missionary era—1893 to 1920. Lema sees in the Leipzig Mission work the desire among the majority of the missionaries to replace much of what existed in the Chagga culture. This disregard of cultural elements suggests lack of informed dialogue between the missionaries and the Chagga, something that could precipitate paternalism.

Developments in the history of the Northern Diocese have also been addressed by two more church historians namely, Joseph Parsalaw (1999) and Kim Groop (2006). In his PhD thesis – *A History of the Lutheran Church Diocese in Arusha Region*, Parsalaw examines the circumstances in the history of the Diocese from 1904 to 1958. Parsalaw considers the Arusha and Maasai people, which were part of the LCNT, underrepresented in the affairs of the church. The marginalisation of the Arusha and Maasai was probably not least in the writing of the history of the church. His work leans on a historical version that portrays the significance of the Arusha and Maasai in the evangelisation of the area. Parsalaw's research begins with 1904, which marks the beginning of mission work among the Arusha and ends with 1958, the year in which the first indigenous pastor, Lazaros Laiser, died. Rev. Laiser died in a road accident while on a journey in efforts to evangelise the Sonjo people. Parsalaw lifts the Maasai language, the mission station and boarding school as among important tools for evangelism.

Kim Groop in his PhD thesis *With the Gospel to Maasailand* analyses the Lutheran mission among the Maasai-speaking people in Arusha region. Groop's work covers the years 1904 to 1973. The year 1904 was the year during which the Lutheran missionaries of the Leipzig Mission began work among the Arusha people. The year 1973 marks the emergence of the Sy-



nod in Arusha Region as an independent church body within the ELCT. Groop's research reveals patterns of good and strained relations among the different groups of people involved in the history of the Diocese namely, the missionaries, the Arusha people, the colonial administration and other denominations particularly the Roman Catholics. Groop identifies holism, indigenisation and contextualisation as qualities that characterise Lutheran mission work among the Maasai speaking people. This is in view of the breadth of the mission work – evangelism, education and medical work, and the participation of Africans in the Lutheran mission.

The studies mentioned above, particularly those of Smedjebacka, Parsalaw and Groop, are enlightening and are used in this study. Although these investigations address leadership in the history of the Diocese, they do not particularly address succession in leadership. Spear, whom we have met above, breaks the historical development of Christianity in Africa into six processes viz. mission, conversion, popular evangelism, struggle for control, charismatic prophecy and healing, and revival.<sup>17</sup> Spear considers each process as comprising a complex set of interrelated factors.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to conceive of Spear's scheme of discrete processes that do not relate or overlap. This study addresses what pertains to the 'struggle for control' process as identified by Spear. The uniqueness of the study, therefore, lies in its efforts to analyse a particular process in the history of the Diocese i.e., the development and succession of leadership. The complexity of the process, however, betrays efforts to limit it to a particular period in the history of the Diocese. The development and succession of leadership is traceable across the other processes. The study analyses power relations along the categories existing in the history of the Diocese i.e., ethnicity, gender, age, economic and education status.

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<sup>17</sup> Spear 1999, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Spear 1999, 4.

## 1.4 Methods and Structure of the Study

This research is historical and qualitative in approach. It reads the history of the ELCT-ND through the lens of power. In addition to the study of relevant literature on power, an archival search was done. The archival material studied included those from the head office of the Northern Diocese of the ELCT, Tumaini University Makumira, ELCT Headquarters in Arusha and Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. In addition, letters and documents from some individuals were also accessed.<sup>19</sup> Information was sought on events, themes and decision making processes in the Diocese.

An archival search went together with the field research. The approach was to use oral in-depth interviews in obtaining and checking different perspectives on power in the history of the Diocese. The interviews either bridged information gaps or offered a point of comparison. The questions for the interviews were open in nature, aiming at encouraging discussion and reflection. What was expected from the interviews was the sharing of experiences that would help the researcher to go deeper into the key areas of power use, types of power, and the influence of power in the ministry of the church. The interviews were electronically recorded and transcribed and are in possession of the researcher.

The interviewees were selected based on their experience in the area about which information was being sought. Those selected for the interview included officials of the church (e.g., bishop, assistant to the bishop, general secretary), clergy and lay peop-

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<sup>19</sup> In quoting sources from the different archives and individuals, an abbreviation representing the archive or individual in possession of the source precedes the source in the footnote e.g., A(ELCA), A(TUMA) D(Kweka) for sources from Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) archives, Tumaini University Makumira (TUMA) archives and document in possession of Kweka, respectively. For ELCA the researcher requested and received scanned copies of synod minutes, letters and other communications from ELCA archives' personnel.

le in the emergent dioceses. Some of the interviewees were about 80 years old and above. This had a bearing on their memory. One interviewee who was above 90 years old, indeed, complained of memory loss. This, coupled by the fact that some of the events took place about 40 years ago, called for a cautious handling of the interview responses. In attempts to address this, responses from one interview were compared with or read in the light of another interview or written source. The analysis of the interviews, therefore, followed the same pattern as that used for written sources.

Materials used as sources in this study were selected based on the principle of originality and proximity of the documentation to the event or theme of interest. Sources used included research work in the area addressing events, trends and personalities, communications (letters), minutes and biographies of key players in the history of the Diocese.

My position as researcher is worth analysing. This is due to the likely influence, positive and negative, my position as researcher had in conducting the research. I am a male ordained pastor who was born in Mamba, the home place of Bishop Stefano Moshi. I have also served the ELCT for 11 years in different capacities i.e., as parish pastor in the Northern Diocese, and as registrar along with teaching at Tumaini University Makumira. This position has, on the one hand, the advantage of better knowing the context of the research. On the other hand, this position predisposes the researcher to weakness, especially one of bias i.e., romanticising the positions taken by the church and its leaders. This problem was addressed by adherence to the scientific method. The research employed written and oral sources from within and outside Tanzania. In this, efforts were made to let these sources speak for themselves in attempts to create a balanced portrayal of the personalities and events in the history of the Diocese.

Starting with the introduction and ending with a summarising conclusion, the study advances through six chapters, i.e., chap-

ters 2–7. In chapter 2, the concept of power is scrutinised in more detail mainly from a socio-theological point of view. It was important from the beginning to know what we mean when we use this concept and what different aspects might dwell in it. At the end of the chapter is a framework illuminating the exercise of power as conceived in this study.

In chapter 3, we go to the background of the Lutheran mission in Northern Tanzania and the emergence of the local church. From the beginning the different parties i.e., missionaries, chiefs and government administrators, are seen making constant efforts to take advantage of the socio-political and economic environment against the other party.

Chapter 4 addresses the struggle for autonomy. Included in this chapter are the efforts by both indigenous LCNT members and foreign missionaries to have an indigenous leadership.

The quest for Episcopal leadership, state-church relations, and the vision of the church are presented and discussed in chapter 5. In this chapter are such concerns as: efforts by the indigenous church leadership to safe guard its independency, church-state relations, and the ministry of the church.

The challenges associated with the growing church are addressed in chapter 6 which covers the period from 1970 to 1993. The birth of the new Synod and Dioceses and the ordination of women are among issues addressed in this chapter. Chapter 7 concludes the research.

## **1.5 Definitions**

### *Church*

The church is, “the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel.”<sup>20</sup> The third article of

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<sup>20</sup> *Book of Concord* 1959, 32.

the Nicene Creed attests to the four marks of the church. The church is one; it is holy, apostolic and catholic. This one church has local existence (manifestation) – local mission. In addition, the church has a global mission. The church could, therefore, be regarded as ‘glocal’ – as it has both local and international involvement. Professor Charles Van Engen of the School of Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, distinguishes between two understandings of the church (note the use of lower and upper case ‘c’), "There is the church, that congregation of believers in fellowship who seek God's purpose. There is also the Church, that body purchased with the blood of Jesus and called to be his people in the world."<sup>21</sup> A renowned writer on church and culture, Sherwood Lingenfelter, writes thus of the mutual existence of the local and universal church: "The indigenous church [local congregation] without connection to the universal church and Word dies."<sup>22</sup>

The term church as used in this research adopted the ‘glocal’ sense. The term church, therefore, refers to the community of believers in the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika (LCNT) and the Northern Diocese of the ELCT as defined by the area it occupied in different periods.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the term is used in a wider sense, that is, in the global sense including the organisations (foreign missionaries) that made efforts to bring the gospel to Northern Tanzania.<sup>24</sup> One needs to note,

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<sup>21</sup> Van Engen 1991, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Lingenfelter 1998, 15.

<sup>23</sup> This is the local sense which is by and large the most common use of the term in the study.

<sup>24</sup> This is the global sense that is largely limited to the background chapters and the discussion sections. The two uses of the term church put the church in the context of mission. This is so considering that the ultimate goal of the foreign missionaries was to plant the ‘church’; on the other hand, the role of the ‘church’ so planted was the nurture of souls and building capacity for outreach. Kirk defines mission thus: “Mission is simply, though profoundly, what the Christian community is sent to do, beginning right where it is located (‘you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem...and to the ends of the earth’, Acts 1:8). Although fulfilled in different ways according to particular

however, that the church incarnates differently in different contexts. According to Omari, the conception of the church is shaped by a number of factors among which are societal, environment, historical development and social formation of the church.<sup>25</sup> Noteworthy in this regard is the conception of the church as an embodiment of rules, structures and principles that distinguish it from the rest of the society.

### *Power*

The concept of power is dealt with at some depth in the second chapter of this work. Power has generally been defined as ability. This understanding of power suggests that power may have an element of struggle for identity or recognition – a kind of explicit or implicit show off. In addition, such an understanding presupposes inability on the part of those who are influenced. Such presuppositions do not, however, address the dynamics of power as to the intentions and mechanisms of the ‘powerful’ in imposing their wishes on the ‘powerless’, or the intention and mechanisms of the ‘powerless’ in accepting or resisting the wishes of the ‘powerful’. The categorisation of people into the class of ‘powerful’ and ‘powerless’ may be equally elusive.

My point of departure regarding the understanding of power is that it has to do with ability or capacity. The manner of accessing and use of this ability adds to the complexity of power. The dynamics of this complex phenomenon are discussed in the following chapter.

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local circumstances, the obligations of mission are the same wherever the community is established (Kirk 1999, 24).

<sup>25</sup> Omari 2006, 17–18.

## 2 Power Perspectives and Conceptual Framework

Chapter 2 deals with the concept of power. The chapter begins with a brief survey of the general understandings of power. One should note that power is a complex phenomenon. Discussing power separately at the beginning of this chapter, therefore, remains conceptual. The chapter proceeds to an understanding of power that clarifies the use of the term in this research and concludes by a framework that charts relations in succession of leadership between the missionaries and Northern Tanzanians on the one hand, and relations among different groups or classes in the ministry of the church born of mission on the other.

### 2.1 Power

Power is a widespread social phenomenon<sup>26</sup> that is variously defined and approached. Power could be mechanical, spiritual, socio-economic or politico-ideological. Power can also be legitimate or illegitimate and can be used in what a particular community or context considers proper or improper. The nature, mechanism of action, and mode of acquisition<sup>27</sup> of power have been a matter of continued discussion. The continued discussion of power suggests the difficulty associated with its comprehension. Among the definitions of power is that of power as ability.<sup>28</sup> This definition tends to conceive of power as a property that equips the bearer – a person or a group – to do something or to effect a desired goal. In addition, this definition tends to render those without this particular ability powerless. The French philosopher, historian and social

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<sup>26</sup> Coser and Rosenberg 1966, 123. See also Goehler 2000, 41.

<sup>27</sup> Some authors, notably Michel Foucault, object to the possibility of acquiring power.

<sup>28</sup> Coser and Rosenberg 1966, 123.

theorist, Michael Foucault, in his book *The History of Sexuality*, on the other hand, offers a definition that renders power to be a property or result of social engagements. According to Foucault, power must be understood as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their organisation.<sup>29</sup> Albeit its abstract inclination this definition tends to avoid stereotyping power and categorising people simply into those having power and those not having it. This definition also suggests that power and its course of action are not pre-determined but are a property of a particular context. Foucault is inclined to consider power to be a property of a particular context. To him power relates dynamically with the sphere within which it operates.<sup>30</sup> Foucault's position renders a general treatment of power to be a bit artificial. Foucault addresses the likely confusion in attempts to conceptualise power. According to him the word power is apt to lead to number of misunderstandings with respect to its nature, its form and its unity.<sup>31</sup> In the book *Power in Contemporary Politics*, Professor Gerhard Goehler attempts a framework through which power can be conceptualised. According to him "[a]ny attempt to grasp the concept of power opens a variety of different and most controversial meanings."<sup>32</sup> Goehler argues that conceptualising power requires that one makes a distinction between transitive and intransitive power in social relations.<sup>33</sup>

Power has to do with capacity and ability. Such ability manifests itself in, among other ways, determining the behaviour of others in accord with one's own wishes. The British political and social theorist, Professor Steven Lukes, has

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<sup>29</sup> Foucault 1978, 92.

<sup>30</sup> Foucault 1978, 92.

<sup>31</sup> Foucault 1978, 92.

<sup>32</sup> Goehler 2000, 41.

<sup>33</sup> Goehler 2000, 41.



wrestled with the concept of power. Lukes is known for his book *Power: A Radical View* in which he proposes an approach to power that stretches beyond that power exhibited in observable conflict.<sup>34</sup> In his article titled “Power”, Lukes reckons the word power as lying at the centre of a semantic field that includes authority, influence, coercion, force, violence, manipulation, strength and so on. According to Lukes the understanding of power as domination is the most common view of power. Domination, however, need not be conceived as the only avenue of the exercise of power. Lukes discusses the empowering and transformative exercise of power in such situations as nurturing relationships, as in apprenticeship, parenting, teaching and therapy.<sup>35</sup> The mechanisms which the ‘powerful’ use to effect either domination or empowerment vary. In addition, the reactions of the objects of power and the mechanism of such reaction also vary. This adds to the complexity of power. According to Lukes, “[if] we view power narrowly, we will see less of it than if we view it broadly.”<sup>36</sup> Power, therefore, calls for a broad and critical handling without which stereotyping power is likely to reign.

The interest in the understanding of power sociologically and politically has come a long way.<sup>37</sup> According to Dr. Elisheva Sadan, a sociologist with the Hebrew University, the modern trends in the handling and discussion of power can be traced to the sixteenth century writings of Niccolò Machiavelli.<sup>38</sup> Machiavelli is known for his works: *The Prince*, *Discourses and the Art of War*. His work attempts an explanation of the acquisition and maintenance of power i.e., the rise, fall and

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<sup>34</sup> Lukes 1974.

<sup>35</sup> Lukes 2007, 59-60.

<sup>36</sup> Lukes 2007, 60.

<sup>37</sup> Discussions regarding the analysis of power have tended to fall into a threefold scheme – traditional, modern and post-modern. The classical, structural, post-structural, etc categories are thus an important consideration.

<sup>38</sup> Sadan 1997, 33.

stability of political systems.<sup>39</sup> According to Sadan, Machiavelli represents the strategic and decentralised thinking about power and organisation. To Machiavelli power is a means not a resource.<sup>40</sup> Thomas Hobbes<sup>41</sup> on the other hand, represents the causal thinking about power as hegemony. Power, for Hobbes, is centralised and focused on sovereignty.<sup>42</sup> Sadan summarises the differences in the understanding of power between Machiavelli and Hobbes:

According to Hobbes' basic premise, there exists a total political community, the embodiment of which is the state, or the community, or the society. This is a single unit, ordered according to a uniform principle, possessing a continuity of time and place, from which power stems. According to Machiavelli, total power is a desirable end, which is achieved only rarely.<sup>43</sup>

Max Weber's understanding of power relates to that of Hobbes. He defines power as "that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's own will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests."<sup>44</sup> Weber links power and domination; this is political power. Goehler sees in Weber's understanding a possibility that one will use violence to enforce his or her wishes that is against the resistance of the objects of such power. According to Goehler then, Weber's understanding of power should be contrasted with that of Hannah Arendt. Arendt conceives power as speaking and acting in concert. Power,

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<sup>39</sup> Wood 1968, 506.

<sup>40</sup> Sadan 1997, 33; Machiavelli is hailed by some as the first political thinker. Some, however, do not see in him – albeit the remarkable consistency in his ideas – a system builder or philosopher in a strict sense (See Wood 1968, 510, 506).

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Hobbes claimed to be the founder of politics as a science (Zagorin 1968, 483). Hobbes, unlike Machiavelli – whose genius Hobbes recognised (Wood 1968, 510) – went deep in his analysis to a level of aspects of power deemed important for the twentieth century (See Dahl 1968, 406).

<sup>42</sup> Sadan 1997, 33.

<sup>43</sup> Sadan 1997, 34.

<sup>44</sup> Weber 1962, 117.

according to Arendt, is not the violence of the individual, but it corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert.<sup>45</sup>

The above understandings of power, particularly those of Hobbes and Weber, tend to suggest that power is something an individual or community possesses as a tool to effect a desired end. Foucault takes a different perspective. According to him, power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away. To him power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations.<sup>46</sup> Foucault tends to see power almost everywhere. According to him, “[p]ower is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society”.<sup>47</sup>

According to Foucault, power must be understood as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their organisation.<sup>48</sup> Some aspects of Foucault’s conception of power have also been criticised. According to Sadan, Foucault is considered a ‘wandering’ thinker who does not present an ordered doctrine of power. He is considered by some to be post-structuralist and by some to be post-modernist.<sup>49</sup> His views like those of others, however, not only point to the complexity of power but also add a dimension in the analysis of this complex phenomenon.

The foregoing exposition has leaned more on the Western perspectives of power. Such perspectives are mainly anchored on the social, political and economic realms of the society. Stewart Clegg, a Professor of sociology at the University of

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<sup>45</sup> Goehler 2000, 41 – quoting Arendt, Hannah (1970) *On Violence*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, pg 44.

<sup>46</sup> Foucault 1978, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Foucault 1978, 93.

<sup>48</sup> Foucault 1978, 92.

<sup>49</sup> Sadan 1997, 54.

New England, has attempted a synthesis of Western discourses on power. In the course of doing this, Clegg identifies the agency, facilitative and dispositional as among conceptions characterising attempts to analyse power in the Western world.<sup>50</sup> The following exposition deals more with the African perspectives of power.

## **2.2 African Perspectives of Power**

African perspectives of power are worth consideration in this study in view of the fact that the research takes place in Africa. The different perspectives of power i.e., the Western and African aim at illuminating conceptualisation of power relations in the Northern Tanzania context. It is worth noting from the outset that a certain level of uneasiness attaches to the phrase ‘African perspective(s)’ much like the rendering ‘Western perspective(s)’. First, the phrase assumes that there exists empirical evidence for something ‘African’ in the perspectives, something that may be hard to establish. Secondly, some of the authors of these perspectives may be considered handicapped e.g., with regard to their field of expertise or knowledge of the African context; as such, the result of their work may not be considered authoritative. Despite these observations, efforts to delve into ‘African perspectives’ are considered worthwhile due to the apparent differences among races/ethnicities in the world. The third limitation in the phrase ‘African Perspective(s)’ relates to the plural and singular renderings i.e., whether the plural ‘perspectives’ or singular ‘perspective’ should be used. In this study, the phrase ‘African Perspectives’ is preferred to the more problematic singular ‘African Perspective’ that tends to create the impression that there exists a power perspective, generally agreed upon by Africans that can be considered African. The same argument goes for ‘African Worldview’ in which case the plural ‘African Worldviews’ is preferred. The singular is, therefore, used with caution, and

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<sup>50</sup> Clegg 1989, 2-3.

whenever used it signifies attempts to trace the thread that connects the different power perspectives or worldviews.

The discussion of the conception of power from an African perspective cannot be distanced from the African worldview. Power from an African perspective can best be understood in a framework of what Africans hold to tenaciously. John Mbiti, an African Anglican priest and renowned religious philosopher and writer, in his book *African Religions and Philosophy*, points to the key position religion occupies in the life of Africans. According to him, “Africans are notoriously religious”.<sup>51</sup> Everything tends to find explanation in this religious system. Religion finds expression in every aspect of tribal life; determining people’s thoughts, words and deeds.<sup>52</sup> African religion(s) is in turn considered a systematic world view.<sup>53</sup> It is within religion that power can be comprehended for an African. In his study among the Shona in Zimbabwe, the Catholic bishop Hubert Bucher, adopts African cosmology as a framework of understanding power from an Africa perspective. African cosmology is according to him a fully-fledged religious system.<sup>54</sup> In other words, the African worldviews are built on religious concepts. Bucher is of the view that the handling of African religions as systematised institutions allows for a fruitful analysis of such religions.<sup>55</sup> Bucher ties power to cosmology which he in turn describes as a religious system. It can, therefore, be argued, based on Bucher’s conception, that power from African perspectives is a key constituent in the religious system.

Rev. Dr. Richard Gehman notes that the belief in mystical power filling the universe is common throughout Africa. According to him, this power is experienced daily in every village

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<sup>51</sup> Mbiti 1969, 1.

<sup>52</sup> See, for instance, Lema 1982, iii, 145 about religion among the Chagga.

<sup>53</sup> Bucher 1980, 15.

<sup>54</sup> Bucher 1980, 15.

<sup>55</sup> Bucher 1980, 15.

and city. Endless stories of the effects of this unseen force are told by young and old.<sup>56</sup> Gehman portrays a scenario of an ‘atmosphere’ filled with power. The community then relates variously to power, this widespread phenomenon. Mbiti shares Gehman’s ideas as he conceives the whole psychic atmosphere of an African village as filled with belief in a mystical power.<sup>57</sup> Among the characteristics of African worldviews is its ontology. According to Mbiti, this ontology is anthropocentric; “Everything is seen in relation to man.”<sup>58</sup> Mbiti continues:

It is extremely anthropocentric in the sense that everything is seen in terms of its relationship to man [...] God is the originator and Sustainer of man; the Spirits explain the destiny of man; Man is at the centre of the ontological hierarchy; the Animals, Plants and natural phenomena and objects constitute the environment in which man lives, provide a means of existence and if need be, man establishes a mystical relationship with them.<sup>59</sup>

Power from African perspectives is seen in the relationship among the different levels in the hierarchy of life. Mbiti points to the difficulty associated with analysing this power. According to him, it is difficult to know exactly what this power is and how it functions.<sup>60</sup> Attempts have, however, been made to explain the mediation or transference of power in the hierarchy of life. Examples of such attempts are those by Placide Tempels and Hubert Bucher.

Tempels, a Belgian Catholic priest, worked in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the then Belgian Congo, between 1933 and 1962. In his book *Bantu Philosophy*, which is a translation of the French Version *La Philosophie Bantoue* Tempels addresses the different aspects of the Bantu conception of existence. Dickson Masolo has extensively quoted and translated Tempels

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<sup>56</sup> Gehman 1989, 67.

<sup>57</sup> Mbiti 1969, 197.

<sup>58</sup> Mbiti 1969, 16–17.

<sup>59</sup> Mbiti 1969, 16–17.

<sup>60</sup> Mbiti 1969, 197.

in his book *African Philosophy in Search of Identity*. Tempels' argument is built on what he considers the core of African ontology, namely vital force.<sup>61</sup> According to Tempels being is 'force' i.e., vital force. This force, Tempels maintains, is not to be understood in terms of biological life; it is rather the invisible reality of everything that exists. Being is force.<sup>62</sup> Man can reinforce his vital force by means of the forces of other beings in creation.<sup>63</sup> Bantu talk in terms of gaining, reinforcing, losing or diminishing this force. Tempels adds:

The influence of forces on one another is based on three general laws [...] a person (living or dead) can directly reinforce or diminish the being of another person – second the human vital force can directly influence inferior force beings (animal, vegetable or mineral) in their being itself; third – a rational being can reinforce another rational being by communicating his force to an inferior force being.<sup>64</sup>

Tempels uses his understanding of Bantu ontology to enhance comprehension of the African conception of wisdom, psychology and ethics. Wisdom is the knowledge of forces and their effects, an explanation of events in relation to their causes. Wisdom is attributed first and foremost to God.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, whatever happens (event) has its reason and God knows the reasons! Magicians and diviners are in this respect specialists.<sup>66</sup> Their ability to search into the reasons or foretell events raises them above the rest of humanity in the hierarchy of life. Regarding psychology, Tempels considers every man to be an existent force in himself – a living force. The society or community is a community of "forces." A name is an outward symbol giving people their specific positions in the community. Ethics is also explained ontologically. Every act, every

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<sup>61</sup> Tempels 1959, 30.

<sup>62</sup> Masolo 1995, 48.

<sup>63</sup> Tempels 1959, 33.

<sup>64</sup> Masolo 1995, 48.

<sup>65</sup> Masolo 1995, 49-52.

<sup>66</sup> Masolo 1995, 49-52.

detail of behaviour, every attitude against vital force or against the increase of the hierarchy of the muntu is bad.<sup>67</sup> Muntu is a person. In the African worldviews of the 'living dead', this (person) would also include the departed, who are capable of acting. Temples' scheme is flawed in its failure to pin point this force. In addition, the theory fails to explain frailty among aged people who, according to the scheme, have acquired more force and are expected to be stronger.

According to Bucher, power is wielded both by tangible persons and invisible entities.<sup>68</sup> Man lives in a web of relationship with other bearers of power including fellow human beings. Power dynamics, relationship in power or transference of power, emanate from the existential needs of man. Such a relationship is meant to address the perennial problems of human existence: death, misfortune and ill will of one's neighbours.<sup>69</sup> In order to lead a good life man has to relate meaningfully with God and his environment. Power from an African perspective is thus experiential. It is understood as an existential quest. According to Mbiti this power is experienced.<sup>70</sup> Man's basic preoccupation revolves around the question of how to acquire and to retain desirable power; and where he feels threatened, how to keep undesirable power in check.<sup>71</sup>

Power as explicated above should not be imagined as a merely abstract entity. Power is a phenomenon intricately bound in humanity's relations with fellow human beings and the rest of the creation. Bucher notes that, even where power is thought to be immanent in inanimate matter it bears personal traits. Not only can it be used for achieving morally good ends, but it may also be misused for morally reproachable ones.<sup>72</sup> The reality of

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<sup>67</sup> Masolo 1995, 49-52.

<sup>68</sup> Bucher 1980, 189.

<sup>69</sup> Bucher 1980, 189.

<sup>70</sup> Mbiti 1969, 197.

<sup>71</sup> Bucher 1980, 15.

<sup>72</sup> Bucher 1980, 15.



power wielded by man is seen in the understanding that the position of man in the ontological hierarchy is also hierarchical. Differences in age, social status, gender, etc. place people at different levels in the social hierarchy. Such differences are a precursor for power relations. Initiation rites, for instance, put the initiated at a higher level, that of increased knowledge, than that of the uninitiated. Mbiti underscores the educational aspects associated with initiation and the impact initiation has on the social hierarchy:

Initiation rites have a great educational purpose. The occasion marks the beginning of acquiring knowledge which is otherwise not accessible to those who have not been initiated [...] No matter how old or big he is, as long as he is not initiated he is considered a boy or a girl [...] the cutting of the foreskin [...] is paralleled to the cutting of the umbilical cord when the child is born. The sexual organ attaches the child to the state of ignorance [...] once that link is severed, the young person is freed from that state of ignorance [...]<sup>73</sup>

Mbiti here points to the logic of the society; social life is hierarchical. In this hierarchy, age counts. Age counted alone, however, has its ceiling. The initiates, in subscribing to the societal demands of initiation, continue ascending up the hierarchy. Beyond the initiation age continues its influence as people gather more experience to the point of becoming sages. Wise men and women, chiefs and those who the chiefs appoint are consequently further up in the hierarchy and have by virtue of their positions more status.

Central to the African perspective of power is the mystical-religious consideration. Power reciprocates along the being of man (humanity). Power is, however, wielded apart from humanity by supernatural beings. Man is seen in a web of relations with the supernatural beings. In order to meet existential needs, humanity must engage in such relations. Such needs include protection from powers against humanity and the need

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<sup>73</sup> Mbiti 1969, 122, 123.

for necessary power for survival. The mystical-religious perspective of power in Africa arouses interest with regard to the activity of other religions which have gained access to the African context. Such religions have to consider the overpowering impact of the African religious system in the social, political and economic aspects of life.

The above discussion stresses the complexity of power. It, however, suggests that while difficult to explain, power is expressed in relationships. It is exhibited where there is an inequality or difference in some attributes that define the parties among whom power is expressed. A German philosopher, Hans-Georg Gadamer, is of the view that power is real only as an interplay of powers.<sup>74</sup> It is in this context that Gadamer relates power and history. According to him, power is the central category of the historical worldview.<sup>75</sup> Gadamer, in turn, relates history to freedom by stating that the writing of history follows the scenes of freedom.<sup>76</sup> Freedom is the resistance that free power encounters.<sup>77</sup> Gadamer tends to conceive of power as a reciprocal and mutual force. Power is portrayed as a vital element in events that make history. Gadamer's view of power seems to make everyone a perpetrator or victim of the power game.

### **2.3 Power in the Mission-Church Context**

The approaches that foreign missionaries used among Africans have been criticised on account of paternalism. Some missionaries came to Africa influenced by the Darwinian discourse of superiority of races. In 1874, Charles Darwin published his analysis of the origin of species titled *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. In this, Darwin sees a distinction among races that, according to him, is deeper than external

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<sup>74</sup> Gadamer 1997, 207.

<sup>75</sup> Gadamer 1997, 205.

<sup>76</sup> Gadamer 1997, 204.

<sup>77</sup> Gadamer 1997, 206.

characteristics; the intellect and morals are influenced by these differences.<sup>78</sup> From this analysis came a kind of ranking ‘social Darwinism’ that distinguished ‘superior’ from ‘inferior’ races.

This superior-inferior distinction tended to dictate the missionary practice. A return to Thomas Spear’s analysis of the historical development of Christianity in Africa is worthwhile. Spear notes in mission, which is his first process in this development, efforts by the missionaries to convey the Christian message with added goals of civilising and developing Africans.<sup>79</sup> The historical context according to Spear is that of “Triumphant European power married to evangelical revival.”<sup>80</sup> Spear points to the observation that conversion was dialectical.<sup>81</sup> In other words, the Africans responded in a calculated manner to mission work. They interpreted what was presented against their context. According to Spear, the initial attractions for many were not Christianity but rather more socio-political and materialistic.<sup>82</sup> In spite of this selective conversion, a body of African catechists, teachers, and evangelists emerged later who vibrantly preached the gospel. This body constituted what Spear considers to be the first African interpreters of the gospel.<sup>83</sup> The growth of this group sparked fear in the missionaries. According to Spear, “The missionaries sought to reassert their control through imposing new institutional rules of behaviour, belief, baptism, ordination and the direction of the church.”<sup>84</sup>

The missionaries’ attempts to control the African catechists, teachers and evangelists suggest that they (missionaries) considered themselves custodians of the gospel. It is in the

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<sup>78</sup> Darwin 1874, 190–191.

<sup>79</sup> Spear 1999, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Spear 1999, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Spear 1999, 5.

<sup>82</sup> Spear 1999, 5–6.

<sup>83</sup> Spear 1999, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Spear 1999, 7.

context of the missionaries' superior feeling that Simon Maimela, a South African public theologian, criticises the missionary pride born of the notion that they were the only messengers of God. In his article "The Concept of Israeli in White Theology" he critiques the adoption of the symbol of Israel in White Theology. He cautions that the appropriation of the symbol of Israel is susceptible to abuse.<sup>85</sup> Israel is according to Maimela, a two pronged concept. On the one hand, Israel was a downtrodden people whom God came to rescue from the tyrant. On the other hand, God uses this small group of people as a herald of His power. The abuse of the symbol of Israel is likely to occur when a people identify with one aspect of the symbol, especially the portrayal of the triumphant herald. Giving the example of British imperialism in South Africa, Maimela argues that the British people, considering themselves God's elect, took on their shoulders the mission of history, "to bring freedom to humanity and smaller nations of the world."<sup>86</sup> Such was a tendency among some foreign missionaries; they felt that theirs was a call to rescue the lost and powerless who had little if anything to offer. The impact of such a mind-set is immense. The foreign missionaries' attitude informed their approach which tended to produce dependent Christians in the 'mission field'. Caleb Oladipo addresses this tendency in his book *Will to Arise*. In the chapter titled "The Failure of the Missionary's Success" Oladipo alludes to the instances the missionaries' success was a failure. One such failure was the production of Christians who are emotionally and theologically dependent on the missionaries.<sup>87</sup> The missionaries were, however, not solely driven by paternalism. Attempts to empower the recipients of the gospel were made.

Of interest, in efforts to empower communities of believers born of the missionary work, is the three-self formula put forth

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<sup>85</sup> Maimela 1986, 83.

<sup>86</sup> Maimela 1986, 83.

<sup>87</sup> Oladipo 2006, 44.

by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. The formula characterised the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Protestant mission theory.<sup>88</sup> It may be erroneous to assume that all missionaries knew and adopted the three-self principle at least consciously. The missionary practice can, however, be viewed from the perspective of adoption or rejection of one aspect or another of the formula. Robert Rees, of the World Mission Associates in Lancaster, in his article “The Surprising Relevance of the Three-Self Formula”, addresses the key aspects of the principle i.e., the content, rationale, criticisms the formula has faced and the relevance of the formula. According to Rees, “a newly planted church is considered mature or indigenous when it is self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting”.<sup>89</sup> The formula aimed at enhanced missionary work. The founders of the principle expected that world evangelisation would be hastened by having stable churches that could continue local evangelisation while the foreign missionaries advanced to new areas.<sup>90</sup>

The principle implied that the younger churches dependent as they were on leadership and resources from mission agencies would become independent of such agencies having met the criteria.<sup>91</sup> According to a renowned missiologist, David Bosch, the principle signified democracy.<sup>92</sup> Considering the imagined importance of the formula, one would expect serious efforts to have churches meeting the standards set by the formula. Rees is, however, of the view that the formula was ignored.<sup>93</sup> According to him, missionaries during the colonial period preferred remaining in one place to moving to new areas. Rees attributes this tendency to laxity and the inclination among missionaries that the local leaders were not ready to take over. This in turn bred dependency; the missionaries felt they had to

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<sup>88</sup> Scherer 1987, 12.

<sup>89</sup> Rees 2007, 25; Bosch 1999, 331; Scherer 1987, 12.

<sup>90</sup> Rees 2007, 25.

<sup>91</sup> Scherer 1987, 12.

<sup>92</sup> Bosch 1999, 332.

<sup>93</sup> Rees 2007, 26.

continue leading while the local people felt powerless to lead the churches.<sup>94</sup>

The importance of the three-self formula seems to have been rediscovered after nations in which the missionaries were operating gained independence. That missions saw the need to indigenise churches was, according to Rees, probably precipitated by the observation within mission circles that nationals in the ‘mission fields’ were now expected to run the state affairs. This observation stirred the missionaries considering that they had delayed the granting of rule by local leaders.<sup>95</sup> Rees stands to be corrected here; he is perhaps right that the independence struggle preceded the struggle for the autonomy of the church in some contexts. It is clear, however, that in some cases the election of an indigenous leader as head of a local church preceded the independence of the country in which the local church is found.

Worth noting is the fact that the surge in the adoption of the three-self formula was skewed to one aspect of the formula i.e., self-governing. This meant that self-governing churches that remained dependent emerged. Failure to have a fruitful adoption of the three-self formula is attributable to weaknesses within the formula itself and the implementers. Critics of the formula, on the other hand, see in the formula a missing link. Seeing a lack in cultural perspective, Paul Hiebert suggests inclusion of the fourth ‘self’ i.e., self-theologising.<sup>96</sup> The argument here is the fact that the formula was created among foreign missionaries and lacked connection with the ‘mission field’, the medium in which the principle was to be applied. Other critics saw in the formula a desire for an autonomy that betrayed interdependence among churches. The formula was

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<sup>94</sup> Rees 2007, 26.

<sup>95</sup> Rees 2007, 26.

<sup>96</sup> Rees 2007, 26.

thus considered a hindrance to both partnership and possibility of soliciting support.<sup>97</sup>

The three-self formula aimed at enhanced autonomy. Efforts in implementing it have shown a tendency among the Western churches and missions societies to perpetuate paternalism especially during the colonial period. The attainment of independence came with a surge of indigenised churches that were (are), however, dependent. The pre-independence legacy was, therefore, perpetuated. The churches in the South have continued depending on support from the North; dependency has thus reigned. Significant in the relations between the foreign missionaries and the Africans is the fact that the Africans responded to the empowering and dominating tendencies by the missionaries. In his book *From Mission to Church*, Zablon Nthamburi investigates the responses of Kenyans to the foreign mission work. The responses have included creation of churches independent of foreign mission influence.<sup>98</sup>

#### **2.4 Theories and Models for Analysing Power: A Conceptual Framework**

The complexity of power leads to its being conceived differently by different people. With this in mind it is hard and even unfair and dangerous to cling to one perspective at the total exclusion of the rest. The different perspectives of power should, therefore, rather than being considered mutually exclusive, be taken as complementing each other. The development in the understanding of power has gone hand in hand with the development of theories of power. Theories of power abound. Such theories include the postcolonial theories advanced by among others Achile Mbembe,<sup>99</sup> totemic put forward by Emile Durkheim,<sup>100</sup> vital force by Placide Temples<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Rees 2007, 26-27.

<sup>98</sup> Nthamburi 1991.

<sup>99</sup> Mbembe 1992, 3.

<sup>100</sup> Durkheim 1964, 133.

and social space by Pierre Bourdieu,<sup>102</sup> and patron-client explicated by sociologists Shmuel Eisenstadt and Luis Roniger.<sup>103</sup> The functional and reciprocal relations between the different facets in the history of Christianity find some resonance in the patron-client relations. The adoption of the patron-client theory does not entail total rejection or exclusion of the other theories. These theories informed the analysis of power in this study; they helped in orienting the research in a particular direction.

The patron-client theory is a social relationship model. Kettering Sharon in her book *Patron, Brokers, and Clients in the Seventeenth Century France* alludes to the multifaceted nature of the patron-client relations. According to her, such relations span a range of fields including anthropology, political science and sociology.<sup>104</sup> The sociological view of patronage according to Sharon is “as an example of the exchange theory of interpersonal relationships”.<sup>105</sup> Basic to the structure of the relationships are two participants i.e., the patron and the client, both of whom have a role to play. Shmuel Eisenstadt and Luis Roniger in the article ‘Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange’ discuss the characteristics of the relations.<sup>106</sup> According to them, relations in the patron-client model are particularistic and diffuse.<sup>107</sup> In addition, the interaction in which the relation between the patron and client is built is characterised by a simultaneous exchange of different types of resources.<sup>108</sup> Of significance in this discussion is the observation, according to Eisenstadt and Roniger, that the patron-client relations are based on inequality and differences in power. The patrons monopolise some positions that are vital

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<sup>101</sup> Tempels 1965.

<sup>102</sup> Bourdieu 1985, 724.

<sup>103</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980.

<sup>104</sup> Sharon 1986, 6.

<sup>105</sup> Sharon 1986, 6.

<sup>106</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980.

<sup>107</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980, 49.

<sup>108</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980, 49.



for their clients e.g., means of production, major markets and centres of the society.<sup>109</sup> Anthropologist Professor Howard Stein attempts a critical view of the model in his article 'A Note on Patron-Client Theory'. In his critique Stein stresses the presence of a third participant in the patron-client relationship that is considered primarily dyadic. This renders the model triadic. The third partner, according to Stein, consists in the fact that the patron-client relations operate in a system of inequality. The third participant is the bureaucratic hierarchy. The role of the patron in such a hierarchical system is to bridge the gap for the client. The triadic conception of the model points to the paradox and dysfunctional nature of patronage i.e., the patron needs the gap without which the relationship collapses. According to Stein, "[a] paranoid worldview is a necessary precondition for patronage to work".<sup>110</sup> Important in the consideration of the patron-client model, therefore, are the power relations. Sharon places patronage in the context of power. According to her, patronage studies pertain to the realities of power, "who gets it, who keeps it, and what they do with it."<sup>111</sup>

The discussion above suggests that the patron is, on the one hand, struggling to maintain his/her position. On the other hand, considering the dysfunctional aspects of the relationship, the client could be contemplating whether or not to leave the relationship.<sup>112</sup> Juxtaposed to the relative positions of the patron-client relations in this study is, therefore, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social space. In his article 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', Bourdieu charts a geometric view of the society with coordinates and loci. Bourdieu conceives of actors in the society as being defined by the relative positions they occupy in the social space.<sup>113</sup> Bourdieu analyses the dy-

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<sup>109</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980, 50.

<sup>110</sup> Stein 1984, 31, 33.

<sup>111</sup> Sharon 1986, 3.

<sup>112</sup> See Stein 1984, 34.

<sup>113</sup> Bourdieu 1985, 723-724.

namics through which positions of power are acquired and maintained in his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. He identifies field as an important aspect of his analysis of social dynamics. According to him established orders tend to create, through different means, avenues for the naturalisation of their arbitrariness.<sup>114</sup> Maintenance of unquestioned beliefs that are taken for granted, which Bourdieu terms ‘doxa’, is an approach in reproducing arbitrariness in a field.<sup>115</sup> These deeply ingrained beliefs and values in the actors constitute the habitus, the embodiment of societal principles in the person of an actor that precipitate certain dispositions.<sup>116</sup>

This work studies power in the realm of human relations. The study assumes that differences in the socially recognised attributes among the different groups in the history of the Diocese produced some kind of hierarchy which breeds non-egalitarianism that is a precursor to power relations.<sup>117</sup> The adoption of the patron-client theory in the analysis of power relations, as shall be seen in the chapters below is, therefore, based on the observation that access to and maintenance of positions of power follow discernible patterns.

The interaction between and among groups is driven by the desire for self-preservation. Bucher and Machiavelli base their analysis of the exercise of power on human nature. Bucher attributes the human’s desire to enter into a web of power to the efforts to address existential needs.<sup>118</sup> Machiavelli, on the other hand, considers man susceptible to manipulation by organisational structures or leaders. According to him, man is oriented toward self-preservation.<sup>119</sup> However, in efforts to meet this needs he joins fellow human beings for security, an

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<sup>114</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 164.

<sup>115</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 165–166.

<sup>116</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 35.

<sup>117</sup> Foucault 1978, 94.

<sup>118</sup> Bucher 1980, 189.

<sup>119</sup> Wood 1968, 507.

act that Machiavelli considers positive. In the course of the search for that which he cannot foot alone, man is trapped into the structure that allows for such preservation.<sup>120</sup>

What is said of individuals in need of self-preservation can, with some exceptions, be said of institutions and communities. The case at hand is the stratified church in its wider context. For the models of the desire for 'self-preservation' by the church, Brunner's analogy may be used. According to him, "The church exists by mission as fire exists by burning."<sup>121</sup> The foreign missionaries came to Northern Tanzania to do mission work which encompassed evangelism, medical and educational work. What the missionaries promised and did addressed some of the needs of the Northern Tanzanians. The fact that what the foreign missionaries did was of importance to the people in the local context does not mean that the local people responded with euphoria to the coming of the foreign missionaries. To begin with, Northern Tanzanians did not send an invitation to any foreign missionaries; the missionaries came of their own accord. Northern Tanzanians received the 'uninvited' with suspicion; the missionaries were resisted. The missionaries needed the Northern Tanzanians as hosts and medium of propagation of the gospel. On the other hand, Northern Tanzanians, particularly the chiefs, saw in the missionaries allies or benefactors. Such chiefs were likely to invite the foreign missionaries while harbouring a motive that was against the missionaries' aim.

The missionaries and Northern Tanzanians were at cross purposes and expectations. The same pattern of expectations was likely after the emergence of a self-governing church considering the varied ethnic composition and classes e.g., gender, age, economic status etc. The scheme of analysis of power in the interaction among the different groups in this study follows

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<sup>120</sup> Wood 1968, 507.

<sup>121</sup> Brunner 1931, 108.

the pattern for classifying power terms as explicated by an American political theorist Robert Dahl.<sup>122</sup> In this the controlling units 'C' and the responsive or dependent units 'R' are distinguished. The behaviour of 'R' depends in some circumstances on the behaviour of 'C'. In the case of this study, one group or class, 'C', particularly its leadership, triggers the course of events to which another group, 'R' responds. It must be noticed that this is a far too simplistic portrayal of what was happening considering that absolute or general control or power by 'C' over 'R' is hard to find. Circumstances tend to turn the controlling into the responsive and vice versa. As such, this study assumes an interchange between what is 'C' and 'R' at some instances as opposed to rigid and generalised positions with respect to 'C' and 'R'.

In their interaction the different groups are not in a situation of equality with regard to the needs of each. In other words, the various groups are not at the same level. One group has what the other needs. The 'donating' group is also a 'recipient'. The exercise of power is analysed in this light. The assumption is, power, be it manipulative, domination or empowerment by one unit is conceived in specific instances not in general terms. In other words, no group or unit is 'absolutely powerful' in the sense that it is capable to settle, conquer or win over the others in all instances. Strength is considered in relative terms. The church, the missionary and later indigenous leadership, thus just triggers a power related course to which the rest of the groups or classes respond.

In the interaction among different groups and classes, the modifying effect of the Bible is an important consideration, since the conception of power in Africa has a strong religious component. The exercise of power in and by the church in Northern Tanzania, like in the rest of Africa, is logically related to the church's position as a religious institution. This position

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<sup>122</sup> Dahl 1968, 406.

is in turn related to the key document of the church i.e., the Bible. Although the Bible presents God, human beings and non-personal entities as bearers of power, in the Bible power is ascribed first and foremost to God the Creator.<sup>123</sup> Noteworthy in connection to the biblical understanding of power is the fact that the church, and more so its leadership, has at different times in its history identified with the mediation of God's power. Such a position has been disputed as seen in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Reformation. The vestiges of such belief are, however, still alive and kicking as witnessed in some self-styled interpretation of the power of the keys.

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<sup>123</sup> Laarman 1986, 927.



## **3 Power in Foreign Mission Work and the Founding of the Local Church 1893–1942**

### **3.1 Background**

Having discussed the key concepts used in this research in the previous chapter, this chapter deals with the history of missionary work in Northern Tanganyika culminating in the emergence of the local church. As such the chapter deals with the encounter between the indigenous Northern Tanganyikans and the foreign European and American missionaries who brought the gospel to Northern Tanganyika. The chapter tracks the encounter between the indigenous people and the missionaries,<sup>124</sup> the process leading to the establishment of a firm foreign missionary presence, the establishment of the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika (LCNT) and concludes with an analysis of the relations in the processes from the establishment of Lutheran mission work to the establishment of the LCNT. The above aspects generally cover the period between 1893<sup>125</sup> and 1942 that mark the arrival of the Leipzig missionaries and the birth of the local church, respectively. The area under consideration covers today's government administrative regions of Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Manyara. The main ethnic groups in this area are the Chagga, Pare, Meru, Arusha and Maasai.

In order to be able to gauge the relations between Northern Tanganyikans and the foreign missionaries let us take a look at the 19<sup>th</sup> century circumstances in Tanganyika and Europe. Circumstances in Northern Tanganyika before the advent of Chris-

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<sup>124</sup> Considering that such an encounter was between people who were a product of the milieu in which they were nurtured the chapter makes some excursions to the 19<sup>th</sup> C social and religious contexts in Northern Tanzania and Europe.

<sup>125</sup> Years before 1893 are also sparingly referred to. These years point to the British Church Missionary Society period which forms an important background to the Leipzig mission work.

tianity reflected the general situation in Africa. The socio-political situation in Africa during this period has been portrayed differently. Such portrayals are sandwiched between two extremes. Pre-colonial Africa has, on the one hand, been described as dark and uncivilised.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand pre-colonial Africa has sometimes been depicted as a safe haven, a calm, harmonious and stable environment.<sup>127</sup> Ismael Mbise captures the romantic presentation of Meru land in Northern Tanganyika in his book *Blood on our Land*:

Houses, like harmony and love were scattered all over the green plains. The people, the cattle, and the flock happily wandered all over the Waato plains as if they belonged to the same family. There was no boundary to mark which piece of land belonged to whom [...] there was no hunger; no, not even a little to stimulate the eating of birds or fish.<sup>128</sup>

Both extremes are unfounded. The term extreme probably best fits the two descriptions. The two extremes are unrealistic. The first extreme paints Africa along the Western discourse of the time as a continent in need of civilisation. The description of Africa as uncivilised was then a justification of the call for civilisation. This view, therefore, relates more to the Europeans who considered it their role to civilise Africans. The second pertains to romanticism. It paints Africa against the civilising claims of westerners. Such a position is more of a reaction against the westerners who considered Africans uncivilised. It is, however, hard to put the blame of these extremes solely on either Africans or Westerners (Europeans and America), for even Westerners differed with regard to their view of Africa.

Paul Bohannon in his book *Africa and Africans* puts it thus:

Africa was the “Dark Continent,” but the darkness had much more to do with the European and American visitors to it, and workers in

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<sup>126</sup> See Bohannon 1964, 1–2.

<sup>127</sup> This portrayal of pre-colonial Africa is a (an over) reaction to the depiction of Africa as uncivilised.

<sup>128</sup> Mbise 1974, 2.



it, than it had to do with Africans. It was in the interests of officials to say, in their reports to their governments and indeed in their letter home, that Africa was peaceful and was progressing along predetermined lines. It was in the interests of missionaries, in emphasizing their undoubted victories, to exaggerate the depravity of their base line from which their ministrations had brought their converts.<sup>129</sup>

Considering life situations, therefore, one would place the reality of pre-colonial Africa between the two extremes. Africa had, as other continents, its joys and woes. Africans had a life to live, a life in a struggle with expectations. John Iliffe in his book *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, for instance, considers the central theme of Tanganyika's history to be its people's colonisation<sup>130</sup> of the land and their struggle with their enemies in nature.<sup>131</sup> This is the situation in which the colonialists and missionaries found Africans; in their everyday dynamic life. Northern Tanzania was no exception to the dynamism mentioned above. In the book *Kilimanjaro and Its People*, Charles Dundas, referring to the Chagga, writes:

It is in miniature much as the history of all mankind, a long tale of struggles, failures, tyrannies, suffering and cruelty, but also of achievements, progress, not devoid either of noble incidents, sacrifices and generosities.<sup>132</sup>

Dundas puts the Chagga in the context of any social entity with their religious, social and economic joys and struggles. As we shall note in section 3.2 below Chagga-land was not devoid of external influences. In the 1800's, the Chagga encountered the Arabs who were coming inland via the Tanga-Kilimanjaro wing of the long distance trade. The Chagga also encountered the Maasai who due to population movements were moving south. The encounter was significant considering that the Maa-

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<sup>129</sup> Bohannan 1964, 1–2.

<sup>130</sup> Colonisation here refers to the process through which the different ethnic groups settled in the land.

<sup>131</sup> Iliffe 1979, 4.

<sup>132</sup> Dundas 1968, 106.

sai practice of initiation and age grade was adopted among the Chagga when it came to integrating clan groups into the political system.<sup>133</sup> It is plausible to assume that the same pattern of population dynamics at varying degrees was to be observed in the rest of the ethnic groups in the Northern Tanganyika area.

The colonialists and missionaries, on the other hand, also came with a purpose. Their activity and expectations fall within Livingstone's trio – Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation. The foreign missionaries had the goal of planting Christianity among Africans. In the course of spreading the gospel, some missionaries embarked on conscientious efforts to 'civilise' and introduce a western mode of trade to Africans. In his early efforts to introduce the gospel in East Africa Johann Erhardt, for instance, thought of starting an estate and introducing trade with such items as ivory.<sup>134</sup> Such an approach exposed the missionaries to the possibility of mingling their activity with that of the colonial administration. Some missionaries, e.g., Johann Krapf, however, made it clear from the outset that they would not mingle the power of the gun with that of the Word.<sup>135</sup>

Generally, the missionaries' social background mirrored Europe's social conditions at the time. Referring to the inclination of the different foreign mission societies in Tanganyika, Iliffe regards such missions as representing the divisions of the European society and churchmanship.<sup>136</sup> The missionaries made an assortment of trades e.g., weavers, blacksmiths and carpenters.<sup>137</sup> Some missionaries e.g., Richard Reusch, were soldiers,

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<sup>133</sup> Iliffe 1979, 41, 42, 59.

<sup>134</sup> Anderson 1977, 5.

<sup>135</sup> Anderson 1977, 1.

<sup>136</sup> Iliffe 1979, 217.

<sup>137</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 110.

others were linguists and ethnographers.<sup>138</sup> This assortment sheds some light on the dynamism of the era.

The encounter between the indigenous Northern Tanganyikans and the missionaries was, critically speaking, an encounter between individuals with different worldviews and probably, interests and expectations, as well as individuals representing their contexts, nations and organisations. The following section addresses the early encounter between the indigenous people in Northern Tanganyika and the missionaries, and power relations in this encounter.

### **3.2 The Beginning of Mission Work in Northern Tanzania**

Foreign mission work, which in 1942 resulted in the birth of the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika (LCNT), began on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro among the Chagga.<sup>139</sup> The German missionaries Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johannes Rebmann sent by the Church Missionary Society are credited as pioneer missionaries not only to Northern Tanganyika<sup>140</sup> but also for the rest of East Africa.<sup>141</sup> As for the indigenous Northern Tanganyikans, several Chagga chiefs are worth mentioning in connection with the encounter. Such chiefs include Man-

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<sup>138</sup> Bruno Gutmann and Richard Reusch whose background and mission work will be discussed below are examples of such missionaries.

<sup>139</sup> The Chagga constitute a people made up of a mixture of neighbouring ethnic groups through migration. This varied composition is reflected in the many dialects. The large proportion of the Chagga according to some sources, are of Maasai background. Other ethnic groups constituting the Chagga are the Sambia, Pare (Vasu), Meru and Kilindi. Such ethnic groups came to the area due to a number of reasons namely security – in the raised terrain – fertility of the land and cattle raiding (Ntiro 1953, 6). As we shall note in chapter six below the Chagga would later constitute the majority of the people in the Northern Diocese as other ethnic groups broke away forming independent dioceses.

<sup>140</sup> Tanganyika was the name of mainland Tanzania till 1964 when, following the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the name was changed to Tanzania as a 'compromise' of the two names.

<sup>141</sup> Hildebrandt 1987, 122.

kinga and Mandara. These chiefs hosted the missionaries, and thus became the initial points of contact and negotiation partners with the missionaries.<sup>142</sup> One should note that Protestant missionaries were not the only foreigners visiting East Africa by this time. This was also the case with Northern Tanganyika. The indigenous peoples had previously had contacts with other foreigners e.g. Arabs and some Western explorers. One also needs to recall here the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century explorations by the Catholic Portuguese. Though the Portuguese era was short lived and concentrated on the coast, it was likely that its influence was felt inland. The long distance trade, that used Zanzibar as a warehouse, made Zanzibar the satellite of Europe's growing power in the Indian Ocean. This was an essential background to the colonial period in this part of Africa.<sup>143</sup> The interactions at the coast had the effect of opening up the interior, e.g., Northern Tanganyika, especially through trade. Signifying that coastal dynamics had a felt impact on the Chagga people, Erasto Ngira narrates an occasion in which his old aunt in Kilimanjaro smashed a vacuum flask bought from Mombasa since this reminded her of her sister who was sold as a slave to the coast.<sup>144</sup>

Rabai Mpya, a station established by Krapf, and later Freretown,<sup>145</sup> a freed slave settlement, both in Kenya, became points of departure for inland mission work in the mid of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Krapf and Rebmann were German Lutheran mission-

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<sup>142</sup> Behind the chiefs lay the 'unsung' heroes – porters, guides and translators – some of whom were probably Northern Tanganyikans.

<sup>143</sup> Ilife 1979, 40.

<sup>144</sup> Personal Communication with Pastor Erasto Ngira, 21.08.2011. Ngira is retired and in his late seventies during the interview.

<sup>145</sup> Freretown was the East African equivalent of Freetown in West Africa. It was the largest Protestant settlement harbouring slave trade returnees from India. The settlement took its name from Sir Frere the Governor of Bombay who took interest in the affairs of the ex-slave trade Africans. The lay missionary Charles New who suggested to his mission society that the Chagga chief Mandara was in need of missionaries is believed to have been from Freretown. See Sundkler 2000, 547.

aries but they were sent by an English missionary society called the Church Mission Society. Rebmann visited Kilimanjaro twice. The report Rebmann made concerning this discovery was a motivation to mission interest in the area.<sup>146</sup> In his second visit in 1849, Rebmann went to the Machame area.<sup>147</sup> Rebmann's expectations in this second visit were frustrated by the behaviour of Chief Mankinga. Chief Mankinga treated Rebmann in a discouraging manner. His demand for gifts was so debilitating that Rebmann had no means to proceed to Unyamwezi.<sup>148</sup>

It is not clear why Rebmann plunged so trustingly, using much of what he had in his negotiation with Chief Mankinga, to the extent that he was handicapped with regard to plans ahead of him. Rebmann probably considered Kilimanjaro an important point of departure for inland mission. This exhilaration made him risk spending too much on negotiating for a place in the land, perhaps even thinking of a possibility of mobilising resources from the same place for mission work.<sup>149</sup> The weight of Rebmann's frustration is apparent. Carl-Erik Sahlberg, in his book *From Krapf to Rugambwa*, has written about the encounter between Chief Mankinga and Rebmann. According to Sahlberg's account, Rebmann wept and never returned to Machame.<sup>150</sup>

Further attempts to establish mission work in Kilimanjaro were made by Charles New from the United Methodist Free Church who recommended his mission to begin work among the Chagga.<sup>151</sup> According to Sundkler and Steed, Chief Mandara needed the help of the Europeans with their 'book learning'

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<sup>146</sup> Fleisch 1998, 5.

<sup>147</sup> See Danielson 1996, 74.

<sup>148</sup> Anderson 1977, 3- 4. See also Swanson 1948, 125, Sahlberg 1987, 27.

<sup>149</sup> According to another version of the story, Rebmann ran short of resources because Chief Mankinga confiscated all that he had.

<sup>150</sup> Sahlberg 1987, 27.

<sup>151</sup> Temu 1972, 32.

and mechanical skills; he, therefore, established good contacts in many directions.<sup>152</sup> In 1885, Mandara allowed the Church Missionary Society to establish a mission station at Moshi.<sup>153</sup> Like Chief Mankinga, however, Chief Mandara's political ambitions were likely to influence his decisions. From the outset Mandara's dealings with the missionaries were dubious. He gave the Church Missionary Society missionaries a casual welcome upon their arrival. Mandara's expectations, however, soon cropped up. When the Church Missionary Society missionaries gave him their presents, he said they were not enough.<sup>154</sup> The Church Missionary Intelligencer quotes Mandara as saying in one instance:

You say you cannot bring me gun powder and guns; what good will you do me if you live here? Besides, you have given me nothing yet! The Sultan of Zanzibar wants my country; you want my country. Whoever wants my country must pay for it! By the way have you brought me wine? For the Germans gave me some.<sup>155</sup>

It is within such a tension that Mandara's rough handling of the Church Missionary Society ensued. Mandara closed the market where the missionaries obtained food probably because the Church Missionary Society had not met the chief's expectations.<sup>156</sup> The Swahili traders at Mandara's court also persuaded the chief to do away with the missionaries since the Church Missionary Society missionaries were opposed to the slave trade, a practice that Mandara was also engaged in.<sup>157</sup> This is probably behind Mandara's decision to suspend the en-

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<sup>152</sup> Sundkler 2000,547.

<sup>153</sup> Moffett 1958, 381.

<sup>154</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer 1886, 555.

<sup>155</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer 1886, 555.

<sup>156</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer 1886, 555. See also Meyer 1891, 97-98. In his version of the story, Hans Meyer's attributes Mandara's rough treatment of the missionaries to Dr. Abbot's act of boxing one of Mandara's men due to their incessant begging and attempts to temper with the missionary property.

<sup>157</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer 1886, 561.

rolment of children by the missionaries until 1887.<sup>158</sup> Even with this turmoil, Mandara's attitude kept changing. Albert Steggal managed to start a small school and organise Sunday worship services.<sup>159</sup> The achievements in the early stages of missionary work in Moshi were meagre. The baptism of the first two indigenous people took place on Sunday 20.02.1892; that is, seven years after the Church Missionary Society was allowed to begin work in Moshi in 1885. The baptismal names the two Wa-Mochi<sup>160</sup> lads took were Thomaso and Samweli.<sup>161</sup>

Mandara's political inclination again showed up. He allowed the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society to establish a mission station, while at about the same time he had accepted German sovereignty.<sup>162</sup> The decision to create a colony in East Africa was reached in 1885 by the Imperial Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The pace of colonisation was such that the Germans occupied Dar es Salaam in 1887.<sup>163</sup> Mandara welcomed his first German visitors in 1889 and even sent emissaries to Berlin to present a huge elephant tusk to the Kaiser. Responding to the presents he received in return, Mandara declared, "You have brought me many wonders, but none of the cannon which my people saw in Berlin."<sup>164</sup> Hans Meyer describes his encounters with Mandara in his book *Across East African Glaciers*. He writes thus of Mandara's expectations regarding the presents he exchanged with Germany; "The year before, Mandara had sent a fine tusk of ivory to the German

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<sup>158</sup> Temu 1972, 39–40.

<sup>159</sup> Fleisch 1998, 47.

<sup>160</sup> Mochi is a variant of Moshi, Wa-Mochi then refers to the people of the area – specifically those in the area where Church Missionary Society missionaries began their work. This area is today referred to 'Old Moshi' to differentiate it with today's Moshi town, previously referred to as 'New Moshi.

<sup>161</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer – Bishop Turker's Visit to Chagga – 1892, 603.

<sup>162</sup> Fleisch 1998, 47.

<sup>163</sup> Iliffe 1979, 86, 91.

<sup>164</sup> Iliffe 1979, 100. See also Meyer 1891, 97.

Emperor in Berlin, and now lived in the expectation of receiving large presents in return”<sup>165</sup> Meyer continues:

Knowing I should be the first German to visit him since his token of good will had been dispatched, I bade my messengers ask if he was prepared to give me a good reception, notwithstanding the fact that I could only afford a comparatively small offering. His answer was short and to the point. I should be welcome “provided only I brought *something*”.<sup>166</sup>

Chief Mandara died in 1891. Mandara was succeeded by his son Meli.<sup>167</sup> Meli was opposed to the Germans. Because of this, the German rule planned to take measures against Meli. The attempts made by the British missionaries to reconcile the two parties failed. In fact, the Church Missionary Society missionaries were suspected of stirring up the Chagga against the Germans. Due to this changing political atmosphere, the Church Missionary Society missionaries had to withdraw in 1892.<sup>168</sup> As we shall see below the British missionaries retreated to Taveta in Kenya.<sup>169</sup>

Paul Fleisch, a distinguished Lutheran churchman in Hanover, studied the history of Lutheran mission in East Africa in the 1930’s. In the book *Lutheran Beginnings Around Mt. Kilimanjaro* which is a translation of part of the original book *Hundert Jahre Lutherischer Mission* published in 1936, Fleisch discusses the origins, mind-set and the work of the Leipzig missionaries in Northern Tanganyika during their first forty years. In his work Fleisch makes reference to the early 1880’s promptings of the Leipzig Mission to engage in evangelistic work in East Africa.<sup>170</sup> During this period European powers were competing for East Africa. Trade and colonial policy

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<sup>165</sup> Meyer 1891, 97.

<sup>166</sup> Meyer 1891, 97.

<sup>167</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer 1892, 603; Moffett 1958, 381.

<sup>168</sup> Moffett 1958, 381-382; Danielson 1977, 74.

<sup>169</sup> Fleisch 1998, 47.

<sup>170</sup> Fleisch 1998, 13.



characterised the competition. According to Fleisch, the question to the Leipzig Mission was “Should the Lutheran Mission leave the field to those forces?”<sup>171</sup> Further, “Was it not the duty of the German Christians to carry out mission work in German colonies?”<sup>172</sup> Lutheran missions, therefore, began working in Tanzania only after this territory was under the domination of the Germans.<sup>173</sup> The parallel development of the German administration and mission posed the likelihood that mission would be considered serving the interests of the German administration. The Leipzig Mission made it clear from the outset that it aimed at evangelisation of the peoples in the German colonies. Fleisch writes, “It was emphasized at the General Assembly in 1892 that service was not to be rendered to the colonial movement in Germany; the missionaries did not want to serve the German “Kingdom” but the Kingdom of God.”<sup>174</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missionaries’ mind-set regarding the people they were destined to evangelise and their (missionaries’) conception of the colonial administration is captured in Gustav Warneck’s writings. Warneck is considered “the father of missiology as a theological discipline.”<sup>175</sup> In his book *Modern Missions and Cultures* which is a translation of the book *Die Gegenseitigen Beziehungen Zwischen Modernen Mission und Kultur* published in 1879, Warneck discussed the moral positions and his biblical view of the colonial administrators and the local people to be evangelised. Warneck attributed a life that fits mission work not only to religious awakening but also to modern culture which he considers “a missionary power.”<sup>176</sup> In spite of its positive side, Warneck saw in the modern culture the propagator of seeds of evil to the

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<sup>171</sup> Fleisch 1998, 13.

<sup>172</sup> Fleisch 1998, 13.

<sup>173</sup> See Moffett 1958, 382.

<sup>174</sup> Fleisch 1998, 47.

<sup>175</sup> Bosch 1999, 244.

<sup>176</sup> Warneck 1883, 223.

‘heathen’.<sup>177</sup> He wrote, “Undoubtedly world-commerce brings into heathen lands a great mass of evil men, who disgrace the name of Christ, and by their covetousness, sensuality, brutality etc. obstruct the entrance of the Gospel.”<sup>178</sup> Warneck was reacting to the outright critics of mission work. The critics failed to note that mission work, which was in part propagated by modern culture, was mixed. There were people who, according to him, were after the gospel course and those whose self-interests mattered more than the gospel and such interests could be fuelled at the expense of the gospel. According to Warneck;

It is utterly out of the power of the mission to prevent the introduction of evil elements into heathen lands. It is a result of the imperfection of mission now as well as in the apostolic time, that in the field of labour people are not “wanting on whose account the name of God is blasphemed among the heathen” (Rom 2: 24).<sup>179</sup>

The expectation, according to Warneck, would be that those who come to evangelise non-Christians would lead a good life so as to be able to set an example to the non-Christians. This has, however, not been the case.

German Lutheran involvement in Northern Tanganyika was mediated through the Leipzig Mission Society. The Germans negotiated with the Church Missionary Society which had come into conflict with the German regime in Tanzania. Perhaps signalling the end of such negotiations were the contents of a telegram sent by the British Consul General to the Church Missionary Society supervisor of the work in Northern Tanzania which read “[...] German Government announces that they have decided, for the sake of their prestige, that the English Mission cannot be permitted to remain at Moshi.”<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Warneck 1883, 229; ‘heathen’ is a term Warneck uses when referring to the un-evangelised peoples in distant lands.

<sup>178</sup> Warneck 1883, 229.

<sup>179</sup> Warneck 1883, 230.

<sup>180</sup> See Smedjebacka 1973, 37.

The *Hand Book of Tanganyika* quoting Alfred Tucker, the Anglican bishop of Uganda from 1899 to 1911, attributes the dismissal of the Church Missionary Society from Moshi to the trust the Chagga had in its missionaries. While no German dared venture one hundred yards from the Fort, the missionary in charge of the Church Missionary Society travelled freely. This irritated the Germans.<sup>181</sup>

The Leipzig Mission was known for its loyalty to the Lutheran faith. Jürgen Winter has addressed the Leipzig Mission policy in his book *Bruno Gutmann 1876–1966: A German Approach to Social Anthropology*. According to Winter, the mission policy of the Leipzig Mission was formulated by Karl Graul.<sup>182</sup> Graul was a prominent writer in mission studies and director of the Leipzig Mission from 1844 to 1861.<sup>183</sup> He was opposed to the policies of some pietistic missions that concentrated on the salvaging of individuals due to the purported imminent Kingdom. Their argument was, according to Winter:

There were individuals everywhere in heathen nations who were already favourably disposed towards a Christian life, and for their moral protection from the generally sinful pagan customs it was often considered convenient to group converts together in Christian settlements.<sup>184</sup>

Against such views and practices, Graul saw the task of mission to be that of building new national churches (*Volkskirchen*).<sup>185</sup> According to Winter, Luther's teachings on the spheres of God and the Devil allowed Graul to perceive a wide area of neutral, 'natural', national custom between the two spheres.<sup>186</sup> Graul hoped that by accepting as much as possible of the national custom, such national churches would be really

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<sup>181</sup> Moffet 1958, 381–382.

<sup>182</sup> Winter 1979, 39.

<sup>183</sup> Winter 1979, 39.

<sup>184</sup> Winter 1979, 39.

<sup>185</sup> Winter 1979, 39.

<sup>186</sup> Winter 1979, 39.

‘rooted in the soil’.<sup>187</sup> Graul’s conception of the national custom is better grasped in the context of the Leipzig Mission work in India. According to Fleisch, Graul’s conception of the caste system in India was that it was a practice of the commoner which was not to be pushed out by force.<sup>188</sup> The caste system was a matter of contention among the Leipzig missionaries. Fleisch notes that a decision was reached among the Leipzig missionaries that the caste system in India was to be regarded as an *adiaphoron*<sup>189</sup> which should not be forbidden but eliminated through pastoral care. The caste system should, however, not be allowed to be seen in Holy Communion where all Christians were to be equals.<sup>190</sup>

The work done by the Church Missionary Society provided some groundwork for the Leipzig missionaries. One should also note that the two early and influential missionaries to East Africa, that is, Krapf and Rebmann, were from Germany (the country of origin of the Leipzig Mission Society). In fact, Krapf’s death was a motivation to fellow Germans to begin mission work in East Africa.<sup>191</sup> In 1893 four German missionaries i.e., Robert Fassmann, Emil Müller, Albin Boehme and Gerhard Althaus, from the Leipzig Mission pitched their tent at the site of the Church Missionary Society station at Moshi. The Church Missionary Society cottage had been destroyed by the Chagga who were angered by the dismissal of the Church Missionary Society missionaries. The Leipzig missionaries had reservations about starting work in a region

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<sup>187</sup> Winter 1979, 39.

<sup>188</sup> Fleisch 1936, 53.

<sup>189</sup> See Groop 2006, 16, 38– on the concept of the *adiaphoron*. This was a principle which aimed at accepting cultural elements that were considered harmless from a Christian point of view. The *adiaphoron* referred to something neither desired, nor threatening to the Lutheran work.

<sup>190</sup> Fleisch 1936, 57.

<sup>191</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 36.

which had just recently calmed after tensions.<sup>192</sup> The missionaries, therefore, searched for a new site and Nkwarungo in Machame to the west was chosen.<sup>193</sup>

Chief Shangali of Machame was friendly to the missionaries and soon the missionaries signed a contract with the chief concerning the station. In 1894, the missionaries established another mission station at Mamba east of the mountain. The establishment of this station was hastened because of the fear that the Catholics were going to claim the entire area east of the mountain. Traugott Pässler was in charge of this station. Upon the arrival of three more German missionaries in 1895, a third mission station was established at Moshi<sup>194</sup> in 1896. Robert Fassmann became the missionary in charge of the station.<sup>195</sup> Within three years the Leipzig Mission had founded three mission stations namely: Machame, Mamba, and Moshi.

The chiefs at the three stations received and accepted the missionaries. The chiefs, however, did not readily turn to Christianity. Fleisch reports the chiefs at the different areas as exhibiting unique responses to the mission work. With all the zeal Chief Shangali had shown, the hope of his joining the Lutheran Church was dashed after he married a second wife. Chief Meli of Moshi was indifferent. According to Fleisch, it was only after the missionary at the station exercised a little pressure that the chief expressed the desire to be enrolled in school.<sup>196</sup> Fleisch rates Chief Koimbere of Mamba as unreliable.<sup>197</sup>

Godson Maanga notes that mission initiatives in Kilimanjaro ranged from preaching the Gospel and propagating Christian

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<sup>192</sup> Fleisch 1998, 48; It is worth noting that earlier in 1849, Rebmann visited Chief Mankinga in this area with the view of establishing mission work.

<sup>193</sup> Fleisch 1998, 48.

<sup>194</sup> This was a new station established apart from the old station by the Church Missionary Society.

<sup>195</sup> Fleisch 1998, 49.

<sup>196</sup> Fleisch 1998, 49.

<sup>197</sup> Fleisch 1998, 49.

literature, to offering humanitarian services like school, hospitals and some knowledge of agriculture.<sup>198</sup> According to Fleisch, the education system, especially the boarding school, came to be an important activity.<sup>199</sup> Equally pressing as an accompaniment to preaching the gospel were medical services. At the end of 1897, forty-seven students were enrolled in the mission schools. Baptism of the first four students took place at Moshi in 1898. In the same year, four boarding students asked to be baptised at Mamba and three of these were baptised. Baptism of the first students at Machame in 1898, was accompanied by the occasion of the first woman attending worship service. An outpost was established at Kalali in order to reach women.<sup>200</sup>

From the beginning mission work had been concentrated among the Chagga on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro. By 1896, the mission was well established and it was motivated to spread among the other tribes.<sup>201</sup> The good progress in the Chagga mission was attributed to the favourable conditions in the area. The climate was favourable to good health.<sup>202</sup> In fact, the choice of Moshi relative to Taveta was based on the suitability of the climate in Moshi.<sup>203</sup> In addition, the missionaries considered the Chagga to be a suitable target group i.e., with qualities that the Germans appreciated. Fleisch rates the Chagga as “physically and intellectually well-developed peasants”.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Maanga 2012, 49; the influence the missionaries had on the indigenous people was through instruction but also through life example. A stanza of a hymn by the missionary insisting on hard work reads – in the Vunjo Chagga dialect – *Irokuo ny ngatara, wuragari ny mbora. Kyindo kyekuchopa necha, ny msino o kyam kyapfo* – translated – Laziness is disastrous, hard work is a blessing; that which will decorate you well is the sweat of your face.

<sup>199</sup> Fleisch 1998, 50.

<sup>200</sup> Fleisch 1998, 50,51.

<sup>201</sup> Smedjebacka 1973. 38.

<sup>202</sup> Fleisch 1998, 45. Fleisch is here referring particularly to the availability of what he terms ‘good spring water’ (Fleisch 1998, 185).

<sup>203</sup> A(TUMA) – Church Missionary Intelligencer 1886, 558.

<sup>204</sup> Fleisch 1998, 45. See also Parsalaw 1999, 62.

These factors, coupled with the fact that Lutheran mission work in Northern Tanzania began first among the Chagga spending considerable time before moving to other ethnic groups, gave the Chagga some kind of prominence in the church realm that might be responsible for later clashes in leadership.

The Leipzig missionaries set out to do mission work among the Meru, Pare and later Iramba.<sup>205</sup> The Roman Catholic advance in Arusha had created a sense of urgency to the Leipzig Mission to advance to Meru area.<sup>206</sup> This was not the first time Lutherans were competing with Catholics. Sundkler recounts Chief Marealle's decision to have one of his sons baptised as a Catholic and another as a Lutheran. He himself remained a traditionalist in order to strike a balance between the competing missions.<sup>207</sup> The survey and purchase of a mission plot in Meru land was made in 1896.<sup>208</sup> Missionary Althaus had earlier, probably as early as 1894, surveyed the Pare area in which the Leipzig Mission would establish a station in 1900.<sup>209</sup>

The extension of mission work to Meru was associated with events worth mentioning. On their reconnaissance mission the missionaries found favour with the Meru chief Matunda. Having found an appropriate site at Akeri, negotiations were made in the presence of Captain Kurt Johannes, and a plot was purchased for the new mission station. Unfortunately for the missionaries, that night Arusha warriors invaded the missionary camp and stabbed the missionaries to death. The military commander buried the bodies and hurriedly returned to Moshi.<sup>210</sup> The decision by the German commander to escape to Moshi was based on the inability of his soldiers to withstand a

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<sup>205</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 551.

<sup>206</sup> Fleisch 1998, 51.

<sup>207</sup> Sundkler 2000, 549 quoting Stahl, History, pg 325.

<sup>208</sup> Fleisch 1998, 51.

<sup>209</sup> Fleisch 1998, 52–53.

<sup>210</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 72.

likely attack in the future.<sup>211</sup> This was, however, not the end of the matter. The German administration would retaliate.

Captain Johannes organised an army of 6,000 Chagga auxiliaries to punish the offenders.<sup>212</sup> With this group the offenders were pursued and a number of people were killed. In fact, Johannes is said to have returned again in 1900, hanging the Meru chief and Arusha spokesmen.<sup>213</sup> Thomas Spear in his collection: *Arusha and Meru Traditions* quotes Mosingo ole Meipusu saying that some leaders like Rapaito were hanged by the Germans.<sup>214</sup> Ole Meipusu was of the view that the hanging of the leaders was not a retaliation to the killing of the two German missionaries. They were killed because the Arusha people were at war with the Germans. According to Ole Meipusu, the German government “did not like the leaders.”<sup>215</sup>

Probably pointing to the cruelty of war, a Swahili saying goes – *vita havina macho*, literally war has no eyes. Hard questions follow the operation to deal with the Akeri ordeal and it remains for the critical mind to search for the truth. Were those killed the real culprits? Was a military operation the right approach to what happened? The different aspects of this situation will be addressed in section 3.4 below. Kim Groop in his doctoral studies made an extensive research on how the Gospel reached the Maasai. In his book *With the Gospel to the Maasai*, Groop addresses the different engagements in the process of evangelising the Maasai. Among the issues Groop addresses is the Meru killings. According to him, the attack was not aimed specifically at the missionaries; Captain Kurt Johannes was equally targeted. The Captain’s life was spared since the attacking warriors were repelled by the gunfire. The attack

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<sup>211</sup> Groop 2006, 42.

<sup>212</sup> Groop 2006, 43; Iliffe 1979, 102. Parsalaw (1999, 78) puts the number of Chagga warriors in the pursuit at 8–10,000

<sup>213</sup> See Iliffe 1979, 102.

<sup>214</sup> Spear 1999, 3.

<sup>215</sup> Spear 1996, 4.



aimed at what was seen as an external force threatening Arusha dominance around Meru.<sup>216</sup>

The tragic event in Meru made the missionaries turn their attention to Pare. Beforehand this area was not considered a possibility for expansion due to the activity of the Bethel Mission in the Usambara Mountains.<sup>217</sup> In July, 1900, an attempt was made to reach the Pare and the place chosen was Shighatini in Northern Pare.<sup>218</sup> The missionary Hans Fuchs was in charge of the mission station. Some boarding students joined the mission station. The number of students had reached 20 in 1902. Two outposts were also built.<sup>219</sup> According to Fleisch, five “first-fruits” were baptised on August, 1904. Having been established in Northern Pare, the Leipzig Mission sought to reach Southern Pare in 1904. According to Fleisch, the success of the Leipzig missionaries’ work in South Pare, where the Seventh Day Adventists were active, was limited.<sup>220</sup>

Efforts were again made in 1902 to reach Meru. The missionaries Arno Krause and Kurt Fickert made another reconnaissance trip.<sup>221</sup> A new site was chosen, this time at Nkoaranga. In 1902, Krause conducted the first Sunday worship service and by 1903, a boarding school was operating with 25 students. The missionaries also established outposts. Nineteen (19) people from this area asked for baptism in 1904, of which 16 were students in the boarding school. In the same year the missionaries began work in Arusha preaching the gospel in the Maasai language. The commander of the military post accorded the missionaries a friendly welcome, something that in-

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<sup>216</sup> Groop 2006, 42–43.

<sup>217</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 63.

<sup>218</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 39.

<sup>219</sup> Fleisch 1998, 53.

<sup>220</sup> Fleisch 1998, 53.

<sup>221</sup> Groop 2006, 48.

fluenced the behaviour of the chief. A school was started and church attendance was promising.<sup>222</sup>

In 1910, reconnaissance work began in Central Tanganyika in efforts to begin mission work there. On the 20<sup>th</sup> December 1911, the Leipzig Mission began work in Iramba in Central Tanganyika. The pioneers in this work were Fritz Wärthl and Eduard Ittameier. Significant in the establishment of this work is the contribution of Northern Tanganyika Christians. The Chagga contributed teachers, evangelists and technicians in the establishment of the Iramba work.<sup>223</sup> Ittameier went for furlough in Germany in 1913, intending to return to Iramba immediately after this. His plans were dashed by the onset of the First World War which began in 1914. According to Jaeschke, Ittameier enrolled in the army after his arrival in Germany.<sup>224</sup>

Meanwhile the Chagga mission area continued to expand. The Leipzig Mission strove to conquer as much as possible of Chaggaland to Lutheranism. In the book *Lutheran beginning around Mt. Kilimanjaro*, which is a translation of part of the book *Hundert Jahre Lutherischer Mission* published in 1936, Paul Fleisch charts the developments in the Chagga mission field between 1898 and 1915. According to him, the expansion of mission work in the field included the establishment of a mission station at Shira in western Chagga province in 1898.<sup>225</sup> In the older stations development was marked by the establishment of new outposts, increased church attendance and construction of boarding schools for female students.<sup>226</sup> The celebration of the first Christian marriage came in this period. Fleisch reports the marriage between Elizabeth and Samueli in 1899. Elizabeth was a boarding school girl. When she was a catechumen she was given in marriage to Samuel. Samuel was

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<sup>222</sup> Fleisch 1998, 54.

<sup>223</sup> Nkurlu 2011, 8, vi.

<sup>224</sup> Jaeschke in Nkurlu 2011, 8–9.

<sup>225</sup> Fleisch 1998, 55.

<sup>226</sup> Fleisch 1998, 56.

Missionary Fassmann's cook who was baptised in Moshi.<sup>227</sup> Apparently, the marriage between Samueli and Elizabeth was from 'mission to mission' i.e., both Samuel and Elizabeth knew the missionary ethos and were brought together by this basic similarity. The narrowing of the spectrum in selecting spouses to the dictates of the missionaries seems to have been a common phenomenon. In an interview with Elieshi Mungure she tells the story of the engagement of her paternal grandparents in Meru as narrated to her by her grandfather. Mungure's grandfather Andrea was employed as a cook by Captain Harold Rydon at Leudorf (Ngare Sero) in the Meru area in Northern Tanganyika. When the time for proposing to a wife and engagement came, Andrea was taken and shown a 'pool' of girls at the mission. Penina and other girls were in baptismal class. They were also being instructed on some domestic matters like cookery and sewing, aspects considered an important preparation for a good wife. Andrea picked Penina. According to Mungure her grandfather said, pointing to Penina, "I love that one".<sup>228</sup> The trend that a mission influenced lad would marry a lady of the same status is illustrated in the marriage between Pastor Andrea Msechu, whom we shall meet in section 3.3 below, and Lwise Kafui, both of whom had served missionaries.<sup>229</sup> The exercise of power as reflected in such engagements is analysed in the discussion below.

As the work expanded, matters of interest and concern surfaced and the Leipzig missionaries made efforts to ensure smooth running of the activities. Fleisch alludes to a missionary conference held in 1903, that was also attended by the director of the Leipzig Mission, Carl von Schwartz. A number of issues were discussed in this conference. Among the issues of concern, as noted by Fleisch, were those related to parochial organisation, the structuring of mission work, and the boarding schools.

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<sup>227</sup> Fleisch 1998, 56.

<sup>228</sup> E-mail from Elieshi Mungure 05.12.2014.

<sup>229</sup> Banduka 1994, 26.

Other issues related to language, polygamy and circumcision.<sup>230</sup> It was suggested that for effective evangelisation the Chagga needed to be united in small villages rather than in the detached settlements which rendered evangelism ineffective. This suggestion was, however, not realised. The boarding schools had just sprung up spontaneously without the missionaries really planning them. These were deemed by some to be a drain of the missionaries' energy. On the other hand, the contribution of such schools was positively noted. Delegates to the conference suggested that the missionaries limit the expansion of the boarding schools. The manifold dialects of the Chagga presented a problem as to which dialect should be used for educational and Christian material. It was later decided that the Kimochi and Kimachame dialects be used for the eastern and western districts, respectively.<sup>231</sup> According to Sundkler, the Leipzig Mission would later be commended for its introduction of Swahili as an official language in its schools.<sup>232</sup> As shall be noted in the discussion below attempts were made to address matters related to culture, as seen in the decisions regarding language and settlements above. Such matters have a bearing on the power relations between the decision makers and those living by the decisions.

Deliberations were also made concerning matters of religious instruction and the structure of the congregation. The duration for catechetical instruction was set at a minimum of half a year. Catechumens who were in need were assisted, and at the beginning garments for the baptismal service were donated. Considering that this assistance probably lured or bred dependence, the practice was eliminated in 1904.<sup>233</sup> The candidates were to be subjected to a tough test before baptism and after baptism the baptised had to wait from 3 months to 12 months before

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<sup>230</sup> Fleisch 1998, 59–61.

<sup>231</sup> Fleisch 1998, 59–61.

<sup>232</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 552.

<sup>233</sup> Fleisch 1998, 61.

celebrating Holy Communion.<sup>234</sup> This deferment was probably meant to monitor the stability of the new Christians with regard to their commitment to the new faith. Another issue addressed by the conference was about the functioning of the congregation. In a congregation, elders were to be selected for a term of three years. According to Fleisch, in a congregation with 20 adult men, 3 to 7 would be elected as elders.<sup>235</sup> In the older congregations elections took place 1904. Again, as shall be noted in the discussion below, the assistance and monitoring of catechumens and new Christians by the Leipzig missionaries had both restrictive and empowering effects.

The encounters between the European missionaries and the Northern Tanganyikans is seen in mission and the activities that accompanied it, namely: education, health, construction, agriculture etc. It is in these activities that relationships characterising the encounters are to be found and assessed. The missionaries instructed Northern Tanganyikans about the gospel, taught baptismal classes, reading, writing, and basic health. They also involved the people in the construction of churches, schools and health facilities. In doing these works, the missionaries were tuned into their cultures and upbringing. They were also at times driven by the superiority that tended to develop in the encounter and the racial superiority characteristic of Europe.

The demands associated with the catechetical instructions, living standards, moral codes, etc. sometimes resulted in strained relations between the Leipzig missionaries and the Northern Tanganyikans. The missionaries demanded much in terms of discipline on the side of the Tanganyikans. Elisante Mamuya, confirmed in 1944, recalls the “strict army like training” his brother’s group of confirmands went through under the missionary Georg Fritze. They would spend nights out as guards.

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<sup>234</sup> Fleisch 1998, 61.

<sup>235</sup> Fleisch 1998, 61.

Mamuya himself narrates an incident during his confirmation classes in which he was whipped by missionary Fritze for misbehaving as they were parading to the church.<sup>236</sup>

The adoption of a western lifestyle, particularly dressing, also tended to worry some of the missionaries. The missionaries' concern was that such a fast change would lead to African Christians leading a less humble life, maybe rendering them less Christian. In 1928, the missionary Leonhard Blumer in the Arusha-Ilboru congregation challenged the Waarusha Christians to make a choice to be either real Christians or to go for the fashions. The challenge was brought about by the new observation that women came to church in shoes. A woman by the name Tabea who happened to be the wife of Lazarus Laiser questioned this. She ended up being slapped by Missionary Blumer.<sup>237</sup> Missionary Fritze disciplined in a similar manner. During Gutmann's leave, Fritze took care of the Old Moshi congregation.<sup>238</sup> In one instance during Holy Communion he instructed a church elder to remove the hat that Joseph Merinyo's wife was wearing.<sup>239</sup> This incident bred a commotion that would later be addressed in the 1930 church council.<sup>240</sup> The missionaries' prohibition regarding the adoption of western lifestyle is attributable to the worldview prevailing within 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missions. In his writings, Warneck considers the peoples in the distant lands to be heathen and savage. Although the missionary work had a civilising effect, he believed that this should not have been at the expense of the gospel.<sup>241</sup> The missionaries most likely con-

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<sup>236</sup> Personal communication with Elisante Mamuya, Arisi – Marangu, 27.02.2013; Missionary Fritze indeed worked in the area and in the time that matches Mamuya's description – See <http://www.lmw-mission.de/de/missionar-344.html>

<sup>237</sup> Groop 2006, 119; Parsalaw 1999, 219.

<sup>238</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 284.

<sup>239</sup> Maanga 2014, 57.

<sup>240</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 284–287.

<sup>241</sup> Warneck 1883, 238.

nected the fashions that attracted Africans to world Christians as opposed to living Christians. The phrase ‘world or name Christians’ pertained to those people who having adopted Christianity lived a life that was considered against what Christianity was deemed to confess. Some colonial administrators and traders from the West would constitute the world Christians’ category.<sup>242</sup>

But who were the missionaries? They were foreigners who felt compelled to preach the gospel to the indigenous people. Elizabeth Isichei refers to a perspective that considers the missionaries to have always been self-selected.<sup>243</sup> This perspective tends to see in the missionaries people who considered themselves important with regard to the propagation of the gospel to other peoples. Retired Bishop Erasto Kweka of the ELCN-ND views missionaries, as people having a lifelong call.<sup>244</sup> The missionaries reflected a worldview typical of their home backgrounds. Some of the missionaries challenged this worldview. It is clear, however, that this worldview was the point of departure for what they engaged in. The missionaries were also representatives of the sending societies and or churches. In order to achieve the goal, the missionaries tended to use what was at their disposal. One should note, however, that the Leipzig missionaries differed from one another with regard to what was the best approach to use in mission. The freedom the missionaries exhibited in using varying approaches in mission could be explained by the lack of church laws governing the work. According to Fleisch the first missionary consultation took place in 1896. This was followed by General Conferences which convened on a half year basis.<sup>245</sup> While these conferences could have a moderating effect on mission approach,

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<sup>242</sup> See Warneck 1883, 229.

<sup>243</sup> Isichei 1995, 76. This could not have been always the case. We will come back to this in section 3.4 below.

<sup>244</sup> Interview with retired Bishop Kweka, 15.07.2011, Mailisita.

<sup>245</sup> Fleisch 1998, 51.

the effect was bound to limitations in view of the poor or non-participation of the Africans. It is not until 1930, that the first council of the established (mission) church convened.<sup>246</sup> This council would signify a dialogue between mission and the missionised.

There was, on the one hand, those missionaries who in practice did not see much in the African culture as tool for the propagation of the gospel. Anza-Amen Lema did his doctoral research on the influence of the Leipzig Mission on Chaggaland. In his book *The Foundation of the Lutheran Church in Kilimanjaro*, Lema is of the view that missionaries who did not find something of use in the African culture constituted the majority of the Leipzig missionaries in Kilimanjaro.<sup>247</sup> Lema's analysis of the missionary approach between 1893 and 1920 is as follows:

And although the need to preserve traditional life was often discussed at missionary conferences, this was often interpreted narrowly. Almost every aspect of traditional social, economic, cultural, and religious life was changed to some extent either by the missionaries' deliberate intent, or unwittingly by their example and very presence. In fact, almost the only cultural aspects they worked hard to preserve in their entirety were the Chagga's oral literature – the traditional stories, proverbs, the legends, and history of the different chiefdoms and clans – and their dialects.<sup>248</sup>

The missionaries, therefore, by and large, went against the Leipzig Mission policy of accepting as much as possible of the national custom. In fact, as Lema points out, the opposite was the case; instead of accepting much, they accepted very little of the national custom. This would have a deleterious effect on what the Leipzig Mission intended to achieve by its policy of establishment of national churches i.e., the gospel would not

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<sup>246</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 283.

<sup>247</sup> See Lema 1982, 11.

<sup>248</sup> Lema 1982, 11.



have a firm anchor in a church deprived of its cultural manifestation within the context which the church operates.

There were, on the other hand, attempts by some missionaries, as frail at some points as the attempts may have been, to sow the gospel message in the African milieu. Such attempts were geared toward having the gospel 'feel at home' while minimising the unnecessary impositions born of foreign culture. These attempts are represented by Bruno Gutmann who is discussed briefly below.

According to Lema, Bruno Gutmann is among the missionaries who held that traditional culture should not be destroyed but moulded in order to find fulfilment in Christian life.<sup>249</sup> Ernst Jaeschke has written about the life of Gutmann in his book *Bruno Gutmann: His Life, His Thoughts and His Work*. Jaeschke makes an in-depth description of Gutmann. According to him, Gutmann was born in Dresden, Germany in 1876. Jaeschke considers Gutmann's childhood in the rural setting as one of sorrow and tragedy due to his mother's death in the first year of his primary education. To be noted, however, is the mutual assistance and strong family ties that came to the rescue in such a situation. Jaeschke considers this to have influenced Gutmann's insistence on the importance of clan throughout his life's work.<sup>250</sup> Gutmann had his theological education in the Mission Seminary of the Leipzig Mission and at the University of Leipzig during the years 1895 to 1901.<sup>251</sup> He was ordained in 1902, and sent to Kilimanjaro and assigned to work at Mamba. He was later transferred to Machame and worked at Masama.<sup>252</sup> According to Jaeschke, Gutmann was concerned about what he considered to be the major task of mission i.e., the struggle for preservation of the intact values of

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<sup>249</sup> Lema 1982, 11.

<sup>250</sup> Jaeschke 1985, 3,5,6.

<sup>251</sup> Jaeschke 1985,6.

<sup>252</sup> Jaeschke 1985, 12.

communal structure.<sup>253</sup> During his stay in Tanganyika, he worked in Mamba in the east, Masama in the west and Moshi (Old Moshi) in central Kilimanjaro. Gutmann is, however, more remembered for his work in Moshi area. He was named *wasahuye o wachagga*, literally the grandfather of the Chagga in this area. Gutmann's close contacts with the Moshi Chagga made him, as said by Seth Kitange, 'one of them'. He belonged to the Mmari clan with whom he shared practices that defined the clan.<sup>254</sup>

Gutmann tied together age set, neighbourhood and clan in his method. In his mission approach he strove not to disturb this 'age long' system of existence among the Chagga. For him, in order for the gospel to set root among the people it should be spread using the existing system or social ties. The existing leadership, age set and neighbourhood system was thus of importance to Gutmann. Lema sees in Gutmann efforts directed towards the utilisation of indigenous structures in the building up of a national church. Gutmann was against individualism and the distortion of African culture brought by the influence of westerners.<sup>255</sup>

The fact that Gutmann made use of an approach that employed African communal structures should not make one consider him totally aligned and agreeing to whatever Northern Tanganyikans were doing. As we shall see below Gutmann objected to the ordination of the Chagga since he did not see a parallel in their communal structure, a model that equated the position. He had a message to deliver using the existing structures. In communicating the message, Gutmann exhibited a mixture of strictness and understanding. Jaeschke's description of Gut-

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<sup>253</sup> Jaeschke 1985, 16.

<sup>254</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange, 11.09.2012, Moshi.

<sup>255</sup> See Lema 1982, 7.

mann is that of “an impetuous and passionate man.”<sup>256</sup> This is, however, not the whole of Gutmann. Jaeschke continues:

Africans informed me that women with young children avoided him. They feared his criticism, when, for example, they had not washed their children. When he walked through a neighbourhood, the mothers warned each other, “the *chui* (‘leopard’) is coming.”<sup>257</sup>

This suggests that Gutmann retained the characteristics related to his background. He still felt he was different and had something to give to the context in which he found himself. When he found resistance or laxity on the side of the Chagga people, he dealt with it shrewdly, probably in a manner alien to the people’s expectations of a foreigner or guest.

Gutmann’s efforts to make use of the Chagga communal matrix in mission singles him out from the majority of the Leipzig missionaries who either disparaged the customs or found it difficult to join mission and the customs. His approach allowed for recognition, even on the part of the Chagga themselves, of aspects in the culture that are of use in the propagation of the gospel. In his article, “Bruno Gutmann’s Legacy”, Ernst Jaeschke considers Gutmann an outstanding missionary.<sup>258</sup> According to Jaeschke, Gutmann surpassed all other Europeans in the understanding and loving of the Chagga souls. Jaeschke concludes, “His vision penetrated more deeply than that of any of us”.<sup>259</sup>

### **3.3 The Emergence of the Local church**

The Leipzig mission had as its aim the development of peoples’ churches – *Volkskirchen* – churches that would assume the character of a people in a particular context. In its desire to establish a people’s church, the Leipzig Mission

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<sup>256</sup> Jaeschke 1985, 25.

<sup>257</sup> Jaeschke 1985, 25.

<sup>258</sup> Jaeschke 1981, 62.

<sup>259</sup> Jaeschke 1981, 63.

probably had in mind Venn's three-selves of the church, namely, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. The issue at hand, however, is that a local church was expected to be formed in the mission endeavours by the Leipzig Mission. On the other hand, the emergence of a peoples' church could not be distanced from efforts by the very people to be independent of mission. The stages Lutheran mission work had gone through in Northern Tanganyika since 1890 to the mid-1930's suggested that the establishment of a peoples' church was on the way.

The Leipzig Mission work in Tanganyika was interrupted by the First and Second World Wars that began in 1914 and 1939, respectively. In spite of the adverse effects of the wars, the two world wars had a motivational effect on the side of Northern Tanganyikans. The impact of the wars made Northern Tanganyikans think of the need for independence from the foreign missionary dependent church to an indigenous oriented one. The fact that upon the repatriation of the German missionaries the emerging church is referred to as 'orphan', as pointed out by Sundkler and Steed, points to paternalistic tendencies in the foreign mission work.<sup>260</sup> The foreign missionaries felt that they had the resources and were the ones to see to it that the plans were achieved. The First World War broke out in 1914. The War came as a surprise to the missionaries. The missionaries thought they were safe due to the protection rendered by the Congo Act signed in Berlin in 1885. According to the act, European wars were to be confined to Europe; that is, colonial Africa would not be drawn into such wars.<sup>261</sup> This was, however, not the case. According to Fleisch, as the war broke out some of the Leipzig missionaries in Tanganyika were drawn into it. Further, some mission stations were turned into military supply depots.<sup>262</sup> Since at the beginning some missionaries

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<sup>260</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 881.

<sup>261</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 40.

<sup>262</sup> Fleisch 1998, 95.

continued with their duties, the mission work suffered little. According to Fleisch, at first the British were not unfriendly.<sup>263</sup> Mission work was thus bound to not suffer much. In fact, as General Jan Smuts, a British temporary ally, once declared, “I am not waging war against the missionaries.”<sup>264</sup> The Leipzig missionaries, however, were unfortunate in that in 1918, Germany was defeated. Consequently, the Leipzig Mission found itself operating under the jurisdiction of another power and this adversely affected its performance.

On 03.10.1920, the British Mandate Administration issued an official regulation that forbade foreigners falling in the category of ex-enemies to engage in mission or philanthropic work in the country. The foreigners would not be allowed to return unless the Mandate stated otherwise.<sup>265</sup> During the absence of the Leipzig missionaries, the young churches were left on their own, contrary to their expectations. The post 1920 period, during which the missionaries were suspended, had positive effects. Back in 1917, the missionary council had decided that two European representatives were to be in charge of Meru, Chagga, and Pare missions. In addition, one leader or teacher was to be appointed who would be responsible for instructing the catechumens, students in the schools, and conducting regular Sunday services.<sup>266</sup> We hear for the first time the names of the African leaders Andrea Msechu, Lazarus Laiser, Joseph Merinyo, and Solomon Nkya as the result of the repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries.<sup>267</sup>

These pioneering Northern Tanganyikans from the different ethnic groups would leave a lasting imprint on the dynamics related to the establishment of the Lutheran church in Northern Tanganyika and the nurture of the church thereafter. Rev.

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<sup>263</sup> Fleisch 1998, 96.

<sup>264</sup> Fleisch 1998, 96.

<sup>265</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 40.

<sup>266</sup> Fleisch 1998, 99.

<sup>267</sup> Sahlberg 1987, 117.

Stanley Mmbaga from Pare has written about Andrea Msechu in his bachelor of divinity degree research paper titled “Pastor Andrea Dundure Msechu’s Life and Contribution to the Pare Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania.”<sup>268</sup> Msechu was born in 1888.<sup>269</sup> He was born in Ugweno (Pare – Northern Tanganyika) to a clan of Chagga origin.<sup>270</sup> His courage and desire to live a life different from his peers showed from childhood in his practice of attending to the family chores across the gender divide.<sup>271</sup> His ambitions further showed in his readiness to join and work at missionary Hans Fuchs’ place in 1901. According to Mmbaga, this decision was welcomed by both Msechu and his parents. On the one hand, Msechu disliked the way the boys of his time dressed. The boys put on a skin that only covered the lower part of their bodies. Working for the missionary, entailed having clothes, something Msechu admired. Msechu had even earlier contemplated leaving for another area where he could afford clothing before the offer of working for the missionary came. Msechu’s parents were also happy that their son was leaving their village since they were worried about the possibility of their son being bewitched. Working for the missionary, however, required courage since the white man was thought of being a ‘man eater’.<sup>272</sup>

Msechu’s life was one of instructive episodes. He had begun learning to read, to write and about music at the missionary’s

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<sup>268</sup> This research paper, which is usually about 40 pages, is presented as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the five-year Bachelor of Divinity degree programme at Makumira. Sources for the paper include interviews, archival material and published works depending on the nature of the study. The research is supervised by a faculty member and is assessed by an external examiner. Mmbaga’s work used interviews, archives and published works; including Banduka’s book also on the life of Msechu.

<sup>269</sup> Banduka 1994, 7, A(TUMA) – Umoja 1975, 2.

<sup>270</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 4–5.

<sup>271</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 5.

<sup>272</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 6.

place at Shighatini. On one occasion Fuchs left for official commitments in Moshi. During his absence thieves stole a significant amount of money (450 rupees) from the house. Msechu wrote a letter that probably reached Fuchs in Moshi through a messenger, informing him of the incident.<sup>273</sup> Fuchs was surprised since he had not considered Msechu to have acquired that level of literacy. Fuchs was moved and considered Msechu fit for further education as a teacher. Msechu was baptised in 1905, and named Andrea. After baptism he left for the teachers' college in Kidia-Moshi.<sup>274</sup>

Msechu began his teaching career and performed well. He is remembered for his genius in acquiring land for mission work. He would plant trees around the area of interest and once established the trees demarcated an area that was logically hard for anyone to claim. His catch phrase was, 'If you have land, you have everything'. Mmbaga describes Msechu as a hot tempered teacher. He tells a story narrated to him by his grandmother. As a school girl she once came late for school. Msechu slapped her so heavily that she almost fainted. The girl had by that time learned to read and write, so she never went back to school.<sup>275</sup>

Msechu was called to the ordained ministry in 1933. He joined the Machame school for training African clergy.<sup>276</sup> Msechu worked as a pastor in several congregations where he is credited for his ministry to the outcasts.<sup>277</sup> He became the head of the

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<sup>273</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 8.

<sup>274</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 12.

<sup>275</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 12–13.

<sup>276</sup> Msechu encountered a painful experience after his studies. The graduation scheduled for 28.04.1934 had to be postponed due to the death of Msechu's patron Fuchs. Msechu was ordained on 20.05.1934. This was not the only ordeal Msechu encountered. In his life he saw the death of his wife and three children (Banduka 1994, 26).

<sup>277</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 17–19; among those considered outcasts in Pare were girls who became pregnant before they were married and children whose upper teeth showed before the lower ones.

district in 1940, a position he held until 1954. This first scholar, teacher and pastor among the Vasu (Pare) died in 1975.<sup>278</sup> Msechu embodied a combination of legacies. The ambition seen in his desire to be different was notable. His teaching, as well as his pastoral and administrative capabilities were a product of his family and clan upbringing. His clan had immigrated to Ugweno and acted differently. This is typical of the zeal and courage of immigrants. The missionary upbringing and education, and the exposure and experiences he had through contacts with different people also had a bearing on the character of Msechu.

Solomon Nkya, whom we shall meet again and again in this chapter, worked as a ‘boy’<sup>279</sup>, for a German family.<sup>280</sup> He began teaching in the Machame congregation in 1914, during the First World War. He became the head of the Machame congregation in 1920, following the repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries. Nkya was ordained in 1934, upon finishing the first course for indigenous pastors in the LCNT. Pastor Nkya was elected vice president of the so called “North Area Church” upon the repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries. In 1947, he visited all congregations of the LCNT.<sup>281</sup> We shall meet two other African leaders, Lazarus Laiser and Joseph Merinyo, and examine their contributions in chapters four and five below.

The African faces in church leadership had a lasting impression. During the war, mission work continued under the leadership of the African teachers and evangelistic campaigns which even extended beyond the Leipzig Mission field. School work, however, suffered a great deal.<sup>282</sup> In some places, e.g.,

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<sup>278</sup> Mmbaga 1996, 16.

<sup>279</sup> This is a derogative term, typical of colonial language, used for male servants.

<sup>280</sup> Danielson 1996, 111.

<sup>281</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 8; Danielson 1996, 111.

<sup>282</sup> Smedjeback 1973, 41–42.



Shira and Usangi, church and school attendance declined and came to a halt. There was also a flare up of Islam in some places like Usangi in Pare, where the supporters of Islam threatened the people in the area by telling them that the British, unlike the Germans, were Muslims. Thus those who refused to convert to Islam would be killed. This led to a number of people converting to Islam. In some areas even teachers broke away from the church and in some cases no record of baptism was reported.<sup>283</sup>

The First World War was a reminder to the missionaries and the Northern Tanganyika church members of the need to have a church that managed its own affairs. According to Sundkler and Steed, the war made a distinctive mark on Church development of the missions in Tanzania.<sup>284</sup> Sundkler and Steed have this to say about the lesson the indigenous people learned following the repatriation:

After the repatriation there followed a period of 'empty stations', a two-year period of testing that was of fundamental importance for the later growth of the church. The two years gave the congregations a glimpse of self-government.<sup>285</sup>

Yet considering it risky to leave the flourishing mission work among Africans, who were reckoned unable to maintain school and medical work, the Leipzig Mission applied for assistance from the Augustana Mission from the United States of America. Henrik Smedjebacka has made a thorough research on the development of autonomy in the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika. According to him, the Leipzig Mission applied for help even before one could rate the efficacy of the struggling African leadership.<sup>286</sup> The Leipzig missionaries' reluctance to see in Northern Tanganyikans the ability to continue the missionary work reflects the general view of the German mission-

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<sup>283</sup> Fleisch 1998, 99–103. See also Groop 2006, 95.

<sup>284</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 879.

<sup>285</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 879–880.

<sup>286</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 42.

aries in Africa. Finnish missionary Antti Perheentupa notes a similar development among German missionaries in South West Africa. According to Perheentupa, one of the typical practices of the Germans was that of not utilising the locals in mission work. The German position was most probably due to their mind-set regarding the colonies. The missionaries were among other German nationals working in different positions in the colonies. These nationals were replaced by fellow nationals when circumstances demanded it.<sup>287</sup> Perheentupa's argument suggests that the missionaries felt at home; they owned the colonies and they were there to stay, plan and decide the fate of the mission field. This position worked against the *Volkskirchen* policy. Moreover, the war forced them to think otherwise.

The American Lutherans had shown interest in mission work in East Africa following the repatriation of the Germans. Negotiations were made between the Leipzig Mission and the National Lutheran Council (NLC) in America. Such negotiations were made with the British colonial government as moderator. One should note that the Augustana missionaries took over the Leipzig Mission work since, as Fleisch points out, "the British Missions Societies declared that it was impossible for them to do so".<sup>288</sup> According to Fleisch, the Church Missionary Society, which had gained footing at Moshi in the 1880's, could have continued the Leipzig Mission work. It, however, declined to do so because of "missionary comity".<sup>289</sup> It should be noted that the British Church Missionary Society had had to leave when Tanganyika came under the Germans. An uncalculated engagement of the Church Missionary Society in the Leipzig Mission work could have triggered unrest. The

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<sup>287</sup> Perheentupa 1923, 6 – translation by Katri Niiranen-Kilasi, 09.06.2015, Makumira.

<sup>288</sup> Fleisch 1998, 108.

<sup>289</sup> See Fleisch 1998, 191.

Chagga could have clung to the British missionaries resulting in the total loss of the mission field from the Germans.

The negotiations resulted in an agreement, that effective from 20.07.1922, that the Augustana Synod would take over the Leipzig Mission field. The Leipzig Mission announced that it would abide by the agreement effective from that date.<sup>290</sup> The Augustana Mission began their work as sponsors in the agreed areas, namely evangelism, education and medical work. The understanding was that in case the German missionaries would be accepted back, part of this field would be given to the Leipzig Mission.<sup>291</sup>

One of the renowned missionaries in the repatriation era who played a noticeable role during the Second World War era and the emergence of the local church was Richard Reusch. Daniel Johnson has conducted research on Reusch and made a report in his book *Loyalty: A Biography of Richard Gustavovich Reusch*. Some socio-religious, political and economic aspects in Reusch's upbringing and training tended to influence his future career. He was born in 1891, of German colonists settled near the Volga River in Russia. Public sentiments turned against the ethnic Germans during Reusch's childhood. The years 1891–1892, marked a period of famine in Russia. Like his grandfather, Reusch's father was a Lutheran schoolman and deacon. His father was a strict head of the family. According to Johnson, "The patriarchal command, 'That's enough!' silenced an argument even with an adult son."<sup>292</sup> Johnson notes that Lutheranism, like other non-Orthodox traditions in Russia, laboured under stringent constraints. The shortage of clergy, however, bore two benefits – that of the active role of the laity and ecumenism.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Fleisch 1998, 109–110.

<sup>291</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 42.

<sup>292</sup> Johnson 2008, 24–28, 32.

<sup>293</sup> Johnson 2008, 29–30.

Reusch joined the army as a cadet.<sup>294</sup> Following a call to ministry after graduating in the gymnasium in 1911, he joined the theological department of Dorpat University where he would later teach.<sup>295</sup> His ordination was scheduled for April 1917.<sup>296</sup> The Leipzig Mission sent Reusch a call to work in Tanganyika following the order by the British authorities to detain all German nationals in 1917.<sup>297</sup> Reusch would make a fitting substitute for the Leipzig missionaries since, though German by descent, he had a Russian passport. This was in fact the case, upon the repatriation of ‘all’ German missionaries in 1920; only Leonard Blumer and his wife, and Alexander Eisen-schmidt, Baltic Germans from Estonia, were permitted to remain since they had Russian Imperial passports.<sup>298</sup> Reusch rejected the call at first on grounds of low pay, but was later willing to offer the service in 1920. He arrived in Kilimanjaro in 1923, to begin his new assignment. During his terms in Tanganyika he was involved in among other areas, the tug of war ensuing in the division of the mission field following the readmission of the Leipzig missionaries in 1925. He later held the position of headmaster in Marangu teachers’ training school in 1927, where he is said to have drilled the boys like soldiers.<sup>299</sup> He was a leader of the mission church and was involved in the Meru land case.<sup>300</sup> As we shall see below, the impact of the role Reusch played was to be felt years later.

As noted above, the takeover of the Leipzig Mission field by the Augustana Mission was through an agreement. Groop, in his research of the history of the Lutheran church among the Maasai, has addressed the relationship between the Leipzig Mission and Augustana Mission in this agreement. Groop notes

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<sup>294</sup> Johnson 2008, 53.

<sup>295</sup> Johnson 2008, 62–64, Swanson 1948, 137.

<sup>296</sup> Johnson 2008, 80.

<sup>297</sup> Johnson 2008, 109–111.

<sup>298</sup> Johnson 2008, 111.

<sup>299</sup> Johnson 2008, 147.

<sup>300</sup> The Meru land case will be addressed in section 4.3 below.

that the agreement between the two missions was to be considered a temporary measure.<sup>301</sup> None of the missions were satisfied with this situation. On the one hand, when the Leipzig Mission had been evicted, the Augustana Mission was seen as a temporary alternative by the German missionaries. The Augustana Mission, on the other hand, was not satisfied with its role as a temporary substitute. The Augustana Mission wanted a part in the work that was not merely temporary. This was what was behind the agreement that the Leipzig Mission field would be divided between the two missions, if the Germans were to return. Even with this agreement, the question of the division of the field became a contentious issue when the Germans were allowed to return to their fields in Tanganyika in 1924.<sup>302</sup> In a meeting held in September 1924 the decision to divide the field between the Augustana and Leipzig Missions was reached.<sup>303</sup> Tough negotiations between the Leipzig Mission and the Augustana Synod ensued in the discussion about the partitioning of the mission areas in Tanganyika.<sup>304</sup> Among the issues of concern was that the division would mean Chagaland would belong to two different missions with different theological inclinations. The Leipzig Mission aimed at the establishment of a people's church. The Augustana Mission, on the other hand, with its pietistic background was oriented toward individual conversion.<sup>305</sup> The September, 1924 meeting resolved that Augustana mission should take the Eastern regions (Pare, Moshi, Mamba, Marangu, Mwika and New Moshi) and Leipzig the Western regions (Machame, Masama, Shira, Nkoaranga and Arusha). The Leipzig Mission was not happy with the division of the Chagga area in Kilimanjaro. It is also worth recalling, as Groop notes, that the leadership of the Leipzig Mission considered the Augustana Mission as a stand-

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<sup>301</sup> Groop 2006, 105.

<sup>302</sup> Groop 2006, 105–106.

<sup>303</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 43.

<sup>304</sup> Nkurlu [2011], 10.

<sup>305</sup> Fleisch 1998, ; Smedjebacka 1973, 43.

in during a time of difficulty. This was the message the Leipzig Mission gave to its supporters.<sup>306</sup> Following a conflict in which the Leipzig Mission insisted on preserving the Chagga mission as a unity, it was decided that the Augustana Mission remained in charge of the Iramba mission in Central Tanganyika and the entire region around Kilimanjaro was returned to the Leipzig Mission.<sup>307</sup>

Twelve months after the Leipzig Mission had regained its field, a conference discussing how the mission work was to be continued was held. The issue at hand was the functions and authority of African leaders.<sup>308</sup> Smedjebacka considers the issue of transference of authority to the local leaders to be an offshoot of the political development in Tanganyika.<sup>309</sup> In 1926, Tanganyika adopted a system of local government close to the people.<sup>310</sup> The new governor Donald Cameron wanted to improve the administration of the country by introducing local government close to the people. The system would use traditional leaders as administrators and was expected to enhance the participation of the Africans in the Government. The leader of the Leipzig Mission in Tanganyika, Johannes Raum, was of the view that the new system gave the African chieftains a new position. The system involved the disintegration of the old African chieftain.<sup>311</sup> Raum criticised the new position and powers of the Chagga chiefs – *mangis*. According to him the Chagga *mangis* hitherto shared power with their body of elders. Now they could be seen driving in cars and dressed the European way. They were receiving salaries like government employees.<sup>312</sup> The political development in Tanganyika was not the only catalyst in the quest for transference of authority. The in-

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<sup>306</sup> Groop 2006, 107.

<sup>307</sup> Fleisch 1998, 112–116. See also Nkurlu 2011, 10.

<sup>308</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 44.

<sup>309</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 44.

<sup>310</sup> Moffett 1958, 100.

<sup>311</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 44.

<sup>312</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 44; Parsalaw 1999, 280–281.

indigenous teachers and evangelists had managed the church during the absence of the missionaries.

Though the young churches were not adequately prepared they had to accept the burden of leadership upon their shoulders. The Chagga leaders, for instance, took the initiative in arranging evangelistic campaigns.<sup>313</sup> In his book regarding Bruno Gutmann's missionary method, Martin Shao considers the Leipzig mission field, of all the German mission fields in Tanzania, the least affected by the effects of the war. Shao attributes this to efforts by the indigenous to carry on the work of evangelism and teaching.<sup>314</sup> As a result, the teachers and evangelists acquired a different status and recognition from the indigenous Christians. The ability of the teachers and evangelists to manage the affairs of the church made them at par with the missionaries. The teachers were also encouraged by what they managed to achieve. There was, therefore, a drive for a raised level of participation in the affairs of the church by the Africans.

Concern over the unity of the different Protestant mission societies operating in Tanganyika was intensifying in the late 1920's. According to Reusch, quoted by Johnson, representatives of the Bethel, Berlin, Leipzig, Neukirchen, Moravian and Augustana Missions discussed the founding of a federation of African Mission Churches in 1929.<sup>315</sup> Suspicion over the likelihood of national (German) and denominational (Lutheran) based prejudice led to such discussions not bearing fruit. The idea of the federation was revived in the mid 1930's, now prompted by the desire by the British administration to impose their own education system on the mission schools. The concern was that such a system would be devoid of religious instruction, something that was feared on account of its negative

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<sup>313</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 879–880.

<sup>314</sup> Shao 1990, 94.

<sup>315</sup> Johnson 2008, 225, Smedjebacka 1973, 45. Smedjebacka places the discussions in the year 1928.

effect on the Mission.<sup>316</sup> The different missions considered it more effective to approach the British administration on a united front rather than through individual mission effort. Having defined the objectives of the Mission Churches Federation, Paul Rother was elected the first president in 1937.<sup>317</sup> Following the internment of Rother in 1940, Reusch was elected acting president in 1940. The position of Rother and Reusch as leaders of this Tanganyika wide federation is significant. One should note that both were at different times leaders of the Leipzig Mission area – later LCNT. The mission church that was so established was a means to a peoples’ church. The anticipated peoples’ church had not emerged. This was so considering that the executive council of the federation was almost entirely composed of European missionaries.

Worth noting is the proximity of the establishment of the Mission Church Federation to the ordination of the first indigenous pastors. In his research on the development of Lutheran Church autonomy in Tanzania, Smedjebacka describes the situation and course of events toward increased participation of Northern Tanganyikans in the church. In the 1930’s, the church was strongly centred on the missionaries. There were no African pastors. The church, in 1934, organised a short theological course of a little more than a year to promote African pastors as leaders to the local congregations. Twelve teachers were ordained after this course. With the ordination of the first pastors, the church became one with African leaders. This was in addition to the rules which once stood as the sole indicator of the constituted church.<sup>318</sup>

The introduction of the idea of recruiting and ordaining indigenous pastors was a painful undertaking. William Anderson notes that even missionaries like Bruno Gutmann who

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<sup>316</sup> Johnson 2008, 226.

<sup>317</sup> Johnson 2008, 226; Smedjebacka 1973, 55.

<sup>318</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 45–47.



is praised for his contextualising ability did not see the place of ordination in traditional Chagga society. According to him there was no equivalent to the pastor's in the traditional Chagga society.<sup>319</sup> It can, in fact, be argued that Gutmann considered the denial of ordination to the Africans itself an act of indigenisation. According to Sundkler and Steed:

Gutmann, for example, did not understand African Church autonomy in the term of leadership primarily through an ordained African clergy. He distrusted seminary trained leaders and advocated instead what he called the 'self-expression of the African congregation'.<sup>320</sup>

Gutmann's idea of the 'self-expression of the African congregation' sounds empowering. It is, however, hard to comprehend his ideal in the absence of African clergy. The church that the Leipzig missionaries planted required pastors in its ministry. Denying Africans ordination was likely to demand sustained presence of the foreign missionaries for the ministry of the church to continue. This would work against the self-expression Gutmann advocated.

Another aspect of the denial of ordination to the Africans could have been related to the missionaries' estimation of the Northern Tanganyikans' general status and the level of education they had acquired. The Leipzig Mission stressed education and as such it could probably not see, by then, personalities among the indigenous population who had acquired the academic requirements of a clergy. The same could be said of missionary Emil Müller in Machame. Bishop Kweka here refers to a story of a meeting that ended in frustration. According to Kweka, Missionary Müller had a meeting with the indigenous Christians probably in the late 1920's. In this meeting the indigenous Christians asked for the introduction of indigenous pastors. The missionary asked, "*Watane kyi? Wapatise wandu? Wenengye na Kilayo?*" Meaning what are

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<sup>319</sup> Anderson 1977, 98.

<sup>320</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 880.

they (these indigenous pastors) going to do? Are they going to baptise people and administer the Holy Communion?! *Ako!*<sup>321</sup> – the missionary exclaimed!<sup>322</sup> According to Kweka, a confidential meeting was held later in the East of Chaggaland resulting into the excommunication of most of the participants to the meeting that aired this demand.<sup>323</sup> The surprise, and most probably annoyance, exhibited by Missionary Müller could have been precipitated by the manner the panel presented the matter. Müller saw himself as a leader who was to be respected by the followers. The approach the panel used probably tempered with the comfort zone of the missionary; he ended up being intolerant. The missionaries' desire to exercise control over what they have planted cannot, however, be ruled out. The Leipzig Mission had established Lutheranism in Northern Tanganyika. It probably felt responsible and powerful enough to dictate the direction and pace of what it had established as discussed in section 3.4.

The Second World War broke out in 1939. As a result of this war, much like in the case of the first, some Leipzig missionaries were imprisoned while others continued to work under certain conditions. Smedjebacka notes that by September 1940 all missionaries of the Leipzig Mission had left.<sup>324</sup> The situation following the departure of the missionaries after the Second World War differed much from the situation after the outbreak of the First World War. The church had by this time a number of indigenous pastors. In addition, the emergence of the Mission Church Federation in 1937 provided new oppor-

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<sup>321</sup> *Ako* is an exclamation – it is an equivalent of ‘what?!’ or ‘wow!’

<sup>322</sup> Interview with bishop Erasto Kweka, 06.04.2006, Mailisita. Bishop Kweka, born in 1934, was not even born when the demand for an African pastor reached Müller. The narrative, which probably became popular in the area, was told and re-told. The bishop's knowledge of the Machame dialect and his being conversant with the affairs of the area as bishop increases the likelihood of the authenticity of the story.

<sup>323</sup> Interview with bishop Erasto Kweka, 06.04. 2006, Mailisita.

<sup>324</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 57.

tunities for contact.<sup>325</sup> Such a situation was an added advantage to the running of mission work in the absence of the missionaries. This situation was, however, not satisfactory.<sup>326</sup> Paul Rother, the leader of the Leipzig Mission field had to have consultations with representatives from the congregations on the future of the church. In one such consultation, held at Marangu 01–04.09.1940, it was decided that the mission church should have a first and second vice leader.<sup>327</sup> Although not stated explicitly that the vice leaders had to be African, the consultation at Marangu took this to be the case. This was so considering that the German missionaries had been interned and the leader Paul Rother was expected to leave soon. Solomon Nkya became the first vice-leader and Lazaros Laiser the second vice-leader of the church.<sup>328</sup>

After the Leipzig missionaries had left, the colonial administration entrusted the stations to the American Lutherans as overseers.<sup>329</sup> In 1940 Reusch was appointed leader of the mission church by the Augustana Mission and entrusted with the task of administering the German property. The emergence of the local church was on the way. Elmer Danielson has compiled a historical account of the engagements of the Augustana Mission in the Leipzig Mission field. In his book *Forty Years with Christ 1928–1968 Tanganyika*, he describes the emergence of the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika (LCNT). According to him in February 1942, the congregations of the former Leipzig Mission field in Northern Tanganyika organised into the LCNT and adopted an emergency War constitution.<sup>330</sup> According to Danielson, Chief Heri Abdiel Shangali, whose father had given Missionary Müller a piece of land for mission work in 1893 and Chief

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<sup>325</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 57.

<sup>326</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 57.

<sup>327</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 57.

<sup>328</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 58.

<sup>329</sup> Sundkler and Smedjebacka 2000, 881.

<sup>330</sup> Danielson 1977, 75.

Petro Itosi Marealle, a prominent Chagga chief also well known to the British government, occupied prominent positions in the war time council of this new church.<sup>331</sup>

### **3.4 Power in the Encounter and Birth of the Church: A Critique**

The encounter between the indigenous Northern Tanganyikans and the European and American missionaries brought together individuals from several different backgrounds and world-views. The backgrounds moulded the counterparts into what they were. Northern Tanganyikans and the missionaries bore characteristics typical of the worldview of their time. Northern Tanganyikans differed from the Western missionaries socially, economically, politically and religiously. It is clear from the interaction between the parties that both sides needed the other. A Tanzanian historian, Professor Arnold Temu, has researched on Protestant Missions in Kenya. In his book *British Protestant Missions*, he describes this mutual need thus:

Had the missionaries been in a position to force the Africans to submit to them they would certainly have done so. But the missionaries were living in the country of the Africans; their being allowed to stay in their midst was an act of generosity by the Africans. They were at cross purposes about what each expected from the other. The missionaries wanted the Africans to become Christians; the African chiefs or elders, however, saw the missionaries as allies, and the rest of the Africans were only attracted to them because of their material wealth.<sup>332</sup>

What Temu says of the interaction between foreign missionaries and Africans in general applies to the interaction between the foreign missionaries and Northern Tanganyikans. While Temu's argument cannot be taken to portray the whole truth, his argument points to a reality in interactions. There was, albeit the power gradient on some aspects cherished by

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<sup>331</sup> Danielson 1977, 75; Johnson 2008, 227.

<sup>332</sup> Temu 1972, 41.

one side, efforts to balance or relinquish power in order to gain the benefit envisaged. It was, therefore, not all about imposition, nor was it without imposition. However, even with this attempt to balance the state of affairs a power gradient breeding dependence developed. It is, therefore, worth scrutinising the missionary activity beginning with the encounter between the missionaries and the missionised to the emergence of the peoples' church.

The missionaries approach reciprocates along negotiation, manipulation, domination and empowerment. Domination, however, tends to characterise mission work. On the one hand, the missionaries dealt cautiously with those in positions of power namely, the chiefs and colonial administrators. On the other hand, the missionaries had a tendency of patronising those who turned to Christianity. This is seen in the behavioural expectations and minimalistic views some missionaries had of the Northern Tanganyikan Christians. Paternalism was, however, not the only trend in the missionary-missionised relations. There is a traceable pattern of missionaries recruiting leaders among the converts. The patron-client theory discussed in chapter two is adopted as a model that defines the missionaries and the missionised. Among the defining characteristics of the theory is the inequality in power exhibited between the patron and the client.<sup>333</sup>

The process beginning with the establishment of mission work in Northern Tanganyika to the emergence of the LCNT and the ensuing relations can be analysed from three stages.<sup>334</sup> The first stage pertains to the missionaries' efforts to gain acceptance and establish a firm and stable base in Northern Tanganyika. Secondly, the missionaries having gained ground proceeded with attempts to draw adherents. The third stage consists in

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<sup>333</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980, 50.

<sup>334</sup> The stages overlap; they are, however, presented as disconnected for analytical purposes.

efforts geared toward the nurturing of the converts and devising means for the continuation of mission work.

First, in their efforts to establish a firm ground for mission work in Northern Tanganyika the missionaries were in a constant dialogue with the wider and local contexts. The missionaries took advantage of the existing social and political environment. The Lutheran missionaries began mission work among Tanganyikans after the territory was under German jurisdiction. In their attempts to open up a locality for mission work the missionaries began with the chief of the respective area. The missionaries also competed with fellow Christians e.g., Catholics. The missionaries, therefore, moved into an area considered potential to the establishment of a different denomination in order to check the advance of such mission. In laying the foundation of their work, therefore, the missionaries took advantage of the existing power structures – the colonial administration and the chief. But how could a missionary encroach into the realm of the chief without his knowledge and consent? The issue here then regards the missionaries' use of the structures, whether they (missionaries) made intended use of the structures or abused them. Although the missionaries, by and large, wanted to be understood and work as an entity distinct from the colonial government, the presence of their national colonial administrators worked to their advantage as seen in the Meru killings. The construction of the mission station close to the *boma* in Arusha illustrates the ambivalence in the missionaries' attempts to work independent of the colonial administration. The relationship between the missionaries and the existing structures was one characterised by a degree of manipulation. The missionaries approached the existing power structure in a calculated manner. They negotiated and offered gifts to chiefs in order to gain their acceptance. The missionaries also at times expressed indifference to what the colonial administration offered. The missionaries bore the mishaps brought by the chiefs or colonial administrators because they wanted to achieve what they set out to do in the domain of the

chiefs and colonial administrators. The missionaries relinquished superiority as a means to what they wanted to achieve.

The second stage consists in the missionaries' efforts to gain a following. Three pillars show up in the missionary approach in drawing followers: preaching, teaching and healing. Some statistics on the activity of the Leipzig Mission in Northern Tanganyika reveal the significance of each of the pillars. There were, during the first ten years of mission work (1893–1903), six mission stations, 23 places of worship and 20 schools.<sup>335</sup> The number of schools was close to that of worship places. Statistics on Church and school attendance showed a similar trend, being about 1,800 and 1,700, respectively.<sup>336</sup> Twenty years later there tended to be a reversal of the trend. This time there were 3,600 Christians and nearly 8,300 pupils in about 70 places of worship and 80 schools.<sup>337</sup>

The above statistics alone may not point to a strategic inclination. Demographic studies in Africa do point to a skew i.e., having more youngsters than the elderly. Having more pupils in schools would thus be expected. A deeper look into the matter, however, does suggest an approach which could have been planned or a result of circumstances in the mission field. Having more schools than worship places tends to suggest that educational work was taking precedence over preaching or evangelism. In other words, the missionaries were concentrating on something other than evangelism. This was obviously not the case; the school project was a tool of evangelism. That this was the case is explicated in the following discussion.

Sundkler and Steed in their book *A History of the Church in Africa*, identify three categories of people through which Africans were “won for Christ”. According to them kings and chiefs, young men and the socially marginalised were targeted

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<sup>335</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 39.

<sup>336</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 39.

<sup>337</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 39.

by the missionaries.<sup>338</sup> According to Sundkler and Steed, the king was the door.<sup>339</sup> Considering the problems the interaction between the missionaries and the chiefs and kings brought to the course of Christianity, the chiefs and kings can rightly be termed the ‘wrong door.’ Some chiefs as Shangali above became ‘lifelong catechumens’. As suggested in the above presentation the chiefs were opportunists. They hoped to get something in return to their allowing the missionaries to stay in their lands. The chiefs had the land and people. They were established and content in a way. Further, the chiefs were, apart from the missionaries, pressed by the invading colonial powers and slave traders. In this position, the chiefs were likely to be unreliable.

The youth and the marginalised were different from the chiefs. Sundkler and Steed characterise the 19<sup>th</sup> Century church in Africa as a youth movement. According to them, those who were already established did not need to change. The youth and the marginalised, on the other hand, had nothing to lose.<sup>340</sup> As Sundkler and Steed put it, the unstable situation in East Africa provided, in a way, for mission strategies. The missionaries’ attempts in offsetting the instability amounted to a strategy; in some places Christian mission was for instance particularly concerned with halting the slave trade.<sup>341</sup> Anderson’s depiction of *Kitoro* Christianity in Kenya illustrates this.<sup>342</sup> According to him, this distinctive type of Christianity accepted refugees of all kinds. These refugees were either running away from famine, threat from neighbouring ethnic groups or were runaway slaves.<sup>343</sup> Suggesting that the early converts were by and large the weak in many respects, Isichei points to the fact that

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<sup>338</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 85.

<sup>339</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 86.

<sup>340</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 88.

<sup>341</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 515.

<sup>342</sup> *Kitoro* is used here in the sense of ‘belonging to refugees’ (Anderson 1977, 15).

<sup>343</sup> Anderson 1977, 15.



early converts in Africa were drawn from the enslaved, the poor, the disabled and the marginalised. According to her, the powerful Africans are generally out of the picture.<sup>344</sup> Sundkler and Steed's depiction of the youth and marginalised as having nothing to lose requires scrutiny. The 'powerlessness' of the youth and marginalised created a power gradient between them and the missionaries. The marginalised had something to gain from the missionaries. The example of Msechu in the previous section illustrates this. He had his expectations – living a different life with clothing as opposed to skin etc. Working for Missionary Fuchs, however, did not only lead into Msechu's expectations being met. Living with the missionary entailed drastic changes in his life. Those whom Sundkler and Steed describe as having nothing to lose became the ones that 'gained' in terms of the missionaries exerting their influence on them. These would make a class of people in whom the Western patterns soaked in terms of inculcation of Christian norms, Western education and civilisation. The missionaries' guidance regarding the selection of spouses illustrates this. This is power – it came both as dominion and empowerment.

The involvement of the missionaries in the school project which seemed to have overtaken preaching was thus in itself a strategy. This strategy was, however, not just manipulation. Since adults did not turn up in significant numbers at the beginning of mission work and throughout the mission era as pointed to by Sundkler and Steed above, the missionaries turned to the children and youth. In fact, put as a manipulative idea, to get the benefits of the missionaries the chiefs and adults allowed their children to attend school and church related activities. The truth is of course not all parents allowed this and some of the children who attended did face resistance from the parents. One need, however, to explain the phenomenon of youth mission from the perspective of those adults who later aligned with Christianity and were baptised. Such parents when sending

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<sup>344</sup> Isichei 1999, 156.

their children to school or church were probably aiming at having their children as a gauge – to see the outcome of the teaching instead of plunging themselves into the ‘new system’ headlong. The chiefs exhibited the same approach to Western education.

Lema describes the chiefs’ ambivalence in the education offered by the missionaries thus:

The chiefs had no way of knowing what European education really involved, yet they somehow were convinced that the ability to read and write would enhance their power and authority. Perhaps their fleeting contact with European explorers, soldiers, and administrators had led them to believe that their ability to read and write would strengthen their traditional authority as chiefs, prevent rival chiefs of neighbouring communities from subjugating them, and even more important, enable them to resist the ever encroaching power of the Germans [...] Before long, however, even the most enthusiastic of the chiefs came to realize that reading and writing were difficult skills to master and did not in themselves guarantee any immediate tangible advantages or a dramatic increase in power or wealth.<sup>345</sup>

The pendulum had, however, swung far into the African side and of course their other expectations. Lema concludes:

Despite this, most were anxious to retain their close associations with the German missionaries as intermediaries in dealing with the German military and later civil administrators. The chiefs’ acceptance of the missionaries had an important influence. It disposed the members of their courts as well as the ordinary Chagga subjects to regard these aliens as some friendly agents to be used for Chagga advantage, rather than thinking of them as potential destroyers of their culture to be viewed with deep suspicion.<sup>346</sup>

As we shall see below, Shangali’s case is an example of chiefs pleading with the missionary in order to avoid enmity with the German military officer.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> Lema 1982, 15.

<sup>346</sup> Lema 1982, 15.

<sup>347</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 68.

That the missionaries looked for chiefs suggests political powers influenced the establishment of mission work. The approach the Lutheran missionaries used is partly summarised in what Ladurie says of the Protestants:

The Protestant missionary excels by making the natives mobile (*à les mettre en mouvement*); he makes them into preachers, school teachers and agents of every kind. While the Catholic missionary is mainly concerned – perhaps too much – with the slave, the leper, the sick, the orphan, the Protestant goes straight to the chief and to the young men and to all who have an influence today or will possess such influence tomorrow. Wherever it exists, Protestantism goes for power.<sup>348</sup>

Ladurie can be critiqued on the grounds of being Catholic and, therefore, denominational in his perspective. He, however, addresses both sides as to their positive and negative aspects. We, therefore, need to face the reality and facing it we see a problem on both sides i.e., Protestant and Catholic.

The deal with chiefs in mission endeavours followed the same pattern in the spread of Christianity to the west of Kilimanjaro i.e., among the Wameru. The German missionaries worked with the German military commander Captain Kurt Johannes. During the reconnaissance the German missionaries Ovir and Segebrock contacted Chief Matunda. The roots of the killing of the missionaries in Meru were deep. The missionaries seem to have been targeted not for their sake. The German captain Johannes had earlier punished the Arusha people in 1895 for raiding the Meru people.<sup>349</sup> Apparently, peace reigned after this incident and it was considered safe for the missionaries to begin their activity in Meru land. As it would appear later it was not safe since the missionaries were killed. Joseph Parsalaw has researched on the history of Lutheranism among the Arusha and Maasai. In his book *A History of The Lutheran Church Diocese in the Arusha Region*, Parsalaw offers a view

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<sup>348</sup> Ladurie 1899, 195.

<sup>349</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 68.

of the Meru killings. Since the missionaries had been in Akeri (Meru) for at least five days unhurt Parsalaw is inclined to associate the killing with the arrival of Captain Johannes. Seeing their great enemy, Johannes, with missionaries the Waarusha associated the missionaries with spying of the land.<sup>350</sup>

The ordeal was followed by a pursuit that brought together the German military commander Johannes, the German missionary Müller, the Chagga chiefs Shangali and Meli, and their people. Parsalaw and Groop have in their research of Christianity in the area, given an account of the retaliation. Captain Johannes considered the killing of the missionaries in his presence a challenge to his position. To begin with, Rapaito, one of the master minds in the killing of the missionaries was brutally killed – had his throat cut – by order of Captain Johannes. Then followed the worse; Johannes organised a retaliation mission said to be of 100 askaris and thousands of Chagga warriors led by chiefs Shangali and Meli. What followed was killing and looting.<sup>351</sup> The Chagga chiefs took advantage of the scenario to loot and if possible silence the constant raids from the Arusha people. One should, in addition, not lose sight of the fact that Chagga chiefs, Shangali for one, feared the notorious Johannes. The involvement of the chiefs was, therefore, in part a response to a higher order.

It is hard to bring missionary Müller directly into the retaliation mission. One is, however, prone to ask hard questions. Wasn't there a possibility of Missionary Müller advising Chief Shangali against involving himself in the retaliation? History points to the possibility that Müller would advise Chief Shangali and such advice be taken seriously. Parsalaw narrates an incident: Upon Chief Shangali's failure to provide the requisite number of porters for the missionaries as ordered by Johannes; the chief pleaded with Missionary Müller not to complain to

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<sup>350</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 70.

<sup>351</sup> Groop 2006, 43–44; Parsalaw 1999, 75–78.

Johannes promising to find more porters.<sup>352</sup> Müller could, therefore, have equally advised Chief Shangali against the involvement in war. But the missionary lost his friends – was he inclined to not seeing the culprits punished? It could also be argued that Chief Shangali was likely to listen more to Johannes whom he feared that Müller.

Parsalaw offers a different view on the retaliation. He sees guilt in the missionaries in Machame, Mamba and Moshi for remaining silent. According to him the missionaries Ovir and Segebrock were not under the service of the German colonial government, nor were they under the supervision of Captain Johannes.<sup>353</sup> Parsalaw implies that Johannes embarked on an operation that should not have been his concern and the missionaries allowed it by keeping silent.<sup>354</sup>

The third stage in the analysis of the missionary work pertains to efforts by the missionaries in nurturing the converts and recruiting leaders among Northern Tanganyikans. In this the influence of the missionaries' worldview and their interpretation of Christian standards are apparent. Thomas Spear, in the book *East African Expressions of Christianity*, sees in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missions focus, a constant struggle between God's word and Satan's.<sup>355</sup> Important in this connection is the conception that those to be missionised were 'heathens.' The missionaries also saw among their fellow Europeans and Americans agents of evil.<sup>356</sup> These nationals included colonial administrators and businessmen who though baptised would not practice Christianity. The missionaries made a distinction between people along their standards. They, therefore, accepted that which was in line with their worldview and their conception of Christianity and forbade that which was against this

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<sup>352</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 68.

<sup>353</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 79.

<sup>354</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 79.

<sup>355</sup> Spear 1999, 4.

<sup>356</sup> Warneck 1883, 229.

understanding. In addition, the missionaries acted as leaders who knew the way. They, therefore, paced the development of indigenous leadership in accordance to what they deemed appropriate.

The way the Leipzig missionaries handled and conceived of the ability of Northern Tanganyika Christians had a bearing on the management of the First and Second World wars crisis. The German missionaries were interned in 1920 and 1940 following the onset of the wars. Considering the congregations in Northern Tanganyika young and immature the Leipzig Mission consented to the alternative of letting the Augustana missionaries from America temporarily take charge of the field. By implication, the German missionaries considered time unripe for Northern Tanganyikans to manage the mission activities i.e., evangelism, education and medical work. While the concern was praiseworthy, on account of the possibility that the work suffered irreparable recession, it tends to suggest weakness on the part of Europeans in recruiting Africans to manage the affairs of their church. The missionaries ended up referring the church as an 'orphaned'. The Africans who managed the affairs of the church, staggeringly as one could rate it, were against the missionary idea that they were orphans.<sup>357</sup> The German, Leipzig missionaries, tended to have high demands on standards which made them keep a strict eye on how things should be. Considering that they sacrificed much in the establishment of mission work in Northern Tanganyika, it would be disheartening for them to see the Northern Tanganyikans taking over, as they could rate it, so early.

The mentality of the missionaries toward the ability of the Tanganyikans to handle what the missionaries had begun kept recurring in the history of the church as would be seen in chapters four and five below. This, in turn, tended to create some kind of inferiority among the Africans and a dependence

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<sup>357</sup> Danielson 1977, 57.

which the Africans have found difficult to strip themselves of. The concern is, therefore, whether any of the concerned parties Leipzig missionaries, Augustana missionaries or Tanganyikan Christians ever used the experience of the First World War constructively for empowerment of the local congregations and the church at large.

The readmission of the Leipzig missionaries also triggered a flare of power related struggles. The Leipzig Mission had entrusted the field to the Augustana missionaries. One fails to comprehend the tension between the two mission agencies apart from the desire to lead or have followers. The Leipzig Mission and Augustana Synod were of different inclinations. One incident illustrates this. Johnson in his account of Reusch's life writes about the incident. Upon their arrival in Tanganyika one of the Augustana missionaries saw Reusch, who was brought to Tanganyika by the Leipzig Mission, smoking. Surprised by this, the Augustana missionary retorted, "A missionary smoking tobacco?"<sup>358</sup> That was incomprehensible to this more pietistic inclined Augustana missionary. The Leipzig and Augustana Missions had, albeit their differences, some points of convergence. The fact that the Leipzig Mission entrusted the mission field to the Augustana Mission proves this. One could argue that the Leipzig Mission had no option upon the repatriation of their missionaries but to leave the field in the hands of the Augustana Synod. However, the fact that the field thrived or was at least sustained put the two Missions at par. According to Johnson, whatever was at the core of the conflict upon the return of the Leipzig missionaries; the conflict was in part fuelled by nationality and cultural differences.<sup>359</sup> Therefore, even behind the intention to have a unified Chagga mission field in terms of the principle of a peoples' church and orthodoxy, the desire to own, annex and influence cannot be excluded.

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<sup>358</sup> Johnson 2008, 143.

<sup>359</sup> Johnson 2008, 141

The association of mission work with power structures, particularly chiefs, in this chapter, ends with the involvement of chiefs Shangali and Marealle in the council of the new church. According to Danielson, Chief Shangali whose father gave Missionary Müller a piece of land for mission work in 1893 and Chief Petro Marealle a Chagga chief well known to the British government, occupied prominent positions in the war time council of this new church.<sup>360</sup> The involvement of the chiefs was precipitated by the suspicion the British government had that the Chagga were loyal to the Germans. The chiefs' close involvement in the affairs of the newly founded church was a means to having someone trusted by the British administration in the LCNT. Having the chiefs within the LCNT meant that nothing weird from the church would be expected against the British government as the chiefs would probably not allow it. The fact that the missionaries tolerated the engagement of local chiefs and colonial administration in the affairs of the LCNT suggests that the missionaries were ready to take on board, though probably reluctantly, some 'negative' elements of the immediate context into the building of their system of leadership. One should not lose sight of the fact that it was not just the chief that the missionary was interested in. It was also – and probably more so – the land and its people that the missionary was after. The preference of Moshi to Taveta as a place to begin mission work, as presented above, illustrates this. In attempts to develop a firm leadership structure the 'mission church' made use of the existing political structure.

The above analysis alludes to the reciprocal nature of power relations. The missionaries came with a clear agenda of doing mission work that would culminate in the establishment of a peoples' church – *Volkskirchen*. In order to engage in mission work, the missionaries needed to develop a contextually relevant leadership among themselves and the emergent church. In attempts to achieve acceptance the missionaries made use of

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<sup>360</sup>Danielson 1977, 80; Johnson 2008, 227.



the local chiefs. This was in addition to the missionaries having come in the era of their national (German) presence. Having gained acceptance, the missionaries proceeded to making disciples. Informed by the saying, “S/he who thinks s/he leads, but has no followers, is only taking a walk”, the missionaries strove to instil, in the disciples, norms that reflected their worldview and understanding of Christianity.

The missionaries in their efforts to achieve their goal were not absolutely powerful. The power of the foreign missionary was limited. The missionaries made calculated use of power – relinquishing or holding back some power in order to sustain the relationship that was so important for the continuation of mission work. Power has a significant element of appropriation. The exercise of power sometimes goes hand in hand with the acceptance of the demands of those who are considered powerless or weak. The encounter between the foreign missionaries and Northern Tanganyikans illustrates the notion that power is conceivable in specific instances as opposed to general terms. In other words, no one is absolutely powerful. The ‘powerful’ in one instance could be the ‘powerless’ in another instance. This was seen in the slapping of Tabea and the removal of the hat from Merinyo’s wife. While these may not have been extraordinary acts, the missionaries were considered to have overstepped a boundary. The Christians, therefore, reacted as they did not see the rationale and authority behind the missionaries behaving so.

The indigenous people reacted variously – accepting, deferring or rejecting the call by missionaries to become Christians. The local chiefs exhibited a calculated approach. They can be described as ‘opportunists’ accepting or inviting the foreign missionaries for a return in terms of arms or influence. One should note that, not all indigenous people including chiefs were just pursuing material benefits from the missionaries. In addition, the fact that the missionaries lived among the people suggests that the indigenous people ceded power – again, probably not just for material benefits. The nature of the en-

counter between the missionaries and the missionised in Northern Tanganyikans was complex. Suggesting that the complexity exhibited in the establishment of mission work in Northern Tanganyika is typical of interactions in mission work, Elizabeth Isichei in the book *A History of Christianity in Africa*, argues that such encounters are shaped by many variables. Such variables according to her include the mission itself, the host society and even the country of the mission society or nationality of the missionaries.<sup>361</sup> The political structure of the state and the position of the individual within it also have a bearing on the encounter.<sup>362</sup>

Important in the analysis of the missionaries' activity and the response by Northern Tanganyikans is that a number of power related moves are apparent. In attempts to address the situation in the 'mission field' the missionaries applied homemade principles and their personalities which were either from the outset irrelevant and at times damaging to the context of application. The missionaries did not leave for mission work overseas after having solved all problems related to mission in Europe and America. The missionaries failed on some mission related aspects back home and were failing again in the 'mission field'. In an interview Bishop Kweka shares his experience of the missionaries' reception by their fellow Christians in Europe and America. According to him, when returning home after their service in Africa some of the missionaries would be viewed by the people in their home land "as a bit of strange people."<sup>363</sup> This is because such missionaries lagged behind. What they held to be true and, therefore, practiced in the mission field was obsolete when they arrived home for furlough or retirement. Whether they knew it or not the missionaries practiced homemade theologies which did not fit the mission

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<sup>361</sup> Isichei 1995, 244.

<sup>362</sup> Isichei 1995, 233.

<sup>363</sup> Personal communication with retired Bishop Kweka, 15.07.2011, Mailisita.

field context. The missionaries were, therefore, bound for surprises and had to address such surprises unprepared.

The missionary-missionised relations in this chapter are representative of the patron-client relations. The missionaries can be likened to the patron in this scenario. They brought a system of belief that that the Northern Tanganyikans in responding to found themselves dependent on the missionaries in number of aspects. Again, Northern Tanganyikans were not absolutely dependent; they were patrons in playing host, and clients in becoming Christians etc. Patron-client relations are hierarchically asymmetric and reciprocal.<sup>364</sup> The missionaries saw in themselves fathers, guides, sponsors and patrons to Northern Tanganyika Christians. It is not surprising that during their absence the missionaries considered Northern Tanganyika field 'orphaned'. In addition, on their returning the Leipzig missionaries considered it difficult to leave part of the field to the Augustana missionaries. They felt they had to continue grooming the Christians to what they considered the right destination.

Even though domination tended to characterise the missionary work there was a felt sense of empowerment. The demand Northern Tanganyika Christians made that they wanted to have indigenous pastors implies that they felt they were prepared for the ministry. Such preparedness was a function of what the missionaries had instilled among Northern Tanganyika Christians and the ability of the Christians to make use of what they had received. Sharon sees in the term patronage an element of leadership development. According to her, "patronage may also be used to describe a mode of recruitment to office".<sup>365</sup> In recruiting leadership the missionaries held to their ideals. As noted in section 3.2 above, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missionary mind-set was informed by Warneck's distinction of

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<sup>364</sup> Sharon 1986,4. See also Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980, 50.

<sup>365</sup> Sharon 1986, 3.

“true Christians” from “world Christians”.<sup>366</sup> The missionaries recruited for leadership those they considered to have understood what “true Christianity” was. The indigenous leadership of the LCNT began with Christians like Andrea Msechu and Solomon Nkya who had spent a significant part of their lives with the missionaries. The duality between “true Christians” and “world Christians” is also observable in the missionaries’ practice of arranging marriages between those they considered to have grasped the “essence of Christianity” and lived according to it.

The missionaries contradicted themselves in not seeing in the indigenous Northern Tanganyikans the need and ability of leaders like pastors. The missionaries set out to establish a peoples’ church. How would such a church proceed without leadership, as the missionary denial tended to suggest? The missionaries seem to have been tempted to ‘hold on’ to leadership. Attempts to maintain status are typical of patron-client relations. Howard Stein has addressed the dysfunctional aspects of patronage. He considers patron-client relations as “an adaptive response to hostility and inequality.”<sup>367</sup> Stein adds, that “patronage requires the very gap which it assists the client in bridging.”<sup>368</sup> Stein’s observations suggest that patrons make efforts to maintain their position relative to the clients. Robert Rees alludes to this temptation and attributes it to inertia; the laxity or inclination to stay put.<sup>369</sup> Human beings are prone to choose the routes of least resistance. Having managed to establish a following the missionaries were tempted to own and stay. This is the tendency Northern Tanganyika Christians were fighting against in their efforts to develop a leadership of their own. In his analysis of power, Georg Gadamer argues that the

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<sup>366</sup> See Warneck 1883, 229.

<sup>367</sup> Stein 1984, 30.

<sup>368</sup> Stein 1984, 31.

<sup>369</sup> Rees 2007, 28.

reality of power is seen in the interplay of powers.<sup>370</sup> Gadamer's argument suggests that power is also exhibited in attempts to resist superior power or domination.

Duality and tension is manifest in the missionaries' efforts to develop a contextual leadership among themselves and the emergent church. Manipulation, domination as well as empowerment show up in the missionaries' efforts: to gain a footing in Northern Tanganyika, to obtain followers and to nurture Northern Tanganyika Christians. The missionaries operated under a principle that made a separation between "true Christians" and "name Christians". The missionaries also tended to contradict themselves in resisting leadership development within what they set out to plant i.e., the peoples' church. The missionised, on the other hand, exhibited a tendency of resisting some aspects of the missionary enterprise and strived to develop leadership among them. How does this tension continue and what kind of legacy does it leave on the church in the future? The following chapters unfold the development.

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<sup>370</sup> Gadamer 1997, 205.



## 4 Power in the Indigenisation of the LCNT Leadership 1943–1958

### 4.1 Background

The previous chapter addressed the encounter between the Church Missionary Society and Leipzig Mission missionaries and the Northern Tanganyikans, mission work and the birth of the LCNT. This chapter studies the circumstances and relations accompanying the growth of the LCNT and the transference of the leadership from the hands of the Augustana missionaries into the hands of the LCNT leaders. In attempts to explicate relations in the growth and transference of leadership the chapter presents and analyses events in the growth of the LCNT that are suggestive of tension among the different facets in that history. The chapter covers the history of the LCNT from 1943 to 1958, i.e., beginning with the establishment of the LCNT to the election of the first LCNT indigenous president.

The two world war years have been regarded as a turning point in the life of the African church and society in general. Adrian Hastings, referring to the general picture in Africa writes:

Elsewhere<sup>371</sup> the Second World War was less traumatic than the First but it was at least consequential. The European colonial powers were revealed as the emperors without any clothes.<sup>372</sup>

The 1950's period witnessed the maturation of parties fighting for the independence of Tanganyika. The independence movement has often been associated with the church.

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<sup>371</sup> Hastings is here excluding Ethiopia, the Italian conquest of which he considers a prelude to the Second World War.

<sup>372</sup> Hastings 1979, 547.

Lindqvist brings the dynamics in the political arena and church together as he states:

In many instances political independence movements, which often were demonstrably influenced by foreign mission activity, brought added urgency into the discussion on establishment of autonomous churches.<sup>373</sup>

The birth of the LCNT in 1942 was in line with the search for the autonomy Hastings is referring to. The church so established, however, left a lot to be desired in terms of the goal of the indigenous LCNT members. The church so formed was by and large driven by the foreign mission societies. The president of the LCNT was a foreign missionary. The LCNT was guided by a constitution that was an emergence war time reaction.<sup>374</sup> There existed a tension between the LCNT and foreign mission. On the one hand, was this emerging church mainly composed of indigenous LCNT members – frequently referred to as the ‘orphaned’ church.<sup>375</sup> On the other hand, was the Augustana mission – which came to the LCNT following the repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries. The two bodies – the LCNT and Augustana mission – would have separate meetings to discuss matters pertaining to the smooth running of their functions. The General Assembly of the LCNT would include some Augustana missionaries in addition to the indigenous LCNT members representing their constituents.<sup>376</sup> The 1948 LCNT General Assembly, for instance, had 90 members 12 of whom were Augustana missionaries.<sup>377</sup> The mission conference, however, did not have indigenous representation. It was made solely of Augustana missionaries. Attendance to the

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<sup>373</sup> Lindqvist 1982, 11.

<sup>374</sup> A(ELCA) – See M/Mkuu 1948, 18

<sup>375</sup> Swanson 1948; Danielson 1996; Sundkler and Steed 2000, 881.

<sup>376</sup> The proceedings of the *Mkutano Mkuu* – General Assemblies of the LCNT (1948–1958) and Northern

Area Mission Regional Conference minutes – 31.10 – 03.11.1952 illustrate this.

<sup>377</sup> M/Mkuu 1948, 6.



Northern Area Mission Regional Conference illustrates this. This Conference that met at Machame between 31.10 and 03.11.1952 had thirty four (34) delegates, all of whom were Augustana missionaries.<sup>378</sup> The existing relations bred tension. This tension, which Danielson describes as an unhealthy duality,<sup>379</sup> characterised the relationship between the two bodies for almost two decades i.e., from early 1940's to late 1950's. Ambivalence thus reigned in the efforts by the indigenous LCNT members to become autonomous.

The ambivalence is seen in the fact that while autonomy demanded that efforts should be made by the LCNT to be self-reliant, and so distance itself from the missionaries; the LCNT tended to still cling to the Augustana missionaries. This ambivalence was brought about by factors from both sides i.e., the LCNT and the Augustana Mission. On the one hand, logic tended to demand that a gradual transference that allowed the LCNT to gain some experience and benefits from the Augustana missionaries be adopted. Among the likely advantages the LCNT would gain by a gradual transference were the negotiations with the British Government that had to be made through the Augustana Mission. The British administration was suspicious of the LCNT members due to the likelihood that some of them would be pro-German.<sup>380</sup> On the other hand, the

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<sup>378</sup> D(Groop) – Minutes of the Northern Area Mission Regional Conference 31.10–03.11.1952.

<sup>379</sup> Danielson 1996, 177.

<sup>380</sup> D(Groop) – Danielson 1943 – letter to Dr. Ralph Long – executive director of the National Lutheran Conference from 1930 to 1948. Strained relations also existed between the Chagga and the British administration as a result of the ‘coffee rebellion’ ((D(Groop) – Reusch 1941 Annual Report of the Leipzig Mission Field, Northern Provinces)). The year 1937 had witnessed a culmination of a crisis in Kilimanjaro brought by the fall of world coffee prices. Due to the fall of prices the Kilimanjaro Natives Co-operative Society (KNCU) failed to pay coffee growers their dues. The composition of the KNCU management which included some chiefs and a European manager made the growers consider it a government institution. The growers reacted by demolishing a number of the co-operative buildings

Augustana Mission seems to have not reached a consensus on the devolution. The Augustana missionaries were divided on the plausibility of the devolution. Some were more optimistic in the devolution than others.<sup>381</sup> The following sections chart the manner in which this ambivalence and tension progressed until an indigenous president was elected in 1958.

#### **4.2 The Augustana Mission in the Transition to Indigenous Leadership**

As noted above, Northern Tanganyika was entrusted to the Augustana Mission for the second time following the repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries in 1940. The Augustana Mission came in under the auspices of the American National Lutheran Council.<sup>382</sup> Upon the repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries, the National Lutheran Council negotiated with the British Government and obtained a lease to supervise the Former German Missions of which the LCNT was part. According to Sundkler and Steed it is during and after the Second World War that the Augustana Mission made an outstanding contribution to the Church in Tanganyika.<sup>383</sup> As noted above, the Americans began their activity in Northern Tanganyika in 1922 following the repatriation of the German missionaries in 1920. Following the return of the Leipzig missionaries in 1924 the Americans retreated and focused their energy in Iramba in Central Tanganyika. As such the impact of the Augustana missionaries was not much felt after the first repatriation of the Leipzig missionaries. It was during the second round of the Americans as trustees of the Leipzig Mission work that the drawing of a constitution and the founding of the LCNT occur-

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across Kilimanjaro. The crisis necessitated the involvement of the police force and the office of the governor (Iliffe 1970, 279-280).

<sup>381</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

<sup>382</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 33

<sup>383</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 881.

red. The first president of the LCNT was Richard Reusch.<sup>384</sup> The role of the Augustana Mission was to supervise this so called orphaned church. The Augustana Mission performed its duty and reported to the National Lutheran Council and Augustana Synod Foreign Mission Board. The areas of such sponsorship were evangelism, education and medical work. The task of the Augustana Mission was that of continuing the Leipzig Mission work.

Reusch presents the LCNT situation in his 1943 annual report. The congregations were growing. The number of congregants was estimated to be 55,000. Reusch reports of the liberal giving among the congregations which had helped settle what he refers to as heavy financial debts.<sup>385</sup> The ability and willingness of the LCNT congregations to settle the debts in the war time crisis and entrepreneurial activities such as growing farms suggest a growing autonomy. In addition to LCNT's handling of the financial situation Reusch reports of expansion in mission work to other areas – Kirua, Uru, Kahe, Arusha Chini etc. – and construction of stone chapels and schools. This the LCNT members did with very little help from the general church treasury. Reusch attributes this war time development to native pastors, Christian chiefs, church elders and teachers. The mention of chiefs by Reusch is significant. Reusch had included chiefs in the drawing of the 1942 LCNT constitution. According to Sundkler and Steed, Reusch's view of the chiefs was "as the real leaders for the church as well."<sup>386</sup> Sundkler and Steed also point to the fact that several African pastors were opposed to Reusch.<sup>387</sup> This is probably due, in part, to his favour of chiefs who were no longer reliable defenders of African interests. As we shall see below the inclusion of chiefs in

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<sup>384</sup> As noted earlier Reusch was a German of Russian descent who later married an American missionary.

<sup>385</sup> D(Groop) – Reusch 1943 – The Annual Report of the Leipzig Mission Field Northern Provinces.

<sup>386</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

<sup>387</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

the LCNT council would be a point of contention in the revision of the constitution in 1948. Another mark of growth for the LCNT was the increase in the number of pastors. The year 1943 saw the graduation of 22 men 6 of whom were from the LCNT.<sup>388</sup> In addition, Vehaeli Mmari, a teacher from LCNT, volunteered to assist the Lutheran Church in Southern Tanganyika to open the first registered primary school in Ilembula.<sup>389</sup>

In spite of this growth there was concern over the sustainability of the work amidst the war and hence the call for increased foreign involvement in the Former German Mission fields. Suggesting that the condition of the Former German Mission fields was far from satisfying Danielson, the then chairman of the committee on the supervision of the fields, addressed some pertinent issues in two consecutive letters. Part of Danielson's letter dated 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1943, addressed to the Lutheran churches in USA and copied to Ralph Long, Hjalmar Swanson<sup>390</sup> and Ernest Ryden<sup>391</sup>, reads:

So far we are obeying orders. But we have arrived at the point on this widespread battle-front in Tanganyika, where we want to know decisively and honestly, if you are going to send, and send NOW, soldiers of Jesus Christ to occupy at least the strategic locations on these fields.<sup>392</sup>

In another letter dated 23 April 1943 Danielson stressed on the unlikelihood that the German missionaries would return to Tanganyika. This was due to the suspicion these missionaries had aroused to British government on account of their involvement with the Nazi Bund. With this in mind, Danielson pointed to the inability of the Augustana Mission to cope with the sit-

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<sup>388</sup> Danielson 1996, 70.

<sup>389</sup> Danielson 1996, 88.

<sup>390</sup> Hjalmar Swanson served as the Executive Director of the Augustana Synod Foreign Mission Board from 1939 to 1955.

<sup>391</sup> Ernest Ryden was the editor of 'The Lutheran Companion' – a weekly paper of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church.

<sup>392</sup> D(Groop) – Letter to the Lutheran Churches in the United States.

uation given the small number of staff, little funding, and the anticipated length of time of service, considering that the Germans were not likely to return. Danielson further called upon the Lutheran World Convention to send some understanding officials of the United Lutheran Churches in USA to Tanganyika to assess the situation in the Former German Mission fields.<sup>393</sup>

It took some time before the response to the request for a delegation from USA to assess the situation in the Former German Mission fields came. It was not until 1945 that such a delegation arrived. Hjalmar Swanson, the executive director of the Augustana Synod Foreign Mission Board, came to Tanganyika and visited a number of areas. In his report Swanson writes, “Problems have arisen from time to time in the care of the missions, but most of them have centred about shortage of personnel.”<sup>394</sup> This was said of the general Former German Missions’ situation. Swanson reports of the LCNT in particular and in relation to the opening of a secondary school, “The native church leadership is clamouring for such a school, especially among the Chagga people in the Kilimanjaro area [...] they are conscious of their numbers and strength and insist on a secondary school as something to which they are entitled.”<sup>395</sup> In addition to his report of 1945, Swanson presented much of his observations during the visit in a book *Touring Tanganyika*, published in 1948. In this book the LCNT’s affinity for education and the demand for enhanced foreign assistance is suggested. The appearance of the Augustana missionaries for the second time was greeted with cheer as is exhibited in appreciation notes given in the different congregations in the LCNT.

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<sup>393</sup> D(Groop) – Danielson – Letter to Ralph Long 23.04.1943.

<sup>394</sup> D(Groop) – Swanson 1945 – Report on the Orphaned Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika pg 11.

<sup>395</sup> D(Groop) – Swanson 1945 – Report on the Orphaned Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika pg 12.

A letter by Chief Petro Itosi Marealle reads:

Ashira, 26th May, 1945.

“Reverend Sir,

The elders, the congregation and myself beg to tender our heartiest welcome to you. Day in day out, we have been enthusiastically looking forward to your coming to see us. It is our greatest pleasure to have this great token of honour – our being allowed to present our respects to you personally.

In spite of universal crisis, God has by His grace enabled us to get through many otherwise insurmountable difficulties. Your trip over here, which has most probably carried you through many difficulties and dangers, is an indisputable evidence of His omnipotence and grace. By this very grace He has enabled us to celebrate the Peace Day recently which marked the cessation of hostilities in Europe; we hope that He will effect a similar peace in Far East.

We are a small people, and we know definitely that you have come over here with the explicit purpose of helping us. We, therefore, lay open our humble hearts before you.

We have the heartiest gratitude and respect for the Relief Committee and the many people who have endured much toil and many hardships while serving us in these difficult times.

May God Almighty help you and guide you in all your proceedings; and in unison we all shout, ‘*Chamecha Koru!*’

Your humble representatives of the congregation of Marangu:

PASTOR AMIRAM SANDI  
ELDERS: NATHAN MASAWA  
ANDREA MAMUYA  
NDESANJO MOSHA  
SAMSON MTUI  
ABEL MAMBALI  
NDESAMBURO KAWA  
AMOS LYIMO  
LEVI NGOWI

CHIEF PETRO ITOSI MAREALLE OF MARANGU.”<sup>396</sup>

Petro Itosi Marealle was chief of Marangu area in Kilimanjaro from 1931 to 1946. He later became Divisional chief of Vunjo until 1961. In 1947 he published a book *Maisha ya Mchagga hapa na Ahera – The Life of a Chagga Here and Hereafter*.

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<sup>396</sup> Swanson 1948, 151–152.

The ambivalence in the struggle for autonomy is apparent in Marealle's letter. The chief stresses the fact that the coming of Augustana personnel was awaited – "Day in day out, we have been enthusiastically looking forward to your coming to see us." The chief adds, "We are a small people." The question is what made the LCNT members so enthusiastic? What made them feel so small?

Chief Marealle's comments afford a number of interpretations. Among the things the Augustana delegation did was an attempt to settle the conflict between the Marangu and Mamba congregations to which the Chagga would probably be thankful.<sup>397</sup> The enthusiasm can also be explained by the Chagga concern for education. The Chagga were soliciting possibilities for increased access to education through the assistance of the Augustana Mission. Another possibility is that the Chagga, like most peoples, cherished international contacts which relations with organisations and groups like Augustana was likely to enhance. To the anticipated help Marealle concludes *chamecha koru* literally 'come to us with some good.' We shall come to the power implications of Marealle's comments in the discussion section towards the end of this chapter.

Marealle's letter echoes moments of peace – the post War period. With the end of the war came new enthusiasm. Some of the indigenous LCNT members had experienced the other side of the Europeans. The westerners had portrayed themselves as unbeatable, and ended up being comprehended by the Africans as irresistible. The War, however, tended to boost the African self-esteem. In addition to African soldiers performing well they also witnessed the weakness of westerners. Danielson recounts the experience of one Amos Ephraim Lyimo. Lyimo, a Chagga, describes his experience in the Burma campaign against the Japanese. He found himself in a hole with a British soldier. Lyimo said, "I was surprised he was just as afraid as I

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<sup>397</sup> Swanson 1948; Johnson 2008, 234.

was, as we huddled together in that hole.”<sup>398</sup> The coming home of such soldiers increased the confidence of their people. Lyimo later became pastor, LCNT presidential candidate, and finally lecturer at the Lutheran Theological Seminary Maku-mira.

African faces had begun making prominence. Reference to a meeting held at Marangu between 1 and 4<sup>th</sup> September 1940, which discussed the future of the church upon the repatriation of the German missionaries, was made above (section 3.3). Among the decisions of the meeting was to have two vice presidents for the church. According to Smedjebacka, the meeting at Marangu began a new epoch in the history of the church.<sup>399</sup> It signalled the beginning of the presence of African leaders at the high positions in the church. Smedjebacka notes that “Even if it was not stated explicitly in the minutes that the vice-leaders had to be Africans, everybody understood that this was the intention of the meeting at Marangu”.<sup>400</sup> In addition to the two vice presidents the districts were led by African pastors.<sup>401</sup> Further, other missions were now to be responsible for the Former German Missions. The transference of the Former German Mission fields to other missions was something to be agreed upon by the Government, the indigenous churches and the Mission Church Federation. The September 1946 Mission Church Federation meeting was involved in such decisions.<sup>402</sup> The Augustana Lutheran Mission was responsible specifically for the Northern area – the LCNT. It is worth noting, as pointed in chapter three above, that the Augustana missionaries had had engagements with Lutherans in Central Tanganyika since the 1920’s. The assignment of Augustana Mission specifically to the LCNT, though temporarily, signalled the possibility that the

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<sup>398</sup> Danielson 1996, 85

<sup>399</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 58.

<sup>400</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 58.

<sup>401</sup> Danielson 1977, 126; Smedjebacka 1973, 58.

<sup>402</sup> Danielson 1977, 123.



LCNT developed a unique identity in relation to the other mission areas. This was likely considering that the Augustana Mission could concentrate more on matters pertaining to the LCNT than when it had to handle the whole area covered by the Former German Missions.

### **4.3 The LCNT and the Struggle for Indigenous Leadership**

The post Second World War era witnessed increased engagements of the LCNT members in the religious, political, social and economic spheres of the Northern Tanganyika society. The commitment of LCNT members was seen at the grassroots level i.e., in the congregations and at the international level, as witnessed in circumstances enveloping the call and conducting of the first All Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu in Kilimanjaro region in 1955. The LCNT members were also active in the politico-economic realm as evidenced in the 1946–1951 Meru Land Case. The aspects of the conference at Marangu and the Meru Land Case are addressed below. Such a broad spectrum of engagements had a bearing on leadership development within the LCNT and hence the transfer of leadership from the foreign missionaries to LCNT members.

The commitment of Northern Tanganyika church members in the affairs of the LCNT was deep rooted. Danielson notes:

By 1947 there was no Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika congregation which was dependent upon foreign mission funds for its support. It was the educational and medical work and some of the extensive mission work of the parishes which needed a sharing hand from abroad.<sup>403</sup>

The engagement of the LCNT members at grassroots level, as reflected in the lessened dependency on foreign mission support at congregational level, tended to prompt engagement at higher leadership levels in the LCNT. The LCNT members, however, did not ascend the leadership hierarchy unwittingly

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<sup>403</sup> Danielson 1977, 129.

and solely by themselves. The LCNT's vertical mobility in the realm of leadership was also fuelled by the well wishes of the Augustana missionaries. In addition, the LCNT still needed a helping hand in the educational and medical dimensions of mission work. As such cooperation with the Augustana Mission and other well-wishers was welcome. The indigenous LCNT members were, therefore, more prepared and receptive to change – pressing for change but aware of the areas that still needed foreign help. It was, on the other hand, also clear to the Augustana missionaries that a Lutheran church was emerging.<sup>404</sup> The Augustana missionaries, therefore, like the indigenous LCNT members, had also to handle with caution the role they had to play in this church striving for autonomy. This double awareness i.e., on the part of the LCNT and the Augustana Mission is captured in what Danielson writes regarding the dynamics of the post war era:

The War had been used by God to shift responsibility from the foreign missions and staff to the African congregations and their pastors, evangelists and other leaders. This was healthy. But with the close of the War and renewed interest and participation of foreign missions once again in Tanganyika, it was imperative that the clock be not turned back to any form of pre-war foreign mission paternalism and traditional mission structure.<sup>405</sup>

The ascendance of more indigenous LCNT members to higher positions of leadership was, therefore, gradual and partly mediated by the agency of some Augustana missionaries. The leadership of the Augustana Mission and of the LCNT was, therefore, of importance in the devolution.

The year 1947, came with changes in the LCNT leadership that increased the pace at which the transference of the LCNT leadership to indigenous members would take place. Reusch left for furlough in 1946. Elmer Danielson took over the super-

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<sup>404</sup> A(TUMA) – Augustana Church Minutes – Report of the Eighty Ninth Annual Synod – June 7–13, 1948, 179.

<sup>405</sup> Danielson 1977, 124.

intendence of this vast field in January 1947. Danielson is considered more carried with the tide of a transfer of leadership to the indigenous LCNT members. According to Sundkler and Steed, Danielson pressed the issue of immediate transfer to African leadership, sometimes against the missionary opinion.<sup>406</sup> In contrast Reusch, probably carried by the Leipzig Mission's goal of building a sustainable folk church, was likely to defer the devolution till the LCNT was more stable and able to handle its own affairs. He, probably, had higher goals in his mind that required much money than he believed Africans could raise. His concern over the Maasai field, which was part of the LCNT, illustrates this. Regarding the significance of strengthening mission work among the Maasai to the welfare of Lutheranism in Northern Tanganyika Reusch once wrote:

And then, when the Cross will stand in the centre of the wide Masai plains and the voice of bells will call the people of those plains to worship the crucified SAVIOUR, then our Christian Lutheran Church will have un-shakeable foundation in the northern half of Tanganyika.<sup>407</sup>

Winning the Maasai and nurturing them would perhaps be a gradual process taking some time hence Reusch's hesitation to hastening the devolution which was likely to work against the Maasai who 'lagged' behind among other LCNT areas.

Danielson, unlike Reusch, was from the more pietistic inclined Augustana Mission prompted by the imminent return of Christ. Such a background was likely to prompt him to move faster in the devolution process. One should note that Danielson's personality and his exposure to Tanganyika and the church during the two wars made a difference in his approach to the devolution. Johnson writes of the personality differences between Reusch and Danielson during the former's election as president of the Mission Church Federation in 1940:

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<sup>406</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

<sup>407</sup> D(Groop) – Reusch 1946 "Memorandum concerning the Mission Work in the Masai speaking Area" pg 49.

The colonial administration was wary of any developments that might have political implications. They were relieved that Reusch, whom they trusted, had been elected president rather than Elmer Danielson, an outspoken advocate on behalf of an independent African Church.<sup>408</sup>

Danielson was neither new to Tanganyika nor to the LCNT. He had been with the Augustana Mission in Iramba – Turu mission since 1928.<sup>409</sup> In 1941, he was elected president of the Augustana Mission thus becoming the chairperson of the General Committee on Former German Mission who was also to oversee the distribution of foreign aid.<sup>410</sup> He was also present at the General Assembly in which the northern area was organised into LCNT.<sup>411</sup>

The number of congregants in the LCNT had reached 70,000 in 1947 from 50,000 in 1943. This was a significant numerical growth. This numerical growth coupled with the increased financial independence of the congregations was significant in the development of the LCNT toward autonomy. Danielson makes references to this period as a turning point in particular to the life of the LCNT. Referring to this period he writes:

One could feel the life of this church pulsating in every direction [...] the increasing number of catechumens, the opening of new schools, the building of schools and churches, the opening of new missions, the feeling of unity and self-reliance, the readiness to serve and witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ in any way which presented itself. The forces for a return to the past, or satisfaction with a status quo, simply had no chance.<sup>412</sup>

Sundkler and Steed describe Pastor Danielson as one dedicated to the goal of African leadership and one with a wide international perspective.<sup>413</sup> Danielson was concerned about what

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<sup>408</sup> Johnson 2008, 226.

<sup>409</sup> Danielson 1977, 3.

<sup>410</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 63, 91.

<sup>411</sup> Danielson 1977, 80-81, Smedjebacka 1973, 63.

<sup>412</sup> Danielson 1996, 132.

<sup>413</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

he described as unhealthy dual administration situation.<sup>414</sup> On the one hand, was the LCNT of which the missionaries were also part. On the other hand, was the Lutheran Mission which only the missionaries were part. The superintendent was caught in between. This dual administration created tension and a gap in the smooth running of the affairs of the church. This situation in turn demanded personalities with ‘reconciliatory’ capabilities and time on the part of the superintendent as mediator, who could navigate the ‘rough waters’ of the tension.

In his 1947 report to the Augustana Mission Danielson discussed the future of the church. “The transition from war time Church work – when everybody was kept at a certain pitch – to peace time work, has begun”.<sup>415</sup> Regarding this transition Danielson made reference to the rumours among people regarding the future of North Area Mission. Such rumours reciprocated along the concern as to who was in charge of the LCNT: “Will the Germans return? Is the Augustana Synod in charge? Will there be a closer relationship between the Mission and the Church? What is the future? Danielson then summarised his concern:

This is the question of first importance to these thinking fellow Lutheran Christians. It is only right and just that this African leadership, which has so nobly proved its worth since the War deprived the field of normal staff and funds, should be brought into full confidence concerning each step toward the future. So far, this has not been done.<sup>416</sup>

Danielson cemented his concern above in the message he brought from the Whitby 1947 International Missionary Council (IMC): “Pre-eminent importance will be attached to the wishes of the Younger Churches affected.”<sup>417</sup> The 1947 IMC

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<sup>414</sup> Danielson 1977, 132, 133.

<sup>415</sup> Danielson 1977, 133. See Smedjebacka 1973, 91.

<sup>416</sup> Danielson 1977, 133.

<sup>417</sup> Danielson 1977, 133. See also Smedjebacka 1973, 91; Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

meeting at Whitby signalled a continuation of the previous IMC's concern over the running of mission globally. Characteristic of the Whitby 1947 meeting was its proximity to the Second World War. The meeting was concerned with taking stock of the destruction brought by the War. As with the Edinburgh 1910 conference, the zeal to evangelise the world in this generation was manifest. The respect for the young churches as fellow missionaries had grown enormously.<sup>418</sup> This was so considering that albeit running mission work in the absence of missionaries some young churches did so in the midst of persecution.

In 1947, the LCNT upon receiving a request from people residing in Sonjo, made a survey of the area as part of initial plans by this church to evangelise the people.<sup>419</sup> Sonjo is an area situated on the north western part of the then LCNT across the Serengeti plains.<sup>420</sup> Among the people who spearheaded the efforts in this evangelisation project was Pastor Lazarus Laiser.<sup>421</sup> The Sonjo mission project, which was approved by the General Assembly in 1948<sup>422</sup>, was to operate on resources drawn solely from the LCNT. Danielson was overwhelmed by the demands the project would make on the LCNT. He recounts how strengthened he was by Laiser's encouraging words, "The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika will evangelise the Sonjo people. We can do it." According to Danielson, Laiser said this even before Danielson mentioned what he saw as a great challenge before them.<sup>423</sup> The willing-

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<sup>418</sup> Günther 2003, 528.

<sup>419</sup> Danielson 1996, 115–117.

<sup>420</sup> This is the area in which Samunge township is located. Samunge grew very popular in 2011 due to the curative powers of 'the cup.' A pastor of the ELCT-North Central Diocese, Ambokile Mwasapila, during this period administered a herb as a single dose of a cupful of the medicine believed to cure a number of life threatening diseases. See also Vähäkangas 2015.

<sup>421</sup> Danielson 1996, 117; Vähäkangas 2008, 50.

<sup>422</sup> M/Mkuu 1950, 10.

<sup>423</sup> Danielson 1996, 117.

ness of the LCNT to engage in mission work to Sonjo was of significance in the development of this church toward autonomy and the future leadership of the church. In his book *Gateway to Sonjo*, Danielson alludes to the challenge and inspiration brought by the involvement of the LCNT in Sonjo. He considered the LCNT's call to Sonjo a challenge "to accept a 'foreign mission' field".<sup>424</sup> The LCNT's engagement in Sonjo – this "foreign mission" field – was through monetary contributions and sending of personnel. Those sent by the LCNT to Sonjo included evangelists and pastors. The evangelists included: Elia Mori, Kalebi Mungure, Hilphe Salema, Joseph Muriatoi, Samweli Mose, Mpehongwa Abraham and Aikeli Lema. Pastors included: Naftali Laiser, Kundaali Nkya, Zakayo Kadori, Yakobo Lyimo, Elinsa Kisaka and Nathanael Ngo-wi.<sup>425</sup> The unity of the LCNT in the Sonjo mission is reflected in the fact that the different ethnic groups in Northern Tanganyika, namely Pare, Chagga, Meru and Maasai, had representatives in the work. It is worth noting that in establishing mission work in Sonjo the LCNT succeeded in implementing a pending idea. The idea to establish mission work in Sonjo had been attempted earlier in the 1930's by the German Lutheran missionaries. The attempt did not, however, materialise.<sup>426</sup> Therefore, the fact that the LCNT managed to establish Lutheran mission work in Sonjo, almost solely from its resources, suggested significant maturity among its members.

In carrying out his duties Danielson identified a full time secretary and treasurer as what was missing in 1947. The secretary-treasurer position demanded a person who would, in addition to handling routine office matters, be able to give counsel and leadership to the church particularly, as Danielson puts it, in stewardship. This position also demanded a person in whom pastors, congregants, parish secretaries and treasurers

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<sup>424</sup> Danielson 1959, 27.

<sup>425</sup> Danielson 1959, 28, 34, 37, 47, 50-53.

<sup>426</sup> Vähäkangas 2008, 50.

had implicit confidence.<sup>427</sup> The 1948 general assembly of the LCNT endorsed the appointment of Solomon Eliufoo by the executive council to become church secretary and treasurer of the LCNT.<sup>428</sup> Danielson describes Eliufoo as God-sent. He catered for something deeply missing in the church administration.<sup>429</sup> Apart from his regular duties Eliufoo was to be responsible for the handling of official matters when Danielson was away. A recap of Eliufoo's profile is considered worthwhile and is presented below.

Eliufoo was born in the early 1920's, probably in 1923.<sup>430</sup> He was the son of the renowned pastor and leader of the LCNT – Solomon Nkya. He had studied and graduated from Makerere College at the same time with Julius Nyerere.<sup>431</sup> Eliufoo also studied at Bethany College, Kansas, USA and Bristol University, England.<sup>432</sup> He married Chief Shangali daughter.<sup>433</sup> After becoming secretary of the LCNT Eliufoo held some significant positions in the Chagga community and Tanzania government. He engaged in politics, becoming member of the Chagga Council, and later member of the legislative council in Dar es Salaam.<sup>434</sup> Eliufoo worked as teacher at Makerere College 1944–1946, minister for health 1959–1960, and assistant education officer at the Teachers' Training College at Marangu in 1961 – the time during which he also taught part time at the Moshi College of Commerce.<sup>435</sup> Eliufoo was the first minister

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<sup>427</sup> Danielson 1996, 118.

<sup>428</sup> M/Mkuu 1948, 40; Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882; Danielson 1977, 134.

<sup>429</sup> Danielson 1977, 134.

<sup>430</sup> *Tanganyika Today* 1968, 266.

<sup>431</sup> Danielson 1996, 118; Iliffe 1970, 568 – Julius Nyerere was the first president of Tanzania – recognised as the founder of the Nation.

<sup>432</sup> *Tanganyika Today* 1968, 266.

<sup>433</sup> Interview with bishop Kweka 27.08.2012, Mailisita; Iliffe 1970, 568.

<sup>434</sup> Interview with bishop Kweka 27.08.2012, Mailisita.

<sup>435</sup> *Tanganyika Today* 1968, 266.



for education in independent Tanzania. He resigned in 1969 due to illness.<sup>436</sup>

Having touched on Eliufoo's life history, let us continue with the matter. Year 1948 came with a number of developments that had a bearing on the growth of the church toward autonomy. The church's general assembly held during this year deliberated on, among other things, the church's constitution. According to Smedjebacka, the 1942 constitution had left Reusch with the right to final decision.<sup>437</sup> The 1942 constitution was a war emergence constitution. The agreement in 1942 was that after the war the necessary amendments would be made in this constitution.<sup>438</sup> In August, 1948, the executive council of the LCNT appointed a special committee to work on the revision of the constitution. Having revised the 1942 constitution, the committee presented the amended version to the executive council. The executive council having gone through the amendments read the constitution in the September 1948 general assembly.<sup>439</sup> The general assembly postponed the approval of the constitution considering that more time was required for the constitution to be read to LCNT members and give their views. The constitution was, however, accepted for use and following further reworking by the committee for constitutional affairs of the executive council in June 1950. The constitution was, however, accepted for use and, following further reworking by the committee for constitutional affairs of the executive council in June 1950, approved in the September 1950 general assembly.<sup>440</sup> The appeal by the general assembly to have a gradual process in efforts to engage as many LCNT members in the constitutional amendments is noteworthy. It

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<sup>436</sup> Danielson 1996, 111.

<sup>437</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 314.

<sup>438</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 35.

<sup>439</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 35.

<sup>440</sup> A(ELCA) – Kanuni na Sheria na Sheria za Uongozi wa Sharika (Constitution) 1950. See also M/Mkuu 1948, 35–36, Danielson 1996, 120.

signals a struggle for a unified church in the growth toward autonomy.

The revised version of the constitution that was approved in 1950 was at variance with the 1942 at a number of points. Danielson charts the principle behind the revision of the 1942 constitution;

As we consulted together, particularly with the district presidents and LCNT vice-president Pastor Solomon Nkya who were in touch with pastors and parish councils, it was evident that the basic principle desired in a revised constitution was a democratic one, in which the self-reliance of the parish was of key importance.<sup>441</sup>

Danielson considers the exclusion of the two prominent Chagga chiefs, Petro Itosi Marealle and Heri Abdiel Shangali, from the church council as one of the notable changes in the revised constitution.<sup>442</sup> According to Danielson, these two chiefs had been appointed by Reusch to the LCNT council due to the suspicion the government had that the Chagga were pro Germans and so Nazi inclined. The inclusion of these chiefs respected by the government in the church council would, therefore, clear the image of the LCNT which was significantly Chagga in composition. The exclusion of the chiefs meant reduction in the power of the superintendent with regard to appointment of individuals of his choice to the council. The 1950 constitution had no section that provides for appointment of individuals as was the case with the inclusion of the chiefs during Reusch's time.<sup>443</sup> As we noted above, the fact that the 1942 constitution left Reusch with the right to final decision was lamented.<sup>444</sup> The exclusion of the chiefs from the council, according to Danielson, signalled the desire to purge the LCNT

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<sup>441</sup> Danielson 1996, 119.

<sup>442</sup> Danielson 1996, 120.

<sup>443</sup> A(ELCA) – Kanuni na Sheria na Sheria za Uongozi wa Sharika (Constitution) 1950, 7-8.

<sup>444</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 314.

of direct political power in its machinery.<sup>445</sup> On the other hand, the fact that there was no provision in the 1950 constitution for the president of the LCNT to appoint delegates of his choice to the council signified power shift from the president to the general assembly and, therefore, members of the LCNT in general.

As the 1948 general assembly proceeded news reached the delegates of the meeting that, Pastor Solomon Nkya, the second vice president of the LCNT, had died.<sup>446</sup> Pastor Nkya died at the age of about 64 years.<sup>447</sup> He had sent greetings to the 1948 general assembly.<sup>448</sup> The death of Nkya, whom Danielson describes as wise as his name implies<sup>449</sup>, left a lacuna in the LCNT. In a tribute titled 'A tree has fallen' Danielson's wife refers to Pastor Nkya as a humble African shepherd and leader.<sup>450</sup> The gap left by Pastor Nkya was filled by Pastor Lazarus Laiser. Laiser was elected vice president of the LCNT in the 1948 general assembly.<sup>451</sup> Laiser's life history has much in common with Nkya.

Laiser was born in 1890.<sup>452</sup> In the year 1909, he joined the mission.<sup>453</sup> Laiser began baptismal teachings in 1910 and was baptised in 1911. He began teachers' education at Marangu in 1912, and graduated in 1916. After this he became missionary Blumer's assistant. He worked as teacher for 16 years after which he joined pastoral studies at Machame in 1932 and gra-

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<sup>445</sup> Danielson 1996, 120.

<sup>446</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 35.

<sup>447</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 7.

<sup>448</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 31.

<sup>449</sup> Danielson 1996, 111.

<sup>450</sup> Danielson 1996, 132.

<sup>451</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 40.

<sup>452</sup> D(Meitamei) – Laiser – letter to Pätzig dated 18.10.1957. In this letter Laiser says that the year Missionary Blumer records for his birth is 1897. Laiser, however, considers this not to be the case.

<sup>453</sup> Laiser is here referring to the mission compound where those destined to Christianity were dwelling.

duated in 1934. He served as vice president of the LCNT from 1948 to 1956 the point at which Stefano Moshi took over.<sup>454</sup>

The 1948 assembly also made some resolutions in addition to those related to the revision of the constitution. The general assembly resolved that whenever the agenda for leadership change in the LCNT was tabled the LCNT be consulted before a decision was reached.<sup>455</sup> As noted above, the LCNT's position was in line with the Whitby 1947 concern for the welfare of the younger churches.<sup>456</sup> The general assembly also endorsed the executive council's position regarding the delight that the LCNT was experiencing by becoming an indigenous church, and the zeal with which it was waiting for the time during which it would stand on its own. The assembly, meanwhile, endorsed the leadership status of the Augustana Lutheran Mission as the LCNT was heading to autonomy.<sup>457</sup>

### *The Meru Land Case*

The year 1951 saw the climax of a crisis, popularly referred to as the Meru Land Case. The core of the problem was land. The crisis attracts attention in the history of the LCNT with regard to the involvement of its members and the strained relations that characterised it. The crisis involved LCNT members residing in the area, evangelists, pastors and the British Government. The post-World War II saw the influx of more Europeans into Tanganyika among whom were settlers. The colonial office had declared in 1946 that the Government retained ultimate control of all land.<sup>458</sup> The government did not intend to withdraw land from its inhabitants. Circumstances, however, tended to make the Government yield to a proposal that led to the eviction of people from their land. The patchy

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<sup>454</sup> D(Meitamei) – Laiser – letter to Pätzig dated 18.10.1957.

<sup>455</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 34.

<sup>456</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 34 see also Danielson 1977, 133; Smedjebacka 1973, 91; Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882; Günther 2003, 528.

<sup>457</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 34.

<sup>458</sup> Iliffe 1979, 450–451.

nature of settlements in Kilimanjaro and Meru led to a proposal to create a homogenous block of European land running from West Kilimanjaro to East Meru. This proposal was endorsed by Justice Mark Wilson in 1946.<sup>459</sup>

Kirilo Japhet and Earle Seaton in their book *The Meru land Case*, consider the plans for the eviction unjustified.<sup>460</sup> In the first place, the land had belonged to the Meru. The German colonialists came and alienated the Meru land. According to Japhet and Seaton, the Meru were allowed to buy two farms within Engare Nanyuki area by voluntary subscription and later by tax.<sup>461</sup> The Meru had been assured by the administering authority that having purchased the land it would remain Meru tribal land forever.<sup>462</sup> The Meru, therefore, bought back their own land. This was the land which according to Ismael Mbise in his book *Blood on Our Land*, the Meru had to be evicted from so that having been developed by the white settlers the produce from the land will be for the development of the Meru.<sup>463</sup> Worse, the people were not consulted and even their chief was ambivalent.<sup>464</sup> Catherine Baroin, a member of the French National Centre for Scientific Research, has studied the history of chieftaincy in Meru area. According to her, it is the inability of this chief to handle the land case that led to his being rejected.<sup>465</sup> Even when the Meru people asked for a possibility of being enlightened on the matter, so that they could join this project, said to be for their development, they were denied such a possibility.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> Iliffe 1979, 451.

<sup>460</sup> Japhet and Seaton 1967, 11.

<sup>461</sup> Japhet and Seaton 1967, 11.

<sup>462</sup> Japhet and Seaton 1967, 11.

<sup>463</sup> Mbise 1974, 120.

<sup>464</sup> Japhet and Seaton 1967, 13.

<sup>465</sup> Baroin 2003, 151.

<sup>466</sup> Japhet and Seaton 1967, 18.

Due to the nature of the crisis, indigenous LCNT members and the foreigners both in the political and religious realms were involved. It is worth noting that the Wilson report of 1946 involved land formerly owned by the Germans.<sup>467</sup> The LCNT was, therefore, involved considering that the Government as the custodian of the enemy's property had the Augustana Mission as its representative on matters related to the property of the Leipzig Mission, part of which was land. According to Danielson, there was also tension between Lutherans and Catholics regarding the Catholic land exchange plan as a compensation scheme. The Lutherans realised that part of the land set aside for compensating the Catholics for their land to be redistributed as per Wilson's report actually belonged to the Lutherans. The Lutherans' position against the move led to the Government revoking the plan.<sup>468</sup> The land crisis was, however, much more manifest in the forceful eviction of Meru people from Ngare Nanyuki area in 1951. The eviction led to the Meru land case in which the local people organised for a representation to the United Nations through one LCNT member, Japhet Kirilo.<sup>469</sup> Danielson writes thus of the influence of the church in this crisis:

The Meru pastors had great influence over all the Meru people. I believe it is because of their Christian leadership that the forcible eviction of their people from Ngare Nanyuki did not result in bloodshed in the Meru's bitterness against both the British administration and the European settlers.<sup>470</sup>

The engagement of the LCNT members in the Meru Land crisis suggests increased awareness and ability of the LCNT in navigating through crisis. The LCNT leadership, while resisting an oppressive system, guided its members in a way that minimised uncalculated reaction by the members that would

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<sup>467</sup> Danielson 1977, 144.

<sup>468</sup> Danielson 1977, 141.

<sup>469</sup> Danielson 1996, 129.

<sup>470</sup> Danielson 1977, 144.

have resulted into more harm. The Government later retracted and returned the Ngare Nanyuki area to the Meru in 1961 before the independence.<sup>471</sup>

*Chief Thomas Marealle and the All Africa Lutheran Conference*

The year 1951 also saw the inauguration of the rule by a paramount chief among the Chagga. The contestants for this position were Chiefs Petro Itosi Marealle, Thomas Marealle, Abdiel Shangali and John Maruma. Chief Thomas Marealle emerged victorious.<sup>472</sup> Iliffe recounts Thomas Marealle's installation: "The day of his installation became Chagga Day, a flag was invented, and lively neo-traditionalism accompanied a period of vigorous development and exceptional prosperity, with coffee prices at their peak."<sup>473</sup> Thomas Lenana Marealle (II) Order of British Empire (OBE) was born on 12.06.1915.<sup>474</sup> He was the grandson of Marealle (I) the German collaborator. He studied at Cambridge and London School of Economics.<sup>475</sup>

In 1955 the LCNT hosted the All Africa Lutheran Conference.<sup>476</sup> The desire by the LCNT to invite and provide venue for this first Conference of its kind and the matters discussed at the Conference are suggestive of enhanced identity of the LCNT as an able members in the world wide Lutheran Communion. The Conference was held at Marangu (Kilimanjaro – Tanganyika) from 12-22.11.1955. The Conference was held under the auspices of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF).<sup>477</sup> Following preliminary investigations by the department of World Mission of the LWF, the LCNT sent an invitation to the

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<sup>471</sup> Danielson 1977, 148.

<sup>472</sup> Iliffe 1979, 492-493, Interview with bishop Kweka.

<sup>473</sup> Iliffe 1979, 493.

<sup>474</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas\\_Marealle](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Marealle) – 03/03/2016.

<sup>475</sup> Iliffe 1979, 446-447.

<sup>476</sup> LWF 1956, 7.

<sup>477</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

LWF expressing the wish to host the Conference.<sup>478</sup> The LCNT executive council instructed Stefano Moshi, who was the first African to serve in the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions, to invite the Commission to hold the conference in Tanganyika LCNT being the host.<sup>479</sup>

The Conference aimed at bringing the Lutheran churches and mission fields in Africa together. This was meant to have the churches and mission fields begin to think as an African Lutheran church. The Conference also aimed at having the Lutheran church see the vision of the Christian church throughout the whole continent of Africa.<sup>480</sup> The Conference was an important land mark in the history of the LCNT.

A delegate to the meeting His Excellency Emmanuel Abraham Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ethiopia wrote thus in the preface to the Conference record;

The last All-African Lutheran Conference held at Marangu last November was a great experiment. It was also, for all those who had the privilege of attending it, a great experience. Many leaders of the Lutheran Church in Africa, mostly pastors and missionaries, were in evidence, but there were also a few laymen like myself who benefited greatly by attending the Conference. It was stated by many of the delegates and observers to be epoch making [...] It was, to my knowledge, the first occasion when Africans from many parts of the vast continent were able to meet freely on common problem, in this case, the crucial problem of how best to preach Christ to their fellow-Africans and to co-ordinate the labors of all Lutheran Christians in Africa.<sup>481</sup>

Among those who attended the conference were Rev. Stefano Moshi, Chief Thomas Marealle, Sir Edward Twining – the British Governor of Tanganyika and Bishop Hans Lilje of Hannover – Germany who was by that time the president of the LWF.

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<sup>478</sup> LWF 1956, 8.

<sup>479</sup> Danielson 1996, 159.

<sup>480</sup> LWF 1956, 8.

<sup>481</sup> LWF 1956, 7.



The Conference turned around five major presentations viz.: faith and confession, the growing church, revival in the church, the serving church and the church and its environment. These presentations were preceded by welcoming addresses followed by an interlude and reports from the churches. In their welcoming addresses both Sir Edward Twining and Chief Thomas Marealle alluded in a way to the mission-church tension.

Sir Twining concluded his address thus:

So far I have laid emphasis on the work being done by missions. From the missions are naturally developing locally run churches and other religious organisations. In their growing stages these need careful and understanding guidance lest in the exuberance of youth, they should develop in ways which do not serve the best interests of their foundation or of their community.<sup>482</sup>

Sir Twining was most probably referring to the devolution process, cautioning that it had to be paced so that the emergent churches should be relevant to their contexts. Chief Marealle seemed to voice the same concern in his address. According to him;

We are now at a great turning point, a decisive stage of our development, and it would be fatal to leave the great task all to us under the guise, however good it might sound to the theorists of autonomy. Self-help certainly must be, but it should not mean letting the whole church rest upon about a quarter of the practicing Christians who have means and sense of responsibility to shoulder it.<sup>483</sup>

The Conference, therefore, touched on the devolution of leadership in the LCNT. Apart from his concern that autonomy within the LCNT should be paced accordingly, Chief Thomas Marealle made the following comment regarding the leadership of the LCNT:

I would like to comment very seriously to you the thought and idea that the Lutheran Church here be given the opportunity of having bishops. The matter may sound revolutionary and perhaps un-Pro-

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<sup>482</sup> LWF 1956, 15.

<sup>483</sup> LWF 1956, 17.

testant to some of you. But I believe it would strengthen the voice of the church in its negotiations with both the local and central government beyond what it now has through its presidents and superintendents. The title of superintendent actually bears very little weight here. I am in government myself – chairman of the Education committee, Land board etc. When Roman Catholic bishops introduce anything to these boards or committees, they bear more weight than proposals presented by our superintendents. We are not catering for men of this world, but we are dealing with men of this world.<sup>484</sup>

Marealle's comment is power laden – he is talking of identity and weight. Although the LCNT was by then still led by an Augustana president, the position of this church as host to the Conference in addition to the presence of this prominent figure among the Chagga, makes the comment a significant in relation to the struggle for autonomy. Most likely, the Marangu Conference also had a far reaching leadership impact on the hosts apart from the comment made by Chief Marealle. In addition to those appearing in the Marangu Conference proceedings are a myriad of 'unsung heroes' who also contributed to the success of the Conference. In her book on the life of Bengt Sundkler, who was also present at the Marangu Conference, Marja-Liisa Swantz writes thus of the unsung heroes:

In the report there is no mention of the practical arrangements, nor of the army of women teachers, missionary wives and students of the girls' and boys' schools who made the whole effort possible in conditions not suited to such conferences. There is no mention of the male and female heads of either of the teacher training colleges, who carried the main responsibility for the arrangements. It was a time when men still thought that food came to the table because it was women's work to make and serve it. It was a miracle that in those conditions all the arrangements could be made [...]<sup>485</sup>

Swantz's reference to the difficult conditions within which the Conference took place highlights the significance of those engaged in the preparations for the event – which included

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<sup>484</sup> LWF 1956, 75.

<sup>485</sup> Swantz 2002, 140.

Norther Tanganyikans. Those engaged most likely carried with them experience from the Conference that would be of benefit for the future of the LCNT. Year 1955 is also significant in that the LCNT was accepted as member of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). Conditions for such acceptance were the three-selves – self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating – which the LCNT was considered to have achieved.<sup>486</sup>

*Pastor Stefano Moshi – The First Tanganyikan Church President*

During the last half of the 1950's a number of events took place which, apart from strengthening the LCNT, were also indicators that the church was heading for self-government. In 1955, Pastor Stefano Moshi was elected assistant to the vice president of the church. This was a preparation for the indigenous people to take over the leadership. Pastor Stefano Moshi was elected vice president of the church in 1956.<sup>487</sup>

Stefano Moshi was born on the 06.05.1906 to Reuben Moshi and Zippora Meela at Kotela Mamba.<sup>488</sup> Moshi was a second generation Christian.<sup>489</sup> According to Mandao and Omari Moshi's father Reuben was 9 years old when the Leipzig missionary Gerhard Althaus arrived at Mamba. Upon completion of a school building at Ashira Althaus requested the Mamba chief Kwimbere to give him pupils for the school and Reuben was one of the first pupils in this school.<sup>490</sup> Reuben joined Old Moshi School where he graduated as teacher. In addition to his work as teacher at Mamba Reuben was engaged in evangelistic trips to Gonja (Pare) – where missionary Paul Rother described him as a brave person.<sup>491</sup> Reuben's life is said to have influenced his son's (Stefano Moshi's) life. Moshi

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<sup>486</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 314–315.

<sup>487</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 13.

<sup>488</sup> Urrio 1983, 130.

<sup>489</sup> Hall 1984, 108.

<sup>490</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 1–2.

<sup>491</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 1–2. See also Hall 1984, 108.

completed his primary education at Kotela Mamba in 1922 after which he began teaching at a ‘bush’ school at Mseroe in Mamba. He later, in 1927, joined Marangu Teachers’ College – where he was teacher for 25 years. Moshi’s efforts to study at the University of London were dashed by missionaries and Africans in authority who, according to Mandao and Omari, felt that further education, as for any African, would ‘spoil’ him.<sup>492</sup> As we noted earlier the adoption of Western life style, including clothing, was discouraged by some of the Leipzig missionaries. The indigenous people had been challenged to either be loyal Christians or go for fashion. Denying Moshi the opportunity to study abroad could have been along the same line. In 1940 Moshi became the first African principal of Marangu Teachers College. He was among the teachers that spent the longest time at the College. It was in this capacity that he inspected schools under the jurisdiction of the church.

The call of Moshi to ministry and his training as minister was influenced by a number of factors. According to Aaron Urio, Moshi enumerated three things which attracted him to ministry. First was the sense of the love of Jesus which he gained from the teachings of his father. Second were the teachings of preachers from Africa Inland Mission in 1928 at Marangu. The third influence was the attraction of white pastors.<sup>493</sup> Several events tend to have catalysed the process of his preparation to becoming a pastor. He attended the first meeting of the Missionary Church Federation in 1938 at Kidugala. He was later elected member of the executive council of the church. In 1944, Moshi and Joel Ngeiyamu attended the Tanganyika Missionary council in Dar es Salaam. They were the first two Africans in the council. This exposure had a bearing on Moshi’s attraction to ministry and his future role as leader.

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<sup>492</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 5.

<sup>493</sup> Urio 1983, 134.

According to Mandao and Omari, Paul Rother had admiration on the contribution Moshi made the meetings.<sup>494</sup>

In 1947, Moshi was called to join the pastors College at Lwandai. Upon completion of the studies he was ordained on the 26<sup>th</sup> December 1949. He continued working as teacher and student pastor. He was the Church's official delegate to the Lutheran World Federation convention in July 1952 at Hannover, Germany.<sup>495</sup> He got a scholarship to study at Lutheran Bible School in Minneapolis Minnesota in 1953 and upon his return he continued teaching at Marangu.<sup>496</sup> As we noted above Moshi was, in 1955, elected assistant to vice president of the church. This was a preparation for the indigenous people to take over the leadership. Moshi was elected vice president of the church in 1956.<sup>497</sup> Erasto Kweka in his article "Bishop Dr. Stefano Moshi: A Servant and Leader"<sup>498</sup> describes Moshi as "born before his time".<sup>499</sup>

The period just before the process culminating to the election and installation of the first African church president was characterised by a high turnover of presidents of the Augustana background. Danielson went to America on furlough in February 1956 and it was not very certain whether he would return due to health reasons. The Church appointed Walden Hedman to serve as superintendent. On his return to America another missionary – Kermit Youngdale served temporarily as president. In September 1957 Donald Flatt was asked to take his position. It was also not clear whether Flatt would be in this position longer than his predecessors.<sup>500</sup> Within a period of less

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<sup>494</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 12.

<sup>495</sup> Danielson 1977, 163, Hall 1984, 108.

<sup>496</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 13.

<sup>497</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 13. See Laiser 1957 – letter to Pätzig.

<sup>498</sup> My translation of *Askofu Dr. Stefano Ruben Moshi: Mtumishi na Kiongozi*

<sup>499</sup> D(Kweka) – Kweka n.d., 1.

<sup>500</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 216. After 1956 the leaders of the LCNT are referred to as president instead of superintendent.

than two years four missionaries of American background held the position of president of the Church.

In 1958, the general assembly recorded: “We have had a high turnover in the leadership of the church. We thank God that we have had the same vice president Rev. Stefano Moshi during these changes.”<sup>501</sup> The assembly also had as its resolution to merge the church and mission into one body in which the missionaries would be members as their fellow indigenous members. Considering the work load of the office – the president and his assistant – provision for a possibility of having two vice presidents was made.<sup>502</sup>

The executive council of the LCNT asked the American National Lutheran Council to send an expert on leadership matters to work with the officers of the LCNT.<sup>503</sup> When Donald Flatt, the president of the Church, told the executive council of his feeling that time has come for the Church to elect an African president the Council came up with a threefold decision; that 1) the Council was not opposed to having a national president when time is ripe – this they considered the will of God, 2) they needed to receive a written statement expressing the foreign mission opinion on the matter, 3) they should receive the written statement preferably before the General assembly.<sup>504</sup>

Flatt, the LCNT president, followed up the case – submitting a circular letter with a form for the foreign missionaries to fill in their views regarding the matter. During the General Assembly – a preparatory committee was structured. This committee came up with the proposal that: 1) time was ripe to have an African president 2) having an African president should not involve the withdrawal of the foreign mission – which was

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<sup>501</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 8.

<sup>502</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 10.

<sup>503</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 217.

<sup>504</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 217.

expected to continue as when foreign missionaries were Church leaders 3) when in future the vice-president is elected, he should be a foreign missionary.<sup>505</sup>

As a follow up to this proposal, the 1958 general assembly resolved that voting should be made on whether or not the door was opened for indigenous presidency. The result of the voting leaned on adoption of indigenous leadership: 123 members agreed that the idea of indigenous presidency should be adopted while 5 members objected to the adoption of indigenous presidency.<sup>506</sup> Four names were put forth for presidential candidacy by a special committee: Stefano Moshi, Donald Flatt, Ephraim Amos and Elmer Danielson. Danielson requested that his name be dropped from the list.<sup>507</sup> Moshi was elected by majority vote (113) against Flatt (6) and Amos (1). Flatt was elected assistant to Moshi.<sup>508</sup> Moshi was installed as the first African president of the LCNT on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1959. Moshi became the first indigenous LCNT leader after about 65 years of Lutheran mission work in Northern Tanganyika. About 3,500 Christians attended the event.<sup>509</sup>

The indigenisation of the presidency of the church came to pass. The question is, were the LCNT members content with the move? Noteworthy is that, even with the willingness among the Augustana missionaries to hand over the leadership to indigenous Northern Tanganyikans, they still retained some superiority. When Moshi was elected to the position of second vice president of the LCNT the car he used was labelled on both sides, *Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika*. The cars used by missionaries were not labelled.<sup>510</sup> Signalling increased

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<sup>505</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 60. See also Smedjebacka 1973, 218.

<sup>506</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 60.

<sup>507</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 60.

<sup>508</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 60–61.

<sup>509</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1959, 1.

<sup>510</sup> D(Kweka) – Kweka n.d, 5. See also A(TUMA) – Bendera ya Kikristo 1955, 3.

autonomy, the LCNT members, unassisted, bought Moshi a car.<sup>511</sup> One should also note that all the transactions pertaining to the indigenisation of the presidency were mainly between the indigenous LCNT members and the Augustana missionaries. Were the Leipzig missionaries completely out of the picture? One wonders whether the legacy of the Leipzig missionaries and the friction between them and the Augustana missionaries regarding the partitioning of the mission area was over. It did not take long before an extension was made on the mode of leadership.

#### **4.4 Power in the Devolution Process**

As we noted in the previous chapter circumstances leading to the birth of the LCNT, in 1942, can be described in patron-client terms. The missionaries having established their work in Northern Tanganyika acted as patrons in nurturing the converts. The birth of the LCNT marked a significant departure in the patron-client relations. After the establishment of the LCNT continued efforts were made by its members to quit patronage by the missionaries. The efforts were, however, much like the missionaries' negotiation for a place in Northern Tanzania, through discussions. Negotiation was not the only approach the LCNT members used in their efforts toward autonomy; a certain level of resistance is manifest in their efforts. The period beginning with the birth of the LCNT to the installation of an African president can, therefore, be described as one characterised by negation, manipulation, and resistance.

The establishment of the LCNT, in 1942, revolved around the missionaries, the chiefs and the indigenous Northern Tanganyikans. In this the missionaries and the chiefs were prominent. The Leipzig missionaries had the aim of constituting a peoples' church. This aim had, however, not been fulfilled by the time the Augustana missionaries came to take over the Leipzig Mis-

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<sup>511</sup> D(Kweka) – Kweka n.d, 5.



sion field during the Second World War. The Augustana missionaries, in particular Danielson, pushed for the transference of the LCNT leadership into the hands of the Northern Tanganyikans. The devolution process like the establishment of the LCNT was also mediated by the missionaries, the chiefs and LCNT members. There was, however, in the devolution process, a shift in the prominence of actors. The transference of leadership to the LCNT members was characterised by resistance. The part played by the missionary and the chief was regulated by the LCNT members. The LCNT members tended to see in the chiefs and some foreign missionaries a hindrance in the process leading into acquisition of indigenous leaders.

Noteworthy in the LCNT members' view of the chiefs is the impact of the indirect rule. In 1926 Sir Donald Cameron had introduced, for local administration, the indirect system of government known as Local Native Administration. This system made use of the old tribal institution by giving administrative tasks to the local chiefs.<sup>512</sup> According to Smedjebacka, this administrative reform aroused interest among the Leipzig missionaries. Johannes Raum, the leader of the Leipzig Mission in Tanzania, for instance, was of the view that the system gave the chiefs power.<sup>513</sup> The chiefs obviously had power even before the institution of the indirect rule. One can, therefore, argue that the type of power Raum considered the chief to have acquired with the establishment of the indirect rule was power 'over' as opposed to the power 'to'. Hannah Arendt distinguishes between power as acting in concert and power as an act of violence.<sup>514</sup> The indirect rule tended to grant local chiefs, who had hitherto exercised their power to effect communal good, power of violating their subjects. The ambivalence reflected by the Meru chief in handling the Meru land case, for instance, suggests that the chiefs' power after the es-

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<sup>512</sup> Moffett 1958, 100.

<sup>513</sup> See Smedjebacka 1973, 44.

<sup>514</sup> Arendt 1970, 44.

establishment of the indirect rule did not always work for their people. Mahmood Mamdani in his book *Citizen and Subject*, has analysed the hindrances to democracy in post-independence Africa. Mamdani analyses how power is organised and how it tends to fragment resistance in contemporary Africa.<sup>515</sup> He attributes failure in democratisation process in Africa to a development in the colonial era. This development constituted the indirect rule that involved creation of a separate but subordinate structure for natives.<sup>516</sup> According to Mamdani, the indirect rule was a reform in colonial rule. Difficulties associated with managing the vast colonies with the limited size of colonial staff necessitated a reform in the process of running the colonies.<sup>517</sup> The local chiefs became agents of colonial administration. The likelihood then was that the chiefs sided with the colonial administration and were gradually losing credibility on the side of Africans. The devolution process in the LCNT suggests that some aspects of the indirect rule were resisted. The pre-independence LCNT members tended, at times, to consider the missionaries, the chiefs and the colonial administrators as one and the same. This is seen in the limitation put on Reusch's decision making powers and exclusion of the two chiefs from the council in the revised constitution. The limitation and exclusion suggest that resistance reigned.

The LCNT members, on the other hand, saw in the chiefs and foreign missionaries a helping hand in finances and guidance. This is illustrated in the desire to retain an Augustana missionary as vice-president of the LCNT, and adoption of ideas aired by Chief Thomas Marealle in the All Africa Lutheran Conference held at Marangu in 1955. The LCNT members, therefore, dealt with the missionaries and chiefs cautiously. There was, therefore, in the devolution process both rejection and acceptance of a legacy as discussed below.

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<sup>515</sup> Mamdani 1996, 3.

<sup>516</sup> Mamdani 1996, 62.

<sup>517</sup> Mamdani 1996, 72–73.

The reappearance of the Augustana missionaries in the area was applauded. Chief Petro Marealle in his letter of 25<sup>th</sup> May 1945 addressed to Swanson wrote “We are a small people, and we know definitely that you have come over here with the explicit purpose of helping us.”<sup>518</sup> Chief Marealle was not alone in this apparent inferiority. In Machame congregation one of the pastors echoed the same feeling:

We Chagas have a proverb that runs like this, ‘A child who has an elder brother has also a guide.’ We are only children and you are our elder brothers. By your coming you have proved that you are concerned for our welfare like an elder brother.<sup>519</sup>

This sounds contradictory to self-identity and efforts towards autonomy. The congregations had been self-supporting since the early 1940’s. What makes the LCNT members seem so defenceless? What help did they need? There were, definitely, church administrative matters that the Augustana missionaries had helped settle. The Ashira church conflict illustrates this. The church building had been closed due to friction between Marangu and Mamba Christians. These two neighbouring congregations resorted to worshipping in open spaces. In 1944, the matter was discussed among the Augustana missionaries, chiefs, and church elders of the respective congregations for two days. An agreement was reached for the use of the church on alternate Sundays by the two congregations.<sup>520</sup> As we shall see below, in chapter five, the Mamba congregation later built a church surpassing that of Ashira probably to show the Marangu people that they also could do it.

The help rendered by the Augustana missionaries in this administrative matter alone does not seem to answer the apparent contradiction above. The ‘we’ uttered by the chief and pastor has identity connotations. These LCNT members, who happened to be Chaggas, probably saw themselves not only in relation

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<sup>518</sup> Swanson 1948, 151–152.

<sup>519</sup> Swanson 1948, 140.

<sup>520</sup> Swanson 1948, 148–149.

to the missionaries but also in relation to the rest of the people in Tanganyika. The role Chief Petro Marealle played in his letter was, therefore, most likely both political and religious. It can be argued that the indirect rule instilled in local chiefs the tendency to think, and handle matters related to their people, separately i.e., in relation to the rest of the peoples of Tanganyika. Though, as Raum put it, the chiefs were more prone to load it over their people, the chiefs were also likely to be proud of their constituencies especially with regard to the development the chiefs brought. Chief Petro Marealle in his letter was, therefore, although concerned with spiritual matters, also concerned with the welfare of his people in such realms as health and education. His people aligned with this. The words of gratitude uttered by the pastor could also be interpreted along the lines of concern for the church and the general community that the chiefs ruled.

Among the areas of the Augustana Mission engagement in the LCNT were health and education. These were the areas that suffered most during the wars. The Chagga were once considered to be among the most progressive people not only in Tanzania<sup>521</sup> but also in Africa.<sup>522</sup> Swanson says thus of education among the Chaggas, “The school question always came to the front among the Chagas”<sup>523</sup>. It is, therefore, difficult to comprehend the ‘we’ of these LCNT Chaggas above, in complete isolation from the Chaggas concern for health and education that the Augustana Mission was coordinating. One could argue that some LCNT members ceded power by ‘bowing’ to the Augustana missionaries in order to gain education and health which were imperative for building an autonomous church and community. The appeal for support made by Chief Petro Marealle and the pastor suggests that patronage of some kind lingered. Though attempts to quit patronage were made,

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<sup>521</sup> Brewin 1965, 115.

<sup>522</sup> University Press of Africa 1968, 74.

<sup>523</sup> Swanson 1948, 146.

patronage of some kind maintained its grip. Howard Stein in his article “A Note on Patron-Client Theory”, addresses some aspects of the perpetuation of patronage. He describes the patron-client relationship as “one in which the client overlearns to mistrust himself.”<sup>524</sup> Stein continues:

Lamentably, the client does not learn with the symbiotic patron-client relationship that his anxieties might be unfounded; instead, they are experienced as realistic threats – from which he seeks protection by the fantasied omnipotence, omniscience, omnibenevolence, and prescience of his patron.<sup>525</sup>

Stein’s argument tends to offer a fitting description of the Chagga chief and pastor. However, considering that the Chagga tended to be ahead of other ethnic groups in Tanzania in some social and economic aspects like education, the chief and pastor comments seem to have a deep sense of negotiation, even manipulation, in addition to Stein’s idea of anxiety. Negotiation and manipulation are power laden actions.

The influence of chiefs in the LCNT matters is also seen in the Marangu 1955 All Africa Lutheran Conference. Paramount Chief Thomas Marealle advocated the Episcopal mode of church leadership to LCNT. Marealle’s argument was supported by Stefano Moshi who commented:

I just want to confirm what has been said by Chief Marealle. In my work I talk with many Christians and I have heard much discussion about the matter our chief raised here. Hence I dare say this is not a personal problem, but a very general one on our whole church and I feel that one church should not be tied if another church does not feel the same way. Each church should be free to do whatever it feels right for its work and for its growth.<sup>526</sup>

Moshi probably did not anticipate instant results, he, however, seems to have aimed at having the ground clear for Episcopal leadership among Lutheran churches in Africa. He wrote:

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<sup>524</sup> Stein 1984, 33.

<sup>525</sup> Stein 1984, 33.

<sup>526</sup> LWF 1956, 75.

What has been said about the qualifications of a bishop may make it difficult at the present stage to find Africans with such high qualifications. I want to make this easier by saying that it is of course not necessary that he be an African. In fact, at first I think he should be a missionary.<sup>527</sup>

Chief Marealle's position was that Episcopal mode of leadership was appropriate for the church. It was also important in the church-state relations. The chief's proposal found backing in Moshi, according to whom, episcopacy was entrenched among the LCNT members. The harmony between Marealle and Moshi suggest a unified approach in what would identify the LCNT within political and ecclesiastical circles. The matter also received attention by the Lutheran communion as seen in the Marangu Conference resolution:

The All-Africa Lutheran Conference takes note of the desire expressed by some African churches that the title for church offices, such as bishop instead of superintendent, should be studied with the intent that any possible changes in terminology or organisation might be prompted by the guidance of God, be biblical and serve the best interests of the church. It is recommended that the Commission on World Mission provide materials for such study to the churches which may request such advice.<sup>528</sup>

The influence of the chiefs in LCNT matters was apparently lessened in the revision of the constitution in 1948. The two prominent chiefs Petro Marealle and Heri Abdieli Shangali were excluded from the LCNT council. Were the LCNT members weary of the chiefs who sided with them? This could be a possibility as some chiefs had tended to side with the government. Raum's observation that the adoption of an indirect rule gave power to the chiefs, probably for the worse, is worth recalling here. A closer look into the matter, however, favours a position other than mere tyranny by the chiefs. The chiefs were a link that lessened the Government's suspicion on the Chagga – since the chiefs through the indirect rule were

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<sup>527</sup> LWF 1956, 75,

<sup>528</sup> LWF 1956, 182.

loyal to the Government. Doing away with the chiefs signalled more independence of the LCNT from the superintendent (Reusch and his successors) and the Government. The removal of the chiefs from the LCNT council also put the Chagga at par with the rest of the LCNT members e.g., the Maasai who did not have chiefs or kings in the manner of the Chagga. In addition, the provision that allowed for the right to final decision by the superintendent was removed. This allowed for a balance in decision making between the LCNT members and the superintendent who was still an Augustana missionary.

The decision by the LCNT to engage in mission work in Sonjo was a sign of increased independency. The courage expressed in Laiser's words on the willingness of the LCNT to evangelise the Sonjo people<sup>529</sup> is a sign of unity within the LCNT. The adoption and distribution of the monthly 'mimeographed sheet' named *Umoja* – 'Oneness', in 1948, was a step in the direction of this unity. This circulation in Kiswahili was meant to be an instrument to spread information and knowledge in the LCNT.<sup>530</sup>

Noteworthy are the LCNT characters who spearheaded the devolution. Be they pastors – like Nkya, Laiser or Moshi or lay like Eliufoo – they had some common characteristics. They had at one point in their lives been teachers. In other words, they were educated, at least by the standards of the time. Their education history had close connection with the missionaries who empowered and trusted them. Of interest also is the relationship with the chieftaincy. Nkya's son Eliufoo married Chief Shangali's daughter. Laiser's daughter married a chief's son.<sup>531</sup> As we noted earlier Moshi's father Reuben was sent by chief Kwimbere to the mission upon Althaus' request. The education and relation with the chiefs among the LCNT members

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<sup>529</sup> Danielson 1996, 117.

<sup>530</sup> Danielson 1996, 121.

<sup>531</sup> D(Meitamei) – Laiser – letter to Pätzig dated 18.10.1957.

provided a bridge to the missionary and local context. One should not overlook the personal qualities among these members which made them of use to the community. The devolution followed the lines of influential people. The people involved bore distinctive characteristics. Referring to the combination of attributes that made Moshi the person he was Urio writes,

The fact that Bishop Stefano Moshi was raised in a Christian home and that his father was devoted evangelist, missionary and parish leader, played a great role in influencing his future task in the church ministry. Other influences were the socio-cultural and political situations of his time.<sup>532</sup>

Urio's analysis of Moshi suggests that the context and personal traits had a bearing in the development of LCNT leaders.

A word also needs to be said regarding the church-government-European settler tension, especially with regard to the 1946–1951 land cases. Danielson, the president of the church, considered himself fortunate that, as foreigner who did not own land, he could give an unbiased advice. In his attempts to address the Africans' grievances and the resultant escalating tension between the Africans and the settlers, Danielson met the then European council in the Northern Province. The council agreed with Danielson's proposal for a discussion between the Africans and the settlers. The conditions set for the delegation of three Africans to meet the settlers raise eyebrows: They should not be Government employees, should not be educated and should be able to speak English!<sup>533</sup> These suggestions, working against the rules of logic, meant cessation of the encounter.

Albeit attempts to point to the moral dangers of evicting Meru people from Ngare Nanyuki area, the eviction took place in 1951 under the supervision of the Arusha District Commis-

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<sup>532</sup> Urio 1983, 140.

<sup>533</sup> Danielson 1977, 143.



sioner.<sup>534</sup> The eviction resulted into the church building being destroyed. LCNT members rejected compensation by the Government for their destroyed church building. The fact that the Government reversed its position, returning the land to the Meru and rebuilding the Ngare Nanyuki church,<sup>535</sup> is in part, due to the influence of the church.

Considering that there were LCNT clergy when the rapid change of faces in the presidency of the church was taking place, one wonders why the missionaries did not think of an African clergy for that position. The LCNT had run the Church during the war. Whatever the level of instability – the work done by these LCNT members was noteworthy. Some would say there was no time for the appraisal of the African work during the war since the Leipzig missionaries quickly asked for assistance. The Augustana missionaries were probably concerned about their position. They had been assigned trusteeship of the Leipzig Mission field and they were not so sure of whether or not the Leipzig missionaries would return and when. Handing over the field to the indigenous LCNT members would sound illogical in this suspense. Whatever the case might have been the turnover suggested something to the LCNT members – they continued the process of indigenising the presidency.

Significant, however, in this turnover is the intention of the LCNT members. Smedjebacka describes the initial stages of the process as indirect and cautious.<sup>536</sup> The 1958 resolutions regarding the indigenisation of the presidency of the LCNT suggest caution on the side of the LCNT. One should note that the executive committee had hitherto stressed on three things regarding the advent of an indigenous president:

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<sup>534</sup> Danielson 1977, 145–146.

<sup>535</sup> Danielson 1977, 148.

<sup>536</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 216–217.

In the first place it was agreed that this is the right time to have an indigenous president. Secondly, such an agreement does not mean that the mission [foreign missionaries] pulls off its helping hand from the church, rather, aid should continue as during the time of missionary presence. Third, when contemplating on the position of vice president there must be a missionary at this level.<sup>537</sup>

The church wanted to learn more but also preserve relations with the Augustana Mission. There had, for instance, been requests by the LCNT for its members to study abroad. Broken relations in the course of indigenising the presidency was probably thought of as having dire consequences in the initial stages of the indigenised church. This is probably behind the decision to retain an Augustana missionary as vice president in the indigenised church.

The devolution process with the principles underlying it, as outlined above, is strongly suggestive of calculated exercise of power. The different factions are seen in a tension of some kind. It's either the LCNT indigenous members versus foreign missionaries or chiefs, the LCNT versus the government or one mission group against the other. Leadership development and transfer in the LCNT during the 1940's and 1950's was characterised by a duality in handling of the legacy of the missionaries and the chiefs.

The LCNT's attempts to build indigenous leadership are blurred by the need the LCNT felt to maintain close relations with the foreign missionaries. The foreign missionaries also tended to be divided as to the maturity of LCNT in assuming indigenous leadership. Albeit efforts by the LCNT members and some foreign missionaries to build indigenous leadership patronage lingered; both development and succession of leadership encountered some resistance. The tension was, however, creative in the sense that the presidency of the LCNT was indigenised. The following chapter unfolds how this duality in legacy is continued in the adoption of Episcopal leadership.

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<sup>537</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 14.

# 5 Power in the Quest for Episcopacy and Ministry 1959–1969

## 5.1 Background

The previous chapter dealt with the history of the LCNT from 1943 to 1958 and addressed mainly the quest for indigenous leadership. The transference of the presidency of the LCNT from the Augustana missionaries to indigenous leaders was characterised by ambivalence. The LCNT members associated closely with the missionaries from whom they wanted to be independent of. This chapter deals with the history of the LCNT and covers the years 1959 to 1969. The period outlined stretches from the installation of the first indigenous LCNT president, Stefano Moshi, through the birth of the ELCT of which the Northern Diocese (ELCT-ND)<sup>538</sup> is part, the adoption of Episcopal leadership in the ELCT-ND to the election of the first indigenous assistant to the bishop. The chapter studies the leadership structure of the ELCT-ND, its ministry and relations with its funders and the state. The chapter, therefore, scrutinises the relations among the different facets in the ELCT-ND. From this background the chapter progresses to historical events in the ELCT-ND suggestive of tension among the different actors, and ends with an analysis and discussion of the events.

A number of events of significance to the life of the ELCT-ND occurred in the government of Tanganyika and the Lutheran Church in Tanganyika during the 1959–1969 period. There were also themes of concern during this era. Tanganyika became independent in December 1961 and became a republic in 1962. From the outset the government of independent Tanganyika strived to address the problems of ignorance (illiteracy),

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<sup>538</sup> The birth of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika (ELCT) necessitated a change in status of the LCNT to a diocese (Northern Diocese) within this Church.

poverty and diseases.<sup>539</sup> In 1963, the government of Tanganyika abolished the traditional leadership of chiefs that the colonial government had used in the indirect rule.<sup>540</sup> The later development in the 1970's whereby church emerged along ethnic lines has been considered a rebirth of chieftaincy in ecclesiastical circles.<sup>541</sup> In 1964, Tanganyika united with Zanzibar. As a result, the name Tanzania was adopted for the country which now encompasses the mainland and the isles. The acronym ELCT would later refer to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania instead of Tanganyika in order to accommodate the change brought with this union. The year 1964 also saw the inauguration of the first five year development plan.<sup>542</sup>

In 1967, Tanzania adopted the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* – socialism and self-reliance – as stipulated in the Arusha Declaration. The Declaration stressed rural development. *Ujamaa* was the ideology of the ruling party – Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The aim of TANU, which was led by Julius Nyerere, was to fight for the independence of Tanganyika. Having achieved independence, in 1961, TANU continued with efforts to setting policies/ideologies which defined the course of action of the government in independent Tanzania. The Arusha Declaration, formulated in 1967, was a step in this direction. The declaration ushered a new period and was met with enthusiasm. This enthusiasm was seen in rallies which took place in the country in support of the Declaration. Some Tanzanians walked long distances in support of the move. A lad by the name, Seth Benjamin, died probably of fatigue, while marching in support of the Declaration. It is obvious that a move of this magnitude would have a bearing on the church. The response of the ELCT is addressed in section

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<sup>539</sup> Nyerere 1969, 4.

<sup>540</sup> Omari 1999, 207; Baroin 2003, 154.

<sup>541</sup> We will come back to this in the discussion on the emergence of new dioceses in chapter six below.

<sup>542</sup> Nyerere 1969, 67.

5.4 below. In the mid 1969 the government inaugurated the Second-Five Year Plan. The philosophy behind the objectives of the plan was equity in livelihood, *ujamaa*, self-reliance, economic revolution, and economic cooperation among African countries.<sup>543</sup> The success of the first plan was limited partly due to the fact that Tanzania had, in 1964, not worked out clearly the implications of its socialist belief. As such foreign private investment of any type was attracted.<sup>544</sup> The Arusha Declaration spelt out the socialist ideas of Tanzania. The second five-year-plan, which was inaugurated after the Declaration, was, therefore, more solid in its approach especially regarding foreign investment. The plan was a tonic to the Arusha Declaration as it strove to curb ignorance, hunger and diseases.

The rhythm of the Lutheran Church in Tanganyika followed the pattern of unity and freedom. It was in 1963 that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika was born following the merging of the seven mission churches existing by then. The theme of unity among Lutherans in Africa is captured by Bishop Josiah Kibira in his key note address to the third assembly of the All Africa Lutheran Conference held in Addis Ababa in 1965. The address was titled “A Living Church in a Changing Society.” In his address Kibira alluded to a number of problems besetting Africa. According to him, “Africa is still a battle ground of the world; once colonial, then economic, and now economic, military, ideological and religious.”<sup>545</sup> Kibira challenged the Lutheran church to take its position in addressing the situation in Africa.<sup>546</sup> The engagement of the church in addressing the plight of Africa demanded unity and freedom which the Lutheran church seemed to lack considering

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<sup>543</sup> D(Moshi) – Bomani Paul 1969 – Hotuba ya Mheshimiwa Waziri wa Uchumi na Mipango ya Maendeleo kuujulisha Mpango wa Pili wa Miaka Mitano kwa Kamati Kuu ya Tanu Tarehe 21, Mei, 1969.

<sup>544</sup> See Nyerere 1969, 67.

<sup>545</sup> Kibira 1965, 25.

<sup>546</sup> Kibira 1965, 25.

its dependence on Western churches.<sup>547</sup> Kibira considered unity and freedom an important theme for the Lutheran church in Africa in the post-independence Africa.

## **5.2 Power in the Quest for Episcopal Leadership**

The LCNT had elected and installed its first indigenous president in 1958. According to Smedjebacka, the election and installation of an indigenous president was intended to inaugurate a new phase or era in the development of the LCNT.<sup>548</sup> The LCNT had a purpose behind indigenising its leadership. In other words, autonomy reflected in the indigenisation was not for its own sake. The LCNT had before it a number of issues to settle and relational matters to sort out. Among such issues was the adoption of ministerial leadership of its choice – episcopacy. Other issues included relations with partners and the Tanzanian Government policies.<sup>549</sup> The 1959–1969 period can be described as one of strengthening identity, setting goals and expectations as to what LCNT members and the new leadership could achieve. Concern for the above mentioned matters influenced the manner in which the LCNT operated at the beginning of the 1959–1969 period.

The process of constituting the LCNT had involved questions regarding the kind of leadership as to title and qualifications of the leader. As to titles, the LCNT had a number of leadership patterns to pick from – the Leipzig Mission, Augustana Mission and the Northern Tanzanian indigenous context. As we noted in the discussions during the Marangu 1955 Conference Chief Marealle and Pastor Stefano Moshi stressed on episcopacy as a mode of church leadership that was deemed not only acceptable by LCNT members but one that was considered biblical and fitted the church-state relations.<sup>550</sup> The fact that

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<sup>547</sup> Kibira 1965, 20.

<sup>548</sup> See Smedjebacka 1973, 220.

<sup>549</sup> Danielson 1996, 51.

<sup>550</sup> LWF 1956, 74, 75.

episcopacy was discussed and defended in the Marangu 1955 Lutheran conference, instead of an outright implementation by the LCNT, suggests that there were differences in opinion between actors serving the LCNT regarding the adoption of episcopacy and thus an implicit tension. It is worth noting that the leadership of the LCNT at the time of the Augustana Mission – the time during which the Marangu conference was held – bore the title superintendent which was later changed to president in 1956. The following section tracks the relations among different facets in the process leading to the adoption of episcopacy mode of leadership in the LCNT – that amalgamated two legacies – Northern Tanzania and Western.

Even before the installation of Pastor Stefano Moshi to the presidency of the LCNT questions regarding the difference between the president and the rest of the pastors were implied. The committee planning the event proposed that the indigenous president should get a pectoral cross. The Leipzig Mission promised to provide one.<sup>551</sup> The LCNT adopted the title of bishop for its leader in 1960.<sup>552</sup> The adoption of the title of bishop was effected without the president of the LCNT, Stefano Moshi, being consecrated.<sup>553</sup> Moshi was eventually consecrated bishop on 15.03.1964.<sup>554</sup> The process leading to the adoption of the title bishop and the actual consecration of Moshi saw some communication within and outside the Diocese either inviting views from the congregants or stressing on the need for Moshi to be consecrated. One communication by Joseph Merinyo reads:

From: M. Joseph Merinyo,  
P.O. Box 541, Moshi.  
September, 1960

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<sup>551</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 220 quoting Mkutano wa Halmashauri ya kumsimika Mkuu wa kanisa mwenyeji, Moshi, Majengo, 30.12.1958.

<sup>552</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1961, 1.

<sup>553</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Undated letter by Shaidi

<sup>554</sup> D(Moshi) – Invitation card to the event

To Honourable  
Heads of the Lutheran Church in Northern Tanganyika:  
Vice President, Dr. R.E. Danielson, D.D.  
Pastor Kalebi Mangesho, Mwika.  
Silas Msangi, Kifula, Pare.  
Christian A. Kileo, Siha, West Kilimanjaro.  
Stephano Kaaya, Meru, Arusha.

My dear brothers in the Lord

#### TIME HAS COME

Many greetings to you in the name of our Lord Jesus. By the love of our Lord Jesus, God appointed you to tend his sheep and lead this church without envy and hatred. All these [vices] are not in your conscience and cannot enter your hearts considering the work put on your shoulders. You should guard this [work] by asking our Lord Jesus Christ to send you his Holy Spirit to stop any vice from coming into our church. In this letter I did not include the name of the President among the addressees lest it implies that he is behind the contents of this letter. Not at all. My request is that this letter be brought to your Church meeting to be discussed. Whatever resolution comes out of the discussion – that is what I am requesting to receive. I am a member of this Church, I am not insinuating – I have nothing negative to this Church, but since I am a member I am obliged to give my views earnestly. If my views make sense – they should be analysed for consideration – else they should be rejected/ ignored.

I began by mentioning Danielson, a person I know thoroughly as our dear leader who will not have negative ideas regarding what I am presenting before you. It was Danielson who agitated our hearts to note that time was ripe for the election of [indigenous] leader as we have Stefano Moshi now. Stefano was indeed fitting [for the presidency] since childhood due to his uprightness and good morals instilled in him by our Lord Jesus Christ.

I am writing to suggest that the title for Pastor Stefano Moshi i.e., is president, should not remain as it is since [the Church] is not a political party, business organisation or club. I would suggest that the title for this holy office in our Church be bishop. I have been receiving, through my friends in Germany, a monthly issue of the [journal?] *In Alle Welt Evangelische Luther Missionsblatt Dier Nsuendettelsaur und Leipziger Mission* [sic!]. In the April 1959 issue, page 8, I read [an article regarding episcopacy?] by Martin Witte who was guest of honour in the installation of Stefano Moshi. [Through this] I consider the title [president] unfit for Pastor Stefano. What fits him best is the title bishop. This title is *Bischof* in German. I, therefore, request the Church to consider changing from



president and adopt this new title BISHOP STEFANO MOSHI. This should be announced in every place our Church exists – that we are using bishop not president. I also request that this be announced in communications all over the world that the title for Pastor Stefano is no longer president but Bishop Stefano Moshi of the Church in Northern Tanganyika.

I will be glad if this issue is handled as a matter of urgency i.e., our position is not that of equating the leader of our Church to heads of political parties, business organisations or any other denomination not linked to the Lutheran faith. I believe our senior Danielson is professional and I don't think he will handle the matter loosely. It should also be stressed that whoever holds this position as head of the Church must be addressed in like manner – bishop.

I receive monthly copies of the [journal] I mentioned above and should anyone want to access it I will be glad to present it without hesitation.

May I conclude by sending greetings. May God bless you that you may have wisdom and knowledge in your great responsibility. May God protect you by his providence and mercy, and love without factions so that God's work shall be fulfilled in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I remain, your loyal and loving brother in the Lord

M. JOSEPH MERINYO<sup>555</sup>

In his pursuit for a change from the title president to bishop, Merinyo seems to be thinking more about Moshi than a mere title change. Merinyo in this letter mentions Stefano Moshi eight times suggesting that he had in mind Moshi in the transference rather than the title bishop in general. We shall come back to Merinyo's letter in the discussion in section 5.5 below. The boldness and sincerity with which Merinyo expresses himself, however, arouses curiosity. Merinyo identifies himself as a member of the LCNT. There was, however, more to Merinyo that alludes to power relations in the process of adopting episcopacy in the LCNT.

Merinyo has been associated with events in line with the identity and freedom of the indigenous Northern Tanganyika

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<sup>555</sup> D(Kweka) – Letter by Merinyo 1960 – *Wakati Umefika* – Time has Come (My translation of the original).

Lutherans. According to Fleisch, Merinyo was in 1930 behind the commotion resulting from his wife's refusal to heed to the demand to put her hat off during Holy Communion service.<sup>556</sup> As we noted in section 3.2 above, some Leipzig missionaries were concerned about the adoption of Western life styles among indigenous Christians. Along the same line Merinyo's concern was, why should the indigenous Christians be deprived of that which was, apparently, allowed the westerners?

Godson Maanga in his article "Joseph Merinyo: A Patriotic Chagga Nationalist and Adamant Champion for Justice and Human Right" describes Merinyo as a great man, defiant fighter, a bold hero, an articulate campaigner, a visionary farmer and an icon for peace and justice.<sup>557</sup> Danielson in turn describes Merinyo as both unusual leader and controversial man who fought for what he believed was right.<sup>558</sup> A legend associates Merinyo with a campaign for the ordination of indigenous pastors something the missionary Gutmann was against. In an all-night confrontation between Merinyo and Gutmann,<sup>559</sup> the legend goes, the missionary was persuaded to accept an indigenous clergy.<sup>560</sup>

Merinyo was born in 1880.<sup>561</sup> His father was the Chagga Chief Meli's war leader.<sup>562</sup> Maanga is of the view that Merinyo's lineage goes back to Maasai ancestry.<sup>563</sup> According to Parsalaw, who seems to share Maanga's view, the name Merinyo in Maasai means one who does not retreat in battle.<sup>564</sup> Joseph

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<sup>556</sup> Fleisch 1998, 152–153. See also Parsalaw 1999, 285.

<sup>557</sup> Maanga 2014, 67.

<sup>558</sup> Danielson 1996, 123.

<sup>559</sup> According to Maanga (2014, 54) Gutmann was married to the daughter of the missionary – a medical doctor who had employed Merinyo.

<sup>560</sup> Iliffe 1979, 336.

<sup>561</sup> Iliffe 1979, 275. See also [www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1352](http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1352) – 07.03.2016.

<sup>562</sup> Maanga 2014, 53.

<sup>563</sup> Maanga 2014, 53.

<sup>564</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 285.

Merinyo is credited as an early Christian, pioneer of coffee growing in East Africa, a founding member of coffee producer's organisation and a politician.<sup>565</sup> Despite his early Christian contacts, as Maanga notes, Merinyo married four times.<sup>566</sup> Maanga observes that Merinyo's wedding to Yohana, in 1909, was unique in that it was the first wedding in Old Moshi where the bridegroom put on a suit like a white man.<sup>567</sup> Earlier, from 1906 to 1908, Merinyo stayed in Germany with his employer, a missionary medical doctor. During his stay with the missionary, the missionary's wife ill-treated Merinyo. Merinyo wrote missionary Robert Fassmann complaining about this harsh treatment.<sup>568</sup>

Joseph Merinyo was the first president of the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association that was formed in 1925.<sup>569</sup> The Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association gave birth to the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union which was a uniting force among the Chagga. The cooperative was mandated to negotiate coffee prices. It, therefore, became a link between coffee producers and the buyers.<sup>570</sup> Merinyo tended to not be in good terms with the administration of the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union an organisation which took over from KNPA.<sup>571</sup> Being implied in the coffee uprising in Kilimanjaro in 1937, in which KNCU stores were demolished,<sup>572</sup> he was under partial parole under the local British administration – not being allowed to live in Kilimanjaro for many years.<sup>573</sup> In addition to his political inclination, Danielson considers Merinyo

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<sup>565</sup> Iliffe 1979, 275. See also [www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1352-07.03.2016](http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001/acref-9780195382075-e-1352-07.03.2016).

<sup>566</sup> Maanga 2014, 53.

<sup>567</sup> Maanga 2014, 53.

<sup>568</sup> Maanga 2014, 55.

<sup>569</sup> Iliffe 1979, 276.

<sup>570</sup> Danielson 1996, 123.

<sup>571</sup> Iliffe 1979, 280.

<sup>572</sup> Iliffe 1979, 280.

<sup>573</sup> Danielson 1996, 123.

committed to the course of the church. Merinyo was elected to the executive council of the LCNT in 1948.<sup>574</sup>

Merinyo's letter was followed by a letter dated 14.11. 1960, with reference '*Mkuu wa Kanisa Kuitwa Askofu*' literally 'The Head of the Church to be Named (called/addressed) Bishop'. This letter was written by Abraham Shaidi, the general secretary of the LCNT, and was addressed to Dean Peterson, a teacher at Makumira Theological College, Rev. Horst Backer, Rev Stefano Kaaya, Mr Johnson Kileo and copied to the president and vice president of the LCNT. The letter communicates a suggestion by the executive council that had met in Loliondo earlier in 1960 that deemed it fit, according to the Holy Scriptures, for the head (*Mkuu*) of the LCNT to be called bishop instead of president. The letter stressed that the change in title would not render the bearer [Moshi] bishop in the manner of the Roman Catholics or other denominations; the bearer will have the same authority as before. The addressees were appointed as a special committee to work on the matter, as a matter of urgency, and were expected to submit their comments to members of the executive council before the synod (*Mkutano Mkuu*) scheduled for December 1960.<sup>575</sup>

The letter reminds one of Merinyo's concern. It considers the shift from president to bishop an overdue matter that has to be handled as a pressing issue. It also sees in the title bishop a biblical tradition. The fact that Petersen, who was by then a teacher at Makumira Theological College<sup>576</sup>, is mentioned highlights the desire by the executive council to seek theological basis for the change. We shall come back to this in the discussion (section 5.5) below.

The transition from the title president to bishop was heading to fruition. In 1960, the synod of the LCNT held in Kifula

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<sup>574</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1948, 40.

<sup>575</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Shaidi Letter to Petersen *et al.*, 14.11.1960.

<sup>576</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962

endorsed the proposal by the executive council that the title bishop be adopted instead of president.<sup>577</sup> The title bishop was, therefore, officially adopted by the LCNT. This adoption was, however, considered incomplete since Moshi was named bishop without being consecrated. The next step was to officially inaugurate episcopacy in the LCNT.

The process leading to the consecration of Bishop Moshi and the related power interplay is highlighted in a letter by Shaidi;

I greet you in the name of our Saviour.

Today I want to write you again about an issue that remains half done in our church, which is having a bishop who is not consecrated for that ministry. You remember the decision at Kifula synod and also executive council at Siha this issue was discussed and it was decided that it should not be minuted. In those two meetings it was decided that we should have a nominal bishop who is not consecrated.

Now things have changed and I do not know where our church stands in relation to episcopacy in other churches. Recently the Buhaya church obtained a consecrated bishop, it was a big occasion and our church was invited. Now the Usambara church is going to have a bishop and they are setting a day for consecration – we have their letter. What kind of bishop is the LCNT going to make in the midst of consecrated bishops? Now in the FLCT meeting he [Moshi] has been chosen chairperson for a federation having consecrated bishops. Is it possible for a bishop who is not consecrated to be the head of consecrated bishops?

The wisdom of European bishops particularly Germany tells us that there is no nominal episcopacy without consecration. They advise and insist that our church should set a day to consecrate its bishop. Other bishops should be invited to consecrate him that's when he will be a bishop recognised by other bishops in the world. Some Christians have had the same ideas and ask various questions about this issue and also the robe of the bishop. We have not been able to respond to their questions satisfactorily. You will also recall the letter from Germany I read to you at Siha and the questions therein. An old Christian has even sent a letter to Germany requesting that a chain be bought that will be used for the bishop's cross. This Christian is not content with the cloth that goes with the bishop cross at the present moment.

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<sup>577</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 81.

I am writing to you district pastors so that you contemplate on the matter in all ways you deem relevant and bring your comments to this office. Even if you think that it is a good idea that we hold a meeting, write me and inform me of those you think should be invited. In your districts there are many Christians who are not content about the matter as it stands now. It would be a good idea if you would know what they need now.

We find it difficult to see this church having a unique episcopacy that is not shared with other churches while we are linked in different union with churches in Tanganyika, East Africa and the world over. The issue of consecration for this holy ministry you will see in the Bible is not a light event [matter] or something that should be addressed lightly.

We would be thankful to get your opinion the earliest possible time.

Yours in the Lord,

M.A. Shaidi, Secretary<sup>578</sup>

The letter, much like Merinyo's, was addressed to district pastors and copied to Moshi, who was now addressed bishop. The letter was also copied to LCNT members and specifically to Merinyo. The contents of the letter reciprocate along power related matters. The letter expresses the concern that the LCNT was, apparently, lagging behind other churches – Buhaya and Usambara – in the adoption of episcopal leadership. It is worth noting that Moshi was instrumental in the founding of the ELCT and the chairperson of its meetings. In a discussion with Smedjebacka, in 2011, he alluded to the tasks associated with the founding of the ELCT that Moshi assigned him.<sup>579</sup> The LCNT (ELCT-ND) – whose leader was Moshi – would, most probably, have liked to take a lead in matters related to the

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<sup>578</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Shaidi – Undated letter (My translation of the original).

The contents of the letter give some clues to the time during which it was written. Shaidi refers to the consecration of the Buhaya bishop as a past event. Bengt Sundkler was consecrated on 30.07.1961. The consecration in Usambara, to which Moshi had agreed to attend, was scheduled for 1962 (see Swantz 2002, 178, 184). This puts the date of the letter somewhere from the later half of 1961 to the beginning of 1962.

<sup>579</sup> Communication with Smedjebacka 31.05.2011, Helsinki.

leadership of the church, not least the adoption of episcopacy. Implicitly, if some churches in Tanzania had adopted episcopal leadership, which was considered a more appropriate mode of church leadership, the ELCT-ND should have taken a lead.

Shaidi's letter was addressing a matter of concern not only within the Northern Diocese but within the ecumenical circles. The period between the naming of Moshi as bishop in 1960, and his actual consecration in 1964, sparked concern as Shaidi pointed out. Among those concerned was Bengt Sundkler. In her book on the life of Bengt Sundkler, Swantz recounts Sundkler's position regarding the situation in the Northern Diocese. Sundkler was consecrated bishop of the North Western Diocese in 1961. He saw sense in the Northern Diocese's adoption of episcopacy and electing "an incomparable man, Stefano Moshi, for the job."<sup>580</sup> Sundkler, however, had reservations regarding the Northern Diocese's position in having a bishop who was not consecrated. His position is manifest in turning down the invitation to the consecration of Rev. Waltenberg in Usambara. Sundkler recalled;

[...] I then could not go. They tried to get me and even came to fetch me with an extra plane all the way from Lushoto to Bukoba, waiting a full day and a night and a morning, but I stuck to my view, and stayed obstinately in Bukoba.<sup>581</sup>

Sundkler's reaction was probably precipitated by the fact that Stefano Moshi had accepted the invitation to partake in the consecration in Usambara. According to Sundkler, the Northern Diocese had declared that there was no reason to consecrate Moshi who was by that time the *Mkuu* (head) of the ELCT.<sup>582</sup> It can be argued that Sundkler thought that participating in the Usambara consecration would be too much of a compromise. Sundkler admits that he at times acted in a doctrinaire manner, but according to him this was "a matter of principle, of theo-

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<sup>580</sup> Swantz 2002, 184.

<sup>581</sup> Swantz 2002, 184.

<sup>582</sup> Swantz 2002, 184.

logy of the episcopate”.<sup>583</sup> Sundkler welcomed the decision of the Northern Diocese to consecrate Moshi. He wrote, “I rejoiced with them and with the whole ELCT [...]”.<sup>584</sup>

The fact that Shaidi’s letter mentions the Germans and not the Americans, who were still in the leadership of the Northern Diocese, is worth noting. Reference to the Germans suggests that the German legacy that supported episcopacy suited the aim of the LCNT than the American legacy that had no episcopal tradition. The mentioning of Moshi and Merinyo, whom we discussed above, is significant. Moshi was the bishop in discussion. Merinyo was the ardent LCNT member who challenged the church to adopt episcopal leadership. Moshi was re-elected in 1962<sup>585</sup> and later in 1964 consecrated bishop. He was consecrated by Bishop Hans Lilje of Hannover – the presiding bishop of the United Lutheran Church of Germany.<sup>586</sup>

The presentation above seems to be addressing an issue that was deeply entrenched in people’s hearts and minds. A move within the LCNT, owned by the whole church, although there are some key people. The comments made by Chief Marealle in the Marangu 1955 conference illustrate this. Marealle stressed this matter which he considered serious.<sup>587</sup> That Chief Marealle was not alone is further illustrated in the following comment made by Sundkler;

He was on this particular occasion eminently representative of the Lutheran Church of Tanzania. Two African pastors developed the theme of a Lutheran episcopate in Tanzania: the leading pastor among the Chagga, Stefano Moshi, and the leading pastor in Bukoba, Matia Lutosha. They consulted and strengthened each other in the conviction that their churches must adopt Episcopal leadership. Moshi said: ‘This is the position not only of the paramount chief, but one that is shared by all Christians in Tanzania. If some

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<sup>583</sup> Swantz 2002, 184.

<sup>584</sup> Swantz 2002, 184.

<sup>585</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 111.

<sup>586</sup> Becker 2013, 30.

<sup>587</sup> LWF 1956, 75.



mission does not wish this course to be adopted, at least it must not hinder others from following it.' Lutosha stressed a characteristic Bukoba point of view: they were all surrounded on all sides by Episcopal dioceses, and wanted to facilitate the fellowship with these brethren.<sup>588</sup>

As noted in section 4.2 above, the concern for a shift in the title of the leadership was addressed in the resolutions to the All Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu.<sup>589</sup> We shall come to these matters in the discussion (section 5.5).

### **5.3 Power in the LCNT's Vision and Ministry**

The LCNT was a church born of efforts by the Leipzig and Augustana missionaries. The LCNT leadership, therefore, adopted much from these in terms of the structure of ministry as to leadership positions and congregational organisation. However, in order to own (contextualise) the ministry in line with the needs expressed in the desire to indigenise the leadership, the LCNT gradually incorporated into the missionary legacy what it deemed fit to its context. The 1959–1969 period, therefore, saw the indigenisation of a number of the existing leadership positions. In addition, a number of new departments and leadership positions were created.

In addition to the adoption of the title bishop instead of president, the 1960 synod at Kifula also decided on the title for the vice-president. Following the change in title for the president, the vice president was now to hold the title assistant bishop – *askofu msaidizi*.<sup>590</sup> Danielson was the first to take this title in the LCNT.<sup>591</sup> The title 'assistant bishop' was later, in 1962, dropped and the title 'assistant to the bishop' – *msaidizi wa askofu* – was adopted.<sup>592</sup> We shall come to the explanation on

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<sup>588</sup> Sundkler 1980, 154.

<sup>589</sup> LWF 1956, 183.

<sup>590</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 81.

<sup>591</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 81.

<sup>592</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 110.

the paradox of the presence of a foreign assistant to the bishop in the indigenised church in section 5.5 below. Danielson was succeeded by Horst Becker in 1960.<sup>593</sup> Becker was in turn succeeded by Donald Johnson.<sup>594</sup>

The position of the assistant to the bishop was indigenised in 1966. Johnson went for vacation and it was not certain whether or not he would return. Kristian A. Kileo was, therefore, nominated acting assistant to the bishop.<sup>595</sup> Kileo was succeeded by Mesiaki Kilevo as assistant to the bishop in elections held during the general assembly of the Northern Diocese that met between 02–07.11.1968.<sup>596</sup>

Considering the growth achieved so far and the engagements in the head office of the LCNT, the need of having a treasurer was felt. An indigenous LCNT member, Allen Matee, previously working with the Chagga Council was appointed treasurer in 1960.<sup>597</sup> Creating a separate position of treasurer was meant to release the secretary, who previously handled both general administration and finances, from financial engagements thus allowing him to engage more with other administrative matters. This would in turn free the bishop from heavy administrative engagements and allowing him to concentrate on overseeing.<sup>598</sup>

Mission work in the LCNT involved evangelism, education and medical work. Having indigenised the position of the bishop, the LCNT indigenised another key position, that of education secretary. Elias D. Sawe was appointed to this position in 1960. He was to work with two assistants – Fanuel Simeon and Allan Gottneid.<sup>599</sup> In 1966, the Diocese indigenised yet an-

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<sup>593</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 69. See also Katiba (Constitution) 2006, 3.

<sup>594</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1964, 199.

<sup>595</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1966, 36, 40.

<sup>596</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1969.1.

<sup>597</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 5.

<sup>598</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 10.

<sup>599</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 9, 15.

other key position that of medical secretary to which Z.S. Kisanga was appointed.<sup>600</sup> The 1964 synod had proposed that the Diocese should look into the possibility of forming a women department. The department had become operative as shown in the 1966 synod. The Diocese also established a stewardship department whose interim head was Godwin Moshi.<sup>601</sup>

In her report to the synod, the head of the women department Barbara Kniest highlighted on the developments in the department. The exercise of electing women leaders in different congregations went well. Thirty congregations out of fifty had elected leaders for women groups. Women groups had also been constituted and women were gathering and having lessons that addressed family matters. Prayer for mission work and visits were being carried on. In addition, recreational gatherings were conducted.<sup>602</sup>

In order to effect smooth running in ministerial activities, the LCNT wrestled to engage as much as possible all of its members in the ministry. Such efforts included a call for members to identify with or 'own' the LCNT and contribute through offerings to the activities. In his report to the 1962 Synod Bishop Moshi warned against the tendency of disowning the church among some church members. According to him there were Christians who considered the church to be something colonial. This position was due to the consideration that mission work resulting into the emergence of the LCNT was begun by mission societies from the very countries that had colonised Tanganyika.<sup>603</sup> Such Christians, according to Moshi, were not concerned about the church and would not express allegiance to it. The bishop referred to the church as a vessel that channelled blessings that people could not get elsewhere.<sup>604</sup> In line

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<sup>600</sup> D(Moshi) –M/Mkuu 1966, 39.

<sup>601</sup> D(Moshi) –M/Mkuu 1966, 39, 41.

<sup>602</sup> D(Moshi) –M/Mkuu 1966, 90, 91.

<sup>603</sup> D(Moshi) –M/Mkuu 1962, 6.

<sup>604</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 6.

with Christians who disowned the church were those who contributed ungenerously in their offerings. The tendency had been to concentrate on contributions for school buildings. The bishop stressed that while education was important it should not be propagated at the expense of evangelistic work.<sup>605</sup>

The LCNT constitution, and the amendments made therein, and discussions in different meetings point to constant efforts to have the LCNT function, as much as possible, as an egalitarian community. The sections in the constitution suggest power check and balance. The constitution, for instance, addressed the lay-ordained ratio in decision making bodies of the Diocese. The synod would have more lay than ordained members.<sup>606</sup> There was also in this constitution a provision for every congregant to attend the Diocesan synod without contributing or voting.<sup>607</sup> In addition, parishes could call for a synod through the Diocesan executive council if two thirds of the parishes saw the need.<sup>608</sup> The power of the leadership was monitored in that the synod had the powers to oust the bishop if it deemed it necessary. The term of the bishop in office was also fixed. The bishop was to serve for a term of ten years and retire at age sixty five.<sup>609</sup> Women for the first time were in the executive council at the beginning of the tenure of the first national LCNT president in 1959.<sup>610</sup>

In spite of the efforts to balance the activity and authority of the different facets the need for more understanding and col-

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<sup>605</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 7.

<sup>606</sup> D(Moshi) – Kanuni na Sheria na Maongozi ya Sharika (Constitution) Kanuni ya VII – 1 b (iii) 1966; Interview with Bishop Kweka, Mailisita 08.09.2012.

<sup>607</sup> D(Moshi) – Kanuni na Sheria na Maongozi ya Sharika (Constitution) Kanuni ya VII – 2, 1966.

<sup>608</sup> D(Moshi) – Kanuni na Sheria na Maongozi ya Sharika (Constitution) Kanuni ya VII – 4, 1966.

<sup>609</sup> D(Moshi) – Kanuni na Sheria na Maongozi ya Sharika (Constitution) Kanuni ya X – 2 (i), (ii); X – 2h, 1966.

<sup>610</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 223.

laboration among the different cadres in the Diocese was still felt. In 1969 a meeting was held to discuss and sort out issues pertaining to the position of the parish worker. Most, if not all, of the parish workers were women. This cadre of parish workers was defined thus:

When a congregation employs one full time staff worker, she is known as the parish worker, and her duties usually include: office work, visitation, Christian education and youth work (perhaps some music). She helps along in all of these areas as the pastor needs her.<sup>611</sup>

The 1969 meeting was attended by district pastors, department leaders, parish workers and (parish) pastors. Sixteen parish workers attended the meeting. The meeting deliberated on, among other issues, the very position of the parish worker, salary, transport, and relationship with other positions in the parish.<sup>612</sup> The grievances of this doubly marginalised group who occupied a lower ministerial stratum, and women who occupied a lower societal stratum were aired out. That women were suffocated is further illustrated by a report on a pastors' retreat: Pastor Kalebi Mangesho, reported to the executive council that the retreat was "good and a blessing".<sup>613</sup> Women who were invited gave thanks for the opportunity and requested that the practice of inviting them to such retreats be upheld. In addition, they requested that the organisers should look into the possibility of even increasing the number of women in such retreats.<sup>614</sup>

Some signs of development in line with growing autonomy continued showing up in the 1959–1969 period. The year 1965

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<sup>611</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Undated extract titled "Parish work as a vocation"

<sup>612</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Mkutano wa Majadiliano kati ya wakuu wa majimbo, viongozi wa idara na parish workers pamoja na wachungaji – Mwika Bible School 10.04.1969.

<sup>613</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Mkutano wa Halmashauri Kuu Arusha Mjini, 6–7 Desemba 1964.

<sup>614</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Mkutano wa Halmashauri Kuu Arusha Mjini, 6–7 Desemba 1964.

saw the inauguration of the Kotela Lutheran Church building in Mamba.<sup>615</sup> This thirteen year project carries with it historical significance. The project costs amounted to 850,000 Tanzanian shillings. The Mamba congregation members contributed 700,000. Of this amount 400,000 was contributed in cash and 300,000 through such services as manual labour etc. Foreign donors contributed 150,000.<sup>616</sup> The construction of the Kotela church building reminds one of the strained relations between the Marangu and Mamba Christians at Ashira which the Augustana missionaries had dealt with in 1945.<sup>617</sup> The Mamba Christians had now built a church in their own land. Kotela was also the home place for Bishop Moshi. Earlier in 1961, the Moshi Town parish church building was inaugurated. These two church buildings received significant indigenous contribution. In an interview, Bishop Kweka, pointed to the political inclination in the construction of the church. According to him, efforts to erect the Kotela building involved the chief of Mamba.<sup>618</sup> This political inclination in the construction is attributed to the tension between Marangu and Mamba which were independent chiefdoms.

In its efforts to minister meaningfully, the LCNT also cooperated with other organs within and outside Tanganyika. The LCNT had become part of the ELCT that came to existence following the merging of seven Lutheran churches existing in Tanganyika in 1963. A change in name from LCNT to ELCT-ND was effected in the 1964 synod. The Churches that came together to form the ELCT were a result of mission work done by different mission societies and churches within Tanganyika. The churches were: The Lutheran Churches of Uzaramo-Uluguru founded by Berlin III, Usambara-Digo by the Bethel Mission, Southern Tanganyika – by Berlin III, Central Tanga-

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<sup>615</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1966, 1; Mamuya 2011, 12.

<sup>616</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1966, 1.

<sup>617</sup> Swanson 1948, 148–149.

<sup>618</sup> Interview with retired Bishop Kweka, 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

nyika – by the Leipzig Mission, Northern Tanganyika – by the Leipzig Mission, Mbulu – by the Leipzig Mission, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North West Tanganyika – by the Bethel Mission. It is worth noting that Bishop Moshi was elected head of the ELCT. In a discussion with Henrik Smedjebacka, he recalled that the process leading to the founding of the ELCT went through a thirteen draft proposal.<sup>619</sup> This suggests that the coming together of the seven churches was a demanding process. Horst Becker describes it as a “a difficult ‘birth’”.<sup>620</sup> He, however, considers it timely, necessary, and reasonable.<sup>621</sup> The mood and nitty-gritty nature in some of the sessions in the process leading to the founding of the ELCT is highlighted by Sundkler;

Very good meeting. Bishop Moshi wonderfully patient chairman, handled the meeting very well [...] I fought for the name Evangelical instead of the Evangelical Lutheran and was attacked by Mr. Shaidi, Administrative Secretary, Northern Lutheran Church, for ‘wasting time’. I had of course just asked the chairman whether we were now free to discuss the proposal paragraph by paragraph and had his consent. (We had spent one hour and more just correcting spelling and punctuation in the minutes from last year’s meeting, Mr Shaidi taking a leading part in the exercise, so no wonder that he felt time had passed us by!) So I was in order. But our proposal was lost, and Evangelical Lutheran will be the name of the Church.<sup>622</sup>

The constitution was finally approved by Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika in 1963 marking the birth of the ELCT.<sup>623</sup>

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<sup>619</sup> Communication with Smedjebacka 31.05.2013, Helsinki.

<sup>620</sup> Becker 2013, 13.

<sup>621</sup> Becker 2013, 13.

<sup>622</sup> Swantz 2002, 183.

<sup>623</sup> Maanga 2012, 33.

## 5.4 Power in the LCNT's Relations with the State and Northern Partners

The LCNT operated in a larger context i.e., the government of Tanganyika. The 1960–1969 period reveals the LCNT's recognition of the state and, at times, the tendency to align with the position of the state. In addition, the LCNT had to live with and handle the reality of working with the Northern partners whom from 1958 coexisted within the LCNT. The following section deals with the manner in which the LCNT related with the state and the Northern financiers.

The new leadership of the LCNT maintained the ties hitherto operative in the mission-church relations with the colonial administration. The 1960 synod at Kifula, which was the first LCNT synod chaired by an indigenous president, was addressed by Chief Greyson Herieli, the chairman of the Pare council.<sup>624</sup> Several other local chiefs were invited to the event some of whom failed due to various reasons.<sup>625</sup> According to Chief Herieli the invitation to the synod, which marked the first time he had been invited to a church meeting, was a gesture on how the church honoured the political leadership. The chief thanked the LCNT for its efforts in education in the Pare area and wished that the cooperation between the church and government continued; himself promising to cherish the memories of the event. The 1964 synod was addressed by the Kilimanjaro Regional Commissioner Peter Kisumo. The bishop said a word of thanks to the government for curbing the 1964 army mutiny. The regional commissioner promised to bring the thanks to the president.<sup>626</sup>

The government's recognition of the LCNT is reflected in the invitation extended to Moshi to the celebrations of the inde-

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<sup>624</sup> This was the administrative council of the area in which the Synod took place.

<sup>625</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 7, 83.

<sup>626</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 7.



pendence of Tanganyika in December 1961 where the bishop delivered a speech.<sup>627</sup> In his report to the 1962 synod, the first synod after independence of Tanganyika, Moshi expressed the joy of the church that Tanganyika was now self-governing, and more so through peaceful means.<sup>628</sup> The bishop called upon the LCNT to remember that the present status of the government was achieved, in part, through the efforts made by the church in the past. According to him, much of the leadership in the country (75%) was contributed by the church's efforts in education. Such contribution was in turn upheld by the offerings of the congregants and the sacrifice made by teachers who did hard work at a low pay.<sup>629</sup> Moshi also saw in the peace within Tanganyika and the population growth the contribution of the church through evangelism and medical work. Considering the contribution of the church to the welfare of the nation the bishop, therefore, called upon the LCNT not to slacken its efforts in this regard in the future.<sup>630</sup>

In 1967, Tanzania having adopted the policy of *ujamaa* and self-reliance, the ELCT-ND sent Rev. Erasto Kweka to Kivukoni – Dar es Salaam to study the ideology.<sup>631</sup> The possible motives behind the Diocese decision to study the ideology are discussed in section 5.5 below.

The ELCT, in the absence of developed 'self-support' needed help from its Western partners. The ELCT's relations with the partners that provided support were, however, expected to be different from the earlier period in which missions' decisions had taken the upper hand.<sup>632</sup> In fact one of the tasks that Bishop

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<sup>627</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 21.

<sup>628</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 5.

<sup>629</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 5.

<sup>630</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 5.

<sup>631</sup> Interview with retired Bishop Kweka, 15.07.2011, Mailisita. It was during his studies at Kivukoni that the Central Committee of the Diocese worked out means of paying him since his parish could not foot his salary – A(ELCT-ND) – Mkutano wa Maofisa, 09.05.1969, Moshi Mjini.

<sup>632</sup> Lindqvist 1982, 11.

Moshi had to wrestle with was maintaining the identity and unity of the ELCT in the light of church-partner relations. A new epoch had begun and, time and again, comments regarding the position of the ELCT in relation to the partners were made. Tracking the history of the church and mission Moshi once commented;

Missionaries did not feel that they belonged to the church here but to the mission. Some of them even made such remarks as ‘I am not a church servant, but a mission servant who is helping the work here’. Such remarks hurt the feelings of many Africans, [...] Closing I would like to say that there have been missionaries whose names are like shining stars in the minds of the nationals, not only because of the Gospel which they preached, but because the relationship was like that which they preached. We are and shall be very grateful to the missionaries for what they did in the church and this country [...] <sup>633</sup>

Moshi here presents a two-fold view of the missionaries, some who were prone to create problems and those who aligned with the expectations of the ELCT. Implicitly, the troublesome ones should learn from the ‘shinning stars’. Suggesting that the un-conforming missionaries did not just end up in history, Moshi is quoted in yet another context as saying;

I urge the missionaries and missionary societies not to cause us difficulties in making forward steps in this church. We praise the Lord for the Gospel that you brought us. This cannot be changed. As regards order and polity, it behoves us as sons of Tanganyika and nationals of this country to discern that which befits us best. Let missionaries from different countries not change the thoughts of Africans in order to stress the traditions and customs from abroad. <sup>634</sup>

Moshi was, apparently, reminding both indigenous and foreign LCNT members that the leadership had changed. The change in leadership may have come with aspects that may not be appealing to some members. The fact that the new leadership

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<sup>633</sup> Becker 2013, 31.

<sup>634</sup> A(ELCA) – Snyder 1964, 3.

came with unique patterns was something that the missionaries had to bear with.

The efforts by the Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika to unite and strip themselves of the mission control were felt at the individual church level. The LCNT was a particular force in this. It should be noted that the LCNT sent a delegation of five people to the meeting at Kidugala, in 1952, that led to the decision to merge the Mission Church Federation functions into the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika.<sup>635</sup>

The tension between the LCNT leadership and some missionaries sometimes burst into conflict. The missionaries and their agencies were raising funds for the LCNT that had a final say on the use of the funds. The fact that the missionaries needed to account for the money meant a close follow up into how the money was spent. Such follow up was also likely to have tendencies interpreted as paternalistic remnant of the previous period. This entailed close contacts and at times a 'rubbing relation' with the authority. Simonson's eviction to Loliondo illustrates this.

David Simonson came to Tanganyika as an Augustana missionary in 1956 to work in the LCNT.<sup>636</sup> He and his wife Eunice had met Richard Reusch – the pro Maasai missionary at different times and were influenced by him.<sup>637</sup> After having served in Pare and Marangu,<sup>638</sup> the Simonsons went to work in the Arusha-Meru-Maasai district of the LCNT. David Simonson had manifold engagements with the Maasai. As a missionary he was answerable to the LCNT. He dealt with issues that touched the community and involved the Govern-

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<sup>635</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 55.

<sup>636</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 7, 25.

<sup>637</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 18–19.

<sup>638</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 52–53.

ment. Such matters probably touched Simonson for he came to Tanganyika with the primary goal of serving the Maasai.<sup>639</sup>

It is in this capacity that Simonson clashed with Bishop Moshi. Being an advocate of the Maasai gave Simonson a shock in 1964. He received an order of eviction from his missionary work and a demand that he went back home.<sup>640</sup> According to Simonson, Bishop Moshi thought that he was instigating – trying to arouse the Waarusha to usurp power.<sup>641</sup> According to Groop there was, however, a feeling that the work in Arusha and Maasailand was being neglected.<sup>642</sup> According to Klobuchar, Bishop Moshi had the power to do what he said for this was his Diocese.<sup>643</sup> However, Simonson had support among the Maasai and his superiors in America. A strategy was organised around a highly prestigious retired Maasai elder – Petro Sirikaa.<sup>644</sup> Sirikaa together with Elmer Danielson and others went to Bishop Moshi demanding another hearing. In his review Bishop Moshi made reference to missionaries who, unlike Simonson, were loyal to the system. Sirikaa reiterated their need for Simonson – else, he said, the church divides. At this Bishop Moshi revised his decision. Simonson, he said, stays in Tanzania if he wants to. But he does not stay here – in Moshi or Arusha. Simonson was reassigned to Loliondo.<sup>645</sup>

Attempts for better relations between the ELCT and the Northern partners were made. Such efforts resulted into the existence of bodies like the Tanganyika Assistance Committee (TAC).<sup>646</sup> The Tanganyika Assistance Committee was an organ through which foreign support to the ELCT-ND was channelled. The

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<sup>639</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 88.

<sup>640</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 88; Groop 2006, 306.

<sup>641</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 89.

<sup>642</sup> Groop 2006, 306.

<sup>643</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 90.

<sup>644</sup> Klobuchar is here probably referring to ‘Sirikwa’ which is a known Arusha clan.

<sup>645</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 90 – 91. See Groop 2006, 306.

<sup>646</sup> Mk Mkuu 1966, 72.

TAC succeeded the National Lutheran Council in 1966. The National Lutheran Council had dealt with American bodies. Unlike the National Lutheran Council, the Tanganyika Assistance Committee dealt both with American and European funders.<sup>647</sup> The existence of the TAC was no *panacea* to relational problems. In a section of a letter dated 22.02.1967 and addressed to Danielson who was the executive secretary of TAC, Moshi stressed;

Although it has been always stressed that this is done because of the responsibility to the givers, we are not happy at all; because this gives the impression of mistrust, and treat us as little children. To trust one another is the greatest responsibility of Christians on both sides. Even the fear that you should approve our small projects less we fail to run them and depend on you, would mean that we make immature decisions. The church can make mistakes as we have seen in history, but this cannot be an excuse to interfere with its freedom.<sup>648</sup>

Bishop Moshi is here reacting against measures taken by the TAC which he considers paternalistic. According to him the need to have clear accounts should not be used as an avenue to domination.

## **5.5 The Taste of Indigenous Leadership**

The fact that the LCNT had elected an indigenous president in 1958 meant that it was gradually acquiring a different status. The LCNT was attempting a shift from being a client to Augustana and Leipzig Missions. In merging the church and mission functions in 1958, the missionaries became members of the LCNT. The question is, were the LCNT's attempts to shift from being clients successful? If so what status did the LCNT acquire? Naturally, the shift was not something that happened instantaneously. On the one hand, part of the previous patronage could have desired to continue the patron-

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<sup>647</sup> Lindqvist 1982, 32–40; Groop 2006, 289–290.

<sup>648</sup> D(Groop) Stefano Moshi letter to Elmer Danielson, 22.02.1967.

age. On the other hand, some LCNT members could have also desired to adhere to the previous patronage.

The 1959–1969 period witnessed a total indigenisation of the key leadership positions in the Northern Diocese. The Northern Diocese desired to become autonomous. The process of leadership development continued the ambivalence in adoption of the missionary legacy observed in the previous chapter. The affairs of the Diocese during the 1960's, much like the preceding period, ran in a tension with regard to the Diocese's relations with its Northern partners and the state. The ministry of the Northern Diocese in the 1960's is scrutinised from four perspectives namely 1) adoption of episcopal leadership 2) the indigenisation of ministerial positions 3) the Diocese's relation struggles with its partners and state 4) the implications of the activities and relation patterns on leadership.

The ELCT-ND strove for, and adopted episcopal leadership. The Diocese pursuit for episcopacy as a mode of leadership was an identity related move. The striving reciprocates along the person of Pastor Stefano Moshi whom the LCNT had identified as a strong leader. The shift into episcopal leadership, which was already partly addressed in the Marangu 1955 All Africa Lutheran Conference<sup>649</sup> and highlighted in the 1958 synod<sup>650</sup>, was revived and pushed as a matter of urgency in the 1959–1969 period. The fact that episcopacy was defended and pushed suggests that it was resisted, at least latently. The question as to the kind of titles Christian leaders should bear was a source of tension among the Augustana and Leipzig missionaries, and Northern Tanzanians among whom the Chagga stood at the fore. The Augustana Mission leaders in the LCNT had the title superintendent and later president from 1956. This was the title Augustana missionaries used back home and it was unconceivable to have expected other titles for a church

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<sup>649</sup>LWF 1956, 74–75.

<sup>650</sup>D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 57.

nurtured by the Augustana missionaries. It could be argued that the Augustana missionaries even doubted the Diocese's move to adopt episcopacy. Was the indigenisation of the presidency not enough? The Augustana missionaries may have interpreted the move as a desire to accrue more power. Sundkler alludes to the concern, especially among the Americans, "The fear that the apostolic continuity through laying-on of hands might slip into the Lutheran church in Tanzania by the back door prevailed, especially among the American brethren."<sup>651</sup> The executive council presented a brief history to the 1960 synod on the process leading to the adoption of episcopacy in the LCNT.<sup>652</sup> In this report it is mentioned that the issue of episcopacy was raised in a meeting in 1952.<sup>653</sup> When it comes to the process leading to the adoption of episcopal leadership, the LCNT drifted from the Augustana missionaries and sided with the Leipzig missionaries who were conversant with the title. In addition, by adopting the title bishop the LCNT declared independence even from the Leipzig missionaries whom Northern Tanganyikans have vowed loyalty to in the 1930's. The LCNT was also chasing other churches in Tanganyika i.e., the North Eastern and North Western Dioceses that had adopted the title bishop.

The adoption of episcopal leadership affords a number of interpretations. Africans tend to see in the bishop a ruler. In his article "Becoming the Church in Tanzania" Faustin Mahali argues along this line,

It is my conviction that episcopacy was plausible to [the] indigenous because it was analogous to the role of priest(ess) in African culture. Originally the priesthood had been introduced to the indigenous in the colonial period as a solely spiritual office. The

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<sup>651</sup> Swantz 2002, 179.

<sup>652</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 67- 69.

<sup>653</sup> It is not clear which this meeting this report was referring to. The matter is not mentioned in the 1952 synod, at least not explicitly so. It is enough to note that the year 1952 falls in the time during which the Augustana missionaries were active in the LCNT.

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. In other words, African priesthood traditions 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 lifer-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.<sup>654</sup>

Mahali brings the era of missions and colonialism together and considers episcopacy something from without the African context that had to be given contextual interpretation. The Northern Diocese members brought home this kind of church leadership and already having in mind the importance of this structure to their immediate context as seen in Marealle's argument regarding the importance of episcopacy.

Lutherans are divided on episcopacy. The Augsburg confession considers episcopacy adiaphoric.<sup>655</sup> Lutherans attach more importance to what the office serves than to the office itself.<sup>656</sup> Laying importance on the office itself is inconsequential but could also be detrimental. The Marangu Conference resolution regarding the quest for episcopacy echoes the concern and caution that the adopted changes in titles or organisation with regard to the leadership of the church should be prompted by the guidance of God, be biblical and serve the interest of the church.<sup>657</sup> In his article "Episcopacy, A Sociological Trend in the Lutheran Church in Tanzania" Cuthbert Omari tracks the development of episcopal leadership in the ELCT. According to Omari, the varieties of church structures and leadership within the ELCT are a result of the history of the church. The different dioceses/synods by then followed the tradition of the

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<sup>654</sup> Mahali 2009, 52.

<sup>655</sup> See Westhelle 2000, 223.

<sup>656</sup> LWF 1982, 3–8.

<sup>657</sup> LWF 1982, 182.



foreign missionaries.<sup>658</sup> Further, Omari notes that the establishment of new diocese is along ethnic lines. This, according to Omari, reminds one of the abolition of chieftaincy by Nyerere in the immediate post-independence period. That which was abolished by the state found resurgence in the church; the role of the bishop echoing that of the chief, with resultant enhanced ethnic identity.<sup>659</sup> That episcopacy is a legacy of some kind cannot be denied; that the LCNT had a purpose in mind cannot also be denied. In his attempts to decipher power, Michel Foucault points to the calculated nature of power relations. According to him, “power relations are intentional and nonsubjective.” He adds “there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives.”<sup>660</sup> In adopting episcopal leadership the Diocese was addressing a felt need. One such need, it can be argued, was the quest for recognition of its leadership as Chief Marealle pointed out in the All Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu in 1955. There was, therefore, a legacy of some kind to which the Northern Diocese added a purpose – whether the two matched it is another question.

The legacy is mixed. This is so considering that a number of leadership models were available and that one model was picked and given contextual exegesis. The process leading to the adoption of episcopacy in the Northern Diocese was involving. It was not restricted to the clergy – it involved the laity and, noteworthy, renowned people including the chief. Although the Leipzig missionaries had been away since 1940 their leadership inclination was preferred to that of the Americans who had been operative in the LCNT since 1940. According to Parsalaw, members of the 1930 Synod had pledged to keep the Lutheran Confession, promising to subordinate themselves to their spiritual fathers in Leipzig.<sup>661</sup> The Leipzig

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<sup>658</sup> Omari 1987, 4.

<sup>659</sup> Omari 1987, 9.

<sup>660</sup> Foucault 1978, 94–95.

<sup>661</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 283.

missionaries are here credited as ‘fathers’ a consideration that is significant to an African. The African conception of ‘father’ implies that the father-child power gradient operates. The ‘father’ – the initiated – has the role and responsibility of showing the way. The dynamics in the process leading to the adoption of episcopal leadership makes Omari consider the trend to be more sociological than theological.<sup>662</sup> Omari is not alone in this. Sundkler writes:

Again in that time, especially with regard to Marealle’s comment, to many the particular way in which the question was put at Marangu came as surprise, and faithful Protestant opponents of the introduction of episcopacy in Bukoba have never tired of pointing out that they thought there was something strange in the initiative itself.<sup>663</sup>

Episcopal leadership does predispose to power and power abuse but does not necessarily lead to it. In an interview with Mathias Mndeme he sensed an increase in power, to the bearer and the church, in the adoption of the title of bishop. He also noted that some bishops have in fact abused this power. He is, however, in my view, balanced as he noted the possibility of power abuse whether one bears the title of president or bishop.<sup>664</sup> Ambivalence is stressed here. Mndeme said of Bishop Moshi that “he cannot recall of a person leaving Moshi’s office traumatised.”<sup>665</sup> However, as we saw above in Simonson’s case some were traumatised. This ambivalence suggests that the personality and, perhaps more so, the circumstances influence how power is used. Important in this respect is that the episcopal leadership is a position of power.

According to Sundkler, sound episcopacy should emerge organically from the nature of the church – which episcopacy is aimed to nurture. The church as per Sundkler is by nature a fel-

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<sup>662</sup> Omari 1987, 8.

<sup>663</sup> Sundkler 1980, 155.

<sup>664</sup> Personal communication with Mathias Mndeme, 21.02.2012, Makumira.

<sup>665</sup> Personal communication with Mathias Mndeme, 21.02.2012, Makumira.

lowship. Referring to the Diocese of Bukoba he writes, “[...] the diocese of Bukoba is not first and foremost an institution or organisation or a system or a religious organisation, but a personal fellowship, a family, a Christian extended family in the midst of Africa.”<sup>666</sup> He considers the view he has of the church as having consequences for his interpretation of the bishop role.

Below the bishop in position of authority was the assistant bishop. The rendering ‘assistant bishop’ was later changed to ‘assistant to the bishop’. The Swahili rendering *msaidizi was askofu* as opposed to *askofu msadizi* is equally calculated. The rendering ‘assistant to bishop’ is a variant to ‘assistant bishop.’ Preference to the former than the latter is probably power driven. The later suggests that the positions are more or less the same i.e., the assistant is a bishop but of a lesser rank, something that is not in the first rendering. The former rendering clearly spells out the fact that the assistant is not a bishop. He is in a position of assisting the bishop. The first person to hold the title assistant bishop i.e., in 1960, was Elmer Danielson. In his book *Forty Years with Christ 1928–1968 Tanganyika* notes that he had explained that the title should have been ‘assistant to the bishop’ and not ‘assistant bishop’.<sup>667</sup> According to him, the Synod delegates remained firm on what they had decided.<sup>668</sup> Danielson says of the decision, “I think they wanted to honour me”<sup>669</sup> Danielson’s comment seems plausible in view of the fact that the rendering ‘assistant bishop’ was replaced with ‘assistant to the bishop’ in 1962 when he was no longer in office. It could also be argued that the difference between the two renderings had not soaked enough in the minds of the Synod delegates. Whatever the position, the change of the title carries with it power connotations. The position of assistant to

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<sup>666</sup> Sundkler 1980, 153.

<sup>667</sup> Danielson 1996, 178.

<sup>668</sup> Danielson 1996, 178.

<sup>669</sup> Danielson 1996, 178.

the bishop remained in the hands of foreign missionaries i.e., Augustana and Leipzig missionaries, until 1966.<sup>670</sup> Worth noting also is the shift in the nationality of the assistants to the bishop. Danielson who we have met above was American. Becker, who succeeded Danielson, was German. He had been commissioned district missionary in the LCNT in 1958. In 1960 he was elected assistant bishop. This position Becker held until 1964.<sup>671</sup> As noted above by this time the title had changed to assistant to the bishop i.e., since 1962.

The continued presence of Augustana missionaries in the LCNT is explained by a decision made previously. It had been agreed in the 1958 synod that upon indigenisation of the presidency, the vice president should come from the North i.e., among the foreign missionaries.<sup>672</sup> This was meant to safeguard the relation between mission and the LCNT. The presence of a foreign missionary at this high position after the indigenisation of the presidency in the Northern Diocese, therefore, allowed for continued cooperation between the Diocese and its partners. This cooperation paved way for accessibility by the Diocese to assistance and nurture from its partners. One should in addition, note that the office of the vice president was not the only position having a foreign missionary. As we noted above the head of the women department was a foreign missionary. It is worth noting that there were two versions of the minutes for the different meetings – one in Kiswahili and another in English.<sup>673</sup> This trend relates to the discussion above about the desire to maintain relations that resulted into mutual benefits to the foreign missionary and the Diocese.

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<sup>670</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1966, 40; A(ELCT-ND) – Minutes of the Executive Council show this e.g., Mkutano wa 62 wa Halmashauri Kuu Moshi Mjini 25–26.01. 1965.

<sup>671</sup> Becker 2013, 51.

<sup>672</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1958, 60.

<sup>673</sup> Lois Burmeister is named as recorder of minutes in English. See A(ELCT-ND) – Mkutano wa 62 wa Halmashauri Kuu, Moshi Mjini 25–26. 01.1965.

The Northern Diocese indigenised the key ministerial positions in the 1960's. In addition, the Diocese established new departments. The efforts to establish departments like women and stewardship show the desire of the Diocese to implement its vision. The establishment of the women department reminds one of a trend that may be taken for granted. Foreign mission had been mainly associated with men. That this trend continued is suggested in the attendance to the synods. Attendance to the 1964 synod, for instance, was predominantly masculine. Of the 17 members of the executive council only two were women, one of whom – Loius Burmister – was there as a recorder of minutes in English. There was no women representation from the parishes in this synod.<sup>674</sup> Among the explanations for this trend would be that of education. In order to attend such meetings, it would be expected that the member is educated – at least knowing how to read and write – else how could one track the proceedings of the meeting and make significant contribution? The proportion of women who had gained the requisite education was relatively small.

Indigenous leaders began leading schools in 1960's. The trend was, however, mostly in boys' schools. Girls' schools still had missionary teachers due to lack of trained indigenous women.<sup>675</sup> While this argument sounds convincing it fails the test of time. The traditional attitude that prevents women from public arena access tends to offer a better explanation. One should note that in some areas e.g. among the Arusha there were more girls in schools than boys during the early establishment of schools.<sup>676</sup> Where did all this end? The reversal of the trend probably relates more to the adoption of the traditional values after the advantages of school were seen – women status being uplifted – or the desire to have the girls married. The exclusion

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<sup>674</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1964, 186–189.

<sup>675</sup> Personal communication with retired Bishop Erasto Kweka 15.07.2011, Mailisita.

<sup>676</sup> Groop 2006, 50.

of women amounts to an identity struggle. Back in 1950, the LCNT had made efforts to have women involved in the ministry of the church.<sup>677</sup> One should note that in 1950 the presidency of the LCNT was in the hands of the Augustana missionaries. It can, therefore, be argued that the Northern Diocese's efforts to establish women department in 1960's was part of the missionary legacy. The Northern Diocese, however, showed determination in seeing to it that the women department, which was considered important in the Diocese's vision, was for the first time established in the realm of indigenised leadership.

The establishment of the departments went hand in hand with the indigenisation of more leadership positions. The trend in the indigenisation, however, tended to favour the Chagga. There were more Chagga in the key leadership positions – the bishop and later the assistant to the bishop came from the Chagga ethnic group. In addition, the treasurer, education and medical secretaries were at some point also from among the Chagga. Efforts to offset the imbalance are manifest. Of the two Northern Diocese general secretaries, one was from Pare. The election of an assistant to the bishop i.e., Rev. Kilevo from Arusha in 1968, point in the same direction. These efforts, however, did not seem to match the magnitude of a legacy: Lutheran mission work began among the Chagga. The other ethnic groups in Northern Tanganyika – Pare, Meru, Arusha and Maasai – were reached later. As we noted above, in Chief Petro Marealle's address to Swanson in 1945, the Chagga during that time were also zealous in educational matters. The fact that mission went hand in hand with education – as captioned in Table 1 – partly explains the dominance of the Chagga in these leadership positions that required educated people.

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<sup>677</sup> Sundkler and Steed 2000, 882.

Table 1: Number of Schools in the Different Areas of the LCNT<sup>678</sup>

	District Schools	Village Schools
Pare	7	13
Moshi	11	21
Arusha-Meru	2	4
Maasai	-	6
Total	20	44

The demand for education in leadership positions, therefore, influenced the indigenisation process. While leaders, for instance at district level, in all other districts were indigenous the Maasai area remained in the hands of the foreign missionaries. Education alone does not, however, explain the dominance of Chagga. The fact that the mission work began in the Chagga area probably influenced the positioning of the head office among the Chagga. With this disposition was the possibility that the leadership would reach more swiftly and trust more those who were closer and known to it. These happened to be the Chagga. The Chagga ethnic group had for various reasons a favourable position. This disposition (*habitus*) built on beliefs taken for granted (*doxa*)<sup>679</sup> would be challenged as we shall see in chapter six below.

The Northern Diocese leadership strived to maintain its identity in its relations with the state and Northern partners. The practice of the Diocese of inviting political leaders to its synods reminds one of the early missionaries' practices. The Diocese's reaction to the policy of *Ujamaa* also invites attention. The invitation of local government leaders to events organised by the church, as Chief Grayson above puts it, shows the church's concern and thus recognition of the rule within which it operates. Such invitations also suggest flexibility and readiness to cooperate. Recognition of authority may be positive and de-

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<sup>678</sup> A(ELCA) – M/Mkuu 1950, 20.

<sup>679</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 35, 166, 167.

sired – it suggests loyalty. There could, however, be more to the Diocese's apparent loyalty to local authority and the state. The sending of Kweka to Kivukoni ideological college to study the ideology of *Ujamaa* suggests check and balance. On the one hand this meant getting to know more of the ideology that ran the affairs of the state that the Diocese owed allegiance to. On the other hand, sending a specific pastor to study the ideology suggests that the Diocese wanted to know more of the ideology so that it would not plunge into something it did not know at depth. The church as part of the society has always considered itself the mirror and guardian of the society. This is in part the legacy of the medieval church. According to Kijanga, "because of its sometimes genuine fear of ideologies in the 18th and 19th centuries [a fear that is not entirely void of some kind of ideology] excessively and jealously [the church] feels its responsibility to defend Christianity against the growing ideologies in a way that destroys and or distorts it."<sup>680</sup> It must also be remembered that in the Middle-Ages, theology in Europe grew into the "queen" of all science dominating the intellectual and spiritual life of that Christendom.<sup>681</sup> The Northern Diocese had evangelism as its core goal. The question by the Diocese would be like: Would *Ujamaa* succumb to Communism and do away with religious institutions? The Diocese's efforts to study the ideology could also have been a response to the history of the church there. Northern Tanzania had been an area that was watched closely. The Diocese was here safeguarding its core values.

Stephen Munga in his article "The church in relation to the World: Quest for an Ecclesiological Method"<sup>682</sup> addresses generally the power manifest in the mission of the church. Munga considers the church to be in partnership with the

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<sup>680</sup> Kijanga 1978, xi.

<sup>681</sup> Kijanga 1978, xi.

<sup>682</sup> The rendering 'church in the world' is considerably dualistic. It is, however, in my view, helpful as a tool for conceptualisation.



world. According to him the requirements for partnership are self-understanding, understanding the other and being understood by the other.<sup>683</sup> How then is power exercised in the relations between the church and the world? According to Munga, the church has the responsibility of affirming her self-identity and communicating this identity to the world for the purpose of being understood by the world. In turn, the world also has power to communicate its identity.<sup>684</sup> This reciprocal communication of identity has bred a struggle that has characterised the history of the church's encounter with the world. The attempts by the Northern Diocese to relate to the state exhibit this tension.

Hastings writing about Africa in this time has this to say: "There is plenty of power to be got and to be controlled in the many states of today's Africa. The great question is: what is it used for? And how do churches relate to it?"<sup>685</sup> How do churches relate to power? There is definitely the need for the church to relate or be concerned – but the approach it uses is an important consideration. We saw earlier that Church members in the Northern Diocese were involved in the land crisis i.e., during the colonial era. Should they not be equally concerned with new government policies to see whether things have changed for the better or for the worse in a regime that promised to oust the oppressive one?

Iiffe notes the following regarding nationalism;

Nationalism was, in one respect, a means by which Tanganyikans internalized many of colonial society's values and incorporated many of its institutions, notably its administrative state into their independent country.<sup>686</sup>

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<sup>683</sup> Munga 2009, 39.

<sup>684</sup> Munga 2009, 40–41.

<sup>685</sup> Hastings 1976, 77–78.

<sup>686</sup> Iiffe 1979, 4.

Iiffe suggests that nationalism did not strip Tanganyika of the colonial legacy. In adopting some colonial values and institutions the possibility was there that the ills of colonialism would be propagated by African leaders who promised independence to the Africans. It is in line with legacy that Mbise asks, “How many governments of independent African countries have returned to the common man what was grabbed out of his hands in the pre-independence era?”<sup>687</sup> Mbise suggests that the nationals’ expectations on the leadership of newly independent African countries were frustrated. There was thus genuine fear on the side of the church when new declarations were put forward. Referring to the situation of the independent Africa by then Hastings writes:

The plight of Africa is indeed such that, even with good intentions – it can be extremely difficult to manage either of these things, and the overall picture remains one of a growing divorce between the privileged and the government upon the one hand, and the vast majority of people upon this.<sup>688</sup>

Regarding what seems to be an attempt to do away with the bias Hastings continues:

This striking inequality between an affluent elite linked to the wealthy of the wider world, whose local representatives they inevitably are, and a struggling proletariat, the rural and urban is-of course-good ground for revolution of every sort and the spread of Marxism in particular [...] and the appeal of Marxism is almost sure to grow.<sup>689</sup>

In an interview with Bishop Kweka he pointed to the concern among the leaders of the Northern Diocese regarding the adoption of *Ujamaa* policy. The likelihood of *Ujamaa* being equated with communism was there.<sup>690</sup> The concern was worthwhile considering that some political achievements like independence

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<sup>687</sup> Mbise 1974, vii.

<sup>688</sup> Hastings 1976, 81.

<sup>689</sup> Hastings 1976, 81.

<sup>690</sup> Interview with Bishop Erasto Kweka 15.07.2011, Mailisita.

were misunderstood. In his report to the 1962 general assembly Bishop Moshi had cautioned against equating independence to irresponsibility.<sup>691</sup>

Apart from the tension between the ELCT-ND and the state, tension was also manifest within the Diocese. The Diocese though self-governing still depended on Western partners. In efforts to calm the effects of what Danielson describes as “unhealthy duality” resulting from the tension between the church and mission<sup>692</sup> and have a truly autonomous church the church and mission were merged in 1958. This was, however, not something that settled at once. The coexistence of the two, namely the LCNT and foreign mission, continued to be a matter of check and balance as to the position and relevance of the activity of foreign mission. The representatives of the partners had a split loyalty. They were on the one hand members of the Diocese. They were on the other hand answerable to the sending mission societies. The incorporation of mission into the church was one thing and the coexistence of the partners with the church quite another. The church was in the second phase – that of handling the merged functions of mission and church. The Diocese needed assistance in terms of finance and know-how. It, however, needed to uphold its identity and autonomy.

The clash between Bishop Moshi and Rev. Simonson reflects power relations in a number of ways. Simonson was considered a guest by the leadership of the Northern Diocese. The era of the foreign missionary being the master and patron was over. As a ‘guest’ Simonson was expected to portray a ‘gentle’ approach. An African proverb goes, “the guest has short horns”. In other words, the guest should express his or her views or criticisms covertly. Implicitly, the guest is expected to exercise power within socially defined limits. Bishop Moshi’s reaction to Simonson may have been precipitated by a number of fac-

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<sup>691</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 5–6.

<sup>692</sup> Danielson 1996, 117.

tors namely: his experience as a guest in America, his position as bishop and the age difference between himself and Simonson. According to Danielson, Moshi was probably a victim of racial discrimination during his stay in America.<sup>693</sup> If this did happen Moshi probably learnt the limitations of a guest the hard way. As we saw in Chapter Two above, initiation helps one sever ties with childhood and takes him to adulthood.<sup>694</sup> In the hierarchy of knowledge a guest would pertain to the uninitiated. The knowledge of the guest in matters pertaining to a locality is limited. The guest is likely to make unwise decisions. In addition, there was almost a generation gap between Moshi, born in 1906 and Simonson born in 1929. Age difference matters among the Chagga when it comes to pointing fingers. The elderly are to be respected. This is very likely to have been Bishop Moshi's view of Simonson. But age differences may not have been the only problem. Personality differences and what each expected of the other in the existing leadership model also mattered.

Simonson, on the other hand, was conscious of the fact that the Diocese was an old mission field of Augustana Mission. He considered the allocation of resources, part of which came from Northern partners, biased toward the Chagga against, among others, the Maasai amongst whom he was working.<sup>695</sup> He also may not have respected Bishop Moshi the same way he would, for instance, respect Danielson. Danielson himself-notes that the transition to indigenous president/bishop was not easy. When working as assistant bishop people brought their matters to him instead of Bishop Moshi.<sup>696</sup> Naturally, people would not expect Danielson, who had been the president of the LCNT, to be below Bishop Moshi in the leadership hierarchy. Danielson confesses that he sometimes had to apologise to Moshi for tak-

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<sup>693</sup> Danielson 1996, 142.

<sup>694</sup> Mbiti 1969, 122–123.

<sup>695</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 89; Groop 2006, 306.

<sup>696</sup> Danielson 1996, 178.

ing hold of matters that had to go first to Moshi.<sup>697</sup> Simonson was, probably, not an exception to the difficulties encountered in honouring the indigenous leadership. Personal courage and probably financial power tend to have also given Simonson the guts to push for a change through what may not have been the best approach.<sup>698</sup> Such abilities influenced the Maasai. To them Simonson was not a guest in the manner of the above scenario. They joined hands with Simonson.

The plans to have Simonson reinstated and the resultant decision of sending him to Loliondo are also power laden. The supporters of Simonson went with the influential Sirikaa and Danielson demanding a hearing. Bishop Moshi gave them a hearing and revisited his decision. Simonson was to remain. Irrespective of ethnic differences Moshi tended to respect Sirikaa who was a generation older.<sup>699</sup> The bishop, however, retained part of the power. Simonson remained but was reassigned to the remote corner of the Diocese i.e., to Loliondo. Moshi respected the elderly Sirikaa. It can be argued that Moshi expected Simonson to understand that not only the age difference between them mattered but also the fact that he (Moshi) as a bishop was in a respected position.

The processes culminating in the birth of the ELCT amount to a pursuit for identity. These processes in turn suggest some kind of anticipation and preparedness to what such identity entailed. The union of the seven churches that led into the formation of ELCT in 1963 meant that the church so formed had together a stronger voice in matters associated with the state and the founding missions. In an interview with Smedjebacka he described the coming together of the seven churches as entailing power.<sup>700</sup> Smedjebacka's view is in line with a Kiswahili saying goes *Umoja ni nguvu* – unity is power. The uni-

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<sup>697</sup> Danielson 1996, 178.

<sup>698</sup> Klobuchar 1998, 89.

<sup>699</sup> Kolubuchar 1998, 91.

<sup>700</sup> Communication with Henrik Smedjebacka 31.05. 2011, Helsinki.

fied church (ELCT) had one voice – not seven disconnected voices. This commonality in voice was power against all divisive elements that could be brought in by external organisations e.g., individual foreign missions, other denominations or the state. This is so considering that a unified ELCT cut off some of the influence which mission societies had had on the seven separate churches. The strength exhibited in the unity was also for the building of the church and whatever the church considered important in its mission. The unity of the churches was proof to the fact that the wind of independence – self-rule – was not limited to the political realm. It was strong and felt in the ecclesiastical circles.<sup>701</sup> The slogan *uhuru na umoja* – freedom and unity – that characterised post independent Tanganyika seem to have found way into the church.

It is interesting noting that the emergence of the ELCT did not result into the different synods or dioceses relinquishing ties with the founding missions. Such ties were maintained. This too is an act of power. Of Venn's three-self formula one i.e., self-support, had not been fully attained. As such the Diocese continued to relate with the missions and agencies in order to fully develop with regard to self-support. To safe guard its identity the Diocese cooperated with the one it had been gradually distancing from. This kind of 'surrender' implies power ceding. Such surrender of power would allow for the gradual building of 'self-support'.

The unity and its associated power in the ELCT had a bearing on the constituent synod/dioceses of the ELCT including ELCT-ND. When the ELCT-ND made decisions though alone it had the other six in mind. One should note that Bishop Moshi who was the first bishop of the ELCT was also the head of the ELCT-ND. Much like the ELCT, the ELCT-ND coexisted with the previous missions in a fashion different from that of the missionary era. The ELCT-ND portrayed its power as an auto-

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<sup>701</sup> Maanga 2012, 35.

nomous church – this was for the good and at times for the worse.

The Diocese strove to instil the sense of ownership of the church to its members. Probably seeing that independence was abused – people leading a loose irresponsible life – Nyerere, the president of the newly independent Tanganyika, came up with the slogan *Uhuru ni Kazi*<sup>702</sup> – literally, independence is work. Independence implies freedom for one to be more engaged on what profits him or her and the nation at large. The same could be said from a slightly different perspective with the Church. Christians in the church that was now led by a national leader were prone to expect much and even lead a relaxed life. The indigenisation of the church leadership if seriously taken was not for its own sake, it was meant for a smooth running and contextual carrying out of ministry.

Henry Venn worked on the principles of indigenous mission. To him missionaries were to be considered temporary not permanent. Venn's three-self formula – self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting – was considered an indicator of autonomy for a church. Now that self-support was not seen as hindrance to the granting of self-government, self-governing churches in need of continued support from foreign missions were created.<sup>703</sup> The birth of the ELCT more or less confirmed this shift in the running of church affairs in which case the dictates of the founding mission societies would not be taken for granted. As such the leader became the led or at most a colleague. This meant that much now depended on the indigenous Christians.

The different moves and processes in the Northern Diocese i.e., the adoption of episcopacy, struggles with the state and Northern partners and indigenisation, had implications on the development of leadership in the Diocese. The different struggles

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<sup>702</sup> Nyerere 1967; 1974

<sup>703</sup> Lindqvist 1982, 11.

also challenged and impacted the Diocese with regard to the way it would handle leadership succession in the future. By adopting episcopacy and indigenising the key ministerial positions the Northern Diocese was in a way sealing its departure from patronage. The episcopate is a position of power. The likely impact of the LCNT's adoption of episcopacy is illustrated in Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of the dynamics through which positions of power are acquired and maintained, as discussed in chapter two above. Bourdieu in his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice* identifies field as an important aspect of his analysis of social dynamics. The church and the Northern Diocese in particular, constitute a field within which competition for leadership exists. According to Bourdieu, established orders tend to create, through different means, avenues for the naturalisation of their arbitrariness.<sup>704</sup> Maintenance of unquestioned beliefs that are taken for granted, which Bourdieu terms 'doxa', is an approach in reproducing arbitrariness in a field.<sup>705</sup> These deeply ingrained beliefs and values in the actors constitute the habitus – the embodiment of societal principles in the person of an actor that precipitate certain dispositions.<sup>706</sup>

The habitus is exhibited in some Northern Diocese members, particularly the Chagga, in whom the doxa is maintained. Bishop Moshi's family background, education and missionary nurture, for instance, produced a 'fitting' church figure. The habitus ensured the maintenance of the missionary legacy. Against the doxa is, however, heterodoxy that questions the beliefs held as true and unquestionable.<sup>707</sup> This amounts to violence which is characteristic of competition in a field. The Northern Diocese expressed this violence in the adoption of episcopacy – a seal to exiting its position as client to the mis-

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<sup>704</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 164.

<sup>705</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 165–166.

<sup>706</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 35.

<sup>707</sup> Bourdieu 1977, 164.



sionaries. Having accessed the new position, the Northern Diocese sought patterns of relations with the state and its partners. The Diocese also strived to build a system of its own in meeting its vision. The system built was, however, informed by the legacy of the missionaries. It was meant to influence even the relations between the church and the government. In his comments regarding the adoption of Episcopal leadership in the All Africa Lutheran Conference in 1955, Chief Thomas Marealle had alluded to the weakness of the title superintendent for Lutheran leaders in Tanganyika. Marealle called for a stronger voice in negotiations with the government which he considered possible through adoption of episcopacy much like in the case of the Roman Catholics.<sup>708</sup>

The move made by the Northern Diocese found support and challenges from the missionaries. The fact that Danielson became the (first) assistant bishop paved way for continued partnership between the Northern Diocese and the Augustana missionaries. Danielson had, previously, in the late 1940's, been the superintendent of the LCNT. Accepting the position of assistant bishop was in line with his plans for the establishment of indigenous leadership. Danielson's acceptance to this position was in line with what Moshi had suggested in the 1955 All Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu. According to him, "[e]ach church should be free to do whatever it feels right for its work and for its growth."<sup>709</sup> The challenges the Northern Diocese met with its partners e.g., in its struggles with the Tanganyika Assistance Committee, informed the leadership on the need for continued efforts to have better partnership models. Further, the challenges called for the need of the Diocese members to 'own' the Diocese by being self-reliant. The

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<sup>708</sup> LWF 1956, 75.

<sup>709</sup> LWF 1956, 75.

Northern Diocese was willing to preserve cooperation with its partners but was against any traces of paternalism.<sup>710</sup>

Although the Northern Diocese stood independent in the sense of its being self-governing it still had issues it took for granted. Two such issues deserve a mention. The first issue pertains to theology. Venn did not include self-theologising among his 'selves'. The missionaries came with a theology that the Diocese continued even when self-governing. The Northern Diocese exited clientelism but it cannot be appropriately considered to have become patrons in the sense that the prominence of the Diocese pertained mainly to self-governing. The relationship between the Northern Diocese and the Augustana missionaries was reciprocal. In its continued relations with the Diocese, the Augustana Mission, as partner, continued its financing and theologising legacy. This meant that Augustana Mission did not cease to exist in the realm of the Northern Diocese. The identity tension, therefore, lingered. The second issue relates to the prominence of people from the Chagga ethnic group in the leadership of the Diocese. The Northern Diocese also went by that which related more to the Chagga context namely that of bishop reflecting chieftaincy. The prominence of the Chagga in a Diocese of multiple ethnic composition made other ethnic groups view the Chagga as patrons or brokers. This would be an aspect of contention that would result into the desire by other ethnic groups to stand alone. The ethnic and gender laden grievances are addressed in the next chapter.

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<sup>710</sup> Smedjebacka 1973, 314.

# 6 Power in the Split of the Northern Diocese and Ordination of Women 1970–1993

## 6.1 Background

The first decade of the era stretching from 1970 to 1993 saw a number of developments in the state and church realms within Tanzania. A decade of indigenous leadership had elapsed in the church. The government was also close to celebrating a decade of leadership by the first president Julius Nyerere. The excitement and enthusiasm brought by *uhuru* and adoption of indigenous leadership was being tested. The era can, in part, be described as one of facing reality. Expectations were tested against reality. Both the state and the church felt the tests brought about by the reality against what was expected through indigenous leadership. The tests were also felt in the church-state relations. Facing the reality bred varied responses and approaches.

The government proceeded with the policy of *ujamaa*. In efforts to effect a practical implementation of the policy the government established institutions, passed a number of resolutions and launched a number of programmes. Underperformance in efforts geared toward eradication of illiteracy, poverty and diseases was attributed to dependence on foreign aid and employment of private investors.<sup>711</sup> The government took the ideas of the state ownership of the economy's key sectors and collective work, as reflected in the establishment of *ujamaa* villages, as fitting solutions to the situation besetting the country.

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<sup>711</sup> D(Moshi) – Bomani Paul – Hotuba ya Mheshimiwa Waziri wa Uchumi na Mipango ya Maendeleo kuujulisha Mpango wa Pili wa Miaka Mitano kwa Kamati Kuu ya Tanu Tarehe 21, Mei, 1969.

The political leaders in Tanzania made efforts to involve religious leaders in supporting *ujamaa*. In 1970 the ruling party in Tanganyika, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), organised a seminar of leaders of various religious denominations. In the opening speech of the seminar Julius Nyerere, the president of Tanzania and TANU party leader, pointed to areas of concern of the general community and the church in particular. According to Nyerere, “The church that preaches love must be concerned.”<sup>712</sup> Nyerere continued;

We are talking about the relationship among people in a nation. We would like to build a nation that bears the characteristics of a family, a family of a man, his wife and their children. The property, all of it, belongs to them. About the farm they say, our farm. All of them say the same – the father, mother and children – the farm is theirs. When they go to work, they are not going to work for their father or mother, they are going to work in their farm. It is not possible to have in such a situation one dressed well with some extra clothing while the other is ill clad, no! It is a family; the relationship is one of honouring the other.<sup>713</sup>

Having thus explained, Nyerere invited critique from his audience on the party position; an invitation which was at times loaded with sarcasm.

Now we request you to judge us basing on this situation – about what we say – not on the situation [socialism] in Europe – we are talking about Tanzania. It is your calling, you are obliged to help – Now! Our intention is not to contradict God; we are fighting exploiters – and God is not an exploiter.<sup>714</sup>

The ELCT endorsed *ujamaa*.<sup>715</sup> The *ujamaa* policy was seen as not contradicting the biblical call of concern for the lives of others. This endorsement was, however, not without concern about the nature and performance of the ideology. Some researchers attribute leadership transformation in the ELCT,

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<sup>712</sup> Nyerere 1970, 2 – my translation of the original.

<sup>713</sup> Nyerere 1970, 29–30.

<sup>714</sup> Nyerere 1970, 31–32.

<sup>715</sup> Vähäkangas 1992, 20; Mwankenja 1999, 31.

particularly the split into synods and diocese, to attempts by the church to have an impact on the society. Frieder Ludwig, for instance, sees in the birth of synods and dioceses through fragmentation of the existing ones, and the surge in the number of other denominations in Tanzania, a response to the failure of *ujamaa* to reach its intended goals.<sup>716</sup>

The years 1970/1971, saw the inauguration of the University of Dar es Salaam which had beforehand been the University College of the University of East Africa. The foundation stone of the Tanzania-Zambia Railways, known as *Uhuru* Railways, was laid in the same time.<sup>717</sup> Such establishments were motivated by the government's desire to curb ignorance, to enhance cooperation with neighbouring countries and to develop the communication network. The Moshi resolution stressing an agriculture based on irrigation was announced in 1972. This was followed by the villagisation programme in 1973/1974.<sup>718</sup> The government also introduced the policy of universal primary education (UPE) in 1974. Popularly known as the Musoma Resolution, the policy demanded that all children of school age should go to school. In 1977, TANU the ruling party in mainland Tanzania merged with the Afro Shirazi Party, the ruling party in Zanzibar, giving birth to the party 'Chama cha Mapinduzi' that has led the government to date. The coming together of the two parties strengthened the unity between the two governments established in 1964.

The efforts made by the government were not without strains and stress. Earlier, in 1971, Id Amin president of neighbouring Uganda provoked Tanzania. He claimed that some parts of Tanzania sharing borders with Uganda were part of Uganda. This provocation later led to the 1978–1979 war between Tanzania and Uganda. The war plunged Tanzania into a wave of

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<sup>716</sup> Ludwig 1999, 231.

<sup>717</sup> Kamisa and Mlaki, 1977, 45

<sup>718</sup> Kamisa and Mlaki, 1977, 88. See also Ludwig 1999, 230.

economic crisis that would haunt the nation for decades. With all the good intentions of the villagisation programme its implementation bred a lot of problems. The programme was meant to have people live together so that socio-economic services such as health and agriculture would be conveniently and effectively delivered to people. This was naturally resisted. The seemingly flawed implementation of the programme led to a hasty and coerced relocation of people to the designated areas leading to undesired results. The problems, particularly those associated with the implementation of the policy of *ujamaa*, were attributed to lack of know-how and lack of clear guidance. Lack of resources and bad weather conditions also contributed to the poor performance of the implementation of the policy.<sup>719</sup>

At first the Tanzanian government remained quite stable albeit the strains and stresses. Such stability was attributed to the mass popular support developed during the independence struggle modelled in the single party rule.<sup>720</sup> With time, however, the government would yield to demands brought by the external forces (e.g., the International Monetary Fund) and the inability of the internal structure to address contextual needs. According to Max Mmuya and Amon Chaligha, “[t]he liberalization of the economic sphere of necessity meant the subsequent liberalization of the social and political spheres.”<sup>721</sup> Nyerere retired in 1985, and in 1992 Tanzania moved from the politics of single party system to that of a multiparty system. This entailed a change, almost a reversal, of the political agenda. The policy of nationalisation was dropped and the policy of privatisation was adopted.

The church, on the other hand, had its aspects to cherish and challenges to address. The ELCT continued growing. In the

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<sup>719</sup> Kamisa and Mlaki, 1977, ix, 88.

<sup>720</sup> Samoff 1974, 8.

<sup>721</sup> Mmuya and Chaligha 1992, 125.

first half of the 1970's, the number of Lutheran Christians in the ELCT stood at 700,000. These members were served by 377 pastors, and 1800 evangelists. Of the 377 pastors 336 were Tanzanians and 41 were from partner churches and mission agencies.<sup>722</sup> The church continued its role in the medical and educational arena. In 1971, efforts by the ELCT and other Christian denominations, particularly Moravian and Anglican, bore fruits as the Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre, the first referral hospital in the area, was inaugurated.<sup>723</sup> The fact that the Northern Diocese was led by Bishop Stefano Moshi who was also the head of the ELCT, coupled with the locating of the referral hospital in Kilimanjaro suggest the impact the project had on the Diocese. The year 1977 witnessed an historic event as the ELCT hosted the general assembly of the LWF at the University of Dar es Salaam. This was the first time in the history of the LWF that the assembly met in a developing country. It was during this time that bishop Josiah Kibira was elected president of the LWF, a position he held until 1984.<sup>724</sup>

Efforts by the ELCT in the medical and education fields were tested by the government's move to nationalise church owned schools in 1970. Such a move though accepted by the church had a bearing on its ministry as the church was robbed one of its aspects of mission. Another issue during this time, concerned the role of women in ministry. After a lengthy discussion on whether or not women should be ordained, the ELCT finally endorsed the idea of ordaining women in 1990.<sup>725</sup>

Having had a general picture of the situation in the state and church during this period, the presentation below dwells on the

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<sup>722</sup> D(Moshi) – Moshi 1975, 4.

<sup>723</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 1.

<sup>724</sup> Larsson n.d, 42. See also A(TUMA) – Njoo Uone Oktoba 1977, no. 4, pg 2; A(TUMA) – Ija Webonere 1977

<sup>725</sup> See Maanga 2012, 205.

situation within the Northern Diocese of the ELCT which is the focus of this study.

## **6.2 The Splitting of the ELCT-ND: The Birth of New Church Bodies**

In 1969 the Northern Diocese had a membership of 224,747 Christians. The Diocese had 134 pastors, 125 of whom were indigenous and 9 were from foreign partner churches. The number of evangelists stood at 458.<sup>726</sup> The Diocese still retained its varied ethnic constitution i.e., Chagga, Pare, Meru, Arusha and Maasai. As highlighted above, however, the expectations and enthusiasm of the members of the church were being tested. One area of this testing was regarding the unity of the church. The Northern Diocese also experienced this test. The unity of the churches in 1963 began to show signs of shaking.

The missionaries strove to bring the gospel to Northern Tanganyika in the vernacular. This attempt was aimed at making the indigenous people hear the gospel in their own tongue. This would be expected in the absence of a unifying language. Spreading the gospel in one's mother tongue creates the feeling that 'God speaks our language'. This feeling is likely to have the gospel set root in the peoples' hearts. This attempt is, however, not without side effects. Such an approach tends to stress ethnic identity which is likely to be abused i.e., splitting people into 'we and they'. The ELCT-ND was not an exception to this. With time almost every area within the boundaries of the Northern Diocese inhabited by a distinct ethnic group was to become an independent synod/diocese.

### *The Synod in Arusha Region*

We previously saw that mission work in Northern Tanzania had been from the beginning concentrated on the slopes of Mt.

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<sup>726</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1969, 7.



Kilimanjaro (i.e., among the Chagga) in what would become today's Northern Diocese. It was only after mission work was well established in this area that the missionaries set out to spread the gospel among the other ethnic groups.<sup>727</sup> The good progress in Chagga mission was attributed to the favourable conditions in the area. The climate was favourable to good health.<sup>728</sup> The time spent on the Chagga area gave the Chagga some kind of prominence in the Northern area that would later predispose them to a tension. Already in 1928 the dissimilarity among the different areas, Chagga, Pare, Meru and Arusha, was noted.<sup>729</sup> After the return of the Leipzig missionaries in 1925, a conference that brought together leaders, teachers and missionaries was held in order to discuss the progress of mission work. Two of the problems that showed up were those of differences in education, manifesting itself in differences in fluency of Kiswahili; and the speed of development among some congregations particularly the Chagga.<sup>730</sup>

Echoed in the 1971 general assembly was the desire by the Pare and Maasai/Mbulu districts to become independent synod/diocese.<sup>731</sup> The general assembly of the Diocese had its reservations. It considered the move unripe.<sup>732</sup> The assembly in principle granted the request.<sup>733</sup> It passed a twofold resolution: 1) that in order for the districts to achieve this, the first step should be development of autonomy. The general assembly gave the executive council the task of laying out plans to effect development of autonomy in the districts. 2) that the request

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<sup>727</sup> Smedjebacka 1973. 38.

<sup>728</sup> In addition, and in what sounds Darwinistic, the Chagga were said to be physically and intellectually well-developed peasants, Fleisch 1998, 45. See also Parsalaw 1999, 62.

<sup>729</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 282.

<sup>730</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 282.

<sup>731</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – M/Mkuu 1971, 26.

<sup>732</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – M/Mkuu 1971, 26.

<sup>733</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 3. See also – A(TUMA) – Historia Fupi ya Dayosisi ya Mkoani Arusha 1993, 2.

made by the two districts be forwarded to the general assembly of the ELCT with the message that the Diocese had no objection to the districts growing and reaching a stage of becoming independent synods or dioceses in due time.<sup>734</sup> On 01.10.1971, the Arusha/Mbulu of the ELCT Northern Diocese district split into two districts namely Meru and Arusha.<sup>735</sup> This division of the district split the Meru people from the Maasai and Arusha who are more closely related. In his address during the event, Bishop Moshi informed the audience that in effecting the split the Diocese was responding to a request made by the Meru, Arusha and Maasai Christians. The fact that the split happened to be along ethnic lines should, therefore, not be taken to suggest that the church was condoning ethnic based divisions.<sup>736</sup> In the same occasion Joel Ngeiyamu seems to have been equally concerned about the lurking ethnic strife. He stressed; “In you’re annals of history do not write that on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1971 we parted ways, rather use a different rendering ‘[WE] YOU ARE CALLED’ to serve the Lord in different contexts.”<sup>737</sup>

Albeit the counsel given during the general assembly and the underlying plans to found a synod according to the laid down procedures, the division leading to the birth of the Synod in Arusha Region occurred ‘prematurely’. The Arusha-Maasai were operating with some kind of an ultimatum. In an interview with Rev. Mathias Mndeme he told of some aspects of the struggle by the proponents for the new synod. According to him, the proponents pushed for the separation as a matter of urgency. The Arusha and Maasai, together with their leaders had announced ‘come January [1973] we will be an independent Synod’.<sup>738</sup> The Synod in Arusha region was inaugurated in 1973.<sup>739</sup> This Synod was the first to detach from the ELCT-ND.

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<sup>734</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 3–4.

<sup>735</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 2.

<sup>736</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 2.

<sup>737</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 3 – my translation from the original.

<sup>738</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

<sup>739</sup> Interview with Rev. Gabriel Kimirei, 10.09.2012, Arusha.

The leader of the newly found Synod was Rev. Mesiaki Kilevo. He was assisted by Rev. Gideon Soombe.<sup>740</sup> Before the break-out, Mesiaki Kilevo was the assistant to the bishop of the Northern Diocese. He had worked with Bishop Moshi since he was elected assistant to the bishop in 1968.<sup>741</sup> According to Mandao and Omari, since his installation as assistant to the bishop, Kilevo had shown signs of dissidence with Bishop Moshi. Mandao and Omari note that sometimes when Bishop Moshi introduced him as his assistant he disagreed saying ‘I am not the assistant to the bishop.’<sup>742</sup> It is not clear why Kilevo would say so for he was, indeed, the assistant to the bishop. It could be argued that he had already begun considering himself belonging to and leading another church body i.e., the emergent Synod. Kilevo finally dissociated from the Northern Diocese with a following. The vacancy left by Mesiaki Kilevo was filled by Rev. Erasto Kweka who was elected assistant to the bishop on the 11.06.1973.<sup>743</sup> We will come back to Erasto Kweka in the section on the leadership of the ELCT-ND below.

Moshi was still the presiding bishop of the ELCT during the time of the emergence of the Synod in Arusha Region. The newly formed Synod was, therefore, under his jurisdiction. Albeit the dissidence expressed by Kilevo against Moshi the Synod needed the blessings of the presiding bishop. According to Mandao and Omari, the Arusha elders requested Bishop Moshi to consecrate their leader.<sup>744</sup>

During the 1980’s, the ELCT saw a number of its constituents adopting Episcopal leadership. Most synods were, therefore, named dioceses led by bishops instead of presidents or *mkuu* – leader. The Synod in Arusha Region was led by a president but

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<sup>740</sup> A(TUMA) – Historia Fupi ya Dayosisi ya Mkoani Arusha 1993, 2.

<sup>741</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1969, 1.

<sup>742</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 18.

<sup>743</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1973, 1.

<sup>744</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 18.

when it acquired the status of Diocese in 1986, it was led by a bishop.<sup>745</sup>

As we noted above the process leading to the birth of the Synod in Arusha Region was hastened. According to Parsalaw the push for a separate synod was grievance driven:

It is true to say that when one reads the existing accounts, analysis and historical descriptions, Chagga congregations appear to a large extent to have been highly represented while congregations in other areas especially those of the Maa speaking tribes received very little attention. In almost every generalization the illustration of the Chagga congregations dominated.<sup>746</sup>

The general assembly of the Maasai Mbulu District had recommended a separate Synod in its 30 September 1969 sitting.<sup>747</sup> Several reasons were given as to why separation from the Northern Diocese was considered a sound alternative: The District was large with many tribes unreached. The character of this district was also considered different, and this required a different orientation. The big task in the district was mission. In view of these factors the founding of a separate Synod was considered a solution as it would bring the centre closer to the people and render training of workers easier.<sup>748</sup>

The roots of the grievances, however, appear to be deeper. The Arusha people were reached by the gospel in 1904, slightly

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<sup>745</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 29. The name of the Diocese has since 2010 changed to North-Central Diocese. The change in name is a result of changes in the government administrative structure. The 'former' Arusha region gave birth to two regions, namely Arusha and Manyara. Since the Diocese spanned both regions a change in name to one that would not exclude either of the government administrative regions was adopted by the executive council of the ELCT. The influence state dynamics has on church affairs is worth noting.

<sup>746</sup> Parsalaw 1999, 30.

<sup>747</sup> D(Groop) – Mesiaki Kilevo – in an interview with Kim Groop 28.02.2006.

<sup>748</sup> D(Groop) – Mesiaki Kilevo – in an interview with Kim Groop 28.02.2006.

more than ten years after the Leipzig missionaries began work at Nkwarungo among the Chagga. As we noted in chapter three above, attempts to establish mission work among the Chagga were made well before the 1900's, i.e., in year 1844 by Rebmann. The exposure of the Chagga to mission work earlier than the rest tended to create in them some kind of superiority. The time difference in the of mission work entails differences in the number of indigenous people the foreign missionaries recruited for different tasks. Differences in climatic conditions that affected life styles also counted. The Chagga lived a stationary life as opposed to the Maasai who were mostly nomadic. Establishment of permanent structures was thus more likely among the Chagga than among the Maasai who, nonetheless, accounted for a significant part of the new Synod. One needs to note that the differences in ethnicity point to differences in culture and hence, worldview, capability and performance in various trades. Therefore, while the Northern Tanzania area was under the same church umbrella, some kind of hierarchy existed.

One of Richard Reusch's proposals to further mission work in Maasai land tended to haunt the Northern Diocese. His proposal was that the whole of the Maasai-speaking field should become one unit – a church province. Groop quotes Reusch's communication to his supporters in America and Germany:

Let us put forth every effort to evangelists and teachers, who are "warriors of Christ" and who will fight HIS battles in the same high spirit, which the Masai have had until now. Those of them who are Christians look upon every difficulty and every sacrifice as a part of their duty towards their Lord and heavenly King. And then when the Cross will stand in the centre of the wide Masai plains and the voice of the bells will call the people of those plains to worship the crucified SAVIOUR, then our Christian Lutheran Church will have an un-shakeable foundation in the northern half of Tanganyika. [...] Then, when some day our King will come to claim HIS own, HE will find among them also a great number of Masai women, children and....warriors, who were faithful unto HIM. And then,

my fellow Missionaries, then....our duty, which we received from HIM, will be....fulfilled.<sup>749</sup>

Groop notes that, “[a]lthough a fully integrated part of the Northern Diocese and the ELCT, the Maasai work continued to depend on foreign support from missionaries.”<sup>750</sup> The vastness of the Maasai area, the dry climatic conditions that have influenced nomadic life, and the lag in establishment of mission work tended to subject the area to a continued need of more help relative to the other areas. There were, therefore, differences between the two areas and their inhabitants. Thus it was felt necessary to have a system that would address each area according to its needs.

In an interview, Gabriel Kimirei, a pastor from the Arusha ethnic group, pointed out some of the differences in the establishment between the Maasai District and the rest of the districts in the Diocese. Kimirei had this to say regarding the impact the differences had on the propagation of the gospel.

Our goal was to have the gospel preached to our people – to have the service rendered close to the people and contextually. Our people are polygamists. And we wouldn’t want polygamy to be a barrier to Christianity. One does not need to already have Christian ethics in order to become a Christian. Of course, we set limits – the baptized polygamist was not expected to add more wives. Polygamy had become a barrier to many. We accepted polygamy – Jesus meets a person in his very context – life.<sup>751</sup>

In his views regarding the amendment of the Law of Marriage Act, in *Umoja* the ELCT-ND journal, Kilevo echoes a similar concern regarding a Christian who marries two wives:

He who marries more than one wife is against God’s plan in marriage. In the same manner, he who separates from wives he is married to is against God’s principle of love and service to the other.<sup>752</sup>

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<sup>749</sup> Groop 2006, 209.

<sup>750</sup> Groop 2006, 289.

<sup>751</sup> Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, 10.09.2012, Arusha.

<sup>752</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1970, 2 – my translation of the original.

Regarding how a Christian marrying more than one wife should be handled, Kilevo further writes,

I would suggest that a person who deviates and marries more than one wife, be given an opportunity to confess and be handled like a person who has committed a sin that cannot be revoked once committed like a murderer.<sup>753</sup>

Kimirei and Kilevo present in their arguments an aspect that differentiated the Maasai District from the rest of the districts in the Northern Diocese. It is hard to comprehend reconciliation between such varied inclinations among Christians and their leaders in a diocese.

The need to have a contextual approach to the propagation of the Gospel was, however, not the only likely reason behind the demand for a separate synod. The Maasai District was having relatively fewer indigenous pastors and other personnel compared with the rest of the districts in the Diocese. The low number of indigenous personnel was compounded by the vast size of the District. This situation tended to dictate an influx of foreign missionaries in the Maasai area. Some missionaries had also promised help from overseas to proponents for the new synod should they split from the Northern Diocese.<sup>754</sup> The alluring promise of foreign help was thus a likely factor in the desire of the Arusha and Maasai to dissociate from the Northern Diocese. In an interview, Bishop Kweka addressed some challenges during the time the Arusha and Maasai were struggling for a separate synod. Kweka suggested that the problem was also partly that there was a concentration of Americans in Arusha.<sup>755</sup> There was, therefore, the likelihood that the Arusha and Maasai would sever ties with the Chagga in order to have full access to the foreign aid.

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<sup>753</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1970, 3.

<sup>754</sup> D(Groop) – TAC Executive Committee 03.05.1971.

<sup>755</sup> Interview with retired Bishop Kweka, 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

In an interview, Kimirei aired his concern that ethnic differences played a part in the demand for the Synod. According to him, ethnicity was a significant reason behind the desire to found the new synod. Kimirei, however, noted that in the arguments for a separate synod, ethnicity was not mentioned as a reason behind the split.<sup>756</sup> The Northern Diocese was made of different ethnic groups: Pare, Chagga, Meru, Arusha and Maasai. Considering that the bishop came from among the Chagga, the likely feeling among other ethnic groups would be ‘we are being ruled’. Referring to the Chagga bishop, Kimirei argued that even though it may not have been said openly, the Chagga felt they had a chief. The other ethnic groups, including the Arusha and Maasai, were likely to ask, ‘can’t we rule ourselves?’<sup>757</sup> Kimirei saw benefits in the founding of such ‘contextual’ synods/dioceses although he does not support divisions grounded on ethnic glorification.<sup>758</sup>

In the general assembly of the Synod in Arusha Region that met at Oldonyo Sambu 14–20.07.1980, Pastor Thomas Laiser was elected as the new president of the Synod. Laiser scored 74 votes against Kilevo who scored 23. Pastor Gabriel Kimirei was elected assistant to the president.<sup>759</sup> The new leaders of the Synod in Arusha Region made efforts to have peace with the Northern Diocese. In his message to the general assembly of the Northern Diocese that met at Makumira Secondary School 4–10.07.1981, Pastor Laiser, the new leader of the Synod in Arusha Region, pled for sustained relations between the Northern Diocese and the Synod in Arusha Region. He stressed, “[t]he relationship between the father and the first born son should not be curtailed because the son is grown up and is now married”.<sup>760</sup> In an interview, Kimirei recalled

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<sup>756</sup> Interview with Rev. Gabriel Kimirei, 10.09.2012, Arusha.

<sup>757</sup> Interview with Kimirei, 10.09.2012, Arusha.

<sup>758</sup> Interview with Kimirei, 10.09.2012, Arusha.

<sup>759</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1980, 3.

<sup>760</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1981, 1.



visiting almost all the congregations of the Northern Diocese with the message of unity and peace.<sup>761</sup> Neither Parsalaw nor Groop in their historical research in the Synod in Arusha Region address the reconciliation attempts. It is clear, however, that attempts for reconciliation between the Northern Diocese and the emergent Synod in Arusha Region were made. Efforts to reconcile are noted in Laiser's comments and the earlier request made by the Synodal elders that Moshi would consecrate Kilevo. It is logical to interpret the acceptance by the Northern Diocese that the new Synod leaders went around the Diocese soliciting peace as a seal to reconciliation. It is worth noting that the 1980's reconciliation Rev. Laiser was seeking came when the two key figures during the struggle for the Synod i.e., Bishop Moshi and Rev. Kilevo, were no longer in office.

### *The Diocese of Pare*

The birth of the Synod in Arusha Region seems to have sparked the process through which another district was to split from the Northern Diocese i.e., the Pare Diocese. The movement to have a separate Diocese from the Northern Diocese, however, began much earlier, i.e., in 1970.<sup>762</sup> The desire of the Arusha-Maasai and Pare church members to withdraw from the Northern Diocese, therefore, seems to have been sparked at the same time. The Pare District members were, however, less forceful than the Maasai members when it came to withdrawing from the Northern Diocese. Demeanour differences could explain differences in approach between the Pare and Arusha-Maasai Christians. It is, however, likely that the lesson learned from the Arusha experience informed the Pare of the best approach. Albeit their rush for a new Synod despite the counsel of the Northern Diocese, the Arusha and Maasai Christians later asked Bishop Moshi, who was the head of the

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<sup>761</sup> Interview with Kimirei 10.09.2012, Arusha.

<sup>762</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

ELCT, to inaugurate their Synod. According to Mndeme, “no one wanted to wrong Bishop Moshi”.<sup>763</sup> During his time at Marangu, Moshi had nurtured many teachers who were all over Tanzania. Some of these had become pastors and others were serving the church in different capacities. The likelihood is that there were many Lutherans all over the ELCT who respected Moshi as a leader. These Christians would advocate an approach to a new diocese that was in line with their understanding of Bishop Moshi’s thinking.

The Pare Diocese was officially inaugurated on the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1975. Rev. Eliewaha Mshana was consecrated bishop on the same day and the Same Town parish church building was inaugurated. The event was led by Bishop Easter Raj from South India, Rev Maser, the assistant to the bishop of the Evangelical church in Bavaria, and some heads of dioceses and synods in the ELCT.<sup>764</sup> In his speech marking the inauguration of the Diocese, Bishop Moshi remarked, “The child was delivered without having problems of any kind”.<sup>765</sup> Moshi was here probably referring to the differences in the manner the Pare Diocese and Synod in Arusha Region emerged; the process through which the Pare Diocese emerged being less traumatic.

The process leading to the emergence of the Pare Diocese, as with the Synod in Arusha Region, was also grievance driven. Rev. Mathias Mndeme from the Pare Diocese, in an interview, said he was part of the process leading to the emergence of the Diocese. He, however, did not witness the actual birth of the Diocese as he was on scholarship in the United States of America.<sup>766</sup> According to him, the process was by and large sparked and fuelled by pastors. It was not something one would attribute to the lay Christians. Mndeme enumerates three

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<sup>763</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

<sup>764</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1975, 1.

<sup>765</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1975, 2.

<sup>766</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

grounds for the demand of a separate diocese. The first ground was the usual concern that services should be brought closer to the congregants. The need was felt to have an ‘available’ bishop who could come to the rescue in specific issues when the situation demanded it. This, it was felt, could not be achieved in the then vast Northern Diocese. In addition Bishop Moshi was considered having many engagements in and outside the Northern Diocese.<sup>767</sup> Rev. Elirehema Mwanga, also from the Pare Diocese, concurs with Mndeme regarding the need to have services closer to the congregants in the Pare area. According to him, the feeling among the Pare that there would be more efficient rendering of services with their dissociation from the Northern Diocese was among the reasons they desired a separate diocese.<sup>768</sup>

The second ground for demanding a separate diocese according to Mndeme was economic. In the Northern Diocese each parish was held responsible for the salary of its pastor.<sup>769</sup> There was no common basket for pastors’ salary. Taking care of pastors at the parish level was possible among many of the Chagga congregations. Chagga congregations were better placed when it came to the education and economic position of its members. Chances were, therefore, high that such parishes managed to pay their pastors in due time. This was, however, not the case with Pare congregations which were relatively disadvantaged as to education and economics. In addition, some of the parishes covered wide areas, something that demanded employment of several evangelists adding to the already difficult task of paying the pastor.<sup>770</sup>

Implied in the struggle for a separate diocese is the idea that establishment of a common basket for pastors’ salary would be included in the planning of the desired Pare Diocese. Having a

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<sup>767</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

<sup>768</sup> Interview with Rev. Elirehema Mwanga 22.11.2013 Kilala.

<sup>769</sup> This is by and large the practice of the Diocese until now.

<sup>770</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

common basket would allow for shared resources and balance so that pastors from 'weak' congregations would have an equal opportunity of having a salary like pastors from economically well-to-do congregations.

Thirdly, even with the sound grounds for desiring a separate diocese, ethnic identity played a part. According to Mndeme ethnic rivalry cannot be excluded as grounds for desiring a separate diocese. The argument 'why should we (Pare) always line up to the Chagga' could not be excluded.<sup>771</sup> The fact that the common basket, as part of the central agenda for the emerging diocese, was not established in the Pare Diocese raises doubts to the seriousness of this aspect as grounds for establishment of the Diocese. Such a failure tends to support the idea that the desire for a new diocese was clergy based and, therefore, superficially founded. In addition, the failure suggests that the desire was fuelled by issues peripheral to those tabled as the main agenda, supporting the possibility and significance of ethnic rivalry as among grounds for the establishment of the Diocese. Within the ethnic rivalry lies the conviction among the proponents for the new diocese that funding from overseas would reach the independent diocese directly rather than through the Northern Diocese. As we noted above, such was the promise by some missionaries to the proponents for the Synod in Arusha Region.

### *The Meru Diocese*

The Diocese of Meru was officially inaugurated in 1992. The first bishop of the Diocese, Rev. Paulo Akyoo, was consecrated on the 21.06.1992. His assistant Rev. Elias Kitoi Nasari was installed on the same day. Bishop Akyoo was consecrated by the then presiding bishop of the ELCT, Sebastian Kolowa, assisted by the bishops Samson Mushemba from the North Western Diocese and Thomas Laiser from the Diocese in Arusha

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<sup>771</sup> Interview with Mathias Mndeme, 22.02.2012, Makumira.

Region.<sup>772</sup> The government was represented by the Arusha regional commissioner among other dignitaries.<sup>773</sup>

The Meru Diocese is the last in the series of the three splits from the Northern Diocese. The birth of this Diocese was associated with acts of violence that have made the emergence of the Diocese a significant event in the history of the Lutheran Church in Tanzania. According to Omari, the consecration of Bishop Akyoo was held under tight security with the state security forces occupying the church and surrounding compound.<sup>774</sup> The members in favour of the new diocese clashed with those who adhered to the Northern Diocese. Houses were burnt, property destroyed and a number of people were killed.<sup>775</sup> This conflict differed from the conflict associated with the founding of the Synod in Arusha Region and Pare Diocese in a number of respects. The uniqueness of the conflict, in part, rests on the fact that the clashes were mainly among people of the same ethnic group – the Meru. As we shall see below the conflict resulted in the emergence of two different church bodies in this area. The magnitude and significance of the conflict has sparked initiatives to analyse it, an exercise that has not been easy.<sup>776</sup>

The argument for a separate diocese in the Meru area, like in the cases of the above mentioned Synod in Arusha Region and Pare Diocese, was grounded on grievances. The struggle for the Diocese began as a quest for equality in the distribution of resources.<sup>777</sup> The Meru church members considered themselves

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<sup>772</sup> A(TUMA) – KKKT Dayosisi ya Meru (DME), 1992.

<sup>773</sup> Omari 1999, 204. According to Baroin (1996) the government was not represented since it considered its involvement a detriment to attempts to establish peace in the area.

<sup>774</sup> Omari 1999, 204.

<sup>775</sup> Baroin 1996, 541.

<sup>776</sup> See Baroin Catherine 1996 and Omari, C.K 1999.

<sup>777</sup> Ludwig 1999, 211.

side-lined by the leadership of the Northern Diocese that was predominantly Chagga.

Historically, the area occupied by the Meru Diocese was a parish. According to Pastor Erasto Ngira, following the re-establishment of mission work in Meru in 1902, the mission station at Nkoaranga remained a parish with several preaching stations on the slopes of Mount Meru and on the plains.<sup>778</sup> In February 1958, the parish divided into three parishes namely Nkoaranga, Poli and Akeri. In 1964, more parishes were born by division from these three parishes. The area gained the status of a district in 1972, born from the Arusha-Meru district of the Northern Diocese.<sup>779</sup> According to Ngira the Meru Christians had resisted the urge by the Arusha and Maasai to pull out from the Northern Diocese in 1972, to form the Synod in Arusha Region.<sup>780</sup> This resistance by the Meru people was unexpected considering that they resided in the Arusha region which was acquiring the status of an independent synod. The fact that the process through which the Synod in Arusha Region was being sought was considered forceful by the Northern Diocese could explain the hesitance by the Meru Christians to join the Arusha and Maasai. Some would even attribute the 'reluctance' by the Meru to split from the Northern Diocese to the Chagga's role as the majority in the executive council that made the decision in 1972.<sup>781</sup> The question, however, lingers: why didn't the Meru seize the opportunity to pull out from the Chagga when the Arusha Christians were doing so? The reluctance by the Meru Christians, therefore, affords more interpretation; it could even be interpreted as indecision.

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<sup>778</sup> Written communication from Erasto Ngira – August 2011, Baroin 1996, 532.

<sup>779</sup> Ngira 2011, the year of the division of the district, as recorded in Umoja – A(TUMA) – Umoja 1971, 2; is 1971.

<sup>780</sup> Written communication from Erasto Ngira – August 2011.

<sup>781</sup> See Baroin 1996, 532.

The Meru people relate both to the Chagga and Maasai. Linguistically the Meru relate more to Machame Chagga with whom they share origin.<sup>782</sup> Even with the similarities between the Meru and Chagga, the two bore significant differences that are likely to have fuelled the desire to part ways with the Chagga, who in the early 1990's formed the majority in the Northern Diocese. One should note that even though the Machame Chagga are said to share ancestry with the Meru, Machame Chagga are not the only component of the Northern Diocese. Chagga from Siha, Old Moshi, Marangu, Mamba and Mwika are also to be considered. These other Chagga have different dialects. In addition, when it comes to some traditions, like those related to initiation, the Meru also relate to the Maasai and Arusha people. Therefore, albeit there are similarities, the Meru people differ from the Chagga, on the one hand, and the Maasai and Arusha people, on the other. Cuthbert Omari has studied the various aspects in the emergence of the Meru Diocese. According to him the idea behind the Meru remaining attached to the Northern Diocese was that by remaining in the Northern Diocese, Meru Christians would benefit from the experience of other districts in Kilimanjaro.<sup>783</sup> Omari's position suggests that the founding of the Meru Diocese was a pending event; it was a matter of time. On the one hand, the Meru Christians did not join the Arusha Christians in the split – more of 'leave us alone'. On the other hand, their remaining with the Chagga at that time was in efforts to learn more so that in due time they would found a diocese of their own. The later desire by the Meru people to dissociate from the Northern Diocese and establish a new diocese was probably hastened by the feeling that the Chagga marginalised them. In addition, the fact that the Arusha and Maasai with whom the Meru shared a

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<sup>782</sup> According to a legend, Nro and Mashame who were brothers parted ways on their way from Tanga. Nro moved to the West – becoming the ancestor of the Meru. Mashame remained in the East to become the ancestor of the Machame Chagga.

<sup>783</sup> Omari 1999, 198.

district previously had formed an independent Diocese was likely to make the Meru church members more inquisitive of the state of affairs within the Northern Diocese.

While the above differences suggest that the Meru considered themselves one people, the turn of events in the crisis tended to betray this oneness. The separation split the Lutheran members in the area into two churches – the Meru Diocese of the ELCT in 1992, and the Africa Mission Evangelistic Church (AMEC) formed in 1995.<sup>784</sup> The mere fact that the Lutheran members in Meru split does not rule out ethnic difference with the Chagga as an underlying reason behind the crisis. The split is explained by the nature of the crisis. One of the characteristics of the Meru crisis was its being disowned by the pastors in the area. The disowning was not absolute. According to Omari, the supporters of a separate diocese claimed that Meru church leaders did not engage in the move, out of fear of losing their leadership posts. They were also concerned about being disowned by the church as happened following the establishment of the Synod in Arusha Region.<sup>785</sup> The laity, considering themselves betrayed by their pastors, took the lead in the push for a new diocese employing several popular people. Such people were Jackson Kaaya who was the former ruling party ‘*Chama cha Mapinduzi*’ chairperson of the Arusha Region and Japhet Kirilo who had represented the Meru people to the United Nations during the Meru land case. One of the avenues used to push for a separate diocese was the Meru Society Development Trust.<sup>786</sup> This society was probably looked upon as a uniting and developing tool for the ‘marginalised’ Meru. Part of the marginalisation as Baroin illustrates was, apparently, regarding education. One should note that personality differences in the leadership of the Northern Diocese are considered a factor in the Meru crisis. According to Baroin,

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<sup>784</sup> Omari 1994, 204, 205.

<sup>785</sup> Omari 1999, 198.

<sup>786</sup> Baroin 1996; Omari 1999.



“[t]he brusque personality of the new bishop, Erasto Kweka, a Chagga like his predecessor [Stefano Moshi], put an end to the good relations with the Rwa [Meru] that the latter’s more flexible manner preserved until then”.<sup>787</sup> Baroin then illustrates Bishop Kweka’s short manner of speech as he responded to the complaint by the Meru that the Diocese sent few Meru to study abroad. According to her the bishop responded, “Those who go to Europe go with their heads” (that is to say, ‘we choose the best’).<sup>788</sup> It can, therefore, be argued that the Meru Society Development Trust was seen as an avenue born out of the ills that befell the Meru people.

The proponents for the new diocese struggled to found a diocese of their own through which control of their resources would be effected. Probably considering the Northern Diocese unwilling to forward their request or, at least, the Northern Diocese’s unwillingness to forward the move at the pace expected by the proponents, the proponents bypassed the Northern Diocese. The proponents managed to push for the founding of a diocese named Mount Meru Diocese registered under the umbrella of ELCT.<sup>789</sup> But bypassing the Northern Diocese in processing the registration of the new diocese under the ELCT was unconstitutional. The ELCT constitution stipulates that it is within the jurisdiction of the executive council of the ELCT to gauge the need, situation and time of emergence of a new diocese from mission areas<sup>790</sup> or mother diocese. The executive council is then required to table the move for an emergent diocese in the meetings of the mother diocese and finally in the general assembly of the ELCT which has a

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<sup>787</sup> Baroin 1996, 537. It is hard to comprehend the split of the Meru from the Northern Diocese solely on the personality of the leaders considering that the split of the Arusha and Pare happened during the leadership of Bishop Moshi.

<sup>788</sup> Baroin 1996, 537.

<sup>789</sup> Uhuru na Amani 1991, 4.

<sup>790</sup> These are areas within Tanzania where Lutheranism has no firm base in terms of constitution as a synod/diocese. Each of these areas is assigned a number of dioceses within the ELCT to sponsor it.

final word.<sup>791</sup> Considering that this channel was not followed, the leadership of the Northern Diocese and ELCT disowned the Mount Meru Diocese. The government later revoked the registration of this Diocese. The Northern Diocese worked out the means through which a diocese under proper ELCT channels emerged in 1992. The proponents of the defunct Mount Meru diocese were dissatisfied by the establishment of a diocese that had blessings from the Northern Diocese; they, therefore, fought for the registration of the Africa Mission Evangelistic Church which was not influenced by the Northern Diocese.

Attempts to analyse the Meru crisis have come up with several issues around which the conflict turned. According to Baroin, the conflict involved numerous and complex factors.<sup>792</sup> Among the complaints tabled by Meru Lutherans was inequality in the distribution of resources.<sup>793</sup> The saying, ‘it takes two to quarrel’ can be applied in this situation in view of the fact that the Meru did not consider themselves one with the Chagga. The inequality is, therefore, discernible along ethnic differences. The Meru considered themselves different from the Chagga whom they accused of bias. Though the Meru ended up fighting among themselves, ethnicity cannot be ruled out in the analysis of the crisis. The dynamics of the conflict, however, arouse interest regarding the factors that propelled the conflict. Underlying this ethnic ignited conflict according to some researchers are the church-state, traditional-modern and spiritual – corporeal tensions. In his study of the ELCT’s response to political changes in Tanzania, Gwamaka E. Mwankenja analyses the Meru conflict from a church-state relation perspective. According to him the crisis can be characterised as a church-state conflict. In this the church accused the state of supporting the Mount Meru Diocese. The church also accused the state of failing to overcome the

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<sup>791</sup> Katiba ya KKKT 1998, 18.

<sup>792</sup> Baroin 1996, 554.

<sup>793</sup> Baroin 1996, 536, Ludwig 1999, 211, Omari 1999, 206.

disruptive tendencies of the rebellious group.<sup>794</sup> It is, however, hard to imagine an involvement of the state that wouldn't be considered biased by the disagreeing parties in the conflict. Baroin, for instance, considers the media, which was by and large owned by the state, biased towards the ELCT against the Meru 'dissidents' who were less influential.<sup>795</sup> Therefore, the involvement of the state although it had reconciliatory flavour became an important element in the dynamics of the conflict.

Another aspect of the conflict is the traditional-modern tension. Baroin sees in the Meru conflict a clash between the traditional and modern hierarchies. It is plausible to reckon the lay-ordained dichotomy in this category. The decision by the pastors in Meru area to not engage in the conflict invoked the involvement of the traditional bureaucracy made of the chiefs and an elaborate age set system. The pastors were, in addition to being an aspect of the modern institution, a powerful group in the Meru society.<sup>796</sup> The fact that the pastors declined involvement in the crisis, made the laity associate with the traditional institutions. The adoption of the traditional practices is noticeable in the use of spears, swords, clubs, and machetes. In addition, and more positively, the employment of the traditional institutions is traceable in the style of meetings conducted at village level in attempts to make peace.<sup>797</sup>

The spiritual/charismatic element in the Meru conflict can be traced in the issue of alcohol. The Northern Diocese leadership had banned the use of alcohol in church related gatherings. The ban was instituted since the use of alcohol was considered contrary to Christian morals.<sup>798</sup> The violation of this rule has been associated with the Meru crisis. Baroin considers alcohol to have been an institution in the Meru society when the first

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<sup>794</sup> Mwankenja 1999, 77.

<sup>795</sup> Baroin 1996, 530.

<sup>796</sup> Baroin 1996, 533.

<sup>797</sup> Baroin 1996, 547, 554.

<sup>798</sup> Omari 1999, 199.

Lutheran missionaries arrived.<sup>799</sup> Kaaya, one of the key proponents for the new diocese, served alcohol at his son's wedding against the Diocesan ban.<sup>800</sup> It can be argued that the resulting tension was one between the 'old' and the 'new' much like the traditional-modern one. It is, however, worth noting the spiritual/charismatic element in the desire to hold onto what was considered 'Christian morals'.

The split of the Meru Christians from the Northern Diocese finally led to the Diocese that began as LCNT in 1942, having given birth to three new synods/dioceses – the Synod in Arusha Region, the Pare Diocese and the Meru Diocese – and an independent church, leaving the Northern Diocese with a predominantly Chagga composition with the Iraqw in the far western part of the Diocese forming a small part of it.

### **6.3 Changes in the Diocesan Leadership Composition**

In 1976, Bishop Moshi was continuing his term of leadership that began in 1959. The bishop was expected to retire in 1972, on account of his age. He had consented to the request by the general assembly of the ELCT to extend his leadership term for four more years.<sup>801</sup> In the 1976 synod meeting that convened at Ashira, Bishop Moshi made reference to the 1972 extension. He said that his retirement age was overdue. He, however, added that leaving the office at that time would be like a shepherd abandoning the sheep having seen a wolf.<sup>802</sup> Bishop Moshi is here probably referring to the turmoil the Diocese went through in the process leading to the birth of the Synod in Arusha Region.

The assistant to the bishop from 1973 was Rev. Erasto Kweka who, as we saw above, was elected to fill the vacancy left by

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<sup>799</sup> Baroin 1996, 547.

<sup>800</sup> Omari 1999, 199.

<sup>801</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1972, 3.

<sup>802</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1976, 1.

Kilevo who became the leader of the Synod in Arusha Region. Bishop Moshi came from the eastern part of the Diocese and Kweka from the western part of the Diocese. Customarily the assistants have been picked from districts other than the one from which the bishop came. Kileo, Kilevo and now Kweka all came from the western part of Northern Diocese.<sup>803</sup> The earlier assistants to the bishop i.e., Danielson<sup>804</sup> and Becker<sup>805</sup> came from America and Germany, respectively.

Bishop Moshi died on the 14.08.1976. He was buried in Kotela, his home place, in the parish compound. His funeral was attended by, among others, bishops Teofilo Kisanji (Moravian), John Sepeku (Anglican) representing the Christian Council of Tanzania; and Bishop Joseph Sipendi representing the Catholic Church. Church bodies from outside the country were represented by Horst Becker from Germany who was once Bishop Moshi's assistant and Atto Imanuel, representing the LWF and Mekane Yesus Ethiopia. Hermangild Sarwatt represented the East African Community. The government was represented by Rashid Kawawa the then prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania and the then Kilimanjaro Regional Commissioner Lawi Sijaona.<sup>806</sup> In his sermon during the funeral Bishop Kisanji concluded imploringly:

Goodbye Lutherans. I want to tell you something. Lutherans will have a great task, you will find chairpersons, but one to fill his [Moshi's] place [?!] I do not mean to despise those of you who are around here. But you have a task ahead of you. Truly, God will guide you, but you will find it tough. He [Moshi] brought you Lutherans together, [from] South to I do not know where, he brought us together too we of other churches, and I was telling bishop Sepeku, the archbishop and Mr Shauri (General Secretary of CCT) I do not know what is ahead of us for our brother was something that knit us so well. Here we are, we will be together, do

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<sup>803</sup> Kilevo came from an area further in the west i.e., in Arusha Region.

<sup>804</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1960, 4.

<sup>805</sup> D(Moshi) – M/Mkuu 1962, 44,49, see Smedjebacka 1973, 323.

<sup>806</sup> Omari and Mandao 1994, 54-64.

not chase us away, if you go by the heart of our brother we will be together.<sup>807</sup>

Bishop Kisanji's remarks suggest that he considered Bishop Moshi a capable leader not only within Lutheranism but also in the Christian Council of Tanzania. The then assistant to the bishop Rev. Erasto Kweka concluded his address during the funeral thus: "We are orphans". Kweka's conclusion reminds one of the term foreign missionaries frequently used when referring to the mission areas left behind as the missionaries were repatriated. The foreign missionaries had commonly used the term 'orphans' for these missions. Kweka is implicitly saying that Bishop Moshi played the role of a father to the Northern Diocese. We shall come back to this rendering in the discussion (section 6.4) below.

The executive council met on 15–16.09.1976 and nominated Rev. Erasto N. Kweka as new bishop of the Northern Diocese. The executive council also nominated Rev. Martin Shao as assistant to the bishop. The nomination was confirmed by the general assembly at Mwika Bible School 29.03.1977. Rev. Kweka was consecrated by Bishop Kolowa, the presiding bishop of the ELCT on 25.09.1977. Bishop Kolowa was assisted by Bishops Easter Raj from India and Leonard Auala from Namibia and heads of ELCT Dioceses and Synods. Rev. Martin Shao was installed assistant to the bishop on the same day.<sup>808</sup> The practice of nominating the assistant to the bishop from a district other than where the bishop came from recurred here.

The top leadership of the Northern Diocese consisted of, in addition to the bishop and his assistant, the general secretary who was Mr. Shedrack Ngowi. Ngowi had begun working with the LCNT as a school supervisor in 1954. He continued working as general secretary and treasurer of the LCNT. In the

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<sup>807</sup> Mandao and Omari 1994, 64 – My translation of the original.

<sup>808</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1977, 1.

years 1961 and 1962 after being granted a scholarship, he studied stewardship and church administration in the United States.<sup>809</sup> The assistant general secretary was Colonel Elisifa Mshomi, who was installed on 28.10.1979.<sup>810</sup> The treasurer of the Northern Diocese since 1960, was Allen Matee; he was succeeded by William Moshi. Shadrack Ngowi died in 1983.<sup>811</sup> Following his death both Col. Mshomi and Manase Mbowe were nominated by the executive council in 1984,<sup>812</sup> and they became general secretaries of the Northern Diocese. It is worth noting that all of these were from the Chagga ethnic group. This composition apparently excluded the Meru and Iraqw. Unintended as it might have been this could have sparked ethnic strife.

On 26.09.1982, Bishop Kweka was conferred with an honorary doctoral degree by the Northwestern Lutheran Theological Seminary, St. Paul USA. The degree was conferred by Rev. Dr. Mark Tomsen. This was in recognition of the contribution of the bishop in the demanding task of leading the Diocese. Thomsen described Bishop Kweka as a teacher, learned person, pastor, leader and a daring supervisor of a large diocese having more congregants than any synod or diocese in the ELCT.<sup>813</sup> This was not the first time a leader of the Diocese was conferred with such honour. In 1970 Bishop Moshi was conferred with two honorary doctoral degrees in the United States; from Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota, and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.<sup>814</sup>

In 1983 the first woman theologian was installed.<sup>815</sup> This was Rose Materu who had joined theological studies at Makumira

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<sup>809</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1983, 2.

<sup>810</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1980, 1.

<sup>811</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1983, 1.

<sup>812</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1984, 1.

<sup>813</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1982, 3.

<sup>814</sup> Lyimo 1976, 24. See Mandao and Omari 1994, 42.

<sup>815</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1983, 1.

in 1979.<sup>816</sup> Upon completion of her studies she was to work with the Northern Diocese. There was a special liturgy for installing women to ministry.<sup>817</sup> In this, the responsibilities of the installed woman theologian are explicated. She was to preach and teach the Word of God in congregations and parishes; teach confirmation and baptismal classes; and teach religious education in schools and women groups. She was also to visit the aged, bereaved, console the troubled and share the Word of God with them. In addition, she was supposed to be obedient to the Diocesan leadership.<sup>818</sup> It is worth noting that women theologians were not to consecrate Holy Communion.

Materu's entrance to Makumira triggered an increase in the number of women studying theology. Rose Materu was followed by Joyceline Kisanga, Sarah Kisanga, Vera-Luice Kimambo and Sarah Mmari, who joined Makumira in 1982.<sup>819</sup> The increase in the number of women theologians seems to have, in turn, aroused curiosity in what these women could do in the ministry of the church. One should note that neither the missionary era nor the three decades of indigenous leadership had thus far seen a woman in the ordained ministry. It was not until 1991 that Materu, the first woman theologian in the Northern Diocese, was ordained.<sup>820</sup> The process culminating in the ordination of women, to which we now turn, illustrates the value system and hierarchical nature of the society and the influence it has on the church as an institution.

The first woman to join theological studies in the ELCT was Alice Kabugumila. She had joined Makumira Theological College already in 1968.<sup>821</sup> Alice was from the Northern Western Diocese of the ELCT. There was no Diocese or Synod in

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<sup>816</sup> Lwandai/Lutheran Theological College Makumira Register 1949.

<sup>817</sup> D(Kweka) – KKKT-DK n.d Liturgia Mbalimbali za Ibada Maalum

<sup>818</sup> KKKT DK n.d Liturgia Mbalimbali za Ibada Maalum pg 13

<sup>819</sup> Lwandai/Lutheran Theological College Makumira Register 1949.

<sup>820</sup> Telephone conversations with Rose Materu 01.10.2012.

<sup>821</sup> Lwandai/Lutheran Theological College Makumira Register 1949.



the ELCT that was ordaining women by then. That the resistance to ordaining women was deeply entrenched not only in the Northern Diocese but in the ELCT as a whole is implied in what Pastor Gabriel Kimirei narrates in an interview.

Kimirei served in the youth department of the Northern Diocese between 1970 and 1971. He narrates an incident that made him bow to Bishop Kibira of the North Western Diocese of the ELCT. As a student pastor, Kimirei would solicit help for the schools he conducted services at on Sundays – namely Ashira, Weruweru, Moshi Technical School, Old Moshi etc. In attempts to lessen the work load, Kimirei had as one of the ‘accomplices’, Alice Kabugumila, a woman theologian at Lutheran Theological College Makumira. It was later learned by Bishop Josiah Kibira of the North Western Diocese of the ELCT, Kabugumila’s home diocese, that she was conducting Sunday services in some of these schools. Kibira wrote to Bishop Moshi asking about the involvement of Kabugumila in preaching, which was then considered blasphemy. Upon receiving the information, Kimirei responded to Kibira’s letter. In his letter to Kibira, Kimirei responded ‘I do not know how to stop the bestowal of the Holy Spirit to women’.<sup>822</sup> Looking into the matter, Kimirei considers himself a fool in his un-diplomatic response. During the interview Kimirei was of the view that he could have responded more diplomatically. Kibira on receiving the letter decided to pay a visit to Bishop Moshi. Bishop Moshi coached Kimirei on how to humbly meet Bishop Kibira. Kimirei was told to immediately fall on his knees and bow to Kibira, in more of an ambush, in his first sight of the bishop. Kibira came and Kimirei acted instantly; “So it [the culprit] is this one”, exclaimed Kibira. According to Kimirei, “He kicked me, but I was forgiven”.<sup>823</sup> Kibira probably judged that Kimirei had been coached by Bishop Moshi to do what he did. Otherwise how could Kimirei hide unnoticed in the bish-

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<sup>822</sup> Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, Selian Arusha, 10.09.2012.

<sup>823</sup> Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, Selian Arusha, 10.09.2012.

op's office waiting for Kibira's arrival? The matter was, therefore, now between the two bishops. Kibira had no alternative but to forgive Kimirei. The kicking was thus an instantaneous reaction to the cornered bishop; probably more of shaking Kimirei off Kibira's feet.

Kibira met Kimirei in a consultation in Germany. Kibira asked Kimirei whether he still cherished the foolish ideas of holding to the possibility of women serving as ministers. John Mbiti, who was also in the consultation, apparently sided with Kimirei. Mbiti was of the view that the ideas regarding the position of women in ministry would find meaning and support in due time.<sup>824</sup> Bishop Kibira's stand regarding the place of women in ministry kept changing with time. In an interview later Bishop Kibira was asked about achievements the church had made. He responded, "Nowadays the idea of women studying theology has been common and this shows how the church takes women as fellow workers in God's work."<sup>825</sup> Although women ordination was not being practiced in the ELCT at this time Kibira's comment suggest a substantial shift in inclination.

The pathway the Northern Diocese has tracked since the quest for ordaining Northern Tanganyikans to the ordination of the first group of women in 1991, is interesting. As we noted in section 3.3 above, some missionaries in Northern Tanganyika during the 1930's could not even imagine that an African man could be ordained.<sup>826</sup> Even with the introduction of ordination among Northern Tanganyikans, the call and handling of those destined for ordained ministry had its challenges. It was a difficult exercise. Issues of family background, morality, education and economics cropped up during the search for candidates. The call to the ordained ministry involved an interview.

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<sup>824</sup> Interview with Gabriel Kimirei, Selian Arusha, 10.09.2012.

<sup>825</sup> Uhuru na Amani 1987, 9 – my translation of the original.

<sup>826</sup> See section 3.3 above.

In an interview with Seth Kitange he recalled a pastoral training candidate whose application was turned down.<sup>827</sup> This otherwise qualified candidate was failed by his family background. The pastor in charge of the congregation considered him unsuitable for the ordained ministry. Kitange considered the fact that this man continued serving the church meaningfully as a lay person raised doubt on the suitability of family background as a yardstick to pastoral training.<sup>828</sup> One was expected to have come from a family background with a leader like a chief or one somewhere in the societal leadership hierarchy. Failure in this raised doubts as to the possibility that such a candidate would be suitable material for leadership training in the church. Kitange did not rule out the possibility that the position the above mentioned man held as a lay person in the church could be his calling. He stressed the need for scrutinising family background as a reliable factor in opening or closing doors to pastoral training.<sup>829</sup> Among the aspects pastoral candidates were interviewed on included the issues of salary and the ability and readiness to work in different challenging contexts. Some of the minutes of the committee responsible for interviewing candidates for theological training read thus as response to the questions:

[The interviewee] knows the problems associated with pastoral work and even how they miss their salary. He feels he is able to withstand all these. He is ready to serve the Lord at whatever point the Diocese sends him to serve.<sup>830</sup>

The minutes of the executive council air the same attitude from the interviewees regarding the meagre salary: “Concerning a

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<sup>827</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange, Moshi 11.09.2012 – the interviewee withheld the name of this person.

<sup>828</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange, Moshi 11.09.2012.

<sup>829</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange, Moshi 11.09.2012 – the interviewee withheld the name of this person.

<sup>830</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Mkutano wa kuchagua wanafunzi wa Uchungaji – Moshi Mjini 09.01.1965.

low salary – he will persevere by the help of God”.<sup>831</sup> It is probably against this background that the church suggested in some contexts that those who were to join the ordained ministry had to be economically stable.<sup>832</sup> In a patriarchal society that found some men unsuitable for the ordained ministry it was difficult to comprehend the existence of women who could fit such position. It was, therefore, unconceivable for some people, lay and ordained alike, to comprehend the call of women into the ordained ministry.

There were in the 1980’s efforts to have women ordained in the ELCT. Bishop Hance Mwakabana, while serving as principal of the Lutheran Theological College Makumira, presented an article in 1989 to the heads of Synods and Diocese of the ELCT at their retreat in Ngorongoro regarding the issue of women ordination.<sup>833</sup> In this article Mwakabana presented the history of the matter and analysed at some depth the positions for and against women ordination. Some of the reasons given against ordination of women were drawn from the Bible. Other reasons were socio-cultural. Mwakabana attributed the biblical grounded reasons against women ordination on the inability of biblical scholars to do exegesis informed by contextual hermeneutics.<sup>834</sup>

The Northern Diocese was, in a way, ahead of other Dioceses and Synods in the matter. The Diocese was the second, after the North Western Diocese in the ELCT, to send female students to Makumira to study theology. It was also the second diocese in the ELCT to ordain women.<sup>835</sup> The ordination of women in this diocese was likely to have come much earlier had the diocese not considered the impact of the action on the relation with other dioceses which together with the Northern

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<sup>831</sup> A(ELCT-ND) – Halmashauri Kuu 25-26 Januari 1965, Moshi Mjini.

<sup>832</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka, Mailisita 15.07.2011.

<sup>833</sup> Mwakabana 1989.

<sup>834</sup> Mwakabana 1989, 16–17.

<sup>835</sup> See Maanga 2012, 205.

Diocese form the ELCT. The move to install women theologians was, therefore, a compromise between having women theologians ordained and leaving them ‘hanging’ after their theological studies.<sup>836</sup> The path tracked by the Diocese to the ordination of women was, however, not a smooth one. In the following section Bishop Kweka narrates the turn of events leading to the ordination.

According to Bishop Kweka during a pastors’ conference at Masoka Conference Centre (Kilimanjaro) in 1987, the issue of women ordination was discussed. The discussion ended with voting on the acceptability of their ordination. The results of the voting were highly in favour of women ordination; only two pastors were against.<sup>837</sup> Women ordination was also an agenda in the ELCT general assembly held in Morogoro in 1990. Bishop Kweka chaired the meeting on behalf of the presiding bishop of the ELCT, Sebastian Kolowa. The executive council of the ELCT had earlier, in 1990, discussed the issue of women ordination. The council came up with three suggestions 1) that the ELCT basically agrees to ordain women; 2) that the decision as to when to ordain women will depend on the Diocese/Synod concerned and 3) that Dioceses/Synods should continue educating their members about the matter. The general assembly agreed in principle to ordain women leaving the jurisdiction to individual dioceses and synods.<sup>838</sup>

According to Bishop Kweka, the Masoka and Morogoro resolutions on women ordination made him doubly convinced of the feasibility of the matter.<sup>839</sup> Bishop Kweka said that he was,

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<sup>836</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012 Mailisita.

<sup>837</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012. One of these pastor later dissociated with the Diocese with the issue of women ordination being one of the grievances.

<sup>838</sup> A(TUMA) – Umoja 1990,5; Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

<sup>839</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

however, shocked when the agenda was tabled in the general assembly of the Diocese in Siha.<sup>840</sup> From what appears to have been a rebellion, a number of lay members in the meeting argued against women ordination. According to the Bishop, the possibility is that some pastors instigated among lay members in the meeting a stand against the matter. Surprised by the situation the bishop summoned all pastors in the meeting during break time. His question to the pastors during this session was ‘why did you deceive me?’<sup>841</sup> Probably finding the situation difficult to bear, some pastors began to apologise and remind others of their decision previously at Masoka. Unanimously the pastors agreed to support the Bishop. In the next session the move received a unanimous agreement. According to Bishop Kweka the move against women ordination was by and large engineered by pastors, all of whom were men.<sup>842</sup>

The Northern Diocese finally ordained the first six women theologians in 1991. Even with their status as ordained pastors, some congregants still resisted having ordained women perform ministerial duties in their parishes. Seth Kitange, one of the retired general secretaries of the Northern Diocese, recalled what befell Pastor Joyceline Njama when she was posted in a parish. She came from the central district of the Northern Diocese and was to work in the western part. To make matters ‘worse’ she had just given birth.<sup>843</sup>

A recap of the reasons against women ordination is worthwhile here. The arguments given against women ordination have traceable biblical and sociological/cultural factors. Some would

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<sup>840</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

<sup>841</sup> Interview with bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

<sup>842</sup> Interview with bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita. That the tide against women ordination was strong is suggested by the experience among some women theologians who studied at Makumira. In an interview with Rev. Elieshi Mungure she recalled that during theological studies at Makumira some male students looked down at female students.

<sup>843</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange 11.09.2012, Moshi.

argue that Jesus chose only men in his team of apostles. Apostle Paul also forbade women to teach in public; apostle Peter also counselled husbands to handle women as a weak tool.<sup>844</sup> In conversations with Pastor Sarah Urassa of the Northern Diocese she noted that some Christians considered the ordination of women unbiblical.<sup>845</sup> The question among some people was how could a woman be a leader of a congregation?<sup>846</sup> Probably hidden in the consideration that women cannot lead are aspects like menstruation, which some would consider having biblical grounds. The experience of Christians in the patriarchal society also tended to work against the possibility of leadership by women.<sup>847</sup>

According to Kitange the Diocese pursued its decision to post women pastors in parishes even though resisted by some congregants. When Pastor Njama came to her working station, the parish sent a delegation to the bishop with a word of caution to the effect that the Diocese should not make the mistake of posting a woman there; the Diocese would better leave them with evangelists.<sup>848</sup> According to Kitange, the bishop's counsel to the parish delegation was that the parish would not be able to gauge the benefits of working with the pastor unless they tried. The bishop implored the parishioners to receive the pastor and inform him of the progress.<sup>849</sup> The delegation and congregants gave heed to the bishop's advice; they let the pastor remain and serve them.<sup>850</sup> Kitange recalled that when time came for relocation of pastors, the congregants reacted against the leadership of the Diocese on hearing that their pastor was to be transferred. This they said, since according to them the pastor took good care of them; they had a shepherd. The female pastor did

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<sup>844</sup> Matthew 10:1-4, 1 Corinthians 14: 34-35, 1 Peter 3:7

<sup>845</sup> Telephone conversations with Rev. Sarah Urassa 30.06.2015.

<sup>846</sup> Telephone conversations with Sarah Urassa 30.06.2015.

<sup>847</sup> Telephone conversations with Sarah Urassa 30.06.2015.

<sup>848</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange 11.09.2012, Moshi.

<sup>849</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange 11.09.2012, Moshi.

<sup>850</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange 11.09.2012, Moshi.

her job well.<sup>851</sup> Bishop Kweka's version of the story leans on an influential person in the congregation who led this delegation.<sup>852</sup> In her account of the situation Pastor Njama said that this influential man came to apologise for heading the move against her placement in the parish.<sup>853</sup> Rev. Sarah Urassa faced a similar situation. When she was posted to a parish, some congregants were of the view that the bishop was not serious. How could the bishop place in this congregation a woman, and worse, a young woman – a child?<sup>854</sup> Some congregants slipped discouraging notes into the parish office. Pastor Urassa was upheld by an elderly pastor who confronted those who were against her placement in this congregation.<sup>855</sup> The acceptance of female pastors was a challenge and is still a challenge to date.

#### **6.4 The Evolution of the Diocese: An Appraisal**

This chapter has addressed the history of the Northern Diocese from two main perspectives i.e., the split of the Diocese, leading into the emergence of new church bodies, and the ministry of the Diocese particularly the ordination of women. The chapter points to the stratified nature of the Diocese along ethnicity, leadership and gender. The chapter also points to the tendency of a hierarchy developing within the different strata of the Diocese. First, there is an apparent ethnic superiority ranking of the Chagga versus the rest of the ethnic groups. Second, the leadership exhibits gradations in which case the bishop ranks higher than the pastors, and the ordained higher than the laity. Third, there exists a gender gradient in which men are considered superior to women. Further, the stratified

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<sup>851</sup> Interview with Seth Kitange 11.09.2012, Moshi.

<sup>852</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

<sup>853</sup> Interview with Pastor Joyceline Njama 20.05.2015, Moshi.

<sup>854</sup> Telephone conversations with Pastor Urassa, 30.06.2015. Some Christians considered this parish special since the place was a 'cradle' of chiefs in that area.

<sup>855</sup> Telephone conversations with Pastor Sarah Urassa, 30.06.2015.



and hierarchical nature of the Diocese leads to strained relations.

The Northern Diocese, albeit restrained, succumbed to splitting along ethnic lines in the founding of the Synod in Arusha Region, the Dioceses of Pare and Meru, and the formation of the ‘independent’ African Missionary Evangelical Church in Meru. The split can be viewed from three perspectives, namely: a shift from clientage to patronage, vestiges of the mission peoples’ church – *Volkskirchen*, and development in attempts to independent theologising. The idea in the first perspective is that of developing patronage. In the multiple ethnic composition of the Diocese, the Chagga emerged superior. Apparently, in the absence of the missionaries as patrons, the predominantly Chagga leadership tended to become patrons over the other ethnic groups. The relatively higher concentration of educated people among the Chagga and the convenience of using proximal structures established by the missionaries led to a skew in resources to the Chagga. Natural and unintended as this might have been, it tended to raise alarm in the context of multiple ethnic composition. On the other hand, even in attempts to build an egalitarian system, differences in culture and education tend to raise suspicion as to the intentions of the ‘privileged’. The ‘underprivileged’ then succumb to the urge to own part of the treasure. In order to achieve this, they demand separation from the ‘privileged’. The position of the predominantly Chagga leadership relative to the other ethnic groups made the leadership more of patrons to these groups. It can, however, be argued that the leadership was more in a broker relationship with the rest of the ethnic groups. This is so considering that the Northern Diocese still relied on assistance from its Northern partners. The leadership was, therefore, coordinating the assistance from the North, in addition to the resources it had mobilised locally.

Cuthbert Omari has analysed trends in ecclesiastical systems in Tanzania including leadership development and the associated crises. In his article “The Making of an Independent Church”,

Omari analyses circumstances encapsulating the split of the Meru people from the Northern Diocese. Omari sees in the Meru crisis a desire by the people to be independent and run their own affairs. Authority and dominance play important roles in such crises.<sup>856</sup> According to Omari, “People wanted to have their own church structure and leadership where they could have access to power and share resources as a group.”<sup>857</sup> Omari’s argument invokes the support of the patron-client theory. Among the defining features of the patron-client model is a marked power gradient.<sup>858</sup> The Northern Diocese members, lay and ordained alike, regarded the episcopate as a position of power. The bishop is referred to as ‘father’, whose demise rendered the ‘flock’ orphaned. This may seem particular to Bishop Moshi who was an icon in being the first bishop of the Diocese. Bishop Moshi also portrayed efforts to nurture the folk as a father would a child. The notion of the episcopate as a position of power is, however, not limited to Bishop Moshi. Bishop Kweka’s handling of the agenda of ordination and placement of women pastors in parishes suggests that he was an esteemed authority. The regard that church members had for the Bishop tended to polarise the leadership and the flock. This feeling was probably stronger among the other ethnic groups which noted that the leadership was predominantly Chagga. The indigenous Christians had evaded clientage by stripping themselves of missionary leadership. In the same manner the Arusha-Maasai, Pare, and Meru ethnic groups sought independence from the Chagga. These ethnic groups tended to be disrupting the habitus among the Chagga.

The second perspective in analysing the split of the Northern Diocese relates to attempts to create and nurture a contextual theology. This perspective has to do with what people consider to be the problem hindering mission. Having identified the

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<sup>856</sup> Omari 1999, 208.

<sup>857</sup> Omari 1999, 207.

<sup>858</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980, 50.

problem, a theology addressing this problem is developed. Bishop Kibira had in 1965, during the third All Africa Lutheran Conference held in Addis Ababa, challenged Lutherans in Africa to strive for freedom and unity. Kibira considered the freedom of Lutheranism in Africa to be faulty. Among the faulty areas of Lutheranism in Africa which Kibira criticised was its consumption of Western products, particularly theology.<sup>859</sup> Critiques of Venn's three-self formula have sought the inclusion of a fourth self, namely self-theologising, which referred to "the ability of an indigenous church to read and interpret Scripture within its local culture".<sup>860</sup> The Northern Diocese had generally operated with the missionary theology. Some areas, particularly the Arusha-Maasai, had issues that demanded a critical look into the theology being practiced. Kilevo's handling of polygamy suggests a departure from the conventional theology. His argument for a different look on polygamy represents an attempt to self-theologising i.e., on a matter that may not have been significant among other ethnic groups in the Northern Diocese.

The third perspective of the split is what may be considered remnant of the missionaries' concept of the peoples' churches – *Volkskirchen*. The missionaries, particularly of Leipzig origin, had as their objective the establishment of peoples' church. They aimed at creating churches that would not perpetually depend on the missionaries. In spreading the gospel, the missionaries strove to understand the people to whom the gospel was preached. Such efforts included ethnographic studies. The missionaries used the language of the people in their work; this tended to strengthen ethnic identity. In a context of multiple ethnic composition this, however, tended to divide the people into 'we' and 'they'. What is worth noting is that the split of the Northern Diocese has been along ethnic lines. This trend can be traced to the missionary activity. If the principle of

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<sup>859</sup> Kibira 1965, 26.

<sup>860</sup> See Rees 2007, 26.

*Volkskirchen* was adhered to it would be natural to expect emergence of church groups along the basic unit the missionaries used in the propagation of the gospel, namely ethnicity. In adopting ethnic based church groups the proponents of such divisions reverted to clan, ethnic and chieftain unity. The church tends to have taken the position of the chieftaincy abolished by the government in 1963. Rather than being seen as working against the unity of the church, the emergence of new church groups (synods and dioceses) could be viewed as the strengthening of the basic units. The fact that efforts to establish such organs went through violent clashes even within the same ethnic group could thus be attributed to the inability of the different facets in the Diocese – the leadership included – to recognise the vestiges of the *Volkskirchen* in the process.

Attempts to reconcile ethnic based dioceses with the *Volkskirchen* should go hand-in-hand with efforts to restructure episcopacy on which the dioceses are built. It is worth noting that the proliferation of ethnic based dioceses in the ELCT is even against the pioneer proponents of episcopacy in the church. Analysts of Chief Marealle, who was among the proponents of Episcopal leadership in the church, which has ended up being by and large ethnic, have often left untouched one of his suggestions. Chief Marealle could not even comprehend eight dioceses in the whole of Tanganyika. He stressed, “In Tanganyika there are eight provinces. We cannot possibly have eight bishops, but this could be worked out so that we have, for instance, one looking after two provinces.”<sup>861</sup> Chief Marealle sounds modest. He also seems less bound by the ethnic divide in Tanganyika. Chief Marealle’s position was, probably, due to his concern over the demanding structure of the episcopacy that was likely to drag people into an economic drain. The founding of dioceses along ethnic lines cannot, therefore, be imposed on the members by the leadership of the church as if it were their ‘saviour’. Enslavement of the very

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<sup>861</sup> LWF 1956, 74.

people who are promised freedom by dissociating and forming independent dioceses is likely unless the church critiques this economically demanding structure.

The process leading to ordination of women and the handling of female pastors also exhibits strained relations. The patriarchal society resisted the ordination of women. Culturally, women in Northern Tanzania are conceived as occupying a lower position than men. The proponents of the move against women ordination, which included ordained men, tend to have forgotten two basic facts in the history of the Northern Diocese. The first fact relates to the situation in the 1930's when some missionaries – Gutmann and Müller included – could not comprehend of the ordination of an African. By objecting to the ordination of women, the ELCT was reverting to this missionary mind set. The reasons given by the missionaries against ordaining Africans were of course different from those given by Africans against ordaining fellow Africans. The effect was, however, the same; ordination was denied this group. The second fact that those against women ordination may not have grasped relates to some of the reasons given against women ordination. Some argued that women are physically and emotionally weak. This argument is self-defeating considering that there are some women who have proved themselves courageous and successful in the society. The Northern Tanzania context has had women who were chiefs or recognised advisors to the chiefs. Bishop Kweka mentioned Chief Mashina in East Kilimanjaro and Nuya, Chief Shangali's mother as examples of women that the society held in esteem.<sup>862</sup> The argument against women ordination on grounds of physical or emotional weakness is self-defeating. In addition, weakness of whatever kind is not limited to women. There are manifold instances of failure among men caused by physical and emotional weakness. Moreover, the ministry the women were being denied does not require, as basic qualification, the qualities women are

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<sup>862</sup> Interview with Bishop Kweka 08.09.2012, Mailisita.

said to lack. According to Omari the arguments against ordination of women are sociological not theological.<sup>863</sup> The strained relations as exhibited in the arguments against women are strongly suggestive of the desire to maintain social hierarchy.

Circumstances in this chapter suggest gradations of the actors in ministry. This phenomenon has implications regarding the relations among the different groups and classes. The relations among the actors are characterised by desire and attempts to gain independence from the existing power structure, but also by use of respect and reverence that leads to maintenance of the authority. The leadership is apparently governed by a hierarchical conception of the society. John Mbiti's conception of the educational values of initiation and Placide Tempels' notion of increasing capability as one ascends the social hierarchy are in place. Election into the office has demanded possession of attributes recognisable in the social hierarchy; men who are educated and have crossed the youth barrier. John Mbiti alludes to this hierarchy in his depiction of the importance of initiation from an African perspective.<sup>864</sup> According to him initiation frees the initiated from ignorance. It renders the initiated able to access knowledge that is inaccessible to the uninitiated.<sup>865</sup> The authority of the bishop can thus be explained in the manner of that of the chief who has transcended ignorance and has gained experience in the manner acceptable in the social hierarchy. This hierarchy tallies with the scheme proposed by Placide Tempels in his attempts to comprehend power in the African context.<sup>866</sup> According to Tempels, ability or performance of an individual can be explained by the concept of vital force – an invisible reality of every existence. Being is force. This force increases as one moves up the hierarchy. Wisdom, which is attributed first and foremost to God, is the knowledge

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<sup>863</sup> Uhuru na Amani 1990, 5.

<sup>864</sup> Mbiti 1969, 122–123.

<sup>865</sup> Mbiti 1969, 122–123.

<sup>866</sup> Masolo 1995, 48.

of forces.<sup>867</sup> According to this scheme chiefs are higher up in the hierarchy compared to the rest of the people. The chiefs should implicitly be aware of their position of authority and exercise this authority. People under the chief should recognise and respect the authority of the chief and consult the chief when the need arises. Episcopacy, adopted in the model of chieftaincy, then follows the same pattern; the congregants should respect the bishop. Episcopacy in this model, however, predisposes a person to one problem observable in this chapter; it makes people aspire to the position which also entails some form of independence. In a multi-ethnic context, as exhibited in the history of the Northern Diocese, the line of weakness is along ethnic boundaries. The influence of ethnicity in the development of synods and dioceses in the history of the ELCT is suggested by the fact that five of the seven churches that united to form the ELCT in 1963, have succumbed to ethnic based splits. The two church units that have not split, namely the North Eastern and Mbulu Dioceses, bear characteristics that have rendered ethnic based splits difficult. The nature of the missionary work in the North Eastern Diocese led to the concentration of Lutheranism in one ethnic group. The number of Lutherans from the other ethnic group, therefore, seems not to have precipitated a significantly felt competition. Similarly, the area occupied by the Mbulu Diocese consists of basically one ethnic group. This has rendered ethnic based division impractical.

In like manner, the domination of the ordained ministry by men precipitated a cry along the gender divide. Asked, ‘why power?’ one interviewee responded – “it is the ego”.<sup>868</sup> The awareness and feeling that we exist as individuals pushes for self-preservation. The desire for self-preservation makes the groups and classes that consider themselves under domination pursue independence.

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<sup>867</sup> Masolo 1995, 48.

<sup>868</sup> Interview with Elieshi Mungure 27.06.2013, Nshupu.





## 7 Conclusion

This research set out to study the history of the Northern Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania from 1942 to 1993. The study focuses on power relations in the history of the Diocese using the foreign missionary period as a background. Issues that are studied are those having a bearing on leadership development and transfer. The study, therefore, seeks to scrutinise the process of leadership development and succession in the history of the Diocese and events associated with the development. The study also scrutinises what characterises power relations in leadership, the pattern of such relations, the players in the power game and their motives. In order to grasp the patterns in the development and succession in leadership in the Diocese, the research scrutinises the social, political and economic milieu in which mission and church operated and the challenges this milieu had on the functioning of mission and church. Also included in the analysis are the social contours i.e., ethnicity, gender and class.

The research portrays leadership development and succession as characterised by recurring cycles of agreement and conflict among the different parties in the different periods in history of the Northern Diocese. The different actors and parties in the history of the Diocese exhibit alternating moments of stable and strained relations among themselves and the context within which they operate. The history of the Diocese has, therefore, been one of constant dialogue among the actors in the church and between the actors and the context within which the church operated. The context informed the process of leadership development. The history of leadership in the Diocese is one of repetitive cycles of attempts by one party to establish a footing in terms of a position of power. Having accessed the position of power, the party makes continued efforts to safeguard the position. The transfer of leadership encountered resistance much like the attempts of leadership development. The history of leadership in the Diocese can, in fact, be described as one

characterised by efforts by one party evading a resistant patronage. The research shows that different approaches have been used by the different parties in ascendance and transfer of or succession to leadership.

Power relations in leadership development in the history of the Northern Diocese are manifest in the processes leading to the establishment of mission work, the emergence of a peoples' church and adoption of indigenous leadership. Power relations are also manifest in the adoption of Episcopal leadership, the split of the Diocese and the endeavours to women ordination.

The establishment of Lutheran mission work in Northern Tanganyika went through a process that saw efforts to gain acceptance in the locality, to draw adherents and, to nurture the converts. In this, power related moves i.e., opportunistic behaviour, negotiation, competition, domination and empowerment, are manifest. The Leipzig, as well as Augustana, missionaries made use of the existing power structures namely, the chiefs and colonial administration. The change from British to German rule was an advantage to the Leipzig Mission and a disadvantage to the Church Missionary Society. Even though not in its plans, the Leipzig Mission had an advantage over the Church Missionary Society. In their efforts to gain footing in Northern Tanganyika, the missionaries negotiated with the local chiefs for land and working relations. When the Leipzig missionaries were threatened, as seen in the killing of missionaries Ewald Ovir and Karl Segebrock in 1896, Captain Kurt Johannes took revenge. The same pattern was repeated during the First and Second World Wars during which the German missionaries were repatriated. The welfare of the missions was dictated by and large by the milieu with regard to who was in power. Political power, therefore, had a bearing on the thriving of mission work.

Once established the missionaries continued with their work. The missionaries' work and engagements with Northern Tanganyikans had the effect of maintaining their position. The

missionary work was, nonetheless, empowering. It involved evangelism, education and medical work. Mission work at times went with the emergence of boarding schools which were a refuge for some Northern Tanganyikans. Education work raised the literacy level, with medical work enhancing people's health status. The work done by the Leipzig missionaries was a source of admiration among Northern Tanganyikans. The nurture of the converts went with an impartation of the missionary mind-set through Northern Tanganyikans who possessed the qualities deemed fit to the missionary worldview. The 19<sup>th</sup> century missionaries' mind-set tended to be dictated by Gustav Warneck's conception of Christianity that made a distinction between 'world or name Christians' and 'true Christians'. The missionaries were in favour of those Northern Tanganyikans who exhibited characteristics in line with the missionary conception of Christianity. The missionaries also forbade practices that were against their conception of Christianity. Along the same line would be the missionaries' denial of training for ordination among Northern Tanganyikans. The missionaries probably interpreted the demand as a desire by Northern Tanganyikans to uncritically adopt whatever the Westerners had. While empowering the missionary work, a considerable degree of domination and patronising, accompanied it. The missionary practice entailed the maintenance and propagation of a legacy that in turn meant the established power position reigned.

Identity struggles are implied in the strained ethnic relations exhibited following the readmission of the Germans in 1925. Following the repatriation of the German missionaries in 1920, Lutheran mission work in Northern Tanganyika was supported by the Augustana missionaries. When the Leipzig missionaries returned to Tanganyika they demanded sole hold of Northern Tanganyika. This was against the understanding of the Augustana missionaries who had anticipated a portion of the 'field' that they had taken care of during the absence of the Leipzig missionaries. The struggle suggests that national inte-

rests were an important consideration in the running of mission work.

The LCNT was established in 1942, almost fifty (50) years after the beginning of Lutheran mission work in Northern Tanganyika. This was followed by the indigenisation of the presidency of the LCNT in 1958. The research points to a number of ways in which the process leading to the establishment of the LCNT and the indigenisation of the presidency exhibited strained relations. On the other hand, the study also points to the empowering effect of the missionary work. It is clear from the outset that the missionaries had a share in the processes. To begin with, the Leipzig Mission had as its goal the establishment of peoples' churches. The goal of establishing peoples' churches had empowering connotations. The desire by the Leipzig Mission to establish peoples' churches suggests that its missionaries would empower indigenous peoples in terms of personnel development and leadership organisation before the 'mission fields' were granted the status of a church. The missionary goal is manifested in the emergence of influential Northern Tanganyikans who became future leaders of the LCNT. To mention some, Solomon Nkya, Lazarus Laiser, Andrea Msechu and Stefano Moshi were, in a way, a product of missionary thinking. These hard working and educated men were groomed by the missionaries. The coming of the Augustana missionaries did not change the move to establish a peoples' church. In fact, part of what the Augustana missionaries, particularly Elmer Danielson, are remembered for is adding fuel to the process leading to indigenisation of the LCNT's leadership. In grooming these people, the missionaries were, in part, moulding something of their type among Northern Tanganyikans to propagate their legacy.

Northern Tanganyikans were, however, not passive in the process leading to the birth of the LCNT and indigenisation of its leadership. Northern Tanganyikans had a potential to effect changes. They were aware of this potential and expressed it. Northern Tanganyika Christians had managed the affairs of the

mission as the Leipzig missionaries were repatriated during the two world wars. The Christians saw in themselves the ability to run the affairs of the church. They had, in addition, seen the weaknesses of the foreign missionaries, not only as reflected morally in their nationals who fought each other, but also physically as reflected in their fright. The demand that indigenous people be ordained reflects the conviction among the indigenous Christians that they had the same abilities as the foreign missionaries. The missionaries, in turn, tended to censor the pace at which the indigenisation of the church was achieved. The request by Northern Tanganyika Christians to have indigenous pastors was, for instance, met with surprise, and perhaps also disdain, by some missionaries. The Northern Tanganyikans' attitude of considering themselves at the same level with the missionaries and the missionaries' tendency to pace Northern Tanganyikans' processes, imply competition. Power relations have an element of wrestling, testing or comparing of abilities.

Leadership development patterns in the history of the Diocese were also informed by external forces. The pace of leadership transfer from the missionaries to the Northern Tanganyikans was partly a response to circumstances outside Northern Tanganyika. The Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions that met in Holland in 1954, urged missionaries and Christians in younger churches to support and hasten the process of indigenising church leadership. Among the reasons for this advice are those related to the expulsion of missionaries from China in 1949. The concern was that if an expulsion of missionaries should happen in another context, the indigenous people should be prepared to take over. In hastening the indigenisation process in the LCNT, the missionaries were, therefore, not only moved by their desire for change, but they were also responding to a socio-political pressure exerted in another context.

Power relations in terms of identity struggle are manifest in the first decade of the Diocese under indigenous leadership i.e.,

1959–1969. The Diocese's self-assertion is implied in the adoption of an Episcopal mode of leadership. The title of bishop had been defended by paramount Chief Thomas Marealle in the All Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu in 1955. Episcopacy was handled as a matter of urgency and Rev. Stefano Moshi was named bishop in 1960, before being consecrated. Thereafter a push for the consecration of Pastor Stefano Moshi followed. Again, like in the case of the Marangu conference, the matter was pushed forward by a prominent Chagga patriot, Joseph Merinyo. The matter was specifically centred on the person of Moshi, a renowned LCNT member, who was consecrated in 1964. Earlier in 1963, the seven Lutheran churches in Tanganyika had united to form one church. This unity signified a major break with the mission mentality that had compartmentalised the country. It can be fairly said that the intention of the missionaries was not compartmentalisation. It is clear, however, that compartmentalisation did happen through their work. The union of the churches was, therefore, strength against forces that could weaken any of the parties in this unity, one of which was the Northern Diocese. Again, the political context informed ecclesiastical leadership development.

Indigenisation came as a desire to withdraw from patronage. Developing along indigenisation were continued efforts by the Diocese to state and hold onto its stand. This resulted in tension as the Diocese attempted to define terms for its relations with the Northern partners. In this, the Diocese reacted against tendencies suggestive of insubordination among its partners. Indigenisation also bred tensions as it followed the power gradient in mobilising the educated. Despite efforts to balance the state of affairs, indigenisation exhibited marginalisation along ethnic and gender lines. Power relations are also implied in the desire by the Diocese to understand its political context and define its relations with the state. The Diocese presented itself as an autonomous body that needed to safeguard its position before aligning with state policies.

The split of the Northern Diocese along ethnic lines in the second and third decades of indigenous leadership is suggestive of both an empowerment and an identity struggle. The Diocese that was part of the unified ELCT succumbed to a process that could be likened to a reversal of the unity established in 1963. In the years 1972 and 1975, the Diocese gave birth to two more independent bodies i.e., the Synod in Arusha Region and the Pare Diocese, respectively. A third diocese i.e., the Meru Diocese, which went through politicised and violent processes, emerged in 1992. The split suggest that the breakaway parties were empowered either through the Northern Diocese or Northern partners. It can, therefore, be argued that the emergence of independent dioceses and a synod from the Northern Diocese was in line with the idea by the Leipzig missionaries to establish peoples' churches. Although the desire to have services closer to the congregants was put forth as the reason behind the demand for an autonomous diocese, the fact that the dioceses that emerged followed ethnic lines, at times coupled with violent clashes, suggested that an identity struggle was beneath the surface agenda.

The Diocese also went through strained relations in the 1980's as it wrestled with the agenda of women ordination. The legacy of the predominantly masculine led mission and now indigenous Diocese was challenged. Women in the ELCT had been studying theology since 1968. The first woman theologian in the Northern Diocese was installed in 1983. The installation employed a liturgy specifically designed for women theologians. The Diocese finally came to ordain women in 1991. Reasons against women ordination included cultural considerations in addition to those considered biblical. The inclusion of cultural aspects in the discussion of women ordination implies that the tendency among cultures to downplay the position of women in the society was involved. The desire to maintain social hierarchy where men rule over women was challenged.

The research shows that in their activities, the missionary societies and the church made use of the existing social-

cultural structures. Mission and church *dialogued* with the socio-political milieu. This study points to the ubiquitous and complex nature of power. The study reveals that, as with other communities, the church operates in a stratified environment. The 'we' and 'they' stratification that characterise social interactions is also to be observed within the church and between the church and the society in general. Such stratification is along ethnic, gender and social status. Decisions regarding positions of leadership have, for instance, followed the trend of societal expectations with regard to gender, ethnicity, education and experience.

Ascendance and transfer or succession to leadership in the history of the Diocese has exhibited stable and strained relations. Power relations are manifest as empowering, competitive, and dominating along the ethnic, social class and gender gradient. The research, for instance, suggests that episcopacy has adopted the model of chieftaincy tainted by the indirect rule, which demands obedience from the subjects. Adoption of this authority based model has tended to precipitate affinity for the position among the led. In order to be in the position one needs followers from the same pool. In a multicultural context, as exhibited in the history of the Northern Diocese, the line of weakness has been along ethnic boundaries. Relations in the history of the Diocese have thus characteristically been a function of legacies, the missionary and Northern Tanganyika legacies.

The study posits the patron-client model in attempts to understand the relations existing among the different strata in the history of the Northern Diocese. Attempts have constantly been made by those in the lower strata to withdraw from inequality in power exhibited in the system. Such attempts have been fruitful in the manner that freedom in decision making resulted. However, considering that economic and functional ties from the higher strata hold, the legacy that the lower strata attempt to withdraw from lingers. Power, as one interviewee put it, is moved by the ego. Power could, therefore, be considered



‘natural’ and ‘unintended’. The drum skin stretching holds; everyone tends to favour his/her side. The desire to own is natural. However, not every natural inclination is desirable. In fact, much of what we indulge in naturally should be handled cautiously. It has to be corrected and channelled appropriately. The church exists on earth but points to something beyond. But sometimes we define the church by what it points to and ignore its earthly attributes. It is erroneous to wholly ascribe ‘unearthly’ or ‘other worldly’ attributes to the church as if it existed beyond. This study calls for the need of awareness on the part of the church of the tension that reigns in its system. The tension is ambivalent, being sometimes constructive and destructive at other times. Considering the complexity of social relations, the author recommends future scrutiny on clan and zonal relations in the now predominantly Chagga Diocese.

## Abbreviations

AALC	All Africa Lutheran Conference
A(ELCA)	Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
A(ELCT-ND)	Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania-Northern Diocese
A(TUMA)	Archives of Tumaini University Makumira
D(Kweka)	Document in possession of Bishop Erasto Kweka
D(Meitamei)	Document in possession of Rev. Israel Meitamei
D(Moshi)	Document in possession of Rev. Godwin Moshi
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania
ELCT– ND	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania-Northern Diocese
FLCT	Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika
M/Mkuu	Mkutano Mkuu – General Assembly
H/Kuu	Halmashauri Kuu – Executive Council
LCNT	Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
n.d.	No date
Rev	Reverend
TAC	Tanganyika Assistance Committee

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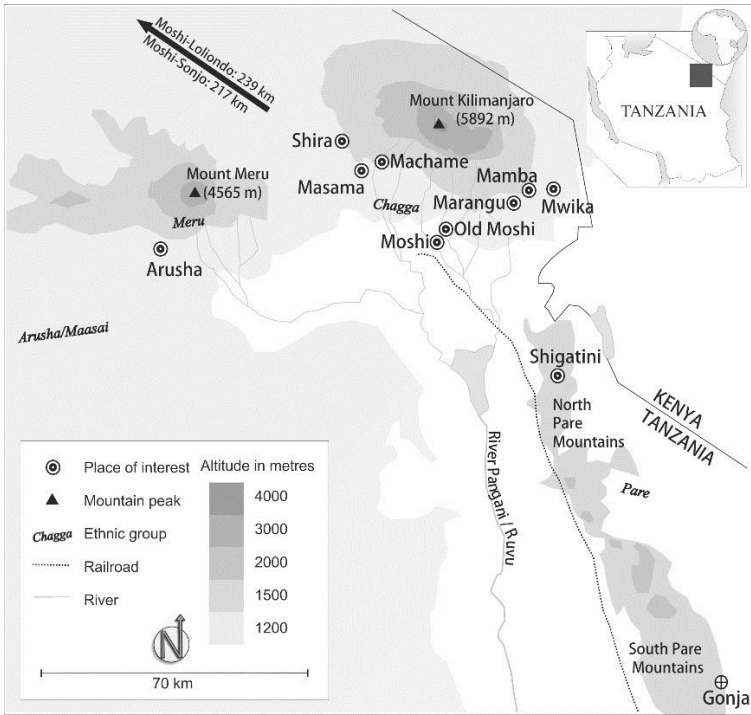
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Map 1: The Lutheran Church in Northern Tanzania: People and Places 1942–1993



# Nehemia Godwin Moshi

## **An Analysis of Power Relations in Leadership Development and Succession in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania–Northern Diocese 1942–1993**

The Lutheran Church in Northern Tanzania traces its roots to mission work done by German and American missionaries in the 19th and 20th centuries. The establishment, growth and sustainability of Lutheranism in Northern Tanzania can, however, not be comprehended without considering the contributions made by indigenous Northern Tanzanians. Historically, therefore, Lutheranism in Northern Tanzania is a result of twin contributions. The sharing of responsibilities between the foreign missionaries and the indigenous Northern Tanzanians entailed sharing of leadership. This study focuses on the trends in power relations associated with this sharing of leadership, to the point where indigenous Northern Tanzanians became autonomous leaders of the church.



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