

**Migration and Identity: The
Development of an Anglican Church in
North-east Congo (DRC), 1960-2000.**

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I hereby declare that this thesis constitutes my own research and writing. It has not been submitted for any other degree or qualification. All quotations have been distinguished and the sources of information acknowledged.

Abstract

The thesis provides a contemporary historical assessment of religious identity during periods of social change by studying in detail *l'Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) at the point where issues of migration and identity intersect. It argues that migration brings or hastens change by providing migrants with a new set of life experiences which, in dialogue with the old set of traditions and experiences, negotiate an altered identity. The research was largely based on qualitative data analysis from unstructured oral interviews gathered during fieldwork. The particular use of narratives and terms frequently mentioned by EAC members was studied to provide an understanding of the hybridity of corporate EAC identity and of the varying identities of different groups within the EAC.

An historical background to the EAC, present on the Semeliki escarpment since 1896, is provided first. Its identity is understood as one which cohered with the values of order of the ruling elite. Two patterns of post-independence migration are then analysed; migration to towns from the rural escarpment and migration from Uganda to Congo at the end of Idi Amin's regime in 1979. During these migrations centralised ecclesiastical control was weakened, Anglicans established their church in new places, and they developed alternative versions of corporate identity by resisting and assimilating ideas and practices from their different circumstances. Rural-urban migrants tended to favour a conservative approach whilst trans-border migrants saw the EAC more as an institution offering development and freedom. In the 1980s and 1990s neighbouring denominations, Anglican revivalists, young women and youth all contributed to identity change by challenging the received EAC identity with contemporary, popular and pneumatological expressions of Christianity. Membership of the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) during migration and subsequent resettlement gave migrants a socio-religious framework that provided stability during change but also flexibility to respond to change and thus maintained unity within the EAC.

The study of the spread of a church through migration, which this thesis has undertaken, presents a new way of looking at the question of popular identity within mainline denominations, and may well provide a valuable methodology for future studies.

**To Peter
and to the community of ISThA
– past, present and future.**

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Many of those to whom I am indebted have their names listed as sources at the end of the thesis. I am grateful to the members of the Dioceses of Boga and Nord-Kivu for allowing me to carry out this research. I hope the thesis will be of use to them. They told me their stories with patience and good humour, gave me hospitality and helped me gather information. Some added to this by correcting my Swahili, challenging my interpretation of events and being willing correspondents on matters of minutiae. I am particularly grateful to the students and staff of the *Institut Supérieur Théologique Anglican* for all I learnt from them over several years, most especially Rev. Dr Titre Ande, colleague, friend and fellow doctoral student.

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Abbreviations

AIC: African Initiated Churches

AIM: African Inland Mission

CBFMS: Conservative Baptist Foreign Missionary Society

CBK: Communauté Baptiste de Kivu

CEBCE: Communauté des Eglises Baptistes au Congo-Est

CECA20: Communauté Evangélique du Centre de l'Afrique, member no. 20 of ECC.

CER: Chosen Evangelical Revival

CMS: Church Missionary Society

COU: Church of Uganda

CPC: Congo Protestant Council

EAC: Eglise Anglicane du Congo

ECC: Eglise du Christ au Congo

IM: Immanuel Mission

MPR: Mouvement populaire de la Révolution

MU: Mothers' Union

UAM: Unevangelised Africa Mission

Glossary

The words below are in Swahili, unless otherwise stated in brackets.

Abanyoro – heads of clans (Hema).

Balokole – saved ones, revivalists (Luganda).

Furaha – joy, pleasure, satisfaction.

Heshima – respect, honour, dignity, ceremony, distinction, politeness, reputation.

Used in the Anglican church to refer to the behaviour expected in worship and towards other people, especially those in authority.

Kimya - quiet

Maendeleo - development, progression, advance, improvement. Used by Anglicans to denote things which encourage both material and spiritual improvement.

Mwalimu (s) – teacher in a school or in a church. The lowest rank of church worker in charge of a chapel. Translated either as teacher or chatechist.

Mwangalizi (s) – A church worker in charge of a chapel or sub-parish. Usually translated as evangelist.

Omukama – Chief, king, lord (Hema).

Uhuru – freedom, liberty, liberation. Used by some Anglicans to refer to the way in which the Revival movement or the institutional church has enabled them to take alternative social and religious routes in their area.

Upole – gentleness, slowness, smoothness, sympathy, moderation, calm. In the EAC it is used to refer to the way of worship or a characteristic of a good church worker.

Utaratibu - order, system, method, organisation, regime. Anglicans often use it refer to the hierarchical structure of the EAC and the liturgical order of the Prayer Book.

Walimu (pl) – Teachers, see *mwalimu*.

Wangalizi(pl) – Evangelists, see *mwangalizi*.

Wokovu – literally, salvation, used to refer to revivalists.

A note on African names and language

Personal names.

As far as possible personal names have been spelt as they were given to me by the person interviewed. The writing of Congolese names is a minefield. Different ethnic groups have different traditions and it is common for a person to receive a large number of names. From 1973 Mobutu's regime attempted to impose a universal structure using the personal name followed by the father's name, rejecting the use of European or Biblical names,¹ but the present popular use of names is not systematised. Where possible I have used the most common official name order in Congo – personal name, family name, baptismal name, e.g. Sinziri Onandra Christophe - which means subverting the order usually given to me by those brought up in Uganda. When referring to an individual more than once it is the personal name which is given e.g. Sinziri. Where this is not possible I have tried to respect the order given by the person themselves. Many of the women interviewed have chosen to be known by a European or Biblical name, this is their personal name and I have used it as such. So the wife of Sinziri calls herself Janette Sinziri. Janette is her given personal name and thus the name used when she is referred to by only one name.

Place names.

Current place names have been used. Congo has been used throughout to avoid confusion although during most of Mobutu's long presidency the country was known as Zaïre, a name associated closely with Mobutu's policies and the state of the country during his reign. Kisangani and Kinshasa are used instead of Leopoldville and Stanleyville, which were the names given by the Belgians. Boga, Beni etc. are all spelt in their modern forms instead of their previous forms, Mboga, Mbeni, etc. which appear in older documents.

The political division of territory has changed slightly over the period studied and the terms have altered. I use the terms which are in current use and were also those used at independence. eg. territoire (zones) , province (region).

¹ A detailed analysis of some of the issues surrounding this change in law can be found in Charles Kapanga and Mutombo Pascal, "La Débaptisation de 1973 au Congo/Zaïre et ses avatars sur l'identité individuelle et la culture nationale: le cas des noms des enfants "spéciaux," *Bulletin of Francophone Africa* 17-18 (2001-2002).

Institutional names.

To avoid confusion I refer to the Anglican Church of Congo as *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* or EAC throughout the thesis. It has also been known, at various times and circumstances, as CMS Mission, Native Anglican Church, Boga Mission, Diocèse de Boga-Zaïre, Church of Uganda, *Communauté Anglicane du Zaïre/Congo* (CAZ or CAC) and the *Province de l'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre/Congo* (PEAZ or PEAC). Likewise I consistently use Church of Uganda (COU) to refer to the Anglican church in that country, which was also once known as the Native Anglican Church.

Swahili

Spoken Swahili, and even French to a lesser degree, varies a great deal in North-east Congo. Where the meaning is clear I have quoted the original colloquial phrasing and grammatical inelegancies. I have attempted to standardise the Congolese Swahili (Kingwana) spelling only in quotations which possess potentially confusing regional variations. For example, the variant use of the prefix *sina-* : *sinaenda* meaning 'I do not go' is standard Swahili, but in the Aru area it is quite common to meet *sinaenda* meaning 'we go'.

For clarity of translation I have often used a past tense when a narrative present tense has been used in the original that sounds contrived when translated literally into English.

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Democratic Republic of Congo



Bunia, the major town in the North-east, is highlighted.

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Introduction : Roots and Routes

Introduction

On May 30th 1933 Apolo Kivebulaya, who introduced the Anglican church into Congo, died in Boga. At his request and contrary to his Baganda custom, he was buried with his head facing away from home and towards the Congo forest. He is reported to have said, ‘Bury me with my head towards the West so that the work of the Lord will continue.’¹ These words appear in the opening paragraph of a pamphlet published for the centenary of the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) in 1996. In the text they are employed to indicate the prophetic insight of Apolo, to demonstrate the African agency of the migratory growth of the church throughout Congo since its inception, and to exhort others to continue Apolo’s mission. This particular narrative of Apolo’s death provides an important symbol of the roots of identity among Congolese Anglicans and a justification for the migratory routes of their church’s expansion. In this study of migration and identity the narrative of this and other historical events given by EAC members provide hermeneutical tools with which to explain the particular historical identities of an Anglican church.

This thesis provides a contemporary historical assessment of religious identity during periods of social change by studying a Christian denomination at the point where issues of migration and identity intersect. Its focus is the EAC in North-east Congo, bordering Uganda. The research is based on oral interviews I took during fieldwork in 2000 and the experience of living and working in Congo from 1993-1998. The study addresses the following questions: What was the corporate identity of different groups of Anglicans in North-east Congo? How and why did it change over a forty year period? What was the impact of particular migratory patterns in a particular social and historical context on Anglicans’ religious identity? In answering these questions the thesis argues that migration brings or hastens change by providing migrants with a new set of life experiences which, in dialogue with the old set of experiences, negotiate an altered identity. The thesis examines the interaction between social change in relocation/dislocation and religious change in the form of geographical spread and altering expression of a Christian church. It hypothesises

¹ ‘Qu’on m’enterre la tête vers l’Ouest afin que l’oeuvre du Seigneur continue.’ n.a., *Esquisse historique de l’Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre 1896-1996* (Bunia: ISThA,) 1996: 1.

that membership of the EAC during migration and subsequent resettlement provided migrants with a socio-religious framework which gave them a sense of stability during change but also flexibility to respond to change. In responding to change, EAC migrant members resisted and assimilated ideas and practices from society and other denominations thus altering the identity of their own denomination.

Christianity in Africa

This thesis contributes to the growing body of work on African Christianity as a locally accepted religion. The study of Christianity in Africa has passed through a number of particular phases. Popular biographies of missionaries and histories of missionary societies were the first to present a picture of Christianity on the continent and these were followed by popular church histories. As Ogbu Kalu suggested, their portrayal of Christianity in Africa was often uncritical, institutionalised, elitist, western biased and spiritualised. They did not sufficiently deal with the political, social and cultural elements surrounding conversion and commitment.² The balance was addressed in part by a wealth of studies undertaken on African Initiated Churches (AICs) from Bengt Sundkler's seminal work, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948, revised 1961) to Allan Anderson's *Zion and Pentecost* (2000). These studies have usually emphasised the non-western cultural nature of the AICs. In the study of African Church history a conceptual gap often developed between western mission-initiated churches and AICs. Baldly stated, the latter, which had previously been called syncretistic and accused of relying too heavily on the ideas of traditional African religions, were now hailed as the expressions of truly contextualised African Christianity. The former came to be considered part of colonial oppression, damaging to African cultures and societies.³ There was a tendency to emphasise the seemingly 'exotic' and African, neglecting the study of western initiated churches as merely the reflection of missionary imposition.⁴ In recent years scholars have become aware that a more nuanced approach yields more complex yet more accurate

² Ogbu Kalu, "African Church Historiography," in *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, Toyin Falola, ed. (London: Longman) 1993: 166-167.

³ Norman Etherington, "Recent trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 2 (1996), 209-210.

⁴ Birgit Meyer, "'If you are a Devil, you are a Witch and, if you are a Witch, you are a Devil.' The Integration of 'Pagan' Ideas into the Conceptual Universe of the Ewe Christian in Southeastern Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 2 (1992), 99.

portrayals of the variety of Christian experience available on the African continent. It has become commonplace to attribute the rapid spread of Christianity to African evangelists rather than Western missionaries⁵ a position which affirms ‘... that Christianity at the grassroots level cannot be reduced to the intentions and actions of Western colonial missionaries... but [is] a continuously developing product which is shaped by a great number of experiences.’⁶ Referring to the contextualisation debate, Terence Ranger in 1987 asserted that the entire Christian movement reflects a part of African identity because of its huge significance in the twentieth century history of the continent. He called for a reassessment: ‘... we should see mission churches as much less alien and independent churches as much less “African” than has hitherto been the case.’⁷ Nevertheless, he was conscious of the academic fascination for AICs when in 1993 he made a plea for ‘... a historiography which makes the mission churches as *interesting* as the independent ones.’⁸

During the 1990s several scholars took up this challenge and addressed the previously neglected issue of the grassroots acceptance of western mission-initiated Christianity. For example, in *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (1995) Paul Landau presents a social history of the impact of London Missionary Society on the Tswana people.⁹ He recognises Tswana agency and initiative in the localisation of Christianity because it provided opportunities for greater self-determination. Thus he departs from the view of Jean and John Comaroff¹⁰ who saw the Tswana as passive and manipulated objects of missionary hegemony. David Maxwell’s *Christians and Chiefs in*

⁵ See for example, G.O. M. Tasié, "Christian Awakening in West Africa 1914-18: a Study in the Significance of Native Agency," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, Ogbu Kalu, ed. (London: Longman,)1980: 293-295.

⁶ Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) 1999: xix.

⁷ Terence Ranger, "Religion, Development and African Christian Identity," in *Religion, Development and African Identity*, Kirsten Holst-Peterson, ed. (Uppsala: Scandanavian Institute of African Studies), 1987: 31.

⁸ Terence Ranger, "New Approaches to the History of Mission Christianity," in *African Historiography: Essays in honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, Toyin Falola, ed. (London: Longman), 1993: 183. Italics mine.

⁹ Cape Town: David Philip, 1995.

¹⁰ Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago), 1991.

Zimbabwe: A social history of the Hwesa people, c. 1870s-1990s (1999)¹¹ studies the interplay of political and religious change during colonialism and independence among the Hwesa who accepted mission churches when they presented the Christian message in local terms. Maxwell recognises the transformation of group identities as Hwesa chose between traditional cults and various Christian options and he acknowledges returning migrants as one of several facilitators of change. Birgit Meyer in *Translating the Devil* (1999)¹² provides an anthropological study of religious belief which recognises the historical process involved in accepting and altering belief. To understand how Christianity is appropriated at grassroots level and why the Pentecostal churches have grown to the detriment of mission-derived churches she studies the Ewe religious worldview and the images of Satan of the first missionaries and three Ewe Churches. Her understanding of the local appropriations by Ghanaians of western initiated Christianity provide useful insights about the local use of modern, global influences. J.D.Y. Peel's *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (2000) demonstrates the way in which a shift from local religious beliefs and practices to an acceptance of mission Christianity unified separate groups into the Yoruba people. The alteration of religious identity also changed social identity and produced a cultural nationalism.¹³ All these studies demonstrate that the acceptance and alteration of Christianity depended upon the way in which Christian belief and practice were perceived to meet local needs of a spiritual, social and political nature. Methodologically, the four studies also all take one ethnic group and examine the conversion process before analysing the further development of Christianity among the group chosen.

My thesis explores in a different context the way in which the alteration of Christian identity met local needs. Its methodology differs in several significant respects from those of the studies above. My focus is on the development of a single Christian denomination, the EAC, decades after the first introduction to Christianity in the area. Thus I deal with several distinct ethnic groups who are members of the denomination and I study the effect of membership of an institution and its correlated life experiences on those from a number of culturally and historically separate ethnic

¹¹ Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

¹² Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

¹³ Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2000.

groups who have chosen to affiliate themselves to it. In doing so I question the position of ethnic identity as the essential starting point for a discussion of contemporary African socio-religious history, recognising that 'ethnic identities are merely a small fraction of the many identities mobilized in... everyday life'.¹⁴ The thesis also studies the response made by members of a denomination to the continuing change of post-independence African society sometime after initial Christian conversion had taken place. A time when western initiated churches had gained autonomy from western missions and, in a context of general economic and political decline, there was a rise in Neo-Pentecostalism. As such it touches only briefly on issues of primary conversion and its relationship with indigenous worldviews and focuses on the socio-religious factors of contemporary identity. This contemporary approach further demonstrates that the dichotomy between some mission initiated and some African initiated churches is much less striking than has sometimes been assumed. My thesis also challenges Kalu's call for an ecumenical approach to take priority over denominational histories.¹⁵ Whilst in sympathy with the aim of Kalu's suggestion, I do not assume that a denomination is a single closed unit. It is rather a collection of different units which can be identified by ethnicity, gender, generation and so on. The thesis introduces the theme of migration as a major factor, with which other factors interacted, in the discussion of the historical development and altering identity of western missionary initiated churches. It is particularly pertinent for the EAC. However, migration within the African continent is so prevalent that its effect on Christianity¹⁶ requires more analysis. I wish to take the conclusions of the impact of Christianity on local cultures and the localisation of Christian belief and practice further into the contemporary sphere of mixed Christianities as migration brings those of different denominations and ethnic backgrounds face to face. Such an approach assumes that African contexts are mobile and hybrid.

¹⁴ Richard Werbner, "Introduction: Multiple Identities, Plural Arenas," in *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*, Richard Werbner and Terence Ranger, eds (London: Zed Books), 1996: 1.

¹⁵ Ogbu Kalu, "African Church Historiography," 167.

¹⁶ And indeed the effect of Christianity on migration, although that is not the main emphasis of this thesis.

The Anglican Church of Congo

..when [Anglican] Christianity did establish itself ... it came not as the conquering world religion but in its popular form, in the hands of ... migrants responding to locally based need and struggles.¹⁷

Add the word 'Anglican' to David Maxwell's words and his description of the establishment of Christianity among the Hwesa is equally valid for the development of the EAC in the North-east of Congo. It is the 'popular form' of Anglicanism spread by migrants and the local 'needs and struggles' which are the subject of this thesis. The church spread by the initiative of its members who found it a useful vehicle for expressing their religious belief and practice, accepting or changing their cultural customs, and locating them in their immediate social milieu. It will be shown that they considered membership of a global network of Anglican provinces an appropriate response to these local needs. Thus an explanation of the EAC in its national and international context is appropriate here.

The EAC is an historic western mission church which was introduced to Congo and spread throughout the country by Africans - some citizens of neighbouring countries, some Congolese returning from these countries or migrating within their own country. It was first established on the Semeliki escarpment in 1896 through the work of the diligent Ugandan missionary, Apolo Kivebulaya. Apolo himself had become an Anglican Christian as a result of the work of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), a Church of England evangelical mission agency, which had been working among the Ganda since 1877. Many Ganda accepted Christianity and took it, with all its spiritual, social and political associations, to neighbouring kingdoms.¹⁸ The Ugandan church became large, self-confident and influential and CMS regarded the mission as a great success.¹⁹ In some ways the EAC, as part of the Church of Uganda until 1981, and with its connection with the highly respected Apolo, basked in the reflected rays of its achievement. In other ways, its historical circumstances were so very different that it felt it was always struggling to attain the same standards. Indeed the establishment model of British controlled Uganda was of little use to the small EAC in the Belgian Congo.

¹⁷ Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe*, 53.

¹⁸ Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists, the spread of Christianity in Uganda: 1891-1914* (London: Rex Collings), 1978. J.V. Taylor, *The growth of the Church in Buganda* (London: SCM), 1958.

¹⁹ Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942.*, 1 vol. (London: SCM), 1971: 205.

Until the 1960s the EAC remained a small, geographically isolated church. By 2000 it had spread through Ituri, North and South Kivu, Maniema, the Kasais and Katanga. It could be found around Kisangani and Kinshasa and spread from the latter to Brazzaville. It had six dioceses based in Boga, Bukavu, Kisangani, Lubumbashi, Butembo and Kindu. It remained part of the large Anglican province administered from Uganda until a francophone province was created in 1981 for Rwanda, Burundi and 'Boga-Zaire'. In 1992 the EAC became a province within the Anglican Communion which is estimated to have 80 million members world-wide, 42.5 million of whom live in Africa.²⁰ The EAC requests the aid of western missionaries over whom it has authority.²¹

As an autonomous member of the Communion, the EAC has chosen to use the *Book of Common Prayer* in worship, with its own local adaptation and translations, and to observe the Thirty-nine Articles. It has an episcopalian structure. Governance and liturgy are, as will be demonstrated, important parts of EAC identity and their study provide the subjects for the two most extensive works on the church, 'Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo: The Influence of Political Models of Authority and the Potential of "Life-Community Ecclesiology" for Good Governance' by Titre Ande,²² and Dirokpa Balufuga's, 'Liturgie anglicane et Inculturation, Hier, Aujourd'hui et Demain: Regard sur la Célébration eucharistique en République Démocratique du Congo'.²³ They are both PhD theses and will be mentioned in the course of my thesis alongside undergraduate dissertations written on the EAC. Apart from these there are few critical works on the EAC.

The growth of the EAC from the 1970s occurred in two main ways; through the migration of members, which is the subject of this thesis, and through the affiliation of whole denominations to the EAC as a result of political pressure to belong to one of the government registered denominations. This second way did *not* occur in the dioceses of Boga and Nord-Kivu under study here.

²⁰ Peter Brierley, *The Anglican Communion: Tomorrow's Trends* (London: Christian Research), 2002: 26.

²¹ Missionaries have usually been invited to facilitate health work, theological training, inter alia, once the EAC has established itself in an area rather than being expected to take initiative in church planting and evangelism. Most are sent by CMS UK, CMS Australia and the Episcopal Church in the USA.

²² Titre (PhD, Birmingham University), 2003.

²³ Dirokpa (PhD, Université Laval), 2001.

Current EAC membership is estimated at about 500,000²⁴ in a country of about 49 million people. As such it remains a small church in Congo, where Roman Catholics are estimated to account for 49% of the population; 29% of the population are Protestant members of the *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC) which includes the EAC, and 18% of the population are African Initiated Church (AIC) members, with a large number of these being Kimbanguists.²⁵ Muslims are estimated to make-up 1.5% of the population. Those who retain their traditional local religious beliefs and practices²⁶ without any recourse to world religions are estimated to be about 2% of the population. Many people, including Anglicans, have overlapping religious affiliations; they will attend church regularly but seek out traditional religious practitioners for healing and assistance in life.

North-east Congo

The two dioceses of Boga and Nord-Kivu under consideration in this thesis are situated in the Provinces of Ituri²⁷ and Nord-Kivu,²⁸ an area of over 100,000km² from the Sudanese border in the north to Lake Edward in the south, along almost the entire length of Uganda. They encompass the Congo side of the Rwenzori mountains and Lake Albert, and the Ituri forest as far west as Isiro, in Haut Uélé. During the early colonial era much of the area was disputed between the Belgians and the British. Subsistence farming is the occupation of the majority of the population but the fertility of the region means that surplus food can be grown to serve larger towns, like Kisangani. Fish from Lake Albert is dried and flown as far away as Kinshasa, the capital. The area has rich gold deposits and informal mining is popular alongside

²⁴ Isingoma Kakwa, Bishop of Katanga, has called for a revaluation of this figure which he believes is based on successive guesses rather than reliable statistical data. E-mail 05/05/2003.

²⁵ David Barrett, George Kurian, and Todd Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopaedia: A comparative study of churches and religions in the modern world, AD1900-2000, vol.1.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2001: 211-216.

²⁶ There is much debate about which term is most appropriate for religions which existed in Africa before the arrival of Christianity and which continue to be practised. I refer to them as 'traditional' 'indigenous' or 'local' for want of more satisfactory terms.

²⁷ Ituri became a Province for the second time under an rebel administration in 1999, before that it was a sub-region of *Province Orientale* administered from Kisangani. Ituri is 65.652 km² and its population in 1988 was 2,267.556. D Bura, and D.R.D Barongo, "Etude Bibliographique sur l'Ituri," *Ujuvi*, 12 (1990): 5-48, 7.

²⁸ The Anglican Diocese of Nord-Kivu is smaller than the political province of the same name and does not include the area south of Lubero.

North-east Congo ²⁹



0 ----- 100km

²⁹ adapted from <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/congo-demrep-rel97.jpg>

work in the official mines. Despite a wealth of natural resources most of the population has been impoverished by colonial occupation and the subsequent political and economic mismanagement and corruption during the dictatorship of President Mobutu Sese Seko (1965-1997). The situation deteriorated further as a result of the ongoing internal war³⁰ which began in 1998 and which has become increasingly factionalised by those seeking political and economic gain. It has caused massive loss of life, internal displacement, malnutrition and disease.³¹ The national infrastructure has broken down and those services of health and education which continue to function are largely run by the churches, which have good regional networks and access to foreign aid. Those individuals who make money do so largely in the informal sector. The Nande of Nord-Kivu, for example, are well known for their trading abilities.³² Butembo, Beni and Bunia are significant trading towns, to which traders bring goods from East Africa and the Middle East. Bunia and Butembo are both towns of populations over one hundred thousand people.

Ethnically the area of Ituri and Nord-Kivu is very diverse, being peopled by Sudanic and Nilotic groups in the north and Bantu and Pygmy groups in the south.³³ Most of my interviewees come from five ethnic groups, although the EAC in the North-east is present among at least eight others as well. Thus the EAC is not composed of one naturally occurring social unit but the alliance of differing social groupings, found near and (to some extent) re-formed by colonial boundaries, who all possess centuries-old histories of migration and religious and social change. The migrations studied in this thesis are just the latest in a saga of mobility and hybridity. Brief

³⁰ 'Internal war' is used to explain a category wider than 'civil' or 'guerilla' war. The main combatants in Congo are not Congolese but soldiers from neighbouring countries. Their aim is not simply political power and security but also economic gain. In the North-east individual Ugandans have been reaping the economic benefits of having the Ugandan army as the occupying force. Mika Vehnäkäki, "Diamonds and Warlords: the Geography of War in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone," *Nordic Journal of Africa Studies* 11, 1 (2002), 49.

³¹ It is estimated that 3.3 million people died between 1998 and 2002. In the east about 50% of children died before they were two years old. International Rescue Committee, "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Results from a Nation-wide Survey," (April 2003), ii.

³² Janet MacGaffey, "Long-distance Trade, Smuggling and the New Commercial Class: the Nande of North Kivu," in *Entrepreneurs and Parasites: The struggle for indigenous capitalism in Zaire.*, MacGaffey, Janet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1987: 143-164.

³³ Jan Vansina, *Introduction à l'ethnographie du Congo*, (Bruxelles: Universitaires du Congo), 1965: 213-214.

snapshots of these groups will provide insight into the ethnically complex nature of the region.

Hema and Nande

The Hema are a Nilotic group, having their origins in the Nile basin. They later migrated to Bunyoro and thus speak a Bantu language, Hema or Runyoro. This thesis is concerned with the southern Hema in the Boga area, south-west of Lake Albert rather than the northern Hema, or Gegere, living north-west of the lake who have intermarried with neighbouring Lendu and speak their language. The Southern Hema migrated from Bunyoro about 1800³⁴ as a result of an internal dispute but remained part of this larger kingdom at first. They are pastoralists although are now heavily dependant on agriculture. Their society is stratified, having at its head a king or *omukama*,³⁵ whose political and religious roles are indivisible. He incarnates God's (*Ruhanga*) rule, uniting the people by being the intermediary between them and their ancestors. He ensures the continuation of ancestral rites, and protects sacred objects, like the royal drum, around which notions of corporate identity were formed.³⁶ Like other immigrant aristocracies, the Hema gained influence over neighbouring ethnic groups with less stratified political structures,³⁷ the Ngiti (Lendu-Bindi), Lese, Nyali, Mbuti,³⁸ but rarely intermarried with them.³⁹

Another of their neighbours, the Nande, are a Bantu group (also known as Yira and, in Uganda, Konjo) who also migrated to the Rwenzori region from Bunyoro.⁴⁰ The Nande adhered to a system of belief similar to many Bantu groups. The Supreme

³⁴ Kaputo Samba, *Phénomène d'Ethnicité et Conflits ethno-politiques en Afrique post-coloniale* (Kinshasa: Presse Universitaires du Zaïre), 1982: 59.

³⁵ *Omukama* is variously translated as 'king', 'lord' and 'chief'. In Toro a variant, *mukama*, is used.

³⁶ Isingoma Kahwa Henri, "La Notion traditionnelle de la Communauté en Afrique noire et son Intergration dans la Vie ecclesiale (Cas de Banyoro en République du Zaïre).," (Maitrise en Théologie diss., Faculté de Théologie Evangélique de Bangui), 1989: 31.

³⁷ Aidan Southall, *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons), 1953: 229.

³⁸ The Ngiti number about 100,000, and are the Hema's northern neighbours. The Lese number about 50,000 and live throughout the Ituri forest. The Nyali have a population of 43,000 and live in Djugu *territoire* as well as near Boga. Babara F. Grimes, "Ethnologue," English, <http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Zair.html>: SIL, 2000.

³⁹ Ndahura Bezalari, "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre, 1896-1972.," (Licence en Théologie diss., Faculté Protestante de Kinshasa) 1974: 37-38.

⁴⁰ Lieven Bergmans, *L'Histoire des Baswaga* (Butembo: Editions ABB), 1970: 8.

Being is known as *Nyamuhanga* but, traditionally, spirit intermediaries and ancestors were considered to be closer to the people and called upon to act on their behalf.⁴¹ Nande society was a virilocal descent group led by clan heads who were rain-makers and diviners, which by the nineteenth century had achieved a greater hierarchy of power and a royal class similar to that of the Hema. Thus both groups possessed 'notions of superordination and subordination' as 'paramount social values'.⁴² Ordinary people were expected to provide tribute through agricultural labour to the royal class who in turn provided ritual, military and social organisation.⁴³ Further change was influenced by Arab ivory traders operating between Maniema and the Semeliki plain. Nande who allied themselves with Arabs possessed new power in the form of arms and commodities and negotiated positions of political and territorial influence.⁴⁴ The Hema elite also sought alliances with larger and more influential social units. *Omukama* Tabaro who, in the 1890s, invited Christian evangelists to Boga, was seeking to ally himself with the ascendant Toro kingdom where the evangelists were based.⁴⁵ Bunyoro's regional influence was waning and Toro, with its Christian *Omukama*, Kasagama, was the rising regional power. It is likely that Tabaro regarded the political and religious interests of Kasagama as indivisible. Between 1910 and 1912 the Hema and Nande came under effective Belgian rule and their social system was further institutionalised, with chiefs expected to perform colonial functions for the political ends of the colonisers. In 1996 it was estimated that there were over 100,000 Southern Hema in Congo.⁴⁶ In 1991 there were 903,000 Nande in Congo.⁴⁷ Geographical mobility and interaction with emerging powerful social forces continually altered the identity of the Nande and Hema. The influence of Christianity on their socio-religious structures and practices should be understood

⁴¹ Lieven Bergmans, *Les Wanande: Croyances et Pratiques traditionnelles* (Butembo: Editions ABB), 1971: 9-21.

⁴² John Beattie, *The Nyoro State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1971: 121-122.

⁴³ Kasomo-Muteho, "Le Peuple Nande et les Cérémonies du Mariage," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB, Bunia), 1989: 7-9.

⁴⁴ J. E. Nelson, *Christian Missionizing and Social Transformation: A History of Conflict and Change in Eastern Zaire* (New York: Praeger), 1992: 20.

⁴⁵ Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 52.

⁴⁶ Barbara Grimes, "Ethnologue," English, <http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Zair.html>: SIL, 2000.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

in this light. A similar process, but in different circumstances among different people, occurred further north.

Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara

The Alur are a Nilotic speaking group related to the Lwo of East Africa who migrated into the present area north of Lake Albert during the seventeenth century. They slowly incorporated neighbouring Lendu and Ndo into their political system and eventually into their culture and language, through Alur ritual superiority as rainmakers, their stratified socio-political organisation, and their economic control over cattle.⁴⁸ This assimilation demonstrates that prior to colonisation boundaries between groups were fluid: expansion or retreat could lead to migration into the area of another group; customs and systems of governance might shift as a result; membership of one group or another was flexible. The authority of Alur chiefs was based on their ritual power over nature and commemoration of ancestral migration.⁴⁹ The Alur were members of several politically independent chiefdoms, often known as 'segmentary states' whose membership, geography and relative power was fluid.⁵⁰ These chiefdoms did have a sense of common ancestry but did not form one large cohesive group. The colonial boundary established on the Nile-Congo watershed through Alur territory did not divide a single political entity but did cut similar cultures in two as it did with the Hema and Nande further south.⁵¹ There were 500,000 Alur in Congo in 1991.⁵²

The Kakwa speak a Nilotic language linguistically connected to Alur. In the eighteenth century they migrated to the area they now occupy which situated in the nation-states of Congo, Sudan and Uganda. The 930km² Kakwa *Collectivité* in Congo is situated in Aru zone and had a population of 75,588 inhabitants in 1990.⁵³ The Kakwa are divided into about twelve clans based on an acephalous, segmentary

⁴⁸ Aidan Southall, "Partitioned Alur," in *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations Across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884-1984*, A.I. Asiwaju ed. (London: C. Hurst), 1985: 87-88.

⁴⁹ Southall, *Alur Society*, 93.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵² Grimes, "Ethnologue,".

⁵³ Yeka Warra Idoru, "L'impact de la Penetration et de l'Expansion de l'Evangile sur le Peuple Kakwa," (Diplôme de Graduat diss.), 1992: 3.

virilocal lineage structure. The Kakwa name for the Supreme Being is *Dun*. Like the Alur, they venerate spirits associated with nature and ancestors who are recalled in ritual genealogies commemorating the migration of previous generations. The Kakwa have close relations with Lugbara⁵⁴ and intermarriage is common.

The Lugbara speak a Sudanic language and are related to the Kaliko, Logo, Ndo, Lendu and Madi in Uganda. They migrated from the Sudan area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into what are now Uganda and Congo. The Lugbara have an acephalous, segmentary and virilocal system, similar to the Kakwa, which comprises over sixty separate clans. Clans are made up of sub-clans and family clusters under the authority of an elder who is also usually the custodian of the ancestral shrines.⁵⁵ Clans possess a sense of unity through genealogy but in daily life it is the family clusters which provide social cohesion. In 1993 there were about 288,000 Lugbara in Congo.⁵⁶

Political and social structures for the Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara have, since the nineteenth century, been affected by similar historical changes, which, in some cases incurred further movement westwards. They suffered from slavery and looting from Arab traders from East. They were raided by Emin Pasha's and Madhist troops⁵⁷ until about 1888 and came under colonial rule in 1897 although the area remained contested between colonial powers until 1914. Until it was quashed in 1920, Kakwa and Lugbara mobilised a combined resistance force to colonial incursions through the Yakan cult led by a Kakwa prophet named Rembe.⁵⁸ In 1912 the Belgian administration introduced an indirect rule system of *chefferies* in larger *collectivités* which co-opted or imposed *grands chefs* on peoples and thus consolidated what had been fluid systems of alliance-building. Among the Lugbara and Kakwa, particularly,

⁵⁴ One clan has some members who speak Lugbara and others who speak Kakwa. Boliba Baba, "Adiyo: The coming of the Kakwa and the Development of their Institutions." (B.A. diss., Makerere University), 1971: 10.

⁵⁵ John Middleton, *The Lugbara of Uganda* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston), 1966: 26-30.

⁵⁶ Grimes, "Ethnologue,".

⁵⁷ Pasha, a European mercenary, controlled Equatorial Province as far as West Nile from 1878 until 1883 when he was defeated by Sudanese nationalists in the Madhist uprising. He withdrew northwards in 1889. Whilst he was governor he failed to control his troops who raided the Acholi, Alur, Kakwa, Lugbara and Madi. S. R. Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda* (Nairobi: Heinemann), 1980: 58.

⁵⁸ J.H. Driberg, "Yakan," *Royal Anthropology Institute* 61 (1931), 415-416.

this divided clan structures and imposed a social stratification previously unknown in their cultures.⁵⁹ The Belgians took social engineering further. For example, they considered Alur influence over non-Alur to be a form of slavery and set about disentangling non-Alur by resettling them in distinct geographical areas, an intervention that the people themselves did not always appreciate.⁶⁰ The Belgians also made assessments about the relative merits of different ethnic groups. They believed certain ethnic groups like Alur and Hema to possess a superior civilisation and greater ability to lead than others.⁶¹ As a result they preferred Alur and Hema to work for them. By the late 20th century perceptions of ethnic groups, particularly their boundedness and hierarchy, had been influenced by colonial policies with the inevitable consequences of inequality in divisions of power between different groups rooted in colonial demarcations of identity. Social and geographical mobility became more structured as colonisers attempted to systematise a variety of social groups within their controlling framework of a unitary bounded state. Belgian colonial policy effectively reinvented or clarified different ethnicities.⁶² In doing so it dismantled or reinforced slowly established social and political bonds and ossified linguistic, ethnic and geographical boundaries. Boundaries of *collectivités* were expected to be observed even in situations of high population density. Colonial rulers, themselves migrants to Africa, discouraged the westwards drifting of population in search of new land thus changing the nature of the migration which had been occurring for centuries and often precipitated over-population and labour migration.⁶³ The migrations studied in this thesis provide another chapter in the movement of people within the continent.

Migration

The study of migration makes evident the inter-connectedness between peoples, regions and countries. It questions the use of nation-state borders as boundaries for

⁵⁹ John Middleton, "The Roles of Chiefs and Headmen Among the Lugbara," *Journal of African Administration* 8, 1 (1956), 127-128.

⁶⁰ Aidan Southall, "Ethnic Incorporation among the Alur," In *From Tribe to Nation in Africa*, Ronald Cohen and John Middleton, eds (Scranton: Chandler), 1970: 72-74.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁶² Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 26,3 (1986), 442.

⁶³ John Middleton, *The Lugbara of Uganda* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston), 1966: 31.

study with its underlying assumption that politically bounded space is the most relevant sort of space occupied by people. It is an interdisciplinary subject most often addressed in the fields of demographics, politics, economics, sociology, anthropology and law.⁶⁴ A historical approach, which I take, is frequently used only as a secondary tool to give background information to the particular issue under investigation. Migration studies include research into different migratory patterns (forced, voluntary, urban to and from rural, urban to urban, etc.) and the results of migration (labour, refugee status, living conditions, etc.). Traditionally, migration studies have dealt with macro-forces like the push and pull of economic factors,⁶⁵ more recently attention has been focused on the micro-forces of migration like the social networks through which migrants adapt to their new situations, becoming to varying degrees assimilated into, or remaining separate from, their host societies.⁶⁶ The micro, informal, socio-religious factors of relations, beliefs, rites and aspirations are vital for understanding the complex relationship between migration and religious identity and will be studied here to explain why religion is a cohesive force during the dislocation that occurs during migration.

Study on the relationship between migration and Christianity is in its infancy. Most recently it has been given attention in the field of missiology.⁶⁷ Jehu Hanciles highlighted the pertinence of the subject by presenting international migration movements as social transformers that ‘...significantly affect the geographic and demographic contours of the world’s major religions’.⁶⁸ Work on immigrant religion in the US provides lines of enquiry useful for the Congolese context. An article by Jon Millar suggests that ‘...patterns of migration quite often display strong religious correlates.’⁶⁹ In his research on Korean Christian immigrants in Los Angeles he demonstrates that migration is often precipitated or influenced by exposure to

⁶⁴ Stephen Castles and Mark Millar, *The Age of Migration: International Population movements in the Modern World* (London: MacMillan Press), 1998: 19-20.

⁶⁵ John Jackson, *Migration* (London: Longman), 1986: 14.

⁶⁶ Monica Boyd, "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas," *International Migration Review* 23, 3 (1989), 641.

⁶⁷ The entire issue of *Missiology* 31,1 (2003) was devoted to migration.

⁶⁸ Jehu Hanciles, "Migration and Mission: Some Implications for the Twenty-first-Century Church," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 27, 4 (2003), 146.

⁶⁹ Jon Millar, "Missionaries and Migrants: The Importance of Religion in the Movement of Populations.," presented at Currents in World Christianity Conference, Pretoria, 3-7 July 2001, 9.

Christianity. Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Salzman Chafetz in their study of immigrant religion in Houston conclude that immigrant religious institutions ‘...are structured to both ensure continuity of practice and to assume adaptive strategies of change. Because these two processes are often contradictory, immigrant religious institutions typically experience real or potential conflicts among groups of members.’⁷⁰ In the Congolese context these divisions were seen between first and second generation migrants and between those who followed different migratory paths. The future of the EAC depended, to quote Ebaugh and Chafetz again, on how members ‘...respond[ed] to divisive issues rooted in ethnic/linguistic, generational, gender ...differences’⁷¹ Millar considers that these issues, resulting from migration, cause religious diversity. He explains that second generation immigrants, ‘...move away culturally, linguistically and spiritually from the insularity and conservatism of their elders... still deeply religious [they] are experimenting with innovative religious forms.’⁷² This thesis will demonstrate that, on a more localised scale, these aspects – the influence of Christianity on migration, conservative religious expression, tensions arising from conflicting identity issues and religious innovation - were also present among migrant Anglicans in Congo.

Africa possesses large migrant populations but data on Sub-Saharan migration is limited.⁷³ Migration occurs within broader social change in which economic differentials and political instability give rise to large numbers of migrant labourers and refugees.⁷⁴ In the late 1970s 8% (35 million people) of the African population were international migrants within the continent and many more migrated within state borders. In 1991 there were five million refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa,⁷⁵ this figure rose considerably during the rest of the decade. Migration is, therefore, part of

⁷⁰ Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Salzman Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira), 2000: 134.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁷² Millar, “Missionaries and Migrants”, 7.

⁷³ Aderanti Adepoju, "International Migration South of the Sahara," in *International Migration Today*, vol. 2 Reginald T. Appleyard, ed. (UNESCO/University of Western Australia), 1988: 17.

⁷⁴ Aderant Adepoju, "Links between Internal and International Migration: the African Situation," in *International Migration Today*, vol., 1 Charles Stahl, ed. (UNESCO/University of Western Australia), 1988: 38.

⁷⁵ Zlotnik, H. ‘Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration’, *International Migration Review* 28, 1 (1994), 191.

life for many Africans and is a factor that informs their identities. Some migrants cover large distances and settle in cultures very different from those in their place of origin. Small-scale migration, however, is much more common and directly affects more people. Those looking for improvement in their life-styles often migrate to their nearest town,⁷⁶ refugees fleeing war usually cross the nearest international border or are internally displaced.⁷⁷ If migration provides a catalyst for rapid change, then change often occurs in the common place and unpublicised movement of people.

The EAC, like denominations throughout the continent, grew numerically and spread geographically as a result of these local migratory patterns. The EAC in North-east Congo provides the researcher with a compact area and small institution on which to carry out detailed microanalysis of the impact of migration and the shifting identity issues at work during a time of transition. The thesis focuses on two routes that have led to the establishment of the EAC in areas new to it. Firstly, there is the route from the Semeliki escarpment area to the towns of Ituri and Nord-Kivu, a voluntary, rural to urban migration with the aim of an improved life-style, taken by the Hema and Nande. It leads to the urbanisation of migrants and their institutions. The second migratory path studied did not always lead to towns. It is the sudden migration of refugees from Uganda to the Aru and Mahagi zones of Congo, taken by the Kakwa, Lugbara and Alur. Similar migratory patterns can be seen elsewhere in the development of the EAC. These particular routes have been chosen because I am most familiar with this area and war in Congo made field-work elsewhere in the country problematic.

If the identity of Christianity on the African continent is to be understood it is important that small-scale but frequent and wide-spread migrations and their relation to the Church are studied thoroughly as both results of and catalysts for rapid religious change. It has been acknowledged that Islam in Africa has spread through migration, following trade routes and encouraging the itineration of religious teachers.⁷⁸ A few have also recognised the role of migration in the spread of Christianity. Bengt Sundkler called for 'a new key' to African Christian history

⁷⁶ A. O'Connor, *The African City*. (London: Hutchinson & Co.), 1983: 68-74.

⁷⁷ Adepoju, "International Migration South of the Sahara," 34.

⁷⁸ Peter Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th century* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd.), 1982: 28-37.

which emphasises the role of ‘the highly mobile African communities’, the refugees and the migrant workers.⁷⁹ However, an over emphasis on missions and church institutions has often obscured from view the movement of ordinary church members and the itineration of church workers. Even the famously migratory Masowe Apostles (*Vahosana*), have been researched mainly for their church structure rather than for the influence of migration on their expression of Christianity.⁸⁰ Recently, however, some have taken up Sundkler’s challenge. Caleb Oladipo has begun research on the introduction by southern traders of Baptist churches in northern Nigeria.⁸¹ Meredith McKittrick in *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland* has studied the convergence of Christianity and labour migration in Namibia’s history.⁸² She argues that both these elements provided young people with security and seniority, aspirations which they took from indigenous culture but which, influenced by migration and Christianity, challenged that same culture. Although my thesis deals with a later period, when Christianity was already established, it addresses similar issues as migrant members of the EAC reconfigure their identities and that of their church. Finally, David Maxwell studied the contemporary transnationalism of a Pentecostal church which spread from Zimbabwe largely through migrant labourers. He notes its ‘heterogeneous and multi-stranded nature’ developed through networked relationships.⁸³ The diversification through migration of the identity of the EAC is also addressed in this thesis.

⁷⁹ Bengt Sundkler, "African Church History in a New Key," in *Religion, Development and African Identity*, Kirsten Holst-Peterson, ed. (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies), 1987: 75.

⁸⁰ Clive Dillon-Malone, *The Korsten Basketmakers: A Study of the Masowe Apostles, an Indigenous African Religious Movement* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 1978. Harold W. Turner mentions the ‘...migrant history that has freed the Apostles from the bonds of land and tribe,’ in the forward but the author himself does not sufficiently analyse the importance of a very particular kind of migration.

⁸¹ Caleb Oladipo, "The Yoruba missionaries in Northern Nigeria 1901-1975: The Unseen Power of the Powerless," presented at the *Yale-Edinburgh Conference on the History of Mission and Christianity in the Non-Western World*, 11-13 July 2002.

⁸² McKittrick, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002.

⁸³ David Maxwell, "Christianity without Frontiers: Shona Missionaries and Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa," in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, eds (Leiden: Brill), 2002: 329.

Identity

Identity has, in recent years, been much studied. It is a popular subject in a postmodern, globalised world. And like the words ‘postmodern’ and ‘globalisation’ it is much used and so used to mean so much. The focus of this thesis is a particular historical process through which the changing of corporate religious identity can be observed. As such, little time is spent on the philosophical and psychological theories of identity. The working definition of identity for this thesis is that it signifies a whole network of connecting ideas about the self and the other. It is a construction of firstly, how one views oneself and secondly, how one is viewed by others, and the complex and dynamic interplay of these view points. How one views oneself arises from a reflection upon and assessment of one's actions and situation which have arisen as a result of limited choices. That is, one finds oneself presented with relations, structures and situations which permit or prevent certain options. In this thesis reflection is by Congolese Anglicans and the main focus of religious choice is that presented in the historical situation of migration in North-east Congo. Central to identity for those interviewed was the sense of belonging to someone or something: ‘Someone without identity is nowhere. It’s good to belong to a particular family, a particular group’.⁸⁴ This idea resonates with a common African proverb on being-in-relation: *Mutu ni Watu* (a person is people). Belonging, in this thesis, is primarily studied in terms of attachment to a religious community, the EAC. The way in which one belongs is an expression of relative power or lack of it within the group.

How one is viewed by others arises from reflection upon and assessment of one's actions and situation by others. This assessment is affected by the situation of others and the relation they have with oneself. The opinion of others can also affect the opinion one has of oneself. For the purposes of this thesis, ‘the others’ are members of other denominations present in the North-east of Congo. ‘The other’ is also the writer of the thesis. Although in the employ of the EAC for six years, I am a British national interpreting EAC identity. Furthermore, different groups, whether they be Revivalists, older leaders or young women, *inter alia*, provide ‘others’ within the EAC who contest group identity from different positions of power and influence within a broad consensus of Anglican identity.

⁸⁴ Muhindo Tsongo, Edinburgh, 17/12/00, [414-420]; ‘Quel qu'un sans identité est nul part. C'est bon d'appartenir à une telle famille, un tel groupe’.

If individual identity is expressed as belonging to a larger group it is imperative that these groups are studied. Group identity is more complex because it comprises of the many identities of its members, which at times coalesce and at times contradict each other. Congolese Anglicanism is a particular form of group religious identity.

Religious identity can be defined briefly as a construct of faith-practice and discourse in a particular social, economic and political situation. The sense of the supernatural, the supportive belonging to others, the belief system and rituals which make sense of the world around, and accompanying social activity all found in religious experience, are powerful and cohesive idioms in which to develop identity. As one scholar puts it, religious behaviour, '... addresses questions of identity by providing people with a definition of the world as they experience it and of their place within it.'⁸⁵

Furthermore, membership of a specific Christian group or institution provides its members with a particular expression of belief and belonging and a particular way of being within society. Membership of the EAC provides one way of owning the Christian faith within a specific historical, social, political and religious context. Members have determined their identity over against other possible religious identities such as indigenous religions, Catholicism and other Protestant and Independent churches. For the purposes of this thesis the starting point for religious identity is the rural Anglican identity found on the Semeliki escarpment from 1896. Anglican identity developed through the use of a social and religious order which preceded the introduction of Christianity and through the appreciation of new skills and services provided through the church. This identity was both consolidated and challenged as a result of migration. This thesis is an historical account of identity and assumes that there are shifts in the identity of an institution and in the identities of members of that institution as they adapt to new circumstances.

It has already been asserted that EAC identity is not monochrome. Any individual or group is made up of many identities which vary in significance for the subject at any given time or circumstance.⁸⁶ Migrant members of the EAC also have ethnic, national, gender, and generation identities, *interalia*, which are variously configured

⁸⁵ Nicole Rodriguez Toulis, *Believing Identity: Pentecostalism and Mediation of Jamaican Ethnicity and Gender in England*, (Oxford: Berg), 1997: 34.

⁸⁶ Cookie White Stephan and Walter Stephan, "What are the Functions of Ethnic Identity?," in *We are a People: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity*, Paul Spickard and Jeffrey Burroughs, eds (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 2000: 238.

among different people in different places. Their identity is a shifting construct of the elements of personal and cultural identity brought from the place of origin and the negotiated choices made on arrival and settlement in the new environment. These choices are limited by such factors as access to power, perceptions by those amongst whom they settle, the extent to which the expectations of the migrants are fulfilled on arrival in the new location and the success of their integration, all of which are influenced by the historical turn of events. The issue of belonging is particularly acute for migrants, posing questions which may have been previously taken for granted; to what, whom or where do I belong when I am dislocated from the familiar? Migration is a good event through which to study identity precisely because these issues are brought to the fore. If historical analysis ensures a respect for the dynamic of change within identity, the study of migration enforces the study of mobility and hybridity in identity.

Mobility and hybridity are both apparent in the identity differences of generation and gender played out within the EAC. Generation indicates social age rather than biological age. It governs status in society, signalling to whom respect is conferred. Personal character or, more often, familial connection with elites may confer seniority on one person much earlier in their life than someone else less well-connected. As long as young people aspire to the characteristics of a particular social configuration of seniority unequal generation identities function smoothly. When this is no longer the case generational conflicts occur. Generational issues are also gendered. Women and men have different roles in society but as J.D.Y. Peel demonstrates in his article, 'Gender in Yoruba Religious Change',⁸⁷ gender is not usually an 'isolated factor' in determining social-religious roles but interacts with other 'social attributes' nor '...does [it] exist as a factor outside time but as one whose significance is likely to change and develop.'⁸⁸ In the EAC gendered roles were influenced over time by Anglican and indigenous traditions, migration, education, and ethnicity. In the EAC, for instance, an older clergyman - particularly if he were from a prominent Hema family - had a potential for greater influence than a young woman. Yet, as this thesis will show, groups of young people and women began to influence the EAC precisely because they did not possess ecclesiastical

⁸⁷ J.D.Y. Peel, "Gender in Yoruba Religious Change," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32, 2 (136-166: 2002).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 152.

authority. Thus the effect of migration on EAC identity was ultimately to question the generational and gender norms of the pre-migration church by assimilating narratives from society and other religious groups further adding to the hybrid features of the EAC.

Ethnic and national identities are recognised by those interviewed as an important part of their selves. Ethnicity has been described as ‘...an arrangement of people who see themselves as biologically and historically connected with each other, and who are seen by others as being so connected.’⁸⁹ This definition places the self-understanding of people first. Members of ethnic groups in Congo see themselves as belonging ‘essentially’ or ‘primordially’ to one group, that is, membership is a matter of land or blood relations.⁹⁰ This is different to an emphasis on instrumentality considered by many anthropologists to be a more accurate understanding of ethnicity; that is, ethnic groups are politically and socially constructed associations created and shaped by shared interests, institutions and culture, which act dynamically to obtain a particular goal.⁹¹ Nationality has, in African studies, often been seen as opposite, weaker, and ‘synthetic’ in comparison to ethnicity when assessing group identity, particularly as many nation-states in Africa are deemed ‘weak’ or ‘failed’.⁹² Work with ethnic groups straddling national boundaries have suggested that this is over simplistic⁹³ and the narratives of those interviewed for this thesis bear out this analysis. All the ethnic groups included in the study are found on both sides of the Uganda-Congo border yet they exhibit strong feelings of national identity. Congolese are generally proud to call themselves Congolese and do not want the international border to be altered. This attitude is encouraged by different administrative, education and cultural systems. These narratives of national identity

⁸⁹ Paul Spickard and Jeffrey Burroughs, "We are a people: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity," in *We are a people*, 2.

⁹⁰ Francisco Gil-White, "The Cognition of Ethnicity: Native Category Systems under the Field Experimental Microscope," *Methods* 14, 2 (2002), 161.

⁹¹ Charles Keyes, *Ethnic Change*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press) 1981: 10.

⁹² George De Vos, and Lola Romanucci-Ross, "Ethnic Identity: A Psychocultural Persective," in *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict and Accommodation*, De Vos and Romanucci-Ross, eds (Walnut Creek: AltaMira), 1995: 352.

⁹³ William Miles, "Nationalism versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa," *American Political Science Review* 85, 2 (1991), 393; Paul Nugent, and A.I. Asiwaju, "Introduction: The paradox of African Boundaries," in *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities*, Nugent and Asiwaju, eds (London: Pinter), 1996: 10.

whilst participating in state rhetoric⁹⁴ interpret it to respond to local socio-religious needs which rely heavily upon the 'banal nationalism'⁹⁵ of national music, languages, dress *inter alia*. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to study in depth the complexities of ethnicity and nationality the interplay of these socio-political constructs in religious identity demonstrates how mobility encouraged shifts in expressions of loyalty to the EAC. Subsequent chapters will show how migrants first conserved and then challenged the ethnocentric norms that had developed in the EAC attempting to replace them with an ethnic pluralism situated within a national identity. This appeared both to make more sense in the new locations and to fit more nearly with prominent Christian teaching. National identity provided a larger unit of belonging which cohered with belonging to an international denomination.

Methodology

My approach to this thesis is one of personal involvement. I am researching the identity of a group of people with whom I feel close ties. I lived and worked and was made to feel at home amongst them for six years and, as a Christian from an Anglican tradition, I feel affinity for their expression of religious identity. My aim can be summed up in this description of a researcher's goal:

To achieve a history that will not only be intellectually acceptable to the people with whom s/he works but that will be faithful to what is felt and experienced as important about that history for the people most directly concerned.⁹⁶

I have attempted to be person-centred in my approach. This is the main reason that I have used oral interviews as the prime method of gathering data. The interviews were largely unstructured, posing similar questions on the same broad themes but letting the replies orient the discussion. My own experience of the EAC whilst working within it was scrutinised and re-evaluated by the narratives given during interview.

⁹⁴ Kevin Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: the International Relations of Identity*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2003: 107-116.

⁹⁵ Christopher Clapham, "Why do Artificial African Frontiers Persist?" (n.p. Cambridge University lecture) 3 November 2003.

⁹⁶ Carolyn Keyes Adenaike, "Reading the Pursuit: An Introduction," in *In Pursuit of History: Fieldwork in Africa*, Adenaike and Jan Vansina, eds (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 1996: xl.

The interviewing process, whilst respecting the guidelines of oral history practice⁹⁷ informed by qualitative data analysis,⁹⁸ consistently remained open to serendipitous opportunities to subvert the guidelines in order to allow voices to be heard. During fieldwork, more people than I expected expressed a desire to tell me their story. I interviewed them all and thus carried out twice the number of interviews that I had intended. About 60% of them are in Swahili, 20% in French, 8% in English, and the rest in Lugbara, Kakwa, Alur and Lingala. For the latter four languages I used interpreters. The interviews vary in their quality and usefulness for this research. They occasionally had an unintended collaborative nature. On one occasion an individual interview became a group interview of three generations of women with a participating audience. The resulting material is the richer for it. I tried to balance insider and outsider narratives, superior and subordinate positions and those which challenge and reaffirm the *status quo* in order to obtain narratives from a cross-section of Anglican members. A copy of the taped interviews can be found in the archive collection of the *Institut Supérieur Théologique Anglican (ISThA)*, the theological college of the EAC. Furthermore, I have conversed with several Congolese Anglicans during the writing of the thesis and each chapter was read by members of the EAC.⁹⁹ All the participants were Christians who believed that Christianity provided a positive socio-religious framework for society. Some were critical of certain elements of the church and were concerned about the way it dealt with particular issues but they rarely expressed the reservations about the general social, cultural or political impact that Christianity had had on African society, which can be found in many of the writings of anthropologists, theologians and historians. This is not to deny that Christian mission significantly altered African cultures, but rather to say that not all Africans consider this to be problematic.

⁹⁷ David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (London: Longmans), 1982; Jan Vansina, "Epilogue: Fieldwork in History," in *In Pursuit of History: Fieldwork in Africa*, Carolyn Keyes Adenaike and Jan Vansina, eds. 127-140 (Portsmouth: Heinemann), 1996; Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (London: Routledge), 1965.

⁹⁸ John Lofland and Lyn Lofland, *Analyzing Social Settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. (University of California: Wadsworth), 1995; Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London: Sage), 1996.

⁹⁹ I am grateful to those who have aided this dialogical approach. Of necessity, they represent the educated elite rather than a representative sample of the EAC and I have borne this in mind when assessing their comments.

My fieldwork interviews were supplemented by interviews recorded during an Oral History and Archive project I facilitated in 1998. It was executed from ISThA by the EAC dioceses with sponsorship from the Pew Charitable Trust and the Overseas Ministries Studies Centre, New Haven.¹⁰⁰ Two other important sources of information were the EAC diocesan and parish archives and the dissertations of undergraduate students. The latter, although of varying quality, were useful for my research because students often worked on their own ethnic group or area and had unparalleled insider knowledge and access to sources. Church archives more often reflect the administrative interests of an established institution rather than movements connected with popular church spread. As such they are not often quoted in this thesis, having been used mainly to verify time scales and membership numbers, *inter alia*, suggested in interviews.¹⁰¹ A word of caution must be sounded on the statistical material in this thesis. I have used figures sparingly. Those who work in Congo are aware that record keeping is poor and data, even in the public domain, is inaccurate or even fictitious.¹⁰² I have been careful to ensure that the figures used demonstrate verifiable trends, but their absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

The thesis allows, as far as possible, Congolese voices to come through the text. There has obviously been a process of evaluation and interpretation of the interviews in which I have chosen excerpts of those which most cogently express the most pertinent issues surrounding identity. Analysis of the identities of Anglican members was approached from the pragmatic perspective of narratives presented in taped interviews as well as personal observation and conversation. The narrative method accepts that people recount events and actions to express those things which are important to their sense of self. Narrative identity analysis understands that even in the most 'artless' conversations three steps of 'narrativisation' have taken place: the *selection* of certain elements of the past and the ignoring of others; the *plotting* of these elements to link them together; the *interpretation* of these events by claiming

¹⁰⁰ Emma Wild-Wood, "An Introduction to an Oral History and Archive Project by the Anglican Church of Congo," *History in Africa* 28 (2001), 445-462.

¹⁰¹ EAC archives were located as part of the project mentioned above and are being microfiched by Yale University Divinity School Library.

¹⁰² Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila, A People's History*. (London: Zed Books), 2002: 151.

for them specific significance.¹⁰³ Oral interviews already have a performance element to them, that is, they are not natural conversations and thus are highly 'narrativised'. When Congolese Anglicans recounted events and actions of their lives as they related to the EAC they were providing a narrative of their identity. These narratives were analysed together (using data analysis software, Nudist 4) to discover common expressions of identity and to observe difference of selection, plotting and narration by individuals or groups.

In my analysis of the data I took a two pronged approach in order to adequately present clusters of belonging and, thus, a plurality of EAC identities in North-east Congo. Firstly, I explored a number of 'buzz words' in Swahili which were frequently repeated in interview as migrants sought to express their loyalty to the EAC during the process of migration and resettlement. Secondly, I problematised the identity issues of migration, gender, generation, ethnicity and nationalism as they impinged on religious identity and its convergence with migration. Other identity issues could be added to this list but the ones mentioned here were found to be the most pertinent for this study.

The 'buzz words' provide a hermeneutical group of identity signifiers held by almost all Anglicans from which the various religious identities of different groups within the EAC can be ascertained. These hermeneutical terms usually appear in interview narratives embedded in stories which demonstrate their worth as identity signifiers. They indicate a range of events and ideas through which identity is signalled. Analysing the terms made it evident that some words were selected by a large and diverse group of Anglicans for describing Anglican belonging. Others were used by smaller groups. More significant was the variety of cross-interpretation of these words through which different groups asserted their alternative identities. These hermeneutical terms and the events they indicated had particular social meanings for EAC members which they variously plotted together depending on circumstance. For example, hierarchical and liturgical order was selected to provide a base of belonging for most Anglicans but the meaning of such an order was contested through the plotting of it with various identity signifiers which were used to interpret this order. The historical analysis of the interviews demonstrates that identities are subjective, personal, hybrid and open to change. Furthermore, it shows that specific identity

¹⁰³ Stephen Cornell, "That's the Story of our Life," in *We are a People*, 42.

perceptions entail particular responses to situations, engender interpersonal relationships and develop communities. The end result is an observation of the corporate identity of EAC members and their articulation of EAC identity and identities rather than the official pronouncements of the EAC as an institution. Furthermore, the analysis of contested interpretation of the hermeneutical group of 'buzz words' about religious identity highlights contested issues of power between groups within the EAC and thus provides an entrance to the analysis of social divisions of power along the lines of gender, generation, ethnicity and nationalism.

Chapter outlines

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter gives an historical background and context to the EAC in North-east Congo from its introduction in 1896 until Congolese independence in 1960. It outlines its beginnings with the missionary work of Ugandan, Apolo Kivebulaya, demonstrating that the EAC was African-led from its inception. This chapter also puts the EAC in its wider religious, political and cultural context, explaining its relations with other western initiated churches in Congo. It shows that the EAC, geographically constrained to a small, isolated area, developed an indigenous ecclesiastical identity of which it was proud yet aspired to a missiological model left by Apolo to spread further into Congo.

Chapters Two and Three continue a chronological study of the EAC after independence but introduce themes that emerge when identity was renegotiated as a result of migration. They establish that the global and national framework of one denomination can provide different local needs in particular local circumstances. Chapter Two traces the establishment of the EAC in new areas from the late 1960s as a result of the migration of Anglicans from the rural Semeliki escarpment to the growing urban centres; a move encouraged by their understanding of Christianity. Once in towns their religious identity was expressed through an attempt to replicate the conservative elements of the rural EAC. Yet the need to adapt to their new surroundings caused migrants to maintain modernising elements of EAC identity. It is these latter elements which were seized upon by second generation migrants who wished to assert a religious identity that fitted with their urban identity.

The Eastern border of Congo has been particularly troubled since the era of independence. Refugees have both fled *from* and *into* Congo from neighbouring countries using the international boundary to their advantage during times of unrest.

Chapter Three shows the effects of trans-border migration on the north-eastern border of Congo with Uganda on members of the COU returning from Uganda to their villages of origin in Congo from 1979, demonstrating that international borders in Africa are as much conduits as barriers in the spread of Christianity. Their experience of prior labour migration meant these northern migrants were less conservative in their attachment to Anglicanism than migrants from the escarpment. They established the EAC in response to their need for a religious expression which allowed them freedom to develop socially and spiritually.

Liturgical and hierarchical order was an identity signifier shared by both migrant groups of Anglicans. Chapter Four analyses the attraction of stratified governance and ritualistic, written worship in the context of a disordered society. Migrant mobility, resulting in different life experiences, encouraged different interpretations of this central concept. Therefore, Chapter Four also provides an analysis of the consensual and contested elements of order as it was used to exert power and maintain unity. Variant conceptions of Christian order and unity at times led to significant internal and external conflict. Chapter Five examines the debate conducted with the largest Protestant church in the area, CECA 20, which disliked the migratory incursion of EAC into its territory, and with Revival groups, whose internal challenge to the EAC narrated an alternative identity operating within and challenging mainstream EAC identity.

Chapters Six and Seven emphasise the discrepancies of gendered and generational power within the EAC in the late 1980s and 1990s and demonstrate the ways in which women and young people used migrant experiences to challenge practices and power structures and thus alter EAC identity. In a situation of increased social and political disorder they developed closer relationships with other Protestant denominations and were influenced by Neo-Pentecostal churches to develop a contemporary form of African Christianity which they perceived to encourage their own social and spiritual freedom and development.

Chapter Eight revisits the historic and migratory shifts in EAC identity suggesting that they raise issues for the wider context of African Christianity. Many contemporary Christian movements display similar responses to local needs. The charismatic response of the EAC was seen in popular emerging denominations, whilst the traditional response was still considered effective by many. This division brings to the fore issues of gender and generational difference and debates of

continuity or break with the past. It shows new lines of unity developing among denominations usually considered to be very different from one another. This chapter also highlights the attraction of Christianity as a larger unit of belonging and mentions ways in which adherence to a global network of churches is also a response to local needs.

Conclusion

As the succeeding chapters follow the EAC from its roots on the escarpment along the migratory routes taken by its members a story of the development of a particular Christian identity unfolds which is both unique to North-east Congo and yet which highlights issues pertinent to Christian identity elsewhere in Africa. Migration aided the growth of the EAC and altered its identity. It encouraged greater denominational diversity in the areas to which members migrated and heightened generation and gender tensions, whilst creating an atmosphere of greater co-operation between different ethnic groups. Its study will, I hope, enable an appreciation of the socio-religious dynamics in the commonplace but largely untold story of shifting populations and altering religious identities in Africa.

Chapter One. 'Their Own Church': An Historical Background to the Eglise Anglicane du Congo, 1896-1960.

Introduction

In 1960 the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) was a small, rural church at the edge of the forest on the Semeliki escarpment overlooking the Rwenzori Mountains. Within Congo it was geographically isolated and socially marginal. Outsiders who knew of the EAC considered it either romantic or suspicious: romantic for Ugandan Christians or Church Missionary Society supporters who knew of Apolo Kivebulaya, the Ugandan evangelist, who from 1896 worked among peoples considered foreign and barbaric to bring to them the Christian gospel; suspicious in the eyes of the colonial administration and neighbouring denominations who saw the EAC as an anomaly in Congo. Members of the EAC, themselves, regarded the church with affection and pride. They had moulded its rites and tenets, appropriating them to their various cultures and they appreciated the education and health care which was introduced alongside Christian worship.

This chapter provides an historical framework which presents the characteristics of EAC identity between 1896 and 1960. It will explain how and why the Anglican church was introduced into Congo and will analyse the religious self-understanding of the peoples who joined it. It will demonstrate the place of the EAC in the wider context of church affairs in North-east Congo and indicate how it was perceived in this context. Thus it will set the historical scene for the study of the spread of the church through migration after 1960.

The events of this chapter take place in the colonial period against a background of flux among Congolese societies. Any suggestion of a static society, unused to change and movement would be wholly inaccurate. The Hema of Boga had only settled in the area from Bunyoro in about 1800.¹ They were the last of the large ethnic groups to migrate west of Lake Albert. The Alur, Lugbara, Kakwa and others had all come into the area from the north and east after the sixteenth century. These incomers exerted influence on those ethnic groups, like the Nyali, Lese, and Mbuti Pygmies who were already present in the area, often establishing client relations with them.

¹ Kaputo Samba, *Phénomène d'Ethnicité et Conflits ethno-politiques en Afrique post-coloniale* (Kinshasa: Presse Universitaires du Zaïre) 1982: 59.

In the nineteenth century all the peoples of the area had to contend with effects of European and Arab migration in the form of incursions of slavers, rubber traders, ivory hunters, colonialists and soldiers who, from 1885, with the tacit approval of Leopold II's Congo Free State, used brutal methods to extract the commodities they desired and subdue the population. Mutinies, border disputes and ethnic antagonism stirred up by colonial policy brought more violence and uncertainty in the region. The influence of the church, which is the main concern of this thesis, brought further change. Missionaries challenged cultural norms, brought new ideas and skills and established new institutions. In presenting the historical background to the post-independence migration this chapter will introduce themes of change and movement, contested interests and shifting identities.

'Books as spears': Apolo Kivebulaya's mission.

Apolo Kivebulaya² from Buganda is credited with the foundation of the EAC, working first as an evangelist, later as priest and canon. He was in the employ of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), an evangelical Anglican society founded in 1799 which had been working in Buganda since 1877. As a result of this the EAC became part of the Anglican Church in Uganda. CMS had overseen the rapid growth of an indigenous church which had spread into neighbouring kingdoms through the work of a large body of Ganda evangelists like Apolo.³ Apolo first visited the Hema of Boga on the Semeliki escarpment in December 1896 when the area was under British jurisdiction.⁴ Although he was not the first missionary to the area west of the Semeliki River,⁵ Apolo's ministry there was the longest and most successful. His

² Apolo Kivebulaya, was born 'Waswa', that is, one of twins. 'Kivebulaya' means 'European clothes', referring to the jacket he wore over his Ganda *kanzu*. 'Apolo', his baptismal name, is the name used in Congo with affection and reverence when referring to him by only one name. This usage is followed here.

³ Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists, the spread of Christianity in Uganda: 1891-1914* (London: Rex Collings), 1978: 12-19.

⁴ A. Tucker, 'The Spiritual Expansion of Buganda; the Narrative of a Journey to Toro', *Intelligencier*, February 1899, 108-111.

⁵ Sedulaka Zabunamakwata and Petero Nsugba worked in Boga for a few months earlier in 1896 but strained relations with *Omukama* Tabaro curtailed their stay. Nsugba had instructed Kasagama, *Omukama* of Toro, in Christianity when he was in exile in Buganda. Sedulaka went to Boga with Apolo but later returned to Toro. Popular biographies imply that Apolo found little in the way of Christian faith when he and Sedulaka arrived. However, A.B. Fisher mentions that during an 'itineration' to Boga in 1896 he found, 'a good church to hold about 150 people' and 'twenty-five men and women who could read a New Testament and a number of learners'. A. Fisher, *Extracts from the Annual Letters of Missionaries*, (London: CMS), 1897: 237.

life and work were the subject of numerous missionary biographies which heralded Apolo as an example of the success of 'native agency' in spreading Christianity and proof of the maturity of the Ugandan church.⁶ His imprint on the EAC influenced its development for the next century and he is venerated as a saint in Uganda and Congo. The myth-making of his life and work has given to the EAC a local ecclesiastical model of Anglicanism and a missionary impetus.

Apolo followed the pattern of evangelism he knew from Buganda; a pattern which fitted the culture of the ruling class. He targeted the *omukama*⁷ and his entourage through living with and teaching children of family heads in a manner analogous to the Ganda custom of educating young men by sending them to the household of a chief.⁸ He taught them to read, so they could understand the Bible and the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. He also introduced a new moral code which challenged polygamy, drinking, smoking and the veneration of ancestors. In the first few months of evangelism some Hema responded positively to instruction.⁹ The first baptisms were carried out as early as 4th April 1897.¹⁰ This suggests that they had made sufficient progress in reading and in understanding the Gospel to answer the questions asked of all baptismal candidates before baptism was permitted. They would have learnt this in Luganda in the first instance, but Apolo learnt Hema which was a close dialect of Runyoro/Rutoro spoken in Bunyoro and Toro in Uganda. Reading sheets were available before 1900.¹¹ The first confirmations took place in 1898,¹² the same year that *Omukama* Tabaro was baptised.¹³ Within two years there was already a small church in Boga with literate members, a sizeable group of adherents and a sympathetic chief. From Boga Apolo evangelised the surrounding

⁶ A. B. Lloyd, *Apolo of the Pygmy Forest*, (London, CMS), 1923; *More About Apolo*, (London, CMS), 1928; *Apolo the Pathfinder – Who Follows?* (London, CMS), 1934; W.J. Roome, *Apolo, The Apostle to the Pygmies*, Marshall, (London, Morgan & Scott), 1934; P. Yates, *Apolo in Pygmyland*, (London, Highway Press), 1940; Margaret Sinker, *Into the Great Forest*, (London, Highway press), 1950; Anne Luck, *African Saint*, (London, SCM), 1963.

⁷ *Omukama* or *mukama* is variously translated as chief, lord and king.

⁸ W. A. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa, 1940-1974*, (Dodoma: Central Tanganika Press), 1988: 23.

⁹ MU, Apolo Kivebulaya's diary, 25/12/1896.

¹⁰ RDO, Baptismal Register, Book One.

¹¹ MU, Anne Luck file, letter from R. Fisher, 17/11/1957.

¹² T. Buckley, 'Extracts from the Annual Letter', *Intelligencier*, August 1899: 680.

¹³ MU, Apolo's diary, 24/04/1898.

peoples, the Lese, Mbuti, Nande, Ngiti, Nyari and the Talinga, who had client relationships with the Hema.

Apolo kept a diary in Luganda which provides insights into the priorities of his ministry and the practices he introduced to Boga and the surrounding area. The excerpts below from 1925 are typical of many entries,

April 13th: I started my journey to the forest to go and spread the Gospel. I reached Bukogwa... I prayed with them in the church and there were 32 people.

April 14th: We reached Bwakadi. We found the teacher with 15 people waiting for us on the way. We had prayers with them in the church.

April 15th: We saw them reading. I talked with them to encourage them... Then I went to teach the Pygmies. I found them waiting for us, so I started teaching them. There were 15 of them... I then went on to Kainama. At the teacher, Edward's, we found them waiting for us, and there were 30 people. We had prayers with them in the church.

April 16th: We saw them reading and talked with them to encourage them in their Gospel study... We also reached Sebabali's. We found 27 people waiting for us. I had prayers with them in the church, and I encouraged them in their studies.¹⁴

Apolo established chapels through an area of a radius of three days walk (about 60km) from Boga. Itinerating among them he encouraged teachers and members of small chapels to persevere. He aimed to cover a large area and to influence as many people as possible, keeping a tally on the numbers coming to pray and read. Praying and reading were the activities Apolo oversaw; praying followed the *Book of Common Prayer* and reading was based on the liturgy and the Bible. These two activities were central to Apolo's understanding of Christianity. His own preaching came out of his praying and reading. Apolo believed they provided security for life. He says that he told one group,

... that they should love books as they are the spears which protect us. Therefore the one without a book was really without a spear.¹⁵

¹⁴ MU, Apolo's diary, 14-16/04/1925.

¹⁵ MU, Apolo's diary, 3/6/1925.

In the political and social upheaval of the region at the time his audience understood the value of trying a new skill to face the challenges of living in a disordered colonial state.

Emphasis on book-learning led to the forming of a primary school in 1919.¹⁶ Its teachers were previous local catechumens until two Ugandans arrived to teach in 1924 and 1928.¹⁷ By 1925 there were 115 pupils.¹⁸ Other diary entries and memories of those who knew him show that he also involved himself in building and maintaining small church buildings, and in praying for the sick, in handing out medicines or accompanying medical missionaries.¹⁹ The Christian message Apolo preached came as a package; 'the Gospel of Christ' was explained firstly through literacy, but also through new ways of healing, and the construction of community buildings, all of which followed the Ugandan pattern. Those who accepted his message accepted a new set of priorities in their lives. The young church learnt, as an integral part of the new religion, to aspire to literacy and health care as modern services, introduced by Europeans, that were expected to improve the quality of life.

Using the Baganda evangelism model meant that Apolo attracted a following of young people whom he catechised and taught to read. They worked alongside him, accompanying him in his journeys into the forest and becoming *walimu*, teachers, in the small chapels.²⁰ In many respects growth in the early EAC was driven by young people with a strong personal loyalty to Apolo. Basimasi Kyakuhaire, mentioned in Apolo's diary,²¹ provides an example of the life of these young *walimu*. In interview in 2000 she explained that, because her father was in the first group to be baptised in Boga, she was baptised almost immediately after her birth in 1906. Probably about 1916 she went daily to Apolo's house for lessons, early in the morning and in the late afternoon. There were between twenty and thirty girls alongside the boys. Her father

¹⁶ The socio-political situation prevented the school from being established before this date although Apolo gave lessons in his house prior to 1919.

¹⁷ Isingoma Kakwa, "La Monographie du Diocese de Boga-Zaire," (Diplôme de graduat diss., ISThA), 1984: 39.

¹⁸ Gerard Malherbe, "La Mission au Lac Albert (Ituri-Zaire) 1911-1934," (PhD, Louvain la Neuve), 1976: 1347.

¹⁹ MU, Apolo's Diary 14/12/1915, 12/04/1917, Rose Kaheru, Bunia, 16/09/00, [35-36].

²⁰ Ndahura, Bezaleri. "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaire, 1896-1972," (MA thesis, Protestant Faculty of Kinshasa), 1974: 60.

²¹ MU Apolo's Diary, 17/07/1924.

sent her to Fort Portal for lessons and she returned to Boga to be a *mwaliimu* in a purpose built school. From this time onward she and others would accompany Apolo on his journeys into the forest. Once more qualified *walimu* from Uganda arrived at the school she became a *mwaliimu* in a village chapel near Boga. She named six other women who were *walimu* at this time. In the mid 1920s she married another *mwaliimu* and both of them continued working in their different chapels until after Apolo died. Her life illustrates the intimate connection between Christianity and the new skills of literacy and book learning. The word *mwaliimu* is used both for catechist and school teacher because in the early days the tasks were interchangeable. Basimasi also insisted that, so complete was her family's conversion to this modern Christian lifestyle, she had no experience of traditional Hema religious or healing practices.²² Such an assertion suggests that in the early days another attraction of the new religion may have been its difference from the old.²³ Basimasi's story also demonstrates that women were accepted as leaders in the early years of the church alongside men.

A report by the Bishop of Uganda, John J. Willis, after his visit to the EAC in 1931 provides an overview of the church situation.²⁴ He was full of praise for Apolo and the other teachers. He mentioned six ethnic groups within a three day walk from Boga who had 42 churches between them, with 58 teachers²⁵ and 1,426 baptised Christians. Willis confirmed 274 people, 116 of whom were peoples living in the forest, so over half are presumed to be Hema. From this description it is clear that the EAC was a predominantly lay church and that leadership was predominantly local. Most of the 58 teachers had been children whom Apolo had befriended. However, Willis noted that the progression seen in Uganda, even in places where the work started later than in Boga, was not apparent in this corner of Congo. By that he meant that there were no 'native born clergy', or even senior *walimu*, the school was of a lower level and there was no continuous medical work. The translation of the Bible and the Prayer Book had not been carried out in the languages of the other escarpment peoples. Apolo seems to have facilitated some translation²⁶ but

²² Basimasi Kyakuhairu, Komanda, 21/09/00.

²³ Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 198.

²⁴ COU 2bp10.1, report 1931.

²⁵ COU. 2bp10.1, 1931. In 1933 Willis claimed that there were eighty teachers.

²⁶ MU. 14/03/1926. Apolo's Diary.

effectively the process of vernacularisation had stopped with the Hema. Willis recognised that progress of the kind that he saw in Uganda was hampered by the socio-political situation in Congo.

'Under particular observation': the socio-political situation

Conversion took place on the cusp of colonial control. In 1896 the Semeliki escarpment was part of an area which came under the British sphere of influence. European forces were present but barely effective in this contested region yet already a degree of social and political disorder was buffeting the area. Apolo and others were invited to Boga in the context of developing political relations between *Omukama* Tabaro and Kasagama, the more powerful *omukama* of Toro and a Christian. Tabaro's own conversion must be understood in this light.²⁷ As *omukama* he had to decide the direction his people should take. A decision in which corporate spiritual well-being was considered to be intrinsically linked to political manoeuvring. In 1897, 2,000 mutineers from Maniema fled their Belgian commander, twice passing through the area, looting and raping as they went. In 1899 King Leopold claimed the area as part of his Congo Free State, a state which favoured Roman Catholics over Protestants. His *Force Publique* caused more instability by forcing tribute from the local population. In 1901 Boga was temporarily under British control once again. The Congolese believed the British to be less harsh colonial masters than their Belgian counter-parts and many people moved into the area to escape taxation, forced labour and looting by the *Force Publique*.²⁸ Boga seems to have become a centre of rubber and ivory trade at this time.²⁹ By 1910 the boundary commission had decided definitively that the colonial border should be drawn along the Semeliki River with the result that Boga came under Belgian government administration. The Belgians installed Sulemani Kalemesa as sub-chief of Boga under Bomera, chief of Irumu.³⁰ Kalemesa was

²⁷ Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 41,50; S. R. Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda* (Nairobi: Heinemann), 1980: 19-22.

²⁸ Ndahura, "L'implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre," 54.

²⁹ Foreign Office, "Official Report of the British Section of the Uganda-Congo Boundary Commission: 1907-1908," (London, Foreign Office), 1909: 8.

³⁰ This marked the introduction of the 'great chief' system as part of the Belgian policy of 'indirect rule'. It changed the local political landscape and solidified to a greater extent the internal and external relations of ethnic groups. It was disliked by many.

unsupportive of the EAC accusing it of British sympathies.³¹ This took its toll on the EAC. Between 1899 and 1915 Apolo had only had brief visits to Boga. When he was permitted to stay in 1916 he found the small Christian community very much depleted and disheartened.³² From then until his death in 1933 he spent much of his time on the escarpment but his work was hampered by government concerns over the legitimacy of the EAC.

The Belgian colonial authorities were suspicious of dealing directly with Africans and of permitting Protestants to work in the country. Apolo's initial dealings with them indicate the close surveillance that they practised over their colony. In 1917 he was registered to continue missionary work at Boga, and in 1921 he gained permission for catechists to work in the forest.³³ Government fears of Protestants and Africans were heightened after the brief independent healing and preaching ministry of Simon Kimbangu³⁴ in Bas-Congo in 1921 which was seen as politically subversive.³⁵ The *Ministre des Colonies* sent a circular letter to the provinces warning of the Protestant tendency to '...organise indigenous churches, independent of the authority and control of missionaries from the white race.'³⁶ The administrator of Ituri reported back that Apolo was the only African church leader among the Protestant missions in the area and he would be 'particularly observed'.³⁷ Although nothing untoward about him was ever reported, the colonial administrators considered that there was now justification for a lack of co-operation with Apolo.

Legal representation of an organisation could only be made by westerners and, therefore, with no white missionary presence, Boga mission's legal status was at best ambiguous. In 1926 the *Chef de Poste*, moved all those living at the mission in Boga, burnt their houses and imprisoned two of the teachers, despite all these people having

³¹ MU Apolo's Diary, 12/01/1916.

³² MU Apolo's Diary, 05/03/1916.

³³ Ndahura, "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre", 59-60.

³⁴ Kimbangu was a Baptist who had a brief but popular ministry before being arrested. His followers went underground emerging as a large African Initiated Church after independence. Marie-Louise Martin, *Kimbangu: an African Prophet and his Church*, (Oxford: Blackwell), 1975.

³⁵ M-M Munayi, "La Déportation et le Séjour des Kimbanguistes dans le Kasai-Lukenie (1921-1960)," *Zaïre-Afrique*, 119 (1977): 555-6.

³⁶ '...organiser des Eglises indigènes, en fait indépendantes de l'autorité et du contrôle des missionnaires de race blanche.' Quoted in G. Samba, "Tolérance religieuse et Intérêts politiques belges au Kibali-Ituri (1900-1940)," *Etudes Zaïroises*, 1 (1973): 106.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 107, '...et l'on propose alors de le surveiller spécialement.'

permits to live on the site.³⁸ In 1932 the district administrator challenged Anglican land rights which Kivebulaya thought had already been resolved.³⁹ It took four years and the presence of European personnel in Boga to complete the necessary legal formulations.⁴⁰ The Belgian authorities also refused to permit evangelists to go to Uganda for training,⁴¹ which prevented the early development of local school teachers and the higher education of local church leaders. Not only did they want to prevent the advancement of possibly independent minded Protestant Congolese, they also did not want to lose their population to a neighbouring colonial power. The Belgian authorities were concerned that British missionaries would influence the border populations ethnically related to those in Uganda to emigrate from Congo to Uganda.⁴² Thus they exploited the sleeping sickness quarantine regulations in the Semeliki plain between 1929 and 1933 to prevent CMS missionaries making regular pastoral visits.⁴³ This was a double blow for the EAC. The major obstacle in achieving legal recognition of land ownership was the lack of European personnel in Boga, yet the authorities distrusted the British missionaries and were reluctant to let them visit the Anglican church on the escarpment. The EAC was Protestant of British origins and African-led – all deemed potential threats to Belgian control of Congo.

A European station

Willis proposed in his report that the solution to the EAC's fragile situation was for CMS to improve relations with the Belgian authorities and make it a 'European Station', that is one with a white missionary presence.⁴⁴ Willis believed that a clergyman, doctor, and nurse based at Boga could between them facilitate the training of teachers of first letter, provide medical services, organise women's work, translate the Bible into local languages, and attend to the financial administration and

³⁸ COU 2bp10.1, letter 02/03/1926.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, report 1931.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, letter, 15/03/1936.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, letter 27/10/1925.

⁴² Samba, "Tolérance religieuse et Intérêts politiques," 94.

⁴³ COU 2bp10.1, letter 27/10/1925.

⁴⁴ Willis discussed the possibility of the Boga church coming under the jurisdiction of AIM at Bogoro but decided against it because of the different forms of worship used by the two missions and the responsibility he considered CMS had to provide Boga with adequate education and health resources.

official correspondence. White missionaries legitimised the mission in Belgian eyes but potentially jeopardised the level of self-governance attained by the local church. Kivebulaya and the Anglican Christians of the escarpment area were willing to welcome westerners who might improve the new skills and services that accompanied the Christian teaching, and give greater security to the EAC; elements they considered part of the Christian package. Although Willis' proposals were never fulfilled in their entirety, there was at least one British missionary in Boga for most of the years between 1934 and 1960.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly they exerted their influence over the church but their limited numbers restricted their control over church leadership, and the services they could offer remained more limited than those available in the Church of Uganda (COU). Most of the work was done by Ugandans and Congolese.⁴⁶

Willis compares the EAC unfavourably with the COU, of which it was a part. The model of church was the same, its inception had followed a similar pattern but its peculiar situation forced it to develop its own identity. Zac Niringiye in his thesis on the COU points to five factors which encouraged its development at a grassroots level in its first two decades; a favourable socio-political situation, an increased number of missionaries, indigenous leadership, vernacularisation of the gospel and the provision of education and health services.⁴⁷ The church on the Semeliki escarpment was born of these same five factors and aspired to embody them but conditions made this possible only in part. Indigenous leadership and vernacularisation were present from the start. Indigenous leadership was a priority for Apolo and he trained young people to become catechists. The vast majority of these, however, came from Boga. Vernacularisation includes not only the translation of the words of the Bible and *Book of Common Prayer* but the inevitable transformation of their concepts into local ideas.⁴⁸ The translation of the Bible into

⁴⁵ British Missionaries: A.B. Lloyd (priest) 1934 -35, Charles Rendle (teacher, later ordained) 1934 – 1960, joined by Beryl, née Hayward, his wife, (nurse) in 1948, Reg. Palin (priest) 1935- 1938, Sarah Lyons (nurse) 1949-1953.

⁴⁶ Bishop Tucker of Uganda in 1910 encouraged 'native agency', considering that the ideal ratio would be 50 Europeans to 3,000 indigenous church workers. The EAC usually matched this ideal but not always intentionally so. Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1994: 30.

⁴⁷ David Zac Niringiye, "The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with particular reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-92," (PhD, University of Edinburgh), 1997: 44-54.

⁴⁸ For further discussion on this topic see Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis), 1989 especially Chapter Five.

Runyoro/Rutoro instigated the vernacularisation of these writings into Hema culture but no lasting translation was ever made into the other languages of the escarpment. In Niringiye's schema provision of education and health services was provided by an increased number of missionaries. In the EAC this was the case only in the most modest of ways and took much more time. Nevertheless as part of the COU, the EAC received Ugandan missionaries⁴⁹ and, later, British missionaries, and so its aspirations for health care and education, if not its actual achievements, were on par with Uganda. Missionaries helped open parishes, kept the school running and eventually opened a dispensary but they were viewed with suspicion by the Belgians. In Baganda the socio-political turbulence, Niringiye's fifth factor, favoured the rapid geographical spread of the church; both Anglican and Catholic Christianity enjoyed rapid and widespread success in Buganda and neighbouring kingdoms.⁵⁰ In Boga socio-political upheaval limited the influence of the EAC. Baganda was a large centralised kingdom, pivotal to colonial rule, whereas Boga was a small sub-chieftancy, a pawn in the colonial boundary game. The British Protectorate of Uganda favoured the installation of more CMS missionaries and the provision of services which accompanied them. In Uganda the powerful elite of the new political structure were members of the COU.⁵¹ Whereas in Congo, the Catholic church was favoured by colonialists and aspiring Congolese.

While Niringiye's schema explains the growth of the COU it is only partially applicable to the EAC. Based on quasi church establishment it cannot explain a small, little known church in an isolated part of a vast colonial state. The growth of the EAC was to come after independence and was facilitated by the migration of its members, the main subject of this thesis. Meanwhile the pre-independence context of the EAC engendered an identity different to that of the COU. It often had to act independently of its mother church and adapt to different local and national circumstances. When the escarpment became Congo territory the connection

⁴⁹ Ugandan missionaries: Church workers were Nasanari Mukasa (evangelist, later priest and archdeacon) 1936 –1985, Anderea Kijambu (evangelist, later priest and dean)1938 – 1951, Ezekeli Waluggyo (dean) 1959-60. Teachers were Lamusi, 1923 -?, Ruben Kakonge, 1924 - ?, Erukana Muzanganda, Erasito Bakarunga, Jojina Kalimbara, Yunia Nyabakojo (dates unknown but all between 1925 and 1950). There were also visiting clergy, evangelists and revivalists.

⁵⁰ John Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: an African History 62-1992* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications), 1994: 234-240.

⁵¹ Kevin Ward, "The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Muteesa II, 1953-55," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28, 4 (1998), 414-415.

between Anglicanism and Britain was detrimental to its growth. Its geographical position rendered it remote but colonial boundaries made it seem alien. It is to these different circumstances, particularly the ecclesiastical circumstances of the colonial context, that we turn now.

Colonial trinity: 'life in their hands'

In Congo the Roman Catholic church was by far the largest religious institution and was closely allied to the colonial government. The situation of unequal patronage from the state affected the religious demographics of the country. Between 1885 and 1908 King Leopold II of the Belgians ruled Congo Free State as his personal property. To ensure loyalty to himself he encouraged the work of 'home missions' as opposed to 'foreign missions'; that is, he supported Belgian Catholic mission societies⁵² by granting them large and numerous land concessions and funding. Protestants received few concessions, were expected to pay heavy taxes and were impeded by local authorities.⁵³ With the Belgian bias for Catholicism, companies operating in Congo invited Catholic societies to provide chaplaincies and work in their schools. The Catholic church was able to establish mission stations alongside the government offices, trading posts and mining areas, thus gaining the Christian monopoly in the colonial settlements which were to become the towns of the Congo state. There developed what has been termed the 'trinity' of Belgian control, a close and mutually beneficial relationship between state, business and the church.⁵⁴

In 1908 the governance of Congo passed to the Belgian government. This was largely due to the international outcry provoked by the exposure of the maiming and killing of many Congolese through the wild rubber trade,⁵⁵ an exposure which was aided by some Protestant missionaries and ensured their increased unpopularity with the Belgian companies on the ground.⁵⁶ There were fluctuations in the details of

⁵² Non-Belgian Catholic societies were discouraged from sending missionaries to Congo.

⁵³ Leopold favoured a few Protestant societies like the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) which supported his claim on Congo territory. But the BMS eventually criticised the abuses of his regime. M. D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press), 1973: 4-6.

⁵⁴ Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880-1995*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1998: 76. This 'trinity' is a replica of the earlier 'military, mercantile, missionary' trinity of the 15th century Portuguese *Padroado*. John Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa*, 48.

⁵⁵ Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Macmillan), 1999: 193-4.

⁵⁶ Robert Benedetto, *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa* (Liedern, Brill), 1996: 8-27.

colonial policy but the Catholic church remained dominant.⁵⁷ For example, in 1946, to achieve the government policy for universal primary education, all missions were permitted to apply for government recognition of their schools. If a school met the required standard it could gain government subsidies, regardless of denomination. However, the Catholics had already made such an impact in education that it was extremely difficult for the Protestants to catch up.⁵⁸ The large majority of clerks and company agents in the country had been educated by the Catholic church. Government and business relied on the Catholic missions to provide their workers. A member of the Catholic church describes how the Congolese perceived this church-state relationship,

‘...[the Catholic Church] administered politics and religion and all the missionaries were Catholics, in such a way that the missionaries collaborated closely with the State authorities. So this meant that life in general was in their hands’.⁵⁹

As a close ally with the government the influence of the Catholic church impinged on the lives of many Congolese. The colonial bureaucracy penetrated deep into the villages, bringing almost the entire population under the administration structure.⁶⁰ The Catholic church also attempted to influence each village. Congolese were aware of the advantages for personal advancement available by allying themselves with the Catholic church: education, health care, development projects, job opportunities were all provided at the best level in the country by the Catholics. For Congolese wanting to make the best of the colonial situation the Roman Catholic church offered the most acceptable way to personal development and modernisation. They were also aware that the Catholic spiritual expectations, unlike the Protestant ones, were focused on the community to a greater extent than the individual. Whilst personal conversion and devotion were sought by Catholic missionaries and the catechumenate was very rigorous in the beginning, their discipline allowed for different levels of commitment. Their hope was to christianise the whole population,

⁵⁷ These fluctuations depended on the politics of the parties in power in Belgium. M. D. Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, 32-37.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

⁵⁹ Ngadjole Frederic, Kampala, 22/10/00, [lines 251-255]; ‘... géraient la politique et la religion, et tous les missionnaires étaient catholiques en sorte que les missionnaires collaboraient étroitement avec les autorités de l’Etat. Alors ça fait que la vie en générale était dans leurs mains.’

⁶⁰ Crawford Young, *Politics in the Congo: Decolonisation and Independence*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press), 1965: 11.

providing a church for the whole community. In the North-east they started in a similar way to Apolo, with the chiefs and their sons.⁶¹ It became possible to claim to be a Catholic and maintain traditional cultural and religious practices like drinking, smoking, polygamy or ancestor worship. Whether converts were ultimately persuaded by its Christian message or not, Roman Catholicism offered legitimate religion within the colonial setting.

Catholic missions in North-east Congo

It took the Roman Catholic church some time to establish a presence in North-east Congo. The first place to be visited was Boga in 1897 from the Catholic mission in Toro. The visit was a result of the competition for converts in Uganda between Anglicans and Catholics. The Catholic missionaries in Toro observed the progress of the EAC with concern⁶² but their trip met with the consequences of the Maniema mutiny and the area was considered too volatile for a mission.⁶³ In 1906 a small mission was founded at Beni, in Nord-Kivu, by the Fathers of the Sacred Heart. Their mission at Lubero, the administrative centre south of Butembo, was established in 1925. Ituri was part of the prefecture of the Missionaries to Africa, better known as the 'White Fathers'. Their first station in the area was at the mines in Kilo in 1911. They established a mission in Bunia, among the Bira and Hema in 1912 which provided a number of educational and developmental services as well as being a centre for the evangelisation of the surrounding area. They also founded missions at Nyarembe, near Mahagi, among the Alur in 1912, at Aba among the Kakwa in 1914, and near Aru among the Lugbara in 1925.⁶⁴ Schools, hospitals, agricultural and vocational centres sprung up rapidly. Many mission stations in the area were set-up in direct competition to the Protestants. Mgr. Alphonse Matthijsen, who worked in the area between 1916 and 1963 was concerned about the influence of the Protestants

⁶¹ Edjidra Leko, "Histoire du Catholicisme dans la Zone d'Aru de 1925 à 1990," (Licence diss., ISP), 1996: 42.

⁶² Gerard Malherbe, "La Mission au Lac Albert," 1342.

⁶³ P. Van Roy, *Vie de son Excellence Mgr. Alphonse Matthijsen, Evêque de Bunia, 1890-1963* (Buina: Diocese of Bunia), 1970: 6-8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

and the heresies he believed they propounded, colourfully comparing them to the many crocodiles swallowing fish at the mouth of the Semeliki River.⁶⁵

In the last years of colonialism the Catholic church became less antagonistic towards its Protestant rivals. It had become so influential in the country that it had little need to compete with Protestant missions.⁶⁶ It continued with its own work, rarely recognising other Christian denominations as worthy of co-operation.⁶⁷ Thus it does not feature greatly in this thesis, although its presence remains a backdrop to the subject because of its influence on the majority of Congolese. By independence over half of Congolese in Ituri considered themselves Catholics,⁶⁸ with a similar amount in Nord-Kivu. There was little sign of religious independency in the region because of the stringent colonial laws governing religious adherence.⁶⁹ Most of the rest were Protestants of the Africa Inland Mission (AIM), Immanuel Mission, the Conservative Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (CBFMS) or the EAC. It is to these Protestant societies that we turn now.

Crocodiles swallowing fish

The relationship between the EAC and neighbouring Protestant churches, and the role of the Congo Protestant Council are significant in the historic shaping of Congolese Anglican identity. The efforts of the Belgian administration to hobble Protestant work in Congo did not prevent a large number of Protestant missions entering the country. The EAC had three neighbouring missions with which it would interact.

⁶⁵ Gerard Malherbe, "La Mission au Lac Albert," 1329. Apolo Kivebulaya believed that a Catholic priest was spreading stories that he was a British spy. MU Apolo's diary, 7/6/1917.

⁶⁶ Ngadjole Frederic, [422-424]; 'L'Eglise Catholique c'est une église suffisamment orgueilleuse, à ce sens qu'ils n'ont pas c'est ouverture à l'extérieur, ils ne s'intéressent pas à ce qui se passe à côté.'

⁶⁷ Individual Catholic parishes and priests were to develop more cordial relations with some Anglicans, a situation usually initiated by the Anglicans.

⁶⁸ Samba, *Phénomène d'Ethnicité et Conflits ethno-politics*, 230.

⁶⁹ AICs developed most noticeably after political independence in 1960. Barrett says there were '500 distinct groups' in Congo by 1967 but he includes in these movements like the CBK which split from the CBFMS but joined the ECC and is not considered an AIC in Congo, and the Bira Movement, which split from Immanuel Mission but rejoined after a couple of years. David Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*. (Nairobi: Oxford University Press), 1968: 26, 286, 293.

Neighbouring missions

The largest and most influential Protestant Mission in the area was AIM whose church became known after independence as *Communauté Evangelique du Centre de l'Afrique* (CECA 20). AIM had started work in Congo from its base in Kenya.⁷⁰ It established a mission station among the Alur near Mahagi in 1912 and the following year reached Dungu among the Zande. It established significant missions among the Lugbara in 1917 and the Kakwa in 1924. In 1932 it took over the Oicha mission in Nord-Kivu from UAM.⁷¹ AIM was the first Protestant missionary society to work in Bunia, capital of Ituri province. In 1935 missionaries from the Bogoro mission, situated between Boga and Bunia, began preaching regularly to vendors who claimed to be Protestants from Kinshasa.⁷² By 1937 AIM had their first catechist in Bunia and a plot of land on which to build a chapel. It was in this chapel that most of the early Anglican migrants in Bunia were to worship on Sunday mornings. AIM's church structure is described as presbyterian-congregationalist.

The second mission bordering the Anglican area was the Unevangelised Africa Mission (UAM). A North American Baptist mission, it was established by Charles Hurlburt,⁷³ the former General Director of the AIM, who wanted to maintain the conservative ethos that he feared AIM was compromising.⁷⁴ His son, Paul Hurlburt Sr., established the first station at Katwe near Butembo in 1928. By 1931 four other stations had been established between Oicha in the north and Lake Kivu in the south. In 1946 the work was taken over by the Conservative Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (CBFMS).⁷⁵ In 1963, after much dispute, two denominations emerged from

⁷⁰ AIM was established in 1895 by Peter Cameron Scott a Scottish born emigré to the USA who wished to establish a chain of mission stations running from Kenya to Lake Chad. Dick Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers* (Nottingham: Crossway Books) 1994: 17-19.

⁷¹ Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles: A History of the African Inland Mission* (London: Victory Press), 1968: ix-xi.

⁷² Muzuro Kana Wai, "Croissance de l'Eglise locale de la Communauté évangélique au Centre de l'Afrique, Section de Bunia," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB), 1982: 21-23.

⁷³ Charles Hulburt and family went to East Africa in 1901. Hulburt was instrumental in gaining permission for AIM to work in Congo by asking President T. Roosevelt to speak to King Leopold II on behalf of AIM. In 1919 he went to work in Aba. Illness forced his return to the USA where he resigned from AIM in 1925. Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers*, 30-38.

⁷⁴ J. E. Nelson, *Christian Missionizing and Social Transformation: A History of Conflict and Change in Eastern Zaire* (New York: Praeger), 1992: Chapter Three.

⁷⁵ CBFMS was formed by a fundamentalist group which had split two years earlier from the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (ABFMS) which also worked in Congo. The Congo Protestant Council discouraged schism among its members and was wary of the CBFMS operating in Congo.

this mission; the *Communauté des Eglises baptistes au Congo-Est (CEBCE)* which remained broadly loyal to the missionaries' ethos, and the *Communauté baptiste de Kivu (CBK)* which disagreed with the missionaries. Immanuel Mission (IM) created by American Brethren in 1926 was the third missionary society to border EAC territory. Its base was Nyankunde, 45 km west of Bunia, given to it by AIM.⁷⁶ Other IM stations were established in the Ituri forest.

There were some obvious similarities between CMS and the other three missions. They were all evangelical, all desirous of evangelising Africans. They all upheld the importance of being able to read Scripture, and aimed to produce vernacular translations of the Bible. They all provided services for local people beyond simple evangelism. They were all, at this time, antagonistic to the Catholic church and concerned about its influence. Missionary personnel in all societies had been influenced by the Holiness movement, associated with the Keswick convention,⁷⁷ and had a similar code of personal morality. As a result they, at times, would collaborate closely together. An example of missionary co-operation pertinent to this thesis was that between CMS and AIM. In 1918 CMS invited AIM to work in West Nile to the north of Lake Albert in Uganda among the Alur, Lugbara, Kakwa and Mardi.⁷⁸ CMS was short staffed and knew that AIM had begun work with the same ethnic groups on the other side of the colonial border. CMS imposed the condition that in evangelising the area AIM would work under the Protestant church already present in Uganda, which was, of course, the Anglican church.⁷⁹ AIM agreed and West Nile Protestants all became Anglicans in the COU brought up with the Prayer Book, priests and bishops within a conservative evangelical ethos, which emphasised primary evangelism above all else, instilled strong discipline into the church, and provided fewer social services than elsewhere in Uganda. On the Congolese side of

⁷⁶ E. M. Braekman, *Histoire du Protestantisme au Congo*. (Bruxelles: Librairie des Eclaireurs Unionistes), 1961: 261-2.

⁷⁷ The first Keswick convention took place in 1875. The holiness movement associated with it encourage a second experience beyond conversion in which faith in victory over sin was understood to enable a 'higher life' in which Christians exhibited an intense piety. Christians were to trust in God not in their own efforts. This spirituality encouraged support for Revivals and Faith Missions which were often non-denominational, lay movements. D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (London: Unwin Hyman), 1989: 150 -159.

⁷⁸ This is the area the British gained from the Belgians when the escarpment area including Boga was transferred to Congo.

⁷⁹ Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers*, 65-66.

the border AIM worked with Alur, Lugbara, Kakwa and others providing a similar ethos but within a different ecclesiastical structure.

As the description of this collaborative work suggests, AIM had significant differences in emphasis from CMS in its work, particularly in church structure and evangelisation. AIM, IM and CBFMS all came from a new wave of missionary societies which emerged from the late nineteenth century. They were Faith Missions⁸⁰ influenced by the North American fundamentalist movement which upheld belief in biblical inerrancy and criticised the materialism and modernity of western culture. These missions were anti-clerical and anti-establishment; attitudes which made them ecclesiastically and missiologically wary of the episcopalian Church of England and its societies, like CMS. They were also deeply committed to a personal and spiritual conversion. They emphasised the importance of evangelism above all other missionary activity and held strict standards for their African converts.⁸¹ Individuals were expected to make a personal 'decision for Christ' and demonstrate this by an obvious life-style change. Infant baptism, as practised by Anglicans, could not be countenanced. This ethos demanded of the first converts a more radical break with their own culture than was expected in the EAC. Along with primary evangelism went a high regard for the Bible. Looking back on the work of AIM missionaries Pastor Etsea Angapoza of CECA 20 considered this focus the real aim of their work;

I'm pleased that the CECA church is an evangelical church. What has really struck me in this church, the first missionaries... emphasized the Word of God. They taught the Word of God so that each Christian could understand for himself the Word of God... they taught biblical principles in order to help individuals read the Bible...they attempted to translate the Bible in the language spoken by the population... so Christians could study the Bible themselves for their edification... They learnt how to study the Bible – when you're alone. That's what I appreciated. And they did not rest there. They created Bible schools to teach Christians... all the doctrines of God...⁸²

⁸⁰ Stephen Morad, "The Founding Principles of the Africa Inland Mission and their Interaction with the African Context in Kenya," (PhD, Edinburgh University), 1997: 119-120.

⁸¹ Ibid., 218-219.

⁸² Etsea Angapoza, Bunia, 18/09/00, [29-33]; 'Je suis content que l'Eglise CECA c'est une Eglise évangélique. Ce que m'a beaucoup marqué dans cette église, les premiers missionnaires... ont mis accent sur la Parole de Dieu. Ils ont enseigné la Parole de Dieu pour que chaque chrétien puisse comprendre pour lui même la Parole de Dieu. ...ils ont enseigné les principes bibliques pour pouvoir aider les individus à lire la Bible ... ils ont fait les efforts pour traduire la Bible dans la langue parlée par la population, ...alors les chrétiens peuvent étudier eux même la Bible pour leur édification... Ils ont appris comment étudier la Bible, quand vous êtes seul. C'est ce que j'ai apprécié. Avec ça aussi ils

With this emphasis on an individual understanding of biblical principles they began their work in Congo, using direct evangelism methods, gathering Christians in camps round the mission stations and only later evangelising the villages, rather than trying to influence wider society as did CMS and the Catholics.⁸³

These missions built dispensaries, for as Etsea explained, '...it's necessary to have good health for the Lord's service.'⁸⁴ They provided schools for basic literacy so Africans could learn to read the Bible but they regarded further education as a distraction from evangelism and as an enticement to 'worldliness'.⁸⁵ In North-east Congo, at least, government bias towards the Catholic church was not the only reason why Protestant educational standards were low. When government subsidies became available to Protestant missions in 1946, AIM applied for them reluctantly and after much delay, worried that this course of action might distract them from their priorities of evangelism and Bible teaching.⁸⁶ CBFMS did not change its schools in accordance with State requirements. It wanted to maintain the separation of Church and State and feared sullyng education with worldly interests, like good job prospects and salaries. The issue resulted in an acrimonious dispute which split the church in 1963 because many Congolese wanted an education recognised in secular employment.⁸⁷ The missions were concerned about the evils of modernity and development. They did not want to change African culture by introducing western ideas or technology which they believed had affected European and American culture adversely. They were, however, categorical that other parts of Congo culture were wrong, like drinking, smoking, dancing and polygamy.⁸⁸ The three missions developed a rigorous church discipline in which excommunication

ne sont pas resté là-bas. Ils ont crée des écoles bibliques pour apprendre aux chrétiens... toutes les doctrines de Dieu...'

⁸³ Ndahura, "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre," 111.

⁸⁴ Etsea Angapoza, [34]; '...il faut avoir la santé pour le service du Seigneur.'

⁸⁵ Morad, "The Founding Principles of the Africa Inland Mission," 333.

⁸⁶ Richardson, *Garden of Miracles*, 162.

⁸⁷ Syaikomia Nganza, "Les Principes d'Organisation de la Communauté baptiste au Kivu," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB), 1982: 12-14.

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa from Antiquity to the Present* (London: SPCK) 1995: 89-91.

and physical punishment were meted upon converts who broke the strict moral code or returned to traditional lifestyles.⁸⁹

Leadership

The most striking difference during the colonial period between CMS and the Faith Missions was the issue of indigenous leadership. Here is an uncritical statement in a history of AIM published in 1994 about missionary attitudes in the 1930s:

Although the local congregation looked back on many years of growth, the missionary still played the leading role as teacher and pastor. [AIM missionaries] determined to develop a pure church through faithful instruction supported by diligent discipline.⁹⁰

Concerned to maintain what they considered the highest moral and spiritual standards the missionaries were unwilling to hand over control of the church to Africans whom they feared were not mature enough to lead.⁹¹ Compare this attitude with the comment written by Ndahura Bezalari in 1974 about the relationship between the church and the CMS mission in Boga during the same time. Ndahura mentions CMS's principle to develop indigenous, self-supporting churches⁹² and then says,

...it was a normal ministry of the Boga church. A [foreign] missionary could occupy himself with the technical aspect of the mission whilst the [local] priests could concern themselves with the pastoral aspect of the church.⁹³

Even though colonial policy dictated the presence, from 1934, of white missionaries the EAC was given a great deal of autonomy in running its pastoral affairs. The indigenous nature of EAC was vital in shaping its identity (as shall become apparent later in this chapter) and stood in stark contrast to the neighbouring mission churches.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Edjidra, "Histoire du Catholicisme dans la Zone d'Aru", 33.

⁹⁰ Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers*, 116.

⁹¹ Morad, "The Founding Principles of the Africa Inland Mission," 421-422.

⁹² The principle of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches leading to the eventual euthanasia of missionary societies was propounded by Henry Venn, general secretary of CMS from 1854. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin), 1964: 159-160.

⁹³ Ndahura, "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre," 85.

⁹⁴ This is not to claim that CMS personnel always supported indigenous leadership. In Uganda Bishop Tucker's more radical proposals for African self-rule in churches were defeated by a majority of

In the minds of many EAC members their church was associated with autonomy and personal advantage, things perceived to pose a threat to missionary and state. The following story illustrates this. In 1938 two men, Daudi Makenze and Samweli Buhese Makerere, returned to Butembo from Uganda where they had been working with the COU. Prior to their sojourn in Uganda, they had had contact with the CBMS mission which had started from Katwa, near Butembo. With the support of four local chiefs they started Anglican worship with local Nande and Hema who had migrated from Boga and constructed a chapel.⁹⁵ This action angered Paul Hurlburt of CBMS, who complained to the Belgian authorities that Makenze and Makerere had breached the boundaries of missionary comity, were fomenting trouble and starting a religious movement without state authorisation. Ever worried about African independency, the authorities arrested the two men and imprisoned them in Bukavu for twelve years. Ugandan missionary, Nasanari Mukasa, visited the Anglican group about 1945 but there was no attempt to re-form an EAC until his second visit twenty years later.⁹⁶ Paul Hurlburt saw Makenze and Makerere as trouble-makers because they informed CBFMS evangelists that their counter-parts in the Anglican church in Uganda were paid for their labours.⁹⁷ For Hurlburt this demonstrated 'worldliness' that he could not countenance. For Congolese catechists lack of payment signalled ingratitude on the part of CBFMS.⁹⁸ This heavy-handed approach to controlling religious adherence and maintaining the boundaries established between missionary societies, whilst extreme in this case, is indicative of colonialist attitudes of the time. Both missionaries and colonial authorities sought to exert control over the decisions of the Congolese. Initiative in the religious sphere was seen as a grave threat. The events at Butembo were an isolated incident by a small group who attempted to make informed and free decisions in a political and religious atmosphere which was unwilling to countenance such action.

CMS missionaries. The missionaries of the 1920s and 1930s were much less appreciative of the capabilities of Ugandan church workers than had been earlier missionaries. Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942*, (London: SCM), 1971: 2189.

⁹⁵ Musubaho Ndaghaliwa, *L'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre* (n.p) c.1988: 23.

⁹⁶ Mahirani Melena, Komanda, 21/09/00, [64].

⁹⁷ Makenze had, some years previously, protested unsuccessfully before the colonial administration at Lubero on this issue. J. E. Nelson, *Christian Missionizing and Social Transformation*, 40.

⁹⁸ Musubaho, *L'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre*, 24.

The Congo Protestant Council

Relations between EAC and its neighbouring Protestant missions will be explored further in the thesis. They are to be understood within the wider Congolese network of Protestants missions; the Congo Protestant Council (CPC). The CMS, AIM, Immanuel and CBFMS were all members of the CPC the precursor to the post-independence *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC). It held its first meeting in January 1902,⁹⁹ and developed a more permanent structure¹⁰⁰ when it became one of the continuing committees that emerged from the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.¹⁰¹ Protestant missionaries decided to meet together in a formal manner for several reasons. There was a perceived need of presenting a united front against the opposition expressed by the colonial state and the Catholic church. Together they could more effectively lobby for land concessions and equal religious rights. They also wanted to establish greater collaboration in their common goal of spreading gospel. In the spirit of practical ecumenism of much of the modern Protestant missionary movement, missions were already giving each other support in an informal way. Protestants claimed that they did not intend to spread denominationalism whilst evangelising Africa. Although the theory rarely became practice, western church structures were considered transient and open to change.¹⁰² To avoid overlapping, the CPC facilitated the division of Congo into geographically distinct Protestant spheres of influence. This missionary comity meant, for example, that the EAC could not operate in the areas designated for AIM or IM. Breaching the ‘no overlap’ principle by working in an area designated for an another organisation was – as illustrated by the case of Makenze and Makerere - considered to be competitive rather than ecumenical, a waste of resources and a threat to inter-Protestant relationships. The outworking of comity agreements, however, had the opposite effect to what was intended; denominational adherence was made along ethnic lines. The Hema from Boga became Anglicans, whilst the Lugbara became

⁹⁹ In 1902 it was known as the General Conference of Protestant Missions.

¹⁰⁰ George Wayland Carpenter, *Highways for God in Congo: Commemorating Seventy-Five Years of Protestant Missions, 1878-1953* (Léopoldville: LECO Press), 1952: 35-37.

¹⁰¹ Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, 29-31.

¹⁰² Philippe Kabongo-Mbaya, *L'Eglise du Christ au Zaïre: Formation et adaptation d'un protestantisme en situation de dictature*. (Paris: Karthala), 1992: 55. Although on this point some Anglican missionaries may have disagreed.

CECA members. Ethnic and religious identities coalesced, reinforcing the colonial administration's ossification of what had been more fluid ethnic boundaries.

Denominational relationships were also affected by two internal CPC issues. These were both highly contentious within the council yet, paradoxically, fundamental to the CPC's aims: ecumenical relations amongst the member missionary societies; and the ceding of ecclesiastical power to the Congolese. By 1928 the establishment of an indigenous leadership in the church, autonomous from missionary control, was under discussion in the CPC. In 1935 the Church of Christ in Congo was announced as a uniting body for Congolese Protestants. But since only organisations run by whites could obtain a *personalité civile* the expatriate missions still had sovereignty. The CPC leadership wanted ecclesiastical authority to be transferred to Congolese church leaders. Many other missionaries, particularly the more conservative ones, were reluctant to permit African autonomy.¹⁰³ In 1950 the CPC agreed that the Congolese could take a lead in the Council, but conditions were imposed that effectively preserved ultimate control with the missionary council. By 1955 there were only 452 ordained Protestant Congolese pastors compared with 2,052 western missionaries.¹⁰⁴ The tiny EAC had four ordained Congolese pastors, one ordained Ugandan, and two western missionaries in this year.

The issue of relations among missionary societies had both practical and doctrinal dimensions. At a practical level there was normally a healthy spirit of collaboration. Several missions might co-operate in translation projects, the building of medical centres or secondary schools as joint ventures. In the late 1960s, for example, Nyankunde, the IM station, became the regional centre for Protestant medical work, as local missions pooled resources to establish a teaching hospital.¹⁰⁵ Inter-Protestant relations often became strained, even bitter at times, when doctrinal issues were at stake. For example, the EAC was not permitted to become a partner in the Nyankunde medical centre, although the centre provided medical supervision for Boga's dispensary from the 1940s onwards. Anglicans were not deemed sufficiently 'sound' to merit equal collaboration with their Protestant neighbours.¹⁰⁶ Organisational ecumenism, as opposed to practical ecumenism, was of particular

¹⁰³ Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers*, 124.

¹⁰⁴ Markowitz, *Cross and Sword*, 112-4.

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers*, 127.

¹⁰⁶ Njojo Byankia, personal communication, Feb. 1994, July, October 2000.

concern to the conservative missions. They feared that unity without clear adherence to evangelical doctrine would hamper evangelism and mission,¹⁰⁷ and would bring to Africa the liberalism they despised in Western Christianity. In 1961 the CPC left the World Council of Churches,¹⁰⁸ but this did not satisfy the conservative missions who formed their own council, the Evangelical Alliance, in Bunia in 1963. It had many supporters in the AIM, IM and CBFMS. Autonomy of the local mission churches and political pressure would bring members of this Alliance under the control of the ECC in 1970, but it demonstrated the extent of the dissent among the neighbours of the EAC. Inter-Protestant relationships in north-east Congo were played out against the background of these differing perspectives.

'A tradition like our one': the EAC 1933-1960

Having studied the external church and state relations in Congo, analysis is now resumed of the Anglican church on the Semeliki escarpment in the latter part of the colonial period. How did the peoples who had accepted Apolo's ministry develop the church in the years leading to political independence? What effect did indigenous leadership have on ecclesiastical identity? It will be shown that, faced with the limitations of geographical spread and colonial legitimacy outlined above, EAC members looked inwards, aiming to maintain the tradition which had been given to them, nurturing the ecclesiological model of Apolo's ministry but also adapting it to their own culture.

WaHema, kiHema

Boga remained the centre of the EAC and as a result the Hema had a preponderant influence on leadership and decision making. The EAC had adapted itself to the life of the peoples on the escarpment but via the dominant culture and language of the Hema. Local leadership and vernacularisation were uneven from the start, even though Apolo and others worked to make it less so. That the EAC was mediated

¹⁰⁷ A. Johnston, *World Evangelism and the World of God* (Minneapolis, Bethany Fellowship), 1974: 207.

¹⁰⁸ In 1961 when the International Missionary Council was integrated into the World Council of Churches the conservative groups within the CPC were sufficiently influential to ensure that the CPC was one of only two local missionary councils to leave the international body. Kabongo-Mbaya, *L'Eglise du Christ au Zaïre*, 86.

through kiHema meant a greater sense of ownership of the church for the waHema. One Hema explained:-

...they know well the history of the first evangelist ... how he learnt how to speak their own language - since at that time study was in their own language and they considered it their own religion.¹⁰⁹

Until the 1970s the liturgy and the Bible remained in Runyoro/Rutoro which the Hema understood and thus there was a closer association with Hema culture than with any other. Christian concepts and Anglican culture took more of a Hema form than a Lese or Giti one. The school operated in this language until 1950 when, following colonial policy, Swahili was introduced.¹¹⁰ The issue of language also favoured Hema catechists. A good knowledge of Runyoro/Rutoro was essential to anyone who wanted further training in church work. Many Nande, whose language and culture is similar, did learn the language and become catechists. There were fewer Lese, Nyali, Giti and Talinga catechists. Ven. Tabu Abembe, a Lese, learnt the catechism in Runyoro and explained how the language was viewed,

Runyoro was regarded as the biblical language, like Hebrew or Greek [laughs] ... but the drawback was that the people who didn't know Runyoro considered the Anglican religion as a Hema issue.¹¹¹

Parish structure also played a role in this inequality. The first two Congolese priests, Nasani Kaberole and Yusufu Limenya, were ordained in 1937¹¹² and the large parish of Boga was divided in two. Kabarole, a Hema, took over Boga parish, which included Hema, Ngiti and Lese. Liminya, a Nande, had oversight of the new parish based in Kainama, the centre of a Nande *collectivité*, which was situated less than thirty kilometres south of Boga but in the province of Nord-Kivu. This parish also encompassed sub-parishes of Nyali, Talinga and Mbuti. The dominance of the waHema people and the kiHema language as the EAC developed its internal

¹⁰⁹ Isingoma Kahwa, Edinburgh, 07/06/00, [36]; '... ils savent bien l'histoire du premier évêque ... comment il a appris à parler leur propre langue, parce que à ce moment là l'étude était dans leur propre langue et ils ont considéré ça comme leur propre religion.'

¹¹⁰ Ali Mazrui and Alamin Mazrui, *Swahili State and Society: The Political Economy of an African language*. (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers), 1995: 55.

¹¹¹ Tabu Abembe, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [341-344]; 'Kinyoro était considéré comme la langue biblique, comme hébreu ou grecque [laughs]! ... mais l'inconvénient était que les gens qui ne connaissaient pas le Kinyoro comprennaient la religion anglicane comme le problème de Wahema.'

¹¹² They followed an accelerated ordination course and placement before they were ordained deacon. They were priested in 1940. Musubaho, *L'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre*, 30.

structures and its local understanding of a western church model would have repercussions as the church spread beyond the escarpment.

Utaratibu and upole

The EAC had the outward trappings of a western church: a Prayer Book and hymn book translated from their English setting, a church structure borrowed from the Church of England, even clergy vestments more suitable for a colder climate. The escarpment peoples, isolated at the edge of a vast state, were proud of their international connections and wished to maintain the Church of England traditions. This acceptance, which was part of the conversion process, was facilitated by two factors. The Anglicanism which reached Boga had already gone through a process of Ugandan interpretation, and partly as a result of this, the Hema felt that Anglican structures fitted neatly with their own local traditions. The meaning and significance of outward forms had been adapted to enable them to be adopted in a new location. Rev. Tito Balinda explained his understanding of this relationship;

The Anglican church, in the place where it started, was led by the traditional ruler or King. Here in Boga we are led by the traditional ruler or *Omukama*. This is the thing which binds us together. And so the Anglican tradition is a tradition of calm and order like the tradition of the Hema. And in the Anglican church [there are] important leaders from the lowest to the highest [level] and even so with our tradition there are leaders for house [level] to section [level] and even to the leader, *Omukama*, who leads all the sections together. Such is the traditional way, so there is no difference for us Hema, we see the Anglican [church] has a good tradition like our indigenous one.¹¹³

This was a kind of vernacularisation of church structures and rituals. If the newness of the Christian belief and its correlative skills were part of the appeal of conversion the parallelism of Anglican polity with a familiar socio-religious order was another part. 'Calm and order,' *upole* and *utaratibu*,¹¹⁴ are words frequently used by Congolese Anglicans to describe their church. According to Tito these attributes are

¹¹³ Tito Balinda, Boga, 02/10/00, [448-456]; 'Anglican fasi kanisa lilianza inaongozwa na watawala wa asili, sawa King. Na hapa Boga tunaongozwa na watawala wa asili, sawa Omukama. Iko neno yenye inaambatana. Na vilevile desturi ya Anglican lina desturi za upole na utaratibu sawa na desturi za Wahema. Na kanisa ya Anglicana waongozi wakubwa kutoka chini mpaka juu na hata kwa desturi yetu kuna waongozi kutoka kwa nyumba kufika kwa sehemu na kufika hata kwa mwongozi, Omukama, mwenye anaongoza sehemu yote kwa jumla. Na kwa hivi matumikiyo kwa desturi, kwa namna hakuna mbalimbali ya sisi Wahema. Tunaona anglican ina desturi nzuri sawa na zetu za kienyeji.'

¹¹⁴ *Utaratibu* – order, system, method, organisation, regime.
Upole – gentleness, slowness, sympathy, moderation, calm, quiet (kimya).

also found in Hema culture. The *omukama* and heads of clans (*abanyoro*) and families were responsible for maintaining political harmony through upholding their stratified social order (an *utaratibu*), handing down from generation to generation the religious rites of the Hema (also an *utaratibu*) and carrying them out with solemnity and dignity (*upole*).¹¹⁵ The leaders of Hema society who performed ritual sacrifices maintained an air of *utaratibu* and *upole*, distancing themselves from the lively dancing which accompanied the celebration of major community events.

Apolo targeted heads of families in his evangelism and schooling. When they became Christians, they owned the Anglican church as theirs through identification with Hema structure and order. When they took on the roles of church workers, they carried out the ecclesiastical rites with the same solemnity.¹¹⁶ The hierarchical and ritual *utaratibu* already known to the Hema¹¹⁷ was seen to 'bind together' Hema society and the Church of England. This is not surprising. The decision to convert to Christianity arose from judgements made in the pre-Christian situation and, as J.D.Y. Peel states, since these judgements, '...undergird the decision to convert, they are likely to continue as a substrate of the new beliefs and practices...'¹¹⁸ However, Anglican structure and liturgy was a novelty on the escarpment. The association of Anglican structure with Hema society was never entire. The *omukama*, for example, became a Christian, had a role in church ceremonies and decisions through to 2000, but continued to observe traditional Hema rites. Nevertheless, the meaning of the Anglican hierarchy of church leaders and the rites they performed was now clothed in Hema concepts instead of English ones.

Heshima

The Anglican liturgy fitted well with the mood of the chiefly rites of Hema society. During the seventy years when the Anglican church remained solely in the escarpment area respect, solemnity and orderliness were the dominant expression of Christianity. The words most often used in Swahili to describe worship are *utaratibu*,

¹¹⁵ Isingoma Kahwa, "La Notion traditionnelle de la Communauté en Afrique noire et son Intergration dans la Vie ecclesiale (Cas de Banyoro en Republique du Zaïre).," (Maitrise en Théologie diss., Faculté de Théologie Evangélique de Bangui), 1989: 25-26.

¹¹⁶ Titre Ande, 2/04/02, Personal Communication.

¹¹⁷ Bénézet Bujo, *African Theology* (Nairobi: St. Paul Publications), 1992: 20-21.

¹¹⁸ J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Indiana: Indiana University Press), 2000: 216.

upole/kimya and *heshima*, (respect).¹¹⁹ Musubaho makes clear the connection between structure and worship when he looks back nostalgically on the Kainama church when he was young:-

... there were many people and the service would go on and people were *kimya* in church. People were taught to shut [their] eyes and to kneel, you could not pray without kneeling or shutting eyes, we were used to this. At this time in the church there was much *heshima*, people very much feared the Lord, [there was] no chatting in church. And when the preacher preached people were *kimya* and they followed well.¹²⁰

Heshima, was an important virtue in escarpment society. Proper *heshima* was given according to the status of a person in society. *Heshima* was also given to God. Decorous order and deferential conduct during the Sunday service was believed to portray appropriate respect for the divine. The conduct appropriate for God was also extended to the preacher as the one proclaiming the Word of God and the congregation remained quiet and attentive throughout the sermon. Lukumbula Kihandasikiri explains how he felt about church workers, ‘servants of God’, when he was growing up:-

The servants [of God] were greatly feared, greatly respected. From their faces they really seemed to present God in God’s visible state. A person would not be able to hastily approach the servant, except if that person was also spiritual. And even if the servant called you over you were surprised to see him coming near to you. So we grew up really in fear of the Word of God.¹²¹

The *heshima* bestowed on church workers arose from the belief that they had a special relationship with God of which people were in awe. For Lukumbula, it is this respect for the servant of God which conferred reverence for the Word of God.

¹¹⁹ *Heshima* – respect, honour, dignity, ceremony, distinction, politeness, reputation.

¹²⁰ Musubaho Ndaghaliwa, Kainama, 05/10/00, [85-90]; ‘... watu walikuwa wengi na ibada itaendelea na watu wako kimia kanisani. Watu walifundishwa kufunga macho na kupiga magoti, hauwezi kuomba bila kupiga magoti au bila kufunga macho, tulizoea hivi. Na wakati ule kanisa ilikuwa na heshima sana watu wanakuwa na woga wa Bwana bila mazungumuzo kanisani. Na wakati muhubiri anahubiri watu wanakuwa kimia na wanafuata muzuri.’

¹²¹ Lukumbula Kihandasikiri, Kampala, 23/07/00, [64-69]; ‘Watumishi waliogopwa sana, waliheshimwa sana. Kwa sura yao walionakana kabisa kama wanapresenter Mungu kwa hali nye inaonekana. Mutu hungeweza kukaribia Mutumishi haraka haraka, isipokuwa kama ni mutu ya kiroho pia. Na hata mutumishi anakukaribia karibu unashangaa kumuona kufika karibu na yeye. Hivi tulikomea na woga ya Neno la Mungu sana.’

This *heshima* was further personalised in respect for the memory of Apolo who introduced the new religious order. As Anglican connections with local structures had enabled local ownership of the EAC so did respect for Apolo.

For the people of Boga the Anglican church is their own church. That's to say they know well the history of the first evangelist, how he came, how he settled in, ...¹²²

Recognised as a saint, action seen to be in keeping with Apolo's teaching was approved within the EAC. His memory was also called upon to veto innovation. Things were expected to remain as Kivebulaya had left them. There was great appeal in following Apolo into the same work,¹²³ and those who knew him were held in high esteem as Bitanihirwa Kamakama makes clear when he speaks of Samson Katara of Kainama parish:-

We found that the ... pastor there was the first student of Apolo Kivebulaya. So he had to give lots of weight to this religion as he was taught by Apolo Kivebulaya... So it was imperative, at any rate, to follow [his teaching] with much interest because he himself spent much time with Apolo.¹²⁴

Apolo had preached respect for the written word and its content; the Bible was a guide to a new lifestyle, books were more effective than spears. The escarpment peoples accepted this, but they did so through intermediaries. Apolo had earned their *heshima* and it was inherited by those who followed him.

Inculturation¹²⁵

Orderliness in religious rites and respect for those who retained social order were the cement which bonded the new religion with the old culture. The increasing

¹²² Isingoma Kahwa, [36]; 'Bon, pour les gens de Boga, l'Eglise anglicane est leur propre église. C'est-à-dire ils savent bien l'histoire du premier évangéliste, comment il est venu, comment il s'est installé, ...'

¹²³ Nasanairi Mukasa is the prime example. A Muganda, he offered his services when he heard the call for evangelists to go to Boga following Apolo's death in 1933. He was to spend almost 50 years connected to the EAC. Nasanari Mukasa, Kampala, notes from interview 1998 with Bahemuka Mugeni [5].

¹²⁴ Bitanihirwa Kamakama, Bunia, 10/09/00, [91-96]; 'Là nous avons trouvé que le... pasteur là bas était le premier étudiant d'Apolo Kivebulaya. Alors, il devait donner beaucoup de poids à cette religion comme il était enseigné par Apolo Kivebulaya... Donc il devrait en tout cas suivre ça avec beaucoup d'intérêt parce que lui même a passé beaucoup de temps avec Apolo.'

¹²⁵ By inculturation I mean the process whereby a new or alien structure or system is re-coded sufficiently for those who have adapted it to feel that it is part of their own culture. Indigenisation, localisation and contextualisation all have similar meanings.

embodiment of Anglicanism in this particular local culture changed it from a religious movement to a church institution. As the new religion took hold of the establishment, however, three significant changes took place. Firstly, the moral code propounded by Apolo and CMS missionaries became an ideal for the most committed rather than a necessity for all Christians. The smoking, drinking and, to some extent, polygamy expected in traditional culture continued even among baptised members of the congregation. The novelty and difference of Christianity which may have attracted the first converts, like the family of Basimasi, became less striking. The indigenous church began making its own decisions in these areas displaying a desire to maintain continuity with its dominant culture. Secondly, people already prominent in society became leaders of the new religion, a situation that reflected socio-religious leadership in Hema culture. These people were almost always senior men. Some of them had been 'Apolo's boys' who were now heads of families. The *omukama* could not become a church leader and still carry out traditional religious rites on behalf of the Hema. Family heads did not have the same dilemma. These men were often, but not always, senior in age as well as position. Ecclesiastical roles were increasingly defined according to locally configured expectations of generation. Thirdly, women stopped taking leadership roles. 'Apolo's girls' did not take official positions as the EAC developed and younger women did not replace them. Ecclesiastical roles had also become gendered.

Female *walimu* working along side men had been a feature of the rapid expansion of the early COU but their numbers dwindled from 1914.¹²⁶ A similar pattern was apparent on the Semeliki escarpment. Before Apolo Kivebulaya's death a number of women appear to have led chapels in the same way as young male *walimu*. After the 1930s there were no other women *walimu* until the 1970s. Conservative European gender expectations were present in the Anglican institution of which the church in Boga was now a part. The Church of England had an entirely male leadership which was replicated by Anglican missionaries throughout the world. Thus the most senior leadership positions in the EAC were available only to men. The ordination of escarpment clergymen in 1937, both significant members of their communities, was regarded as a positive point of self-governance. However, it served to enforce the gender imbalance in religious and social leadership. European gender bias reinforced

¹²⁶ Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 73-75. Pirouet lists forty-six women licensed as catechists in Toro between 1902 and 1909. At least two were from Boga; Damari Ngaju and Erisabeti Duhabya. They were among the first to welcome Apolo and become Christians.

gendered roles in escarpment society. Although roles were not gendered in the same way as in Europe, men held most of the leadership and decision-making roles.

The cultures on the escarpment were patriarchal and patrilineal. Women were not expected to take a public role in society without permission from their fathers or husbands although post-menopausal women sometimes participated in councils and generally had seniority over younger women. Women had participated in religious events like healing, exorcism, promoting fertility but these things played no role in escarpment Anglicanism.¹²⁷ The EAC had associated itself with the social, political and religious hierarchies of the escarpment, which were largely loci of gerontocratic male authority, rather than with popular religious expressions¹²⁸ and was thus unlikely to openly challenge the gender roles of society or to overtly tap the spiritual roles of women. Hierarchical *utaratibu* came to be almost exclusively male - a result of the seeming success of the Anglican church in rooting itself and growing in the Semeliki escarpment culture – but it had done so in a manner more structured and formalised than had been the religious expression of traditional society. Anglican and escarpment traditions colluded in excluding women from leadership positions within the EAC and making them feel inadequate to carry out such roles. The position of early women *walimu* was always fragile and became more so as the new religious movement turned into institutional church.

If women had lost their brief roles as leaders in the church, however, they were not in the same social position as they had been before the introduction of the EAC to the escarpment. Not only were they expected to fall under the *utaratibu* of the church, they were also provided with their own structural *utaratibu*. The Mothers' Union (MU) was the conduit through which social order came to be maintained and socio-religious ideas about the role of Christian women was expressed. It began in England in 1876 and was introduced to East Africa by CMS missionaries. Its stated aim was to promote Christian marriage and family life through prayer and service in the community.¹²⁹ Only women who had been married in church were permitted to be members. The MU probably started in Boga in the 1940s and it was into this group

¹²⁷ Muhindo Tsongo, "The Role of Women in the Anglican Church in Congo: A case of the Diocese of North Kivu," (M.A. diss., Trinity College), 2000: 9-12 (draft).

¹²⁸ See discussion on role and status of women in spirit possession in Grishick Ben-Amos, Paula, "The Promise of Greatness: Women and Power in an Edo Spirit Possession Cult," in *Religion in Africa*, T.D. Blakley, W.E.A. van Beck, and D.L. Thomson, eds (London: James Currey), 1994: 118.

¹²⁹ <http://www.themothersunion.org/content>.

that female leadership potential was channelled.¹³⁰ By independence the EAC had institutionalised into a gerontocratic male dominated organisation with a subordinate female institution. The end result for women was simply a '...wider choice of relationships of social dependence.'¹³¹ The EAC had become male-led and oriented towards the maintenance of gerontocratic male power structures. Inculturation came, perhaps, at the price of subversive dynamism.¹³²

Maendeleo

The word *maendeleo* can be used for anything which improves the quality of life, alleviates suffering or provides economic advancement. It is often used in the EAC to refer to church-organised social work of education and health care and other modern social services.¹³³ The aspirations for such novelties introduced by Apolo from Uganda, were sustained through membership of the COU but were not always realised as fully as EAC members hoped. Charles Rendle, a CMS missionary, worked as schools director from 1934 until 1960.¹³⁴ When Protestant missions were permitted to apply for government educational subsidies in 1946 it was such a high priority in the EAC that it became the first Protestant church in North-east Congo to attain the government standards for its three schools.¹³⁵ Even so these subsidies was not granted until 1951. One of the standards demanded was that the medium for primary schools be Swahili, the trade language of eastern Congo, rather than Runyoro.¹³⁶ This was the first step in levelling the ethno-linguistic playing field and

¹³⁰ The MU was operating in Boga by 1948. PR: Unpublished account of life and work as CMS missionaries by Beryl Rendle, 7.

¹³¹ Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 220.

¹³² The affect of inculturation on women is analysed in Esther Mombo, "A History and Cultural Analysis of the Position of Abaluyia Women in Kenyan Quaker Christianity, 1902-1979," (PhD, Edinburgh University), 1999. Mombo concludes that dominant Abaluyia men influenced Quaker missionaries (normally associated with a more egalitarian expression of Christianity than the Anglican Church) to maintain customs in church life which continued to subordinate women. 302-303.

¹³³ *Maendeleo* – development, progression, advance, evolution, improvement (*endeleo* is the singular but is not widely used). It is used by Anglicans to refer to both spiritual and material improvement, although more frequently the latter.

¹³⁴ Charles Rendle was ordained in 1947 and was dean between 1948 and 1954 as well as carrying out the schools work. He resigned as dean to concentrate on education.

¹³⁵ Ndahura, "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre," 91.

¹³⁶ By 1925 the colonial administration had adopted the policy of using four regional trade (or vehicular) languages rather than French in communication with the Congolese population. This was replicated in the education policy which aimed to produce a cheap, controllable labour force. Johannes

associating more clearly with the nation of Congo rather than Uganda,¹³⁷ although it was some time before the church followed suit. In 1965 when the Diocese of Rwenzori was formed, there were nine primary schools, one in each of the parishes of Boga deanery.¹³⁸ A year later a secondary school was opened.¹³⁹

Schools were open to boys and girls. Yet education was viewed through the prism of differently gendered family allegiance, as Caroline Mwanga points out,

Our fathers of the past said it was not good to teach a girl child because it wasted money since she would get married and become a member of a different family.¹⁴⁰

Families often made the decision only to educate their sons, or to educate them for longer than their daughters because, for the purposes of lineage, girls were not considered permanent members of the family or clan. Boys, were therefore more likely to receive the *maendeleo* which would equip them to be part of the *utaratibu* of the EAC if they so desired.

The Mother's Union provided a gender specific programme of *maendeleo* for women. It insisted on the domesticity of women's roles and their obedience to their husbands but also provided them with new information and skills with which to carry this out.¹⁴¹ Sewing, child health, sanitation, prayer meetings, literacy, bible study were all provided by MU.¹⁴² Women appreciated a forum in which their own concerns were paramount and so were able to find channels for their own group expression. In Boga the MU mirrored the activities of the EAC by imparting

Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1986: 66-67.

¹³⁷ The inevitable consequence of the widespread use of a trade language is that vernaculars are used less frequently. Young Hema admit that they do not have the breadth of kiHema vocabulary that their parents and grandparents do.

¹³⁸ The parishes also had at least 15 chapels each. Isingoma Kahwa, "La Monographie du Diocese de Boga-Zaire," (Diplôme de graduat diss., ISThA), 1984: 49.

¹³⁹ Isingoma Kahwa, "La Monographie du Diocese de Boga-Zaire," 84.

¹⁴⁰ Caroline Mwanga, Butembo, 16/6/98, [55]; '...wababa zetu wa zamani, walisema si vizuri kumufunza mtoto musichana kwa sababu ni kupoteza pesa bure ikiwa yeye ameandaliwa kuolewa na kuwa mwanamemba wa jamaa lingine.'

¹⁴¹ Marie Tabu, Joyce Tsongo, and Emma Wild, "Unity Must Adapt to Diversity: Congolese Women in Dialogue with Christianity and Culture," *Anvil* 15, 1 (1998), 38.

¹⁴² Deborah Gaitskell, "Power in Prayer and Service: Women's Christian Organisations," in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Cultural and Social History*, Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds (Claremont, S.A: David Philip), 1997: 255.

traditional Hema etiquette along with Bible teaching. Traditional ways of showing respect and of providing hospitality were taught by the older women to the younger ones.¹⁴³ The MU was seen by men and women alike to bolster the *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* (order, calm and respect) of the EAC and escarpment society.

In education the EAC was almost keeping abreast of the changing possibilities within the country. In health care this was not the case. Beryl Rendle worked in the dispensary at Boga from 1948, Sarah Lyon from 1949-1953. They were both trained nurses offering basic medical assistance. Congolese were sent for training at Nyankunde.¹⁴⁴ The desire to create a hospital at Boga remained unfulfilled until the 1980s. In this situation church members continued to rely on traditional medicine. Traditional healing methods had been closely intertwined with traditional beliefs and were distrusted by the EAC. Christians abandoned them, as Basimasi's family seemed proud to do, or practised them in secret. The EAC on the escarpment was too closely linked with traditional ways to abandon such practices completely, but Christians often carried them out in desperation and with an accompanying sense of shame.¹⁴⁵

Without oversimplifying the issue it can be said that *maendeleo* indicated those aspects of EAC activity which were novel to escarpment society and which enabled it to adapt to the forces of colonial change. *Utaratibu* as interpreted by *upole* and *heshima* provided a way of containing change and difference within a schema of continuity and similarity. By 1960 this appreciation of traditional values and aspirations of modernity provided a framework of religious identity for the majority of Anglicans on the escarpment.

Uhuru

Alongside the majority there developed an alternative, minority identity - revivalism. Like the EAC itself, the revival within it came from the COU. The dynamic *Balokole*¹⁴⁶ revival which shook the Ugandan, Rwandan, then Kenyan and Tanzanian churches from 1933 challenging their nominalism and complacency, has been well

¹⁴³ Irene Bahemuka, personal communication, May 1997.

¹⁴⁴ Ndahura, "L'Implantation de l'Anglicanisme au Zaïre", 92.

¹⁴⁵ Buyana Mulungula, "Conflit entre la Foi Chrétienne et le Ufumu dans le Milieu Urbain: Bukavu et Bunia," (Licence diss., ISTB), 1996: 22.

¹⁴⁶ Balokole means 'saved people' in Luganda.

documented.¹⁴⁷ Studies have argued for its relative European and African influences, its force for social change and its similarity to independency. Within the EAC it provided freedom (*uhuru*)¹⁴⁸ from the dominant expression of Anglicanism and called people back to the moral code introduced by Apolo. The characteristics of this revival were public confession of sin as a sign that one was ‘saved’, a strict moral code of conduct, formation of fellowship groups for further confession, evangelism, and worship, lively and informal music including dance and traditional instruments, and a challenging of social, ethnic or racial divides. Leadership was shared and participation was expected of all. Women had more prominent roles within Revivalism than in the mainstream church.¹⁴⁹ It gave them opportunities to lead evangelistic and fellowship meetings in ways which challenged the collusion of Anglican and escarpment hierarchy on the role of women. Susanne Japhara,¹⁵⁰ for example, had been saved in Boga in the 1940s. Her official role remained within the leadership of the MU but her revival commitment gave her freedom and confidence to participate in evangelism alongside church leaders and eventually to study second letter at Bible School in the 1970s under Deaconess Lucy Ridsdale.¹⁵¹

Lukumbula explains the most important elements of Revival for him.

Really it was to witness how God saved a person from sin. And when a person left sin, how a person could be able to feel *uhuru*, to feel they have been saved and to feel *uhuru*. And to walk in this *uhuru* and also to have courage to witness to others in this state.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ For example, Y.K Bamunoba and F.B. Welbourn, "Emandwa initiation in Ankole," *Uganda Journal* 29 (1965); C. E. Robins, "Tukutendereza: a study of social change and sectarian withdrawal in the Balokole Revival of Uganda," (PhD, Columbia University), 1975; Kevin Ward, "Obedient Rebels" - the Relationship between the early "Balokole" and the Church of Uganda: the Mukono Crisis of 1941', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 19, 3 (1989); Derek Peterson, "Wordy Women: Gender trouble and the Oral Politics of the East African Revival in Northern Gikuyuland," *Journal of African History* 42 (2001).

¹⁴⁸ *Uhuru* – freedom, liberty, liberation.

¹⁴⁹ Emma Wild, "'Walking in the Light': The Liturgy of Fellowship in the Early Years of the East African Revival," in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship* R. N. Swanson ed. (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer), 1999: 420-423.

¹⁵⁰ Personal conversation, 7/10/00.

¹⁵¹ Lucy Ridsdale, Cambridge, 15/01/99, [323-324] and Tito Balinda, Boga, 02/10/00, [407-411]. Four other women took this course, Nyakato Irene, Astride Bataaga, Kamwina, and Agonzebwoha Roseti. Only Nyakato was given charge of a chapel for any length of time.

¹⁵² Lukumbula Kihandasikiri, [107-111]; 'Zaidi sana ilikuwa kushuhudia jinsi[how] Mungu anavyoookoa mutu kutoka zambi. Na wakati mutu anatoka kwa zambi, jinsi mutu anaweza kujisikia uhuru, kusikia umekombolewa na kujisikia uhuru. Na kutembelea katika uhuru ile na kukuwa na uhudi[courage] vile kushuhudia wengine ndani ya hali ile.'

Uhuru, from sin and courage to witness to others was a common expression of the attraction of revival.

When Ugandan evangelist, Nasanairi Mukasa, left Boga to train for the priesthood at Mukono he was ‘saved’ as a result of contact with *Balokole* at the college. He and twenty-five other COU students were expelled in 1941 for refusing to compromise their *Balokole* practises of early morning prayer, preaching and denouncing the sins of fellow students. He was sent back to Congo without being ordained and began a revival ministry among the Lese of Zunguluka.¹⁵³ He was relatively successful here among a people who felt distant from the Boga centre of Anglican influence, but although Revival did spread throughout the EAC on the escarpment, among the Hema its influence remained limited. Mukasa organised evangelistic campaigns but only managed to influence a small number of people to a sustained revival lifestyle. Some of those, however, who were ‘saved’ were young men in the 1950s, were to play key roles as the church developed in urban areas in the 1970s and 1980s. Beni Bataaga, for example, connects his revival experience with his ministerial vocation:-

Through [Canon Mukasa] I knew the Lord, I received Jesus Christ as my personal saviour... there was a group of about 12 or more than 12 people. They used to read their Bible once in a week, I still remember, every Wednesday ... Even to feel a call to the ministry, it was through that.¹⁵⁴

For most escarpment Anglicans, Revival threatened the *utaratibu* and *heshima* of the religious heads of families and the *upole* of rites properly observed because it demanded a more radical rejection of traditional culture than the mainstream EAC.¹⁵⁵ Revival did not fit with the ecclesiastical myths which were emerging around Apolo’s model of church. However, Revival was to appear in more persistent forms as the EAC grew through migration and, as Chapter Five will show, it provided another identity for those who wished to call themselves Anglican.

¹⁵³ Ward, ‘Obedient Rebels’, 206.

¹⁵⁴ Bataaga Beni, Bunia, 15/09/00, [132-145].

¹⁵⁵ The Revivalists used traditional cultural forms but often with little of their content. Music, religious rites etc. were adapted to provide vessel for the Gospel message but there was a deliberate attempt to ensure that they did not contain anything which was considered counter to Christianity as understood by the *Balokole*.

'I am still going towards the forest'

Through this history of indigenisation walks Apolo Kivebulaya. Living and dead he inspired a loyalty and respect that made of him a symbol of EAC identity. But what did he symbolise on the escarpment in 1960? Burial narratives written at about this time suggest an alternative to that of the 1996 narrative mentioned in the Introduction.¹⁵⁶ One memoir says Apolo's insistence on being buried in Boga was 'so my children of the forest could remain looking at my grave.'¹⁵⁷ These words suggest an expected reverence for Apolo because of what he introduced to the escarpment. It encourages preservation of his memory and ways. Another account puts a more missiological slant on Apolo's request for a westward burial; 'I am still going towards the forest to preach the Gospel.'¹⁵⁸ Yet even here the emphasis is personal. There is no explicit call for others to follow although one might infer that Apolo's was an example to be followed. In 1960 the interpretation of Apolo's burial request probably supported on-going local evangelism and the maintenance of an Anglican tradition. The ecclesiastical model localised on the escarpment was given legitimacy by a particular narration of Apolo's life and death.

Conclusion

In setting the historical scene for Anglican migration this chapter has analysed the early identity of the EAC. Introduced from Uganda by Ugandans the EAC was similar to the COU and yet not the same. Christian belief, Anglican structure, liturgy, schools and clinics may once have been foreign to the inhabitants of these villages but over two generations they had begun to own them as theirs. They had fitted the Anglican system with their own chiefly system and accepted the formal worship style as fitting reverence for the Almighty. Yet the EAC could not attain the educational and health service standards of the COU. They remained aspirations for which to aim. Unable to spread further before independence because of Protestant missionary comity and Catholic colonial influence, the EAC focused on its own internal ecclesiastical structure and rites which conformed to rural values. The result was a small but confident church. By the 1950s the EAC had developed a *modus operandi* on the escarpment which it could sustain for sometime.

¹⁵⁶ Introduction, 1.

¹⁵⁷ Aberi Balya, 'Bishop Balya's Account of Apolo Kivebulaya' (unpublished), n.d., 11.

¹⁵⁸ Anne Luck, *African Saint: The Story of Apolo Kivebulaya* (London: SCM), 1963: 147.

Viewed in Congo as a whole, however, the EAC position must be regarded as precarious, even accidental: it had British connections in a Belgian colony; it was largely African-led in an era of white control; it was small and rural in a huge country with growing industrial towns, Protestant in a state where Catholics were wealthy and influential, Anglican in an area of conservative, anti-establishment American missions. On the cusp of independence the EAC had little power or influence in Congo. It was often ignored, occasionally regarded with suspicion as not quite legitimate. Yet as Anglicans migrated beyond the escarpment area they were to find elements in this marginal religious identity which were to sustain them in their new situations. The spread of the church did not come through favourable socio-political situations, as in Uganda. It came through the migration (sometimes as a result of adverse political circumstances) of Anglicans after independence and their negotiation of the escarpment identity of *utaratibu*, *upole*, *heshima* and *maendeleo*.

Chapter Two. Being at Home in a New Place: The Spread of the EAC by Rural-Urban Migrants from the 1960s.

Introduction

By 1975 the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) was present in most of the towns in Nord-Kivu and Irumu. Its membership was no longer composed of predominantly rural subsistence farmers. Its urban members had a moderate education and were employed in a variety of jobs. This chapter studies the growth of the EAC as a result of the migration of its members to urban areas in North-east Congo. It explains how and why those who had grown up in Anglican villages established Anglican chapels in towns, and scrutinises the way in which the rural Anglican identity studied in Chapter One was both affirmed and contested in the urban milieu. The chapter argues that a propitious politico-economic situation encouraged people to migrate from village to town where they established their village church. The prime movers were influential lay members and enterprising evangelists of the EAC whose religious identity was expressed in a desire to maintain village values of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* (order, calm and respect) but who, socially, wanted to perpetuate opportunities for *maendeleo* (development) which included an assertion of their legitimacy in the new location. Second generation migrants criticised their parents' conservative religious ethos, desiring a Christian identity which reflected their national and urban identity. The chapter begins with an analysis of the general patterns of rural-urban migration in the area demonstrating where Anglican aspirations intersected with urban ambitions.

Migration

Many of them moved because of work. If one had done primary school at Boga one wanted work here in Kainama, but there is no work, one had to go to Oicha or Bunia, perhaps to find work there. Others moved because of *maendeleo*. They saw that to stay here, there is no road, no hospital, no market, so one moves to where the road is, to find work to do [in order] to develop. There are others who moved because of illness. When one is ill one goes to hospital in Oicha or Nyankunde, when one recovers one decides to stay there because to fall ill again and to return again is difficult. Many people from Kainama moved to Oicha, Beni because of this sort of situation. Others even went to Boga for

the same reasons, to be near a market... people carried things a long way, [to] Boga, Eringeti, [and] this pushed people to move.¹

Thus Musubaho Ndahahirwa, who left his home village of Kainama for education, and worked away from the village as school teacher and pastor until he returned on retirement, explains the internal migration of members of the EAC from the Semeliki escarpment to the towns. The reasons were not unusual: inequalities between rural and urban areas in economic prospects, educational advancement and health care provision encouraged people to move to the towns. The migratory path was not dramatic; some crossed the country to Kisangani and Kinshasa, but most remained within 150 km of their village of origin. They inhabited commercial towns like Bunia, Beni and Butembo, mining towns like Mongwalo and Makiki, and the towns of Nyankunde and Oicha built around mission hospitals. It was a gradual migration, which slowly depopulated villages changing the demographics of the area.

Migration during colonialism

Migration to towns began during the colonial era when urban settlements were established in greater numbers. The Belgians controlled which Congolese were allowed to settle in the *centres extra-coutumiers*,² those areas of town reserved for African workers, separated from European and business areas. Small numbers migrated in the 1920s and 1930s when colonial officials employed those who had literacy skills learnt in mission schools. Geresomu Kyamulesere, from Boga, demonstrates this pattern. He was encouraged into government service in Irumu after finishing school in 1944. From 1950 he was a salesman in Butembo and Beni. In 1955 he set up his own transport business between Bunia and Kisangani.³ Although there was no church policy linking migration with *maendeleo*, Congolese Anglicans

¹ Musubaho Ndahahirwa, Kainama, 5/10/00, [lines 442-453]: 'Wengi wao walihama kwa sababu ya kazi. Kama alipata masomo madogo kwa Boga alitaka kazi hapa Kainama lakini kazi hakuna, inamufaa aende Oicha ao Bunia labda apate kazi pale. Na wengine walihama kwa njia ya maendeleo. Waliona kubaki hapa, hakuna ndaki, hakuna hôpital, hakuna soko, kumbe ahame kwenye ndaki iko, apate kufanya kazi ya kuendelea. Kuna wengine walihama kwa sababu ya ugonjwa. Wakati aligonjwa anaenda ku hôpital Oicha ao Nyankunde, wakati alipona anafika kubaki pale kwa sababu kugonjwa tena na kurudi tena iko nguvu. Watu walikuwa wengi Kainama zaidi walihamia Oicha, Beni kwa sababu ya hali namna hii. Hata wengine wanakuwa Boga kwa njia hii tu, kupata kuwa karibu na soko... Watu walipeleka vitu mbale, Boga, Eringeti, hivi inasukuma watu kuhama.'

² Valdo Pons, *Stanleyville: An African Urban Community under Belgian Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1969: 35.

³ Geresomu Kyamulesere, Komanda, 21/9/00, [54-56].

were effectively prepared for this transition by acquiring skills taught in the church school for which there were greater employment opportunities outside the rural areas, and in secular rather than church work.⁴

The experience of Basimasi Kyakuhaire, encountered in Chapter One, emphasises what has been discovered in other studies,⁵ that the colonial administration favoured the employment of men in urban areas. About 1939 her husband found a job as a clerk in the mining areas of Nord-Kivu, Basimasi accompanied him and they both left their posts as *walimu*. The administration did not consider employing Basimasi, whose skills were identical, because she was a woman. Basimasi and her husband had held the same position in the Boga church but only men worked in administrative posts. Basimasi's public role was lost as a result of economic migration.⁶ Colonial bureaucracy adhered to conservative European gender roles and did not expect women to be employed outside the home.

Colonial relocation for labour or as a means of managing the population was another reason for migration. The first large movement of people from Kainama, the second EAC parish on the escarpment, occurred in this way. In the 1940s the Belgians forced thirty men and their families to move to Eringeti in order to work on a road that was to be constructed north through the forest to Bunia and Kisangani. This forced migration meant that Eringeti was the first town with a sizeable proportion of Anglicans in its population. Colonial policy also dictated which ethnic groups were more prevalent in the towns. Hema, Nande and Alur were considered by the Belgians to be more intelligent than the other peoples of the region and were therefore targeted for colonial employment.⁷

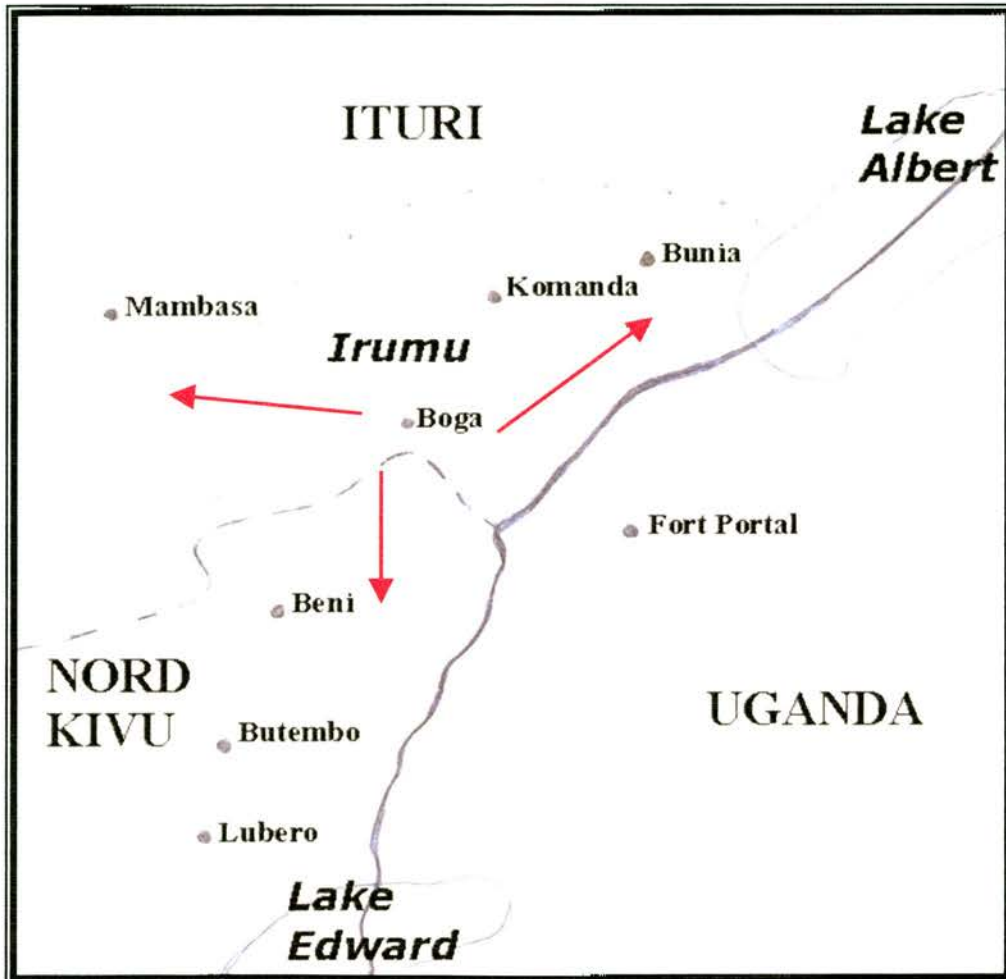
⁴ John Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: an African History 62-1992* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications), 1994: 274-275.

⁵ Ch. Didier Gondola, "Popular Music, Urban Society and Changing Gender Relations in Kinshasa (1950-1990)," in *Gendered Encounters: Challenging Cultural Boundaries and Social Hierarchies in Africa*, Maria Grosz-Ngaté and Omari Kokole, eds (New York: Routledge), 1997: 66-68; Pons, *Stanleyville*, 44.

⁶ Basimasi did not entirely abandon her church work. She helped a CBFMS evangelist to catechise a group of new Christians for a while.

⁷ Samba Kaputo, *Phénomène d'Ethnicité et Conflits ethno-politiques en Afrique post-coloniale* (Kinshasa: Presse Universitaires du Zaïre), 1982: 289-290.

Diagram of rural-urban migration from the Semeliki escarpment



Migration after independence

Between 1965 and 1975 there was more work in the towns, and rural-urban migration increased as a result. This was the period between the end of civil wars in Congo and the start of the economic regression caused in part by President Mobutu's *authenticité* policy. This policy called for a return to African culture and self-determination but included the nationalisation of private companies and the sudden take-over of erstwhile European enterprises by unprepared Congolese.⁸ The *Simba*

⁸ *Authenticité* later became *zaïreanisation*. It included changing the name of the country, river and money to Zaire. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila, A People's History*. (London: Zed Books), 2002: 172.

rebellion of 1964⁹ resulted in the displacement of rural people in North-east Congo to nearby towns in search of security.¹⁰ They found employment in trade, cash crops, gold-mining and public services. Statistics from Butembo, the most important commercial centre in North-east Congo, illustrate the economic growth of the first two decades of independence which encouraged migration from village to town. In 1961 the Congolese owned twelve shops in the town. Europeans or Asians owned the rest. Nineteen years later Congolese owned forty-eight of the fifty shops. In 1982 the population of Butembo was estimated at 100,000, three times its size in 1960.¹¹ Bunia's growth was comparable: in 1965 there were 22, 919 inhabitants, whereas 1980 figures recorded a resident population of 54,166.¹²

Many Anglicans were part of these statistics and it was during this time of urban growth that the EAC was established in towns. Few Anglicans became large-scale business people but several established themselves as petty traders, often maintaining commercial links with their home area. Others became school teachers, political party officials and so on, using the Christian education they had received in Boga and Kainama.

As educational opportunities became greater after independence, the village schools could not always keep pace. Many young people migrated from the village in order to further their education. Muhindo Tsongo explains her migration from Kainama:-

...I had to leave the village at ten years old because there wasn't a complete cycle [six years] at the primary school. That I achieved at Oicha. I was privileged to do the long cycle of humanities/teacher-training at Butembo in a school led by Catholic sisters...¹³

⁹ *Simbas* (lions) were the brutal and indisciplined rebel army of a faction of the *Conseil national de libération* (CNL) who tried to gain political power in 1964. *Ibid.*, 131-135.

¹⁰ Mawa Lekenî, "L'Exode des Lugbara vers Bunia de 1960 à nos Jours: les Facteurs déterminants," (Licence diss., ISP, Bunia), 1990: 45.

¹¹ Janet MacGaffey, "Long-distance Trade, Smuggling and the New Commercial Class: the Nande of North Kivu," in *Entrepreneurs and Parasites: The struggle for indigenous capitalism in Zaire*, Janet MacGaffey, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1987: 144 & 159.

¹² Muzuro Kana Wai, "Croissance de l'Eglise locale de la Communauté évangélique au Centre de L'Afrique, Section de Bunia," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB), 1982: 14.

¹³ Muhindo Tsongo, Edinburgh, 17/12/99, [5]; '...j'ai dû quitter le village à l'âge de dix ans parcequ' il n'avait pas un cycle complet de l'école primaire, que je suis venue achever à Oicha. J'ai eu le privilège d'aller faire mon cycle long d'humanité-pédagogique à Butembo dans une école dirigée par les soeurs catholiques...'

Her schooling not only introduced her to urban living but also to the two churches that ran the schools, CECA 20 at Oicha and the Roman Catholics. She was thus exposed to a different society from the isolated Anglican village in which she had spent her first years. Yet she, or her parents, were taking these migratory steps precisely because they were loyal members of the EAC that raised educational expectations beyond the resources at its disposal. *Maendeleo*, of the kind learnt in the EAC, seemed to be fully obtainable only in towns. The EAC had unintentionally provided an impetus for its members to migrate.

The educational and economic incentives to migrate were mixed with other aspirations. For example, Tsongo explains the benefits of urban relocation that she experienced not simply in terms of advancing knowledge but also of altering behaviour and worldview:

Studies make a big difference – and broad-mindedness. One accepts other tribes, one changes behaviour, one understands what’s going on.¹⁴

Broadmindedness - an appreciation of other cultures and peoples, an awareness of current events and a willingness to adapt to new situations – was a perceived benefit of town living. Towns offered not only potential monetary remuneration. They were also seen to provide incentives like status, liberty and influence beyond what one could expect in the socially stratified and culturally conservative village. Mawa Leken puts it thus:

... the urban centre became a symbol of individual advancement and freedom... to such an extent that towards the end of the colonial era nationalists viewed emancipation not simply in terms of political freedom but also [freedom] of man from the torments of ignorance, poverty and disease.¹⁵

These expectations of what urban life had to offer continued into independence until the 1990s as the towns continued to grow. The perceived opportunities of rural-urban migration correlated with the Anglican package in the escarpment villages; church, school and clinic were attempts to tackle ‘ignorance, poverty and disease’ but the opportunities and resources to do so were greater in the towns than the villages.

¹⁴ Muhindo Tsongo, Bristol, 10/04/00, [431-433]; ‘Les études font la grande différence -et le “broadmind”. On accepte d'autres tribus, on change de comportement, on comprend ce qui se passe.’

¹⁵ Mawa, “L'Exode des Lugbara”, 34. ‘le centre urbain est devenu un symbole de promotion et de libération individuelles... si bien que vers la fin de la période coloniale, les nationalistes conçoivent l’émancipation en terme de libération non seulement politique, mais aussi de l’homme des affres de l’ignorance, de la pauvreté et de la maladie.’

It is through such mundane migrations that a plethora of Christian denominations became active in the urban areas. It is apparent that the very structures and ideas introduced by the EAC fuelled the aspirations which led to urban migration. Education, health care and trade¹⁶ were centralised first around mission stations, like Boga, and then in the growing towns. The towns offered Anglicans the potential fulfilment of aspirations that had arisen with the Christianisation of their villages. The gospel in Anglican form was presented as part of a modernising package that included healthcare, education and employment, based on literacy and numeracy skills. The isolation of the villages and the marginal position of the EAC meant that relocation to a nearby town was an attractive option for those who were Christians. Urban life, however, presented many challenges to rural migrants. If the EAC had unwittingly made it easier for Anglicans to migrate it was also to provide a structure for urban adaptation, in which, paradoxically, religious identity was articulated in terms of rural tradition rather than modern skills. Although town life was considered advantageous village life was often remembered with nostalgia.¹⁷ An outline is presented below of the historical sequence of events and the influence of prominent members which led to the founding of the EAC in the towns of Irumu, Beni and Lubero *territoires*.

Establishing the EAC in towns

A few Christians from Boga had come here. And these Christians, even though they were few, very much wanted to have their own church. And this pushed the church to begin here. We sat in the... archdeaconry council, it decided to say I should come here. Straight away they sent me to begin the church here.¹⁸

So Munege Kabarole, evangelist, pastor and archdeacon of Bunia, explained the process by which, in 1970, the church in Bunia came into being. The pattern was a familiar one for the establishment of a new urban congregation of the EAC; the initiative was taken by lay people who migrated to the towns, it was accepted by

¹⁶ The *centre commercial* of Boga was situated next to the 'mission' and operated separately from it, but the presence of the church, schools and clinic aided trade.

¹⁷ Pons, *Stanleyville*, 51.

¹⁸ Munege Kabarole, Bunia, 13/09/00, [206-210]: 'Wakristo moja moja wa Boga walikuwa hapa. Na wale Wakristo, hata walikuwa wachache, walihitaji sana kuwa na kanisa yao. Na ile ilisukuma kanisa kuanza hapa. Na tuliketi ndani ya ... conseil ya archidiacone, iliwaza kusema nifike hapa. Na mara moja wakanituma kuanza kanisa hapa...'

church authorities in Boga, and a trained evangelist was dispatched from Boga to begin work.

In the 1960s there were already small numbers of people from the escarpment in towns meeting occasionally together as a group. On Sunday mornings, however, they attended either the local Roman Catholic church or, more commonly, the local Protestant church - CECA 20, IM, CBK or CEBCE,¹⁹ depending on which town they inhabited. The Anglican administration in Boga retained links with its migrant members by collecting their remittances and providing occasional religious rites. In Bunia in 1962, 1964, 1968 and 1969 Nasanairi Mukasa, the long-term missionary from Uganda, baptised the children of Anglican migrants.²⁰ These migrants urged the authorities in Boga to plant Anglican churches in their towns but throughout the 1960s plans were stymied until the small groups of Anglicans had gained local government permission, land and a church worker. There was no willingness to launch an Anglican congregation without either support from Boga or governmental approval.

When the first church in Bunia was established there were perhaps thirty members in all, and only about six women meeting regularly in the Mothers' Union. Ten years later over 100 people attended each Sunday.²¹ In 1980 the Archdeaconry of Bunia was inaugurated and Munege, who was pastor in Bunia at the time, became the Archdeacon. By this time there were parishes in Komanda and Mafifi with churches in other *territoires* as far away as Mahagi, Aru and Mambasa. Bunia parish itself had sub-parishes at Bogoro and Kasenyi, each sub-parish having several chapels.

In Nord-Kivu province the church at Eringeti, in Beni *territoire*, was the first to be established outside the area recognised as Anglican by missionary comity. In the late 1960s two groups of Anglicans were meeting, one in a chapel in nearby Mafutabangi,²² the other in the house of Batowana Isaac in Eringeti itself. Katara Samson, the pastor of Kainama parish, responded to these groups in 1970 by sending

¹⁹ See Chapter One, 45-50 for details of these Protestant churches.

²⁰ Kyamulesere Geresomu, Komanda, 21/09/00, [62-85].

²¹ The earliest surviving record of weekly church attendance dates from 1981. During this year attendance fluctuated between 95 (the Sunday after Christmas) and 320 (Christmas Day) with between 47 and 128 taking communion. BP *Chuo Cha Ibada*, Cité church.

²² Mufutabangi is in Province Orientale rather than Nord-Kivu. CECA 20, under whose religious jurisdiction Eringeti fell, had long opposed the establishment of another Protestant Church in the area.

evangelist Kibwangana Samuel to build up the congregation and construct a chapel.²³ In Butembo the daughter of Basimasi Kyakuhaire, Mahirani Melena, and her husband, Obadia Mustum, returned to the plan, which had been thwarted in 1939,²⁴ of establishing an Anglican church in the town. Discussions began as early as 1965 with Nasanairi Mukasa and Samweli Makerere, whom Mahirani invited back to Butembo to help found an Anglican chapel there over 30 years after his first attempt. By 1969²⁵ three families were meeting together and Mahirani and others were preaching in the market. A report was sent to Boga requesting an evangelist and Lukambula Kihandasikiri, originally from Kainama, was sent to work in Butembo from 1971.²⁶ Once the EAC had a foothold in Nord-Kivu there was an explosion of little chapels that sprang up along the towns on the main road between Eringeti and Butembo and near the Ugandan border. In 1974 the first archdeaconry in Nord-Kivu opened with its centre in Beni.

Whilst these small urban chapels were mushrooming, significant administrative changes in the EAC were taking place. In 1972 impetus was given to the spread of the church by the inauguration of the first Anglican diocese in Congo.²⁷ Its headquarters were in Boga and its Bishop was CMS missionary, Philip Ridsdale.²⁸ This gave the EAC greater national autonomy, enabling it to address Congolese issues more effectively. In 1976 the churches in Nord-Kivu came under the jurisdiction of a new diocese based in Bukavu.²⁹ Their Bishop was Bezaleri Ndahura, a well-travelled, well-educated schools' inspector with a strong nationalist bent. Originally from Boga, he had already influenced the introduction of the EAC in Kisangani and in Maniema. He and Ridsdale wanted to see the EAC spread throughout Congo. They saw the strategic importance of having an Anglican presence in urban centres so they responded to the urban migration which had taken

²³ Musubaho Ndagaliwa, *L'Eglise Anglicane au Zaïre* (n.p.), 1988: 26.

²⁴ Chapter One, 51.

²⁵ DNK, NK960000.1

²⁶ DBk, *Bref Aperçu historique de l'Eglise Anglicane, Diocese de Bukavu*, doc. BK951218, 3.

²⁷ It is estimated that the EAC had 30,000 members in 14 parishes in 1972. PRP 'Report on Visit of Miss Diana Witts to the Dioceses of Boga and Bukavu, Zaïre, October 1979 – May 1980.' 7.

²⁸ Philip and his wife, Lucy, were the first white missionaries to work in the EAC for twelve years.

²⁹ It is estimated that there were 180,000 EAC members in 1976, many joining from non-ECC denominations. PRP 'Report on Visit of Miss Diana Witts,' 7.

place and gave support to local initiatives. Their interest gave greater impetus to migrant members and lay church workers who established Anglican chapels in the Congolese towns of the 1970s.

Wakristo

It has been noted that, as colonial policy favoured the employment of teachers and clerks, the best students of the mission schools went to secular employment rather than church work.³⁰ This is certainly true of the rural EAC, but, as the establishment of urban chapels shows, their loyalty remained with their village church and they wanted to see it transplanted in the urban setting. Most first members of Anglican chapels in towns were those who had grown up in the traditional Anglican area above the Semeliki escarpment. Those who requested a church worker and supported his work were the elite of the Anglican migrants, businessmen, traders, professionals, who had been educated in the Boga and Kainama schools. In the absence of the EAC they attended other denominations but retained loyalty to the church in which they were baptised. Most of them also had close personal connections with Apolo Kivebulaya. Some had been his catechists for a time. Others remembered being baptised by him. This personal loyalty cemented commitment to the home church. Tsongo Kima's father, Stefano Kima, who started ministry as one of 'Apolo's boys' is an example of longstanding loyalty to the EAC.

... During all that period my father preached at CECA 20. Of course he wasn't given any position but he was given some opportunities to preach. But from the arrival of the Anglican church in Oicha my whole family rejoined the church.³¹

Having participated in CECA 20 at Oicha, where he lived following hospital treatment, he and his family welcomed the EAC to Oicha about 1974 at the expense of their relations with the CECA 20 community and in breach of the comity agreements established by foreign missionaries. In 1978 he was ordained and became the first priest of the EAC in the parish of Mbau which included within it the chapel at Oicha.

³⁰ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa from Antiquity to the Present*, (London: SPCK), 1995: 238.

³¹ Tsongo Kima, Kampala, 29/07/00, [193-197]; '...pendant toute cette période là mon père prêchait à la CECA 20. Bien sur on ne lui a pas donné une fonction quelconque mais lui ont accordé quelques occasions de prêcher. Mais dès l'arrivée de l'Eglise anglicane à Oicha c'est toute ma famille qui a regagné l'Eglise.'

Geresomu Kyamulesere has already been mentioned. Kasuna Tingoli is another example. A Nyali from the forest area of Bwakadi, Kasuna's up-bringing in a Christian family made him a migrant from birth and instilled into him aspirations unobtainable in the escarpment villages. He was actually born at Kamango on the Semeliki plain in 1938 where his father, who had been trained by Apolo Kivebulaya, was working as a catechist among the Talinga. Kasuna went to school in Kainama and Boga, during which time he was baptised and confirmed. He was one of a few from the Boga school to be sent for six years prior to independence to Aungba teacher training school run by CECA 20. For three years afterwards he taught at the Anglican school in Bukiringi, north of Boga. His good qualifications, gained as a result of his church connections, made a move from Anglican village school to urban state school almost inevitable at this time. He took teaching posts in Bunia and Djugu but in 1965 he chose a political career with Mobutu's *Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution*, working between Bunia and Kisangani. He knew Kyamulesere and, like him, was keen to establish an EAC chapel in Bunia. When Munege arrived in 1970 Kasuna paid his salary for the first year and became "Head of the Christians"³² in the new chapel until about 1976.³³ His wife, Evasta Kasuna, was for many years the leader of the Mothers' Union. As Kasuna's story demonstrates a drift into secular occupation did not necessarily entail a loss of commitment to the EAC. Indeed, it was the continuing commitment of such people that facilitated the spread of the EAC beyond its traditional borders. Although in towns they were taking advantage of opportunities unavailable to them in rural settings, they continued to identify strongly with the lifestyle of their home villages. For them the EAC provided a focal point for the transition from the rural milieu to the urban.

Walimu and wangelizi

African ecclesiastical history has long recognised the vital role of lay workers in the development of the African Church.³⁴ Their place in the growth of the EAC is no

³² *Mukubwa wa wakristo* or head of Christians is a position inherited from Uganda. He (I know of no women who have this role) represents the members of a diocese, parish or chapel at meetings with church authorities, organises events and self-financing projects, and looks after the material well-being of the church workers. He can contact higher authorities if the conduct of the church worker is considered inappropriate. Personal communication, Titre Ande, 08/01/03

³³ Kasuna Tingoli, Bunia, 16/08/00 [1-49].

³⁴ Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists, the spread of Christianity in Uganda: 1891-1914* (London: Rex Collings), 1978 is one example.

exception. Adrian Hastings description of African catechists in villages up until the 1950s is true of Congolese Anglican *walimu* (catechists) and *wangalizi* (evangelists) in towns in the 1970s:

The catechists continued to represent in the context of innumerable villages *Ecclesia Catholica*, the universal fellowship of Christians, as well as literary modernity, the three R's in fact: Reading, Writing and Religion. He was not entirely local. Catechists might be moved. They might even have a bicycle. Almost unpaid by the church they often supported themselves by trade unless they were doubling as teachers... A few would be promoted. To us they stand for the local. To their people, and even to themselves, they stood for and were linked with a world of religious and secular power, the world of the bishop, of a cathedral... They visited their diocesan headquarters from time to time, and the way things were there was the way things should be in the village too.³⁵

Hasting's appreciation of catechists as the link between different locations is particularly true of the urban lay workers in the EAC. They were all from the escarpment area, and many were from Boga. They were the bridge between town and village, between a small newly-formed chapel, the diocese and ultimately the Anglican Communion and, as explained in Chapter One, were accorded the *heshima* of those who mediated between humanity and the divine. At the request of EAC members in towns, they were appointed by the diocese, and their individual identity was closely associated with the identity of the church in which they worked, as one example will demonstrate.

Sibanza Buleta from Kainama worked in a number of urban and rural settings in Nord-Kivu, eventually being ordained and becoming Archdeacon of Watalinga and then of Rwenzori. In interview, he attributed his affection for the EAC to his parents who were prominent early members. He was baptised in the EAC in the late 1930s and experienced Christian conversion in it.³⁶ Like all church workers in the 1960s and 1970s he was trained in Boga as 'first letter' then 'second letter' *mwalimu*. Later, he studied in Uganda for his 'third letter' *mwangalizi* course and pastors course.³⁷ The Anglicanism he introduced to Mumole, Beni and other places was intended to be a replica of what he had learnt in the villages on the escarpment, which was in turn an attempt to copy the Church of Uganda and thus the Church of England. In this, for

³⁵ Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450 - 1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1994: 581.

³⁶ Sibanza Buleta, Kainama, 05/10/00, [222-224].

³⁷ *Walimu* study courses called 'first and second letter'. *Wangalizi* study 'third letter'. The 'fourth letter' course is taken prior to being ordained deacon and then priest.

the people he worked amongst, he represented the wider Anglican world. Ironically, in Congo the 'wider Anglican world' was most immediately accessed in the isolated villages of the escarpment. Those who had migrated to the 'wider Congolese world' found themselves distanced from the Anglicanism with which they had grown-up and it was incumbent upon church workers like Sibanza to ensure urban Anglicans retained proper Anglican rites and practices. Centralised appointments were desired by both migrants and church authorities as a way of maintaining Anglican identity.

As a church worker Sibanza was peregrinatory, working in different locations, moving among the chapels or parishes under his care and establishing new ones by responding to requests or seeking out Anglicans who had moved to particular locations.

First we did evangelism, to see the believers [already] there, we baptised them, we taught them and there we would want to build a church...³⁸

Like other church workers, he worked locally to build up the church, visiting homes, offices and markets explaining the Christian faith, and, where there was enough interest, establishing other chapels. Building a church meant obtaining permission from local authorities and, to this end, he was careful to gain approval of the chief before going further than the first evangelistic encounter.

The *walimu* and *wangalizi* of the 1970s knew the Anglican *utaratibu* - Prayer Book, catechism, hierarchical structures - and the *upole* and *heshima* with which they were observed. They were committed by belief and profession to retaining the identity of the EAC as they knew it. They worked to keep the Anglican identity, forged on the escarpment, present in the towns in the 1970s.

Legitimacy

There weren't many people, you know, because some saw that the Catholics were first, [thus] other denominations were liars, were bad prophets. So the Anglican church suffered a lot, people mistrusted it greatly. Slowly, slowly... they joined.³⁹

³⁸ Sibanza Buleta, [215-216]: 'Tulikuwa nafanya kwanza évangelisation mpata kuona waamini wanakuwa pale tunawabatiza tunawafundisha na pale ndiyo tutahitaji kufungua kanisa...'

³⁹ Evasta Kasuna, Bunia, 16/09/00, [99-100]: 'Watu kabisa hakukuwa, unajua, kama wengine waliona dini ya Catholique iko ya kwanza, [dini] wengine ni wongo, ni nebi mbaya. Alafu kanisa Anglican iliteseka sana, waliizarau sana. Pole pole, pole pole... waliingia.'

Evasta Kasuna described the way in which the Anglican chapel in Bunia was regarded by on-lookers in the early days. It was not considered a proper church; its message was untrue, its messengers perverted the proper models of church leadership. As outlined in Chapter One, from its early years the shadow of illegitimacy hung over the EAC. It threatened again when the EAC established itself in a new location. The quashing of the Anglican church in Butembo in 1939 remained in the corporate memory of the EAC as a warning of the consequences of illegal actions.⁴⁰ Anglicans needed legal recognition from the local government to avoid persecution. Anglicans wanted to be respected in the bureaucratic realm of the towns. Thus legitimacy was a matter of state approval as much as ecclesiastical integrity, these two dimensions being equally highly regarded.

After independence, in a deliberate reversal of colonial law, religious freedom was permitted on the condition that religious groups respected public order.⁴¹ This proviso was strictly defined during the Mobutu regime. As in colonial times, the government feared political opinion being expressed in religious movements and so resisted the spread of African Initiated Churches and Pentecostal groups, lumping them together under the dismissive description of 'sectes'.⁴² Churches, therefore, had to be recognised by the state, and their orthodoxy in Congo was finally understood not according to doctrinal belief but according to possession of a *personnalité civile*, the legal document that allowed a particular denomination to operate inside the country. For Protestants this was only granted if they were a member *communauté* of the umbrella organisation, the *Eglise de Christ au Congo (ECC)*, which had been created in March 1970 from the Congo Protestant Council (CPC).⁴³ Despite these strictures the State allowed ECC members to work outside the territory allotted to them by missionary policy.

The EAC, like most Protestant churches in Congo, was quietist in its political stance, aiming to maintain cordial relations with civic authority so that it would be allowed to operate unhindered in the religious and social sphere. As newcomers to the urban

⁴⁰ Chapter One, 50.

⁴¹ Philippe Kabongo-Mbaya, *L'Eglise du Christ au Zaïre: Formation et adaptation d'un protestantisme en situation de dictature*. (Paris: Karthala), 1992: 208.

⁴² Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The Bakongo of Lower Zaïre*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press), 1986: 248.

⁴³ Kabongo-Mbaya, *L'Eglise du Christ au Zaïre*, 218.

scene members wanted to fit in and the close association between church and chief learnt from Boga enabled them to respond appropriately to state demand. *Utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*, qualities of Anglicanism in the rural areas, were natural complements of legitimacy and bureaucracy. These qualities were encouraged by the Mobutu regime in opposition to the 'sectes' whose perceived lack order and respect made them appear potentially subversive. This situation engendered the adoption of attitudes to governance similar to those prevalent in the independent nation-state.

Ecclesiastical legitimacy was both internal and external. If it would have been politically dangerous for Anglican migrants to consider the occasional meetings they held in the 1960s as being 'church', it would also have been seen as disrespectful of ecclesiastical authorities in Boga. There was no attempt to form a congregation without a *walimu* from the EAC headquarters in Boga; to have done so would have signalled a religious independency that they did not desire. Their aim was to maintain ties with the Boga church and the Anglican Communion. For Anglican migrants the arrival of trained *walimu* was a significant sign of internal ecclesiastical legitimacy, in other words, a sign of *utaratibu* and *heshima*. Catechists knew the Prayer Book and catechism, they knew the Boga rites, and were officially committed to the EAC.

The Anglican migrants wanted to obtain recognition from members of the local Protestant church and the Catholic church. This external ecclesiastical legitimacy came slowly and sometimes grudgingly. For outside observers sceptical of the legitimacy of the EAC it was the arrival of a priest, often called *pasteur* or *kasisi*, which frequently reassured them. In the early 1970s Nasanairi Mukasa sacramentally perpetuated connections between the new urban chapels and the traditional rural centres of Anglicanism by celebrating communion and marriages in places as distant from his own parish near Boga as Butembo and Bunia, until they gained their own ordained priests. However, Evasta Kasuna noted a significant change in the Bunia church once the first permanent pastor, Beni Bataaga, arrived.

...they began to follow the pastor who drew people in... during his time there the people became many.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Evasta Kasuna, [95-98] '...walianza kufuatana na pasteur, pasteur mwenyewe alivuta watu... wakati yake watu walikuwa wengi.'

The fact that Bataaga was an ordained pastor, representing the authority of the EAC, gave the church legitimacy in the eyes of observers. For those who already knew of the EAC his presence showed that the church authorities were prepared to invest in the new congregation. For those who knew little of the EAC he demonstrated that this was no new '*secte*', with dubious credentials, outlawed by the State. Legitimacy, the bureaucratic outworking of *heshima* and *utaratibu*, was ultimately conferred on the urban EAC chapels with the establishment of a parish and the subsequent arrival of an ordained pastor. Here is another paradox. *Wakristo* and *walimu* were instrumental in the urban spread of the EAC but ultimately the urban EAC was only properly considered legitimate when an ordained pastor was in place. Pastors sent from Boga upheld the EAC identity of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*, which was precisely what migrants required.

Utaratibu, upole and heshima

Maendeleo was the aspiration that Anglicans acquired in their village churches. It encouraged them to migrate to the towns. Paradoxically, when they established the urban EAC chapels they articulated most strongly a desire to retain *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*. It is to their articulations of attachment to the EAC that we now turn to understand the altering identities of the urban Anglican migrants and their church, as the tensions between tradition and modernity were negotiated between different generations in the towns.

There in Butembo they didn't know how to pray and to kneel, this is what I introduced slowly into the Butembo church - our praying, the law of the church is like this.⁴⁵

As Mahirani Melena illustrates here, it was important for Anglican migrants that correct practice in worship be maintained in the towns. In the previous chapter it was noted that the EAC was successful on the escarpment because it retained and incorporated into its worship and leadership structure values already present in society and particularly in corporate religious acts. The values of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* were emblematic of Anglican worship. Migrants believed that respectful adherence to solemn rites as practised on the escarpment should be

⁴⁵ Mahirani Melena, Komanda, 21/09/00,[391-393]; 'Pale Butembo hawakuwa kujua kulomba na kupiga migoti, ni hii ndiyo niliingisha pole kwa kanisa la Butembo - kulomba yetu iko hii, sheria ya kanisa.'

replicated in towns. Alterations for a different context were not considered. Mbusa Bangau, originally from Kainama, describes what his parents' generation preferred:

Our parents, the elders, were used to worship in quietness, in meditation, they liked listening reverently. If there's too much movement it seems strange to them.⁴⁶

Those Anglicans from the escarpment villages who migrated to towns expected to see these attributes in the life of the urban EAC chapels replicating the ethos and rites of their old village church. They considered them an integral part of EAC identity.

From the outset Anglican migrants required that urban Anglican chapels be modelled upon and structurally linked with the central Boga church. They followed the hierarchical system of church workers and the *Book of Common Prayer*. The liturgy was followed in a steady and measured way. It was led entirely by the *mwaliimu* or *mwangalizi* whose dress set him apart from the congregation and symbolised his position in the hierarchical order. The congregation participated where stated, reading the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and perhaps the Gloria, a Psalm and responses.⁴⁷ The hymns, sung slowly with little obvious rhythm, were from *Nyimbo za Mungu*, a translated collection of British and American hymns used by Protestant churches in the area.⁴⁸ They listened to the Old and New Testament readings, the sermon and the prayers. There was no expectation of spontaneous participation. Morning Prayer was the norm. Each pastor had several churches to visit and Holy Communion was infrequent. The Prayer Book was perceived to express *utaratibu* and *upole*. Congregational participation demonstrated *heshima*. They were happy to continue with slow, quiet services retaining this close association with their culture of origin. This was what they owned, this was part of what made them feel at home in a new place. Evasta Kasuna, for example, was delighted when the EAC started in Bunia because she had found the CECA 20 services 'confusing,' and was pleased to return to that with which she was familiar.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Mbusa Bangau, Kampala, 28/07/00, [301-304]; 'Nos parents, les vieux, étaient habitués à adorer dans la douceur, dans la méditation, ils aimaient le recueillement. Là où il y a trop de mouvement pour eux c'est quelque chose étrange.'

⁴⁷ Tsongo Kima, [131-137].

⁴⁸ Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood, "'One Day we will Sing in God's Home': Hymns and Songs in the Anglican Church in North-east Congo (DRC)," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, 1-2 (2004), 147-148.

⁴⁹ Evasta Kasuna, [85].

These familiar practices were continued in Sunday worship for about two decades. When Kamayura Chwa arrived in Bunia from Boga ten years later in 1980, she found church worship similar to what she had left in Boga. There were no musical instruments, no actions or movement during singing.⁵⁰

The practice of this solemn, respectful worship was reinforced by the memory of the role of Apolo Kivebulaya who had been the conduit through whom the Anglican church developed its escarpment character. An ecclesiastical myth had developed around Apolo; Anglicans were proud of him and looked back to his precedence. One interviewee mimicked this reverence for Apolo, ‘...he’s very important because, “Oh, this is where Apolo arrived, this is where he died,” and so on’.⁵¹ When Mahirani Melena taught the Anglicans in Butembo how to kneel to pray in accordance with the ‘law of the church’ she believed she was following Apolo who had baptised her and taught both her parents to be *walimu*. If Apolo was believed to have introduced something, it was sacred, not to be altered. Such was the strength of this myth that elements of tradition were assumed to be instigated by him if there was no other obvious reason for their continuity.⁵² Those who established the EAC in urban areas saw themselves as replicating the familiar religious patterns of home and also of carrying forward the ethos of ‘Saint Apolo’, of doing things according to his rubric. Since his church was part of the world wide Anglican Communion, it was assumed that this tradition was a copy of a global Anglicanism. The EAC in the towns was small and marginal in the 1970s. To be aware that this position belied connection with a much larger organisation gave its members a sense of satisfaction and, at times, a feeling of superiority over other Protestant churches. They found solace in their values and rites from the village and were proud of the wider connections they signalled. In continuing the ecclesiastical myth of Apolo, Congolese Anglicans were claiming that the EAC was both an indigenous church and a global church. They were also adhering to rural Anglican tradition rather than instigating change.

⁵⁰ Kamayura and Isingoma Chwa, Bunia, 23/09/00, [68, 91, 97].

⁵¹ Irene Bahemuka, Boga, 30/09/00, [387-390]; ‘...on met beaucoup d’importance, parce que, ‘Oh, ici, c’est là où Apolo est entré, et c’est là où Apolo est mort,’ ainsi de suite.’

⁵² Damali Sabiti, (Mukono, 20/10/00, [463]) assumed, erroneously, that the reason there were few women catechists in 2000 was because Apolo Kivebulaya did not permit it. ‘

Migration had been stimulated by the desire for *maendeleo* propounded on the escarpment by the EAC. However, this was not the primary concern for migrants in establishing an urban church. It seems contradictory, therefore, that those who gained most from EAC *maendeleo* most fervently articulated their desire for the *utaratibu* and *upole* of village values and were disinclined to encourage ecclesiastical *maendeleo* beyond certain limits. In interview the reasons given for this conservative stance centred around the issues of family and village ties and familiarity.

The place of their fathers

I was born in this church, so I love this church that I was born in, and when we saw it had come here [to Bunia] we were happy because a person must love the house and the place of [their] father, of [their] parents.⁵³

Here is a typical expression of strong attachment to the Anglican church as a connection with the speaker's origins, an affirmation of the connection between family ties, place of origin and denominational loyalty. It was made by Rwakaikara André, who had left Boga as a teenager but whose attachment to the place and the culture of his birth remained firm. A trader who had worked near Irumu for over twenty years and worshipped at the Immanuel Brethren Church, he moved to Bunia in 1976 and soon after took over from Kusuna as "Head of the Christians" in the EAC.

His affirmation that, 'there is one word of God' and 'one Jesus'⁵⁴ allowed him to attend another denomination but he was adamant that during his years at Immanuel he remained faithful to the EAC. Not to do so would have shown disloyalty and flightiness of character. Munege Kabarole acknowledged the desirable characteristic of constancy, using a metaphor of home,

I was born in this church, I grew up in this church, and now I am in it. So it's my home, I can't leave to go to another house, or keep changing to find another place because there is [only] one faith.⁵⁵

⁵³ Rwakaikara André, Bunia, 23/09/00, [268]: '...mimi nilizaliwa ndani ya kanisa yenyewe, sasa nipende (sic) ile kanisa yangu nilizaliwa ndani, na wakati tuliona inafika oku, tulifurahi kwa sababu mutu anapasha kupenda nyumba na fasi ya baba, ya wazazi.'

⁵⁴ Ibid., 'Neno la Mungu ni moja tu' [92], 'Yesu ni moja' [97].

⁵⁵ Munege Kabarole, [470]: '... nilizaliwa kwa kanisa ile, ninakomea ndani ya kanisa ile, na sasa niko ndani. Basi, iko kwa nyumba, siwezi kutoka kuenda kwa nyumba ingine ao kutangatanga kutafuta fasi ingine kwani imani ni moja.'

It is significant that people likened their affiliation to a church since birth to remaining in the same home. One may have moved house and settled in town but attachment to one's place of origin was expressed in a religious affiliation that the comfort and familiarity expected of 'home'. The very fact that all Christian denominations were seen to be preaching the same essential message made a nonsense of permanently joining a different church. Munge also said that those Anglicans who worship in other denominations, '... see themselves a bit like refugees [when] in other places.'⁵⁶ For Anglicans other denominations did not have the familiarity of home; they felt alien, distant from their parents and the culture in which they were brought up. Whilst many migrants chose to leave home they did not want to abandon all associations with the place of their birth.

Confirming the centrality of the home metaphor for denominational identity is the emphasis on '*our* church' which appears frequently in interviews. It speaks of the collective ownership of a way of worship and a structure of faith. Migrants established a church, or joined it once it was established in a particular place, because it was *their* church. Tito Balinda, the first Archdeacon of Beni, says:

...when their church came they went back to their church. They saw that there [CECA 20] was not their church, it wasn't, so they left other churches. When we [church workers] arrived they were very happy because they [could] return to their home.⁵⁷

For those who had grown up on the Semeliki escarpment there was a close relationship between their traditional social system and the EAC. The EAC was *their* church, the church of their household, their home. Such strength of attachment demonstrates the success of indigenisation in Boga and Kainama. All the associations of family ties, comfort, security, familiarity and tradition were found in the Anglican identity of these migrants. Those who migrated, established or joined an Anglican congregation, rather than observing their Christian faith in another denomination, because it linked them with their village of origin. Migrants did not want their church experience to be different to that which they were already accustomed. They found succour in tradition. They desired a familiar religious home

⁵⁶ Munge Kaberole, [237] 'Wanjiona kama wako un peu refugiés fasi ingine.'

⁵⁷ Tito Balinda, Boga, 02/10/00, [144-146]; '... wakati kanisa lao ilifika walirudi kwa kanisa lao. Wakaona kule haikukuwa kanisa lao, haikukuwa, ndiyo walikuwa waliacha kwa kanisa zingine. Wakati tulifika walifurahi sana sababu wana rudi kwao.'

manifesting familiar values in order to connect them with the place and the people from which they had moved. *Maendeleo* may have provided the impetus for urban migration but, for first generation Anglican migrants, loyalty to the EAC was maintained by focusing on the village values of *utaratibu*, *uhuru* and *heshima* now enshrined in Anglican practice.

Second generation migrants.

The prominence of the escarpment tradition of *heshima*, *upole* and *utaratibu* was soon contested among the urban EAC members. The children of migrants were also members of the emerging chapels but they experienced the urban EAC rather differently from their parents. They did this because, as second generation migrants, they were more at home in towns than in their parents' village. They had more fully adapted to the urban milieu and assimilated an urban identity than their parents. Three identity features of towns in North-east Congo are particularly pertinent to the development of an urban EAC, and merit discussion; nationalism, multi-ethnicity and generation difference.

Nationalism became increasingly prominent as an added layer of identity for the people of North-east Congo during the 1970s.⁵⁸ It was part of the ideology of the Mobutu regime, whose centralised government was based on a narrative cultural pride aimed to inculcate national unity through a return to 'authentic' African ideas centred around the cult of the leader.⁵⁹ Its aim was to rid the country of Eurocentric ideas.⁶⁰ Time demonstrated the corruption of Mobutu's regime, the difficulty of manufacturing 'African culture' and the instability of its economic policies.⁶¹ The sense of belonging to a proudly independent nation, rich in resources and culture ('Notre beau pays – le Zaïre')⁶² endured. Mbusa explains how those living on the Semeliki escarpment close to the border with Uganda changed their 'outlook' in one

⁵⁸ Ndaywel é Nziem, Isidore, *Histoire Générale du Congo: De l'héritage ancien à la République Démocratique* (Paris: De Boeck & Larcier), 1998: 718.

⁵⁹ Kevin Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: the International Relations of Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2003: 112-113.

⁶⁰ Ndaywel é Nziem, *Histoire Générale*, 706.

⁶¹ Winsome Leslie, *Zaire: Continuity and Political Change in an Oppressive State* (Colorado: Westview), 1993: 104-105.

⁶² One of Mobutu's oft chanted slogans.

generation, increasingly looking westwards to the Congo nation for their wider orientation and identity.

I would say that during our parents' era they felt closer to the Ugandan people than to the people of Congo. That's the period before independence, even some years after independence, maybe three or four years. At present we feel more at ease with other Congolese than foreigners. President Mobutu, he had actually left positive elements. The element in which he was successful was the unification of all peoples, all these tribes which are found in the country.⁶³

In Mbusa's assessment, Mobutu's centralist, nationalist policy provided an alternative identity in which Congolese peoples felt united in a common nation state. It was particularly attractive to the rapidly growing towns where there was a mix of ethnicities, languages and cultures. Thus the post-independence years saw a shift in the understanding of corporate identity.

Ethnic identity was only one element in establishing oneself in the growing town. Samba Kaputo in his detailed study of the Ituri province⁶⁴ argues that differentiation between groups was as likely to result from socio-economic factors like employment as ethnicity. Urban identity was being constructed along social and economic lines according to the employment offered by the towns. North-east Congo is an ethnically heterogeneous area.⁶⁵ Migrants came from most of the ethnic groups represented in the region, with no single ethnic group having numerical dominance. The towns of Irumu *territoire* and Nord-Kivu had many migrants who mixed together and created a new society in the process.⁶⁶

Another characteristic of this new urban society was an increase in the 'generation gap'. There has always been tension between the young, desirous of influence, and their seniors who enjoyed traditional status;⁶⁷ in towns these tensions were

⁶³ Mbusa Bangau, [622-629]: 'Je dirais que à l'époque de nos parents, nos parents se sentaient plus proche au peuple Ougandais que le peuple de Congo. Ca c'est la période avant l'indépendance, même quel-ques années après l'indépendance, un peu près trois ou quatre ans. Actuellement, nous nous sentons plus à l'aise avec les autres congolais que les étrangers. Avec le Président Mobutu, il a quand même laissé des éléments positifs. L'élément qu'il a réussi c'est l'unification de tous les peuples, toutes ces tribus qui se trouvent dans le pays.'

⁶⁴ Samba, *Phénomène d'Ethnicité et Conflits ethno-politiques*, 408.

⁶⁵ See Introduction, 11.

⁶⁶ Butembo is an exception to this. The town has a large Nande majority.

⁶⁷ Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 5-7.

exacerbated. The first generation migrants negotiated the nationalism and multi-ethnicity of the towns in the workplace but resisted them in the church. They generally retained their rural language and culture, and their primary identification was with their society of origin. Worshipping in the EAC was a return to the rural, ethnic and familial. Most of them could be described as migrant workers, who maintained 'the rural-urban continuum' and continued 'spiritual and economic communion with their villages.'⁶⁸ Their children, on the other hand, had generally undergone a process of urbanisation. They were deruralised and detribalised,⁶⁹ being removed from their ancestral escarpment tradition. In certain circumstances they emphasised their ethnic loyalty but they were less observant of its customs and rules than their parents. They were likely to be more fluent in Swahili, to enjoy the music from Kinshasa and to appreciate the faster, more cosmopolitan pace of urban life. Their culture was in many ways a national one and they wished to see it acknowledged in church. They were more 'at home' in the towns and found Anglican services dull and uninspiring. As the EAC established itself in the urban areas during the 1970s these urban identity issues of nationalism, multi-ethnicity and generational difference were played out within the church.

A cold church

Irene Bahemuka, the daughter of Rwakaikara, was twelve when she moved to Bunia in 1976. Prior to this she too had worshipped in the Brethren Church near Irumu. She remembers her disquiet when her father sent her to the EAC.

I found that there were only Hema. Really [it was] very cold compared to what I had experienced in the Emmanuel community. Well, I didn't know Anglican (sic). There was always a leaning towards Catholic things, and so on.⁷⁰

Ethnocentric, formal, unfriendly and, in liturgy and structure, rather too close to the Roman Catholic Church for Irene's Brethren sensibilities - in her remembered assessment of the EAC identity in the 1970s she understood the village values differently to her father.

⁶⁸ Ali Mazrui and Alamin Mazrui, *Swahili State and Society: The Political Economy of an African language*. (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers), 1995: 66.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 & 66.

⁷⁰ Irene Bahemuka [97-102]; '... j'ai trouvé qu'il y avait seulement les Hema. Vraiment très froid avec ce que je vivais dans la communauté Emmanuel. Bon, je ne connaissais pas l'Anglican. Il y avait toujours tendance à des choses catholiques, ainsi de suite.'

Ethnocentric

Irene Bahemuka was uncomfortable with the close association between ethnicity and denomination. In Irumu *territoire* the EAC's identity was closely associated with the ethnic group that had maintained its presence in Congo for 80 years. The traditional understanding of the solemn performance of religious rites by family heads⁷¹ in Boga affected urban worship and did not encourage non-Hema to participate. To those unfamiliar with the service it seemed 'cold' and uninspiring. It was known as the Hema church - an appellation which, whilst largely but never entirely true, had some unfortunate connotations for observers. Androsi Kasima, a Ngiti brought up in the Catholic church, assumed that when people talked of the 'Banyamboga religion' they were referring to the ancestor worship of this particular ethnic group.⁷² Her misunderstanding was perhaps extreme but it highlights the suspicion which surrounded the EAC. Others were well aware of its Christian nature but were alienated by the Hema monopoly. How could the place of Hema fathers also be the place of non-Hema fathers? The success of the inculturation of the EAC on the escarpment presented problems in a different social setting. The predisposition of an ethnic group or clan to a particular denomination had been a consequence of the division of territory between different missionary societies. Nevertheless, urban migrants from throughout the country either chose the Catholic church or the local Protestant church depending on whether they had come from a Catholic or Protestant background, rather than establish their own denomination.⁷³ The urban EAC in the 1970s did not fit with the nationalist multi-ethnic ethos which was emerging in the towns.

Moreover, despite the potentially divisive results of missionary comity, Christianity was expected by Congolese Christians to break down barriers of ethnicity, bringing an end to distrust among ethnic groups. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek... all are one in Christ' (Gal. 3:28) was often quoted as the appropriate Christian response to the issues of ethnicity. Tabu Abembe believed this had begun to happen on the escarpment as a result of Apolo Kivebulaya's ministry.⁷⁴ Isingoma Kakwa, a Hema,

⁷¹ See Chapter One, 57.

⁷² Androsi Kasima, Boga, 08/10/00, [295].

⁷³ There were also a small number of Muslims and Kimbanguists in Bunia at this time.

⁷⁴ Tabu Abembe, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [304-314].

premised his proposal that leadership should be shared across ethnic groups on the principle of *Christian inclusivity*,

...one recognises that the Hema have taken the Anglican church as their own and... they have really rejoiced in this church, they have led this church for a long time. So they must be replaced or others brought in...⁷⁵

Both EAC members and those from other churches recognised that a largely ethnocentric church was problematic in an urban setting. However, there was little awareness among the first generation Anglican migrants of the extent to which the EAC worship reflected escarpment village culture and there was also an unwillingness to sever entirely that connection.⁷⁶ They were caught between the reality of the familiar and comfortable of the EAC which was effectively exclusive and the ideal of inclusive Christianity which threatened to be alien and 'un-anglican'.

Swahili

Language use could exacerbate or deflect ethnic tensions. Studies of the African Church have recognised the importance of the vernacular in the indigenisation of Christianity.⁷⁷ Here the issue is turned on its head. Within the EAC, the vernacular was limited to one people and, therefore, effectively excluded others. The EAC, now spreading over a large and linguistically diverse area, needed a language in which all its members could participate equally, and Swahili, the language of trade, towns and schools, fitted that role. Copies of the 1662 Prayer Book in Kenyan Swahili had been available to the EAC from about 1971.⁷⁸ In 1973 the EAC produced its own Congolese Swahili⁷⁹ Prayer Book.⁸⁰ It was both comprehensible and affordable for

⁷⁵ Isingoma Kahwa, Edinburgh, 07/06/00, [292-294]: '...on reconnaît que les Hema on pris l'Eglise [anglicane] comme la leur et... ils se sont beaucoup réjouis dans cette Eglise, ils ont pris beaucoup de temps à diriger cette Eglise. Donc il faut les remplacer, ou bien associer les autres...'

⁷⁶ In Nord-Kivu the Kainama Nande held a similar but less acute position and Hema, though less numerous in Nord-Kivu, still held key positions.

⁷⁷ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis), 1989: 124-125.

⁷⁸ Bakengana Lukando, "Histoire de la Paroisse Anglicane de Kainama: Vue panoramique des origines à 1995," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISThA), 1997: 11.

⁷⁹ Congolese Swahili, a less complex dialect than that found in Tanzania and Kenya, is often known as Kingwana. Johannes Fabian, "Potopot: Problems of Documenting the History of Spoken Swahili in Shaba," in *Swahili Studies: Essays in Honour of Marcel van Spaandonck*, Blommaert, Jan (Ghent: Academia Press), 1991.

most Congolese. Tabu Abembe understood that the Swahili Prayer Book gave the impetus necessary for the EAC to follow Apolo Kivebulaya's dying commission to take the Gospel further west into Congo:

Once the Prayer Book was changed from Runyoro to Swahili people began to say, 'That's right, it's the Word of God.' So we could continue westwards as Apolo had said.⁸¹

The EAC could not have expected to operate any distance from Boga until its services and its administration were conducted in the *lingua franca* of the wider area. Apolo's words provided justification for a change in language that, in turn, provided impetus for the EAC to spread beyond its traditional rural areas and to be accepted in the towns. It also undermined the intimate relationship between the Hema and the EAC. If some of the first migrants were uneasy about it their children welcomed the change. Their urbanisation and detribalisation was intimately connected with their fluency in Swahili.

Catholic

Irene Bahemuka also disliked the elements in worship that she perceived to be Roman Catholic in nature. Although the EAC claimed it was Protestant, the dress of its clergy and evangelists looked Catholic to most people in the towns, and the Prayer Book resembled the Catholic Missal. Her comment was borne out by Paluku Soheranda, a member of the CECA 20 church in Oicha at the time the EAC was established there.

...at the beginning they [CECA 20 church] were not very happy because they said that the Anglican church is like the Catholic church. At first they did not want this church to enter there because many of their practices are Catholic practices.⁸²

Soheranda explained the Catholic practices disliked by CECA 20 members thus,

⁸⁰ Archdeacon Festo Byakisaka and Deaconess Lucy Ridsdale led a translation team which used the Series Three adaptation of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* as the basis for their work.

⁸¹ Tabu Abembe, [344-347]; 'Lors qu'on avait changé le Livre de Prière de kinyoro en swahili, les gens ont commencé à dire "ça va, c'est la Parole de Dieu." Alors on peut continuer vers l'ouest selon les dits d' Apolo.'

⁸² Paluku Soheranda, Bunia, 18/09/00, [237-241]; '...au debut ils n'étaient pas très contents parce qu'ils disaient que l'Eglise Anglicane c'est comme l'Eglise catholique. Tout d'abord ils ne voulaient pas que cette église puisse entrer là bas puisque beaucoup de leurs pratiques sont des pratiques catholiques. C'est pour cela qu'au debut ils ne voulaient pas.'

Well, it's particularly the question of liturgy, ... there's only one person who reads up there and the others do nothing but reply... It's like that. The Catholics, the priests, read something up there at the altar. Even if one replies one doesn't know what one replies.⁸³

This liturgical formality which other Protestant denominations and second generation migrants found so alien was precisely part of the order of which first generation Anglican migrants were so fond.

Contested loyalty

Second generation migrants could not entirely understand their parents' attachment to the formal, slow, quiet Anglican ways but they did not desert completely the family church into which they had been baptised and confirmed. Open contestation was often difficult for junior members of society but negotiations around religious practice were possible. As a teenager Irene Bahemuka attended the CECA 20 youth Bible study for her own spiritual edification, in spite of her parents disapproval. Where there was an EAC they wanted her to attend it as the church of her family and were suspicious of anything which might draw her away from it. So she continued to attend Anglican services on the insistence of her parents.

Perpetuating village church structures and rites which also maintained a sense of family loyalty was understood as the only way of being Anglican by those who established the churches. They did not want to lose this expression of religious identity and yet their own children were uncomfortable with it. If these elements made the migrants' own children uneasy they were unlikely to ensure the survival of the EAC as it moved from close-knit, mono-ethnic, remote village communities to rapidly growing, multi-ethnic, urban centres. These contested elements of identity were to become more acute as the children became adults. However, as well as the values of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* mentioned above, there was another value from their home villages which second generation migrants appreciated more than their parents as integral to EAC's identity; the *maendeleo* introduced by the church.

⁸³ Ibid., [248-253]; 'Bon, c'est surtout la question de la liturgie, ... il n'y a qu'une personne qui lit là bas et les autres ne font que répondre... C'est comme ça. Les catholiques, les prêtres, lit quelque chose là bas à l'autel. Même si on répond on ne connaît pas ce qu'on répond.'

Maendeleo

Maendeleo was another village value but one which was appreciated in the towns by the younger generation. Indeed, where first generation migrants expected to see schools and clinics attached to urban chapels but were emotionally and spiritually sustained by *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*, their children saw *maendeleo* as a vital part of the EAC without which the church held little attraction.

A study of the development of Butembo chapel, which was to become the Nord-Kivu diocesan headquarters in 1992, illustrates the aspirations of progress generated by these urban chapels. The description is given by Estella, daughter of Mahirani Melena:

When the Anglican church really came to us they read in our house, I remember though I was very small... They started to read in our living room every Sunday with our family, the family of Zakayo [Kyuma] and Lukambula's family. And Mukasa came every so often. And other people round about wanted to come in and read. Later we gave a very small offering to get the place there. It was completely bush... Some days we went there. The fathers took their scythes, the mothers dug. Finally they managed to build a house with straw [roof]. Now this straw house they built with the few pennies of the offering... Later they thought to build the house of the evangelist... the work went on. When there were many people, many Nande, when the straw house was there and Lukambula's house, they built the pastor's house. A pastor came there... We destroyed the straw [house], we cut iron sheets. And we also read there and we were choristers there. And Mother taught the women to read and to write, and Sunday School, these things, work, little *maendeleo*...to know cooking. Other women held little seminars. Now *maendeleo* has really progressed. There are many Christians. Later we built with iron sheets for the school, the primary school. We went there for *Salongo* [communal work], we made... the school with [our] hands - the children. Once we built the school with classrooms we went for iron sheets for the evangelist's house... If you go to Anglican [sic] you go to a large square, the school square. Later we began work on that big church.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Estella in Mahirani Melena, [492-528]; 'Wakati kanisa Anglican iliingia kabisa kwetu walikuwa wakisoma ndani ya nyumba yetu. Mimi ninakumbuka kwani nilikuwa mudogo sana... walianza kusoma kwa salon yetu kila Siku ya Yenga na jamaa yetu, jamaa ya Zakayo, na jamaa Lukambula. Na Mukasa alifika kila mara. Na watu wengine wa pembeni, pembeni walitaka kuingia kusoma. Kiisha tulitoa sadaka kidogo kidogo kupata fasi pale. Ilikuwa pori kabisa hivi... Siku ingine tulienda kule. Wababa walikata na coupe coupe, wamama kulima hivi. Kwa mwisho walipata akili kujenga nyumba ya nyasi. Na hii nyumba ya nyasi walijenga na makuta kidogo kidogo ya sadaka. ...Kisha wakakumbuka kujenga nyumba ya mwangalizi... *Pasteur* moja alifika pale... Tukabomoa nyasi, tukatia manzanza. Na sisi vile tulikuwa tukisoma tu pale na tulikuwa waimbaji pale. Na mama alifundisha wamama kusoma na kuandika, na *Ecole de Dimanche*, kitu namna hii, bakazi, maendeleo kidogo kidogo, ...kujua kupiga. Wamama wengine wanafanya seminaire kidogo. Sasa maendeleo

Estella's remembrances of the development of the church in Butembo were ones of transforming bush into buildings and of the community work of construction and education. They contrast strikingly with her mother, Mahirani's, memories of teaching the new congregation the Anglican rites. The different emphases of recollections over thirty years reflect the varying priorities between generations.

Estella's description relates the move of the young community from the private sphere of her parents' home to a simple, purpose built public chapel. The outward sign of church growth was apparent in the necessity and ability to provide larger, more solid and more numerous constructions, in which to meet and worship, to house church workers and to teach. Progress was marked in the change from evangelist to pastor, sub-parish to parish and in the move from occasional or short educational groups like Sunday School and Women's groups to the provision of an entire permanent primary school. A secondary school and large dispensary would follow. The EAC chapels were an attempt to provide the educational and worship resources to which Christians had learnt to aspire. *Maendeleo* encompassed a variety of social activities surrounding the establishment of the chapel.

The relationship in the EAC between formal education and Christianity is apparent in Estella's words. *Kusoma*, literally 'to read', is the word she used for the activities of the Sunday morning service and the purpose of her mother's literacy class. She used the related noun, *masomo*, for 'school'. Schools were quickly established under EAC auspices. Both Lukambula in Butembo and Munege in Bunia were headmasters of the first primary schools as well as catechists.⁸⁵ They were *walimu* in the dual sense of being both school teachers and church leaders. As in other African languages education and Christian worship are linguistically synonymous, rites of adoration and modern educational skills fall within the same vocabulary network and the same

inaendelea kabisa. Wakristo walikuwa wengi. Nyuma tulijenga na manzanza kwa masomo, *Ecole Primaire*. Tuko na fika kule Salongo, tuko na fanya... masomo na mikono, watoto. Wakati tulijenga masomo na kalasi tulienda nyumba ya mwangalisi na manzanza... Unafika kwa Anglican unafika kiwanja kubwa, kiwanja ya masomo. Nyuma tulianza kazi ya kanisa kubwa ile.'

⁸⁵ The Bunia Anglican primary school was started in 1971. By 1978 it had 970 pupils, a similar number to the two government schools and the two CECA schools. There was also a Primary School at Loya and *Cycle d'Orientation* (first years of secondary) at Komanda and Mafifi by 1977. DBg Bgbn770629, 1.

socio-religious continuum.⁸⁶ The chapel was not there simply for the performance of religious rites but to provide services for the wider community.

This was the way it had been on the escarpment but first generation migrants found it problematic when they moved. Firstly, the skills and standards of EAC *walimu* were rarely sufficient to meet the more rigorous requirements for schools in the 1970s. The EAC had to employ professionals to do many jobs most closely associated with *maendeleo* and church members were less intimately involved. Secondly, migrants did not want 'development' to alter the worship or church structure which maintained their emotional ties with 'home'. Some, indeed, saw it as a distraction from worship.⁸⁷ *Maendeleo* is a word with a wide breadth of meaning and its application shifted in the EAC. First generation migrants who had moved from the escarpment because of *maendeleo* aspirations learnt in the EAC, nevertheless, kept ecclesiastical *maendeleo* within the well defined limits of EAC social institutions. It was understood as describing the social work of the church and was not expected to impinge on *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*. Their children, on the other hand, were grateful for the institutions but wished to see *maendeleo* penetrating all aspects of life in ways which would reflect the ideals of nationalism and youth.

The comprehension of health and education as the church's role, however distant that became from Sunday worship, did attract new members to the EAC.

And even now they start to like the church, many come, even the youth begin to leave their bad habits, and the men and women, to help the *maendeleo* things.⁸⁸

The establishment of the EAC in urban areas coincided with the need for more schools in the growing towns. The colonial government had been slow to provide education. Other Protestant churches had disassociated themselves from this intimate relationship between Christianity and social services.⁸⁹ The Anglicans' resources

⁸⁶ W. A. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa, 1940-1974*, (Dodoma: Central Tanganika Press), 1988: 111.

⁸⁷ Bampiga Bailensi, "Etude sur le Développement économique dans la Paroisse anglicane de Bunia," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., IStHA), 1994: 9-10.

⁸⁸ Lukumbula Kihandasikiri, Kampala, 25/07/00, [494-497]; 'Na hata sasa wanaanza kupenda kanisa, wanafika wengi, hata vijana wanaanza kuacha tabia vibaya, na wababa na wamama, kusaidia mambo ya maendeleo.'

⁸⁹ J. E. Nelson, *Christian Missionizing and Social Transformation: A History of Conflict and Change in Eastern Zaire* (New York: Praeger), 1992: 5-7.

were meagre and their achievements patchy, but they took advantage of the shortage of government accredited schools and presented the EAC as a forward-looking church desirous of serving the community in its modernist aspirations and they gained some members from the Baptist churches in Nord-Kivu as a result. They worked unabashedly to further education and health care. Their only concern was that *maendeleo* was not happening fast enough, that they were not achieving the rate of success they wanted.⁹⁰

The appreciation of *maendeleo* as part of the Christianity of the rural Semeliki escarpment villages meant that Anglicanism, as accepted and adapted by the villagers of the escarpment, was open to further change. If the chapels provided a haven in the town for the expression of traditional village values, they were also instruments of the modernising processes centred around education and health care which had begun with the introduction of Christianity. As Chapters Six and Seven will demonstrate, this aspect of EAC identity would stimulate further shifts in ecclesiastical identity that would prevent the urban chapels from a retreat into a ghetto mentality of rural conservatism or from a haemorrhaging of their young people to other denominations. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, it was the continuation in the church of *maendeleo*, however narrowly defined, which retained the loyalty of the second generation to the EAC.

A national, urban church

Many of our people are amongst those who gravitate to towns, and are lost. We are commencing work in many towns, as this is where the demand is, the need is, and the necessity is. We notice that other churches do not tackle this problem hardly at all (sic).⁹¹

So wrote Bishops Philip and Bezaleri in 1975 in a report outlining their missionary strategy for the EAC. This chapter has demonstrated that Anglican migration was fuelled by expectations of *maendeleo* and that the subsequent establishment of the EAC into urban areas was a grassroots initiative, motivated by migrants' desire to worship in the church of their fathers. This initiative was, however, encouraged and steered by church authorities and became, under the Bishops, a central policy of the

⁹⁰ Beatrice Kalumbi, Butembo, 16/06/98, [17 & 86].

⁹¹ DBk Bkbk750825h, 'New Diocese in Zaïre', a report by Philip Ridsdale and Ndahura Bezaleri from Boga Diocese documents.

EAC. Both men were convinced that the Anglican system was an appropriate one for Congo, and both saw evidence that it was appreciated by Anglicans and non-Anglicans alike.⁹² Their expansionist aims at times smacked of arrogance and ecclesiastical imperialism but the result was that they worked to make the EAC a national and urban church. On one hand, they were simply catching up with what was already happening. On the other hand they were providing an ideology and a plan of action to maintain the growth of the EAC.

The EAC spread from the Semeliki escarpment villages into urban areas in the Zaïre of the 1970s as the *authenticité* policy was introduced. Nationalism, with its associated presidential cult, was the overriding political ideology, and urban centres responded to a nationalism that provided a cohesive identity for migrant populations. If the EAC wanted urban legitimacy it needed to adapt to this idea. As an option for self-definition, however, it sat uneasily with loyalty to family and to the values of the ancestral home. The identification of the EAC with 'home' was so strong for the first generation migrants that the importance of nationalism and urbanism was grasped by EAC leaders rather than the grassroots.

On a structural level the Anglican response to nationalism and independence was the creation of Congolese dioceses from 1972.⁹³ The establishment of dioceses signalled that the EAC was loosening its administrative ties to a church in another nation, and recognised that internal migration from the escarpment to the towns was transforming it into a Congolese institution.⁹⁴ Nationalism challenged both loyalty to a particular ethnic group, and the appropriateness of trans-national ties. The self-understanding of the Church evolved in a national direction. Beni Bataaga explained:

We were no longer waiting for a programme from Uganda for ordination, for confirmation and other things. Our programme was here. Our synod and other

⁹² In Maniema and Shaba from 1973 a number of independent churches, unable to obtain a *personnalité civile*, decided to become Anglicans rather than affiliate with another member-denomination of the ECC.

⁹³ Boga diocese was created in 1972, Bukavu in 1976, Kisangani in 1980, Katanga in 1986, Nord-Kivu in 1992 and Kindu in 1997.

⁹⁴ The centring of the second diocese in Bukavu was a deliberate policy of strategic development. There were no Anglican Churches within 250 km of Bukavu but its position as the large, urban, bureaucratic heart of the Kivu Province (now the provinces of Nord-Kivu, Sud-Kivu and Maniema), was seen as the place from which the EAC, situated in Nord-Kivu (and in Maniema), could gain maximum legitimacy and influence.

executive reunions were here. So we felt we were deeply concerned with our own affairs in our country... So this started changing the life of the church.⁹⁵

Significant here is that Bataaga not only felt that the church had greater freedom and authority but that, as a result, it became more concerned with the situation in Congo. It began to face west, toward the centre of the country, rather than east towards Uganda. It shared in the spirit of optimism about Congo that marked the 1970s, with the promise of self-determination for the country. The recognition by church authorities of the advantages of nationalism and urbanism meant that the EAC, although small and marginal, was able to engage the new nationalism and involve itself in working for *maendeleo* in Congo. It introduced the church to what was happening in the rest of country and made it more 'Congolese'; a welcome move for second generation migrants. If some senior members of individual EAC chapels still clung consciously to their village values others were beginning to accept the new national order. Their desire for *maendeleo* and legitimacy made modernisation acceptable, their deeply held affection for the 'place of their fathers' made it gradual.

***'...so that the work of the Lord will continue.'*⁹⁶**

One photograph,⁹⁷ shown below, indicates this conscious change in orientation of the EAC from local and rural to national and urban. It was taken on the 27th May 1979 by either Philip or Lucy Ridsdale. The date is significant, being the Sunday closest to the 30th May, the anniversary of Apolo Kivebulaya's death. There was a large

⁹⁵ Beni Bataaga, Bunia, 15/09/00, [512-517].

⁹⁶ The reported words of Apolo Kivebulaya, see Introduction, I.

⁹⁷ DBg *Journal de Bord: Diocese de Boga-Zaire*, Philip Ridsdale, 790527a .



ordination service in Boga cathedral on that day, and the picture was taken in the grounds. There are four clergymen, dressed in black cassocks, white surplices and black preaching scarves grouped around Apolo's grave.⁹⁸ Two have their hands resting on the grave's cross. All of them hold two or three books; the large black Bible, the slim blue Prayer Book and the yellow *Nyimbo za Mungu*, the hymn book. All are archdeacons; from left to right, Tito Balinda, Archdeacon of Beni, Tibafa Sylvestre, Archdeacon of Kisangani, Festo Byakisaka, the Archdeacon of Boga and one of 'Apolo's boys', and Kabonabe Tibafa, Archdeacon of Butembo. All of them would have known that Apolo, above whose body they were standing, was buried with his head pointing westwards. How did they interpret Apolo's request in 1979?

⁹⁸ Several other photographs show similar groups round the Apolo tomb. The earliest known photograph of this type was taken by Charles Rendle of Nasanari Kabarole, after his ordination as deacon in 1937, and an unknown Ugandan clergyman.

Were they rooting themselves in the tradition of a revered leader? Undoubtedly. Were they acknowledging Apolo's work among the Mbuti in the forest? Possibly. Is this photograph a conscious attempt to root the EAC expansion in the missiological myth surrounding Apolo Kivebulaya's burial commission? Very probably. All but Byakisaka were working beyond the missionary limits of the EAC, responsible for a network of small chapels not always welcomed in new areas. A photograph round Apolo's grave linked them to a respected tradition and presented them as missionaries like Apolo. By 1979 Apolo's burial request was interpreted not simply as a taking the gospel, with its accompanying reading and healing, further into the forest, or maintaining Anglicanism on the escarpment, but as legitimising the process of clergy establishing parishes among Anglican migrants throughout modern Congo and providing for them a reproduction of escarpment Anglicanism as religious identity. The four men who stand so proudly round Kivebulaya's grave had a very different concept of the land that lay ahead than did Apolo but they believed they were carrying out his commission.⁹⁹

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the urban EAC of the 1970s consciously attempted to replicate the escarpment church, but that the process of migration and subsequent urbanisation germinated seeds of change dormant in the rural EAC. The locus of personal identity for first generation migrants remained the corporate entity of their ancestral home. As the religious focus of that home, the EAC provided their spiritual centre in the urban areas and maintained the qualities of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* learnt in Boga worship. Its formal, liturgical style kept migrants in touch with home and with the familiar aspects of Christian worship with which they had grown up. This religious identity allowed members to maintain continuity between village and town and provided a conservative force in terms of worship and ecclesiastical governance. Furthermore, it was an identity largely based on the ethnic dominance of the Hema. In 1980 the urban EAC was still very similar to the rural EAC and the overriding expression of its identity was that articulated by senior members of the congregation, who had grown up on the escarpment.

⁹⁹ Muhindo Tsongo, 17/12/00, [384].

The first migrants also saw the EAC as a provider of *maendeleo*. It was the aspiration for *maendeleo* which led many to migrate in the first place. Yet for many first generation migrants *maendeleo* seemed at times to threaten the values of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*. As a result *maendeleo*, as identity signifier, was permitted to operate within the social but not the spiritual sphere of church life. It did not sufficiently describe, for first generation migrants, their emotional attachment to the EAC. However, it was, paradoxically, the on-going commitment to *maendeleo* which helped members assimilate new social realities and prevented the EAC from losing its young people who, removed from rural culture, did not understand the slow, orderly, respectful ways of the escarpment and contested the identity of the church they attended. *Maendeleo* paved the way for a more contemporary national and urban identity for the EAC. Within the EAC at the beginning of the 1980s the tensions between tradition and change - staked-out in terms of *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* versus *maendeleo* - provided sufficient openness to prevent ghettoisation while at the same time causing pain and resentment to some.

Chapter Three. Returning Home to a Strange Land: The Spread of the EAC by Trans-border Migrants from 1979.

Introduction

Whilst the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) was expanding outwards from the escarpment area another movement was taking place in the *territoires* of Aru and Mahagi in the most north-easterly corner of the country. In contrast to the urban spread of the church in Irumu and Nord-Kivu, the EAC in this area was established through sudden migration resulting from civil conflict. In 1979 the fall of President Idi Amin precipitated a mass exodus from Uganda into Congo of ethnic groups most closely associated with his regime. These refugees began to form Anglican congregations in communion with the diocese of Boga. During this period of dislocation from their life in Uganda the returning migrants re-configured their identity. Anglicanism was seen as an appropriate vehicle for identity adaptation in the socio-religious sphere, providing a framework in which they could apply their aspirations for order, development and freedom. The establishment of the EAC in these areas operated with different dynamics to that of the EAC in Irumu and Nord-Kivu; the chapel planting initiative was less centralised, more informal and lay-led. Thus it acts as a contrast to the story of the previous chapter, demonstrating that groups within the EAC developed varying identities. *Utaratibu* (liturgical and hierarchical order) and *maendeleo* (development) remained important needs for those identifying themselves as Anglicans as the EAC expanded through trans-border migration. As a result of different historical circumstances, however, these identity signifiers were differently interpreted through the use of *uhuru* (freedom). This chapter will study the development of chapels and the work of evangelists and catechists in order to demonstrate the aspirations and identity of the northern EAC members. It will present the emerging EAC identity in terms of a series of paradoxes; belonging and alien, local and global, order and freedom. First it will explain the particular migratory circumstances.

Migration

...those who fled here...feared that, as Idi Amin was Kakwa and during his rule he killed people very badly, especially Acholi, ...when his rule came to an end... the Acholi would take power again. If the Acholi came to Aru they

would kill all the Kakwa because Idi Amin was Kakwa. So they just fled [because of] this idea.¹

In May 1979 President Idi Amin fled from power following a coup which toppled his unpopular regime. From then until the end of 1983 about 125,000 people took refuge in Aru and Mahagi zones in Congo.² Amin's ethnic group, Kakwa, and neighbouring Lugbara and Alur had benefited disproportionately from his time as president, and they feared reprisals from the Acholi who had regained influence in Uganda. Ugandan refugees began to return to West Nile in the mid 1980s but many of those who fled into Congo considered themselves Congolese, even though some of them had spent a lifetime away from their home villages. By the time it was thought safe to return to Uganda, they had re-established themselves in Congo and some had lost their land in Uganda. In 1987 the population of Aru zone was 300,000³ perhaps 20% of whom were recent refugees from Uganda. One aspect of this new life was the establishment of Anglican chapels in many villages in Lugbara and Kakwa areas in Aru zone and, to a lesser extent, among the Alur in Mahagi zone.

Migration to Uganda 1910-1978

Cross border migration started in 1910 when West Nile came under British colonial jurisdiction having previously been part of the Belgian Congo. Its study demonstrates the economic fallout of differing colonial policies and the subsequent social implications. British rule in Uganda was considered less severe and offered preferable labour options than Belgian rule in Congo where taxes were high and conscription frequent.⁴ The fact that the same ethnic groups straddled the arbitrary borders provided opportunities for those on the Congolese side. The Congolese Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara knew that members of their ethnic group in Uganda were utilising the colonial situation to improve their economic standing. So young men began to leave Congo to become soldiers, to work on plantations like those in

¹ Yuma Ajule, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [lines 42-47]; '... watu walikimbia hapa... wanangopa, namna Idi Amin ni Kakwa na wakati ya utawala wake aliuwa watu mbaya sana, zaidi Acholi... wakati utawala yake alikwisha... watawala watafika tena Acholi. Kama Acholi watafika Arua wataua waKakwa wote kwa sababu Idi Amin ni Kakwa. Alafu walikimbia mawazo tu.'

² 125,000 includes refugees who did not go to official camps and who remained in Congo the 1980s and 1990s. A full explanation of figures can be found in Jeff Crisp, "Ugandan Refugees in Sudan and Zaire: the Problem of Repatriation," *African Affairs*, 85, no. 339 (1986), 164-5.

³ Oliver Jardin, "The 'Mama Bakita' centre for the disabled at Aru," *Refugee* (November 1987), 40.

⁴ Kamba-Opima, "Evolution politique et économique séparée des Lugbara au Congo belge et en Uganda sous le Régime colonial, 1914-1956," (Licence diss., ISP, Bunia), 1991: 76.

Bunyoro, or in the Lugazi sugar industry near Jinja.⁵ Others settled with their cattle just over the border in Uganda. Many returned to Congo with the necessary bride-price only to go back to Uganda again with their wives to continue to improve their standard of living. Attempts by the Belgians to prevent this cross border movement had limited success and it continued throughout the colonial era.⁶ Migration to Uganda increased after independence when the *Simba* rebels⁷ threatened the stability of villages in Congo. Many fled into Uganda making the most of the family connections of those already working there. In the 1970s some took advantage of their ethnic or clan connection with Idi Amin and found good jobs in Kampala.

John Middleton⁸ explains the results of this migration: the Alur, Lugbara and Kakwa became rapidly aware of the outside world and accustomed to mobility. Young men who led the migratory trend gained different life experiences from their elders and on their return challenged the traditional order of their communities. As migrants returned with knowledge of the hierarchical social systems of southern and central Uganda, social stratification was introduced to a greater degree than had been common in their Nilotic and Sudanic acephalous social structures. Migrants often saw themselves as more progressive and successful than those who had never migrated.

It was like this with the people of the past; you couldn't leave here and go elsewhere, to another country... But now we can travel... I've travelled throughout Uganda, I've done half of Congo. Now there's freedom. It's not like the traditional situation of the past.⁹

They regarded Uganda as the country of development and admired the workings of different sectors of its modern society. Ugandans consider the 1970s to have been the decade when development was reversed in their country. Congolese, comparing it with the neglected, rural North-east of their country, remained impressed with the

⁵ Samson Embaga-Ujjiga, "The Mission of the Church to the Lugbara Community of Lugazi Sugar Factory," (Diploma of Theology diss., Bishop Tucker, Theological College), 1981: 7.

⁶ Aidan Southall, *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons), 1953: 318-321.

⁷ *Simba* rebel were the militia of a faction of the *Conseil national de libération* who tried to gain power in 1964.

⁸ J. Middleton, "Political Incorporation Among the Lugbara of Uganda," in *From Tribe to Nation in Africa*, R. Cohen and J. Middleton, eds. (USA: Chandler), 1970: 67.

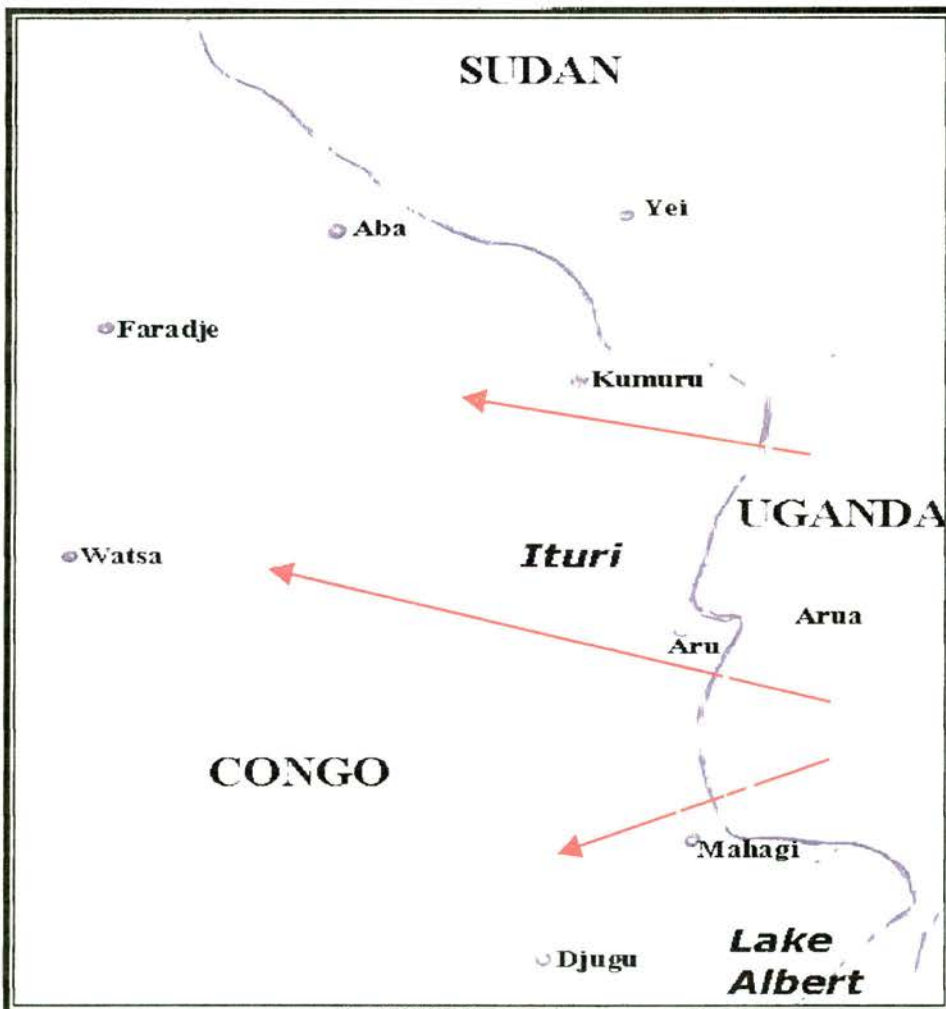
⁹ Gborja Amuel, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [281-188]; 'Ndiyo, ile, juu ya watu wa zamani ilikuwa hivi; wewe havezi kutoka hapa na kukwenda kwa mungine, kule kwa inchi ingine... Lakini sasa hii tunaweza kutembelea... nilitembelea kwa Uganda, wapi, wapi, kwa Congo ninakamata nusu yake... Ya sasa uhuru iko. Haikuna maneno ya desturi ya zamani.'

opportunities available to them. The migrant aspirations affected a large part of the society. Such was the influence of this migratory pull that there were few families who did not have some members who had spent sometime in Uganda, as David Asiki explains of his own people,

...most of our lives.... I can say, the Kakwa have lived out-out. It's just because of the war that most of us are here. Otherwise if that war was not there I don't think I could come to Zaïre, or Congo, again.¹⁰

Whole families had made their home in Uganda and may never have returned to Congo had not Amin's regime been so decisively overthrown.

Diagram of trans-border migration from Uganda



¹⁰ Asiki David. *Aru*, 22/08/00, [352-359].

Returning home to Congo from 1979

When refugees returned to Congo they headed for their home villages, rather than live in refugee camps which were populated with those who had little previous connection with Congo. The identification they had with their villages, normally the village of their father, was useful because it allowed them to settle in a strange place, to call it home and to identify themselves as Congolese. Simon Otuwa, a Lugbara, succinctly sums up the situation;

Here is home. I came back to come home. Our parents birthed us there [in Uganda], we married there, and we've returned home to Congo.¹¹

Home was the place of one's father's ancestors. One may have never visited it before but as a geographical location for belonging it held a paramount position. The strong attachment to the village of one's father, nurtured during absence from it, did not negate the fact that life experiences in Uganda left the returned migrant with a different attitude to life than those who had largely remained in the village. The aspirations for self-improvement and the expectations of a higher standard of modern living learnt as a migrant worker in Uganda, as well as the sudden dislocation from all that seemed familiar, caused a sense of isolation for returned-migrants. Yuma Ajule, settled in his father's village with a wife and children, felt differently from Otuwa;

Here [in Congo] I'm in exile. In my spirit, I'm in exile.¹²

His sense of dislocation remained over twenty years later. Often this arose in those who felt a sense of lost opportunities. Hospitals and clinics in Congo were few and badly equipped. The media of schools was French and Lingala¹³ rather than English. Children who fled Uganda had little chance of being able to integrate into the Congolese system. Aruku Abe was unable to finish his schooling after 1979 and laments his return to Congo;

¹¹ Otuwa Simon, *Aru*, 11/08/00, [81-84]; 'Ma envi ama vile angu ria te di ka. Ama adripi mu di ama tii dile, je di ama dri oku 'dile ama envi di di ama vile Congo-a.'

¹² Yuma Ajule, [278]; 'Niko hapa kwa exile. Kwa roho yangu, mimi iko kwa exile.'

¹³ Or Bangala, a dialect of Lingala.

Well, I would really feel happy if I [could] live all my life in Uganda because I see there everyone progresses well with school and here [in Congo] we end up just wasting time and burying our intelligence now.¹⁴

The Congolese migrants had returned to the place they called home but for many of those who had lived for a long time in Uganda it was unfamiliar or undesirable. They missed the opportunities for personal development, for ameliorating the conditions of life, which they had enjoyed in Uganda.

Church experience in Uganda and Congo

The social effects of migration were mirrored in the churches. During their time in Uganda Congolese migrant workers had joined churches. For some this was their first significant Christian experience, for others they joined a church affiliated to the one with which they had been familiar in Congo. Those from *Communauté Évangélique au Centre de l'Afrique* (CECA 20), the only Protestant Church in Aru and Mahagi zones, joined the Anglican Church of Uganda (COU). There was little choice. It was almost the only Protestant church in the country. Besides, the African Inland Mission (AIM) who established CECA 20 in Congo had also established the COU in West-Nile. The COU was committed to providing a high standard of education and medical care as well as introducing other development projects and this ethos was generally appreciated by the Congolese migrant labours who benefited from it. Development was perceived to be part of the church's work in Uganda. However, this development ethos was weaker in West Nile because AIM's emphasis was on primary evangelism.

Although there was effectively a simple choice between Catholics and Protestants, Congolese working in large plantations and factories in Uganda could usually find a congregation which spoke their mother tongue. In Lugazi¹⁵ for example, there were five Protestant Lugbara congregations, of which two were for Congolese Lugbara, three Bangala congregations for Congolese Lugbara and another for Logo from Congo. They were formed between 1936 and 1974.¹⁶ These churches were usually started by workers who did not want to worship in Luganda and felt that there was

¹⁴ Aruku Abe, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [158-160]; 'Bon, zaidi nilisikia raha kama ninaishi maisha yangu yote Uganda kwa sababu ninaona kule watu wote wanaendelea na masomo vizuri na hapa tunakuja tu kupoteza wakati, na iko sasa tunazika akili.'

¹⁵ An industrial town with a large sugar factory forty-five kilometres east of Kampala.

¹⁶ Embaga-Ujiga, "The Mission of the Church to the Lugbara", 34-35.

discrimination against them as northerners. The tendency to form congregations of small units, serving specific groups would be replicated on the return to Congo. The confidence to challenge official uniformity that, later in Congo, would result in conflict with CECA 20, began as migrant workers. These challenges remained for the most part a re-adjustment and localisation of western mission Christianity rather than the implantation of African Initiated Churches.

Not only was the formation of small chapels along socio-linguistic lines learnt in Uganda, a specific spirituality was adopted by many. Among the returnee refugees were those who had a dramatic conversion experience through association with the *Balokole* Revivalists whose hallmarks were open-air evangelism, public confession of sin, fellowship groups and critical membership of the Anglican church. From 1960 a few *Balokole* began to return to Congo, where they were known as *Wokovu* ('salvation' in Swahili), and called their own people to repentance and revival.¹⁷ This spirituality also challenged the nominalism of orthodoxy, demanding strict discipline and commitment to fellowship and evangelism. Their contribution to the EAC will be studied in depth in Chapter Five. It must be noted here, however, that this spiritual ethos contributed to the expectation the migrants brought back to Congo of religious freedom, both in structure and spirituality.

As has been observed elsewhere on the continent, affiliation of a religious group can enable members to become 'social agents' for change in a refugee situation.¹⁸ In a particular set of historical circumstances, the EAC became the, perhaps unlikely, instrument for the realisation of returned refugees' aspirations that they had developed in Uganda. It was praised and criticised by its members as they measured it against these aspirations. And it gained non-migrant members, in part, as they assimilated the aspirations brought to them by their migrated friends and relations. This will become apparent as the historical events are explained and examples of the introduction of individual chapels are narrated.

Implanting an Anglican church

A brief survey of events surrounding the establishment of the EAC in the northern area is presented below. A *Wokovu* group in Mahagi made the first move to contact

¹⁷ Sila Bileti, Aru, 10/08/00, [8-9].

¹⁸ K. B. Wilson, "Refugees and Returnees as Social Agents," in *When Refugees go home*, T. Allen and H. Morsink, eds. 237-250. (New Jersey: Africa World Press), 1994: 237.

the EAC in Boga in 1979. *Wokovu* had been operating in Congo since the 1960s but they were banned from CECA 20 and imprisoned for their activities. They wanted to worship and evangelise freely but needed to belong to a state-recognised church in order to do so.¹⁹ A well-educated Ugandan refugee who was also *Wokovu* told them about the church of 'Boga-Zaire' and helped them make contact. They were visited by Rev. Beni Bataaga and then by Rev. Munege Kabarole who inaugurated the church in December 1979 with *Wokovu* leader, Thumbwe Ferdinand, as local EAC leader. Their first pastor, Bahemuka Ndahura from Boga, arrived in December 1980.²⁰ After inaugurating the church Munege stayed on for a *Wokovu* convention. Here he met thirty *Wokovu* men and women from Aru who were intrigued to see a clergyman dressed in the same robes as those of the COU. They spoke with him and decided to introduce the EAC to Aru zone. Sila Bileti, the Aru area *Wokovu* leader became the Aru EAC leader of several small chapels. The EAC in Aru was officially opened by Munege in May 1981.²¹ The first pastor, Kabarole Baguma from Boga, arrived in 1982. Already fifteen chapels had been started. Most early chapels were started by *Wokovu* groups using their regional network. Whilst this was happening Anglicans who had initially tried to join CECA 20 after their forced migration into Congo were being told that their baptism was not recognised and they needed to be rebaptised (an issue addressed in Chapter Five). They could not accept this and so joined the EAC, establishing chapels in their home villages. Until this time most were unaware of the presence of an Anglican church in Congo, although some had heard the story of Apolo Kivebulaya at school and considered a church connected with Apolo to be legitimately Anglican.²² The news of the introduction of an Anglican church in the Aru area reached the Kakwa in 1983 via the *Wokovu* network. A small group of *Wokovu* had been meeting together in Ingbokolo whilst other Anglicans had formed chapels in refugee camps. They requested that an Anglican representative visit them. Adoroti Ombhabua, a Ugandan *mwangalizi* (evangelist), who had been working in Aru, went to the Kakwa and encouraged the establishment of small chapels wherever there were Anglicans who had been in Uganda.²³

¹⁹ See Chapter Two, 82-83.

²⁰ ArchA, *Hadizi ya Archidiacone ya Aru* 1996, 2.

²¹ ArchA, Sila Bileti, 'Historical Background of Anglicane Church in Leri', 1988, 1.

²² Oloni Seth, Aru, 11/08/00, [176-181].

²³ ArchK, *Hadizi ya Archidiaconé de Kumuru* 1996 2.

Sudanese refugees also swelled the numbers in these early Anglican chapels. Within 20 years the EAC reached as far west as the Logo of Faradje and Watsa and as far south as the Lendu of Djugu. There were 14,000 communicants and a large affiliated membership of up to 30,000.²⁴

This chapter will look at the reasons and methods of Christians and *walimu* for starting chapels. The story of the rapid growth of the EAC in this area is the story of co-operation between returned-migrants who desired an Anglican church, and often self- or group-appointed church workers from among their number who wanted to plant Anglican chapels. Unlike the urban EAC further south, the presence of centrally trained *walimu* was not considered a prerequisite for internal ecclesiastical legitimacy of a local chapel. As David Maxwell notes in his study of Christianity among the Hwesa of Zimbabwe, migrants returning home possessed an independence and self-confidence to challenge the present *status quo*.²⁵ As refugees fleeing war the returned-migrants in Aru and Mahagi zones may not have had the same wealth or status as the Hwesa mine workers, but they felt the constraints of the traditional ways of their fathers' village and were keen to negotiate change within it. In both cases the alternative lifestyle they offered was expressed in religious terms. For the Hwesa miners in the 1950s it was Pentecostal Christianity which challenged traditional Hwesa beliefs. In the northern corner of Congo two decades later it was Anglicanism which provided more choice in the religious market. In both cases it was a localised form of a global church which grew quickly as it was perceived to be meeting a wide spectrum of needs in the community.

Chapels

Abhu chapel was opened by...one man from Uganda [and two]locals. They preferred the Anglican church because in Uganda they received

²⁴ In 1984-5 there were 6 parishes with 8 pastors, 6 evangelists and 61 catechists, 1,595 communicants and 6,449 Christians in Aru Archdeaconry. In 1993 there were 9 parishes, 48 s/parishes, 128 churches, 138 catechists, 11 evangelists, 10 pastors, 5,067 communicants, 14,870 Christians.

ArchA and ArchK, *Statistiques*, 2000. In 1999, five years after the creation of Kumuru Archdeaconry and just before the creation of Mahagi Archdeaconry, Aru Archdeaconry had 10 parishes, 35 s/parishes, 86 chapels, 10 pastors, 75 catechists, 14 evangelists, communicants – women 2,230, men 1,621, Christians 10,425. Kumuru Archdeaconry at the end of 1999 had 5 parishes and 6 pastors, 29 sub-parishes and 78 chapels, 8 evangelists, 67 catechists, 4, 901 male communicants, 5,200 female communicants.

²⁵ David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A social history of the Hwesa people, c. 1870s-1990s*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1999: 66-69.

salvation in the Anglican church. It is because evangelists visited us that we began this Anglican community...

The chapel of Abiziku was started... [by] locals. We preferred this community because we were all baptised in the Anglican church...

Amuko chapel... began like this: three people met... After their meeting they informed others. Seven people agreed to meet together...

Those who started the church [of Giyawa]... came from CECA 20. They preferred the Anglican church because they wanted a school...

The one who brought the Anglican church to Gombe... went to look for the church at Bongilo. They preferred the Anglican Church because they used to live in Uganda, they were used to the Anglican tradition, the way of living in Anglicanism.

The reason for opening Kobulu church is this: two men thought about the people from Sudan and Uganda who were Anglicans. These two men invited sixteen people from the community of CECA 20 and the Catholic [church]... [They] wrote a letter sent to the sub-parish, Azangani.²⁶

These replies to a questionnaire answered by some of the chapels now part of the parish of Azangani illuminate some of the different reasons for establishing EAC chapels in the 1980s.

Utaratibu in kanisa letu

During interviews Anglican Christians in the north articulated the reasons to establish the EAC in terms which had similarities with urban Anglican migrants

²⁶ OHA, 'Histoire de la Paroisse Azangani,' 1999.

'La chapelle Abhu a été ouverte par... l'un [qui] était venu d'Ouganda [et deux] autres sont des autochtones. Ils ont préféré l'Eglise anglicane parce que c'est là en Ouganda qu'ils ont eu le salut dans l'Eglise Anglicane. C'est parce que les évangélistes sont venus chez nous que nous avons débuté avec cette communauté anglicane...

'La chapelle Abiziku a débuté... [par]des autochtones. Nous préférons cette communauté car nous étions baptisés chez les anglicans.

Chapelle Amuko... a commencé de la manière suivante: 3 personnes s'étaient réunies... Après la réunion elles ont informé d'autres. Ces gens, 7 personnes, ont accepté de se réunir ensemble...

'Ceux qui ont commencé l'Eglise [de Giyawa] ... étaient venus de la CECA 20. Ils ont préféré l'Eglise anglicane car ils voulaient une école...

'Celui qui a fait venir l'Eglise anglicane à Gombe... est allé chercher l'Eglise anglicane à Bongilo. Ils ont préféré l'Eglise anglicane puisqu'ils resteraient en Ouganda, ils étaient habitués à la tradition anglicane ou la façon de vivre dans l'anglicanisme.

'La raison de l'ouverture de l'Eglise Kobulu est la suivante: 2 hommes... ont réfléchi sur les gens venus du Soudan et de l'Ouganda et qui étaient anglicans. Ces 2 hommes ont invité 16 personnes en provenance de la communauté CECA 20 et de catholique... [Ils] ont écrit une lettre envoyée à la sous-paroisse Azangani...'

further south. The primary reason given for wanting a chapel was a sense of belonging to *kanisa letu*, 'our church' through baptism and salvation as a result of time spent in Uganda. This sense of ownership came across in Samson Ozu's repetition of these words;

...it was my father who started it.... He saw that this church was *kanisa letu*. We hadn't gone to CECA. CECA wasn't *kanisa letu*. Now this was *kanisa letu* so we must start it.²⁷

Kanisa letu possessed a familiar order, *utaratibu*. Northern Anglicans were familiar with Anglican 'tradition', 'the way of living', and wanted to replicate it. Anguzu Alfred explained it thus;

... the thing which I really like about this church is the *utaratibu*... of the service. And also the rank of every person. Yes, this really pleases me.²⁸

Utaratibu as liturgical and hierarchical order was for these northern Anglicans, as for their urban counterparts further south, a most important part of the Anglicanism that, they believed, was vital to retain. The *utaratibu* of the EAC offered familiarity in situation of dislocation. It was important to people that they were part of a church similar to the one they left in Uganda, having the same liturgy, the same clerical hierarchy, immediately visible by the same vestments and the same groups operating within it. Worship style and church structure united migrants to a larger organisation that gave a sense of security; one may have arrived in haste during war, the congregation may meet under a mango tree but that belied the opportunities of belonging to an organisation with global connections. *Utaratibu* filled a socio-religious need for belonging, security and order.

Joining the EAC was not simply an ideological decision, it also showed religious pragmatism. To operate openly as a church community returned-migrants needed to be part of the Congolese Protestant administrative order, the *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC). The establishment of an independent church was unattractive because it was viewed as subversive to the order of the state and would lead to persecution as well as a sense of isolation. For trans-border migrants as well as urban ones, the

²⁷ Ozu Samson, Aru, 10/08/00, [235-238]; '...ilikuwa baba yangu ndiyo alianza... akaona kanisa hii sasa ni kanisa letu. Sisi hata tuliingia kwa CECA. CECA haiko kanisa letu. Sasa kanisa letu ndiyo hii. Hivi yafaa tuianze.'

²⁸ Anguzu Alfred, Aru, 10/08/00, [97- 80]; '...kitu yenye ninafurahia sana kwa kanisa hii ni kwa sababu ya utaratibu ... ya ibada...Na hata daraza ya kila mutu. Ndiyo ile inanifurahisha sana.'

EAC, as both member of the ECC and the Anglican Communion, provided a sense of legitimacy.

The *utaratibu* of *kanisa letu* was a common identifying factor amongst mainstream Anglicans throughout North-east Congo. Chapter Four will demonstrate how it allowed them to work as one institution thus providing the EAC with internal unity. However, other identity features affected the way each group considered what *utaratibu* meant in practice. Variations in their understandings of Anglicanism were influenced by different migratory experiences. For the northerners *kanisa letu* did not entail the *upole* and *heshima* of escarpment village values but rather the antithesis of these, the modern values of well-travelled migrant labourers. Among northerners, aspirations of *uhuru*, freedom,²⁹ and a stronger sense of *maendeleo* would influence their interpretation of *utaratibu*.

Maendeleo

Maendeleo was another identity signifier which was used by urban and trans-border migrant members of the EAC. Superficially the two groups used *maendeleo* in a similar way. Arie Rose of Kumuru mentioned spiritual and material development:

The *maendeleo* of the church is good... First we do manual work, and for the Word of God many people come, and the building work.³⁰

The emphasis, in this quotation as in common parlance, was usually on material *maendeleo*, although material benefit was often closely associated with spiritual improvement. Trans-border migrants, however, possessed none of the ambiguity about *maendeleo* articulated by urban migrants, desirous of preserving a conservative form of *utaratibu*.³¹ For northerners labour migration to Uganda had been seen in terms of improved standard of living. Membership of the COU was linked to this improvement because the COU possessed durable church buildings, schools and colleges, hospitals and clinics and was seen to be involved in all aspects of life. Their hasty return to Congo was considered a backward step of economic regression and northerners saw *maendeleo* as an opportunity to reverse the downward mobility

²⁹ Uhuru – freedom, liberty, liberation -used to refer to the way in which some Anglicans have taken alternative social and religious routes.

³⁰ Arie Rose, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [136-141]; ‘Maendeleo ya kanisa iko muzuri... Moja, tunafanya kazi ya mikono, na kwa Neno ya Mungu, watu wanafika mingi, na kazi ya majengo.’

³¹ Chapter Two, 87.

caused by their latest migration. So church workers who preached a message of *maendeleo* had a ready audience. The *maendeleo* message centred around small-scale familial development which was expected to improve the church community, as Aruku Abe asserts,

...particularly on the corporal side, the church gave itself completely to educate people about poverty... to say, 'Life is like this now, we will make plans now, we will have projects to improve people at home and so we can share until it affects the church.' Thus it can carry the church forward.³²

Northerners desired schools and clinics but their priority was the alleviation of immediate poverty. *Maendeleo* initially referred to small-scale, primary projects in which the chapel community worked together. Communal fields and animals, basket weaving, sewing, *inter alia* were part of *maendeleo* in which the whole community could engage.

The village of Giyawa wanted *maendeleo* for their community, became Anglicans as a group and assumed an alternative Christian identity. Giyawa chapel was started by CECA 20 members who thought that the EAC could offer them something more than CECA. It is likely that some Giyawa villagers had stayed in Uganda and so believed that this small denomination in Congo could deliver its promises. To belong to a denomination which promised the chance of betterment experienced in Uganda was considered an asset, it was a link with the old life and a sign that the new life might improve beyond the daily struggle for survival. Although a denomination swap by a whole congregation was less common than the founding of chapels by marginalised individuals, it happened elsewhere and indicates that the aspirations for personal and communal advancement could be stronger than denominational loyalty.

Maendeleo was prominent in the northern discourse of EAC identity because members wished to choose from the Christianities available to them one which was most conducive to their socio-religious needs as disadvantaged returned-migrants with useful life-experience. This differed from the priority of urban migrants to conserve one particular tradition in an economically promising situation. Thus northerners were more conscious of the positive possibilities within the EAC for socio-religious change than were urban migrants from the escarpment. For trans-

³² Aruku Abe, [235-240]; '...zaidi kwa ngambo ya kimwili, ilikuwa kanisa inajitoa kabisa kabisa kuelimisha watu juu ya umasikini... kusema, "Sasa maisha ni hivi, tufanye mipango sasa, tukuwe na projects za kuendelea watu nyumbani, na hivi tunaweza kugawa mipaka inayokuwa kwa kanisa." Hivi inaweza kubeba kanisa iende mbele.'

border migrants the appeal of *maendeleo* was a potent one but they required the social space in which to make it work; this they referred to as *uhuru*.

Uhuru

The desire for ecclesiastical *uhuru* arose for many as a result of the religious marginalisation encountered by returned-migrants because they refused to accept re-baptism. Leonora Draru remembers the distress of her rejection by CECA 20,

...at the time for Holy Communion it was refused us. They said that if we wanted to go for Holy Communion we must go for instruction now and we would be put in water a second time. As ...in Uganda, I had already received baptism along with confirmation, it was now difficult for me.³³

Returned-migrants wanted to partake in Holy Communion, they wanted to belong fully to a Christian church. In the words of Yobo Kupajo, 'When we saw that CECA had made life difficult for us we wanted *uhuru* in Jesus,'³⁴ which meant freedom from CECA 20 and its constraints. Isaac Ageli explains the nature of these constraints;

Let me say that the CECA church, now that it has existed there for many years, people have now turned it, they have now mixed it really with tradition. Because right now you see most of the CECA church leaders are people who are clan leaders so when they have traditional problems they just mix [them] together with religious problems.³⁵

Christianity may have been introduced only sixty years previously but, as in Boga,³⁶ it had allied itself to the traditional sources of social power. CECA had had the Protestant monopoly, and in some Kakwa areas it was the only Christian church. CECA retained the socio-religious *status quo* through the membership of influential families. There was a belief that if you were not related to prominent members of CECA leadership there was no freedom to advance in education, in jobs within the church, and so on. CECA opportunities had reached saturation point and those who

³³ Leonora Draru, Aru, 12/08/00, [52-56]; '...wakati ya *Holy Communion* anakataza kwa sisi. Walisema kama tunapenda ku ingia kwa *Holy Communion* inafaa kuingia kwa instruction sasa, na tena atatupa sisi kwa maji mara mbili. Kwa ...Uganda niliisha pata *baptism* pamoja na *confirmation*, sasa itakuwa ngumu kwangu hivi.'

³⁴ Yobo Kupajo, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [183-189]; 'Mmm saa laga mayi bongini CECA atikindra yi nyobuloni saka, *uhuru*, kulia ti Yesu.'

³⁵ Isaac Ageli, [788-793].

³⁶ Chapter One, 57.

occupied senior positions were not chosen on merit but on family connections. Returned-migrants felt that there was little *uhuru* in CECA to permit social advancement and allow the utilisation of values, skills and experiences learnt in Uganda. This concern was expressed in a socio-religious manner by providing an alternative to CECA's church discipline, social influence and style of worship. In establishing the EAC returned-migrants achieved *uhuru* in providing a socio-religious choice previously unavailable. Those returning from Uganda, as Middleton notes, had, for decades, challenged the *status quo* with new ideas brought from their time away from the village. The returned Anglicans introduced a new religious, moral and social order which, whilst not being radically different from the Christianity already available, was different enough to be perceived as a threat to the Protestant denomination already present.

The replies from Abhu and Abizihu chapels suggest that those who started the local chapel were native to the village. This is a defence against those who said that the EAC was *dini ya warefugie*, refugee religion. A foreign church which disappeared when its members returned to their own country would have been less of a threat to CECA. The members of the EAC were declaring their intent to stay in Congo and insisting that they could both belong to their fathers' village and have the *uhuru* to belong to a church that had come from Uganda. They were proud that their church was local as well as being international. Here is a paradox, of wanting freedom, being prepared to challenge the local *status quo*, but also desiring legitimacy and security in one's own village. Returned-migrants were attracted to independent choice, but after the dislocation of sudden migration many felt to some degree economically and psychologically dependent on their father's village. They desired freedom but also required a particular order. Thus the extent of their choices was firmly limited by their desire for respectability in the village and safety from heavy-handed government authorities. The *uhuru* which informed the *utaratibu* of *kanisa letu* was real but limited. Nevertheless, desire for both *maendeleo* and *uhuru* was a potent force for change. As interpreters of *utaratibu*, northerners were to make its observance less rigid and formal and more applicable to their own social realities.

The reasons for the establishment of chapels shows that identity was constructed in terms of aspirations learnt in Uganda. They could be clustered round the Anglican church because the returned-migrants knew it from Uganda and as a recognised

member of the ECC it could operate throughout Congo, providing legitimacy, security and belonging.

Chapel planting methods

The descriptions of Azangani chapels also allude to chapel planting methods. Two main methods were in operation in the 1980s. They differ from the centralised approach studied in the previous chapter. Most of the churches planted as a result of rural to urban migration were founded by prominent lay Christians from the escarpment requesting from the diocesan office a trained evangelist. In this way growth was controlled, and the rural identity of the church replicated. In the zones of Aru and Mahagi, by contrast, growth was largely uncontrolled by the diocesan centre and leadership was a local rather than central choice.

In the first method an individual or group organised a chapel in their own village, appointed a leader and contacted a nearby EAC chapel. Worship was carried out in Alur, Kakwa or Lugbara using, where available, Prayer Books with hymnals translated in Uganda. This was the method of all but one of the chapels quoted from Azangani parish. Members of the chapel understood themselves to be the primary initiators, meeting together, making a decision to open an Anglican chapel, visiting or sending a letter to the parish or sub-parish centre and acting on that decision following what they knew of the Anglican order. They saw themselves as making a choice for religious self-determination. Their actions took place, however, with the prior knowledge that other Anglican chapels were being established and that the EAC was a legitimate presence in the Kakwa *collectivité*, recognised by the local administration. Head of families acted to found an EAC chapel when they heard of others already started in the area but they had few ambitions beyond their village.

This method of chapel planting operated from village to village. Neighbouring villagers decided that they would like to attend the EAC and organised a chapel in their own village. Sinziri Onadra gives an example from Mingoro parish in his archdeaconry of Kumuru:

... when the church of Mingoro arrived people came from different places, some came from 5 km away, others came from 10 km away, they came to worship in one place... The people from 10 km they multiplied there, they saw that they had been a small family and now many had found faith. Now they sat down and said, 'Now brothers, we are far away - to do 10km every Sunday is far. Please, now we've reached 10 or 20 people, how would it be to make a

branch of the church here?’ ... Finally we have lots of churches coming from one church.³⁷

This means that attendance at individual chapels could be quite small, sometimes less than thirty people. As Archdeacon, Sinziri was happy to see the spread of the church although he saw a danger implicit in this grassroots method of chapel planting. Geographical distance often corresponded to clan boundaries and he expressed concern that chapels formed, even coincidentally, along clan lines would encourage local divisions rather than being a means of breaching them:

Because a church like this - if it is one family alone not welcoming other people - in the end it will stay still, there wont be *maendeleo*, it will just decline without becoming a real church which welcomes everyone... There is danger in people saying, ‘It’s my church, it’s my church.’ Really it not the church of a person, it’s the church of Christ.³⁸

The local village may have been proud to have *kanisa letu* but for Sinziri the purpose of the Christian church was to welcome people outside the boundaries of family, clan and ethnic group and he feared that an emphasis only on local issues might hinder *maendeleo*. The localised character of each village chapel was perceived as a weakness when viewed through the belief in the inclusiveness of Christianity. Church leaders emphasised the inclusiveness of a global church whereas lay members emphasised its local appeal.

The second method was the itinerant evangelism of certain *walimu* (catechists) and *wangalizi* (evangelists). These lay church workers would call upon a family head known to have lived in Uganda and suggest that he gather his wider family into a chapel. Abhu chapel is an example of this. Here *Wokovu*, those who ‘received salvation’, were visited by evangelists who suggest they open a church. Once again a *mwalimu* was appointed from within the small congregation. Operating in the area at this time were two of the most successful church planters, evangelists and later pastors; Adoroti Ombhabua and Asiki David. They both actively tried to raise the

³⁷ Sinziri Onadra, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [436-447]; ‘...wakati kanisa ya Mingoro iliingia watu walitoka fasi mbali mbali, wengine walitoka 5km, wengine walitoka 10km, walifika kuabudu fasi moja... Watu wenye walitoka 10km wakaongezeka kule, wakaona walikuwa jamaa kidogo na wengine walipata kuamini. Sasa wakaketi walisema, “Sasa wandugu tuko mbali - 10km kufanya kila Yenga iko mbali. Tafazali, namna tunafika watu 10 au watu 20 hivi, itakuwa namna gani kama tunafanya branch ya kanisa hapa?” ... Na kwa mwisho tuko na kanisa mengine kutoka ndani ya kanisa moja hivi.’

³⁸ Ibid., [501-508]; ‘Kwa sababu kanisa kama ile, kama iko jamaa pekee yake hawezi kupokea watu wengine, kwa mwisho itabaki kwa fasi moja, maendeleo hakuna, itafifia hivi tu, bila kuwa kanisa ya haki, wenye kukaribisha watu wote... Iko hatari ndani yake, watu wanasema, “Iko kanisa yangu, iko kanisa yangu”, kumbe haiko kanisa ya mutu, iko kanisa ya Kristo.’

profile of the EAC by encouraging the creation of chapels among those returned from Uganda. They both claimed close involvement with the establishment of these new chapels. The most enterprising *walimu* and *wangalizi* of the first decade of the EAC in the north were keen to prove their credentials by opening more chapels. There is no doubt that they influenced family elders who may not have taken the initiative, they promised *maendeleo* in ways in which it would be difficult to fulfill, and they, along with the *Wokovu* network, were responsible for taking the EAC beyond clusters of neighbouring villages to new areas and new ethnic groups.

These two chapel planting methods overlap. They functioned through a network of relationships of *Wokovu* and returned-migrants. The expansion of Anglican chapels, sometimes referred to as *maendeleo*, was paramount to the niceties of hierarchical *utaratibu* observed by urban migrants when establishing their chapels.³⁹ *Uhuru* to follow people's choices was considered more important. Nevertheless, *uhuru* was limited by the perceived need to confer legitimacy upon the chapel. Even in a village where local leaders had taken the initiative and appointed their own *mwalimu* a church worker recognised by the EAC administration was invited to bestow ecclesiastical legitimacy by recognising that a local gathering of Christians constituted an Anglican chapel and had become part of a parish. Such an act also conferred state legitimacy; the church worker visited the local government official and gained permission to open a church officially as Asiki explained;

And we open them by going to the government. First of all I go and give my record and then I go and establish a church there. After I established a church, when I see people coming there - because you see people coming, thirty or fifty, even a hundred - then straight away I take it to the parish.⁴⁰

These two methods suggest that, after Christianity had been present in Aru and Mahagi zones for sixty years, people began to choose what sort of Christianity they wanted, and to be active in introducing it. Ordinary Christians, who had no official position in the church, were responsible for establishing churches and bringing scattered Anglicans together. In areas of rapid, grassroots growth where centres of ecclesiastical power were distant the demarcation between lay member and church leader was often blurred.

³⁹ Chapter Two, 85.

⁴⁰ David Asiki, [328-332].

A third method for founding chapels was introduced as Archdeaconry structures were put in place in Aru and a significant number of evangelists were able to receive training. This method followed the urban model, in which *heshima* for mediators of Anglican *utaratibu* was such that ordinary Christians waited for a trained church worker sent from Boga before establishing a single chapel. The diocesan centre at Boga quickly realised the huge potential for the EAC in this northern area, and knew that Archdeacon Munege Kabarole could not effectively oversee it from Bunia, 320 km south of Aru. So Kabarole Baguma was sent as pastor in 1982 and became the second Archdeacon of Aru in 1986. Aru had become an Archdeaconry in 1984 and Mukasa Nasanari, the Ugandan missionary, had come out of retirement in Kampala to be its first Archdeacon.⁴¹ The number of untrained *walimu* was so great and the number of chapels increasing so rapidly that a Bible School was removed from Komanda to Aru, an acknowledgement of the spontaneous growth of the church in Aru zone. In 1988 a CMS family came to Aru to assist with training, administration and development in the new archdeaconry and two other mission partners, an agriculturalist and a doctor, were to follow. Their presence symbolised the global connections of the EAC and raised hopes of greater *maendeleo*. During this time the northern church changed from most closely resembling an informal grassroots movement to becoming an institution structurally linked with the older church on the escarpment, expected to follow its traditions and be subject to the rulings of diocesan synod.

The tensions between escarpment practices and the way the people of the north wanted to run their churches, between central control and local innovation will be studied in Chapter Four. It is important to note here that the third method of training *walimu* in a recognised EAC Bible School and appointing them to chapels was regarded by many as the preferred method. The Anglicans in the north had no desire to be a loose network of grassroots chapels, nor to be an independent church. They wanted church workers who had formally studied the Bible and the Prayer Book, to ensure that members followed the Anglican way and were not disparaged by outsiders as illiterates. They wanted to quash outside criticism that this new church was merely a new local sect with no history or legitimacy. They also wanted to be more closely connected to an institution of power and potential development. The Anglican church, as they understood it from Uganda, was an influential, global

⁴¹ *Hadizi ya Archidiacone ya Aru*, 5.

institution, providing *utaratibu* and *maendeleo* for its members. This is what they wanted to replicate, as Adoroti makes clear;

...the things of Anglican [sic] from Uganda should be for Congo, for Congo to become now [like] Uganda... But now there are differences, and they say this Anglican of Congo is different, is another. I would like everything we do in Congo which they do in Uganda to be uniform.⁴²

Pastors saw in this increased uniformity an opportunity for greater control over the work of *walimu* and thus the possibility of avoiding 'clanism' between different villages. The rapid growth of the EAC meant that this centralised model for church planting continued to operate alongside the grassroots models. In Kumuru Archdeaconry, for example, where the EAC continued to spread geographically and demand for trained church workers continually outstripped the resources to train them, the 1999/2000 statistics record that eleven out of seventy-five lay workers had no formal training and thirty-four had only the most basic 'first letter' training.⁴³

African ecclesiastical history continues to call for studies of *walimu* and *wangalizi*, those most effective evangelists in the development of the African Church. Studying Christians who identified so strongly with the establishment of the EAC in a new location that they did become *walimu* and, as the administrative structure developed, moved up the hierarchy of church workers, provides clues to Anglican identity in this area and their contribution will be analysed below.

Walimu and wangalizi

...first to Parombo (village of Mrs Ferdinand), then to Arisi (my village), after to Pathole, and eventually to other corners of Mahagi. My husband and I have travelled all over to open churches. We've gone to each place where the people have asked for a church.⁴⁴

If this sounds like a localised version of the biblical injunction to witness in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and to the ends of the earth, the parallelism would not be lost on the narrator. Marthe Ubotha of Mahagi zone, like other *Wokovu* members, believed that her task was to carry out the Great Commission. The *Wokovu* in

⁴² Adoroti Ombhabua, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [993 - 997]; '...inafaa ya maneno ya Anglican kwa Uganda ikuwe kwa Congo, kwa Congo kuwa sasa na Uganda... Lakini sasa tofauti iko, na wanasema hii ya Anglican ya Congo iko tofauti, iko ingine. Ninapenda kila kitu tunafanya kwa Congo wenye wanafanya kwa Uganda inakuwa *uniform*.'

⁴³ ArchK *Statistiques*, 2000.

⁴⁴ Ubotha Marthe, Mahagi, 27/08/00,[83-88], translated from Alur by Udaga Pi Mungu.

Mahagi and Aru began establishing local chapels as soon as they had made contact with Munege Kabarole and Ben Bataaga. They started in their own villages, gathering their extended family, and then went to evangelise in other villages.

Once the administrative structure was in place most church workers were expected to re-locate at regular intervals when their pastor or archdeacon deemed it necessary. From the beginning some *walimu* enjoyed the itineration or, more often, semi-itineration, of chapel planting. Others felt their loyalty was primarily to one chapel at a time. This reflects slightly different conceptions of the task of the *walimu*: semi-itinerants were often *Wokovu* and emphasised evangelism; those who mainly remained in one place emphasised the local introduction of Anglicanism. These are differences of emphasis rather than entirely different outlooks, both groups could speak the language of *uhuru* and *maendeleo*.⁴⁵

Most of those who itinerated did so from a particular base, travelling further and further from it to establish more churches but always returning to it in between journeys. This semi-itineration was more sustainable as it enabled *walimu* to provide food for themselves from their fields. Marthe Ubothe was one of the few women who itinerated with her husband. Most husbands left their wives at home to look after children, crops and livestock: the story of *walimu* is still largely a story about men. Marthe found that the difficulties of day-to-day living made evangelism hard and demanded initiative if it was to succeed.

To ensure the rapid progress of this new church, Ferdinand and my husband had to organise themselves in many different ways – not forgetting me and my neighbour [Mrs. Ferdinand] – because to open a chapel... in a non-evangelised area brings with it the problem [of finding] drinking water, tea, food...⁴⁶

Most *Wokovu* had developed the necessary Christian commitment for itinerant evangelism through their conversion and membership of the group in Uganda. For others the dislocation of forced migration caused a change in life direction involving conversion and commitment to church work. Below are the stories of three church workers who started work as the EAC entered their area. The events they chose to narrate tell us something of their identity.

⁴⁵ The most radical *Wokovu* did not use *maendeleo*, as Chapter Five will explain.

⁴⁶ Ubotha Marthe, [88-93].

Asiki David's story is one of striking dislocation. Of Congolese parentage, he was born in Uganda. In 1975 he joined the airforce, working as a radar technician at Entebbe airport. He had been baptised and confirmed but claimed that he 'did not know God' and led an immoral life. He was captured by the liberating Tanzanian army in 1979 and spent time in prison in Tanzania and Uganda. There, nurtured by Revivalists, he had a conversion experience as a result of dreams of his dead mother singing hymns and giving him Bible verses. When he was released in 1983 he headed straight for his father's village of Bongilo in Congo where he volunteered as a *mwali* in the emerging EAC. He was semi-itinerant, travelling from the chapel to which he had been appointed, preaching in markets, opening chapels under mango trees, returning to visit them and so covering huge distances in Aru zone and beyond. He continued the work of chapel planting once he was ordained in 1996. Asiki, who claimed to have opened about sixteen chapels in three parishes, explained why he made journeys of over 100km on foot or bicycle to establish chapels among migrated Anglicans;

...I need development, and I need people to get Word of God... Because the Bible says, Jesus said, when two or three are gathered in his name, he's there. So by then when I hear they need church, I just go, and open also, just because they want Word of God. I go after this.⁴⁷

His stated aims were development and 'evangelism', which he describes as bringing the Gospel to places where there were already people with Anglican connections. The work of Asiki and others may have engendered individual conversions or increased commitment to Christianity but it was basically the introduction of another denomination rather than primary evangelism to people with no prior contact with Christianity.

Zamba Asu, erstwhile valet to Idi Amin, also had an abrupt change of life direction as a result of his flight from Uganda. Again he was born in Uganda of Congolese parentage. His father, of whom he spoke at length in his narration, was an evangelist in the COU. Zamba had been baptised but rejected the Christian lifestyle when he went to work in Kampala. In his story there is no mention of sudden conversion but rather the impact of losing everything, fleeing northwards with Amin and returning to his father's village with his father.

⁴⁷ Asiki David, [440-444].

After the war came here I could think about the thing I had done... Let's say, I was baptised and my family was Christian and, because I left being a Christian to be something else, I realised that I had really done wrong. It's wrong to deceive... my God. I was his child and I left him to do sins. Anyway, there, my spirit returned. I no longer like these bad, bad things. I returned to his work, to follow Jesus.⁴⁸

The upheaval of the war caused him to reflect on his life. In his work as *mwalimu* he was following his father's footsteps in his father's village. It was a return to his origins. His work as *mwalimu* was even instigated by his father who immediately on return to his village had set about establishing a Sunday School and later joined the EAC.

In Asiki's and Zamba's stories dramatic change is the most obvious dynamic but continuity is an underlying element. These two men developed very different lives for themselves in Congo from that which they had lived in Uganda. They had lost jobs, status, and homes as a result of the war. Their identity as successful, pleasure-seeking, young men had been destroyed as well. In Congo they had to re-form their lives and identity. In doing so they reaffirmed the Christian belief they had been taught by their parents and returned to the behaviour expected of a Christian. They returned to their fathers' villages and also to their parents' religion: the Anglicanism learnt from migration to Uganda. They wanted to transplant *kanisa letu* to their new/original location. The difference between Asiki and Zamba is one of emphasis. Asiki's *Wokovu* conversion made him take *kanisa letu* to other villages and ethnic groups, believing that his denomination was a vehicle for evangelism from which development would emerge. Zamba was pleased to see the EAC spread but his emphasis was on bringing greater opportunities for his locality. He found the peripatetic life of a *mwalimu* difficult.

Samuel Agupio, who later became pastor of Isiro EAC parish, was a surprising candidate for leadership of a chapel. His story is told by Ozua Samson:

... my home is in the Ekanga area, sub-parish Telenga, and the church is called Telenga. This church began in the year 1981, January... And it was my father [a *Wokovu*] who started it. He was ill by this time... He spoke with us his children, then he spoke with his brothers, other people, there were about four of them... Immediately they formed the

⁴⁸ Zamba Asu, [284-291]; 'Kiisha njo vita kufika hapa ninaweza waza kitu gani nilifanya hivi. Tuseme nilipata baptism na jamaa ilikuwa mukrasto na, sababu niliacha kuwa mukrasto, kuwa maneno ingine mawazo inakuwa kusema kweli nilifanya mbaya. Iko mubaya kudanganya... Mungu yangu. Nilikuwa mutoto yake na nilimuacha kufanya makosa. Basi pale, njo, roho yangu ilirudi. Sipende sasa maneno hili mbaya mbaya. Ninaingia tena kwa kazi yake, kufuata Yesu.'

first committee and we began the church, it was *kanisa letu*. We knew that we would have problems with the government and the neighbouring church of CECA. But we were resolved and we began. Now we arranged its order: who would be its *mwalimu*? They did not see any one amongst us. Now they said, 'No, the one who has lived in Uganda is Samuel Agupio. Even if he doesn't come [to church] now we chose him, he will become our *mwalimu*.' Samuel was not yet saved. He was a drunk, a real drunk... They took him the news... He gave his answer two weeks later, saying if God had chosen him to be the leader he would do it. We prayed for him and immediately he started work...⁴⁹

Agupio appears an unsuitable *mwalimu*; drunk, inexperienced, uninterested. He was, however, a villager who had lived in Uganda and whose parents were *Wokovu*. He was also open to the advice of elders and their belief in God's choice, as he himself confirmed:

They needed to choose a *mwalimu* for our village... It was now the way for me to be saved... I left some time, two weeks, to wait before giving my reply. People came and gave me advice, they said I [should] go and pray to God. He knows that I am a bad person, but they had thought a lot about who could be *mwalimu* there. If they had chosen me it was God...⁵⁰

Although Agupio's case was perhaps the most extreme, it was not uncommon for *Wokovu* members to appoint young non-*wokovu* men to the job. It is striking that the *Wokovu*, for whom public confession, personal Christian commitment and high moral standards were vital signs of a true believer might chose people who may have had none of these qualities to lead local churches.⁵¹ There are several reasons why it happened. These *Wokovu* wanted to form a church which was clearly Anglican and

⁴⁹ Ozua Samson, Aru, 10/08/00, [233-263]; '... kwangu ni kwa fasi ya Ekanga, na sous-paroisse Telenga, na kanisa inaitwa Telenga. Na kanisa hii ilianza kwa mwaka 1981, mwezi wa kwanza... Na ilikuwa baba yangu ndiyo alianza. Alikuwa mugonjwa sasa... Akazungunua na sisi watoto yake, kiisha akazungumuza na wandugu wake watu wengine, walikuwa karibu watu ine hivi... na wao sasa mara moja walifanya komiti ya kwanza na tukaanza kanisa, iko kanisa letu. Tunajua magumu itakuwa pamoja na government na kanisa jirani ya CECA. Lakini hata hivi tufunge roho, tuanze. Sasa tupange utaratibu yake: nani atakuwa mwalimu? Wanaona katikati yetu hakuna mutu. Sasa wakasema hapana, mutu mwenye aliishi kwa Uganda iko Samuel Agupio. Na hata hajaingia sasa tuchague yeye atakuwa mwalimu yetu. Na ilikuta Samuel bado okolewa. Alikuwa mlevi, mlevi sana... Wakamupelekea habari... Hivi akaleta jibu kisha juma mbili kusema kama Mungu anamuchagua kwa uongozi hii atafanya. Tukamwomba, mara moja alianza kazi'

⁵⁰ Agupio Samuel, Aru, 09/08/00, [570-580]; 'Pale wanahitaji kuchagua mwalimu katia village yetu... Ilikuwa sasa njia kwa mimi kukolewa, ...ninaleta muda kuongoja juma mbili, kusema, mbele kuleta majibu. Watu walileta conseil kwangu, kusema niende, niombe kweli Mungu. Anajua niko mutu mbaya, lakini wao waliwaza sana juu ya nani anaweza kuwa pale mwalimu. Kama walinichagua iko Mungu...'

⁵¹ There is no evidence that this happened in Mahagi zone where the *Wokovu* were uniformly more radical than in Aru zone, see Chapter Five.

not just a fellowship group. To do this they knew they had to win over non-*wokovu* Anglicans in the area who saw revivalists as spiritually proud. So they appointed *walimu* with previous Ugandan residency and thus a knowledge of Anglicanism. They also wanted to ensure local credibility, particularly in the eyes of a hostile CECA 20. So they targeted men of local families who had had some schooling.⁵² The older *Wokovu* themselves often had only the most basic education. Importantly, they also believed they could influence these young men because they knew their families. These young *walimu* took up the challenge because it replaced the lost possibilities of Uganda, giving them status and purpose. A spiritual experience of conversion may have been part of this. Certainly once they accepted the appointment they knew that they would be expected to follow a particular code of behaviour. In these three stories of *walimu* the motives, conscious and unconscious, for taking on leadership roles are mixed. To suggest, however, that parental example, status, and success were influential is not to deny commitment to the Christian faith and engagement in a demanding religious way of life. Respect as a church worker had to be earned. Unlike the EAC hierarchy on the escarpment, these men were societal juniors who had few connections with the local social elite and *heshima* was not immediately conferred by status.

These stories give us glimpses into the identity of catechists and evangelists desired by those studying African church history. In contrast to EAC *walimu* from the Semeliki escarpment, the northern *walimu* had not been groomed through school and Bible school for church work nor did they come from prominent families in the wider community. They did, however, often come from Anglican families and were returning to a familiar way of worship. Those men who felt the dislocation most keenly often became *walimu* in the new church. In doing so they were engaged on two different levels which reflected the reality of their dislocation. On the local level they were attempting to bring their brand of global – the Anglican church – to their father’s village and its neighbours. Their sense of belonging to the village was increased by establishing *kanisa letu*. On a regional level they were bringing the global to new areas by using networks of *Wokovu* or returned-migrants. Their religious commitment made sense of the returned-migrant situation and offered them purpose and status. One day a young man was simply a refugee, the next he was the new chapel’s leader of worship and pastoral care. Ten years later he might be a

⁵² Titre Ande, personal communication, 15/11/00.

pastor or archdeacon. They were also attempting to make sense of the situation for others, offering them the *uhuru*, *maendeleo* and *utaratibu* which they felt they had left behind in Uganda. All this they understood as being part of the Gospel message. For these *walimu* it was clear that new personal identity was linked to the developing Anglican identity.

EAC achievements

Abhu: ...there are three departments in the chapel: Mothers' Union, Sunday School, Agape. Each department has thirty members...

Abiziku: The existing departments are: Mothers' Union, Agape (youth) and Sunday School. The chapel has goats, hens and a sewing machine.

Amuko: Our church has a project to saw planks... A good thing in our Anglican church is seminar teaching and Theological Education by Extension (TEE)... The number of baptised was twenty-three, those baptised this past year number ten.

Giyawa: ...we have Mothers' Union and Sunday School.

Gombe: The number of people has reached 60, among them we find people from the Catholic Church, CECA 20, the Pentecostals and even Muslims...we have Mothers' Union, the Sunday School, youth and the choir. These groups have been organised since the beginning of the church... The church is thinking of development, of constructing buildings, cultivating field and planting trees...we have a field of coffee bushes and a saw for planks...we pray on Fridays as well...this year twelve people were baptised.

Kogbulu: ...we have Mothers' Union with six people, the youth group with eight people and the Sunday School group with four people. Project: planting Eucalyptus and making bricks...At the moment we have eighty-seven baptised and thirty-nine who participate at Holy Communion.

Loombe: The number of Christians who participate in Holy Communion is eleven. The number of catechumens is ten... As church project we have goats. There is Sunday School as well as Mothers' Union.⁵³

⁵³ 'Histoire de la Paroisse de Azangani': Abhu: '...il y a 3 départements dans la chapelle: l'Union de mères, l'Ecodim, Agape. Chaque département compte 30 membres...'

Abiziku: 'Les départements existant sont: l'Union de Mères, Agape (jeunes) et l'Ecodim. La chapelle possède des chevres, des poules et une machine à coudre.'

Amuko: 'Notre église a un projet, c'était celui de scier des planches... Quelque chose qui est bon dans notre Eglise Anglicane, c'est l'enseignement par des séminaires, et l'enseignement théologique par extension (ETE)... Les baptisés étaient au nombre de 23 et ceux qui étaient baptisés l'année passée étaient au nombre de 10.'

Giyawa: '...nous avons le groupe de l'Union de Mères, les jeunes de l'Ecole de Dimanche.'

These questionnaire replies from the chapels in Azangani provide tantalising snippets of church life demonstrating the development which took place during the 1980s and 1990s. Whilst chapel planting continued through the 1990s individual chapels began consolidating their presence in the villages. Although brief, these descriptions give some clue to the extent that Anglican aspirations for *utaratibu*, *maendeleo* and *uhuru* had become EAC reality at chapel level. They say nothing about Sunday worship but provide a list of projects and groups for social and spiritual improvement.

The descriptions of these chapels stress the elements of commonality between them and other Anglican churches. The desire to copy the COU and be part of the EAC encouraged the replication of Anglican groups in the chapels. Most had a Sunday School group, which could be found in most Christian denominations, a Mothers' Union group, which is peculiarly Anglican whilst sharing attributes with many other Christian women's groups, and an Agape group, the provincial youth fellowship of Congo. The numbers baptised, confirmed and those being prepared for confirmation are mentioned. Noting these groups demonstrated their Anglican credentials and asserted their membership of a global Christian institution. The reply from Amuko chapel shows appreciation of seminars and TEE which were organised at parish or archdeaconry level. Nevertheless, the development projects listed in the chapels' replies hint at the liberty to address perceived local needs. Some emphasised buildings, others agriculture, others animal husbandry and Abiziku chapel possessed a sewing machine. At Gombe where, unusually, some Muslims had joined the church, a service was also held on Friday. Individual chapels could be shaped to suit their members but only within the limits of what chapel members considered acceptable for an Anglican church. Chapel members saw value in belonging to a bigger group. They desired uniformity rather than innovation. This uniformity was

Gombe: 'Alors le nombre de gens a atteint 60 parmi lesquels nous retrouvons des gens venus de l'Eglise catholique, de la CECA 20, des pentecôtistes et même les Musulmans... nous avons l'Union de Mères, les jeunes, l'Ecole de Dimanche et la chorale. Ces groupes se sont organisés dès le début de l'Eglise... L'Eglise pense sur le développement en construisant des maisons, en cultivant des champs et en plantant des arbres... nous avons un champ de caféiers qui aide et le sciage des planches... nous prions aussi chaque vendredi ... Pour cette année nous avons eu 12 baptisés.'

Kogbulu: '... nous avons 3 départements: l'Union de mères avec 6 personnes, le groupe de jeunes avec 8 personnes et le groupe de l'école de dimanche avec 4 personnes. Projet: planter des Eucalyptus et fabriquer des briques... Actuellement nous avons les baptisés: 87...Ceux qui participent à la Sainte Cène: 39.

Loombe: Le nombre des chrétiens qui participent à la Sainte Cène est 11. Les catéchumènes sont au nombre de 10. Comme projet de l'Eglise nous avons des chèvres... Il existe l'Ecole de Dimanche ainsi que l'Union des Mères.

expressed in the *utaratibu* of Anglican liturgy and hierarchy. These descriptions present a paradox; the Anglican church at its most local was consciously trying to be international, that is to replicate the COU which was assumed to be Anglicanism *per se*. Small EAC chapels developed, not because little groups wanted to do their own thing, but because they wanted to be a part of an inclusive global group, which was seen to accord with their aspirations and which lent status to their socially marginal position. An official, national and international church was introduced to respond to local issues.

If the preference for *utaratibu* resonates with Anglican identity as expressed by those migrating from Boga and Kainama, the Azangani chapels' replies suggest that the flexible approach to church planting allowed for greater local differentiation than in Nord-Kivu and Irumu, a factor borne out by frequent reference in interview to *uhuru* and *maendeleo*.

Uhuru and maendeleo

Peter Yobuta reflecting upon the rapid growth of the EAC among the Kakwa explained how he saw the influence of *uhuru* and *maendeleo*:

Well, firstly the Anglican church is pretty good. Its *uhuru* is there. Someone can see themselves to be in the place of their God. Yes, people like this... Well, the second thing, people like Anglican more because they see *maendeleo*, the *maendeleo* of the church. ... [in] CECA here, they don't like young people to lead... The real work of leading the church they leave to the elderly. Yes, people see this as really bad. And when they opened Anglican [sic] they saw young pastors and *maendeleo* going well. Now, eh, we have agriculturists and what not. Now people can see that this church can truly provide *maendeleo*— physical and spiritual. Yes, they like it very much. Even many authorities understand the church now. They are beginning to send their children. There are even CECA [members] who start to ask us to provide their children with work, eh! Because the Anglican church is - that's to say, the Bible or studying theology is *uhuru*. To study at university is *uhuru*. To do some sort of *maendeleo* - every one is *uhuru* to do it. Yes, people like this a lot.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Peter Yobuta, [799-831]; 'Bon, kwanza kanisa ya Anglican inakuwa mzuri kidogo. Uhuru yake iko. Mutu ajione mwenyewe kama ye iko namna fasi na Mungu yake. Ndiyo watu wanapenda hii... Bon, kitu ya pili watu wanapenda anglican zaidi wao waliona maendeleo, maendeleo ya kanisa. ...CECA ya hapa - hawapende wavijana kuongoza... Lakini kazi kabisa ya kuongoza kanisa wanaacha kwa wazee. Ndiyo watu wanaona mubaya sana. Na wakati wanafungua Anglican wanaona wapasteur wavijana wako na maendeleo naenda vizuri. Sasa, eh, tunakuwa na wa *agronômes*, banani... Sasa watu wanaona kweli kanisa hii inaweza kuleta maendeleo - kimwili hata kiroho. Ndiyo wanapenda sana. Hata wakubwa wengi sasa wanafahamu kama kanisa... sasa wanaanza kutuma watoto wao. Hata

Yobuta suggested in what way *uhuru* and *maendeleo* were linked in peoples' minds to the EAC, even by members of other denominations. The meaning of the words were closely entwined; northerners wanted both freedom to develop, and to develop in freedom. One way this was achieved was by junior members of society having more opportunities to be involved in church leadership. Seniority by age or status was not required to lead an EAC chapel; there were not enough senior Anglicans to make this viable. This meant that the culture of *heshima* was less automatic than in the south. Church workers would earn it by diligence rather than having it bestowed through status. Those searching for freedom from strict adherence to a limited code of behaviour and freedom for study and job opportunities joined the EAC.

Yossa Way, for example, joined the Bongilo church from CECA 20 in 1984 once his uncle, Amuel Gborą, had established it. A talented young man, he felt he had no opportunities in CECA 20 for ordained ministry.

...the opportunity wasn't available in CECA 20 because the conditions were too difficult, there were lots of candidates, all that. So I was, perhaps, at the bottom of the ladder for being chosen. I didn't think that I would one day do theology... But God prepared otherwise. When the Anglican community arrived with us... I put my name forward and I was accepted to do theology.⁵⁵

Committing himself to the EAC led him to be head of the secondary school in Boga, co-ordinator of the diocesan schools work, then academic dean at ISThA, the provincial theological college. For him, *Uhuru* denoted the availability of *maendeleo* possibilities arising from an institution determined to grow and flexible enough to adapt to opportunities which arose.

Yobuta suggested that *maendeleo* included a variety of opportunities from agriculture to theological study which the EAC actively promoted. In each chapel and parish a host of small projects were set up for improvement of living standards and community co-operation. Different groups within the parish also had their projects. Janette Sinziri gives some examples of Mothers' Union projects;

inakuwa CECA wanaanza kuomba sisi vile kuleta na watoto wao kazi, eh! Kwani kanisa Anglikana ndiyo, ndiyo kusema Bibilia, ao kusema *theology* iko uhuru. Hata kusoma university iko uhuru. Kufanya maendeleo fulani fulani kila mutu iko uhuru kufanya. Ndiyo watu wanapenda ye sana.'

⁵⁵ Yossa Way, Kampala, 28/07/00, [36-44]; '... l'occasion ne s'était pas présentée dans cette communauté de CECA 20, parce que là les conditions étaient beaucoup plus difficiles il y avait beaucoup de candidats, tout ça. Alors, j'étais peut-être au bas de l'échelle pour être choisi. Je ne croyais pas que j'allais faire un jour la théologie... Mais Dieu a préparé autrement. Quand la communauté Anglicane est entrée chez nous ... c'est alors que j'ai posé ma candidature et on m'a accepté pour faire la théologie.'

They have little things in the group like cloths, mats, they have fields, they have their baskets, even goats and hens.⁵⁶

By 1990 an office of *Bien-Etre Social* had been created in Aru to encourage the projects and teach new skills. Yuma Ajule, as development worker for his parish, explained how it worked:

David [CMS mission partner] held a seminar. We returned to the churches, to the villages, we went everywhere. So the work that we taught we found in his teaching. First it was the work of digging wells, we taught people to keep fish, those we find good to eat.⁵⁷

The projects were intended to provide for the sanitary, agricultural and educational needs of a rural population which had experienced war, migration, unrest and economic neglect. They provided primary development for those who felt much had been lost in returning from Uganda by encouraging the development of common resources – fields, fishponds, tree plantations, sugar mills – which involved the whole community at a basic level. It was an attempt to ameliorate their standard of living. With the EAC as the institutional driving force behind these initiatives *maendeleo* was not considered a separate wing of the church, as some urban migrants thought it, but rather a natural development of Christian life. Archdeacon Kabarole, comparing the Lugbara and Kakwa to his own Hema people of Boga, notes the hard work of northerners born out of hardship.

But the difference is that ...the people of here [Aru zone] have courage to do manual labour. This is the difference of work because they give of themselves. You will find people will give of themselves because they don't have money. Here there's no money because many of our Christians don't have work [paid employment] but they give the work of their hands.⁵⁸

The EAC members were committed to their church and worked hard for its success. The COU provided the EAC in Aru zone with aspirations for *maendeleo* which touched the desires of the wider community. A common Congolese perception was

⁵⁶ Janette Sinziri, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [446-448]; 'Biko na vitu kidogo kidogo ya kikundi namna bakitambaa, namna ya batapis, biko na bashamba, biko na bamufuko yao, hata bambuzi, kuku iko.'

⁵⁷ Yuma Ajule, [240-244]; 'David... alifanya seminaire. Tulirudi kwa kanisa, kwa vijiji, tunatembea fasi yote. Alafu kazi tunafundisha tulipata mafundisho kwake. Kwanza iko kazi kuchimba poa, tulifundisha watu kufuga samaki ile tuwapata kukula mzuri.'

⁵⁸ Kabarole Baguma, [442-446]; 'Lakini tofauti yenye iko ... watu ya hapa wanakuwa na juhudi sana kwa kutumika kazi na mikono yao. Ile inakuwa tofauti kwa kazi kwa sababu wanajitoa. Utakuta watu wanajitoa kwa sababu hawana pesa. Hapa hakuna pesa kwa sababu wakristo yetu wengi hawana kazi lakini wanajitoa kutumika kazi na mikono yao.'

that a significant part of the mission of the church was to offer development because religious beliefs were expected to be manifest in the improvement of life. A religion whose influence was not perceived to aid day-to-day living was not worth following. Different denominations were assessed in terms of what they offered beyond religious worship. Increasingly, as government and elements of civil society which had tried to take up the mantle of development were unable or unwilling to deliver, churches assumed the responsibilities as the few remaining functioning national institutions. In the neglected corner of North-east Congo a denomination which arrived announcing its commitment to *maendeleo* was attractive to those beyond its immediate group and gained members from other denominations. Yossa's story demonstrates that the EAC benefited from this situation. It also shows the attraction of ministerial training considered in terms of *uhuru* and personal *maendeleo* for those who undertook it.

Many *walimu* became such after they arrived in Congo. There were those, like Adoroti David, who had been *walimu* in Uganda but the majority had had no training or previous experience. Peter Yobuta's experience is common,

... I properly began the work of *mwalimu* in the year '84... I did three or four years of this [then] I studied First Letter. So now I continued to work in different places. After two years I returned to study Second Letter at Aru... they sent me to Mingoro... Again they returned me to study in Boga. From Boga I went to Azangani... I was a *mwangalizi*. After only a year at Azangani they returned me to study the deacons' course.⁵⁹

The process from untrained *mwalimu* through *mwangalizi* to pastor took Yobuta over ten years. Many others never became pastors. Yobuta's father had been a Catholic but when living in Uganda Yobuta had attended the COU with other relatives. In 1984 the EAC had just begun in the Kakwa *collectivité* and Yobuta, who had worshipped in the refugee camps, responded to the mushrooming of chapels by becoming *mwalimu*. For three or four years he worked with only the knowledge he had learnt in Uganda. As the church developed its administrative structures in the northern area Yobuta had the opportunity – expressed as *uhuru* – to study at Bible School. As he trained he was expected to move often to different locations, rarely

⁵⁹Peter Yobuta, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [687-719]; ‘...nilianza kazi ya mwalimu kabisa kwa mwaka wa '84... nikafanya miaka tatu ao ine hivi nikasoma Barua ya Kwanza. Ndiyo ninaendelea sasa kutumika na fasi mbalimbali. ... Kiisha muda wa myaka mbili nilirudia kusoma vile Aru, Barua ya Pili... walinituma kwa Mingoro... vile walinirudisha kusoma Boga. Toka Boga nilikwenda Azangani. ... nilikuwa mwangalizi. Kisha Anzangani mwaka moja peke yake walinirudisha kusoma udikoni.

settling long enough to learn the local language. The formation he and others received was appreciated by the administration as a way of maintaining order and by Christians as a way of ensuring their leaders knew Anglican *utaratibu*. During the 1980s, untrained *walimu* may have known little of the Anglican church except the individual chapels in which they had worshipped in Uganda, that may have been some distance from the parish or diocesan centre. Enthusiastic *wangalizi* may have been more keen to plant chapels than teach the Bible or the Prayer book. Overstretched pastors may have been unable to visit isolated chapels with any regularity. But as Yobuta's story indicates there was an effort on behalf of all these individuals to conform to their conception of an organised religious institution. Training was also perceived by *walimu* as personal *maendeleo*, providing greater confidence to lead and filling, to an extent, the educational lacuna created by an abrupt end to life in Uganda. Thus an appreciation of Anglican *utaratibu* was brought about through a process considered in terms of *uhuru* and *maendeleo*.

Language issues could also be understood within the framework of *utaratibu*, *maendeleo* and *uhuru*. As the EAC grew it encountered the issue of increasing linguistic diversity with concomitant ethnic plurality. The EAC leadership desired a common language in which to express the inclusiveness of Christianity and through which to carry out administrative control. The frustrated exclamation of 'Tower of Babel!' was not uncommon when linguistic diversity provoked particular communication problems which were said to prevent *maendeleo*. The diocesan centre at Boga imposed Swahili as its *lingua franca* for training and administration and encouraged its use in worship. *Utaratibu* was disseminated in Swahili and so the Bible Schools at Aru, Kumuru and Mahagi used Swahili. Many trans-border migrants knew Swahili from their time in Uganda and could study.⁶⁰ However, in the northern area Bangala was the trade language and, as the EAC grew in the north, people who did not know Swahili came forward for leadership positions. Personal *maendeleo*, as ministerial training, was only available to those who knew, or were willing to learn, Swahili. The levelling effect which the Swahili medium had in the urban churches from the 1970s could not be replicated in the north. A policy which had been introduced to be inclusive and to topple Runyoro from its position of sacred language was repeated in an area in which it created the same problem that it had been designed to solve. Fortunately the *Book of Common Prayer* had been translated

⁶⁰ In Uganda Swahili is associated with the military and the regime of Idi Amin.

into Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara in Uganda and, except in the larger centres, church services were often carried out in the local language. This encouraged the *uhuru* to use local songs and musical instruments in services and thus worship could not be contained within a framework of escalement *utaratibu* and *upole*.⁶¹ However, the church workers did not always know the local vernacular. In an attempt to combat potential ethnic division or in response to the pragmatic considerations of availability *mwangalizi* and pastors were frequently sent to work with an ethnic group other than their own and so used the Swahili Prayer Book for services. If church leaders felt that EAC *maendeleo* was stunted by linguistic pluralism, local Christians felt that their *maendeleo* and *uhuru* was stunted by a lack of commitment to their vernacular or regional trade language.

The hermeneutics of *maendeleo* caused problems as well as opportunities for the northern EAC. The call to *maendeleo* was as much a hope as a promise. It may have encouraged people to join initially but it set unsustainable standards. When evangelists encouraged the creation of Anglican chapels by promising the *maendeleo* that they and their congregations had seen in Uganda, they may have assumed that the EAC would rapidly resemble the COU, or they may have been carried away by their own rhetoric and their desire to see the church grow, but where the EAC failed to deliver its promises it was criticised for not providing sufficient *maendeleo*. The parlous economic and political state of the country and the relative lack of wealth and education of EAC members meant that *maendeleo* – even grassroots, small-scale *maendeleo* – was increasingly difficult to deliver. Members constantly compared the progress of their church unfavourably with that of the COU and they perceived themselves to be less successful. Some like Ozua, could rationalise the different standards of *maendeleo* between the EAC and the COU as the difference between two countries.

For me, I try and see how the country of Uganda continues to develop, and the church grows with this development and the Christians as well change to follow this development. Now us here in Congo – the country is falling down, and it means that the church and the Christians also fall down. There is a great difference.⁶²

⁶¹ A point explained further in Chapter Four.

⁶² Ozua Samson, [330-337]; 'Kwa mimi vile ninapima kuona namna inchi ya Uganda iko inafanya *development* kila wakati, na kanisa inapanda na *development* hii na wakristo pia wanabadilika kufuatana na *development* hii. Sasa sisi hapa kwa Congo - inchi inashuka kushuka, na pia inaleta kanisa na wakristo wanashuka. Kuna tofauti kubwa.'

Others who expected *maendeleo* to replicate what they had seen in Uganda and provide a panacea for all their problems were disappointed. Chapels that had been promised significant development projects found their membership dwindling when these were not realised. The achievements that were made were denigrated in comparison with Uganda. Whilst some compared the EAC favourably with CECA others compared it with the COU and found it wanting. The EAC was assessed by its own members according to Ugandan standards of development.

The people of Aru, Kumuru and Mahagi had experienced the COU first hand. They regarded Uganda as a more advanced, more pleasant place in which to live than Congo. But they did not return. They wanted to be seen as Congolese and they wanted to be seen to belong to a Congolese church. Returned-migrants understanding of Uganda and the COU provided them with aspirations which gave an impetus for *uhuru* and *maendeleo*. The *utaratibu* of Anglicanism was for them not a conservative force but one which provided a socio-religious structure in which *uhuru* and *maendeleo* could be (partially) realised. It allowed them to be Congolese legitimately without leaving Uganda entirely behind; to have a foot in both nations.

Conclusion

The migration of Congolese living in Uganda caused a re-assessment, however subconscious, of their identity. The refugees may have been returning 'home' to their 'father's village' but it was an unfamiliar place in which they needed to re-establish themselves and re-form their identity. In contrast to the steady transition from a rural to an urban location of the previous chapter, in the north the migration which led to the introduction of the EAC was an abrupt dislocation of many people's lives. They had not chosen to return, displaying the rewards of their labours and assuming the status of the experienced travellers, as others had done before them. They had fled and no longer had recourse to the 'good life' they had known in Uganda. They wanted to belong but they had experienced life beyond the village that prevented them from easily returning to local traditions yet also provided them with the independence to instigate adaptation and challenge to the *status quo*. Forming an Anglican chapel meant bringing something familiar to the location to which they felt they ought to belong, thus changing that place to their advantage. It was one way of bridging the identity gap of belonging to one's father's village in Congo and belonging to Uganda where they were no longer welcome. In establishing the EAC

in their area these migrants were showing themselves to be both dislocated individuals who needed to belong to their locality, and independent initiators who were seeking order, freedom and development in all aspects of life. Those who felt the dislocation most keenly often volunteered or accepted encouragement to become *walimu* in the developing EAC.

Northern Anglicans, like escarpment Anglicans, wanted to replicate the familiar order of their pre-migration lives. Thus they negotiated the disruption of migration by bringing together the experience of belonging to two nations and to two different lifestyles in the establishment of an Anglican church. This involved provision of a familiar structure and worship, a freedom from constraints they saw in CECA 20 and its close relationship with social hierarchies, and an opportunity for development. The *utaratibu* of *kanisa letu* was an important identity signifier for northern Anglicans but their interpretation of it was significantly different to that of first generation urban migrants from the escarpment. *Utaratibu* was not based on village values but on values learnt through prior migration to Uganda and reshaped to fit the new situation. It was informed by a commitment to grassroots projects of *maendeleo* to raise migrants from the downward mobility of sudden trans-border migration. *Utaratibu* was also interpreted through *uhuru*, primarily a social freedom from constraints not considered conducive to development. Anglican identity for northern members of the EAC, therefore, emphasised the dynamism of new opportunities rather than respect for family tradition. It expected change, expansion and progress.

Chapter Four. Utaratibu : Governance and Ritual in the Eglise Anglicane du Congo.

Introduction

The previous chapters emphasised the historical process of migration and religious change with reference to identity. This chapter places the religious identity of the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) of the 1970s and 1980s at the centre of discussion and demonstrates its shift through time and circumstance. It provides a more analytical approach to religious identity, defined as how a group understands the world and their place in it; a concept which, for EAC members, is intrinsically linked with belonging. The word most frequently mentioned in interview to express why members belong to the EAC is *utaratibu* (order). The previous chapters demonstrated how this common word was interpreted in different historical circumstances. It is analysed in this chapter as an identity signifier that explains how Congolese Anglicans understand the world. An analysis of Anglican consensus on *utaratibu* is followed by a study of contested definitions through its interpretation by other hermeneutical terms found in the narration of significant historical events by rural-urban and trans-border migrants. This contestation highlights the divisions of power along the lines of gender, generation and ethnicity. Thus the chapter elaborates upon Anglican identity shifts presented previously and provides the background to further changes studied in subsequent chapters.

Most informants spoke of *utaratibu* as a valuable characteristic of the EAC inferring two things understood to be closely related; the stratified order of authority and governance within the EAC, and the written liturgical format, *The Book of Common Prayer*, followed in acts of public worship. These two aspects of *utaratibu* provided a unifying structure and, thus, the basis for Anglican identity in Congo. It is no coincidence that the two PhD theses written by Congolese Anglicans reflect on the liturgy and governance of the EAC: ‘Liturgie anglicane et Inculturation, Hier, Aujourd'hui et Demain: Regard sur la Célébration eucharistique en République Démocratique du Congo,’ by Dirokpa Balufuga¹ and ‘Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo: The Influence of Political Models of Authority and the Potential of

¹ Ph. D. thesis, Université Laval, 2001.

"Life-Community Ecclesiology" for Good Governance,' by Titre Ande². They both agree that the Anglicanism on the escarpment pre-independence was a hybrid of various influences, including English, Ugandan and Hema. They both critique present practice before presenting a theological framework for improvement along biblical and African lines. Although they present a case for reform neither suggests that the Prayer Book or the episcopal system should be eradicated. The two elements remain integral to their understanding of Anglicanism. The emphasis of my thesis is to analyse the process of identity shift through historical circumstances and to understand the appeal of *utaratibu* rather than to make theological assessments. In this chapter I analyse what was meant by *utaratibu*, why it was important for EAC identity and how it developed over time. Notwithstanding the weaknesses highlighted by Dirokpa and Titre, I conclude that a broadly consensual view of *utaratibu* was, over several decades, able to unite diverse histories and interests within one denomination and provide it with a coherent identity.

Hierarchical utaratibu.

...I see that the structure is good. It gives hierarchy which gives mutual respect. It is firstly a positive thing. When you are in a hierarchy you understand each other easily.³

The hierarchical structure of the EAC was appreciated by members from all areas of North-east Congo. It linked Congolese Anglicans with the Anglican Communion. Throughout the world Anglicans adhere to a stratified system of ecclesiastical governance which holds that those ordained should have experienced a divine calling recognised by governing councils. Deacons, priests and bishops are expected to operate under the authority of parish and diocesan councils. Decision making, therefore, is meant to be primarily conciliar rather than individual.⁴ Although the structural framework of Anglican governance is similar throughout the communion, it is fleshed out in different locations with a variety of culturally specific interpretations. Many African Anglican churches have a highly stratified

² Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham University, 2003.

³ Tabu Abembe, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [lines 488-491]; 'Pour la structure je vois que c'est bon. Ça donne l'hierarchie, ça donne le respect mutuel. C'est un côté positif d'abord. Quand on est hiérarchisé on se comprend facilement.'

⁴ Philip Thomas, "A Family Affair: The Pattern of Constitutional Authority in the Anglican Communion," in *Authority in the Anglican Communion*, Stephen Sykes, ed. (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1987: 119-143.

organisation, a legacy of the reluctance to ordain those with limited education combined with a need to have leaders of many small, local chapels.

Many people interviewed mentioned their appreciation of hierarchical order by making reference to the clothes worn by church workers, particularly during church services, because identifying the rank of a church worker appeared to be important for members of the EAC.

Well, through the clothes you can understand who is *mwalimu*, who is *mwangalizi*, who is the pastor, who is the archdeacon because the clothes are different... So you can identify who is low... who is in the middle and who is above, until you reach the Bishop.⁵

Indication through clear, visible signs of the hierarchical position of church workers demonstrated unambiguously what function they performed and how they belonged to the larger order. *Walimu* (teachers/catechists) had little or no training and were responsible for one chapel, *wangalizi* (evangelists), who had completed second or third 'letter' at Bible School were responsible for a sub-parish of several chapels. *Walimu* and *wangalizi* were not ordained and remained, strictly speaking, part of the laity. Pastors (priests, *kasisi*) were ordained after following a deacons' course and being ordained deacon, then priest. They had jurisdiction over a parish (unless in a diocesan bureaucratic post) and could baptise, preside over communion and marry people. Parishes were conceived as territorial entities not simply as clusters of chapels. That is, pastors considered themselves as having oversight over a geographical area, even though in reality, the majority of its inhabitants might not be members of the EAC.⁶ Archdeacons administered a geographical region of several parishes. Bishops presided over dioceses of several archdeaconries and confirmed baptised members of the church allowing them to participate in communion.⁷ The Archbishop was the figurehead of the province of the EAC.

⁵ Janette Sinziri, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [334-340]; 'Bon, pale namna ya mavazi we utafahamu mwalimu iko nani, mwangalizi iko nani, pasteur iko nani, Archidiacre iko nani, kwani mavazi iko mbalimbali... Njo we utatambua ile iko chini... ile iko katikati, ile iko juu hivi, kufika mpaka kufika kwa Askofu.'

⁶ The territorial parish system followed the established, national Church of England model. It worked on the escarpment where the EAC was often the largest church but elsewhere the language used of parishes did not fit reality.

⁷ I have presented the hierarchy here in the way in which it is perceived in Congo rather than how it is presented in Anglican ecclesiologies.

At each level there was a council whose authority was meant to supersede that of the individual leader and which was expected to uphold the church canons. One clergyman explained it thus,

...the Anglican church is a good church because in it, when it comes to constitution and statutes, the leaders follow them. People lead well when they follow their constitution.⁸

However, this constitutional and conciliar governance, based on written documents, was often observed in the breach. More often the individual holder of rank was seen as possessing authority by ordinary members of the EAC: the one who holds the authority *is* the authority.⁹ The conciliar model was not eradicated but leaders and members alike better understood the authority of the individual. Titre argues that this personalised authority structure was influenced by dominant models available in society. Church governance in the EAC reflected escarpment structures which, in turn, were combined with colonial and post-colonial forms of secular governance:¹⁰ a governance which, in contemporary African states, has been described as one where power is ‘... weakly institutionalized and remains essentially personalized and particularistic.’¹¹ It was within this personalised hierarchical structure that effective socio-religious power in the EAC lay.

Most Anglican members interviewed appreciated structural *utaratibu* and considered it fundamental to the church of which they were proud to be members. They did so even when criticising certain aspects of it or expressing dismay, sadness or anger at the specific actions (or lack of them) of some of their leaders. The Bishop of Nord-Kivu, who was suspended from office in 2000 and later reinstated, is one example of a leader who personalised diocesan decisions, finances and appointments to such an extent that many church members refused to recognise his authority.¹² Although protracted divisions may have caused some to leave the EAC in Nord-Kivu after

⁸ Musubaho Ndaghaliwa, Kainama, 05/10/00, [466 - 468]; ‘ ... kanisa Anglicane ni kanisa nzuri kwa sababu ndani yake, wakati inakuwa na constitution na statutes, wakubwa wanaifuata. Watu wanaojoza vizuri wakati wanafuata constitutions zao.’

⁹ Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 152f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹ Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder as a Political Instrument* (Oxford: James Currey), 1999: 31.

¹² Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 169-174.

2000, the first reaction of members was to call for a replacement bishop whose personalised authority would not contradict that of the institution.

For many interviewees the episcopacy itself played such a distant and occasional role in their church life that they did not explicitly mention it. The structural *utaratibu* members admired was the progression of power embodied in individuals designated for oversight of specific ecclesiastical divisions. EAC members perceived themselves as belonging to a well-ordered organisation led by people who had different roles and ranks. They expressed satisfaction at the unambiguous structure and the ability to know the place of each member. Nevertheless, bishops, by their office, gave status to the EAC within the wider society and were seen by members as patrons who bestowed good things upon their clients.¹³ Even Anglican Revivalists, who, as the next chapter will show, often had an extremely critical approach to EAC *utaratibu*, could proclaim the practical benefits of hierarchy in terms of evangelism. Ndiritho Paul explained how initial revival in an area new to the EAC was supported by the arrival of ecclesiastical authorities.

But after we began to see the leaders, they started to come, they saw that really the church had value. When they had not yet understood they had begun to scorn [it]. But at Djugu, when they saw the pastor come, and later when the Bishop also came there, they believed that it was a true church and they saw its goodness.¹⁴

The presence of pastor and bishop turned confession of sin into membership of the EAC. The *utaratibu* displayed through church leaders impressed those who had little prior connection with the EAC. It resonated with a cultural understanding of power and authority, and demonstrated that the revivalists belonged to a larger legitimate organisation, thus giving credence to their actions. Indeed the *utaratibu* of structural hierarchy fits with John Pabee's definition of authority, used by Titre, as legitimised and institutionalised power *in society*.¹⁵ The structure of EAC governance indicated to non-Anglicans that it was a well-ordered and legitimate organisation and that those belonging to it were well-connected. Its identity as a socially credible

¹³ Chabal and Daloz, *Africa Works*, 38-39. The political situation mentioned here informs church structures in Congo.

¹⁴ Ndiritho Paul, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [261-265]; 'Lakini kiisha tulianza kuona wakubwa, walianza kufika, waliona kumbe kanisa anakuwa na faida. Wakati wao bado kufahamu walianza kuzarau. Lakini kwa Djugu, wakati waliona pasteur anafika, nyuma wakati askofu vile alifika pale, wanasadiki ya kama iko kanisa la kweli na wanaona uzuri yake.'

¹⁵ Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 14. My italics.

institution was given greater emphasis because of its hierarchical structure. Anglican *utaratibu* could fit with a dominant understanding of societal order and mediation of power. It is precisely this indigenisation which concerns theologians like Titre who fear that the EAC aped many less appealing traits of state governance and offered a ‘political[ly] manipulative interpretation of the culture and biblical passages’.¹⁶ It is also this indigenisation which explains why Anglican members understood the system, were generally content to operate within it, and articulated their sense of religious identity in relation to it. They upheld the value of a system of which they considered themselves a part, and which they viewed as greater than the actions of particular individuals within it. Whilst Titre is probably correct in suggesting that EAC authority structures are flawed the present system was understood and appreciated by those who participated in it.

Ritual utaratibu

There is an excellent programme of prayers... I have found in this part all the things of the Christian rite/custom and following it affirms [my] faith.¹⁷

Utaratibu as used by EAC members encompassed a much wider congruence of ideas than those of structure because the ritual *utaratibu* of the *Book of Common Prayer* was intertwined with hierarchical *utaratibu*. The Prayer Book was considered the essential basis of EAC ritual. Within it, Morning Prayer and the lectionary were most often used. Communion was available only occasionally because of the lack of priests.¹⁸ Thus it was seen as having an irregular role in liturgical ritual but was understood to be an indicator of belonging to the wider Christian faith with other denominations. The EAC welcomed visitors from other denominations to participate in communion. Those in the hierarchy of church governance were usually responsible for proper observance of rites according to the Prayer Book, most widely used in Swahili but available in Alur, Kakwa, Lingala, Lugbara, Runyoro and French. During the 1970s and 1980s the Prayer Book was used as the framework for

¹⁶ Ibid., 203.

¹⁷ Kiko Dudu, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [41-45]; ‘Inakuwa programme lazima ya maombi... nilipata ndani ya sehemu hii mambo yote ya kawaida ya kikristo, na ikafuatwa inaimarisha imani.’

¹⁸ Disquiet was expressed in interview, about the prospect of never taking communion. In 2000 the bishop had not held confirmation services in the north for several years and it was rumoured that some were returning to CECA in the hope of receiving communion before they died. Neema Adroru, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [190–198].

public services on Sundays and special occasions. It was also intended for private and family use.¹⁹ The liturgy performed a ritualistic function within worship, allowing access to the Almighty and ‘express[ing] symbolically important social values’²⁰ and thus providing the central, corporal act of belonging through which identity was re-affirmed.

Dirokpa in his thesis on EAC liturgy considers that, ‘... for Anglicans, liturgy expresses faith,’²¹ and so it should be written and performed in ways appropriate to those using it. Thus his assessment that the Runyoro Prayer Book, as used by the EAC, remained an ‘imported product’ which, nevertheless, contained ‘Hema culture’ makes him consider it an inappropriate vehicle for Congolese Christianity because it was too specific to an alien culture to be of general use.²² He is also critical of the rewriting of the Swahili Prayer Book, published in 1998 after wide consultation throughout the EAC, believing that it did not go far enough to contextualise Christian worship.²³ In this thesis, however, we concern ourselves with the way a cross-section of EAC members responded to the weekly use of the Prayer Book. Most Anglican members were unaware of the issues of liturgical contextualisation and usually spoke favourably of the Prayer Book they had inherited:

... I like to go to the Anglican [church] because in our Prayer Book, before listening to the Word of God, first you hear prayers and confess sins. Here is what I like about it because we pray for all the churches, or the world, or for all governments of for other small things in the world.²⁴

Regular participants knew the Morning Prayer service even if they did not possess a Prayer Book, or could not read. They believed that its content linked them with God, the Bible and the world. In interview a number of people also mentioned the way in which they perceived the Prayer Book as a support to their Christian faith.

¹⁹ Lucy Ridsdale, Cambridge, 15/01/99, [175-177].

²⁰ John Beattie, *The Nyoro State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1971: 121.

²¹ Dirokpa, "Liturgie anglicane," 37.

²² *Ibid.*, 112.

²³ *Ibid.*, 114-115.

²⁴ Kusika Kenyi, Aru, 11/08/00, [229-234]; ‘...ninapenda kutembea kwa Anglicane kwa sababu ndani ya Kitabu chetu cha Sala, mbele ya kusikia Neno la Mungu kwanza munasikia maombi, na kutubu zambi. Hapa ndiyo ninapenda ye kwa sababu tunaomba kwa makanisa yote, ao duniani, ao kwa gouvernements yote ao kwa mambo mengine ndogo ndogo ndani ya dunia.’

Now you come to this part, then you come to the sermon, finally you return to prayer, and you finish. I see that to come to [each part] is of great benefit. If you have a problem you will understand the problem through the prayer; [through] following each part to the sermon.²⁵

Weekly sustenance of ordinary life and restatement of Christian faith came through the weekly following of Morning Prayer which always included a sermon.

Another reason for the appreciation of the Prayer Book was its perceived link with different congregations, in different villages and towns, who were all following the same words and the same lectionary,

... with us here you read [the readings for] Trinity week, this is what they will read in Bwakadi, [and] they will read in Boga – this is *utaratibu*.²⁶

Liturgical order was not simply a question of following the Prayer Book but the fact that this was done in every chapel. This order was considered a great advantage by those who had lived or travelled in other countries, as Damali Sabiti has done,

So the system is always the same, only that using (sic) different languages... I feel comfortably (sic) in all the countries where I always move... because it is like uniform. The liturgy's the same, there is no problem.²⁷

The liturgical structure of the Prayer Book connected Anglicans across time and space to other Anglicans, whether in the neighbouring villages or in different countries speaking different languages. It brought a sense of familiarity in an unfamiliar place. In using the word 'uniform', Damali is equating liturgy with an outward identity signifier which was a point of great pride for school children, choir members, Mother's Union, clergy, *inter alia*, who delighted in the opportunity to wear similar attire which visibly declared their belonging together. When liturgical rites were likened to uniform in a Congolese context it suggests not simply a 'sameness' or conformity but pride in demonstrating corporate belonging. In this case, it was not just belonging to those worshipping in the same service, but belonging with Anglicans in Congo and throughout the world. When Christians in North-east Congo recited the liturgy during Sunday services they were keeping the

²⁵ Janette Sinziri, [331-334]; 'Sasa unafika kwa kipande, sasa unafika kwa mahubiri, ya mwisho unakuja kurudisha na sala, unamaliza. Ninaona pale kufika iko faida sana. Kama we iko maneno we utafahamu maneno kutoka kwa sala; kufika kwa kipande kufika kwa mahubiri.'

²⁶ Musubaho Ndaghaliwa, [317]; '...kwetu unasomea hapa juma ya Utatu, ni hili watasoma kwa Bwakadi, watasoma kwa Boga - ile ni utaratibu.'

²⁷ Damali Sabiti, Mukono, 20/10/00, [319 - 326].

faith and connecting with people who were not physically present in that particular geographical location. The way of maintaining these connections was through the orderly observation of particular rituals. Ritual *utaratibu* sustained faith and community beyond what was immediately visible.

This ritual style of worship was in the 1970s and 1980s the dominant form of worship in the EAC. The Prayer Book functioned as the ritual of a denomination which considered proper spiritual behaviour to be the performance of the correct rite in worship according to Christian custom. According to Bénézet Bujo, a Roman Catholic theologian from Ituri, prior to the introduction of Christianity ritual worship was originally associated with ancestral veneration. The veneration of ancestors was usually condemned by the EAC and does not appear in the Prayer Book (although Dirokpa would like to fill this lacuna²⁸). Bujo considers that ‘...rituals are a way of remembering and re-enacting the past, and their repetition constitutes a guarantee of prosperity for future generations.’²⁹ Proper performance of a rite is an activity of connection beyond physical limitations. I have suggested elsewhere that the ritualistic element in Anglican worship linked people across time and space, and therefore with both the living and the dead.³⁰ Belonging to the EAC through observance of its rites linked Anglicans to those who had been members before them and those who were members elsewhere. Continuing the rite gave hope for linking to members in the future.

The ritualistic approach was appreciated by EAC clergy who believed that it brought clear doctrinal teaching to Christians. It aided clergy to perform their perceived task and at the same time exalted their position. Clergy were usually keen to maintain the quiet, orderly, respectful form of worship into which they were initiated. However, in presenting key elements of the Christian faith in a structured manner the liturgical rite of the Prayer Book provided the way in which *all* members of the EAC could become part of *utaratibu*. The Church hierarchy may have initiated the ritual, they may have performed rites of baptism, confirmation, communion, marriage and burial, but they could not do them effectively without the presence of a congregation

²⁸ Dirokpa, "Liturgie anglicane," 239. The present liturgy of the Anglican Church of Kenya contains references to ancestors.

²⁹ Bénézet Bujo, *African Theology in its Social Context*, (Nairobi: St. Paul Publications), 1992: 29-30.

³⁰ Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood, "'One Day we will Sing in God's Home': Hymns and Songs in the Anglican Church in North-east Congo (DRC)," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34,1-2, (2004) 158.

of people whose social and religious life was sustained through the orderly repetition of familiar, spiritual words and actions. Through the *utaratibu* of the Prayer Book every member participated in and belonged to the EAC. Although the ranks were different, worship provided unity and belonging. Because ritual *utaratibu* enabled this sort of participative unity there was less emphasis on a strict moral code of behaviour for defining active membership as was found in other Protestant denominations. The disciplined repetition of correct attitude and practice within worship was paramount to a code of social behaviour outside worship. The basis for Anglican identity, as articulated through the narration of worship events by EAC members, was therefore more closely linked with the proper performance of community ritual than the observance of codes of individual moral behaviour.

Order, power, security and unity

This chapter now turns to theological and sociological values inherent in the EAC understanding of *utaratibu* as narrated by members; how it relates to concepts of God, divine and human power, earthly security and ecclesiastical unity. It further illustrates how Anglican structures of liturgy and hierarchy are related to the religious, social and cultural context in North-east Congo.

A God of order

‘God is a God of *utaratibu*’ was regularly pronounced in sermons and in expressions of faith by EAC members. It was the reflexive, first statement made of God’s nature from which other characteristics - omnipotence, love, etc. - emanated. *Utaratibu* was seen as a primary characteristic of the divinity. From God’s first act in creation, bringing *utaratibu* out of chaos, the divine will was seen as providing order. Redemption was regarded as God’s ordered plan for the world, a world which had fallen short of the *utaratibu* ordained by God. A God of *utaratibu* expected orderly systems through which to manifest his power. Anglican *utaratibu* was considered one way of responding to this orderliness. Spontaneous, informal worship, as practised by some Pentecostal denominations was suspect because it did not seem to reflect this order. Charismatic worship was considered to threaten the submission of the clerical hierarchy to the liturgy and overturn the orderly, participative element for all members. Order permitted belonging; one knew one’s place and through belonging to this order God’s power could be accessed. Through the *utaratibu* of

rites properly performed Anglicans could communicate with God. Although, as evangelical Protestants, they believed individuals had access to God through prayer, many EAC members gave credence to the view that order was effectively a hierarchical transference of power through which God's will could be carried out.³¹ Bujo claims this is part of Bantu philosophy:

God then is the dispenser of life... Life is a participation in God, but is always mediated by one standing above the recipient in the hierarchy of being.³²

The source of life mediates life through others which means that some people have greater power and influence. Order, as mediated through a hierarchical structure was found in indigenous socio-religious worldviews and was, therefore important to many Congolese not just Anglicans. The EAC and the Catholic church provided systems of ecclesiastical governance which could be understood within this schema. Congolese state authority also had its roots in this worldview, although its excesses made its exercise of power a caricature of order.³³ Religious order was particularly important in a social situation of disorder, whether that be disruption as the result of migration, or the fear and unease of living in a disordered state. Migrants were conscious of the emotional as well as the spiritual benefits of a familiar order. They also believed that such an order provided a conduit for power, both social and religious.

Such was the appreciation of a mediated hierarchy of order that the Anglican system was admired by other Protestants. Whilst some maintained that the EAC was dangerously close to Roman Catholics, others developed their own episcopal structures and introduced more formal, written liturgies. One example of this was CECA 20 *Réformée*, which split from CECA 20 after a long and acrimonious struggle in the 1980s over church governance. It adopted an episcopal system and made overtures to the EAC for recognition. Some members, referring to the epistles to Timothy, declared that the new system was biblical³⁴ and 'had a good *utaratibu*,

³¹ Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 152.

³² Bujo, *African Theology in its Social Context*, 20.

³³ Chabal and Daloz, *Africa Works*, 162, demonstrate that in many African states 'disorder' has its own rationale which makes institutional order and reform unappealing to those in power.

³⁴ Ngonu, Phineas, and Richard Lombu, Bunia, 25/9/00, [118-123].

and its representation seems good before God and in the world'.³⁵ CECA *Réformée* members wanted an ecclesiastical order which they considered was understood by and, therefore had power in, society.

Power

God's power was accessed by EAC members through liturgical worship performed by those who had ecclesiastical authority. This power was considered to originate with God which provided support for any actions of the clergy who managed it. Those in authority could manipulate power for their own ends or carry out the functions of the community.³⁶ Because of this Titre suggests that, 'This hierarchically transmissible power is independent of the congregation.'³⁷ This is true, in the sense that members of the congregation have little influence over who is appointed to particular structural positions. It is untrue, however, in the sense of participating in *utaratibu* in its widest sense. An active participation in church order was expected by those from the underside of the power divide through ritual repetition of the liturgy. EAC members knew that a hierarchy of power could be misused.³⁸ Those who had little direct involvement with structures of power could find the *utaratibu* through which power was mediated oppressive and constraining, but most spoke of it in terms of providing meaning, direction, purpose, and belonging to an entity larger and more powerful than oneself or ones' family. For migrants this was particularly useful. By belonging to the EAC they were adhering to an *utaratibu* which had legitimacy in the eyes of the state and which had global connections. It was more influential than a local gathering of Christians in a new place and provided them with an identity which linked them to power when they felt most powerless. Whether they then used these connections as a framework for comfort and stability or opportunity and action depended upon the particular history and social context of different migrant groups.

³⁵ Ibid. [110-111]; '...inakuwa na utaratibu muzuri, na representation itaonekana vizuri mbele ya Mungu na katika dunia.'

³⁶ Abembe Tabu, [490-494].

³⁷ Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 154.

³⁸ Aruku Abe, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [243-250].

Security

In the dislocation of migration *utaratibu* for Anglican members was also seen as a form of security. *Utaratibu*, both hierarchical and ritual, offered migrant EAC members continuity with the locations from which they had migrated and security in a strange and disordered present. The institutionalisation of religious movements has been criticised in terms of them losing their popular appeal, becoming bureaucratised and misusing power.³⁹ Yet the migrant laity involved in planting churches wanted an institution. When faced with migration or with the actions of state organisations which seemed at best arbitrary and at worst cruel, belonging to an ordered, recognised institution provided some form of protection (however slight in practice) and a sense of safety. The *utaratibu* of the EAC, although flawed, provided for its members a greater sense of order than the disordered state in which it was situated.

Meredith McKittrick, in her book *To Dwell Secure*, has hypothesised that the rapid growth of Christianity in Ovamboland, Namibia, in the early 20th century was a result of the convergence of Christianity with migration and the perceived need of those who responded to both for increased security.⁴⁰ The Christian trope of security surrounding the message of a need to be saved from sin, McKittrick argues, made sense to the Ovambo after a history of social, political and economic upheaval, thus an increasing number of people were willing to become Christians. In the Congolese context, however, most of the EAC migrant members had made their initial response to the message of Christ's redemption prior to migration. For them the uncertainty of migration created the need to reproduce the particular religious organisation which they believed offered security in terms of familiarity, legitimacy and protection. What provided security in the disorder of sudden forced migration or urban living was the ritual and structural order of a church which believed that 'God is a God of order'.

References to biblical narratives occurred occasionally in interview when talking of the relationship between migration and faith. They usually revolved around the ideas of communal expansion or amelioration which included reference to security. For example, Ozua Samson talked of his family's traumatic return to Aru from Uganda

³⁹ David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A social history of the Hwesa people, c. 1870s-1990s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1999: 97-100.

⁴⁰ Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 275-276.

as leaving Egypt for the Promised Land,⁴¹ a place of safety but also of hope of a better life. Otuwa Simeon saw his return to Congo as analogous to Ezra's return to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple and quoted Ezra 9:9, 'He has given us new life to rebuild the house of our God and repair its ruins, and he has given us a wall of protection...' For Otuwa, a revivalist, the institution of the EAC was the 'wall of protection' which enabled him to rebuild the true church in Aru zone through the preaching of confession of sin.⁴² For urban migrants security was reflected in continuity with the church of 'our fathers,' the tradition brought by Apolo Kivebulaya, and expansion was often narrated as spreading this tradition further into Congo; an action understood as fulfilling Apolo's dying wish. Migrant Anglicans did not consider membership of the EAC as merely a retreat to a safe haven. They identified, although to different degrees, with concerns of evangelisation and social development within the security of belonging to a wider network.

Unity

Internal unity of the EAC became an important aspect of identity for Anglicans. With the rapid growth of the northern church the EAC in North-east Congo contained a much greater diversity of peoples from a larger number of ethnic groups than it had done twenty years previously. Yet the escarpment church remained united by Hema dominance which affected the migrant church. The previous chapters hinted at change beginning to occur within the EAC that included a cry for ethnic equality within the church which echoed the best of nationalist discourse. Paradoxically, discourse on unity grew as variety threatened the uniformity of escarpment practice and Congolese Anglicanism became increasingly hybrid as a result of members' mobility. During the 1980s the discourse of unity, *umoja*, developed consciously as increased diversity provided greater potential for division. Thus, *umoja* can be added to the hermeneutical group of words used by members when narrating EAC identity. Anglicans began to consider themselves to be part of a peculiarly united church, which cohered despite increasing diversification. They prided themselves on avoiding the public divisions of other denominations.⁴³ Mbusa Bangau believed that

⁴¹ Ozua Samson, Aru, 10/08/00, [438-449].

⁴² Otuwa Simeon, Aru, 11/08/00, [455-480].

⁴³ This reputation was not without blemish, although division in the EAC in the North-east was extremely rare until 2000 when members of Nord-Kivu diocese took sides over the suspension of their

the hierarchical order of governance maintained internal unity and respect for the EAC.

I like this structure which tries to keep the unity of the church... With the Anglican church structure it is difficult for something to divide the church... In other churches anyone can act as and fight to become a legal representative... [The EAC] keeps her structure and that means that she keeps her honour.⁴⁴

Mbusa's statement reflects a common sentiment that it was the consensual aspects of EAC *utaratibu* which held Anglicans together; the hierarchy and the rite, the sense that Anglicans were worshipping together in different locations. Migrants particularly wanted to maintain unity with those they had left and acknowledged this in their adherence to *utaratibu*. As the next chapter will discuss, however, the forces which encouraged unity within the EAC often encouraged disagreements with others, usually with those most similar to them – other Protestant denominations.

Hierarchical and liturgical *utaratibu* was the basis of EAC identity for its members. It provided continuity with the past, connection to divine power, fellowship with others present or absent, and the security and unity which these things brought. From this understanding of *utaratibu* EAC members defined Anglicanism. This contrasts with the findings of Zac Niringiye on the Church of Uganda (COU) identity, which, he says, was not found in Anglicanism as commonly defined by liturgy, episcopacy and parochial structure but rather in a pastoral response to suffering.⁴⁵ As Chapter One indicated, circumstances had ensured that the EAC plotted a different path of growth from the COU.⁴⁶ If Niringiye is correct, the EAC in the 1980s articulated its sense of identity in terms which appeared more closely to reflect its Church of England origins than did its larger, more established neighbour. A marginal church, that had not had the perceived advantages of the COU and that had grown rapidly as the result of migration, had, perhaps, greater need to express episcopal and liturgical

Bishop. Elsewhere in the EAC there have been incidents of small groups leaving the church, usually when a leader they supported did not receive promotion.

⁴⁴ Mbusa Bangau, Kampala, 28/07/00, [540-555]; 'J'aime cette structure qui essaye de garder l'unité de l'église... Avec la structure de l'Eglise anglicane il est difficile qu'un élément puisse diviser l'Eglise... Dans d'autres églises n'importe qui peut s'improviser et lutter pour devenir représentant légal... Elle garde sa structure et cela fait qu'elle garde son honneur.'

⁴⁵ David Zac Niringiye, "The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with particular reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-92," (PhD, University of Edinburgh), 1997: 341-5.

⁴⁶ Chapter One, 41-42.

utaratibu as the basis of its identity. However, the interpretation of Church of England forms in the EAC represented a particular response to the local situation of migrant growth. Anglicans in North-east Congo in the 1970s and 1980s had shaped governance and ritual in their own image.

The changing face of utaratibu

The second part of this chapter turns from focusing on *utaratibu* as the consensual identity feature which unified disparate groups of Anglicans in the 1970s and 1980s to studying the contested interpretations of *utaratibu* as a result of different patterns of growth through migration. That *utaratibu* remained an important part of EAC identity is evident by the quotations used above which were all given by EAC members in 2000 but its significance varied among groups within the EAC as they interpreted it differently according to their context. The growth of the EAC in North-east Congo, charted in previous chapters, was a process of identity change for the institution and its members. The ecclesiastical model of Anglicanism as localised on the escarpment was challenged by this growth. Anglicanism was being imagined differently by its members in different places as a result of different historical events. Although *utaratibu* events were selected in their narratives by most Anglicans interviewed they were plotted with a variety of other events and interpreted by different hermeneutical terms arising from these events. If Anglicanism on the escarpment was introduced as a hybrid mix of influences, its hybridity was enhanced by the mobility of its members. These contested interpretations emphasise gender, generation and ethnic divisions.

Rural-urban migrants

The origins of the EAC in Congo outlined in Chapter One demonstrated the way in which Anglican *utaratibu* was interpreted through the stratification of the local politico-religious system of escarpment society. The EAC systematised within a local framework, what Titre calls, the Anglo-Ugandan 'hybridisation of Christian authority'⁴⁷ brought by Apolo Kivebulaya and CMS. It took a dimension of traditional Hema religious power and moulded Anglicanism in its image, abandoning grassroots expressions of religion in which the ruling classes were rarely involved. It

⁴⁷ Titre Ande, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 127 & 139.

mirrored to some degree, even if it were a distorting mirror, indigenous socio-religious order. Isingoma Kakwa said, ‘...there was a sort of traditional structural organisation... pastors and bishops are regarded sort of like chiefs, they are regarded as chiefs in social rank.’⁴⁸ Indigenous forms of governance were further influenced by colonial forms of rule which manipulated hereditary, hierarchical rule and compromised the consensus and participation which had usually marked traditional authority. By the 1970s *utaratibu* was linked to social seniority. Older men, often from the higher echelons of Hema and, to a lesser degree, Nande society held positions of influence within the EAC and were treated with proper *heshima* befitting their socio-religious rank as those who had a special relationship with the divine.

In the 1970s escarpment Christians migrating to towns did not plant churches until they had representatives of this power structure in place. They wished to replicate *utaratibu* as it had evolved in and around Boga. It provided familiarity with home, ensured *upole* (gentleness) in religious practice and legitimised their presence with state authorities. As the EAC spread into towns its stratified power structures were almost exclusively male and gerontocratic as well as socially and ethnically elitist. Young men and those from other ethnic groups had little direct influence in decision-making within the EAC, although there were conscious efforts to change the situation and exceptions can be found of those who, through force of personality or specific circumstances had more prominence than the norm. In the 1970s and 1980s ecclesiastical power was unequally distributed among generation and ethnic groups who had members in the EAC. A position of *heshima* within the EAC was also influenced by gender. In leadership Anglican and Hema traditions colluded to produce a male-led and predominantly male-oriented church.⁴⁹ Added to this, the national situation also encouraged the domestication of women’s roles. The *authenticité* policy of the 1970s called women to patriotism by returning to the ‘authentic’ African roles of wives and mothers.⁵⁰ In the 1980s it was almost unheard of for a woman to take a public role in the main Sunday service in front of a mixed

⁴⁸ Isingoma Kahwa, Edinburgh, 07/06/00, [47]; ‘...il y avait en quelque sorte une organisation structurelle traditionnelle... les pasteurs et les évêques sont considéré de quelque sorte comme les chefs, sont considérés comme les chefs au rang social.’

⁴⁹ Chapter One, 60-61.

⁵⁰ Dorothy L. Hodgson and Sheryl A. McCurdy, "Introduction," in *'Wicked' women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa*, Hodgson and McCurdy, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 13.

congregation. The escarpment and urban church did not appear to offer leadership opportunities for women that differed from the expectations of the dominant culture.

The Prayer Book too had been interpreted to fit the order and rites of the socio-political hierarchy on the Semeliki escarpment. Liturgy was performed with an *upole* considered appropriate for approaching the divine. Following the Prayer Book was the central act of corporate worship. Week by week urban migrants performed the same rites and read the same words as did Anglicans on the escarpment. The Prayer Book maintained the continuity the migrants sought and kept them in touch with ‘their fathers’ so they could be at home in a new place. Belonging to the EAC meant for them an affirmation of familial and ethnic belonging. Their ethnic and religious identity coalesced in ritual *utaratibu*. Coupled with *upole* and *heshima*, *utaratibu* was understood as providing something of the comfort and familiarity of home. This continuity with the *utaratibu* of the escarpment was partly because of the gradual, local and voluntary nature of migration and partly because the first migrants had had little experience of life beyond the escarpment.

In attaching themselves so firmly to an *upole* and *heshima* interpretation of *utaratibu* first generation migrants uncoupled the deep-seated emotional expression of their EAC identity from *maendeleo*. *Maendeleo* represented the social provision of the church - schools, clinics and so on – which was believed to improve society. Paradoxically, even though it was the *maendeleo* aspirations of the EAC which encouraged many to migrate it was presented in their interview narratives as of secondary importance to *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* in the religious identity of urban migrants. Firstly, *maendeleo* was not felt to link them to ‘their fathers’ in any particular way because it was not connected with the indigenous social structure. Thus *maendeleo* in ritual or governance of the EAC could be considered a betrayal of the tradition preserved since the death of Apolo Kivebulaya. Secondly, other Protestant churches were beginning to provide similar services in towns despite initial reluctance, so there was nothing unique about the provision of schools and hospitals. Thirdly, large-scale projects rarely involved the whole community.

Maendeleo, however, was central to the narratives of identity recounted by the children of migrants indicating seeds of change which would not germinate until the 1990s. The criticism of the *upole*, *heshima* ethos which surrounded *utaratibu* was based precisely on a desire to distance themselves from their parents’ cultural traditions, an attitude they regarded as ethnocentric, and on an appreciation of

maendeleo as central to the church's work. The challenges faced by the EAC as a result of its rapid growth by migration beyond its original size illustrate that the desire for conformity to denominational tradition may be the first response of migrants but it is soon followed by a critique of tradition by other migrants exposed to alternative methods of being church, as the trans-border migrants were the first to demonstrate successfully.

Trans-border migrants

Coming from the COU, trans-border migrants were familiar with the same hierarchical structure as the EAC and they wanted to uphold it. They thought it brought honour and respect to the church. As it played an important role in defining their identity *against* CECA 20 and *with* the southern Anglicans as members of the same diocese, structural *utaratibu* came to be seen as vital characteristic of the EAC in the north. Asiki David contrasted it with the perceived failings in the less stratified forms of governance of CECA:

...in CECA there is no difference. You don't know who is who. At least you ought to have a boss so the work, whatever you are doing, can have honour, can have respect also ...wherever you work you should have something that you know. There is a chain of command.⁵¹

Asiki used a phrase from his military past to explain the structure of the EAC. He was emphatic that work, whether religious, military or social was best done when the workers knew their place and their task. Implicit in this was the expectation of unquestioning obedience to those further up the chain: an idea which accorded with that of Anglicans further south. Yet, in the northern situation, Asiki presented this definition of *utaratibu* as *maendeleo* and *uhuru* from a form of worship and governance he did not appreciate. These two interpretative identity signifiers are here connected with worship and structure and not simply social activities. Thus trans-border migrants brought a different interpretation of *utaratibu* to the EAC from 1979 onwards; one which saw Anglican order in terms of change and improvement more than in the preservation of a tradition. They wanted the freedom to perform their own religious rites rather than conforming to the standards of the villages to which they had returned and to put in place institutions for social development which would ameliorate their refugee status. The dislocation of rapid, return-migration to Congo

⁵¹ Asiki David, Aru, 22/08/00, [95-106].

and the influence of the Revivalists' emphasis on evangelism ensured that church planting preceded the introduction of hierarchical *utaratibu*. This dynamic approach was further encouraged by a complex of historical and social factors. In an area of acephalous, segmentary societies highly stratified social order was potentially antithetical to northern village values and respect accorded to centrally appointed church workers was much less evident in the north than the south of the EAC. Yet, as Chapter Three indicated, prior labour migration influenced the introduction of greater stratification enabling Anglican *utaratibu* to be better accepted than it might otherwise have been. Furthermore, returned labour migrants were distanced from particular Alur, Lugbara or Kakwa social structures and also possessed confidence enough to challenge them. Thus junior migrant members were likely to take leadership positions in the EAC and encourage the definition of *utaratibu* as *maendeleo* and *uhuru*. The plotting of *utaratibu* with these identity signifiers made for a different imagining of the central basis of EAC identity that challenged the assumption that seniority and ecclesiastical rank were closely linked and that social status was influential in determining how far one would ascend the church hierarchy. Young men could potentially rise higher and quicker at least to the rank of pastor. This they considered to be personal *maendeleo* and *uhuru* from the social constraints of those who did not have the connections normally expected of church leaders. Their status in terms of education was also ambiguous. Most *walimu* wanted further education but, particularly in the early years, relatively few actually received much formal Anglican training. At the end of the 1980s, however, as a few began to go to Boga for ordination training another assumption was challenged. Pastors no longer came entirely from the escarpment and mainly from the Hema and Nande. The northern ethnic groups were also represented in decision-making at synod. The specific cultural assumptions of the escarpment could no longer automatically underlie discussion.⁵²

The northern church also altered women's roles in the EAC. Archdeacon Kabarole noticed a difference between women in the Aru area and those in the Boga area:

⁵² Alio Samweli linked *upole* to the way in which meetings were conducted, suggesting that Hema considered gentle inference or the ignoring of an issue the polite way to deal with a tricky subject, whereas the northerners were more likely to tackle the issue head on. A situation which could lead to the taking of offence on both sides.

Some women can even preach... Some can't even read but they really work hard in the church. They can preach. And I see a big difference in other places, Boga for example. Women [there] are really very frightened. Only a very few of them can stand amongst people and preach. But here they preach.⁵³

Women in the north were more likely to take a public role in ritual *utaratibu* than those in the south. The change was slight; the handful of women who took the evangelists course in Aru were usually considered to be training for MU posts but a few women acted as unofficial *walimu* in charge of chapels. In the north, because of its interpretation by *uhuru* (used because of particular migratory circumstances), ritual *utaratibu* was uncoupled, occasionally and partially, from hierarchical *utaratibu* so that women who did not hold authority within the EAC structure might take a public role in community worship. Succeeding chapters will also demonstrate the influence of revivalism in this.

The rapid growth of the church and the migrants desire to partially distance themselves from local custom meant that, even once the hierarchical structures were established, there remained a measure of fluidity in their practical outworking. In this scenario the relationship of ordinary members to the *utaratibu* of hierarchy and liturgy was interpreted according to *maendeleo*. That is, the actions of the whole community to improve their standard of living, providing primary development they perceived as unavailable elsewhere in the area, arose directly from their membership and worship as Anglicans. If, in this situation, the reasons for adhering to Anglican *utaratibu* were the opportunities for *maendeleo* and *uhuru*, then *utaratibu* was understood as a framework for opportunity rather than conformity.

As the northerners had a slightly different relationship to hierarchical *utaratibu* than did those from the escarpment so their relationship to the Prayer Book was not the same. Firstly, the influence of Revivalists and CECA 20, as will be detailed in the following chapter, meant that many were involved in or aware of Anglicans worshipping regularly without following a written liturgy. So, there was a degree of *uhuru* in worship as well, even if many considered the Prayer Book most appropriate for public worship. Secondly, the language of the Prayer Book posed problems. Whilst it was available and used in Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara, the primacy of

⁵³ Kabarole Baguma, Aru, 09/08/00; [491-500], Na wabibi wengine wanaweza hata kuhubiri... Na wengine hata hawakusoma lakini wanafanya kazi ndani ya kanisa. Wanaweza kuhubiri. Na ninaona tafauti ingine fasi zingine, kama tunaweza sema kwa Boga, ni zaidi. Wamama wanagopagopa sana. Iko wachache tu wenye wanaweza kusimama katikati ya watu na kuhubiri. Lakini huko wanahubiri.'

Swahili in the southern area meant that the diocese imposed Swahili as the official Anglican language for meetings, administration and services rather than the more commonly spoken trade language of Bangala.⁵⁴ However, having the Prayer Book in the vernacular encouraged *uhuru* to use local forms of worship. Alio Samweli, pastor and mainstream revivalist, for example, acknowledged in interview that worship in the EAC in Aru and Mahagi *territoires* had been greatly influenced by Boga. However, when he was pastor of Ekanga, half the style of worship was from Boga and half was 'doing it in our way to get alive in the service' because, he thought, the people, 'shouldn't be suppressed'.⁵⁵ Amid Morning Prayer Alio led his congregations in lively dancing and singing. He understood them to be related to traditional Lugbara forms of worship that he, as religious leader, was expected to initiate. This approach challenged the belief that worship was nothing more than the *upole* ritual of the Prayer Book. The northerners were beginning to introduce other forms of worship, more spontaneous and egalitarian, which had greater resonances with their popular culture. Moreover, this display of *uhuru* produced a poly-ethnic nuance to public worship in the increasingly diverse membership of the EAC.

'Those things of Boga'

Widespread migration and the resultant church growth had forced apart the coalition of the EAC with escarpment culture. Escarpment Anglicans were often reluctant to recognise this. The changes instigated by the northern EAC as a result of their different interpretation of *utaratibu*, for example, were tempered by the tendency for Boga to send clergy from the escarpment to work in the north. This policy maintained links between the two areas when travel and communication was difficult and provided mutual learning at a personal level. It was also an attempt by Boga to mould the northern church into its own image, assuming that the historical centre of the EAC provided best Anglican practice. Archdeacon Kabarole Baguma acknowledged proudly the influence of his Boga origins in his own ministry in Aru:

⁵⁴ Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 147.

⁵⁵ Alio Samweli, Arua, 03/09/00, [870].

...I grew up there in Boga, I studied there in Boga, so the doctrine of [Boga] I brought here. Everything that is done here I taught to these people, so they were taught those [things] of Boga.⁵⁶

He also claimed superiority by suggesting that returned migrants from Uganda knew little of the EAC and relied on him to be their mentor to instruct them in the ways of Boga. Kaberole expected conformity to an escarpment hegemony. The northerners were ambiguous about this. In areas where escarpment practice was familiar to them from their experience of the COU they were willing to accept it. If it offered *maendeleo* in terms of ministerial training they saw its benefits. But there were areas, like that of worship already mentioned, in which the northerners compromised between performing the ritual of Morning Prayer in the *upole* manner expected by seniors in the church, who were all Hema from Boga, and introducing more lively local worship. Tensions might have been much more severe had centralisation by the escarpment church been more successful. The diocesan centre at Boga could not effectively impose its identity on areas where the EAC had recently been introduced because it did not have the resources, in terms of clergy, communication or infrastructure, to do so. Escarpment Anglicans were fast becoming the minority members of the EAC and they could no longer direct its path.

Furthermore, some northerners began to develop a discourse about the escarpment church that labelled it an undeveloped backwater of insufficiently rigorous morals. This gave legitimacy to a resistance of the escarpment definition of EAC identity. Northerners visited Boga; deacons were trained in the Bible School there, diocesan synod and occasional seminars were held there, some came to study at the nursing college and one or two worked on the diocesan staff. They were dismayed by what they found; a small, isolated village, which seemed to take commitment to 'true religion' very lightly. There were few obvious signs of the *maendeleo* they had seen in the COU. Some criticised the lack of infrastructure, the unimpressive school buildings and hospital and the overgrown areas of the church compound. Ozua Samson felt that Hema were not prepared to do hard manual work⁵⁷ and even Kabarole said that northerners worked much harder than his own Hema people.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Kabarole Baguma, [439-442]; '...nilikomea kwa Boga nilijifunza pale kwa Boga, doctrine ya pale ndiyo nilileta huko. Mambo yote yenye inafanyika hapa ile nilifundisha naye watu, ndiyo ilifundishiwa pale Boga.'

⁵⁷ Ozua Samson, Aru, 10/08/00, [404-410].

⁵⁸ Kabarole Baguma, [488].

Unfairly, perhaps, northerners had imagined that the historic centre of the EAC would be bigger and more impressive than it actually appeared to be.

More serious and more frequent, however, were the criticisms of the moral and spiritual life of the people of Boga. Visitors from the north to Boga were universally shocked by what they considered to be the church's moral laxity and intimate relation with traditional cultural values. Ozua found that in Boga and the surrounding villages there was no 'spiritual heat'. Isaac Agele accused people in Boga of being spiritually weak, he said children attended catechism classes like a rite of passage without understanding what was going on, only the wealthiest members of the congregation were expected to give to the church, and services were attended by individuals he did not expect to see:

'... in Boga you see even a drunkard coming to receive the Holy Communion and I always see no steps taken about those people. That is why I say it is like they are used to it. But on our side if someone is a drunkard he himself just feels fear in himself and he can not even come to try and be with the Holy communicants.'⁵⁹

Sengi Lupanzula, who had returned from Mahagi to work in his home area on the escarpment also felt that escarpment Anglicans were more lax in their social behaviour than their northern counterparts; they smoked and drank and were no different to non-Christians.⁶⁰ As indicated in this chapter, the proper performance of ritual was central to Anglican identity and the following chapter will demonstrate the way in which northerners used Anglican identity against the strict moral codes of CECA 20. Nevertheless, the northerners were influenced by CECA or by Revivalism and they considered drinking, smoking, *inter alia*, to be unacceptable behaviour for Christians and contrary to their *maendeleo* ethic of community- and self-improvement.

Revivalists, Ubaya Uchaki and Kapondombe Wiyajik both trained for ordination in Boga, and claimed that the Christian practice of the village was 'syncretistic'.⁶¹ The chief maintained his important cultural role whilst being a significant figure in the church, the marriage service was surrounded by traditional practice, and so on.⁶² The

⁵⁹ Agele Isaac, Kampala, 26/07/00, [656-670].

⁶⁰ Sengi Lupanzula, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [432-435].

⁶¹ Ubaya Uchaki, Mahagi, 30/08/00, [841] and Kapondombe Wiyajik, Mahagi, 27/08/00, [401].

⁶² Irene Bahemuka, Boga, 30/09/00, [446-458].

dislocation northerners experienced through labour migration, then sudden return, had distanced them from the detail of their own indigenous social structures. Revivalism eschewed indigenous practices associated with traditional hierarchies. The establishment of the EAC in opposition to CECA, which retained closer links with traditional senior figures, further removed northern Anglicans from local patterns of social governance. Thus their expression of Anglican Christianity was dismissive of those elements of indigenous culture most closely associated with customary governance and traditional religious practices. They were critical of the close relation between EAC and Hema society which they saw in Boga.

Whatever the veracity of all these criticisms, northerners had found a good reason for maintaining their brand of *utaratibu* as interpreted by *maendeleo* and *uhuru* and resisting the incursion of *upole* and *heshima* into their Anglican practice. They could criticise the attempts at ecclesiastical hegemony from a sense of moral superiority. Although *upole* and *heshima* were to remain part of escarpment *utaratibu* until 2000, an alternative model had been presented through the migration of COU members into the *territoires* of Aru and Mahagi. This new approach was admired by southerners, like Sengi, who had contact with northerners. It also echoed the desires of second generation urban migrants who failed to appreciate the *upole* and *heshima* of their parents' religion. During the 1980s differences between migrant and non-migrant groups became apparent. In such circumstances there was a real possibility that rifts would be too great to sustain institutional unity. The interpretations of *utaratibu* were often sufficiently consensual to facilitate cohesion but contested elements needed an interpretative discourse acceptable to all if they were not to cause division. This discourse centred round *umoya* in which the EAC portrayed itself as a church which was inclusive and which united different groups of people. It meant that the EAC could no be longer entirely beholden to the escarpment for its identity. Alternative interpretations of *utaratibu* to the one developed on the escarpment had to be permitted so that change could take place in which the generation, gender and ethnic links with ecclesiastical power were configured to permit participation in leadership from a wider social spectrum of the population and a greater variety of possible performances of the Prayer Book. The acceptance of northern alternatives alongside a consensual understanding of *utaratibu* and a mutual desire for internal, institutional *umoya* paved the way for negotiation and compromise with other groups who were to

challenge EAC identity. For *umoja* to work in the expanding EAC, diversity had to be acceptable.

Conclusion

Utaratibu in the 1970s and early 1980s was understood by members of the EAC to encapsulate the hierarchical order of church governance and the ritual order of corporate worship both of which mediated divine and social power. It was the central characteristic of Anglican identity. Interpretation of it however was neither static nor monolithic. *Utaratibu* could be seen to provide continuity with the past, security in the present and opportunities for improvement of daily life depending on the circumstances of migration. *Utaratibu* was an identity feature which was both sufficiently common to all EAC members that it provided a focus for unity and sufficiently open to various interpretations that disparate groups of people could assimilate it to their own identity needs. The events surrounding migration encouraged a pragmatic flexibility towards the actual practices of *utaratibu* in different areas in North-east Congo and introduced to EAC discourse on identity a new hermeneutical term, *umoja*.

Chapter Five. Contesting Unity and Order: EAC Conflict with CECA 20 and Wokovu.

Introduction

The expansion of the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) into new areas in the 1970s and 1980s analysed in the previous three chapters brought conflict between it and other Protestant churches and internally within the EAC itself. These conflicts resulted from different forms of religious identity which challenged EAC concepts of *utaratibu* (order) and *umoja* (unity). Chapter Four outlined tensions arising from variation within a broadly consensual understanding of religious identity. This chapter analyses the development of EAC identity through conflict as alternative loci for belonging were contested. The two most significant conflicts in the North-east were, externally, between the EAC the *Communauté Evangelique du Centre de l'Afrique 20* (CECA), the largest Protestant denomination in the North-east,¹ and internally between Anglican *Wokovu* (Revival) groups and the non-*Wokovu* majority. The public discourse in these disputes centred around issues of *umoja*. Unity is possible because the component parts of the unit have, to one extent or other, a common identity. Migration, as demonstrated in previous chapters, was a catalyst for widening identity choices, providing more options for people from which to re-construct their identities in a new location. Migration was accompanied by an awareness of different church structures and practice, different loci of religious power and the construction of different ecclesiastical spaces which presented alternative interpretations of religious identity. Anglican migration was to continue to challenge the identity of the EAC. It was also seen as a threat to the established identity of other denominations.

EAC and CECA 20

The EAC's migrated identity was reshaped in part by its interface with CECA 20. This section shows how two western initiated Christianities related to each other, gives insight into the dynamics of denominationalism within Congo, and also provides an understanding of Anglican identity as seen by those outside the EAC. To

¹ In 1990 CECA 20 had approximately 161,000 communicant members and a further 243,000 'participants'. CECA 20 'Rapports Statistiques' 20/09/2000.

provide background to the difficulties between the EAC and CECA the development of the Protestant unitary organisation, the *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC), and of CECA since independence in 1960 are presented first.

National unity

The 1960s was a turbulent decade for the newly independent Congo. President Mobutu came to power in 1965 promoting national unity and centralised government as the answer to the civil unrest and factionalism, with the *Mouvement populaire de la révolution* (MPR) as the sole legitimate political party of which all citizens were members. He used traditional ideas of leadership to encourage this unity and shore up his own power. To maintain religious control Mobutu demanded that all Protestant churches in Congo belong to one organisation, the ECC, established in March 1970 out of the Congo Protestant Council (CPC).² The ECC had many internal conflicts of its own during the 1960s; some western missionaries wanted to retain their own property instead of handing it over to the indigenous church; some mission societies wanted to maintain parallel structures instead of operating under the authority of the local church;³ some local churches split and new denominations were established; some denominations began operating in areas previously barred to them by missionary comity. In an attempt to avoid division the ECC defined unity as working for shared goals in different geographical locations. As Chapter One explained, this had been a key ideology for the CPC since its inception at the beginning of the 20th century,⁴ and it upheld (theoretically) the denominational boundaries established by missionaries. In the first decade of independence the call for unity was heavily infused with government rhetoric; Protestant disagreements were likened to the political rebellions of the 1960s and considered disloyal and unnationalistic.⁵ By 1970 the ECC was presented as the national, united Protestant church for Congo comprising of many *communautés*, or denominations. As one church it upheld for its member communities, '...strict observance of the existing

² The ECC includes over 12 million Protestants and represents the largest Protestant body in sub-Saharan Africa. Philippe Kabongo-Mbaya, *L'Eglise du Christ au Zaïre: Formation et adaption d'un protestantisme en situation de dictature*, (Paris, Kathala), 1992: 7.

³ I. B. Bokeleale, "From Missions to Missions," *International Review of Mission*, 62, (1973), 434.

⁴ Chapter One, 52-53.

⁵ Kabongo-Mbaya, *L'Eglise du Christ au Zaïre*, 125.

territorial boundaries in accordance with previous synod resolutions'.⁶ However, since State-recognised denominations were permitted to practice throughout Congo, the ECC could only recommend its approach and could not prevent the spread of denominations into different areas.

Unity for CECA 20

By 1970 CECA 20 was playing a prominent role in the ECC. As the largest Protestant denomination in the North-east its leaders were influential in regional and national meetings. CECA had emerged from the 1960s when its AIM missionaries resisted the ecumenism of the CPC and now adhered to the ECC position on unity through the maintenance of separate spheres of Protestant influence. Protestants of any denomination migrating to an area of CECA influence were expected by CECA to join it. Following the ECC policy on intra-Protestant unity also maintained CECA's position of influence in the region.

Since 1912 CECA had guarded its internal unity by emphasising clear standards on moral and sacramental conduct, the observance of which was essential to membership. These standards provided a particular order that was fundamental to CECA's identity. Christian identity in CECA was intended to be unambiguous. Belonging was clearly defined and members included or excluded through weighing their behaviour against the standards as an indication of Christian commitment. As a result wider social cohesion was also preserved. Titre Ande, who grew up in CECA in the 1960s and 1970s, remembers the care and constraint provided through church membership;

...when you have a problem, you have a bereavement at your house, you are ill, things like that, they could help you. So many became members of the [CECA] church thanks to that. And sometimes one was constrained by the family because if you refused to become a member of the church, at that moment you were rejected.⁷

⁶ECZ, *Dieu et le Monde: Procès Verbal du 4e Synode National* (Kinshasa, ECZ), 1977: 19; 'un respect strict des limites des champs d'activités existants conformément aux résolutions des synodes antérieurs.'

⁷ Titre Ande, Edinburgh, 25/09/99, [lines 136-137]; '... quand vous avez un problème, vous avez deuil chez vous, vous êtes malade, les choses comme ça, on peut vous aider. Alors, beaucoup sont devenus membres de l'Eglise grâce à cela... Et parfois on était contraint par la famille parceque si vous refusez d'être membre de l'Eglise à ce moment-là on vous rejete.'

The opposing realities of support or rejection encouraged unity at a grassroots level. So did the influence of the leadership. As had happened in Boga with the EAC, the CECA church leadership and the social elites became closely connected in many areas of the North-east. Ordination in CECA was the result of lengthy training and experience, and frequently took place only in later life. As senior members of society great respect was conferred on the old pastors and the authority of their leadership was rarely questioned. They were able to bestow or withhold the approbation of social virtue through the use of church rules and thus maintain internal unity.

The internal unity of the EAC contrasted with that of CECA. As Chapter Four explained,⁸ the EAC attempted to preserve unity through respect for the *utaratibu* of the Prayer Book and hierarchy of church workers and compromise on exactly how *utaratibu* was interpreted. The EAC in the 1970s was less concerned with intra-protestant unity than its own expansion. The desire of members to locate EAC chapels outside the areas agreed by missionary comity put it on a collision course with CECA who followed the ECC ideology and considered that it had most to lose by this incursion.

'Mixed' Christianity.

...a "mixed" Christianity ...was emerging across the continent ...Africans themselves showed a marked dislike for 'comity' arrangements agreed between Protestant societies whereby any particular area would be designated for a single denomination. African society had become too peregrinatory for that to be acceptable.⁹

As described by Adrian Hastings what was actually happening in Congo and throughout Africa because of the movement of people contradicted the ideology of unity propounded by the ECC. In Congo the Catholics and Protestants had always been territorially 'mixed' to some extent but different Protestant denominations had not. The movement of peoples broke down clearly defined boundaries – both geographical and religious - which missionaries had attempted to erect. Africans, by and large, did not wish to observe them. However, Hastings' observation does not allow for the significant number of Africans for whom these boundaries had proved useful for obtaining influence, sustaining tradition or marking out their Christian

⁸ Chapter Four, 140.

⁹ Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450 – 1950*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1994: 578.

beliefs, and who were, therefore, unwilling to relinquish them easily. This was the case for CECA in North-east Congo. CECA wanted to maintain its Protestant monopoly in the areas it influenced; it was wary of alternative church structures, and its members believed fervently that the gospel message was best packaged in the system they had inherited. The EAC were not necessarily any different in this regard but its situation was different. The heartland of Congo Anglicanism, the sixty mile radius round Boga walked by Apolo Kivebulaya, was so isolated that the influence of other denominations was very slight until the late 1990s. Thus the issue of denominational competition only arose in a one sided way; that is, the small, flexible and growing EAC reaching beyond its traditional borders into the territory of other denominations rather than experiencing such an incursion itself.

Local conflict

How were the issues of unity and the mixture of denominations played out between CECA 20 and EAC in North-east Congo? As previous chapters show, most migrating Anglicans defined themselves as Protestants and worshipped in the local Protestant church, usually CECA, when they first moved. Only later did they establish an EAC chapel. The desire to replicate escarpment values of *utaratibu*, *heshima* and *upole* as encapsulated in the Anglican worship service was the reason that urban migrants established the EAC. In their new location they wanted to feel at home.

Before the [Anglican] church was here... they read [worshipped] in these churches, some were with the Catholics, some were with CECA. But even so they saw themselves as if at someone else's house, not at their own home. This pushed them to begin to think about their church.¹⁰

Many Anglicans worshipped for years in urban CECA churches. When they left CECA leaders felt betrayed, accusing EAC evangelists of stealing their members.¹¹ CECA resented the establishment of the EAC because they considered it an attempt to fragment the united Protestant group in the area and an illegitimate presence on their patch,

¹⁰ Munege Kabarole, Bunia, 13/09/00, [230-231]; 'Wakati kanisa [Anglican] bado kuwa hapa... walikuwa wanasoma ndani ya kanisa zile, wengine walikuwa kwa catholique, wengine walikuwa kwa CECA. Lakini hata hivi walijiona kama wako kwa nyumba ya mutu mwengine, hawakuwa kwa nyumba yao. Hili iliwasukuma kuanza na kuwaza kanisa yao.'

¹¹ Beni Bataaga, Bunia, 15/09/00, [334-338].

... the boundaries inherited from the missionaries must be respected.... [but] the Anglicans followed their Christians who were here, who worshipped with us at CECA...in Bunia. They were told, 'No this is not your field of evangelism, it's for CECA.'... Despite that they insisted, they didn't obey...¹²

CECA also considered that the EAC disseminated false teaching and false practice, they disliked another form of 'mixed' Christianity that the EAC brought; it claimed to be Christian but condoned certain traditional practices, it claimed to be Protestant but observed paedobaptism and confirmation and followed a liturgy similar to the Roman Catholics.¹³ An erstwhile member of CECA makes clear what he had been taught:

The Protestants say, no... a church which resembles the Catholics is not a church.¹⁴

When the EAC was introduced in the zones of Aru and Mahagi from 1979 there was already disquiet among the CECA leadership about EAC growth. It was in this northern area that the most serious and long-lasting rifts developed between the two denominations.

In the north the most common reason given for installing or joining the EAC was the unwillingness to be rebaptised as stipulated by CECA. The migrants' assertiveness and confidence in matters of religion further encouraged the introduction of the EAC. Suddenly, a large number of people arrived who claimed to belong to the area but who possessed different cultural, social and religious experiences. They began to challenge CECA's control over Protestant Christianity. Change was inevitable but the leadership of CECA 20 wanted to maintain the *status quo*. Some of the migrants established Anglican chapels in refugee camps. This was accepted by CECA 20 because it was seen as a temporary arrangement catering for foreigners.¹⁵ But many refugees returned to their fathers' villages and, once they felt they had been rejected by the CECA congregation, formed an EAC chapel. In establishing an alternative ecclesiastical space and asserting a different Christian identity they were destroying

¹² Etsea Ang'apoza, Bunia, 18/09/00, [118]; '...il faut respecter les limites hérités par les missionnaires... les Anglicans ont suivi leurs chrétiens qui étaient ici qui adorent chez nous à la CECA... à Bunia. Donc on a dit, "Non, ça n'est pas votre champ d'évangélisation, ça c'est pour la CECA"... Bon, malgré ça ils ont insisté, ils n'ont pas obéi...'

¹³ Chapter Two, 95.

¹⁴ Baba Atseko, Aru, 14/08/00, [538-540]; '...les protestants disent que non... une église qui ressemble aux catholiques n'est pas une église.'

¹⁵ Yobuta Peter, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [503-508].

the Christian unity of the village.¹⁶ The issues surrounding unity were discussed inconclusively at a popular level.

Mungu ni moja

My parents were happy because they said that religion is one. Even if there are different religions, God is one. They refused to say this [EAC] is a different religion. They were just happy. They said all is one God, like this. ... my father was there [when] the CECA people came and really upset me. They wanted to send me back where? To CECA.¹⁷

Janette Sinziri's parents were members of CECA 20. Janette had been brought up in CECA but had spent time in Uganda where she had joined the Church of Uganda (COU) which had not demanded of her the literacy standards that CECA had for baptism and membership.¹⁸ She married Sinziri Onadra who became the first EAC catechist in their village in Congo. In this quotation she explains how her parents resisted the local leaders of CECA when they attempted to force her return from the EAC to CECA. The story revolves around the belief that *Mungu ni moja*, God is one. The exasperation is almost palpable; if God is one, different religious expressions are basically the same, so one should be able to choose which denomination to join. Exasperation was also felt by CECA members; yes God is one, so why is different religious expression necessary? We can worship God in the same way. For Janette disloyalty to the church of her village was less important than freedom to follow the experience of baptism and membership in the COU. This story illustrates that *umoja* was discussed at grassroots level. There was an awareness of common Christian beliefs and aims but issues raised as a consequence of migration militated against institutional unity. Baptism was the most serious of these.

¹⁶ Traditional religious practices often continued covertly in villages which had contact with Christianity but villages were usually considered either Catholic or one Protestant denomination.

¹⁷ Janette Sinziri, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [712-716]; 'Wazazi walifurahi kwani walisema dini [religion or denomination] ni moja tu. Hata dini ni mbali mbali Mungu ni moja. Hawakatala kusema hii ni dini ingine... Wanafurahi tu. Walisema yote iko Mungu moja hivi. ...Baba yangu alikuwa [wakati] watu wa CECA walifika walisumbua mie sana, walitaka rudisha mie wapi? Kwa CECA.'

¹⁸ Ibid., [319-327].

Baptism

First of all I was baptised in the Anglican church. Our catechist taught us that no one can be baptised twice. So when the CECAs wanted to baptise us again so that we can participate in Holy Communion we refused and left CECA.¹⁹

For Anglican Christians this was the pivotal issue. If they were pressed to be rebaptised by CECA they usually left. Etsea Angapoza, President of CECA, explains its policy on baptism as it was when faced with an influx of returned migrants in the northern area.

...when our Congolese Christians were there in Uganda, they had what we call baptism of repentance... when they came with that to us at CECA we posed him (sic) the question, 'Have you received baptism, and afterward has the Bishop confirmed your baptism?' If he said no, we said, 'No, you can't be received. You can study the catechumenate... until we baptise you.' In the past if someone comes with the confirmation it was fine, now there are a few questions which are asked. It's necessary to see if his behaviour... really demonstrates that he leads an exterior life which shows that he is truly transformed internally. So he is observed a little because at CECA there is a discipline, there is no smoking, if someone says, 'I'm confirmed' but he smokes, he is already doubted... But with us when you are baptised you can't be rebaptised... With us the baptism by immersion is obligatory, you immerse yourself in water. If you haven't had that sort of baptism, your baptism can be questioned.²⁰

The CECA 20 ideal of adult baptism following conversion and improved moral life style was challenged by EAC practice. In Irumu and Nord-Kivu this was because of the Anglican acceptance of infant baptism as initiation into the church community. In the Aru and Mahagi zones the issue was not one of paedobaptism but of guarding

¹⁹ Airene Ayike, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [52-56]; 'Trugo adi kanisa na Anglican ina gele na na momodri ubaptizo to katayu katonkoni likalo lepe akulia adi. Yi ani romoki liki pio lo ꞑa mure i ubatizo bo truga adi ibo ꞑani na alibo. CECA ni kodro, iubatizo na amodru piza na kine kulia de okuru na medra kara adi na imomodri ubaptizo lo do gbode mana njosu misa na na akozu ka ꞑo boboza na.'

²⁰ Etsea Ang'apoza, Bunia, 18/09/00, [129-137]; ...quand nos chrétiens congolais étaient en Ouganda là-bas, ils ont ce qu'on dit le baptême de repentance... quand ils viennent avec ça chez nous à la CECA, on lui pose la question, "Est-ce que vous avez reçu le baptême et après l'évêque a confirmé votre baptême?" S'il dit non, on dit, "Non, on ne peut pas vous recevoir. Vous pouvez reprendre le catechumenat... jusqu'à ce que nous allons vous baptiser." ... Si quelqu'un vient avec la confirmation dans le temps c'était bien, maintenant il y a un peu de questions que se posent. Il faut d'abord voir est ce que sa conduite... manifeste vraiment qu'il mène une vie extérieur qui montre qu' il est vraiment transformé intérieurement. Donc, on l'observe un peu, parce qu'à la CECA il y a une discipline là-bas; on ne fume pas, si quelqu'un dit, "Je suis confirmé," mais il fume, mais on le doute déjà... Même chez nous quand vous êtes baptisé, on ne peut pas vous rebaptiser... Chez nous on exige que le baptême soit par immersion, vous vous immersez dans l'eau. Si vous n'avez pas eu ce baptême là on peut douter aussi votre baptême.'

access to communion. By talking about ‘baptism of repentance’ Etsea seems aware that in West Nile particularly, where the Church of Uganda was established by AIM missionaries, many Anglicans had not been baptised as babies but as older children or adults after catechism and recognition of sin. Since Anglicans were permitted to take communion after being confirmed and CECA members participated in it after believers baptism and had no confirmation rite, CECA thought non-confirmed Anglicans ought to be re-baptised when joining CECA. This would maintain the respect and solemnity of communion. Etsea goes on to say that even confirmation might not confer automatic access to CECA communion; proper conduct was paramount. CECA believed that the holiness of communion was attained by guarding it from anyone who was judged to fall from a strict moral code. There was also suspicion of anyone who had not been baptised by immersion. The details of the outward sacramental rite were regarded by CECA as a vital sign of the spiritual grace it was intended to confer. So the Anglicans, who practised aspersion, were also considered guilty of questionable baptismal practise. With the introduction of the EAC in the area, Protestant unity as conformity to a single practice was unravelling. CECA’s policy also changed the self-perception of Anglicans. To be asked to be re-baptised was, in their eyes, to be considered ‘pagan’ rather than Christian. CECA was effectively doubting their Christian identity which they had always considered as being ‘Protestant’. Anglicans, whether returned from Uganda or from the Semeliki escarpment, considered themselves Protestant Christians. The reaction of these migrants on finding that CECA was unwilling to accept them as members was to highlight their identity as Anglicans rather than simply as Protestants. Thus it reaffirmed the importance of *utaratibu* in their socio-religious practice.

Nabii yauli

When I arrived here, they said I was a false/troublesome prophet. The church of the false prophets... has arrived [laughs] which will give false/bad teachings to the Christians.²¹

These accusations were met by Kabarole Baguma in 1982 when he became the first EAC pastor in Aru. The EAC had, by this time, fifteen chapels which were asserting a separate identity. Members of CECA 20 attempted to discredit it. It is difficult to

²¹ Kabarole Baguma, Aru, 09/08/00,[663-666]; ‘Wakati mimi nilifika hapa walisema niko nabii ya yauli. Kanisa ya nabii Yauli ... inakwisha fika [laughs] tangaza vibaya ndani ya wakristo.’

know how much of this was deliberate smearing and how much was born out of ignorance, fear and presupposition. *Nabii yauli*, 'false prophet' was a standard accusation used against rival church workers. Potentially more grave, the EAC was also accused of being a 'sect'. In Congo this was the name given to a religious group not recognised by the government; its beliefs, heterodox or otherwise, are secondary to its illegitimacy. An accusation of this kind meant that the state administration could be called upon to eliminate the group. Local CECA churches accused the EAC of being illegitimate several times before local government but each time the EAC proved it was a legitimate member of the ECC.²² The accusations of CECA members increased antagonism between the two denominations but they could not deter a legitimate member of the ECC from activity in the area.

Contested space

We wanted to have a church and we built our church. Actually we had already built this church and afterwards we sent a report to them, the people of CECA to say, 'We have completed building our church,' and they said, 'We have not permitted a church there.' When we came to hear this report... we said, 'Well, this is something God wants, he wants church, but you, you come to argue with us. We have our church.' So we said we had already built the church and we would join the Anglicans. So we are here. [Evangelist Adoroti] came here to see us, to enter our church here. The year was '84, the date the 19th of August when this church here joined the Anglican. And many joined the Anglican.²³

Gborɔ Amuel returned to Congo from Uganda after Amin fled. He was accepted back into CECA because he had been confirmed. He organised his village, Bongilo, into building a chapel but the central church refused to acknowledge it. The village decided *en masse* to join the EAC. Ten years later Bongilo chapel became the centre of Kumuru archdeaconry headquarters. For CECA the initiative was a worrying one. CECA's administration was organised to ensure internal unity and thus construction of churches was carefully vetted. Bongilo village had not deferred to the section

²² Thumbe Ferdinand, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [169-187].

²³ Gborɔ Amuel, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [136-146]; 'Tulipenda kuwa na kanisa na tulijenga kanisa yetu. Kweli tuliisha jenga kansia hii na kiisha tulileta rapport kwao, watu wa CECA na kusema, "Sisi tulikwisha jenga kanisa," na wao walisema, "Sisi haweze kukubali kanisa uko." Wakati tulifika kusikia rapport hili [--] tulisema, "Basi hili ni kitu Mungu anapendeza, anapenda kanisa, lakini nye unafika kugombana sisi. Tuko na kanisa yetu." Alafu tulisema tuliisha jenga kanisa tutaingia kwa Anglican. Basi, ndiyo hapa. [Adoroti] alifika hapa kuangilia sie, kuingia ndani ya kanisa yetu ya hapa. Mwaka hili hili ya '84 kwa tarehe 19, mwezi 8 ndiyo kufikisha kanisa hapa ndani ya Anglican. Na kwani kanisa ya Anglican wanaingia mingi.'

office before beginning the building, and permission to use it was not granted. Prior to the return of the migrants from Uganda that might have ended the matter. Returned migrants, however, were unimpressed by this controlling attitude. It contradicted their desire for *maendeleo* and *uhuru* (development and freedom). So they joined another church, one with which they were familiar and which allowed freedom for such initiative to bear fruit. In establishing its boundaries on these issues CECA unwittingly encouraged what it was trying to avoid – Protestant division and the establishment of a more lenient church ready to adapt itself to circumstances. When CECA 20 perceived Anglicans to be a threat to the order and unity they had achieved the Anglicans became such a threat, establishing an alternative Protestant church with an alternative identity.

There is another interpretation of the Bongilo chapel story which raises another problem for unity. In refusing to allow worship to take place at Bongilo CECA claimed it was trying to avoid the clanism which also worried Anglican leaders.²⁴ The nearest CECA church to Bongilo was four kilometres away, situated on the land of another clan. Gboṛa claimed his decision was based on distance; this was too far for children and the elderly to walk every week. CECA thought, however, that the desire for a church at Bongilo was being dictated by potentially divisive clan interests, a problem already perceived within EAC and CECA ranks. Yeka Idroru, a CECA pastor, explained it thus:

...the church is becoming more clannish than a universal church... By 'clannish church' I mean that almost every clan wants its pastor or its catechist. That's why you see lots of churches.²⁵

More churches were built but at the expense of greater cohesion. The Anglicans by asserting an alternative identity and claiming their own ecclesiastical space could be accused by CECA of not simply dividing Protestants but of encouraging the separation of individual clans into their own religious units, competing with the clans around them. *Umoja* appeared to be dissolving on several levels. Groups – whether confident migrants or competitive clans – asserted their identity by affiliating themselves to a denomination of their choice and staking out their own space.

²⁴ Chapter Three, 121.

²⁵ Yeka Idroru, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [567-571]; '...l'église devient de plus en plus clanique que une église universelle... Par église clanique je voudrais dire que presque chaque clan veut son pasteur, ou bien son catéchiste. C'est pourquoi vous voyez beaucoup d'églises.

Social control

As has been demonstrated, CECA's position of authority in the community allowed it a great deal of social control through moral guidance and ecclesiastical administration. Smoking, drinking, polygamy, and dancing were some of the things considered unfit for the converted. CECA applied rigorous standards to a whole gamut of social issues. A look at two complex socio-economic and cultural issues will demonstrate CECA's attempt at social and moral cohesion and how the EAC undermined it.²⁶

'If smoking is bad so is the growing of the raw material,' reasoned CECA. Members were, therefore, banned from growing tobacco. Yeka Idroru explains the consequences.

CECA 20 doesn't accept this cultivation. So when the Christians do this cultivation, they leave the church and all the spiritual activities and other activities. This diminishes the number [of members].²⁷

The tobacco industry threatened social cohesion and family health. The cash crop was grown in private fields and provided a chance to earn a lot of money. More often, however, families came under the thumb of the British and American Tobacco managers who placed stringent demands on cultivation and discouraged the growing of food crops with the result that poor families slipped further into poverty.²⁸ If CECA members followed their church's ban they were probably being saved from greater misfortune. EAC leaders also worried about the effect this had on their members. Several of them had grown it for a time and knew the consequences but were unwilling to make the issue a matter on which to determine good standing within the EAC.²⁹ The EAC had no clear policy, members had *uhuru* to make their own decisions and individual church workers were left to provide guidance in particular circumstances.

²⁶ These two issues have been chosen because they illustrate CECA and EAC differences and were issues of great concern to members of both churches during interview and private conversations.

²⁷ Yeka Idroru [278-282]; 'CECA 20 n'accepte pas cette culture. Alors quand les chrétiens font cette culture ils quittent l'église et toutes les activités spirituelles et d'autres activités. Ca diminue le nombre.'

²⁸ Conversations with Jessé Leku, EAC Development worker, and Ezati Ezayi, Head Nurse of EAC Medical Service, Aru, and observations of tobacco growing in Kumuru *collectivité*, August 2000.

²⁹ Sinziri Onadra and Yobuta Peter both grew tobacco before they became church workers, conversations 17-20 August 2000.

Marriage was another issue of concern.³⁰ CECA weddings brought together western Christian and traditional African teaching and practice. They could only be conducted between a couple who had not lived together beforehand.³¹ They took place once there had been parental agreement, a bride-price had been set and paid, and a civil ceremony had taken place. In the 20th century bride-price rose comparatively to average wealth and young men found it increasingly difficult to pay. Couples would attempt to force their parents' hands by living together before it had been paid in full, or paid at all. CECA as the guardian of social and moral norms as well as ecclesiastical rites resisted this disintegration of a social system, upheld the bride-price, and insisted that full membership of CECA could not be sustained if a couple behaved in this way. The man was said to have 'abducted' the woman.³² The marriage was considered 'illegal'.³³ Such actions normally resulted in excommunication for the couple.

Marriage practices in the EAC were little different in theory. The EAC made no attempt to reform the system of marriage that had evolved. What was different was the leniency in applying the system. In interview Thérèse Pasa of CECA expressed her incredulity at Anglican practice:

...in the Anglican church there are some marriages that they do when you have eight or three or four children, eeee! They say that they bless these marriages! I don't understand in what way or how.³⁴

Remo Mawa, a CECA youth worker, was shocked that people could be considered worthy of church leadership when they may have been cohabiting for years without a

³⁰ The social, cultural, moral and religious issues surrounding marriage are too complex to investigate fully here. My emphasis is on the contrasting ways in which two denominations deal with marriage in a changing society.

³¹ Lalima Tagamile Dhulembe, "L'Exercice de la Discipline dans une Eglise Africaine: Examen Théologique de l'Application de l'Article VII de R.O.I. de la CECA/AIM, Zaire," (Maîtrise diss., Faculté libre de Théologie evangelique), 1984: 21-22, 91-92.

³² There are cases where a woman is taken against her will. Often, however, the woman consents to leave her parents. This is still known as abduction because she has been taken without parental permission.

³³ Kokole Idmg'i Loding'o, "Le Chrétien face au Mariage par Rapt (Cas de la Tribu Kakwa)," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB, Bunia), 1986: 18-31.

³⁴ CECA women, Bunia, 18/09/00, [684-686]; '...ku kanisa la anglican kuna mariages ingine wanafanyaka, kama unakuwa na watoto nane, tatu, ine, ee! Wanasema wanabariki mariages ile! Sifahamu kama ni kwa njia gani ao namna gani.'

church blessing of their marriages and were only required to have such a blessing before studying at Bible School.³⁵

The EAC's response to individuals caught between poverty and the economic attraction of growing cash crops or the cultural pressure to marry and have children was ambiguous.³⁶ Having few connections with social elites it was sympathetic to the problems of junior members of society and appreciative of the difficult social and cultural realities. As a result it gained new members. Those who had been ostracised by CECA's clear social boundaries could still be members of a recognised Protestant church and not have to adhere to the rigorous code of practices expected by CECA.

Discipline

CECA upheld a particularly strong emphasis on the institutionalisation of strict moral standards and a concurrent discipline system for those who fell short with the stated aim of making all African Christians committed and not nominal Christians.

...the CECA church, they rather watch people very, very, very much. If you do [even] a little thing they excommunicate [lit. shut] you.³⁷

So said a disapproving Anglican. CECA opinion was much the same but the tone was different. Pastor Yeka proudly proclaimed that, 'CECA 20 is very strict in discipline, in life.'³⁸ Excommunication³⁹ was used in order to maintain the 'purity' of the church.⁴⁰ Drinking, smoking and adultery, non-attendance at Communion, *inter alia*, incurred excommunication. For many years this was accompanied by physical

³⁵ Remo Mawa, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [253-261].

³⁶ In certain circumstances the EAC by its lenient approach effectively condoned a series of 'trial marriages' before blessing the union considered by the man as the 'real' marriage, thus further weakening the position of women in marital issues.

³⁷ Peter Yobuta, [801-802]; '... kanisa ya CECA wao zaidi wanaangalia mutu sana sana sana. Ukifanya maneno kidogo wanafunga wewe.'

³⁸ Yeka Warra, [530]; '...CECA 20 est très strict dans la discipline, dans la vie...'

³⁹ Article 7A, *Règlement d'Ordre Interieur de la CECA/AIM Zaire*, in Lalima "L'Exercice de la Discipline," 21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

punishment.⁴¹ Etsea Ang'apoza, President of CECA explained the system in the 1970s and 1980s and how it was changed:

One must repair one's fault physically so physical work was prepared; perhaps carrying bricks, 200, 300 bricks – following the seriousness of the sin – or perhaps filling a cubic metre of wood... Eventually our council decided to forbid corporal punishment. If someone sins against God, if he repents, he is pardoned, he is taken back... Certain leaders knew the period for repentance, you were told you were sanctioned for so many years or so many months... We have also found that that was not good. If someone falls into sin, he must be excommunicated and give time to examine himself... In the past if someone repented, he was not admitted to Holy Communion, one waited to see if the repentance was genuine.⁴²

Since in many villages CECA was the only church these rigorous standards were set for the whole society. Members often found themselves on the wrong side of church discipline but they bowed to it because of the risk of being ostracised from the community. With the arrival of the EAC this social and ecclesiastical cohesion broke down at village level. CECA felt frustrated that its standards were compromised and its unity threatened by the more lenient practice of another denomination. Here is a conversation between an older woman and a younger woman, both CECA members, on the subject of church discipline:

Alo: The system [of excommunication] continues until today and I encourage it because it's one method of putting the guilty person on the right road. By depriving them like this one lets them think about their error.

Bhako: Often, however, the person leaves the church.

Alo: If he acknowledges it he could plead before the elders and ask forgiveness. These [elders], after a meticulous examination, release him to re-participate at the holy eucharistic table.

⁴¹ In 1981 16,444 CECA members were put under some form of church discipline. In 1982 that figure was 22,103. Obitre Biya, "La Discipline ecclésiastique selon le Nouveau Testament et son Exercice dans le District de Aru," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB, Bunia), 1982: 111.

⁴² Etsea Ang'apoza, [41-42]; 'Il faut réparer sa faute physiquement, alors on lui fait travailler physiquement; peut-être transporter des briques, autant de briques, 200, 300, briques - c'est suivant la grandeur de péché - ou bien remplir le stère de bois... Finalement notre conseil a pris une décision d'interdire la discipline corporelle. Si quelqu'un a péché contre Dieu, s'il repenti, on le pardonne, on le reprend... certains dirigeants savent la période pour la repentance, on vous dit que vous êtes sanctionné pour autant d'années, ou bien autant de mois, ... Nous avons aussi trouvé que ça ce n'est pas bien. Si quelqu'un tombe dans le péché, il faut l'excommunier et lui laisser le temps de l'examiner lui-même... Dans le temps, s'était quand quelqu'un se repent, on ne le reprend pas Sainte Cène, on attend encore voir si la repentance est sincère.'

Bhako: In the past they demanded that bricks be made or that straw be found to build a house. I don't know if it continues because there are lots of sects. One can decide to join a sect instead of doing the discipline.⁴³

Alo Cecile supported strict discipline and wished for the days when CECA had more control over its members. Bhako Fibi accepted the reality that religious choice made discipline difficult to implement. CECA began to change its disciplinary system during the 1980s. Etsea suggested that this improved church practice. Bhako thought it was changed because CECA was losing members.

What had been designed as a way of forming a new cohesive community of committed Christian believers with an unambiguous identity had become, by the 1970s, a rigid code of behaviour enforced by fear of ostracism which, according to one CECA researcher, led some CECA members to join the Anglicans and the Pentecostals.⁴⁴ CECA wanted to maintain clear boundaries between right and wrong, member and non-member. In the 1970s and 1980s CECA faced a rapidly changing society because of internal and trans-border migration. It proved too wary of losing its principles to adapt to changes with enough speed to retain Anglican migrants and even some of its own members.⁴⁵ Ideology and circumstance committed CECA to maintaining its boundaries, allowing only gradual change.

For migrants and some CECA members change was attractive and ostracism worth risking for the opportunity of improved liberty and self-determination, as Titre Ande discovered:

Now when they had the possibility to have another community people thought that it was good to free themselves in order to be more autonomous. But that created lots of problems since, actually, when one decided to change there was

⁴³ CECA women, Bunia: 18/09/00, [83-98]; C: 'Le système [d'excommunication] continue jusqu' aujourd'hui et je l'encourage car c'est une des méthodes de remettre la personne fautive sur le droit chemin. En la privant ainsi on la laisse raisonner sur la faute.

F: 'Souvent, cependant, la personne quitte l'Eglise.

C: 'S'il est reconnaissant, il pourra se plaindre devant les anciens en demandant pardon. Ceux-ci après un examen minutieux, le relâchent à réparticiper à la sainte table eucharistique.

F: 'Dans le temps passé on a demandé la fabrication des briques ou chercher la paille pour construire une maison. Je ne saisis pas s'il continue parce que aujourd'hui il y a beaucoup de sectes. On peut décider de rejoindre un secte en lieu de faire la discipline.'

⁴⁴ Obitre, "La Discipline ecclésiastique", 45.

⁴⁵ Through out the 1980s there was criticism from within CECA 20 about its lack of democratic leadership, which led to the formation of CECA 20 *Reformée*, see Chapter Four, 150-151. Its detractors, who remained faithful to CECA 20 accused it of tribalism and power grabbing.

no longer a good relationship with the family. But all the same, people were encouraged by the new community into which they integrated in order to constitute a sort of family.⁴⁶

The EAC provided the necessary sense of belonging along with a sense of freedom and development, *uhuru* and *maendeleo*. It actually possessed moral ideals not dissimilar to CECA but it did not expect all members to adhere to them - an attitude which was considered by CECA as proof of lax moral standards and underhand competition. CECA felt that the EAC was more lenient in order to gain members. The EAC was also aware that its approach resulted in more members and it is probable that it exploited it in some cases. It could be said that boundaries in EAC became more permeable as members crossed geographical boundaries. The Anglican tendency to be flexible on behaviour codes and discipline was made more so by circumstance.

Umoja or uhuru.

CECA's concern over the disintegration of Protestant unity and the effect this had on social cohesion was justified by the stance of the ECC and the legacy of western missionary societies. CECA's desire for a pure church of committed Christians followed a strong Christian tradition. These views bolstered CECA's belief that it was the rightful actor in the area and the EAC was an impostor. But in independent Congo unity as promoted by the ECC was not working. Attempts to maintain the comity agreements of missionaries provoked antagonism among indigenous churches. As people moved location they wanted to take the church of their ethnic group with them, as escarpment Anglicans demonstrated; or they wanted freedom to develop alternative ways of worship and society, as the migrant labourers from Uganda illustrated, and this was permitted by the state. These conflicts can be understood as the assertion of difference within a Protestant identity.

CECA's identity was embedded in a strict moral order arising from individual Christian conversion. In an area in which it had the Protestant monopoly this was upheld through the support of social elites. Anglican unitary identity was centred

⁴⁶ Titre Ande, [37]; 'Quand maintenant on a eu la possibilité d'avoir une autre communauté, alors les gens ont pensé que c'est bien de se libérer pour être plus autonome. Mais ça a créé beaucoup de problèmes puisque, justement, quand on a accepté de changer il n'y avait plus de bonne relation avec la famille. Mais toute fois les gens se sont encouragés par la nouvelle communauté dans la quelle ils s'intèrgent pour constituer une famille de quelque sorte.'

around liturgical and hierarchical order which allowed members greater flexibility on issues of moral and social control. Its identity was not fundamentally threatened by a reasonable variety of moral standards. Furthermore, the developing rhetoric surrounding its internal unity allowed it to accept the emphasis on freedom and development propounded by northerners which so irked CECA's authorities. Because of the historical events surrounding Anglican migration the gulf between CECA and the EAC in the 1980s appeared to be very wide, their identities very different. Later chapters will demonstrate that common identity features were to emerge by the late 1990s which made possible a more consensual relationship that recognised unitary aims.

There are three paradoxes in the story. Firstly, it seems that throughout North-east Congo the threat to CECA's membership from new EAC chapels was not large. The EAC attracted more local Catholics to join them than local Protestants yet the Catholics appeared unconcerned. Secondly, in the north, once migrated Anglicans left CECA and obtained the *uhuru* and *maendeleo* they sought they adhered to a more rigorous moral standard than that observed by the Anglicans in the escarpment area. They retained the conservative evangelical ethos they had learnt in the AIM-influenced COU in West Nile or from the *Wokovu* revivalists. In the third paradoxical twist CECA found the *Wokovu* even more difficult to deal with than mainstream Anglicanism even though the *Wokovu* too had a strict morality which followed similar rules to CECA, and set clear boundaries on who was 'saved' and who was not. It is to the *Wokovu*, who initiated the arrival of the EAC in the north, that we turn now. Their challenge to the orthopraxis of western initiated churches threatened the internal unity of the EAC.

Wokovu: 'those who confess'

One day Jesus came and spoke to me, '...you know you are in darkness. You must confess your sins.' So there, November 1973, I believed in Jesus Christ. I was saved. I received Jesus as my Saviour. I confessed all my sins that day. I found peace in my life. I began to work for the Lord from that day.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Wijayik Kapondombe, Mahagi, 27/08/00, [44-51]; 'Njo siku moya Yesu na kwenda zungumuza na mie, "...ujue ya kwamba ungali ndani ya giza. Yafaa kutubu zambi zako." Njo pale, ee, ku mwezi ya kumi na moja, kwa mwaka 1973, njo nikaamini Yesu Kristo. Nikaakoka njo. Niliweza kupokea Yesu kama Mwokozi wangu. Nikatubu zambi zangu zote, pale siku ile tu. Njo nikapata salama katika maisha yangu. Nilianza kutumikia Bwana siku ile.'

Small groups of *Wokovu* (lit: salvation) were present in Aru and Mahagi zones from 1960. They were obvious by their activities; open-air evangelism at markets using home-made loud speakers and lively singing and dancing, weekly meetings at the houses of members where exuberant worship was used to tantalise the curiosity of neighbours, and loud, confident preaching outside churches directly after the Sunday services as worshippers left the building. *Wokovu* described themselves thus:

The Strong *Wokovu* preach with all strength, at the meeting they really jump [dance],⁴⁸

...they continue to thank God by dancing and by standing by the door of the church to preach, they also go to the market to preach...⁴⁹

They preached salvation through the cleansing quality of Jesus' blood accessible by the public confession of sins and the subsequent living of a strict moral life in fellowship with other 'saved' ones. They illustrated their message by testifying in detail to the sins they had committed. Personal conversion was to have social consequences. They expected to see changed behaviour exhibited in a strong dichotomy between the lifestyle of the 'worldly' and that of the 'saved'. They challenged the ecclesiastical authority and social complacency of church leaders and their congregations. This section studies the relationship of radical *Wokovu* with mainstream Anglicans and their perceived threat to EAC unity by criticism of its basic identity features. This is demonstrated through an historical analysis of *Wokovu* roots in the Revivalism in West Nile, antagonism of CECA and adherence to the EAC. *Wokovu* provided a dissenting voice within the church especially in the north where they were more numerous and influential than in Irumu and Nord-Kivu areas. Most wanted to operate within the same ecclesiastical space as the Anglicans, claiming unity with them, but they offered an alternative religious identity which proclaimed spiritual freedom to be paramount to liturgical and hierarchical order.

Strivers and resters

The mainstream East African Revival, or *Balokole* movement, which emerged from 1933 in Rwanda and South and Central Uganda, aimed to revive the COU from the

⁴⁸ Thumbe Ferdinand, [240-241]; 'Wokovu ya Nguvu wanahubiri na nguvu yote, kama iko mukotano wanaruka ruka.'

⁴⁹ Wijayik Kapondombe, [477-479]; '...wanaendelea kushukuru Mungu na kucheza na kusimama ku mulango ya kanisa kuhubiri, wanakwenda vile ku soko wanahubiri...'

inside, challenging nominal Christians to become saved ones and to focus on spiritual rather than politico-socio religious issues. The boundaries of belonging were clearly defined and marked with similar behavioural traits to those seen in CECA 20. The formation of a denomination or sect apart from the COU was contrary to its aim. The majority of *Balokole* remained faithful to the COU and an intrinsic part of it. Tensions in Northern revivalism were much greater. At times revival groups were so critical of the COU that their continuing membership was burdensome. At times some broke completely from the COU.

The Revival was brought to North-west Uganda about 1948 by a Dr. Lubulwa Elija working at Arua and Moyo hospitals. Like the *Balokole* in the south, the northern revivalists called for public confession of sin, a commitment to fellowship and evangelism, and provided a radical critique of local, traditional customs. In contrast to the southern *Balokole* they developed a suspicion of educational *maendeleo* aspirations, expressed in a condemnation of worldly achievement and wealth and a claim of greater reliance on the spontaneous guidance and provision of the Holy Spirit. One of the early converts, Ajuku Dronyi Sothenes, was particularly zealous.⁵⁰ He called on *Balokole* to abandon their teaching and nursing jobs and to eschew material reward in order to carry out vigorous evangelism. He preached a radical dislocation from both modernity and tradition and attracted the socially disenfranchised.⁵¹ As has been said of revivalists elsewhere, 'Christians who lacked other forms of status had an interest in asserting a distinctive identity'.⁵² They also used local cultural influences more than their southern counterparts, including traditional melodies and vertical jumping styles of dancing. This form of revivalism was more radical and more local, adapting certain aspects of northern culture. Although revivalists were firm in denouncing traditional rites allied with socio-religious power they were less removed by education, work patterns or colonial privilege from popular expressions of local culture. The actions of Ajuku and his

⁵⁰ Ajuku's strange behaviour was initially attributed by Ugandans to him falling under the influence of the Yakan spirit thrown by Rembe; conversations with Nason Akamifwa, Rachel Opindu and Rev Ruben, Arua, August 2000. This demonstrates popular association of Ajuku's social and religious dissent with earlier dissent mentioned in the introduction, 14.

⁵¹ Adraa Mokili, "The Growth and Impact of Chosen Evangelical Revival (C.E.R) in Ayivu County, Arua District, West Nile-Madi Diocese," (Diploma diss., Makerere University), 1986: 11-14.

⁵² Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 261.

followers were seen by mainline Anglicans and *Balokole* as disruptive but discipline and even imprisonment were greeted by them as signs of success; persecution was expected for those who showed loyalty to Christ's command to preach salvation⁵³ as illustrated by a song composed by Ajuku,

We are to work under persecutions to accept the Lord Jesus,
I will get a reward in heaven if I accept the Lord Jesus.⁵⁴

There was an attempt to bring the Northern movement under the norms of the southern and central Ugandan *Balokole* movement at the Kako Convention in 1954 but it failed and resulted in two distinct movements: Ajuku's followers became known as Trumpeters (from their loud-speakers) or Strivers, and called themselves Chosen Evangelical Revival (CER).⁵⁵ One observer, who described the *Balokole* Revival as 'a movement of the Spirit of God bringing people into an experience of Christ's power to save from sin, and into a new understanding of what Christian fellowship and brotherhood is,' described the CER as a 'lunatic fringe'.⁵⁶ Insults were not onesided, mainstream *Balokole* were called by the CER, *Wapumzifu*, the resting ones.

Each movement had its own organisational structure which, in attempting to encompass the local and the international, paralleled that of the COU. Both groups initially remained in the COU, although at times parts of the CER left it. The next forty years were, sometimes, ones of violent division and painful reconciliation between the two movements and the COU. The entire West Nile church was affected by one movement of Revival or the other.⁵⁷ In Congo, almost all the *Balokole* or *Wokovu* of Mahagi zone were members of the CER movement,⁵⁸ often called, *Wokovu ya Nguvu*, 'Strong Salvation'.⁵⁹ In Aru zone there was a mixture of these

⁵³ Margaret Lloyd, *Wedge of Light: Revival in North West Uganda*, (Rugby: private, n.d.), 20.

⁵⁴ Ama ka azi nga candi be Opi Yesuni a'isu, Ma nga mu orodrini isu bua' dale ma ka Opi Yesuni a'i'. Adraa, "The Growth and Impact of Chosen Evangelical Revival," 14.

⁵⁵ The Acholi and Teso also had CER movements in fellowship with the West Nile one. The north/south divide suggests the presence of cultural and social differences.

⁵⁶ J. H. Dobson, *Daybreak in West Nile*, (London: Africa Inland Mission), 1967: 36.

⁵⁷ Alio Samweli, Arua, 08/08/00, [70-72]; Archbishops of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Boga-Zaire, Janani Luwum and Silvanus Wani were both mainstream *Balokole* from the north.

⁵⁸ Among the CER of Mahagi there are those who are said to be 'in the church', those who are 'outside the church' i.e. they have left, and those who 'say they are inside but are really outside'.

⁵⁹ Thumbé Ferdinand mentioned a third group of *Wokovu* present in Mahagi in small numbers, the re-awakened *Balokole*, a radical group from Central Uganda. For information on these see, D.

mainstream Revivalists and CER as well as many ordinary Anglicans. Although mainstream Revivalism and CER may be better understood as two points on a continuum of revivalist belief and practice between which individual *Wokovu* moved at different times, grouping them as such allows clarity of analysis. For example, mainstream Revivalists were largely willing to accept the common identity features of the EAC and influenced the negotiations around *utaratibu* analysed in Chapter Four. CER, however, maintained a sectarian stance within (and occasionally outside) the EAC and contested the validity of dominant EAC identity.

Uhuru

In Congo as elsewhere, all *Wokovu* found genuine relief in the confession of their sins, assurance of salvation and sustaining relations in fellowship groups. ‘Christian’ was regarded by the *Wokovu* as a social as much as a religious term. It denoted those who had accepted the social *utaratibu* of the church and its accompanying aspirations for *maendeleo*. Christians had participated in baptism and confirmation which were important for the *Wokovu* but they had not openly confessed their sins and therefore could not, according to the *Wokovu*, have assurance of salvation.⁶⁰ Ubaya Uchaki, for example, confessed his sins publicly because he feared death. Seeing two corpses being carried for burial on the same day made him reassess his life. He announced to his astonished friends. ‘Today, I want to receive Jesus.’ And he went to a church where;

They said, ‘[tell] these things which hurt you. You want to be saved now.’ Now truly, as the Spirit spoke through me, I recounted all these things openly. I said, ‘Truly I am a sinner. Jesus, forgive me! I stole things like beer... I stole it because... girls also drink beer... [They said] ‘Before returning to the Lord’s table go to the Christians and explain everything.’ So I said, ‘We used to steal without anyone knowing. Now no sin is hidden from God. I did this. Jesus, forgive me and cleanse me with your blood.’⁶¹

Bagatagira, "Split in the Revival Movement in Uganda," *Occasional Papers in African Traditional Religion and Philosophy* 4. (Makerere University), 1972: 1-5.

⁶⁰ Lloyd, *Wedge of Light*, 52.

⁶¹ Ubaya Uchaki, Mahagi, 30/08/00, [50-61]; ‘“Mimi, leo, ninapenda kabisa kupokea Yesu” ... Walisema, “Ule maneno inateseka ye. Unapenda sasa kuokoka.” Na kweli namna roho inasungamuza juu yangu nilisema maneno yote wazi. Nilisema, “Kweli niko mwenye zambi, Yesu nisamehe! Nilifanya hivi kuiba sawa pombe... niliibaka tu kwa sababu... wasika vile wanakunyaka pombe...” “Mbele kurudia kwa Meza ya Bwana we enda mbele ya wakristo kueleza yote.” Njo, nilisema, “Sasa tulikuwa tuliba tu bila watu kujua. Sasa hakuna zambi kuficha mbele ya Mungu. Nilifanya hivi. Yesu unisamehe kabisa na kuniogosha damu yako”.’

The result of this repentance in front of the community was relief which Ubaya explains thus:

So I was saved... I acknowledged Jesus. I repented again, anew. I am light. Really sins are heavy, great problems. So I was heavy in all things. It seemed my whole life was bad when I confessed. Then I found second birth. Now I am light.⁶²

Others described it as being free, *uhuru*, freedom from the fear of death, freedom from regular blood sacrifice, freedom from anti-social living (drunkenness, lying, stealing, adultery) freedom to do the will of God, freedom to preach and teach without having a certain educational standard.⁶³ The *uhuru* advocated by the northerners was understood primarily as freedom from social constraints which, in particular historical circumstances, could engage with EAC *utaratibu*.⁶⁴ For Wokovu, however, *uhuru* was primarily spiritual and was paramount to Anglican *utaratibu*. This spiritual freedom entailed the rejection of some social norms and the manufacturing of other strictures. These included the refusal to wear ties, jewellery or elaborate hair-styles, a ban on holding end of mourning ceremonies for their dead and on accepting indigenous medicines as well as more widely accepted prohibitions like temperance and monogamy.⁶⁵ These social conditions developed a new culture of the initiated which set them apart from the community, Christians and non-Christians alike, and earned them the criticism from mainstream revivalists of being legalistic.⁶⁶

As Peterson points out in his article "Wordy Women: Gender trouble and the Oral Politics of the East African Revival in Northern Gikuyuland," conversion upsets categories of identity which affects the wider culture.⁶⁷ Revivalist conversion pits spiritual, spontaneous belonging against literate, bureaucratic and hierarchial

⁶² Ubaya Uchaki, [204-208]; 'Ndiyo niliokoka...nikatambua Yesu, nikatubu tena, mupya. Niko mupesi. Kumbe zambi iko muzito, matata sana. Ile ilikuta niko muzito, meneno yote. Inaonekana maisha yangu yote ilikuwa mubaya, ndiyo, wakati nilitubu. Tena nilipata uzaliwa mara ya pili. Sasa niko mupesi.'

⁶³ Ozua Samson, Aru, 10/08/00, [71-76]; Adoroti Ombhabua, Kumuru, 17/08/00, [366].

⁶⁴ Chapter Three, 139.

⁶⁵ Ang'omoko Tek'akwo Upio, "Mouvement des 'Barokole' dans le diocèse de Boga-Congo; cas de l'archidiacone d'Aru," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISThA), 1997: 12.

⁶⁶ Sengi Lupanzula, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [235-237].

⁶⁷ Derek Peterson, "Wordy Women: Gender trouble and the Oral Politics of the East African Revival in Northern Gikuyuland," *Journal of African History* 42 (2001), 471.

belonging. The freedom to preach and to teach gained through *Wokovu* confession was a freedom extended to those whom the western initiated churches normally considered as lacking the necessary education or qualifications. The identity of the preachers and teachers was challenged within the church. In Congo, the uneducated, who were socially marginalised in the modern world and were often without position in customary society, found freedom, meaning and confidence on a social as well as spiritual level in the radical message of the CER. They included many women who preached and taught alongside men.⁶⁸ Events surrounding migration had provided a religious group which fulfilled spiritual and social needs of a particular group of people.

The *Wokovu* made their lack of education a point of spiritual superiority, spurning opportunities for learning and claiming the inspiration of the Holy Spirit was the key to spiritual leadership. Ubaya suffered the wrath of some of the leaders in Mahagi in the 1990s by going to study at the EAC Bible School. They told him:

If someone already believes in Jesus there's no need to study again because the Spirit of God helps them... You are going to destroy [what you already have]... the Word of God is not studied.⁶⁹

In claiming *uhuru* through public confession of sins the most radical *Wokovu* eschewed the *maendeleo* which was the foundation of identity and reason for *uhuru* for many other Anglicans. In the northern area there were Anglicans who most espoused *maendeleo* as a way of interpreting *utaratibu*⁷⁰ and there were Anglicans who were the fiercest critics of it. It was as if the noisy and disruptive evangelistic behaviour of the CER shouted, 'If we're going to be marginalised and looked down upon, we'll do it properly!' As such they became an embarrassment to *maendeleo*-minded EAC members and a threat to mainstream EAC identities. The effects of *Wokovu* on EAC identity will be studied through the historical prism of events before and after introduction of EAC in northern area.

⁶⁸ See Chapter Six for more details.

⁶⁹ Ubaya Ucak, [640 -653]; 'Mutu akiisha kuamini Yesu hana mafaa tena ya kusoma kwa sababu Roho ya Mungu inasaidiaka mutu... Wewe unakwenda kuharibisha... Neno la Mungu hawasomake...'

⁷⁰ Chapter Three, 116-117.

1960 - 1979

Otuwa Simeon returned to his home village in Aru zone from Uganda in 1959 having been converted, baptised and confirmed in the COU the previous year. He joined the local CECA 20 church and began preaching the *Wokovu* message in 1960. Over the next twenty years he was joined by other returned migrant *Wokovu* who believed they should evangelise their own people. Revival came to Mahagi zone in June 1964. Ajuku and eleven others, including three women evangelists, preached in Mahagi-Port to the population which included people internally displaced by the Simba rebellion. Those men and women who converted as a result of this visit soon fled to Uganda to escape the rebellion where they met other Congolese influenced by Revival preaching. In the late 1960s they began to return to Congo and the CECA church. The noisy confidence of their evangelistic enthusiasm and their insistence on the necessity of public confession made them unpopular although the actual message preached was in keeping with CECA's evangelicalism:

Jesus said, "Confess your sins, find salvation, you will go to heaven," If some one has not yet confessed their sins, they will not enter heaven because He came to open the way to heaven by His blood.⁷¹

The CECA church leaders considered the *Wokovu* a dangerous nuisance; loud, bumptious, uncouth, disobedient and disruptive. They overlooked the closeness of the *Wokovu* moral code to their own, both with their unambiguous boundaries of belonging. CECA leaders disliked *Wokovu* refusal to submit to the church authorities which was displayed in the overt attacks on their Christian credentials and the holding of meetings without their permission. They could neither control them nor reason with them. CECA members were offended by the details given by *Wokovu* of sins committed. They misunderstood or ridiculed their insistence on public confession:

Today s/he confesses the sin s/he committed yesterday, s/he confesses the sin, s/he confesses, s/he returns and s/he will go and do another sin again. You will hear next week that s/he is confessing again.⁷²

⁷¹ Sila Bileti, Aru, 10/08/00, [117-120]; 'Yesu alisema, "Tubu zambi yenu, pata wokovu, utaingia mbinguni." Kama mutu bado tubu zambi yake, yeye hataingia mbinguni kwa sababu yeye alikuja kufungua njia ya kukwenda mbinguni na damu Yake.'

⁷² CECA Women, [634-636]; '...leo anatubu zambi ile alifanya jana, anatubu zambi, anatubu, anarudia na atakwenda fanya tena zambi ingine. Utasikia juma ya kesho anatubu tena.'

They were uncomfortable with the use of traditional Lugbara, Alur and Kakwa instruments, melodies and dance patterns⁷³ and were irritated by the nuisance the *Wokovu* made of themselves in public places in the name of evangelism:

Later, after the service they go out in their group. There, outside, they take an enormous drum, they start to worship and dance with force, they dance there and worship and confess... and announce their sins... So for this reason our people see it as just a sect... there to make a noise.'⁷⁴

If CECA considered the EAC an illegitimate and morally reprehensible claimant to ecclesiastical space, it regarded the *Wokovu* as contorting Christian identity by noisy behaviour and convictions of spiritual superiority that posed a threat to internal unity. In an attempt to control this disruption CECA engaged the forces of the State.

When asked in interview what happened between the start of *Wokovu* evangelism and the beginning of the Anglican church in 1979, Otuwa said simply,

When we preached, CECA did not want repentance. They went to Aru to accuse us. We were imprisoned.⁷⁵

A similar story is repeated by all *Wokovu* active in Aru and Mahagi zones before the introduction of the EAC. One of those who publicly confessed his sins in 1964 was CECA pastor, Aloni Ngomu. His attempt to reform his parish along *Wokovu* lines was met with disapproval by CECA authorities and he was forced to leave his church.⁷⁶ During the 1970s three different groups were arrested and imprisoned for their activities in Mahagi whilst Otuwa, Sila Bileti and others were imprisoned in Aru. In all these cases it was CECA leaders who alerted the secular authorities to the disruptive behaviour of the *Wokovu*. If, as *Wokovu* members claim, CECA leaders

⁷³ AIM/CECA 20 had originally forbidden the use of tradition instruments and dance. From 1974 the ECC, in keeping with the government *authenticité* policy, encouraged its member denominations to use traditional music but it took many years to filter down to individual CECA congregations. Lodyi Uwale, "Le Rôle de la Musique traditionnelle africaine chez les Bale et les Alur de Rethy dans le Culte chrétien de la Communauté evangelique au Centre de l'Afrique (CECA)," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISTB, Bunia), 1981: 22-25, 27.

⁷⁴ CECA Women, [647-654]; 'Kisha, nyuma ya kisomo watatoka na groupe yao. Ya ile inje watakamata ngoma kabambi, wanza kuabudu na kucheza na nguvu, wanacheza pale na kuabudu na kutubu... na kutangaza zambi... Njo kwa maana watu wetu wanaona iko tu *secte* moja... iko ya kulalamika.'

⁷⁵ Otuwa Simeon, Aru, 11/08/00, [202-209]; 'Amani e'yo oluria 'ba CECA 'diyi leni asi ojaza vile 'diri ku. Ani e'yo 'dirisi emu ndra di ama seu kpere Arua 'dia. Ama e'do prison.'

⁷⁶ Ang'omoko Tek'akwo Upio, "Mouvement des 'Barokole' dans le diocèse de Boga-Congo; cas de l'archidiacone d'Aru," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISThA), 1997: 4.

accused them before the civil authorities of ‘coming to destroy our country’⁷⁷ this could be seen as a ruse to encourage the desired imprisonment, or it could be understood as the extent to which the CECA church were disconcerted by unsociable behaviour and threatened by radical demands. Imprisonment did not stop *Wokovu* activity but it toned it down and moved it to the private sphere. From 1971 *Wokovu* in Mahagi were no longer welcome in the CECA church and met only in their own homes, a situation which further illegitimatised their position. In their own eyes they were Christians without a church – a contradiction for most Revivalists. In the eyes of the state they were a religious group without government recognition, a legally untenable position.

For *Wokovu* the memories of these years of alienation are recounted in narratives which express both dismay and pride: dismay at being rejected by CECA leaders simply for being, so they believed, better Christians than the rest; pride at having their faith tested through persecution. Ubotha Marthe and her husband were among those who converted in 1964. Her husband had been a CECA catechist. They expected that their *Wokovu* lifestyle would be welcomed by CECA:

We persevered in this salvation (*wokovu*) but our church, CECA 20, presented us with so many obstacles until we were chased from this church. We were affirmed by knowing that when there is tribulation we hold firm and continue to collaborate with the Church. Particularly during the service we would be exemplary, models, and the first to carry out church order, so that we would be united to the Church... Even though we did the recommended work, the offerings, and all other sacrificial acts, we were all [put] outside. If we heard the drum announcing the service we were the first to enter [the church]. If the offering was announced we were the first to give. This is the result of our salvation.⁷⁸

Ugen Lambert remembers being arrested:

CECA saw our vision was different in all things to theirs. So... they accused us to the Anghap collectivité [HQ] at Ambaki. This was in February '76 and August '78. We were there for one month. After a month the *collectivité* chief called us to him and said, ‘Leave this thing completely. Don’t ever do it again.’ We said that we couldn’t leave these things because before we drank, we swore and quarrelled with people, we led a bad life. Now when we received Jesus in our lives we found joy and so stopped all the other things... On the 17th he sent us for three months to Mahagi zone [prison]. When we arrived

⁷⁷ Uzele Salatiel, Mahagi, 28/08/00, [136].

⁷⁸ Ubotha Marthe, Mahagi, 27/08/00, [43-58].

they took off all our clothes, they said... we had introduced an unknown religion...⁷⁹

Pride in persecution did not prevent a desire to avoid it. In 1978, when they heard that an Anglican church existed in Congo, they contacted the bishop in Boga, in the hope that they could become members as they had been in Uganda. Had CECA found a way of accepting the *Wokovu* they would have probably remained within it. Their identity as confessing Christians was more important to them than denominational loyalty. The break down of relations with CECA, their own belief in revival from within a church, and the threat of State persecution for un-aligned Christian groups encouraged them to seek a covering body for their activities. The immediate circumstances as well as prior familiarity encouraged identification with Anglicanism.

The 'soap' of the EAC

...this [Anglican] church came to free us from certain yokes of other churches in the area,⁸⁰

said one *Wokovu* aligning Anglican membership with issues of freedom. Another explained the move from CECA to EAC thus:

...in Uganda there is confession of sin. CECA doesn't want us to be together in their church because we are those who confess. Even when we stay with them they don't want, so for this reason we quickly welcomed the Anglican church here.⁸¹

The initial reaction of the EAC towards the *Wokovu* was different to that of CECA but it soon found itself dealing with similar issues of identity and unity. At first the

⁷⁹ Ugen Lambert, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [23-43]; 'CECA wanaona maoni yetu ni vitu vyote ilikuwa tofauti na yao. Bon... wanastaki sisi kwa collectivité, iko kwa Anghap, kwa Ambaki. Ile kuwa mwezi ya pili kwa mwaka '76, na nane, '78. Tulikuwa mwezi moja pale. Kiisha mwezi moja chef ya collectivité naita sisi kwake, anasema, "Muache ile mambo kabisa. Tusifanye ye mara ingine tena"... Pale sisi tunasema hatuwezi kuacha ile vitu kwani mbele tulikuwa na kunywa, tulikuwa na tukana, tulikuwa na gombana na watu, ndiyo ilikuwa maisha mubaya. Sasa wakati tulipokea Yesu kwa maisha yetu, ni kusema tunapata furaha, basi tunaacha ile mavitu yote... anatuma sisi kwa mwezi tatu hapa, Mahagi, ... alikuwa tarehe 17, anatuma sisi hapa... kwa zone. Wakati tunafika pale, wanatosha nguo yote ku mwili yetu, wanasema... tuanleta *religion mal connue*...'

⁸⁰ Ukethi Amos, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [167-169]; '...cette Eglise est venue nous libérer de quelques jongs auprès d'autres églises de la place.'

⁸¹ Yobu Kupajo, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [115 – 119]; '...Uganda yu lopugo teili kata lu ṛu a kalolopu kona CECA ani rugo yi isaka ki kase kanisani dia piri naga yi sasa kani iCECA yu izania kigele de bayi, ilorode nyeto tikindra yi rukundro Anglican wuheṛa gele ride.'

Wokovu of the North appeared familiar to the escarpment church leaders. They were soon to discover, however, that this expression of Revivalism differed from that of the escarpment church and that many of these *Wokovu* held more tightly to their revivalist convictions than to their loyalty to the Anglican church. For their part, the *Wokovu* were disappointed that the EAC was little effected by revival and they took on the task of being ‘soap’ to ‘purify’ the church.⁸²

When the Mahagi *Wokovu* wrote to Bishop Ridsdale there is no doubt that he and other Anglican clergy were delighted that people should ask to belong to their church. It fitted Ridsdale’s belief in the universal attraction of Anglicanism and it gave increased status to Congolese Anglicans. They wanted to expand and become more significant in the regional ecclesiastical scene. Secondly, they were aware that the request came from people who had been members of the COU. They could claim that they were not attempting to influence members of other denominations but merely providing service for migrant Anglicans accustomed to a particular way of worship. Thirdly, several church leaders already had personal experience of conversion through the Revival movement in Boga.⁸³ Beni Bataaga and Munege Kabarole, who visited Aru and Mahagi from 1979 to meet the *Wokovu* and later to establish the church there, understood the language of public confession, fellowship groups and evangelism, and had both belonged to Revival groups at sometime. Nasanairi Mukasa, who became the first Archdeacon of Aru in 1984, had been primarily responsible for introducing Revival to the escarpment EAC from 1947.⁸⁴ They soon realised they were engaging with revivalists much more radical than themselves. When Bileti Sila, the Aru *Wokovu* leader, and others returned from the Convention in Mahagi in January 1980 and proposed that the *Wokovu* join the EAC their vote was split. Some, including Bileti’s wife, resisted the introduction of the Anglican church to the area. When they did agree to the idea they thought it inappropriate that Bileti be both *Wokovu* leader and church leader.⁸⁵ Alio Samweli, his son, explained the debate:

⁸² Ndiritho Paulo, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [662-663].

⁸³ Chapter One, 65-66.

⁸⁴ Chapter One, 66.

⁸⁵ Alio Samweli, [134-138].

There were some people who were feeling that there should be church because Revival is not a religion, so church is a religion which will guide them, will be their parents. Then there are some people who say, 'No, we should be separate because if church comes then it will be our cover and then we will not have our position...' ⁸⁶

This difference of opinion caused tension in the Aru zone until discussions with Bishop Njojo Byankia in 1986 after which all *Wokovu* agreed to come under church authority. ⁸⁷ The church spread quickly in this area, as Chapter Three illustrated, in large part through the work of both mainstream revivalists and CER. The fact that the desire, expressed by most Anglicans in the north, for trained centrally appointed clergy was not realised immediately probably kept more radical *Wokovu* within the EAC structure. They had greater leeway in establishing and leading their own chapels for a number of years until the Anglican structure which they knew from Uganda began to take hold. In Aru zone *Wokovu* evangelism, lively worship and a stricter moral code than that adhered to among southern Anglicans fed into the mainstream EAC and rendered the church more dynamic. The problems in Mahagi were more intractable. The CER were particularly zealous and uncompromising. Some of the leaders were both charismatic and dictatorial and criticised the EAC ruthlessly. Pastors sent from the escarpment area found the situation bewildering and intolerable. ⁸⁸ It was sometime, however, before local *Wokovu* pastors were available because of the resistance of the CER to theological study. ⁸⁹ In 1998 one small group split away from the church entirely naming itself *Wokovu Safi*, the 'pure salvation'. ⁹⁰ The EAC spread much more slowly in Mahagi zone as a result of internal wrangling. It only became a viable Archdeaconry with four parishes in 2000.

Complex relationships and radical Christian behaviour were to test both the patience and diplomacy of local church leaders and the unity of the EAC. The problems

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, [459-463]

⁸⁷ Adoroti Ombhabua, Arua, conversation, 31/08/00

⁸⁸ Bakahwa François from Boga, 1980-1992, Sengi Lupanzula from Bwakadi, 1992-2000, 06/10/00 [111-115].

⁸⁹ The first Alur pastor to work in the Mahagi area was Wiyajik Kapondombe, ordained in 1994. Ubaya Uchaki was ordained in 2000. Rev. Ango'moko Tek'akwo Upio, who had been working in Aru, was to become Archdeacon of Mahagi in 2000 but died soon after his appointment. Upenji Jupewung'a the first Alur to be ordained has worked outside the area since his ordination.

⁹⁰ Ferdinand Thumbe, [230-234]; Members of the *Wokovu Safi* group declined to be interviewed. There may only be twenty or thirty of them but they have significantly disrupted the EAC in the Mahagi area.

played out differently in Aru and Mahagi but the underlying issue was the same in both areas: the relationship with the institutional church. All Anglicans, *Wokovu* or not, obviously had a relationship with the EAC. This relationship can be seen to fall on a continuum between the acceptance of institutional structure, practice and doctrine of the EAC at one end and a rejection of it at the other. Groups and individuals did not remain at a fixed point on this continuum but moved along it as they responded to circumstances. Below the points on this continuum of ecclesiastical relationship that shed light on Anglican identities and Anglican unity are analysed.

Ecclesial identity

For all Revivalists the institutional church comprised of two groups, nominal Christians, *wakristo*, and committed or ‘saved’ Christians. They worshipped together on Sunday mornings but their behaviour and activities separated the two groups and the aim of the Revivalists was to make all Christians saved ones. The CER and those affected by them adhered to this principle as well but, as already demonstrated, they also differentiated themselves from both nominal and ‘saved’ Christians by more zealous moral behaviour and more fervent evangelistic activities. They wanted to maintain the unity of the church but this was overshadowed by their stringent criticism of the spiritual quality of its leaders and their radical anti-*maendeleo* behaviour which challenged the progressive aspirations of mainstream revivalists and ordinary Christians alike. One pastor explained that they attacked the church by saying, ‘In the church there is sin, the church is full of sinners.’⁹¹

Some considered them a separate group;

...those people who want the Revival to be there in our area are taken to be as a separate movement which is not fully absorbed in the church... It's *not* fully involved in the church. But [in Uganda] the movement is now fully involved in the church.⁹²

Fundamentally, the *Wokovu* effectively contested the *utaratibu*, upon which the EAC had maintained its identity and unity.

⁹¹ Tabu Abembi, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [461]; ‘Dans l’église il y a de pêché, l’église est rempli de pêcheurs.’

⁹² Alio Samweli, [780-784].

The emphasis of the Congolese *Wokovu* was on their own close-knit spiritual group which provided fellowship and stimulated evangelism. Belonging was primarily to the *Wokovu* rather than the EAC. These groups had their own order which was very different to the stratified, formal *utaratibu* of the EAC. Leaders were those who showed most ability or zeal in preaching; they were often charismatic individuals to whom a great deal of loyalty was shown by group members. The influence of the leadership was tempered by democratic voting systems for decisions on whom the leader of open-air evangelism should be, or which theme was to be chosen for the Sunday afternoon meeting.⁹³ All *Wokovu* were expected to participate to some degree in evangelism and in fellowship meetings. *Wokovu* events were self-supporting. Their leaders received no financial remuneration. *Wokovu* had maintained international networks via Uganda which included local and regional leaders, meetings and conventions, through which news was disseminated speedily and they maintained transnational connections at a time when the EAC and COU were emphasising national ecclesiastical structures.⁹⁴ *Wokovu* declared greater affinity for this fictive kin structure of *Wokovu* 'brethren' throughout East Africa than for the EAC members in their own village and their allegiance to it meant they were less inclined to accommodate themselves to the works of parish or diocese.⁹⁵ This wider network had influence but little direct authority over local groups as the history of division and reconciliation within the movement has shown. It was surely no coincidence that the CER existed in cultures like the Kakwa, Lugbara and Alur which, although possessing significant differences, are traditionally segmentary. It is also significant that the migratory paths taken previously for employment or security were followed again and again for spiritual fellowship with a wider network of *Wokovu*.

The alternative structures of the *Wokovu* conflicted with the mainstream EAC system and caused suspicion on both sides. The *Wokovu* were suspicious of the institutional church and its desire for educated, salaried (albeit poorly) leaders who did not sufficiently challenge themselves or their congregations to repentance and right-living. Their *heshima* for EAC leadership was noticeably lacking. Through

⁹³ CER meeting, Bunia, 17/09/00, [6-15].

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, [52-56].

⁹⁵ Wiyajik Kapondombe, [529-540].

these attitudes they were contesting the values of mainstream Anglicans and the identity of the EAC with *utaratibu* and *heshima* as its way of government, worship and social interaction. Chapters One and Two illustrated the ways in which EAC identity maintained continuity with cultural structures of the escarpment which upheld the values of the socio-religious elite. *Wokovu* demonstrated different lines of continuity with a different culture. They eschewed elite structures and condemned rites which upheld those structures, embracing instead a popular, pneumatological religiosity which would inevitably clash with *utaratibu* as defined by EAC leaders.

Ubaya Uchaki explains the tension between EAC *utaratibu*, to which most *Wokovu* submitted on Sunday mornings, and *Wokovu* worship:

Well, in the morning service they follow the *utaratibu* of the church completely. They sing praises as well here at church but there [at *Wokovu* meetings], as it's evangelism, they really dance. At the church they only do *utaratibu* because it's the place particularly to respect God, of real *heshima*. There at the place of evangelism people really show Him, they really dance.⁹⁶

Now a deacon, Ubaya recognised the identity of the EAC service - its *utaratibu* and *heshima* - and respected it as displaying reverence for the Almighty. He considered *wokovu* meetings more fun and therefore more likely to attract outsiders. Worship was exuberant and spontaneous and followed local dance and musical influences. *Wokovu* used their own compositions and also the hymn book, singing its songs with more gusto than was customary in church. They preferred their own style of worship to the formal, Prayer Book style.⁹⁷ More importantly, at a lively evangelistic event, suggested Ubaya, God was revealed through dance and music in a way, it is inferred, that God was not seen in the *utaratibu* of a church service! This is a striking claim which clearly demands that attendance at the *Wokovu* meeting take priority over the church service.

Most *Wokovu* consider there is a division of labour between them and the church as Sila explains:

⁹⁶ Ubaya Uchaki, [301-306]; 'Bon, pale kwa ibada ya asubui wanafuata utaratibu ya kanisa sana. Kuimba hile ya kushukuru wanaimbaka vile hapa kanisa lakini, kule namna iko evangelistion wanacheza sana. Mambo ya kanisa wanafanya tu utaratibu sababu iko fasi ya kuheshimu Mungu zaidi, ya heshima sana. Hivi kule namna iko fasi ya evangelisation watu wanaonyesha vraiment yake, wanacheza zaidi.'

⁹⁷ Ibid., [218-226]; suggests that those who most dislike Anglican *utaratibu* are those who did not grow up in the Anglican tradition, but joined the *Wokovu* from another denomination. From my research it is difficult to know how far this is true.

I want the church because the work of the church... is to baptise, give sacraments. It does this work that I don't do. Mine is to preach as evangelist.....⁹⁸

The EAC authorities, however, expected their programme of church services and even evangelism to take priority over *Wokovu* activities. The *Wokovu* felt differently. The issue which most threatened EAC identity is the reversal in the minds of the *Wokovu* of the importance of roles within the church. Sengi Lupanzula, the Lese pastor of Mahagi between 1992 and 2000, believed that the *Wokovu* wanted to have authority over the church:

...the *Wokovu* group didn't want to unite with the church. It was a problem. They wanted the church to be below them and them to be above the church.⁹⁹

The *Wokovu* believed that this authority was rightfully and biblically theirs. Mahagi archdeaconry evangelist and *Wokovu* leader, Ndiritho Paulo, explained:

We go about the country looking for other people outside. If we find people there we take them to the church worker... As the Bible says, 'We will chose seven people to stay here but we will go out to preach.'¹⁰⁰

His understanding of the role of the diaconate in Acts 6:2-4 and the role of the EAC church workers put the *Wokovu* in a position parallel with the first apostles and the official EAC workers as those appointed by them to carry out tasks of secondary importance: a reversal of the *utaratibu* model of the EAC.

Ndiritho, however, insists; 'There are differences but we are all in *umoja*'.¹⁰¹

Although this sort of argument may have persuaded members of the CER to remain within the EAC it was unlikely to endear itself to ordinary *walimu* and pastors. Instead of seeing *wokovu* activity as secondary to church worship and hierarchical structure, *Wokovu* believed it to be so spiritually and socially significant that they regarded it as having priority over the institution of the EAC. By this approach the CER effectively attempted to uproot the *utaratibu* of Prayer Book and hierarchy

⁹⁸ Sila Bileti, [284-286]; '...ninapenda kanisa kwa sababu kazi ya kanisa... anabatiza, anamupa sakramento. Anafanya kazi ile sijafanya. Yangu ni kuhubiri, sawa evangeliste...'

⁹⁹ Sengi Lupanzula, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [111-113]; '...chama cha wokovu haikupenda kuungana na kanisa. Ilikuwa problème. Walipenda kanisa ikuwe chini yao na wao wawe juu ya kanisa.'

¹⁰⁰ Ndiritho Paulo, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [83-88]; '...sisi tunatoka inchi kutafuta watu ingine inje. Kama watu wanapatiana kule tuliwaleta kwa mwangalizi... Namna Biblia inasema, tutachagua watu wa saba kubaki hapa lakini sisi tutoke inje kuenda kuhubiri.'

¹⁰¹ Ibid., [89]; 'Tofauti yake iko hivi lakini tuko tu ndani ya umoja.'

from its place of paramount importance in EAC identity to a secondary place below the *uhuru* of fellowship meetings and open-air evangelism important for CER identity. They inverted not only dominant EAC order but also mainstream Revivalist order. These differences caused great strain as *Wokovu* of different movements and non-*Wokovu* tried to co-exist within the one institution. The *umoja* between the EAC and some *Wokovu* groups was stretched very thin indeed.

Ndiritho also expressed both *Wokovu* unity with the EAC and spiritual superiority over it by his use of the story of Apolo Kivebulaya:

[The EAC] was introduced by Apolo Kivebulaya... He preached the Good News to every one... at the end of his life, he returned to heaven and he left work for his own people. But this work did not come to our area. ... Now we [*Wokovu*] are very happy with the work which the servant of God has left... Now it is like this, we want to build up *Wokovu* and the church will be like this. But you see others - when Apolo left Boga... his work ceased.¹⁰²

The people of Boga, he said, did not continue the evangelism of Apolo. *Wokovu* were his true followers. In Chapter One it was suggested that the narration of Apolo's story by escarpment Anglicans was primarily to support the retention of the tradition he had brought them, which led to the indigenisation of Anglican structures.¹⁰³ Chapter Two suggested that those emulating Apolo may have given a more expansionist slant to his story, but their mission was still seen as emplanting Anglican tradition among Anglican migrants throughout Congo. In this quotation Ndiritho challenged escarpment *utaratibu* as the prime legacy of Apolo for the EAC and claims that evangelism was the commission his followers should have undertaken after his death. In his view, escarpment Christians should have taken the Gospel further into Congo and should not have become locked into the tradition of an ecclesiastical institution. Spiritual *uhuru* for evangelism was, for *Wokovu*, the legacy of Apolo.

¹⁰² Ibid., [755-767]; '...iliingia kwa mzee ile Apolo Kivebulaya... Anahubiri Habari Njema kwa watu wote. ... mwisho ya maisha yake ye alirudi mbinguni, aliacha kazi kwa mwenzake. Lakini kazi hiyo hapana fika kwetu... Sasa tunafurahi sana kazi ya mutumishi ya Mungu ambayo analeta... Sasa inakuwa hivi, sasa tunapenda kujenga *Wokovu*, na kanisa ikuwe hivi. Lakini unaona wengine - Apolo wakati alitoka Boga ... maneno yake anakoma.'

¹⁰³ Chapter One, 68.

Umoja or uhuru

The majority of *Wokovu* in North-east Congo remained within the EAC because of their belief in the importance of *umoja* with the church that they were called to revive from within. With this principle they could be members of any denomination which permitted their adherence. Historical circumstance persuaded the *Wokovu* to approach for membership the church they knew from Uganda. The EAC knew the Revival tradition but found the more radical expressions of it difficult to work with. Radical *Wokovu* suggested that the Anglican pattern of *utaratibu* – whether interpreted by *upole* and *heshima* or by social *uhuru* and *maendeleo* - presented a modernity which spiritually neither tackled the sinful ways of the present nor rooted out the evil of the past. Thus they inverted the identity of the EAC and threatened its sense of unity. The *Wokovu* stance developed not only from a distinct revival identity but from continuity with a past common religiosity which was different from the religiosity of social elite emerging from the escarpment. Through this conflict, the CER tested the limits of EAC rhetoric of *umoja*. EAC willingness to compromise to avoid schism where possible demonstrated the importance of internal *umoja* as an identity signifier. Most, but not all, CER also demonstrated commitment to *umoja* through a gradual acceptance of ordination for some of their members and attendance at EAC services.

Conclusion

The EAC had a particular understanding of *umoja* centred round liturgical and hierarchical *utaratibu*. Acknowledgement of this permitted members to remain within the EAC and practice a variety of different moral codes, social behaviour, worship practice and development initiatives. This way of *umoja* facilitated the geographic spread of the EAC among migrant Anglicans. Indeed Anglican *utaratibu* was interpreted as a way of social and spiritual *uhuru* in the particular historic circumstances in which the northern Anglicans found themselves from 1979. CECA and the EAC offered real choice of identity within a Protestant paradigm of religious experience. Many migrants found the CECA model too restricting, but liked the EAC approach which allowed local initiative in church planting, a less rigid approach to morality and discipline, and permitted radical groups, like CER, to operate within it. Having *utaratibu* as the basis of its identity, and thus its unifying feature, allowed it to expand and offer flexibility on other matters. The elasticity of EAC *umoja*,

however, was stretched almost to breaking point by the challenge to its *utaratibu* by the CER. They inverted the order of importance of the stratified structure of church workers and *Wokovu* leaders, church services and fellowship meetings. Most *Wokovu* remained technically within the EAC but many were regarded as being effectively outside because of the division over their relationship with EAC *utaratibu*.

The two conflicts presented in this chapter shaped Anglican identity in terms of *utaratibu* and *umoja*. Paradoxically, tensions between CECA, which were most acute in the north, led to a reaffirmation of Anglican identity as based on a liturgical and hierarchical *utaratibu*, whilst *Wokovu* activities, also mostly in the north, challenged the notion of *utaratibu* as a central identity signifier for those who called themselves Anglicans.

Chapter Six: Weak Vessels or Church Foundations? Women in the EAC.

Introduction

... we women are very weak vessels. Even if we force ourselves... our work just dies... we are people of real shame... we mistrust each other.¹

... women are the foundation of the church... they have strength. Your church will stand through the ways of women... They have strength and unity.²

From these contrasting assessments made by two friends, who worked together as women's leaders, it is apparent that the self-perceptions of women in the EAC are complex and at times contradictory. Anglican women in North-east Congo both disparage their church work as ineffective, blaming their own defective characters, and also proudly proclaim themselves as the basis of the church without whom it would not function. A glance round almost any chapel of the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) on any Sunday morning between 1960 and 2000 would tell the observer that women in the congregation clearly out numbered men. Little more attention would be needed to ascertain that few women took leadership roles during services. Such a situation of men as actors and women as receptors in acts of worship belies, however, a complex gendered interaction in the EAC within and beyond Sunday morning worship in which women became more assertive within the structures of the EAC. Women's identity – expressed negatively and positively – was formed as they negotiated the ecclesiastical, social and economic expectations of their roles.

This chapter and Chapter Seven show the way in which, during the 1990s, *utaratibu* was increasingly interpreted by *maendeleo* and *uhuru* as groups of second generation migrants became influential in the EAC. Women in this chapter are those of whom the term is used in Congo, that is female adults who are married or have children. The youth of Chapter Seven are largely unmarried people referred to as 'boys' and 'girls'. This chapter analyses the shift in the role of women's groups and the identity

¹ Tumusiime Rhoda, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [lines 528-530, 550]; '...sisi wamama tuko chumbo zaifu sana. Tunafanya mukazo yote...kazi inakufa hivi hivi tu...tuko watu ya haya sana...tunajizarau.'

² Janette Sinziri, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [462-464, 478]; '... musingi ya kanisa iko wamama... biko na nguvu. Kanisa yako atasimamisha kwa namna ya wamama...biko na nguvu na umoja.'

of migrated Anglican women as they changed over time and through migration. It demonstrates the ways in which migrant women were able to influence the leadership and orientation of the predominantly male-led, male-oriented³ EAC and provide a force for identity-change within the EAC in the 1990s through altering the aims of the Mothers' Union (MU) and developing relations with other women's groups. In doing so it enters the debate about the extent to which Christianity enabled or constrained the lives of African women.⁴

Migration by women

Rural-urban migration from the Semeliki escarpment was often experienced differently by women than men. Basimasi Kyakuhaire demonstrated that colonial employment opportunities favoured men.⁵ Married women were often expected to maintain family stability in the upheaval of migration. Husbands, sometimes accompanied by school age children, might go to the town for employment and education whilst leaving their wives to cultivate the family field in the village. If their husbands had established themselves sufficiently women might move to town later. On the other hand, marriage could be a cause of migration for women. A man who had established himself in a town might return to his village to marry, taking his bride back to the town with him. Bonabana Christine from Mitego near Boga, settled in Beni because she married an important Greek trader in the town. She met him whilst visiting her sister and family who had already moved to Beni. Women usually came to town to be with their husbands⁶ although the presence of other relations already established in an urban centre also encouraged women to migrate. Anglican women moving to the towns used the Mothers' Union (MU) to provide for themselves the stability they were expected to offer their families. In the first instance, they usually attempted to replicate the MU of the escarpment. As this

³ For use of these terms see Matthew Schoffeleers, "Pentecostalism and Neo-Traditionalism: The Religious Polarisation of a Rural District in Southern Malawi," in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, David Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, eds. (Leiden: Brill), 2002.

⁴ See Elizabeth Isichei, "Does Christianity Empower Women? The Case of the Anaguta of Central Nigeria," in *Women and Missions: Past and Present*, Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, Shirley Ardener, eds (Oxford: Berg), 1993; Esther Mombo, "A History and Cultural Analysis of the Position of Abaluya Women in Kenyan Quaker Christianity, 1902-1979," (PhD, Edinburgh University), 1998.

⁵ Chapter Two, 71.

⁶ Valdo Pons, *Stanleyville: An African Urban Community under Belgian Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1969: 44.

chapter demonstrates, however, their need to adapt to urbanisation with its challenge to traditional, rural ways of life presented opportunities for women to learn from other cultures and churches, so altering the identity of the EAC.

Trans-border migration also had different consequences for women. Those who took refuge in Aru and Mahagi zones when Amin fell from power in Uganda generally fled in family groups. A married woman was usually expected to accompany her husband to his father's village, which often increased the sense of loss and dislocation, especially if she had not lived in Congo before. Tumusiime Rhoda is one example; originally from Ankole, Uganda, she met and married her husband, a Kakwa soldier, in Kampala and fled with him to Kumuru in 1979.⁷ She struggled to cope with the change of diet and customs and the poverty of the Kumuru area as well as the inability to contact her own family. For others the sudden migration contributed to marital break up,⁸ or was the result of it.⁹ Such women turned to the MU, because they had known it in Uganda, as a way of finding companionship and spiritual support in dislocation. Many MU members in the north were also *Wokovu*. Their experience, studied towards the end of this chapter, shifted the roles normally ascribed by church and culture to women. As Chapter Three explained for the EAC in general, the northern MU could not be the same repository for traditional values as it was on the escarpment.

Migration instigated socio-religious change for women by providing lifestyle alternatives unknown in the village and different to ethnic customs.¹⁰ For Anglican women its effects became most apparent in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the context of greater economic and political decline. Banks no longer functioned, plantation farming had diminished and cash crops, like coffee or tobacco, were largely grown on family fields. Most state institutions were in terminal decline. Schools and hospitals operated at a basic level and salaries and morale were often low. Most people, even in urban areas, relied on subsistence agriculture for survival. Nevertheless, towns continued to lure people. Some still aspired to urban positions which no longer paid the salaries of previous years. A saying emerged; 'The

⁷ Tumusiime Rhoda, [42].

⁸ Adili Janette, Kumuru, 18/08/00, [62-63].

⁹ Aiye Joanne, Aru, 12/08/00, [26-30].

¹⁰ Pons, *Stanleyville*, 45-47.

unemployed in the towns are worth more than the unemployed in the villages.’¹¹ One could improve one’s status, it was believed, simply by relocating to an urban centre and surviving entirely through informal sector activities.

In this situation of economic hardship, husbands’ ability to earn salaries as civil servants, teachers, *inter alia*, was seriously reduced and many migrant women became petty traders to supplement the family income. Women, who had always performed much of the agricultural work, took greater responsibility for the monetary income of the family: a situation not always appreciated by their husbands.¹² Women were not only expected to provide family stability they also needed to be socially adaptable and economically flexible. The customs with which they had grown-up did not always appear relevant to their migrant situation and, whilst gender norms did not disappear, women could act in a wider sphere without abrogation if their actions were perceived to benefit the family. Some women saw these opportunities as empowering and enjoyed their greater economic and social dependence. They could compare their resourcefulness and forward-planning with men’s lack of both,

...men alone don’t have strength, because men think, ‘let’s go and get employment on a daily basis’ ... But wise women, put aside things...¹³

It is these women who were most likely to support change in the EAC. Others, often older first generation migrants, regarded new opportunities as bewildering, even frightening; they considered themselves ‘weak vessels’ in the face of greater responsibilities. For both groups, church affiliation was perceived to provide stability and support during this time of change. However, the nature of the support they required proved to be quite different.

Throughout Congo by the 1990s, the most effective vehicles of civil society were the churches. Over 90% of the population had some sort of affiliation to one of them and many of them had connections and financial support outside the State. They were often responsible for the continued existence of hospitals, schools and

¹¹ Muhindo Tsongo, Edinburgh, 17/12/99, [304-305].

¹² Ch. Didier Gondola, "Popular Music, Urban Society and Changing Gender Relations in Kinshasa (1950-1990)," in *Gendered Encounters: Challenging Cultural Boundaries and Social Hierarchies in Africa*, Maria Grosz-Ngaté and Omari Kokole, eds. (New York: Routledge), 1997: 81.

¹³ Janette Sinziri, [469-474]; ‘...babwana pekee nguvu hapana, kwani mawazo ya babwana, 'tuende kwa parjour'... Lakini wamama ya akili wataweka bitu ingine pembeni pembeni...’

colleges.¹⁴ Migration was responsible for an increased mix of denominations throughout the country as they followed their members to new locations and disregarded the old boundaries of missionary comity. The EAC had been at the vanguard of this trend in the 1970s in the North-east, but by the 1990s many *Eglise de Christ au Congo* (ECC) member denominations were present in towns and even in rural areas there might be two or three ECC churches present. Unpleasant relations like those between CECA 20 and EAC studied in Chapter Five did occur. There were always those whose theological conviction, ethnic loyalty or other interests were served by maintaining ecclesiastical discord. But increasingly the contact was more harmonious. Large towns with a greater mix of denominations set a trend for greater co-operation that was significantly influenced by the women's movement which included Anglican women.

Church planting

The growth of the EAC as a result of urban migration afforded some women the opportunity to exercise initiative in the ecclesiastical sphere. Mahirani Melena, the daughter of Basimasi, seems to have been the driving force behind the establishment of the EAC in Butembo. She had the support of her husband, Mustum Obadiah, the patronage of Kyuma Zakayo, the wealthy trader, the blessing of Mukasa Nasanairi, the Ugandan missionary, and others. Without these men it is unlikely the EAC would have started because they provided the ecclesiastical and civil legitimacy understood to be necessary in starting an urban church. However, it seems to have been Mahirani who met people, ran seminars and organised market place evangelism. She worked mainly with the women who were to become the majority of the Butembo congregation. About 1972 she began visiting the town market place, 'To search out those without faith so they could come to meet together.'¹⁵ She gathered non-Christians, Anglicans from Uganda and the escarpment, and members other churches not represented in Butembo. When asked what she did in the market she replied that she aimed, 'To open the book and read, to say the holy words [so] they could

¹⁴ By the early 1990s, 85% of schools in Congo were run by religious institutions and half the health zones were operated by churches who also ran many hospitals and clinics outside those zones. Leslie Winsome, *Zaire: Continuity and Political Change in an Oppressive State* (Colorado: Westview), 1993: 78, 84.

¹⁵ Mahirani Melena, Komanda, 21/09/00, [266-267]; 'Kutafuta wasiyo amini, njoo wakuje kutana pamoja.'

repent.¹⁶ Like *walimu*, her approach was basic evangelism but her aim was to establish an Anglican congregation.

There are a number of other women who claim similar initiatives in the establishment of EAC chapels. Most of these women come from the Revivalist tradition like Njang'u Esther and Ubotha Marthe from Mahagi, and Esther, Damaria and Anzokaru Marita who established churches at Ombi and Loli near Aru. Their contribution was not always officially remembered as, in each case, they worked alongside husbands or *walimu* to whom credit was often accorded. Most of them appear to have had an informal but recognised status within the nascent Anglican community, usually through their husbands, but occasionally in their own right as significant traders, or in Mahirani's case possibly through her family's close links with Apolo Kivebulaya and Mukasa.

A rarer role for women is that of significant financial support for a church planting initiative. Few Anglican women had access to such wealth. Bonabana Christina, however, as a result of her marriage to a Greek trader became an important benefactor of the Beni church, being almost entirely responsible for its building. Because of her financial generosity she was made a lay canon in the Diocese of Nord-Kivu in 1996; the only woman in North-East Congo to hold this title.¹⁷ Bonabana was also part of a MU group which pooled its resources to provide for the church building; one woman learnt to sew, others made baskets to sell, another contributed musical instruments.¹⁸

In establishing or providing for new EAC chapels these women did not overtly challenge official gender specific roles within the church but were able to work effectively within them because of their own personalities and positions. The EAC leadership regarded them as committed Christian women whose work was an example to others. The fact that some women did initiate EAC chapels and many more gave support to these initiatives demonstrates that they felt the EAC was important to them, part of their identity, providing them with their preferred way of

¹⁶ Ibid., [285-286]; 'Kufunguwa kitabu na kusoma, kusema maneno matakatifu hivi waliweza kugeuka.'

¹⁷ Bonabana Christina, Beni, 17/06/98, [175-178]; Canons are installed in recognition of service or to an advisory position on a council. They can be lay people but are often ordained.

¹⁸ Ibid., [147-152].

religious experience. It also shows that the predominantly male-led EAC could permit female initiative in new migrant situations.

Most migrant Anglican women were not actively involved in the planting of an EAC chapel but they soon became numerically stronger than men in newly established EAC chapels, as suggested by the early statistics of Bunia parish church,¹⁹ available only for occasional confirmation services:

Date	men confirmed	women confirmed	communicants
07/01/'73	6	6	50
18/11/'73	5	6	-
11/05/'75	8	9	73
15/02/'76	8	19	57
02/10/'77	3	13	-
31/12/'78	13	17	97 ²⁰

On confirmation Sundays one would expect attendance to be higher than normal. These figures, however, give us some idea of the growth of the church, in terms of its committed adult membership.²¹ The early figures show an equal number of men and women being confirmed. Once the church has been established, however, it attracted a larger number of women than men; a trend visible in other denominations.

Mothers' Union

Migrant women in newly established EAC chapels usually introduced MU groups. The MU was frequently the first group started in a new chapel. For example, Evasta Kusuna started the MU group in Bunia in 1970 once her husband and others had established an EAC chapel there. A small number of women married in church

¹⁹ One of the few churches with good records.

²⁰ DBg. doc. Bgpar800810.

²¹ Those permitted to take Communion must be confirmed and follow the discipline of the Church. They must have been married in church and not be polygamous. These figures, therefore, give a conservative estimate of the number of attenders at the services because they do not include children or adults barred from communion.

adopted the aims of the international MU body as interpreted by the escarpment Anglicans. It was seen as desirable by all members of the church to have a strong and active MU harnessing the physical and spiritual potential of women for the good of the congregation and providing a supportive, developmental group for the betterment of women. Chapter One showed that the MU on the escarpment presented an idealised western early 20th century view of women as dutiful wives and mothers which was mixed with compatible customs from local cultures.²² In doing so, it maintained women's social dependence on their fathers and husbands whilst providing skills, teaching and fellowship which enlarged their opportunities within that dependence. When they migrated, Anglican women used the MU, with its hybrid understanding of motherhood and domesticity, as a network to enable adaptation after dislocation.

Initially the MU provided a similar role to that of the wider EAC; it offered familiarity to those who, as a result of migration, found themselves in an unfamiliar place. It replicated the socio-religious values of the place which had been left behind and so it held an important function in creating a group of mutually supportive friendships for migrated women. Through it they could develop a network of fictive kin on whom they could call when family members were absent or with whom they could share memories of life experienced in their previous location. The MU mitigated against the isolation a woman could feel in a new town or in her husband's village. The women also shared a set of presumptions about their Christian faith. As one woman explained, 'They have fellowship when they gather together, when they meet there is communion.'²³ Another valuable reason for joining the MU was the skills it provided. Some women sewed, made soap and so on to supplement the family income. When economic decline meant that embroidery and knitting became luxury items from which regular income could less frequently be gained some women took up the buying and repairing of second-hand clothes for resale²⁴ or reintroduced traditional weaving skills.²⁵ Skills learnt at the MU group could enhance the trading capacity of migrant women.

²² Chapter One, 61-62.

²³ Mama Josephine, Aru, 13/08/00, [170-171]; 'Wanakuwa na ushirikiano wakati wanakusanyika pamoja, wakati wanakutano, njo pale ushirika uko.'

²⁴ Adili Janette, [133-134].

²⁵ Alio Samweli, Arua, 08/08/00, [685-698].

Leadership

Leadership, in the first instance, was based on customary expectations and traditions which had developed within the EAC. Help and advice was often given by older women to younger ones, as one MU member said ‘Women help ... young women a lot. If a problem occurs in your home the elder women will go to help.’²⁶ The leaders of the MU continued the village tradition of *wamama wazee* (lit: elder mothers) in which post-menopausal women advised younger ones and were sometimes granted positions on community councils. In the MU similar relations to the traditional generational ones were maintained as they attempted to uphold continuity between the new location and the old one.

In addition to *wamama wazee* the wives of church workers were prominent in the leadership of the MU. Their marriage gave them seniority even if their age and previous social status made them otherwise junior. Grace Peter said that as a pastor’s wife she was expected to lead the MU prayers on Wednesdays in Kumuru parish. She was also expected to ensure its orderliness, ‘...you should help the women by saying how we will pray like this, do this. You explain everything’.²⁷ Her marriage to the pastor gave her a responsibility to pass on the MU teaching. Her status within the church depended on the proficiency with which she did this. Pastor’s wives who did not perform well were considered very ‘weak vessels’ indeed. Training was often provided in order to fulfil these expectations. Janette Sinziri recounted what she learnt at the Boga Bible School when her husband was training for ministry there in the early 1990s:

...to be the wife of a minister they like you to care for your body, to have good habits, to do good deeds towards others, to be happy, to remain happy with everyone, to be dutiful, to obey your husband as a husband and so on.²⁸

²⁶ Draru Leonora, Aru, 12/08/00, [182-183]; ‘Wamama wanasaidia sana, ... *young women*. Kama meneno anafanya kwetu hiviyo wazee wanakwenda kusaidia...’

²⁷ Grace Peter, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [391-393]; ‘...inawezikana kusaidia wanawake kusema namna tutaomba hivi, tutafanya hivi. Eh,we naeleza yote’.

²⁸ Janette Sinziri, [530-535]; ‘...kukuwa bibi ya mutumishi inapenda we mwenye chungu mwili yako, we mwenye we kuwa na tabia muzuri, we kuwa na matendo muzuri katikati ya wengine, we kuwa na furaha, we bakia na furaha na watu wote, we kuwa lazima, we tii bwana yako kama iko bwana, na maneno ile. [She could be saying, ‘obey your husband as lord’, a meaning I have heard in other contexts].

Such virtues were expected of all MU members, but pastors' wives were to set a particular example. In this case the obedience of a pastor's wife to her husband did not simply have personal or familial consequences it affected the running of women's groups. Order and status in the MU was linked to the hierarchical *utaratibu* of the EAC because many of the leaders of the MU, through marriage and through training, were intimately connected to the male leadership of the EAC. Depending on individual marital relationships, these arrangements could engender more control by the pastor over the group or greater freedom in direction for the group, negotiated within the clergy home. It should be noted that Janette declared this teaching to have been very helpful in her life and leadership of the MU in Kumuru; '... it gave me strength in my spirit. For two years I received good teaching which I carry out in my work today...' ²⁹ Women who lacked formal education and family status were provided with training to enable them to carry out the extra tasks of their particular marital role. The MU in the early years of the migrant church functioned in such a way as to perpetuate male and gerontocratic power linked to hierarchical *utaratibu*. Male-control was, however, only ever partial. Its exclusively female membership gave the MU greater scope for female orientation in socio-religious practice. In the activities of the MU male-control and female-orientation were both present.

Activities

Many MU groups were structured around weekly meetings which had three parts to them, although not all members were involved in all three. There were workshops to teach domestic skills and crafts to improve the home and earn money (mentioned earlier), choir practice for performance of contemporary Congolese songs in Sunday morning worship (discussed in the next chapter) and prayer and Bible study. The latter was usually the first to be started and it continued if the other two ceased to function for a while. Prayer and Bible study provided a spiritual framework for the group and a recognition of divine support as well as that of one's peers. Bible study provided spiritual guidance and prayer addressed problems by accessing of divine power. Asurje Ella explained the importance of the MU prayer group in Aru:

²⁹ Ibid., [535-537]; '...analeta na mie nguvu kwa roho yangu. Kwani miaka mbili ile minapata mafundisho muzuri kinye minafanya naye kazi mpaka leo.'

...women can have power before God. Once a week we have women's prayers... [a woman] can explain her problems before God and we can see that really this wife really has problems. Then we pray to God together. Sometimes we can see the power of God who can help her.³⁰

Asupe infers that this was one of the few ways power was conferred on women. In corporate prayer women shared problems in the presence of God and had direct access to the divinity who responded to these prayers; an access which by-passed the liturgical and hierarchical *utaratibu*.³¹ Although, in form and in content, MU prayer groups were far removed from indigenous possession cults, in terms of the understanding of the proximity of the spiritual realm as a result of corporate action they were not so distant.³² They were expressions of popular religiosity that were oriented towards the concerns of women and seen as vehicles through which positive change could be effected.

Things learnt at MU meetings were expected to make a difference in private and public life. Home life was to become more harmonious. Draru Leonora gives the example of raising children, explaining that Christian women,

...teach their children. Their children can welcome visitors politely. And their houses are quiet – no problems.³³

As has been observed in women's organisations elsewhere in Africa, the MU had given 'a new primacy to motherhood' as well as 'new challenges to Christian mothers'.³⁴ ...Some of the 'new challenges' were obvious in the expected role of Christian women within the EAC. Hospitality on behalf of the chapel or parish was seen as their preserve. MU members also spent times visiting and praying for the

³⁰ Asupe Ella, Aru, 12/08/00, [366-372]; '...wamama wanaweza kuwa na nguvu kwa mbele ya Mungu ...Ndani ya weeki moja tuna siku moja kwa maombi yetu ya wamama. ... [mama] anaweza kueleza magumu yake mbele ya Mungu na tunaweza kuona, kweli bibi anapata magumu hivi. Nyuma yake tunaweza kuomba Mungu pamoja. Mara zingine tunaweza kuona nguvu na Mungu, anaweza kusaidia yeye.'

³¹ See Chapter Four, 141-149.

³² Matthew Schoffeleers, "Pentecostalism and Neo-Traditionalism," 235-236, 263-266.

³³ Draru Leonora, [193-195]; '...wanafundisha watoto wao. Watoto wanaweza kukaribisha wageni kwa njia vizuri. Na nyumba wanakuwa quiet - hapana matata.'

³⁴ Deborah Gaitskell, "Power in Prayer and Service: Women's Christian Organisations," in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Cultural and Social History*, Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds (Claremont, S.A: David Philip), 1997: 266.

sick, thus providing an important service of pastoral care. They raised money for the EAC. Women usually gave more than men at church collections³⁵ a point noted by women with pride and only partly explained by their larger numbers. In interview, women often cited the importance of cleaning and adorning the church building, a role affirmed by the male leadership as Kaheru Rose explained;

Sometimes it is announced, 'Today is the day the women can clean the church, put it in order, arrange the seats – perhaps four women,' We have done church work – cleaning.³⁶

One woman recounted how these different tasks were organised, demonstrating that the domesticity expected of a MU member went beyond the home to the field and market.

In church women mainly do manual work, working in the fields of others to raise money for the church. Women can prepare services of giving in the church and the money raised goes to the church. They can buy cloths for the altar or cement for construction. They do this themselves. They don't find money elsewhere. When I led the women, they bought goats or chickens which they used to welcome visitors.³⁷

Women articulated their activity within the EAC in terms of service, prayer and giving: a role within the parameters of the MU model of motherhood, domesticity and community building. Church teaching and cultural expectations colluded in maintaining a domestic role of service for MU members in the EAC. Muhindo Tsongo summed up this attitude by saying with pride that a woman, '...plays an important role in the church because she is used to serving.'³⁸ This was a supportive, background role to the public male roles of leadership and decision making. It

³⁵ The EAC often used the *harambee* system from East Africa to raise money for specific projects. These occasions were characterised by joyful singing and dancing and competitions to see which groups could raise most money.

³⁶ Kaheru Rose, Bunia, 16/09/00, [123-6]; 'Parfois on a annoncé, "Aujourd'hui c'est le jour que les femmes peuvent nettoyer, réparer l'Eglise en mettant l'ordre, arranger les places - peut-être 4 femmes." Nous avons fait le travail de l'église –nettoyer.'

³⁷ Mama Esther, Aru, 10/08/00, [125-132]; 'Azi oku ni 'yele kanisa aliari tu tu ni azi drisiri, eyi anvu co 'ba azini vile, 'ba yi nga ani eyi dri sende fe ofizu kanisa ma alia. Dika vini oku kanisa ma alia 'diyi eco vini kusifa ede ru kanisa ni si. Sende ka efi 'bo, eyi ani kanisa ede. Eco kaniku afa meza dria 'diyi je, azini pari e'yo Munguni oluzu ri dria bongo jezu. Kani ku ka jo si, oku eco ciment je jo rua 'bazu. Eyi lu 'ye drisi. Afa azini eyini 'yozu ma mu e'du 'diniri eri yo. A'disikuni ma oku nde 'diyi dri oceria, sawa azinisi eyi ndri je, sawa azinisi eyi a'u oje. Omu ka efini, ey a'u 'dayi oli omu azizu.'

³⁸ Muhindo Tsongo, [248]; '...elle joue un grand rôle dans l'église par le fait qu'elle est habituée à rendre service.'

maintained male control within the EAC whilst allowing women skills and fellowship that they perceived as immediately beneficial to their life and faith. It was by these criteria that EAC women had been accustomed to judging themselves 'weak vessels' or 'strong foundations'.

The MU was a conservative organisation which, as migration took place, emphasised the continuity of EAC *utaratibu* with its clearly defined expectations for women as wives, mothers and servants of the church. As such it could be perceived as controlling women by limiting their role to one of domestic service for church and home. This approach was not perceived to be problematic by most women in the EAC. They regarded motherhood as a highly valued role and saw these tasks as an extension of it. They wanted support and advice on how to be wives and mothers. Their daily work was onerous enough and many did not want increased tasks or responsibility. They appreciated the provision of friendship and spiritual care to migrated Anglican women. In this way the MU empowered women to adapt to their new circumstances, provided them with skills and networks of support which gave them 'strength' and 'unity'. In fact the dichotomy of empowerment and control was alien to most. As Elizabeth Isichei highlights in an article entitled, 'Does Christianity Empower Women?' the 'most passionate concern' of African women, 'is not with power but with life.'³⁹ That is, many MU members were less concerned with wielding public power than having access to divine power for assistance in daily life. If the MU provided them with quotidian support many were content with that. Change, however, occurred because an increasing number of MU women were *not* content with the *status quo*. They wanted to play a role in the church beyond the boundaries laid out by the escarpment MU. The scope for female-orientation in socio-religious practice within the MU grew as young migrant women began to feel that MU practice inherited from the escarpment no longer met their requirements.

Change

In providing women with friendship, fellowship and skills in their new location the MU was already open to change. The issues of a migrated life in North-east Congo, including economic loss, urbanisation, denominational and ethnic mix, inevitably altered the dynamics of the MU. Indeed from the late 1980s onwards the migrant MU

³⁹ Elizabeth Isichei, "Does Christianity Empower Women?," 227.

members were slowly disentangling themselves from the influence of escarpment Anglicanism, a process which was still underway in 2000. Younger migrant women became aware that the model for their women's groups was not universal. Some left the group (but not usually the church) or attended irregularly.⁴⁰ Others expressed clear dissent over the limited range of roles women were allowed to fulfil within the church. The MU continued to fulfil the functions outlined above but some women began to chip away at the presuppositions on which they were based. They disliked their 'inferior' position vis-à-vis men and resented the passive, servile role allotted to them in public.⁴¹ It was these dissatisfied women in the EAC who provided the vanguard of change for the EAC in the 1990s.

One event which took place in 1995 presents in microcosm some of the issues for Anglican women in the 1990s as a result of migration; in this particular case the issues surrounded the urbanisation and modernisation of a church with rural roots. On 25 March, 'Mary's Day', the women of Bunia parish had their usual service and meal to commemorate the immaculate conception of Jesus Christ and so celebrate the virtues of motherhood.⁴² The entire day was overseen by the Archdeacon, pastor and evangelist assisted by four other male church workers. During the day the election of a new committee of the MU took place. There was a great deal of dissent during the election and several of the elected women declined the posts saying they felt unworthy and unable to assume such responsibility. To emphasise their point they walked out of the church. These women were among the most confident and well-educated in the room. A number of them were also married to prominent local clergymen (none of whom was present). For the church workers in charge of the election they seemed the ideal choice. Their dramatic exit from the building demonstrated the strength of their reluctance to be involved and their discontent at the way in which they were being coerced to accept MU posts. The church workers attempted to maintain order and cajole those elected into accepting the posts. The women were eventually persuaded and led the group very ably but the events surrounding their election were much discussed over the next weeks.

⁴⁰ Blandine Noela, Bunia, 29/09/00, [278-281].

⁴¹ Damali Sabiti, Mukono, 20/10/00, [538].

⁴² I was present on this day and what follows is an eye witness account.

The women who had been elected were wary of leading the Bunia MU group because it had been dysfunctional for some time. However, this reason was eclipsed in later discussion by their dislike of the role men had played in the elections. The male church workers had staged-managed the elections to achieve a result which they thought would be best for the group. The elected women felt manipulated into positions of responsibility about which they had reservations. This incident brought to the fore the issue of men controlling the affairs of women in the church, of men organising the day set aside for a celebration of womanhood. This had been expected in the village and been perpetuated in the town but a number of women had begun to question it. Some of these women were married to clergy and held positions in the church from which they felt able to criticise the *status quo* and refuse to show *heshima* (respect) towards male leadership. However, they were also aware that by refusing a role expected of pastors' wives they would be perceived as shamefully shirking their responsibility. So their refusal was couched in the language of inferiority. They stereotyped themselves as weak, timid women, unable to lead and make decisions; a discourse frequently used by men and now being turned back on them when they least wanted it. Their actions, however, contested male control over these roles and prompted debate on the proper influence of church leadership over MU affairs.

The dysfunctionality of the MU group was also a result of contested control. Prior to the elections members had criticised the leadership of the group and demanded new leaders. The leaders felt betrayed by this response and there was a great deal of tension and mistrust. Meetings were postponed or poorly attended. The serious breakdown of relations justified, in the eyes of church leaders (and some women) male intervention in the elections. It was proof that women were indeed 'weaker vessels' needing guidance and support in all things. Those who demurred at their manipulated election to MU posts were also conscious that leadership of such a disunited group would be difficult. The quarrel within the MU was at base a generational issue and had much to do with the altered expectations of some women vis-à-vis the characteristics of a good MU leader.

The challenge to the leadership was made by younger women who wanted a faster pace of change and new ideas and skills. The older women thought the younger ones disrespectful and immoral as Damali Sabiti, the MU Provincial Training Officer, explained:

...the elderly women were blaming the young ones. They said, 'These ones don't want to listen to us. They are bad people.' And the young ones said, 'These ones are teaching us old fashioned things, all the time we go there they are teaching us the same topic'.⁴³

The older women were following the pace and values of the village from which they had migrated and in which age and experience often improved status. However, the status of older women within the village community had often been used to perpetuate the lowly position of younger women whose fertility and exogamy had disqualified them from taking decision-making roles,⁴⁴ an attitude which had been assimilated into the EAC.⁴⁵ The younger women in the Bunia MU knew little of the village. Many had lived in towns all their lives. They were distanced from traditional power structures, less willing to cede position to older women because of their age and found gerontocratic advice irrelevant because it was often based on rural values rather than the realities of a migrant situation. The problem was not restricted to Bunia. In Aru for example, the women complained about the inefficiency of their older MU leader but had, by 2000, only succeeded in developing ways of circumnavigating her authority.⁴⁶

The issue of church marriage is an example in which the split of opinion among women was largely generational. Modern and traditional ideas of socialisation and proper behaviour are often contested in expectations of marriage.⁴⁷ Older women expected those who had not been married in church to be excluded from the MU but a number of younger women had not had a church wedding and yet were faithful church members. Two groups of women had developed; those whose moral and spiritual rectitude was considered exemplary simply because they had been married in church and those who were considered inferior Christians because they had not sufficiently overcome the hurdles of poverty, family resistance, or a husband's lack of interest to perform the ecclesiastical ceremony.

⁴³ Damali Sabiti, [231-237].

⁴⁴ David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A social history of the Hwesa people, c. 1870s-1990s*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1999: 177.

⁴⁵ Marie Tabu, Joyce Tsongo and Emma Wild, "Unity Must Adapt to Diversity: Congolese Women in Dialogue with Christianity and Culture.," *Anvil* 15, 1 (1998), 38.

⁴⁶ Draru Leonora, [240-241].

⁴⁷ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 1996: 44.

In Bunia in 1995, church workers recognised these generational tensions and were hoping that the leadership positions would be taken by women with a different kind of status within the church - younger clergy wives. This did happen. But not before the educated, young clergy wives they had chosen had demonstrated their reluctance to be manipulated by church leaders and had distanced themselves from the decisions of the male hierarchy.

Some of those involved believed ‘tribalism’ rather than generational differences to be at the root of the discontent. Evasta Kusuna, one of the most prominent older leaders, believed that she had given herself tirelessly to the MU in Bunia since its inception, encouraging new skills and forging links with women’s groups in other denominations⁴⁸ and was being criticised unfairly for her old-fashioned ways by younger women. She rather saw the whole quarrel as a means by which the Hema majority was attempting to assert their influence in all areas of church life. She herself was from the Nyali ethnic group who had often felt themselves to be marginalised and disdained by neighbouring Hema. The bias of colonial rule and the pattern of development of the EAC only reinforced this feeling.⁴⁹ In articulating a problem in ethnic terms the stakes of dissent were raised in the ethnically unequal situation of North-east Congo and Evasta could understand herself to be a victim, not a cause, of tension. In this particular situation Evasta was in the minority. Her niece, Joyce Babote, and other younger non-Hema, like Damali, did not feel that it was primarily an ethnic issue. They wanted younger women to lead regardless of ethnic origin and both played a significant role in the MU themselves. The influence of ethnicity in this debate was understood differently depending on the relative age and influence of the women.⁵⁰

Mary’s Day 1995 brought into focus the issues of status – gender, generational, marital, ethnic - all being renegotiated in a church rapidly changing as a result of its

⁴⁸ Evasta Kusuna, Bunia, 16/09/00, [125-134].

⁴⁹ Chapter Two, 92-93.

⁵⁰ An important parenthesis to the story of Evasta raises the issue of marriage again. Eventually, Evasta left the EAC and became a Jehovah’s Witness. She felt rejected by the women’s group but also unsupported by the male leadership. Her husband, Tingoli, was polygamous. The issue was judged by her husband’s peers, church leaders whose work he had at one time financially supported, who eventually excommunicated him for a while. Evasta considered that the church did not discipline him effectively, or provide support for her as the injured party. She found solace among the Jehovah’s Witnesses who befriended her and took a much stricter line on polygamy.

migratory growth. The results were a shifting of control, minuscule in many ways, but not insignificant. By 1997 the women in Bunia were left to organise their own Mary's Day without the assistance of the clergy. Younger women began to take over MU positions while older women were increasingly sidelined in leadership. Change also took place in the format of MU meetings. Tindyera Kaberole gave a positive description of the women's Bible study in 2000:

Everyone reads a verse...then the explanation begins, 'I saw this and that...' two, three or four people agree on a word and we leave with that as our spiritual aid.⁵¹

Then she describes favourably the way in which the skills workshop operates:

The one who knows something comes to teach the other. It's not that it's you who will teach everything, no. This one here might have the gift of knowing one thing, another, something else. We teach each other.⁵²

These quotations suggest that the *modus operandi* of the MU group had become more corporate and collaborative; a sharing of problems, insights and skills, rather than the learning by a number of women the skills known by their leader. The group dynamics had actually come to reflect the primary function of the MU among migrants; mutual support and sharing rather than the handing down of advice from one generation to another. As the next chapter will demonstrate, this more equitable approach was apparent in other religious movements growing during the 1990s. The quotations also imply that the generational factors mentioned above could be contradicted by personality. Tindyera, an older woman and founder member of the Bunia MU, raised on the escarpment and the wife of the archdeacon, had been expected to lead the archdeaconry MU groups. Yet she appreciated the new consensual approach and appeared relieved to relinquish some of the leadership responsibility which she had not found easy to carry out. Attitudes towards church marriage also changed. MU membership in Bunia was no longer assumed to be

⁵¹ Tindyera Kaberole, Bunia, 19/09/00, [137-142]; 'Chacune lit un verset... ensuite on commence à expliquer, "moi j'ai vu ainsi et cela" ... deux, trois personnes ou quatre s'accordent sur une parole et on sort avec ça pour s'aider spirituellement.'

⁵² Ibid., [143-146]; 'Celle qui sait quelque chose vient apprendre à l'autre. Ce n'est pas à dire que c'est toi qui enseigneras tout, non. Celle-ci peut avoir le don de connaître une chose, l'autre d'autres choses. On s'enseigne réciproquement.'

concomitant with the regularisation of marital status. The group insisted ‘...that it’s only the one who believes in Jesus who is really in order with the church, we will go with her’⁵³ Unmarried women were accepted into the group as other members recognised their Christian sincerity. In interview this was given as an example of the way in which the Bunia MU no longer followed most of the MU rules, ‘because here in town the custom is not appropriate.’⁵⁴

The group’s adaptation to its local situations and recognition of alternative customs, including the realities of modern conjugal arrangements, challenged the *utaratibu* of the MU. The events surrounding ‘Mary’s Day’ 1995 demonstrate the reactions of Anglican women in a situation of change.⁵⁵ Younger women began to challenge the certainties of the old *utaratibu* and *heshima* of male control and gerontocratic female authority which had continued in the EAC. Because of migration the MU, like the EAC, was now larger and more dynamic outside its original power base on the escarpment and it could no longer be interpreted through escarpment social and cultural norms. Those who remained within in the MU increasingly emphasised *maendeleo* rather than *utaratibu* as the primary function of the group.

Maendeleo and international connections

Younger women who advocated change often had an awareness of change taking place in other Anglican Provinces. The MU, like the Anglican church, is an international body with offices in London. The international MU offers training for its leaders, and provides funds to assist travel or establish a project. The MU in Congo was proud to belong to a global body, was encouraged by the aid they received, and always hoped they would receive more. This connection afforded a few women opportunities to visit other countries, often Uganda or Kenya, and made them aware of altered women’s roles in church and society elsewhere and encouraged them to call for change in Congo.

⁵³ Ibid., [239-241]; ‘Car c’est seulement celle qui a cru en Jésus est vraiment dans l’ordre de l’église, nous allions avec elle’.

⁵⁴ Ibid., [234]; ‘...puisque ici en ville il n’y a pas de coutume adaptée.’

⁵⁵ Draru Leonora, [240-241].

The change they required was spoken of in terms of *maendeleo* (development), a word frequently on the lips of Damali Sabiti. Sometimes she mentioned education and skills, echoing the most common use of *maendeleo* in the EAC:

But the women, if they are taught well, if they are taught development, I think they could do much more... to bring in some income for the family.⁵⁶

However, in using the word in a variety of contexts, she stretched its meaning beyond schools, health care and skills and applied it to anything which she believed would ameliorate the lot of women socially as well as ecclesiastically. Sometimes she spoke of improving self-esteem and challenging cultural assumptions:

...my cry is that we need development...we need development really...some women refuse to do things because they look down upon themselves, they think they are nothing, they just refuse...a woman is not supposed to stand in public...⁵⁷

In the 1990s some church leaders began to ask women to participate publicly in services but some were unwilling to perform roles they had been taught were male ones. They declared themselves weak and unfit. Damali believed attitudes had to change before such a development could happen. She wistfully explained what she had experienced elsewhere in the Anglican Communion:

Women have a lot to say because they have participated in everything, because they already have pastors, they have lay readers, they have catechists...in our country...we have not yet been given real liberty.⁵⁸

Opportunities for *maendeleo* required *uhuru* (freedom) to take them, suggested Damali. For her *maendeleo* did not simply cover the social work of the EAC or the service rendered by MU members but denoted personal development and cultural change in order that women could be free and equal with men in church affairs. It was this she saw as the primary role of the MU. Her sentiments were echoed by Androsi Kasima, a community development worker for the EAC, who believed that this sort of *maendeleo* had begun:

⁵⁶ Damali Sabiti, [427-429].

⁵⁷ Ibid., [490-508].

⁵⁸ Ibid., [331-338].

Women are starting to see change in their lives. They are starting to leave African customary things.⁵⁹

The comparison by modern, educated EAC women of their own lack of development with international examples of women's progress meant that they blamed local indigenous customs and attitudes for retarding their progress. The EAC had colluded with elements of escarpment social structure to contextualise itself, thus maintaining many of the power structures and gender customs.⁶⁰ Younger, educated women considered that the church could and should disentangle itself from such customs. The common perception among second generation migrants that the customs of their home village were regressive is a theme which will be developed in the following chapter. In this chapter we note that younger women no longer perceived the customs of their parents' generation as appropriate to their migrated situation. The influence of the escarpment was seen as doubly irrelevant to those who did not originate from that area. The wider network of African Anglican connections appealed to women who felt that the pressure on them to conform to local cultural norms was great and such a pressure was contrary to the *maendeleo* they sought.

Although the northern EAC prepared the way for greater acceptance of women's leadership and provided a precedent for difference,⁶¹ many men expressed reservations about women's leadership in the church. Their first line of argument was usually that it was 'un-African', that it contradicted gender norms. The public ecclesiastical power of women was contested in terms of tradition. Women attempted to win Anglican traditionalists over by referring to African countries which had women clergy. They also appealed to EAC members to follow their founder. Muhindo Tsongo called for the church to;

... follow the example of Apolo Kivebulaya who, right from the beginning of the Anglican church in Congo, had worked with women and men in all church activities. He educated women and taught them without discrimination.⁶²

⁵⁹ Androsi Kasima, Boga, 08/10/00, [524-546]; 'Les mamans commencent à voir le changement dans leurs vies. Elles commencent à en sortir des choses coutumières africaines.'

⁶⁰ Chapter One, 60.

⁶¹ Chapter Four, 159-160.

⁶² Muhindo Tsongo, "The Role of Women in the Anglican Church in Congo: A case of the Diocese of North Kivu," (M.A. diss., Trinity College, Bristol) draft, 2000: 51.

Apolo's memory was often evoked by those wishing to maintain an escarpment ideal of the EAC throughout the church.⁶³ Muhindo elicited his help by reminding the EAC of his regard for women in the early years before the alliance of social and ecclesiastical structures began. Once again the story of Apolo was narrated to support the position of a particular group within the EAC with the expectation that members would be persuaded by his example. Thus attempts at identity shift were made by the plotting of the founder's ministry with significant present concerns. Whether the appeal to Apolo was convincing in this instance or not it was apparent that gender expectations were shifting when the Diocese of Boga accepted to ordain women at its Synod in 2000. In 2003 Muhindo was the first woman to be ordained deacon.

By 2000 there was a younger generation of women active in the MU who rejected the organisation as a way of managing and marginalising women's involvement in the EAC. Rather they perceived the MU as a vehicle for enhancing the self-esteem and social and economic independence of women through Christian fellowship and development skills. They were determined that the group should be led and oriented by women. *Maendeleo* –as more widely defined above- was the major paradigm through which they saw faith and life. It necessitated *uhuru* to practice it. Women who travelled abroad, however, were a minority. Most MU women in Congo were more directly influenced by meeting with other Protestant women.

Wamama wa Habari Njema

'We have one God but it's religion which divides us,'⁶⁴ said Wadhiko Dina from her experience of the denominational rivalries in Aru zone.⁶⁵ Yet the truth of this statement was at least partially subverted by Christian women in North-east Congo as they began to meet, worship and work with women from different denominations to their own.

When Mahirani Melena evangelised in the market place to gain converts for the EAC chapel in Butembo in 1972 she did not go alone:

⁶³ Chapter Two, 86.

⁶⁴ Wadhiko Dina, Aru, 10/08/00, [307-308]; 'Tuko na Mungu moja lakini dini njo inagawanyisha siye.'

⁶⁵ Chapter Five, 6.

And importantly we went along with *Wamama wa Habari Njema*. They were very used to me, so we worked together.’⁶⁶

Wamama wa Habari Njema, or ‘Mothers of the Good News’, is the name used by women’s groups in other member *communautés* of the *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC), which are similar to the MU. It seems that Marihani was helped in her efforts to establish the EAC in the town by a group of women from different churches, including the Baptist churches already present in Butembo as a result of missionary comity agreements.

Mwalimu Lukumbula Kihandasikiri, who started EAC chapels throughout the Butembo area, had a different story which echoed more closely the problems outlined in the previous chapter. He experienced opposition from other Protestant denominations particularly the *Communauté Baptiste de Kivu* (CBK), which;

... was very strongly jealous to see another church open. It was not easy... a real war. If they heard that another church wanted to start they really hated it and they started to spread bad news to destroy the church. It really disturbed us.⁶⁷

Christian women appear to have been ready to help each other in establishing denominations but men working formally for the EAC found no such encouragement from the leaders of other churches. Women seemed little concerned about the proliferation of denominations, usually seen as divisive by male leaders. Few ECC member churches had official leadership roles for women apart from in women’s groups and it appears that a lack of influence in ecclesiastical leadership may have made some women much more open to working together. They had little to lose in terms of status or responsibility by helping each other. Indeed, collaboration across denominational boundaries was more satisfying in terms of establishing friendships than working alone. Collaboration towards denominational multiplication was not seen by women as contradictory. They understood that different denominations provided a way in which members could feel at home in a new place. They seemed willing to accept that they had a common cause (evangelism and living out their

⁶⁶ Marihani Melena, [287–288]; ‘...zaidi sana tulikuwa tukatembea pamoja na Wamama wa Habari Njema. Walizoea mimi sana, alafu tulitumika pamoja.’

faith) but different way of expressing it (denominational forms of worship). There is little doubt that the dislocation resulting from migration made this more possible than had the women remained in their original home because they were forging relationships with women who came from different locations. It is also apparent that this approach was more common in urban centres than in rural ones, where the mix of peoples and denominations was far greater. This phenomenon demonstrates the importance of different networks for Christian women which would engender a greater heterogeneity of practice within their denominational groups.

The example of Mahirani's daughter, Estella, may provide another reason why women were less concerned about denominational proliferation than men. Brought up in Butembo by parents who had worked hard to introduce the EAC in the town, when Estella married she joined the church of her husband, CECA 20 *réformée*. She explained that her sisters had followed the denomination of their husbands whilst her four brothers had remained Anglicans. When asked whether husbands could follow their wives' denomination, Estella, her mother, and the audience who had gathered to hear the interview, all laughed at the unusual suggestion.⁶⁸ Denominational affiliation in North-east Congo usually followed the male line and widespread migration since the 1960s increased the possibility of marriage across denominations. Estella said that the issue should not cause domestic discord because all churches worshipped Christ. As mentioned in other chapters, *Mungu ni mumoja*, God is one, was the underlying basis on which Christians operated. Adherence to this principle, however, was not so straight forward for Androsi Kasima, a Catholic who had understood that Protestant belief was wrong and was thus reluctant to marry an Anglican. After her marriage to an EAC *mwangalizi* she continued to worship with the Catholics. Nevertheless, she accepted that her children should be baptised Anglicans like their father in the same way that she had been baptised a Catholic like her father.⁶⁹ Eventually, she began worshipping with the Anglicans because she was

⁶⁷ Lukambula Kihandasikiri, Kampala, 25/07/00, [274 – 281]; '...ina uwivu ya nguvu sana kuona kanisa ingine kufunguliwa. Haikukuwa rahisi...vita kabisa. Wakisikia kanisa ingine inataka kuanza inawachukiza sana na walianza kuleta *commentaire* mbaya kuharibisha kanisa. Ile inatusumbua sana.'

⁶⁸ Estella in Mahirani Melena, [452].

⁶⁹ Androsi Kasima, [918].

seen to be causing disharmony in the home and confusing her children by her attendance at the Catholic church. Estella and Androsi indicated that some traditional marriage expectations were perpetuated through Church teaching on women being obedient to their husbands and maintaining domestic harmony.

These gender specific expectations, however, produced a situation, where many women, unlike their husbands, were familiar with at least two denominations; the one in which they grew up and the one into which they married. Therefore, women were often able to work with those from other churches and respect their religious traditions; they recognised that they were all ‘Mothers of the Good News’.

Denominationalism may have led to the problems outlined in Chapter Five but an alternative story was emerging which possessed the potential to break down mistrust between different churches. Similar attitudes slowly became apparent among male church leaders.⁷⁰ The gendered position of women in ECC churches better placed them to cross denominational boundaries. The group in which this potential was most clearly manifest was the *Fédération des Femmes Protestantes* of the ECC.

Fédération des Femmes

The *Fédération* brought together *Wamama wa Habari Njema* groups from all its affiliated denominations. At local level it was probably the most active arm of the ECC. Bhako Fibi from CECA 20 explained its significance:

So we with the Anglican women, we got to know each other well through the Federation...one Sunday a month we meet together to listen to the Word of God, to bring our needs, to pray on behalf of our nation, and to pray for *maendeleo* work to enter. Through it we try and see what various work we can do...⁷¹

The Federation held monthly services as well as organising literacy classes and work in a communal field. The services were well-attended and lively, with enthusiastic

⁷⁰ Personal conversation, Mbusa Bangau, 24/12/03 who said the introduction of a new denomination into an area was considered a help to those already established there.

⁷¹ CECA women, Bunia, 18/09/00, [449-458], ‘Alors, kwa sisi pamoja na wamama anglican, tunakwenda kujuana muzuri kwa njia ya *Fédération* ...yenga moja ndani ya mwezi moja kukutana pamoja na kusikia Neno la Mungu, kuleta mahitaji yao, hata kuomba kwa ajili ya inchi na kuomba kwa kazi ya maendeleo vile ile iliingia. Kuna ndani yake tunapima kuona kazi mbalimbali ya kufanya ...’

chorus singing and dancing, choir participation, spirited preaching, fervent prayer and a shared meal afterwards. The singing at Federation meetings was led by an *animatrice* who enthusiastically encouraged exuberant praise. Many of the songs were in Lingala, the language of Kinshasa and its musical tradition. Women were expected to clap and dance. Prayers for healing with laying on of hands were a significant part of Federation meetings giving a central place to direct divine action for a sick person or an infertile woman. The dominant mode of worship was one of Spirit-led joyful spontaneity which was described as *uhuru* and *furaha* (joy). It was introduced by members of the Federation who attended Pentecostal churches which by the 1990s were present in all the major towns in the North-east.⁷² Even when the monthly service was held by Anglican women in the Anglican church there was little sign of formality or the demure, timid demeanour displayed by them on other occasions.⁷³ Women were able to express themselves in *uhuru* without the encumbrance of men whose presence often inhibited their vivacity and openness. The activities of the Federation challenged the socio-religious framework in which Anglican women had participated in the EAC. The importance of *maendeleo* for women was maintained - that is, the Federation organised literacy classes, communal fields, and so on - but an alternative was offered to the social side of *maendeleo* in which the *uhuru* of spiritual power was presented as a way of directly and immediately tackling the problems of everyday life. The social freedom they desired was attainable first through worship. Through the Holy Spirit divine power could be accessed without being mediated through knowledge, status, institutions and hierarchies; *utaratibu* was circumnavigated. The power which EAC women sought through prayer to aid them in daily life seemed most immediately available in the freedom of emotive prayer and praise in Federation meetings.

The Federation worked particularly well in an urban setting where there was an increasingly large number of denominations with a similar number of members. It was introduced into rural areas as they became more denominationally mixed. Women were usually willing to learn from each other. The women of CECA 20 in

⁷² ECC member Pentecostal churches in North-east Congo by the 1990s included Communauté des Eglises de Pentecôte au Congo (CEPCO 8), Communauté Assemblées de Dieu au Congo, (CADECO 12), Communauté Pentecôtiste au Congo (CEP 30). There were at least eight other ECC denominations present at this time.

⁷³ Emma Wild, "Working with Women in Congo," in *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*, Andrew Wingate, Kevin Ward, Carrie Pemberton, Wilson Sitshebo, eds (London: Mowbray), 1998: 281-282.

Bunia, for example, were favourably disposed to their Anglican counter-parts because they knew them personally and had worshipped and worked together. As a result each group invited the other to special events organised by their own churches, further fostering relationships of understanding and trust.⁷⁴ Caroline Mwanga explained the advantages she saw in the Federation in Butembo:

We find benefit from many churches because we unite ourselves together. Our united group we call *Federation des Femmes Protestantes*. So there really is fellowship because when a problem arises we come together.⁷⁵

Unity, *umoja* , is spoken of here not as a cohesive force internal to the EAC but as linking women from different denominations in the solving of common problems and in mutual support. The amelioration of ecumenical relations between ECC members went beyond the Federation because its activities enabled cross-fertilisation of denominational ways of worship and service as women returned to their own denominations influenced by Federation meetings. Anglican women experienced a new way of praying which included laying on of hands and loud supplication, sometimes in tongues. The songs learnt at the Federation were often repeated at MU meetings and, via the MU choir, were introduced to Anglican worship on a Sunday morning. During the 1990s significant changes were introduced into EAC practice partially as a result of ability of the women to engage with those of other denominations. They were practices which engendered a greater cohesion between Anglican worship and that of other ECC members encouraging co-operation between the leadership of the denominations. The practices further eroded the dominance of *utaratibu* , as interpreted by *upole* and *heshima* .

At no point did EAC women openly attack the *utaratibu* of the EAC but their actions questioned its interpretation by *upole* and *heshima* as the EAC in the north had already begun to do. They did not directly challenge liturgical and hierarchical *utaratibu* but they did influence the way in which it was performed. Quiet, formal services led by respected men were no longer considered the only way, or even the most desirable way, in which Anglican women could to worship. They interpreted

⁷⁴ Tindyera Kabarole, [265-269].

⁷⁵ Caroline Mwanga, Butembo, 16/06/98, [35]; 'Tunapata *bénéfice* kwa makanisa mengine sababu tunaungana pamoja. Huu muungano wetu tunauita *Federation des Femmes Protestantes* . Kwa hivi kwa kweli usiani uko, kwa sababu kama mgumu inatokea tunafikiana.'

utaratibu by *maendeleo* in the public ecclesiastical sphere and by spiritual *uhuru* in corporate worship, thus influencing identity change. Similar changes were being introduced to the EAC from other quarters. Some of these will be analysed in greater detail in the next chapter. This chapter now turns to the influence upon women of the Revival movement. Like the Federation meetings it emphasised the Holy Spirit as enabler. For the *Wokovu*, however, the Spirit was primarily an agent of salvation rather than healing.

Wokovu women

The East African Revival has been recognised as being a movement in which the roles of men and women were less obviously gendered than in other areas of society. As a result women were able to criticise traditional hierarchies and church bureaucracy and assert moral and spiritual authority.⁷⁶ The movement allowed local leadership by women and influenced the Church of Uganda to an early acceptance of women priests.⁷⁷ This move was by mainstream revivalism that espoused education and modernity as the proper social responses to a Christianity of personal piety and corporate confession and fellowship. *Wokovu* in Congo came both from the mainstream tradition and from the Chosen Evangelical Revival (CER) tradition which was critical of education, *maendeleo* and church hierarchy, emphasised *uhuru* in the spontaneous mediation of the Holy Spirit and utilised traditional forms of music and dance in worship. Whilst socially conservative in many ways, the Congolese *Wokovu* were more encouraging of the public, vocal ministry of women than the mainstream EAC. Otuwa Simeon summed up the *Wokovu* belief that if someone was capable of a spiritual task they must do it, regardless of their sex:

There were women [leaders], they were not prevented from preaching in the same way as men... Everyone must use their talents⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Derek Peterson, "Wordy Women: Gender trouble and the Oral Politics of the East African Revival in Northern Gikuyuland," *Journal of African History* 42 (2001), 471.

⁷⁷ In 1994, when the first women were ordained in the Church of England, Uganda had thirteen women priests in five dioceses. Eunice Turyahabwe, "The Role of Women in Church Development in Kigezi Diocese, Kabale District with particular reference to St. Peter's Cathedral Rugarawa Archdeaconry, 1986-1994," (Diploma of Theology diss., Bishop Tucker Theological College, Uganda), 1994: 6.

⁷⁸ Otuwa Simeon, Aru, 11/08/00, [530-547]: 'Te oja asira eri mu e'yo Munguni yiniri eri yi bilesi pa sozu. Eri exile enya le ka enya ora 'dia, 'ba alu aluni enya ki yi tia. Olura, ba alu alu ni yi vile talanta ri ozii.'

Although they rarely became senior leaders, *Wokovu* women took prominent, decision-making roles in Christian life, church planting, preaching and voting in *Wokovu* elections.⁷⁹ These practices addressed traditional gender assumptions but rarely resolved them in the lives of *Wokovu* women.

The opposing forces of traditional and *Wokovu* expectations and the ambiguity of women and men bending gender roles are articulated in the quotation below:

There where we opened churches, I went with Mama [Marthe Ubotha]. We went with them. Our husbands helped draw water because there wasn't anyone else there. They went to open churches and we accompanied them. The churches from here to Avari were [opened] by us.⁸⁰

Njang'u Esther first declared that she and Ubotha opened churches with their husbands. Then she said the opening of churches was the job of their husbands and they merely accompanied them. Elsewhere in the interview, it was clear that the women preached, evangelised and taught alongside their husbands but there was an ambiguity about the role of a *Wokovu* woman; a wife who was the helpmeet of her husband in religious affairs or an evangelist in her own right? The gender ambiguity was also apparent for men. The lifestyle of itinerant evangelists demanded that the men helped with their wives' domestic tasks, fetching water for cooking and washing. These couples developed a partnership in which domestic tasks were shared beyond normal gender boundaries when the primary task of evangelism demanded it because they believed that preaching salvation was an exigency which over-rode the necessity to observe gender boundaries.

This equivocal situation was underlined by Ubotha when she attempted to establish her credentials as a dutiful wife who, as a women's leader, taught others to obey Alur custom with regard to their husbands:

...be docile in all things. When the husband returns to the house give him water for bathing and tea and food. When you speak with him do so in a polite tone to show respect. And, as our [Alur] tradition expects, kneel before your husband... you can give him honour by washing his feet.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Anzokaru Marita, Aru, 21/08/00, [359].

⁸⁰ Njang'u Esther, Mahagi, 28/08/00, [140-143]; 'Pale fasi walifungula kanisa, nilitemba na Mama [Marthe Ubotha]. Tulikuwa na tembea pamoja na wao. Wabwana wanasaidia kushota mai kwa sababu hakukuwa watu ingine pale. Walienda kufungua kanisa na sisi tulienda kutembea na wao. Hata kanisa kutoka hapa kingina kwa Avari iko sisi.'

⁸¹ Ubotha Marthe, Mahagi, 27/08/00, [249-269].

Domestic tasks and relationships were still gendered for the *Wokovu* and Ubotha believed that gendered customs were in keeping with Christian teaching. However, she also insisted that a women's first loyalty was to God and that if a husband sinned his wife should correct him:

Of necessity you must remind him of the wrongdoing without feeling inferior or superior and promptly put him back on the right path.⁸²

A *wokovu* wife had the same moral and spiritual obligations to her husband as he had to her, she was his equal in spiritual matters, a position which at times must have conflicted with the customary 'honour' and obedience which an Alur woman was also expected to give. The self-identification as good wives and mothers by N'jangu and Ubotha comes from the conservative elements of *Wokovu*, mainstream EAC and MU discourses as they melded with indigenous ideas of women's roles. Outside the *Wokovu* community itineration and public preaching were considered to be male tasks. Non-*wokovu* men and women often looked askance at the unwomanly activities of certain *Wokovu* women, criticising them for neglecting their domestic duties, leaving the home untidy or the children unruly, whilst they were evangelising. *Wokovu* women were aware that in evangelising publicly and claiming a spiritual right to challenge male authority – albeit privately - they were walking a cultural tight-rope. They were in danger of being regarded as 'wicked' women who threatened 'respectability' and the 'norms of "appropriate" gender roles'.⁸³ Wickedness did not cohere with the perception of themselves as saved and, for this reason, although they pushed gender boundaries, they were careful not to overstep them. Where *Wokovu* women knew they were stretching the boundaries to the point of societal disapproval they insisted that salvation made them better wives and mothers. It is this tension which probably prevented *Wokovu* women from taking main leadership positions of *Wokovu* groups. It is also this which encouraged them to insist that, where gender roles were being contested, it was as a result of following more closely the commands of Christ or being obedient to the call of the Holy Spirit. Paradoxically, for those mainstream EAC members who argued so passionately for development for women, it was the anti-*Maendeleo* stance accompanied by their

⁸² Ibid., [279-283].

⁸³ Dorothy Hodgson and Sheryl McCurdy, "Introduction," in *'Wicked' women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa*, Hodgson and McCurdy, eds, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 6.

reliance on the Holy Spirit which allowed *Wokovu* women to take a public role without having EAC authority or training. *Wokovu* argued that the authority to carry out a public role in the church came from the Holy Spirit. If a particular spiritual gift had been given then it should be used. Nor should traditional expectations render women unfit for preaching or decision-making if the Holy Spirit had been seen to use them. Njang'u said emphatically,

Women who preach [are] led by the Spirit. They stand up amongst people and speak. And the problem with other people is the problem of reading. It makes them frightened of standing in front of others.⁸⁴

Since most Anglican women had learnt that education is necessary for public roles in church and society, and since they were generally less educated than men, many understood themselves to be less able to take the leadership and decision making roles they considered the preserve of educated men. The *Wokovu* emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit offered a critique to this attitude, declaring that Christian leadership was a spiritual quality for which education was not necessary and may even be a hindrance; an argument which gave *Wokovu* women confidence to preach and evangelise. Indeed where MU groups were led by a woman who was not married to a church worker she was often a revivalist, confident enough of her spiritual gifts to lead.⁸⁵ *Wokovu* stress on direct obedience to the Spirit, an authority higher than men, provided them with a way of contesting, although not entirely overcoming, the dominant gender roles.

In 2000 the CER women appeared to have little contact with other MU members outside Mahagi but mainstream *Wokovu* mixed with non-*wokovu* women in the MU in other areas. The *Wokovu* movement provided women with an identity in which the gendered aspects were configured to allow them a public religious role which necessarily conflicted with customary and traditional MU identities. The assertions of *Wokovu* women, although developed as a result of a different historical process, began to appear less radical to those women influenced by the Federation and adapting to necessary socio-economic change. Both groups were galvanised by

⁸⁴ Njang'u Esther, [217-224]; '... wamama wanaweza kuhubiri ni mutu (sic) wanaongoza na kiroho. Wanaweza kusimama katiakti ya watu, wanasema maneno. Na magumu ya watu wengine iko magumu ya kusoma vilevile. Inaleta wanaogopa kusimama mbele ya watu.'

⁸⁵ For example, Wadhiko Dina, Chairwoman of Aru MU, [449-452], Anzokaru Marita, Ombi MU, [94].

migration; for *Wokovu* women the return to Congo heightened the perceived need for evangelism in an area which had seen little revivalist activity; for mainstream MU members experience of other ways of worship and increased social independence encouraged greater public participation in church affairs. As they exerted their corporate will on Anglican practice it became increasingly female-oriented.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed, over a forty year period, the changing identities of EAC women - private, public, domestic and ecclesial - which both conflicted and coalesced to different degrees with the Anglican 'norm' that had emerged from the escarpment. Women were often enabled to cope with the instability of migration by membership of the MU and the Federation, drawing from them 'strength' and 'unity' from which many were able to declare themselves 'foundations of the church'. This confidence was, however, achieved through 'shameful' generational conflicts which engendered mistrust. Second generation migrant women, distant from village values and aware of other alternatives nationally or internationally, wanted to make the EAC and the MU vehicles for the further development of the potential of women in self-esteem, education, and church leadership. Some women denigrated themselves as 'weak', 'shameful' and 'untrustworthy' to the extent that they failed to live up to the old expectations or felt threatened by the change taking place. Other women measured 'strength' or 'weakness' to the extent to which they could maximise the new opportunities presented to them.

Migratory dislocation presented women with different social choices and thus permitted them to re-assess their position within the male-led and male-oriented EAC and negotiate the constraints of gendered roles formed on the escarpment (and already partially contested by northerners) to present a more confident public identity for Anglican women and an EAC that was more oriented to female concerns. Through widening the significance of *maendeleo* to challenge gender norms and encompass a spiritual element, and through a greater appreciation of *uhuru* and *furaha* in worship and pastoral care migrant women were altering their religious identity and introducing change to the EAC. They were in the vanguard of a steady adaptation to an Anglicanism which embraced a popular Congolese expression of Christianity.

Chapter Seven. The Youth Movement and Contemporary Christian Expression.

Introduction

This chapter presents the youth movement as another vehicle for change in the EAC. In the areas into which Anglicans had migrated young people (*vijana*) brought Anglican practice closer to a popular contemporary expression of Congolese Christianity. They learnt from the practice of other denominations, locally and internationally, adopting some of their approaches to socio-religious expression. This chapter highlights generational issues and examines in more detail the introduction of a greater emphasis on the Holy Spirit in worship and pastoral care. A study of the social and religious background of Congo in the 1990s is presented first, followed by a chronology of developments, beginning with the response of young people who looked askance at their parents' loyalty to the EAC in the 1970s and 1980s. In examining the way children of migrants changed the EAC using the influences around them, this chapter presents a new understanding of *maendeleo* (development) within the EAC and the effect of charismatic spirituality on Anglicans as they encountered the most rapidly growing movement of African Christianity in the 1990s. It also demonstrates ways in which the *utaratibu* (order) of Anglican identity was further challenged by the dynamism of urbanised youth who emphasised *uhuru* (freedom). The final part of the chapter assesses the furtherance of *umoja* (unity) and the consequences of these changes for the identity of the EAC up to 2000.

North-east Congo in the 1990s

The world is extremely drunk...
 Everywhere we hear,
 News of war,
 People are dying day and night
 Children are left as orphans...
 It's sad, it's very sad.
 ...Everyone is looking after their own interests
 Looking to enrich themselves,
 Through wealth from stealing.
 It's sad, it's very sad.¹

¹ Imani ya Kweli, 1997, '...dunia sasa yalewalewa sana.../Huku na huku tunasikia/ Habari ya vita/ Watu wanakufa muchana na usiku/ Watoto wanabaki mayatuma.../ Ni huzuni, ni huzuni sana./ ...Kila mutu anatafuta faida yake./ Akitafuta kujitajirisha/ Na mali iliyo ya wizi/ Ni huzuni, ni huzuni sana.'

These lines written by an EAC youth choir express the sense of hopelessness bred in many young people by the political instability and economic decline in Congo.² Democratic process instigated by *Conférence nationale souveraine* in 1992³ provided a moment of optimism but its influence was too distant and too brief - suspended as it was by Mobutu - to effect directly the population in the North-east. Daily survival was a more pressing issue than democracy in the minds of most. Many young people could not afford to complete twelve years of schooling. If they did, there was little employment beyond the army and gold mining. Even in towns most people relied on their fields for food. Almost 50% of Congolese were under nineteen years of age and there were few organisations targeted particularly for them.⁴ A generation of disaffected youth was emerging that was vocal in its disappointment of government⁵ and ripe to be recruited as boy-soldiers in the wars which ended the decade. State neglect, poverty and disorder widened the fissure between the hopes of *maendeleo* and the needs felt by many Congolese. It might be thought that in these circumstances national feeling would dissipate. Certainly Mobutu's nationalist rhetoric had frequently been replaced by a discourse of ethnic divide and rule, especially during the wars from 1996 onwards.⁶ Nevertheless, cultural nationalism remained a strong sentiment of identity for many Congolese; '... we were born Congolese, but also proud to be Congolese... We are proud of our country,'⁷ said one interviewee.

It was in this context that the EAC youth movement developed. However, mainline churches, like the EAC, who had encouraged the concept of *maendeleo* as skills and material provision to improve physical and economic well-being, were

² Winsome Leslie, *Zaire: Continuity and Political Change in an Oppressive State*, (Colorado: Westview, 1993), 131.

³ Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*. (London: Zed Books), 2002, 190-196.

⁴ The *Jeunesse du Mouvement populaire de la Révolution* (JMPR), which had a reputation for bullying and brutality, was disbanded in 1990. Leslie, *Zaire*, 48.

⁵ Titre Ande, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo: The Influence of Political Models of Authority and the Potential of 'Life-Community Ecclesiology' for Good Governance," (Ph D, Birmingham University), 2003: 181-182.

⁶ Kevin Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: the International Relations of Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2003: 158.

⁷ Mbusa Bangau, Kampala, 28/07/00, [lines 579-583]; '... nous étions nés congolais, mais aussi fier d'être congolais... Nous sommes fiers de notre pays.'

disadvantaged since this definition of *maendeleo* was no longer perceived to be a sufficient answer to the problems of the nation. Skills and material provision were not universally available and they did not respond entirely to spiritual, cultural and political issues. Therapeutic concerns were one example of a search for a more holistic approach to life. During the 1970s and 1980s traditional healers were encouraged to practice as a result of Mobutu's authenticity policy whilst mainline churches preached against their skills and provided hospitals and clinics.⁸ In the 1990s churches struggled to maintain health programmes with limited resources, state provision was negligible, and clinical health care was beyond the means of many, or it was deemed not to work for certain 'African diseases'. There arose an increased interest in traditional African therapeutic practices that Christians had been taught to consider evil. Previously outlawed Pentecostal⁹ churches responded to such concerns through healing by prayer and laying-on-of-hands. These churches had re-emerged as Mobutu's grip on power waned and the threat of state action against non-ECC member churches was diluted. Many new denominations continued to condemn traditional healing methods but invoked God's power through the Holy Spirit to work dramatically in the lives of people. They offered an alternative, but obviously Christian response, to clinical methods of healing and a more holistic understanding of people's daily needs. Reliant on spiritual intervention they provided an alternative to *maendeleo* as understood by many ECC churches. These new churches interfaced with local culture and responded to issues of contemporary society at a different point from many mainline churches.¹⁰

The choice of Christian denominations in North-east Congo widened considerably from the late 1980s. In Bunia, for example, there were at least nineteen new churches

⁸ Buyana Mulungula, "Conflit entre la Foi Chrétienne et le Ufumu dans le Milieu Urbain: Bukavu et Bunia," (Licence diss., ISTB), 1996: 18-20.

⁹ In using the term Pentecostal I include practices associated with Pentecostal mission churches, Neo-Pentecostal churches and African Initiated Churches (AICs) an inclusiveness found in Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Pretoria: UNISA), 2000: 8. Within mainline churches similar practice is often referred to as 'charismatic'.

¹⁰ The rise neo-pentecostal churches and their influence on western initiated churches in the context of waning state influence on civil society in 1990s Zimbabwe has some parallels with Congo. David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A social history of the Hwesa people, c. 1870s-1990s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1999: 114-116.

by 2000, over half were established in the 1990s.¹¹ A number were local; two of the churches in Bunia had split from CECA 20, one of these splits spawned a further three churches, one group split from the Catholics, one from *Communauté Baptiste du Kivu* (CBK). Another six claimed their origins were elsewhere in Congo. Although these churches differed - some consciously attempted to incorporate African customs,¹² others emphasised exorcism above all else¹³ - many had characteristics in common; they were pentecostal in style in that they highlighted the spontaneous, dynamic action of the Holy Spirit through healing, exorcism and lively, emotive worship music. They expected dramatic conversions demonstrated by change in moral behaviour. Their church choirs composed popular, rhythmic songs which blended indigenous musical styles with those of the contemporary Kinshasa music scene and fused religious worship with a popular, national pastime; the performance and appreciation of Congolese music. Catchy songs and enthusiastic, participative, evangelistic preaching, often through loud-speakers in the open-air, attracted many spectators among the young who hung around to watch the proceedings. Often originating as an urban phenomenon, larger denominations like FEPACO¹⁴ had spread throughout Aru zone and to Boga by the late 1990s. Western initiated churches maintained their membership, in part, to the extent to which they were able to engage with similar, contemporary expressions of Christianity.

Youth from EAC and other ECC churches were attracted by these new influences coming into Ituri and Nord-Kivu and sought to emulate aspects of them. The leadership of the Catholic and *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC) churches, however, saw the growth of the new wave of Pentecostal churches as a threat to their own growth and questioned their social and ecclesiastical legitimacy by calling them 'sectes'¹⁵. They claimed a sense of superiority over these 'upstarts' but they were jealous of their success, wary of spiritual manifestations akin to traditional trances and possession, and fearful of a loss of influence. They warned *vijana* away from

¹¹ 'Eglise Independantes et Sectes Implantées à Bunia' report by Yossa Way and students of ISThA, April 2003. This excludes the Kimbanguists who are recognised by the government.

¹² For example, the *Eglise Evangelique des Rites Africains* (EERA).

¹³ For example, the *Eglise Jésus Christ, Esprit de Verité* also known as *Bima*, which means 'leave' in Lingala, the term used in exorcism.

¹⁴ Also known as Hallelujahs and Nzambe Malamu.

¹⁵ Chapter Two, 82.

them. Anglican leaders perceived ‘sectes’ as an attack on the order, stability, power and unity provided in the solemn hierarchical and liturgical *utaratibu* of the EAC. The generational tensions mentioned in Chapter Two between first and second generation migrants were manifest in the different reactions to the style of Christianity apparent in the new churches.

‘Vijana keep your faith’¹⁶

The generation gap was visible in the 1970s in the provision for the older generation of migrants of a familiar pattern of church life within the EAC and the attraction of their children to other ECC denominations which had developed work with children and young people. Parents expected their children to attend the family church but children expected to be able to attend a group of their peers in which Christian faith was taught. The response of these *vijana* to being brought up in an EAC which catered for their parents’ needs as migrants but not their own, prepared the way for change in the 1990s. Irene Bahemuka who had been disparaging about the Bunia EAC¹⁷ because it seemed ‘cold’, ‘Catholic’ and ‘Hema,’ and did not appear to cater for *vijana*, attended the CECA 20 youth group in Bunia:

Since there wasn’t a group in our church, I, because I loved the Word of God, I had to find where I could meet with others to listen to the Word of God, share the Word of God together.¹⁸

Likewise for Tsongo Kima migration from Kainama to Oicha and his initial attendance at the CECA 20 church before the EAC was introduced was instrumental in the development of his faith:

We benefited greatly from the [CECA] Sunday School. It really helped me and constitutes the basis of my knowledge of the Bible. I had had almost nothing at Kainama where everything was done in Hema. But what I have as a biblical base I received first in the Sunday School.¹⁹

¹⁶ ‘Vijana, wamechungu imani yenu’ Song by *Gospel*, 1996

¹⁷ Chapter Two, 92.

¹⁸ Irene Bahemuka, Boga, 30/09/00, [156-161]; ‘Alors comme dans notre communauté il n’y avait pas un groupe, moi, comme j’ai aimé la Parole de Dieu il fallait que je trouve où me réunir avec les autres pour écouter la Parole de Dieu, partager ensemble la Parole de Dieu.’

¹⁹ Tsongo Kima, Kampala, 29/07/00, [109-113]; ‘Nous avons beaucoup profité de l’Ecole de Dimanche. Cela m’a beaucoup aidé et ça constitue même la base de ma connaissance de la Bible. Je n’avais presque rien eu à Kainama où tout est fait en kiHema. Mais ce que j’ai de base biblique j’ai reçu d’abord dans l’Ecole de Dimanche.’

Vijana articulated their struggle as youth within the EAC as a desire to study and understand the Bible with a group of their peers free from unnecessary rites, unappealing solemnity and ethnic hierarchies which they associated with the escarpment Christianity of their parents; a response that reflected the model they saw in other Protestant churches. They joined CECA 20's youth activities although they did not join the church. These positive experiences of CECA 20 by *vijana*, if not their parents, were to be the precursors of improved relations between EAC and CECA 20 in the 1990s, particularly in the towns.²⁰ Young people who moved out of the Ituri and Nord-Kivu areas were exposed to charismatic practice. Kalume Sivengire from Kainama studied in Kisangani in the 1980s,

When I went to the Protestant chaplaincy of the university there were frequent manifestations of the Holy Spirit, although there wasn't any in our Anglican church. That caused me concern. Why did it happen in other churches? It also tempted me to leave the church but... I have persisted with the Anglican church...²¹

For Kalume, the lively, participative, spirit-filled worship was an attractive alternative to the formal *utaratibu*, *upole* (gentleness) and *heshima* (respect) of an Anglican service in which the Holy Spirit was rarely mentioned.

Kalume, Tsongo, Irene and many of their peers remained loyal to the church of their parents, choosing it as their own church in adult life. As *vijana* they searched for an intensification of their Christian experience among their peers beyond the EAC. As adults in the 1990s they both appreciated some of the traditions of their parents and they embraced changes to those traditions for which they had hoped ten or twenty years earlier. In both cases, as second generation migrants, they were willing to question family loyalty to a particular denomination because they emphasised the importance of their Christian identity above their ethnic identity.

In 1975 Bishops Ndahura and Ridsdale had expressed concern about urban young people, saying 'the youth gravitate to the towns, where there is no employment, and

²⁰ This was less so in the northern area because migrants from Uganda brought with them a tradition of Sunday School for their children who did not need to go elsewhere for Christian youth activities. Judy Acheson, Bunia, 27/09/00, [69-70].

²¹ Kalume Sivengire, Butembo, 11/06/98, [315-322]; '...quand j'ai fréquenté ... l'aumonerie protestante de l'université les manifestations du Saint Esprit étaient fréquentes là-bas. Alors, qu'il n'y avait pas dans notre Eglise Anglicane. Alors ça m'a créé certaines questions. Pourquoi dans autres Eglise il y en a? Cela aussi m'a tenté à quitter l'Eglise mais... j'ai persisté dans l'Eglise Anglicane ...'

they have nothing to do on leaving school...'²² but it was to be fourteen years before the EAC leadership formed an organisation specifically for its own migrant *vijana*.²³ CMS mission partner, Judy Acheson, who had been Sunday School co-ordinator since 1980 became Youth co-ordinator in 1989, establishing a network of groups for young people over twelve years of age. Known as *Agape*, this youth movement started in Bunia with the support of the young pastor Bezaleri Kahigwa.²⁴ Funding from Britain allowed *Agape* to buy a bar opposite the parish church in Bunia and turn it into a youth centre and to train leaders in a variety of development skills. Irene Bahemuka and others joined it immediately and found in it the group for which they had been longing.²⁵ By 1994 there were 72 *Agape* groups in Boga diocese with about 3,500 young people in them.²⁶ Significantly, this diocesan youth department operated from Bunia, the regional centre, establishing itself as an urban movement, a result of migration, whilst other EAC departments continued to work from the village of Boga. As an urban group working in rural areas it also disseminated urban Christianity to *vijana* in villages.

Although *Agape* had been established by the church leadership its groups did not simply exist alongside the orderly adult worship of the EAC, they challenged and changed it. Thus they continued what the northerners' and the women's movement had already begun and shifted the migrant EAC further from a gerontocratic institution characterised by *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* to become an increasingly youthful, animated church with an accent on *maendeleo* and *uhuru*. It was the vehicle through which many second generation migrants were able to express their identity as Anglican Christians.

²² DBk, 'New Diocese in Zaïre,' Bkbk750825h

²³ The EAC did support Scripture Union, an inter-denominational organisation working in schools and colleges through CMS mission partner, Bridget Lane.

²⁴ A similar youth movement developed in Nord-Kivu diocese which became part of a provincial *Agape* network. Tsongo Kima, [438-444].

²⁵ Irene Bahemuka, [207-209].

²⁶ Kisembo Sumbuso. "Etude de Mouvement de la Jeunesse Chrétienne "Agape" dans le diocèse anglican de Boga-Zaïre." (Graduat diss., ISThA), 1994: 7.

Agape

In outlining the genesis of *Agape* in Aru Archdeaconry in 1990, Anguzu Alfred explains the activities organised by *Agape* and the ideological framework through which *vijana* were encouraged to come to church and become Christians.

The first way we could attract young people was through songs... sometimes it was through playing football... And we saw that in this work for society there were two ways of *maendeleo*: the first *maendeleo* we saw is spiritual *maendeleo*... to study the Bible together... like a debate, discussion about the Word of God. Each person could give their thoughts about a word or advice that they saw. It began like this. It was really good. And the other development was corporal... like they had a field, they had different tasks like carpentry and other things... It was extremely good for young people to have the two sides of *maendeleo* - spiritual and corporal - because if they lose the corporal the spiritual will not survive well...²⁷

The whole work of *Agape* was seen in terms of *maendeleo*. Nationally the development model of provisions of skills and material appeared to have failed but *Agape* presented a different interpretation of *maendeleo* within the EAC. *Maendeleo* had always been used to denote spiritual as well as corporal development in the EAC but, as has been shown in previous chapters, the emphasis in the use of the word had been on the corporal and, often, on schools and clinics. The teaching of *Agape* re-emphasised the spiritual and social sides of the churches' work as two inseparable sides of the same coin. Although Anguzu used the language of dichotomy he was trying to express a return to a more holistic understanding of human need, in which the two were integral. He also stated that this holistic *maendeleo* was ultimately not for the benefit of the church but for society, placing socio-religious aims in the centre of corporate life. In putting this altered understanding of *maendeleo* at the centre of its activity *Agape* were subverting, although never entirely overthrowing, the previous attachment to *utaratibu* as the way in which the spiritual activity of the EAC was described. The concept of *maendeleo*, here as a socio-spiritual

²⁷ Anguzu Alfred, Aru, 10/08/00, [184 -214]; 'Njia ya kwanza tunaweza kuvuta wavijana ni njia ya nyimbo... mara ingine vile vile kwa njia ya kucheza mupira... Na tunaona ndani ya kazi hii ya ujama tunakuwa na sehemu mbili ya maendeleo: maendeleo ya kwanza tunaona ni maendeleo ya kiroho. ... kujifunza Biblia pamoja...sawa *débat*, mazungumuzo juu ya Neno la Mungu. Kila mutu anaweza kuleta mawazo yake juu ya neno ao shauri yenye anaona. Na kinanza pale. Na ilikuwa mzuri sana... Na *développement* ingine ndiyo inaelekea mambo ya kimwili ... kama wanakuwa na shamba, ya wanakuwa na kazi fulani fulani sawa menuserie na kazi zingine... Ilikuwa muzuri kabisa vijana wakuwe na maendeleo ngambo mbili -kiroho na kimwili vile vile - sababu kama wanakosa ya kimwili, kiroho hawataweza kuishi vizuri...'

development, was being brought into the central act of belonging - the EAC worship service – in a more radical way than even the northern Anglicans had done. It did not refer only to social activities of the church.

In the first instance, Sunday worship remained connected, in the eyes of *vijana*, with the tradition of one's parents but youth Bible study and prayer was seen as *maendeleo*. Anguzu's description of Bible study is contrasted with EAC sermons, and presented as active and participatory, rather than passive listening. It was also different from the rote learning expected in schools. It aimed to provide spiritual formation to *vijana* by giving them freedom to think through moral and spiritual issues for themselves and question biblical passages. It was accompanied by an emphasis on personal conversion and appropriate moral behaviour. Teaching arose from group discussion usually steered by a leader. When church workers like Bezaleri took part in the discussions they were effectively relaxing the hierarchical *utaratibu* and the accompanying *heshima* of the EAC and establishing social relations on a more equal footing. The leadership structure was not altered but some leaders at least were seen as flexible, benign and appreciative of change.

There is little evidence that *Agape* borrowed this participatory style directly from the new churches but it resonated with the popular pentecostal sermon style of dialogue and response. Some EAC church workers began to adopt aspects of this style in their Sunday sermons and it was popular with much of the congregation. Likambo Tamaru, unaware that this was a recent innovation in the EAC, explains the new sermon style by comparing it with the Catholic church in which he grew up.

The Catholic priest alone centralises everything; he prepares the sermon, he mounts the pulpit, he preaches until the end, the congregation remain passive. On the contrary, with the Anglicans, the preacher tries to interest everyone. If there's a biblical reference, for example, someone tries to read it. Anyone who has a Bible is engaged. There's a little explanation, a little dialogue. The congregation feels really involved.²⁸

Involvement, dialogue and recourse to the Bible were all seen as attractive to recipients of the sermons. It aided the spiritual aspect of *maendeleo*. In 2000 27% of

²⁸ Likambo Tamaru, Boga, 09/10/00, [181-188]; 'Le prêtre catholique seul centralise tout; lui il prépare sa prédication, il prend la chaire, il prêche jusqu'à la fin, l'auditoire reste presque passive. Au contraire, chez les Anglicans, le prédicateur essaye un peu d'intéresser tout le monde. S'il y a référence biblique, par exemple, on essaye de lire. On intéresse n'importe qui qui a la Bible. On explique un peu, on dialogue un peu bien, l'auditoire se sent vraiment... se sent concernée.'

migrant Anglicans interviewed said that ‘preaching’, ‘teaching’ or ‘the Word of God’ was the thing they most appreciated about the EAC.²⁹

Anguzu considered the corporal side of *maendeleo* as vital if the spiritual side was to be retained. Skills for employment, infrastructure, health and education services were not abandoned. *Agape* began to provide training in carpentry, agriculture and tailoring, it built youth centres and promoted attendance at school as worthwhile. It also included as *maendeleo* sports events and choir membership, believed to improve the well-being of *vijana*. Young men were targeted at the start, then a team for work among young women was established. *Agape* attracted not only committed young people who wished to deepen their Christian faith but those who were simply looking for something to do. *Agape* was responding to the chronic national under-development of the 1990s by small-scale development; that is, the local provision of skills pertinent to the area and economic climate (although the severity of the socio-economic situation limited the success of even these efforts). Development, as the raising of one’s living standards through formal education and the learning of skills had not entirely lost its appeal among those who had grown up within mainstream churches but it required a larger scope than previously. Bible study and football also fell within its scope. *Agape* developed the idea of *maendeleo* by linking it integrally to every aspect of life - faith, work, leisure, relationships -within the community.

Agape used the parish structure of the EAC to establish a network of groups through which it could disseminate its ideas beyond the urban base in Bunia and its leadership was deliberately taken from a variety of ethnic groups. Young people, as Chapter Two indicated, were usually less concerned than their elders about retaining ethnic custom and more willing to mix with those from other ethnic groups. *Agape* was thus twice removed from escarpment spirituality, being urban based and ethnically mixed it could not replicate Hema-dominated escarpment values. Transposed to rural areas, the network of groups allowed *vijana* from different villages to meet and build relationships beyond immediate ethnic or clan group. One youth leader from Kumuru explained it thus:

²⁹ EAC members attending Sunday services in the Aru area, Kumuru, and Bunia in August and September 2000 were asked to complete a questionnaire to establish how they became members of, and why they wanted to remain in, the EAC.

They get to know each other...Now the young people from here meet the young people from there. At first they will not like one another, they will say, 'What customs they have!' Then after much interaction they will understand.³⁰

The poly-ethnic approach which arose as a result of the number of ethnic groups which had Anglicans among them³¹ was further unified in *Agape* discourse with reference to unity in Christ in which 'there is neither Jew nor Greek'. Ethnocentrism was considered by *Agape* to be unacceptable for Christians and overcoming ethnic differences was one area in which *Agape*'s holistic *maendeleo* was brought to bear. *Agape* was involved in grassroots reconciliation work between Lendu and Hema as the internal war, begun in 1998, took on an increasingly ethnic aspect in Ituri from 2000.³² The holistic *maendeleo* provided an ideology within the structure of *Agape* which allowed *vijana* to respond more immediately and practically than did the EAC leadership.

Agape was re-interpreting the *maendeleo* concept which had played a part in EAC identity since its beginning, by binding the religious and social aspects of Christianity more closely together and under-playing emphasis on *utaratibu*. It had tapped into the national *zeitgeist* offering freedom, self-expression and exploration of the Christian faith; something which the new Pentecostal churches were perceived to be doing.³³ *Vijana* in the EAC, not all of them *Agape* members, also developed another approach popular in the wider Christian context in Ituri and Nord-Kivu; choral singing of popular religious music which increased *uhuru* in worship as well as in the social life of the EAC.

'Jesus wants us to sing for him'³⁴

Anguzu mentioned music as a way of attracting young people to the church. It was both a leisure activity and an expression of faith. Most choirs were not established by

³⁰ Aruku Abe, Kumuru, 19/08/00, [119-123]; 'Na ya pili wajuana kati kati yao... Sasa vijana ya hapa kukutana na vijana ya kule ya kwanza hawatapendana, watasema, "Kule wana tabia gani!" Na kiisha kutembeleana sana watafahamu.'

³¹ Chapter Four, 161.

³² Much of this work took place after 2000 and is, therefore, beyond the scope of this thesis.

³³ It has been documented that leadership within Pentecostal churches often becomes stratified and gerontocratic over time (Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs*, 197) but in North-east Congo in the 1990s this was not always apparent.

³⁴ 'Jesus alinguka toyembele ye,' popular Lingala chorus.

the leadership of the church but, once formed, were permitted to sing in services. It was through choirs that young people instigated the most pronounced changes in EAC worship services throughout North-east Congo. As in other Protestant churches in Africa, musical change was influenced by pentecostal worship, indigenous music and urban youth culture.³⁵ Change occurred through a mobile, often migrant, population and they were seen by young and old alike as being significantly different from the *utaratibu* of liturgical ritual, introducing instead an element of spontaneous *uhuru* and *furaha* (joy) which challenged *upole* and *heshima*.

Over 20% of those interviewed in September 2000 said that the singing or the choirs was the best part of the EAC and for some, the reason they were members of the EAC was because they joined the choir first. In most chapels there was at least one choir, parish churches had several. In Bunia parish church, for example, by 2000 there were five choirs performing every Sunday³⁶ and up to a third of the congregation on any given Sunday was part of a choir. In contrast to the early days of the church in Bunia, a large number of mainly young people took an active part in worship every Sunday.³⁷ Choirs, themselves, were not new. Many mainline churches had used choirs to teach new congregational songs. In the 1990s, however, the form and content of the choirs altered significantly as a result of the influence of secular Congolese music and Pentecostal churches; no longer was the tonic solfa widely taught,³⁸ no longer were choirs led by church workers, no longer did they sing western hymns or songs.

The primary aim of choirs was to perform - and often compose - religious songs. Some choirs produced a new song every week engendering tremendous musical creativity. Choir directors saw their task as preaching through song.³⁹ Their

³⁵ See, for example, Brian Castle, *Hymns: The Making and Shaping of a theology for the whole people of God. A comparison of the four last things in some English and Zambian hymns in intercultural perspective*. (New York: Peter Lang), 1992; Matthews A Ojo, "Indigenous Gospel Music and Social Reconstruction in Modern Nigeria," *Missionalia* 26, 2 (1998); Gerard van't Spijker, "Credal Hymns as *Summa Theologiae*: New Credal Hymns in Rwanda after the 1994 War and Genocide.," *Exchange* 30, 3 (2001).

³⁶ The first youth choir was introduced in 1975 with three or four people, the Mothers' Union choir, was instigated about 1988. A children's choir, a young male choir and another youth choir were all established in the 1990s.

³⁷ Ruzinga Nobi, "Place et Valeur théologique des Chansons religieuses des Chorales dans l'Eglise (cas de la Paroisse anglicane de Bunia)," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISThA), 1997: 15.

³⁸ Kamayura Chwa, Bunia, 16/09/00, [88-96].

³⁹ Byaruhanga Isaka, Bunia, 13/09/00, [109-110].

compositions were repositories of oral theology, frequently focusing on the intersection of contemporary social reality and biblical faith and highlighting a hope in heaven partially experienced in the joyful performance of the songs.⁴⁰ Choirs also led chorus singing (*animation*) using well-known songs from around the country and some from East Africa. Choruses were simple and repetitive, intended to evoke feelings of heavenly *furaha*. The choirs sang *a cappella* or used traditional drums and stringed instruments unless they managed to obtain the electric guitars and keyboards, used in music from Kinshasa, to which they aspired.

The link with the capital was also perpetuated in the use of Lingala rather than Swahili in many locally composed songs. In using Lingala choirs were identifying themselves with national, urban music and with contemporary pentecostal worship which had often spread from the west. If, in the 1970s, Swahili had provided young people with an urban semi-national language, by the 1990s the urban *soukous* music and the Lingala in which it was sung provided a strong, cultural symbol of national unity.⁴¹ It was a symbol which spread throughout Congo, introducing elements of urbanism and cultural nationalism to the villages.

Language and musical style were not the only elements which linked Anglican choirs to a wider movement of popular Christianity. By 2000 they were largely given a free rein to compose and perform as they felt led by the Holy Spirit with little interference from church workers.⁴² Accompanying this development was the encouragement of oral and spontaneous prayers from individuals during public intercession.⁴³ Spirit inspired worship could now be found alongside the *utaratibu* of the Prayer Book and the hymn book. In turn, these books were no longer considered necessary for Christian worship.

Tindyera Kaberole explained how music in the church had altered so dramatically,

Now... you sing whilst miming and dancing. They used to see that as bad. And according to the law of our church we don't do that, but now they start doing

⁴⁰ Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood, "One Day we will Sing in God's Home': Hymns and Songs in the Anglican Church in North-east Congo (DRC)," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, 1& 2 (2004), 171-172.

⁴¹ Ali Mazrui and Alamin Mazrui, *Swahili State and Society: The Political Economy of an African language*. (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers), 1995: 11.

⁴² Claude, personal communication 24/09/00

⁴³ Titre, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 179.

it... they thought it wasn't good for the church. But we read in the Bible that we must praise God with harps, with songs and dancing so we don't know where they got the idea from. Beforehand, singing and dancing, they saw as bad... now... if someone simply says "chorus" every one dances, all the old people dance!' ⁴⁴

Anglican rules, as she had learnt them from Boga, did not permit dancing. It was in keeping neither with the spirituality of the nineteenth century Church of England which Boga had adapted nor with the ethos of *upole* and *heshima* which the Boga hierarchy - customary and ecclesiastical - had encouraged. ⁴⁵ However, choir members discovered that descriptions of worship in the Bible challenged the old 'law' of the EAC. Now even the elderly, who might have been expected to criticise new ways and attempt to keep Anglican tradition, danced at the mere mention of a chorus. Most songs were accompanied by mime or dance, and words and music were given equal prominence providing a joyful, vibrant atmosphere intended to evoke the happiness of heaven. ⁴⁶ *Uhuru* and *furaha*, began to vie with *upole* and *heshima* in Sunday services. In the early 1990s, choirs provided bursts of vibrancy and movement between solemn, respectful liturgy and sermons. By the end of the decade some EAC churches had reversed this; moments of quiet and orderly liturgy were found between participatory preaching and rhythmic music and dance. With the introduction of a number of large choirs worship had departed from the style propagated on the escarpment. ⁴⁷

Dance, which had always been the response of ordinary people to religious events, even on the Semeliki escarpment, was manifested in church. Praise was conducted with the whole body and not simply the vocal chords and a large percentage of the congregation were involved in a prominent and public part of the service. The maintenance of ecclesiastical hierarchy, however, remained apparent with the introduction of this new style of music; children, *vijana* and women danced

⁴⁴ Tindyera Kaberole, Bunia, 19/09/00, [375-388]; 'Maintenant ... vous chantez en mimant et en dansant. Eux ils voyaient cela mal. Et selon la loi de notre église nous ne faisons pas cela, mais maintenant ils commencent à le faire...ils ont vu que ce n'est pas bien pour l'église. Mais nous lisons dans la Bible qu'il faut louer Dieu avec des harpes, des chants, des danses alors nous ne savons pas d'où ont ils eu cette pensée. Avant, se tenir pour chanter en dansant, ils voyaient cela mal... maintenant... si on dit seulement 'choras' tout le monde danse, tout les vieux dansent.'

⁴⁵ Chapter One, 57-58.

⁴⁶ Wood and Wild-Wood, "One Day we will Sing in God's Home," 172-173.

⁴⁷ See Chapter Two, 85-86.

enthusiastically, some men joined in. church workers maintained their claim on *heshima* by clapping sedately to the songs and calling for '*utaratibu*' when they thought that disorder might ensue. In the northern region, however, especially among *Wokovu*, clergy might dance with the same abandon as children if they did not feel that they were being monitored by authorities from Boga. Among the Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara, contrary to the Hema, traditional socio-religious leaders had always led the dancing rather than observing it.⁴⁸ A re-appropriation of the corporate worship styles of the past – the community at dance – was evident but it had been altered in a contemporary manner. The songs reflected the strong musical tradition of Congo, but it was modern music from Kinshasa, rather than local ethnic music, which was most popular among *vijana*. *Vijana* had begun to establish different links with Congolese culture than had their parents and grandparents; links with national entertainment rooted in spiritual expression rather than with local social structure. Once again these links reflected elements appreciated in popular Pentecostalism.

As well as making worship more lively and more participatory, choirs provided a leisure activity and Christian fellowship. Many choirs met several times a week, for choir rehearsal, Bible Study and prayer. Some members found this complemented the activities of *Agape*, others joined a choir instead of *Agape*. The choir directors also met together to plan joint retreats, seminars, prayer meetings and *soirées musicales*. As a result, the growth of choirs challenged the internal networks of authority of the EAC. The voluntary and largely autonomous nature of the choirs transformed the internal dynamics of the local church. No longer were centrally appointed evangelists and pastors in charge of all church activities but voluntary groups appointed their own leaders who had a large role in the spiritual and communal formation of members. The youth choirs had no direct link to the church hierarchy but they were recognised as influential in many parishes because they enlivened worship, carried out evangelism and attracted others to the EAC. Technically a ritual, hierarchical institution – with a structure of evangelist, pastor and archdeacon performing liturgical rites within the parish – the rigidity of the Anglican structure had loosened at a local level to allow choirs and *Agape* to function.

As internal *utaratibu* weakened *umoja* was strengthened. This time, however, it was external *umoja* with other churches which was improved by the cross-

⁴⁸ Chapter Four, 161.

denominational activities of choirs. Directors liaised with those from other denominations to organise corporate events at which choirs would learn songs from each other. Occasionally tinged with competition, these *soirées musicales* usually had an evangelistic thrust and gathered substantial crowds. The development of this tradition was both an aping of and an alternative to the *soirées musicales* of the emerging Pentecostal churches. Musical activities as well as content, form, inspiration and choir organisation all reflected similar characteristics in the Pentecostal churches in North-east Congo. Musical expression linked the EAC to other denominations throughout Congo, many of whom were experiencing a similar influence in their worship patterns. It provided a common language which spoke above doctrinal, historical or ethnic differences. The EAC was able to adapt relatively quickly to these new impulses because its rapid growth through migration had already introduced the hierarchy to inevitable change. Another, increasingly common language which the EAC tried to speak was that of charismatic manifestations which also occurred in the 1990s. This further eroded the *utaratibu* of the church hierarchy and proved much more contentious than modern choral music. The catalyst for acceptance of a dynamic and immediate role of the Holy Spirit in life and worship came, however, not from a local source but from the Church of England.

Holy Spirit

In 1992 a group of 12 young people from the Diocese of Boga *Agape* group toured the UK for a month, visiting churches. On their return they prayed for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit and were struck by charismatic manifestations similar to those they had witnessed in a parish church in England. They arranged a seminar on the Holy Spirit in the Bunia church and on the following Sunday the congregation observed a sight many found disturbing. One witness described it thus:

... arms turned towards Heaven... suddenly the silence was broken by crying, shouting, free falling, trembling and praising. The poor Christians were very upset. Confusion reigned in the church because no one was capable of calming the group down.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Buyana Mulungula, "Etude théologique du Boom charismatique de la Paroisse anglicane de Bunia," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., IStHA), 1994: 26. '... bras tournés vers le Ciel... tout à coup le silence est brisé par des pleurs, des cris, des chutes libres, des tremblements et des louanges. Les pauvres chrétiens sont très effarouchés. Dans l'église c'est le tohu-bohu qui règne, car personne n'est avisée pour apaiser la masse.'

There were prophecies on the spiritual and political state of Bunia, deliverance from evil spirits and healing. The most shocking aspect was discussed a week later at diocesan council in the village of Boga. Bezaleri was asked to present a report. He had been on the UK visit and was closely associated with the manifestations. This is the council's record of his account of the contentious prophecy:

... [the group] heard that God loves the Anglican Church in Zaïre and this church will develop. Also God loves Bishop Njojo, he will be saved, [he must] 'leave the poison of the fetisher... On the 11/10/92 at Bunia this thing happened again and [some] girls prophesied again about Bishop Njojo.⁵⁰

The head of the church was accused of evil practice and of not being a true Christian by young girls claiming direct spiritual guidance. This behaviour, learnt in the UK and practised in Bunia, disturbed church leaders. The response of the council was as follows:

The council, having heard these things, greatly regretted seeing how the Holy Spirit was being introduced with speed into the church and how the name of the Bishop was being dirtied in front of our church and in front of other churches. And the council couldn't agree that this was really the result of the Holy Spirit.⁵¹

The terse few lines of this report and the events which led to it are suggestive of a great many issues: spiritual power verses ecclesiastical authority, *uhuru* challenging *utaratibu* and *heshima*, generational conflict or spiritual discernment, global influence over local authority, a rural church with a close relationship to cultural practice of a particular ethnic group threatened by a migrant, urban, youth movement which understood itself to be embracing an inter/national expression of Christianity. The challenges to ritual and hierarchical *utaratibu* implicit in the activities of *Agape* and the choirs burst to the surface as a result of charismatic activity and further connected EAC practice with popular Pentecostalism in Congo.

⁵⁰ DBg, *Conseil executif de Boga*, Bgbg 921018b, '...walisikia ya kama Mungu anapenda Kanisa la Anglicane katika Zaire na kanisa lile litaendelea. Pia Askofu Njojo Mungu anmupenda, ataokolewa: "aache dawa ya ufumu". .. Tarehe 11/10/92 pa Bunia mambo kama haya yalifanyika na wasichana walitabiri tena juu ya Askofu Njojo.'

Dawa and *mufumu*, translated here as 'poison' and 'fetisher', can be translated 'medicine' and 'healer' but the negative sense is apparent in the context.

⁵¹ Ibid., 'Mukusanyo kiisha kusikilia maneno haya, ulisikitika sana kuona jinsi maneno kuhusu Roho Mutakatifu yalivyoingizwa kwa haraka katika Kanisa na jinsi jina la Askofu lilivyochafuliwa mbele ya Kanisa letu na mbele ya makanisa mengine. Na mukusanyo haukukubali kama kweli haya yalikuwa matokeo ya Roho Mutakatifu.'

The diocesan church leaders showed their disapproval of the events by suspending for three months three of the local church leaders who were most closely associated with the movement, Bezaleri, Acheson and Archdeacon Munege Kabarole. In doing so they were criticising them for not upholding the *utaratibu*, *heshima* and *upole* of the EAC, and for reversing the social order by following and encouraging *vijana* rather than leading them. These charismatic manifestations were seen to threaten the submission to socio-religious *utaratibu*. They seemed contrary to the orderly nature of God and to the sense of belonging which had developed in the EAC.⁵²

Nevertheless, *Agape* continued to teach on the Holy Spirit and work for renewal in the EAC. Whilst some of the more overt manifestations of charismatic gifts were seen only rarely after 1992, the events encouraged a sense of community and spiritual awareness among young people which expressed itself in Bible study and prayer, a willingness to work for the furtherance of the *Agape* groups, and an increased Sunday attendance.⁵³ An acceptance of the dynamic role of the Holy Spirit in healing, revival, evangelism, and pastoral care developed through another group whose activities were less radical. ‘Operation Spirituelle’ (OS), was founded in 1995 in Bunia by Rev Ise Somo, himself influenced by the youth movement in Butembo. It was open to all ages and aimed to facilitate lay people in leadership. The gentler approach of OS made charismatic changes appear less threatening.

The EAC came through this internal crisis by typical compromise. It rejected the incorporation of charismatic healing and deliverance within its main worship structure but condoned this practice in certain groups and actively pursued a greater understanding of the dynamic role of the Holy Spirit. At Njojo’s invitation, international Anglican groups visited in 1995 and 1998 to provide seminars for the clergy on the Holy Spirit,⁵⁴ emphasising again the Anglican and global nature of the theological and pastoral change taking place. The charismatic manifestations caused such tension, fear and elation amongst different members of the congregation that the month of October 1992 can be seen as a significant point in the steady transformation of an orderly hierarchical, rural church into a youth propelled, dynamic, urban one.

⁵² Chapter Four, 149-150.

⁵³ BP, *Chuo cha Ibada 1992*. The numbers of those attending Bunia parish church on Sunday grew suddenly from an average of 250 to over 400 people between October and December 1992.

⁵⁴ SOMA, a voluntary, charismatic Anglican organisation which provides seminars for churches around the world sent Kenyans, Tanzanians, British and Americans to Congo.

The strong opinions of EAC members about charismatic activity as a result of these events demonstrates the contest over the identity of the church during the 1990s.

The discourse which surrounded the first appearance of charismatic manifestations shows that conflicting issues often arose along generational lines. For *vijana* involved the events fitted with the free and joyful worship already developing in the church. To freedom of expression, informal and vibrant worship, evangelism, Bible Study and close friendships was added an emphasis on the workings of the Holy Spirit to overcome affliction and evil, providing an explanation for and solution to sickness. It accorded with the spiritual response to life's difficulties which they observed in Pentecostal churches. The connection of these events with the visit to a Church of England parish also demonstrated links with a global, interdenominational movement. The charismatic events were proof, to those who supported them, that Anglican churches did not all follow the EAC model, that variation was acceptable and that Spirit issues could be appropriately addressed by Anglicans. The *vijana* spoke of dramatic spiritual activity as 'new', part of the holistic *maendeleo* for which they aimed, thus widening further the definition of *maendeleo* to include a spiritual response to dealing with the difficulties of contemporary life, a process very different to striving for relevant skills. They believed these practises made a sharp distinction between 'paganism' and Christianity which they thought their parents' generation, by maintaining social hierarchies and ethnic customs, had failed to do.

Those who claimed to have benefited from 'this grace' were, however, in a minority. About eighteen months later a sympathetic theological student, Buyana Mulungula, asked people in the Bunia church what they thought of the charismatic activity. Only 10% were positive towards it. Of these most were between 26 to 35 years of age and women were more positive than men.⁵⁵ This group was most likely to represent women involved in Federation activities and the leadership of *Agape*, those who visited the UK or who were contemporaries with them. They had influence within the women's or youth movement but not within the main EAC power structures. Desirous of change in the EAC, they felt that the old structures of authority diluted power obtainable directly from God's Spirit. The *vijana* who identified themselves most strongly with the Holy Spirit movement were *vijana* not strictly in terms of biological age but in terms of position within the church.

⁵⁵ Buyana "Etude théologique du Boom charismatique," 45.

Most Anglican members were dubious about the introduction of an emphasis on the Spirit and spiritual gifts. 60% of those interviewed by Buyana expressed a negative attitude and 30% remained undecided on the matter. In 2000 few mentioned the work of the Holy Spirit as a primary reason for liking the EAC although there was a greater emphasis on it in the EAC than had there had been a decade previously. Anglicans shocked by the events regarded them as undermining the EAC. Few believed the veracity of the prophecy, pointing to the good standing of the Archbishop. For many, the legitimacy of the whole experience stood or fell on the truth or falsity of these serious claims against a man who was respected for his personal character as well as his position in society. The prophecies against the Archbishop were also regarded as providing a harsh critique of the church hierarchy by presenting spirit-inspired youth as an alternative source of spiritual wisdom. Recourse to inspiration by the Holy Spirit effectively short-circuited access to divine power and made hierarchical *utaratibu* redundant. It was an attack too far on the traditional *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima*. Apolo Kivebulaya, they said, had not introduced such activity and his memory was dishonoured by it.⁵⁶ Local leaders had been too accepting of youthful enthusiasm, thought some, and now the whole episcopal core of the EAC was being threatened. Those who vocalised their discontent allied themselves with the expression of Anglicanism connected to escarpment culture. Congolese Anglicans usually expressed pride in their membership of a international network but, in this case, such a link only gave the events increased legitimacy in the eyes of those who were already convinced by the manifestations. To those who were suspicious of these charismatic events, there was a sense of bewilderment that an Anglican congregation in England could display such seemingly unanglican attributes. Alteration to the orderly *status quo* was judged on its merits within the immediate context rather than being accommodated uncritically. In this situation such startling results of migration and mobility were seen as a dangerous dilution of a noble tradition.

The greatest problem lay in their perception of charismatic manifestations as in continuity with traditional religion. The manifestations were regarded by their detractors as an unwelcome return to indigenous religion, now considered to be evil. There was concern that the lack of order or control during the manifestations meant

⁵⁶ Ibid., 47.

that they came from evil spirits, that *vijana* involved were possessed in a way analogous to possession cults, their messages were wrong and destructive. Judy Acheson, who had led the trip to the UK, was accused by some of bringing witchcraft from Europe to Bunia.⁵⁷ EAC members also recognised the activities similar to those of the mistrusted ‘sectes’, whose Christian credentials were considered questionable for the same reasons. They thought they had distanced themselves from such evil through an appropriate attachment to Anglican *utaratibu*.

The debate about charismatic manifestations as modern, global phenomena or in continuity with elements of African religious history, and the accompanying discourse on evil will be further addressed in the next chapter as an issue which affects contemporary African Christianity. In the EAC the introduction of charismatic elements had appealed and disquieted for the same reasons; it mitigated against the *utaratibu*, *heshima* and *upole* and provided for the needs of those for whom *utaratibu*, *heshima* and *upole* had become stultifying and irrelevant. It offered instead *uhuru* in the Spirit which fitted with the *uhuru* and *furaha* of the new musical styles. These charismatic events can be understood within the new holistic approach to *maendeleo* propounded by *Agape* as an attempt to mediate divine power more immediately and to respond appropriately to the therapeutic and spiritual issues which effected the lives of its members. Thus EAC identity could be understood as moving further from escarpment values and towards a more contemporary, popular national and trans-national expression of Christianity.

EAC identity

The identity of the EAC and its members had become increasingly hybrid by 2000 and included a variety of overlapping interpretations of religious belonging. *Vijana* had further widened the interpretation of *maendeleo* and preferred a spontaneous, exuberant reliance on *uhuru* in the Spirit for worship and governance which provided *furaha* rather than *upole* as the central mood for Christian activity. *Utaratibu* was accepted in so far as it accommodated these contemporary identify signifiers. In the final part of this chapter the further weakening of identifying features established on the escarpment is assessed in the light of changes introduced by the youth movement

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

as they affected issues of generation, order and relations between the EAC and other denominations.

The reaction of the *wazee*

EAC identity did not develop simply through change but through the contestation of change. The activities of the youth movement in the EAC produced a variety of reactions among those who were not part of it. Many of these held positions of seniority in the EAC - the *wazee*; a term which denoted not simply age but status, respect and the expectation of wisdom. The reaction of *wazee* differed according to their personal circumstances and positions within the church. Many hesitated to embrace change but others were less reluctant and, as Tinderya's description of *wazee* dancing in church demonstrates, a simplistic equation of age with resistance to change is inappropriate.

Wazee of the Semeliki escarpment who had not migrated and had a stake in the socio-religious values of the village EAC were perhaps most disturbed by change instigated by women and youth in the urban and northern areas. They perceived it as a threat to the basic identity of Anglicanism. As Chapter Four indicated, the escarpment church remained a gerontocratic, hierarchical institution which maintained *utaratibu*, *upole* and *heshima* and was at times bewildered by, at times hostile to, the change occurring in other parts of the dioceses. It was proud of its Anglican tradition, understanding it as part of its heritage to be continued in contemporary life, and considered that change contravened the inheritance of Apolo Kivebulaya. These *wazee*, however, continued to exert influence on the EAC because Boga remained the administrative centre of its diocese and many prominent clergy in Nord-Kivu and Boga dioceses originally came from the escarpment. Their senior positions enabled them to retard change but they were too few and too isolated to halt it.

In 1990, just as Irene Bahemuka was enjoying the fellowship of *Agape* and the growth of the church in Bunia,⁵⁸ she married a man from Boga and went to live there. After years of criticism of the identity of her parents' church she found herself at its epicentre. There was as yet no *Agape* group and she discovered to her dislike that not only was the worship cold but 'the culture and the religion were married

⁵⁸ Irene Bahemuka, Boga, 30/09/00, [208].

together'.⁵⁹ Some church services were surrounded by Hema traditions. The chief played a prominent role in church life as well as performing Hema ritual functions. For one who considered such a close association between the culture of one ethnic group and Christianity inappropriate this was an unhappy situation. She was joined in her criticism by young nurses training at the medical college and, by the late 1990s, by FEPACO, and other Pentecostal '*sectes*'.⁶⁰ They all considered that the EAC church on the escarpment was not sufficiently Christian because it rarely promoted personal conversion, rejection of cultural ways, lively, emotive, participatory worship or teaching on the Holy Spirit. Ben Baataga, who grew up in the Boga area, also noticed a reluctance to change. He said of worship in 2000:

The church in Boga is some how a traditionalist church, so they don't very much want a change. So, for instance, this jumping, clapping hands and dancing in the church, all those kinds of things, some people, some leaders don't really want this in the church.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the 1990s also saw the beginnings of religious change on the escarpment. To polarise the areas from which migration took place and to which people migrated would be to over-simplify the argument. Migration is rarely entirely one way and connections between the escarpment and churches established through migration were never severed. Familial, trade and ecclesiastical links were continually maintained. Indeed, the institutional nature of the EAC formalised the continuous links between new parishes and old ones. Thus the escarpment church was increasingly influenced by the Congolese Christianity emerging in the urban and northern parishes. Bataaga also admitted that the escarpment was influenced by the visits of urban youth to the village:

They go with their youth spirit, what they have in the worship here (Bunia) they take it there. You know, it becomes something new. And some young people there, they are realising it, they are doing it.⁶²

Mbusa Bangau also saw the role of modern media in this,

⁵⁹ Ibid., [210-211].

⁶⁰ Ibid., [477-482].

⁶¹ Bataaga Beni, Bunia, 15/09/00, [238-241].

⁶² Ibid., [250-254].

Kainama used to be isolated. ...today young people hear hymns on the radio. They know what's going on elsewhere. And then there's lots of contact with other churches.⁶³

Village *vijana* liked contact with other denominations and lively music. They wished to connect with the world beyond the escarpment through *Agape* groups, the radio, or occasional visits to towns. The national, urban culture appealed to them too. Reverse migration played a further role in the process of rural change. During the political unrest from 1996 some urban families thought the rural areas offered more security than the towns and returned to the escarpment taking their urbanised ways of worship with them.⁶⁴ By 2000 *wazee* on the escarpment were being introduced to these ways in their own congregations and not simply as stories from distant parishes. The results of migration were starting to shape the identity of the entire EAC in the North-east.

The *wazee* who adapted the most were the first generation migrants to towns. Now in their 50s, 60s and 70s they had seen great change in the chapels they had established. Rwakaikara Andre's reaction to change within the Bunia church is typical.

...there is *maendeleo*... we saw first that people began to go to church when [Judy Acheson] began that group of *Agape*. Then children began to go... So when she found the way of taking them to Europe, and they came back - even though there was a bit of disturbance from Satan - but by the power of God everything was possible and it was good. Now the church became [good] and continues well.⁶⁵

He had known the church in its early years with only a small number of members and he had seen it grow with the introduction of activities for young people. The mention of Satan suggests that in 1992 Rwakaikara felt horror at the charismatic activities introduced but eight years later his worse fears had *not* been realised. He was still able to speak of the EAC as his church and the church of his parents and he

⁶³ Mbusa Bangau, [320-327]; 'Kainama était isolé... aujourd'hui les jeunes entendent des chantiques à la radio. Ils sont informés de ceux qui se passent ailleurs. Et puis il y a beaucoup de contact avec d'autres églises.'

⁶⁴ One group's danger zone was another's safe haven. Towns like Butembo, Beni, Bunia and Aru still grew because in Djugu zone, north of Bunia, and in the Rwenzori mountains ethnic conflicts and rebel activity displaced the inhabitants of villages to the towns in search of security.

⁶⁵ Rwakaikara André, Bunia, 23/09/00, [225]; '...maendeleo inakuwa... tuliona mwanzo ya watu kwanza kuingia ndani ya kanisa wakati alianza kikundi kile cha *Agape*. Pale njo watoto wanaanza kuingia... Basi, na wakati alipata njia ya kuwapeleka Ulaya, wakarudi - hata musukosuko ilikuwa moja ya Shetani haikosake - lakini kwa nguvu ya Mungu iliwezesha yote ilikuwa muzuri. Na sasa kanisa ilikuwa na... inaendelea muzuri.'

considered that the numerical growth of the church as a result of the activities of the young people was eventually beneficial. The church that the first generation migrants had established had grown tenfold in thirty years. First generation migrants may not have immediately liked all the innovation but many accepted that it worked and wanted to see the church which they started continue for the next generation. The seeming success of something they held dear was attractive to them. The circumstances surrounding the initial migration of these people had encouraged them to replicate a familiar religious institution but the life changes which migration had brought them in the course of thirty or forty years probably also allowed them to accept the growth of the youthful EAC more easily than non-migrants.

A young church

In 2000 the EAC in North-east Congo was predominantly a young church. It was young not simply because children under nineteen made up the majority of the congregations, nor because it was recently introduced to places like Faradje, Watsa and Djugu, but because young people were influencing change within it.⁶⁶ Tabu Abembe acknowledged this. When asked what change he had experienced in the EAC since his childhood, he said, 'The development that I've seen in all the places I've worked is the spiritual growth of young people'.⁶⁷ There were no groups for children when Tabu was young and participation in church affairs was considered to be the preserve of adults. Chapter One indicated that the religious movement started by Apolo Kivebulaya was driven largely by young men and women but an emphasis on the conversion of chiefly families coupled with the adoption of the Anglican system of church governance encouraged a gerontocratic power structure within the EAC which marginalised young and junior people. It was the contextualisation of church power structures in this way which did much to encourage the ambiguity expressed by Christian *vijana* in the 1990s vis-à-vis indigenous culture. *Vijana* took an active part in church life, developing a renewed emphasis on Bible study and teaching, evangelism and community development projects whilst introducing lively, spontaneous worship and a greater awareness of spiritual issues. They also criticised their parents' generation for not distancing themselves sufficiently from traditional

⁶⁶ Titre Ande, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo," 185.

⁶⁷ Tabu Abembe, Bwakadi, 06/10/00, [280-281]; 'Le développement que j'ai vu dans tous les milieux où j'ai travaillé est la croissance spirituelle des jeunes gens...'

beliefs and behaviour and being too tied to the customs of their ethnic group. Many of these *vijana* were urbanised polyglots who lived uncertain lives in a disordered state. The EAC provided friendship, mutual support, leisure activities, healing and a goal of improved living standards. These changes allowed opportunity for *vijana* to engage with contemporary Congolese forms of Christianity which were more national than ethnic in expression and - more importantly for those who practised them - were considered to be 'more Christian' than those practised by their parents. In identifying themselves as Anglicans these *vijana* were firstly identifying themselves as Christians rather than members of a particular ethnic group.

Power and influence were able to shift generationally and ethnically with relative ease over a short time span because of the flexibility of the EAC developed through the migration of so many of its members. The church spread through migration over an area and to a population far larger than that of the escarpment area where it originated. The process altered the traditional base of the EAC. The grip on the EAC by senior men from important families on the escarpment had been shaken and their influence in governance was no longer exclusive.

Utaratibu and umoja

In 2000 *wazee* and *vijana*, both men and women, still worshipped together. The old order remained but it was no longer the only option within the church. In order to chart change clearly this chapter has explained change in terms of dichotomies; *uhuru* verses *utaratibu*, *furaha* verses *upole*, *inter alia*. Of course, change is rarely so polarised and in the EAC in particular change was negotiated in such a way as to maintain internal *umoja* and avoid public division. *Utaratibu* did not vanish but it took a different position in the church.

Chapter One suggested that the close association between traditional social hierarchy and the EAC provided an ethos of *utaratibu*, *heshima* and *upole*. Subsequent chapters have chartered the altering of this identity as the EAC spread beyond its first Congo home. Like *Wokovu*, *vijana* were effectively challenging the respectful, gentle *utaratibu* of hierarchy and liturgy as the paramount identity signifier. The challenge was not always direct but developed as a result of their alternative activities and structures. The leadership was also more flexible having grown accustomed to the variation of EAC identity expressed by northerners, including *Wokovu*. Conversations with young people suggest that their loyalty to the EAC included an

appreciation of hierarchy and ritual as seen in church governance and liturgy. *Utaratibu* was still given as a primary reason for appreciating the EAC by 18% of those asked in 2000. Hierarchical authority and liturgical rites continued to provide a sense of order, unity, power and security in an uncertain world. The hierarchy remained. The Prayer Book was still used and appreciated. They embodied shared beliefs, aims and practices but their place in the EAC altered; their use was variously interpreted and they no longer provided the only options for ritual and governance. *Utaratibu* as interpreted by *upole* and *heshima* was no longer permitted to dominate Anglican identity in Congo. *Utaratibu*, interpreted by other identity signifiers of *maendeleo*, *uhuru*, *furaha* remained a framework of order around which corporate life and worship could be melded but the attachment to these same identity signifiers encouraged the use of more informal and popular ways of being the EAC.

In this identity flux, when the EAC's anchorage in *utaratibu* was insecure, Anglican members emphasised *umoja* as an identity signifier. As Chapter Four demonstrated, this discourse was based on the desire for EAC enlargement and a recognition that, as a result of enlargement, effective power and control were no longer the sole preserve of the traditional centre. If the EAC were to maintain internal unity by remaining a single enlarged institution negotiation and compromise were vital. For example, a stratified form of governance was maintained in 2000 but diocesan appointed leaders had to work alongside leaders of choirs and *Agape* who represented a large percentage of the congregation. Church leaders were usually willing to negotiate and compromise with *vijana*. Some young men (and occasionally women) were invited to train to become *walimu*, *wangalizi* and eventually pastors, an indication that the leadership of the EAC was willing to countenance change and that the youth movement was beginning to express mainstream identity, respecting hierarchical *utaratibu* and willing to gain influence within its power structure. As a result of the ability to compromise not only did the identity of the church alter but change was slowed and de-radicalised. The EAC remained internally united. The changes taking place within it also encouraged greater *umoja* with other denominations.

'God gave us communion'

Migration encouraged the diversity of Christian affiliation in North-east Congo. Geographical spread of ECC members, new movements and internal disagreements,

coupled with less state interference in church affairs, encouraged an explosion of denominations in the 1990s. *Umoja* among Christian churches in 2000 could be said, in some ways, to be more fragmented than in 1960. Debates about the role of baptism, appropriate systems of governance or the orthodoxy of 'sectes' rumbled on, usually among church leaders. There was no suggestion that denominations might merge. However, such a picture is one-sided. By 2000, the disregard for the separate areas drawn up by missionary comity had come to be accepted by most and the mix of denominations in a single area diluted the mutual wariness between denominations that existed in the 1980s because, as the women's and youth movements demonstrated, frequent contact between members was now possible. The lines of unity that straddled divisions were drawn in the popular expressions of Christianity found in women's groups, choirs and youth groups. Through sharing communal events and recognising common evangelistic goals they developed an improved working unity amongst ECC members.⁶⁸

In its attempt to provide a holistic ideology of *maendeleo* complemented by spiritual *uhuru* and *furaha* in worship the EAC youth movement became popular during the 1990s with young people from other churches, particularly CECA 20 and the Roman Catholic church. Their own hierarchies of power had been less challenged by the results of migration by their members because they were already larger, more established churches before post-independence migration started. Gerontocratic control over governance and worship largely still remained. These denominations, whilst pursuing modernisation through *maendeleo*, had not begun to target young people specifically as beneficiaries of this *maendeleo* nor had they widened its meaning to emphatically include improvement of all aspects of life. The EAC, on the other hand, was able to adjust its tradition to the demands of contemporary society because it was a small church that had already adapted to rapid change through migratory expansion. As a result, as one Aru EAC member, himself previously a member of CECA 20, observed,

⁶⁸ Nyabongo Kwake, "Le Mouvement oecumenique dans la Cité de Bunia: Rêve ou Réalité?," (Diplôme de graduat diss., ISThA), 1994: 47-49.

...the young people who are being baptised with us [Anglicans] here, their parents are not at all from our community. The parents go elsewhere, but [their children] are choosing our community.⁶⁹

Young people from CECA 20 took refuge in *Agape* whilst their own church was in turmoil over its method of governance.⁷⁰ Bitter internecine rivalry resulted in a split in 1992 between those who remained loyal to the old church structures and CECA 20 *réformée* who instigated an episcopalian structure. Disaffected Catholics were probably the largest group who joined the church from non-Anglican backgrounds. Likambo Tamaru, who joined the EAC in Isiro, said,

I felt ... at ease because I didn't see much difference. I felt I was in a Catholic church but the way of preaching was purely Protestant. What attracted me was the good bit of warmth there, the brotherliness among the Christians. They welcomed me well, there. After only a short time they gave me certain responsibilities.⁷¹

He felt at home in the EAC because the orderly ritual of the liturgy was similar to the Catholic Church. Yet preaching, welcome, fellowship and inclusion in the activities of the church were sufficiently different from his Catholic experience to encourage Likambo to remain in the EAC. At a time when Pentecostal churches exerted an influence on *vijana* a mainline church could appeal to them when it was perceived to be responding to their needs.

Most young people from other denominations did not actually become members of the EAC. In the same way that some Anglican *vijana* in the 1970s attended the youth Bible studies of CECA 20 but remained members of their parents' church, in the 1990s *vijana* from CECA and the Catholics participated in the Anglican youth programme but returned to their own churches to introduce there the ideas they had learnt at *Agape*.⁷² In this pattern, loyalty to familiar tradition, to family or ethnic group may have been present but for *vijana* an exploration of the 'best' Christian

⁶⁹ Baba Atseko, Aru, 14/08/00, [198-201]; '...les jeunes qui sont en train de se faire baptisés chez nous ici, leur parents ne sont pas à cent percent de notre communauté. Les parents vont ailleurs, mais eux ils sont en train de choisir notre communauté.'

⁷⁰ Judy Acheson, [48-53].

⁷¹ Likambo Tamaru, [26-32]; 'Je me suis senti... à l'aise parce que je n'ai pas constaté beaucoup de différence. Je me sentais que je suis dans une Eglise catholique mais la façon de prêcher était purement protestante. Alors, ce qui m'a intéressé est il y avait un peu beaucoup de chaleur là-bas, de fraternité parmi les chrétiens. Là il m'avaient bien accueilli. Après quelque temps seulement il m'avait confié certaines responsabilités'.

⁷² Judy Acheson, [48-49].

practice – whether that was involvement with peers, social skills, Bible study or charismatic phenomena – took initial precedence.

As a result of the willingness of *vijana* to borrow from other groups, young people from different denominations met together, developing a common expression of Christianity. *Vijana* were effectively challenging the clearly bounded identities propounded by denominations and further mixing Christian identities. Although the number of different denominations rose significantly in North-east Congo and will probably rise further, it is arguable that grassroots Christianity - expressed in terms of emotive, corporal and national forms of worship and a greater emphasis on the action of the Holy Spirit for pastoral care and healing - possessed greater mutual understanding and opportunities for collaboration in 2000 than it had done in 1960. It did so largely because women and young people met, worshipped and worked across denominational boundaries. Paradoxically, migration engendered the diversity of denominations and contributed to a greater popular tolerance and understanding of other denominations than was previously the case.

These changes were more rapid and obvious in urban settings where the ‘pool’ of influences was greater and the village traditions were altered or dissipated but the dislocation inherent in the sudden migration from Uganda made it possible in northern villages and encouraged a *modus vivendi* that no longer possessed the intense rivalry of the 1980s. The EAC in Mahagi was, perhaps, a surprising example of greater practical *umoja* between denominations. Created by *Wokovu* of the Chosen Evangelical Revival (CER) its separatist tendencies, analysed in Chapter Five, caused upset with CECA 20 and mainstream Anglicanism. In 1997, however, the *Wokovu*-dominated EAC in Mahagi began meeting monthly with leaders from other churches in the area.

God gave us communion. We have one group to gather together all the servants of revival churches in Mahagi. We call it AERM, Association of Mahagi Revival Churches. So we understand each other and we all meet together.⁷³

⁷³ Adubang’o Dieudonné, Mahagi, 28/08/00, [195-196]; ‘...Mungu analeta na sie usiano. Tunakuwa na chama moja ya kuunganisha watumishi wote ndani ya Mahagi, wenye wanakuwa ndani ya églises de reveil. Tunaita AERM, *Association des Eglises de Reveil de Mahagi*. Hivi tunasikilizana na tunakutanaga na wote.’

So said *Agape* youth leader, Adubang'o Dieudonné, claiming that *Mungu mumoja*, the one God, was responsible for bringing diverse groups together. He then listed sixteen other churches which belonged to this local organisation, including members of the charismatic renewal within the Catholic church, CECA 20, its split, CECA 20 *Réformée*, and a number of Pentecostal churches, some of which were members of the ECC, others were not. The aim of AERM was to encourage the revival of Christians and the evangelism of non-Christians. The scope of its membership was impressive and could not have been considered ten years previously. The radical, intransigent nature of the CER made such alliances seem initially surprising but in joining the AERM *Wokovu* were fulfilling the principle that work for revival was superior to adherence to ecclesiastical forms. *Umoja* for *Wokovu* was always potentially a working relationship with revivalist-minded groups regardless of denomination. Belief that 'God is one' was the basis for co-operation across denominational divides but other commonalities needed to be found before united practice was possible. Change within all these denominations, influenced by denominational diversity and the spread of Pentecostalism, encouraged a common Congolese expression of faith and worship and brought them closer together. Lines of unity were present across denominations whilst divisions could be still found within them.

The EAC in Mahagi joined AERM at the same time as it was coming to accept *Agape*. The gerontocratic revival leaders demanded strict observation of external codes of behaviour and expected worship and evangelism to be carried out in a particular way. The leaders initially felt threatened by *vijana* who they perceived as promoting a perverted form of revivalism. They were suspicious of *Agape*'s provision of skills for young people, its emphasis on discussion rather than preaching and teaching, and its interest in charismatic phenomena. However, they could not fault the spiritual *maendeleo* promoted by the group which emphasised personal commitment reflected in an appropriate change of lifestyle and a desire to evangelise. Like *Wokovu*, *Agape* subverted the *utaratibu* of the EAC and promoted *uhuru* in worship. By 2000 most *Wokovu* had begun to understand *Agape* within a *Wokovu* frame of reference, to be a modern revival movement working completely within the EAC.⁷⁴ *Agape* demonstrated to *Wokovu* that other EAC members could experience

⁷⁴ Thumbe Ferdinand, Mahagi, 29/08/00, [253-4].

revival in a similar way to them and re-enforced the internal *umoja* with other Congolese Anglicans. *Agape*, *Wokovu* and the women's movement also showed that internal Anglican unity need no longer be maintained at the expense of unity with other denominations.

Conclusion

Second generation migrants provided an impulse for change within the EAC that enabled the church to embrace forms of Christianity which were becoming increasingly familiar throughout Congo. In the 1990s the youth movement contributed to this by absorbing elements of contemporary Christian culture that appeared helpful in the local context because they provided support for life and challenged the rigidity of *utaratibu*.

Parishes founded as a result of migration accepted a more dynamic Christian expression which was reaching Ituri and Nord-Kivu from other parts of the country and beyond and infused it with traditional EAC structures. They developed an increased informality in worship that adopted musical styles of modern Congo whilst retaining the missionary hymn book. They accepted limited charismatic activity whilst still loosely following the Anglican liturgy. The hierarchical structure of the EAC did not alter but power within it had shifted to include contributions from those not considered part of it. Church leaders accepted new influences from youth leaders, choir directors and the Mothers' Union. Now the *utaratibu* of hierarchy and liturgy was interpreted with *maendeleo*, *uhuru* and *furaha*, which allowed junior members to organise their own groups and contribute to the way in which the church was run. Identity was shaped by the contemporary concerns of urbanised second generation migrant youth. Effective power was shared more widely and thus internal *umoja* was maintained. The EAC, whilst still retaining pride in its historic roots on the escarpment, improved its evangelical credentials and introduced pentecostal elements, of a contemporary, national and trans-national nature, in order to thrive in its local situation of economic decline, political disorder and ecclesiastical choice. In doing so it improved its relations with neighbouring denominations.

That the change was relatively peaceful, retained most of its original members and gained more is a consequence of the large expansion through migration by a small, marginalised church. The growth of the EAC through migration was generally considered to be a positive change. Although, it had brought rapid and, for some,

uncomfortable alterations, it increased numbers, influence, and geographical spread. Thus, obvious as the generational, gender and ethnic divisions were, they were less acute than might be expected in different circumstances where migration might have been understood by the majority as dilution of identity rather than its *maendeleo*.

Chapter Eight: Migrant Anglican Identity in North-east Congo.

Introduction

[Ugandans] announce[d] Christ to the inhabitants of Boga... From there, the work undertaken knew a very rapid expansion in many regions of Zaïre under African direction. Thus was realised the prophetic word of Apolo on his death bed, 'Bury me with my head towards the West so that the work of the Lord will continue.'...the implantation of the Anglican Church of Zaïre has known several waves of immigration.¹

Reportedly the prophetic last wish of Apolo Kivebulaya, 'Bury me with my head towards the West...' are the words which began this thesis. They are found in the *Eglise Anglicane du Congo* (EAC) centenary pamphlet of 1996, where they are used to interpret the migratory nature and African agency of EAC growth since its inception. Throughout the thesis, the narration and re-interpretation of Apolo's life and death have been observed to shape and reflect EAC identity. From early eyewitness accounts through hagiography and oral myth the founder of the EAC was used to supply meaning to the EAC as it grew and changed. Different groups have interpreted his story in various ways, plotting it with various hermeneutical terms: to uphold escarpment *utaratibu* (Chapter One), to implant escarpment *utaratibu* elsewhere (Chapter Two), to give credence to a previously unknown church (Chapter Three), to support revival and itinerant evangelism (*uhuru*) (Chapter Five), and to endorse women's ordination (*maendeleo*) (Chapter Six). The 1996 pamphlet interprets the story of Apolo to bring a sense of *umoja* that was both unique to the EAC and yet linked it to Uganda and beyond. Africans brought the Christian message in an Anglican form to the Semeliki escarpment, states the quotation above, yet they were Africans who crossed cultural, linguistic and colonial boundaries to do so. Since that time this pattern has repeated itself through migratory growth as Apolo, himself, expected it would. This narration of Apolo's dying wish was interpreted as a prophecy of expansion by plotting it with reference to the diverse migratory and African origins of the EAC. Congolese Anglican identity was given a

¹ N.a. *Esquisse historique, de l'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre 1896-1996* (Bunia: ISThA), 1996: 1; '...annoncer Christ aux habitants de Boga... Dès lors, l'oeuvre entreprise va connaître une extension très accélérée dans plusieurs régions du Zaïre, sous la direction africaine. Ainsi se réalisa la parole prophétique d'Apolo dans son lit de mort: "Qu'on m'enterre la tête vers l'Ouest afin que l'oeuvre du Seigneur continue"... l'implantation de l'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre a connu plusieurs vagues d'immigration.'

base, not in the historical and geographical links with Apolo, but in the *spiritual and prophetic* connections made in this contemporary interpretation. By 1996 Apolo's story was linked to the migratory spread of the church and thus provided a narrative of common identity for the majority of EAC members whose personal history involved some sort of migration during the forty years after independence.

Narrative Identity

...many Zairian Anglicans are looking for an identity by gathering together scattered parts of a collective memory.²

The centenary pamphlet, from which the above quotation came, suggests that members of the EAC are interested in their history as a means of providing them with a sense of identity. Identity, it has been asserted in this thesis, is constructed by selecting, plotting and interpreting past events. The various uses of Apolo stories present a prime example of the use of narrative in constructing identity. Interview narratives that have been quoted, summarised and analysed during this thesis have also provided hermeneutical terms from which the selection, plotting and interpretation of identity have been observed. By the 1990s migrant members of the EAC no longer saw their church as primarily a rural, gerontocratic institution, largely influenced by one ethnic group, in which hierarchical and liturgical order (*utaratibu*) mirrored the dominant male social powers to which others were expected to show due deference (*upole* and *heshima*). Geographical spread, numerical growth, and the resultant variety of life experience by members altered the identity of the church. It was increasingly urbanised (although not always urban) with a growing national, female- and youth-orientation. Narratives of hierarchical and liturgical *utaratibu* were no longer only plotted with escarment values and so interpreted as a conservative force. *Utaratibu* was also plotted with events surrounding the northern migration and the experience of second generation migrants and thus interpreted by perceptions of development, freedom, unity and joy (*maendeleo*, *uhuru*, *umoja* and *furaha*). Different groups within the EAC either plotted common elements in different ways or selected different elements most meaningful to their circumstances. *Utaratibu* remained an important identity signifier but it came to be appreciated alongside other signifiers that constantly challenged it. Particular migratory patterns

² Ibid., 2. '...beaucoup d'Anglicans Zaïrois sont à la recherche d'une identité par le rassemblement des éléments dispersés d'une mémoire collective.'

in their historical and social context provided impetus for a shift in personal and corporate religious identity. As identity shifted so did Apolo's role as identity signifier: no longer the guardian of escarpment *utaratibu*, he had become the symbol of EAC *umoja*. As a permanent symbol for EAC members, he mitigated the tension between continuity and change, or between *utaratibu* and *uhuru*. This final chapter aims to explore further the importance of EAC identity shifts as a result of its members' migration by placing these findings within the context of studies in Sub-Saharan Christian history.

Migration

The church was able to implant herself – and she makes progress now, she has many members – because many people emigrated... and they were pleased to find anew their old church.³

This study of a denomination undergoing rapid change as a result of migration has presented an understanding of a mainline church from the grassroots upwards and provided insight into its altering identity when faced with social, political and religious developments around it. Emphasis has been placed on the micro, informal, personal networks, social relations, beliefs and aspirations which impinge on migratory behaviour. Identification with a particular church has been shown to affect the actions and adaptation of migrant members during a forty-year period. Conversely, the shifting identity of migrants alters the identity of the church to which they belong. It has been claimed that, in a small church with expansionist ambition, migration induces greater heterogeneity within the institution and hastens ecclesiastical change because new life experiences provide material for altered identities.

For the first generation migrants from the escarpment, however, the old set of religious experiences were emphasised initially. Their religious identity was primarily located in life-experiences prior to migration. Thus they attempted to replicate the religious values and practices they had learnt from home in their new location. Anglican Christianity provided them with the familiar and homely as they adjusted to new social circumstances and so proved a cohesive and sustaining force

³ Muhindo Tsongo, Edinburgh, 17/12/99, [line 95]; 'L'église a pu se planter - et elle progresse maintenant, elle a beaucoup de fideles – parce qu' il y beaucoup de gens qui ont émigré ...et ils étaient contents de retrouver encore de nouveau leur ancienne église.'

during migration. The fact that religious identity provides, in the first instance, a conservative influence in the face of the flux of migration is attested in studies of immigrants in the United States. Jon Millar, for example, in his study of Koreans in Los Angeles demonstrates that first generation migrants adhere to what they call 'authentic Korean culture' by which they mean 'Koreanized', 'conservative Presbyterianism and conservative Methodism'.⁴ Likewise the study of the EAC suggests that an initial desire to retain a conservative form of religious belief from their place of origin might be common among migrant Africans.

The specific details and speed with which adaptation to new circumstances takes place are affected by the peculiarities of each migration. The scale and variety of migration in North-east Congo coupled with the general assumption that the expansion and internal unity of the EAC was desirable, prevented the ghettoisation of Anglican practice by first generation migrants. The EAC offered stability during dislocation but it also permitted flexibility of practice to suit local circumstances. Northerners with different migratory circumstances presented alternative identities, which coalesced with escarpment values and practices at some points and diverged at others. The northern church grew as a result of networks of revivalists and returned-migrants rather than through replication of escarpment hierarchies. The mobility and spontaneity of the northerners introduced elements which increased the hybridity of the EAC. They maintained an appreciation of *utaratibu* but, faced with a dominant and hostile CECA 20 and their dislocation from traditional society as migrant labourers in Uganda and/or as Revivalists, their Anglicanism contested customary social order rather than adjusting to it. During the 1980s the northern parishes began to influence the direction of the institution. The EAC developed overlapping but not identical identities as the hierarchical and liturgical *utaratibu* appreciated by members was plotted with different circumstances and interpreted by different expressions of Christian belief. Migrants claiming allegiance to the same international institution but who had a different migratory history were able to widen the possibilities of local Anglican identity. This was possible, not simply because they were numerically influential but, because the growth produced by migration was considered positive by even the most reactionary church leaders on the escarpment. Whilst these leaders had not expected growth to demand significant change they

⁴ Jon Millar, "Missionaries and Migrants: The Importance of Religion in the Movement of Populations," *Currents in World Christianity Conference*, Pretoria, 3-7 July, 2001: 7-8.

were initially willing to concede some change in exchange for numerical growth, geographical spread, maintenance of unity and the ensuing higher profile and status in Ituri and Nord-Kivu. The guardians of escarpment tradition were confronted with a dilemma: change was often portrayed as rejecting the Anglican heritage brought by Apolo Kivebulaya and now interpreted through escarpment values, but growth was legitimised as fulfilling Apolo's dying words, interpreted as promoting the spread of the EAC. It was impossible to have one without the other.

The fissures of change were visible between different groups who adapted differently to migratory circumstances. The migratory patterns which encompassed northern Anglicans of different ethnic backgrounds and life experiences caused significant signs of tension. The ability of the EAC to manage these differences to the mutual satisfaction (albeit partial) of all parties gave the institution a greater chance of being able to negotiate change initiated by second generation migrants. Second generation married women and youth in their teens and twenties were likely to experience difficulties with their parents' religious identity and strive for greater assimilation into the contemporary culture of the new location. If the new location were an urban one these difficulties were compounded by nationalist influences as a response to a variety of ethnic traditions. The youth and young women were able to adapt most easily to migrant circumstances and – partly because the EAC could not maintain strong central control - were also able to alter the institution to which they had familial allegiance so that it more closely fitted their present needs of greater conformity to contemporary, national Congolese culture. As a result the EAC outside the escarpment was soon larger and more dynamic than in its original base.

The migratory growth of the EAC supplies a model of African religious change that demonstrates that even small-scale migration can produce rapid alterations in Christian identity. Migration probably makes some degree of religious change inevitable in any institution even if the forces for conservation of a received tradition are greater than in the case of the EAC. The EAC changed rapidly, however, because it was a small church willing to exploit opportunities for expansion, understood to accord with the wishes of its African founder. Migratory expansion encouraged further change as migrant members rapidly outnumbered non-migrant members. The development of the EAC demonstrates that changes wrought by migration can reinvent a mainline church from a formal, gerontocratic institution responsive to the societal norm of one particular area to an organisation which accepts the increased

involvement of societal juniors in order to meet the contemporary and local needs of the majority of its members whilst finding new value in maintaining international connections. Migration allowed a mainstream church flexibility to respond to the criticism of a societal order of which it had become a part. In studying the widespread political-socio-economic phenomenon of migration and combining it with the emotional and cultural questions of identity this thesis has raised questions about origins, influences, power structures and loyalty pertinent to the study of Christianity throughout the continent.

African Christianity

If we go to the roots of Christianity... firstly we and everyone else, we are in the religion of Christianity. We worship Christ. We want people to be saved.⁵

The EAC has provided an example of a mainline church undergoing rapid change as a result of migration. Studying the movement of the church as its members migrated has allowed an appreciation of the popular dynamics in its growth, spread and identity shift. This thesis suggests that change engendered greater commonalities between different denominations. Because migration was not a strategy of ecclesiastical leadership but happened as a result of economic or political circumstance those at the forefront of the geographical spread and accompanying identity change of the EAC were laity rather than clergy, lowly teachers rather than bishops and archdeacons, and, latterly, women and youth rather than older men. From its inception the EAC relied upon African agency for its growth across boundaries of culture, language, missionary comity and state administration. By taking this migratory angle, integral to EAC growth, the research has been freed from the institutional bias so often apparent in describing mainline churches. When Terence Ranger called for studies which make these churches ‘as interesting as’ African Initiated Churches (AICs)⁶ he was perhaps reflecting the lack of research into grassroots involvement in mainline churches.

The EAC started as a small church with a charismatic African founder whose memory remained precious. It grew as a result of migrant lay initiative for church

⁵ Ozua Samson, Aru, 10/08/00, [485-487]; ‘Kama tunafuata msingi ya kikristo... kwanza sisi na wao wote tuko ndani ya dini ya *christianisme*. Tunahubiri Kristo. Tunapenda watu waokolewe.’

⁶ Introduction, 3.

planting and evangelism. Its leaders generally had a low level of education and frequently had little control over the growth of the church. By the 1990s, as Chapters Six and Seven demonstrated, worship was characterised by vibrant, emotional praise, audience participation, a (contentious) interest in the power and gifts of the Holy Spirit, a desire to tackle the present and immediate problems of members through spiritual means and a willingness to study the Bible and apply it to daily life. Indeed, the EAC, as influenced by the women's and youth movements, could be described as '...exuberant, enthusiastic, experience-dominated Christianity,' a description given to Neo/Pentecostal churches and AIC in Africa.⁷ The EAC has responded to many contemporary issues in ways similar to those of popular Christian movements throughout Africa. If Tinyiko Maluleke is correct in saying that;

...many Christians are dissatisfied with the faith diet provided by the so-called 'historic mission churches.' It is therefore, at the expense of these established churches that AIC type movements are emerging and growing...⁸

then this thesis, whilst not disagreeing with this statement entirely, provides a corrective nuance to it. It argues that some 'historic mission churches' provided solutions similar to those of 'AIC type movements' to the contemporary social and religious situation, either by attempting to replicate some of the strengths of the newer churches or by arriving at the same answers through a different route. In doing so they retained members who required these solutions.

Of course, the above description of the EAC, whilst not untrue, is selective. It does not mention that a written, formal, centralised liturgy remained a feature of EAC identity, nor that many members accepted centralised, hierarchical control, pursued skills and education-based development and would have liked to see better educated clergy who possessed a good grasp of theology; features more often associated with mainline churches. Furthermore EAC members, even youth who admired parts of the Pentecostal movement, emphatically did not consider themselves pentecostal and did not want to be closely associated with it. Finally, the contemporary changes that took place within the EAC were not radical ones because many members remained sceptical of Pentecostalism. Radical change would have incurred the loss of members

⁷ Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Pretoria: UNISA), 2000: 146.

⁸ Forward in *ibid.*, x.

for whom the more formal identity still had resonance and meaning. Change was tempered by the need for stability and ritual order provided by continuity with, what was understood as, a received tradition of Anglicanism.

I am not attempting to argue, therefore, that the EAC becomes 'interesting' because it was in some way no longer a 'historic mission church'. Rather, I propose that there is a common contemporary Congolese - even African - expression of Christianity which is rendered invisible when denominations are rigidly grouped into mainline, AIC, and Pentecostal traditions. These titles reflect to a greater extent their historical paths and, possibly, their official doctrines, rather than the beliefs and practices of their ordinary members that have greater lines of affinity between them than we have been led to believe. David Maxwell presents a similar argument in his article on the transnational growth of the Pentecostal Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA). He describes the confidence, financial security and developmental language of African ZAOGA missionaries as analogous to the confidence, economic strength and imperial language of nineteenth century western missionaries and says that ZAOGA,

...has evolved from a religious movement with strong links to Christian independency into a 'territorial' organisation with a hierarchy of ordered centres resembling that of historic mission churches.⁹

If a Neo-Pentecostal church can be partially compared to mainline churches then it is unsurprising that a mainline church can demonstrate some characteristics more frequently associated with Pentecostalism. What is apparent from this comparison of grassroots EAC and Neo-Pentecostal churches is not that they are identical but that they have similarities which suggest the emergence of common characteristics in Congolese Christianity. Many Congolese denominations are developing hybrid identities that respond to a greater or lesser extent to contemporary social realities. This is seen in improved relations between denominations but it is also a cause, not just an effect, of better relations between some of them. Viewing a mainline church through the perspective of migratory spread and transformation has provided an image of the EAC that shares similar characteristics and concerns developing from similar contemporary contexts with other popular movements in North-east Congo.

⁹ David Maxwell, "Christianity without Frontiers: Shona Missionaries and Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa," in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, eds. (Leiden: Brill), 2002: 329.

The study of the revivalist movement in Chapter Five demonstrates that the forging of identity in relation to social and cultural concerns had taken place for decades. *Wokovu*, like women and youth, shunned specific traditional religious forms and encouraged popular participation in worship. The cleansing and healing offered by belief in the power of the Holy Spirit to act directly to solve daily problems resonated with popular religious expression that had often been stifled by an elite preoccupation with status and education within the church. *Maendeleo* for socially junior groups (although radical *Wokovu* would not use the term) was primarily an issue of spiritual progress affecting the whole of life which was expressed in ways which challenged the close association between the church and traditional social elites. This did not mean that traditional social structures evaporated. Revivalist groups, for example, commonly started as fluid, popular, junior movements and transformed in the lifetime of their leaders into autocratic gerontocratic institutions. Nevertheless, worship within these groups tended to take a spontaneous, charismatic form; a characteristic also observed by revival-influenced mainline churches in Tanzania.¹⁰ In Tanzania, however, unlike the EAC, many revivalists left mainline churches to form their own. Mainline churches may resist decline to the extent to which they can change to include more popular forms of religiosity but change often incurs schism. Those members who find spiritual and social satisfaction in the old order that still provides for them a 'uniform' of belonging may exert centralised, bureaucratic authority over the reformers who then feel alienated and leave. However, change can bring benefits to both sides. Like mainline churches in Tanzania, the EAC was '... torn between adherence to tradition on one hand, and to the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, on the other.'¹¹ Attempting to maintain a balance meant that liturgical tradition was still observed but services became much livelier.

The study of popular African Christian movements has engendered a discourse about the relation between culture and Christianity and the relative influences of the local and the global. It has been asserted by some scholars that Charismatic and

¹⁰ Josiah Mlahagwa, "Contending for the Faith: Spiritual Revival and the Fellowship Church in Tanzania," in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, Thomas Spear and Isaria Kimambo, eds (Oxford: James Currey), 1999: 304.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 305.

Pentecostal religiosity is to be understood within a discourse of globalisation¹² and modernity as the practitioners themselves often distance their behaviour from the local and traditional culture. Birgit Meyer in *Translating the Devil*, for example, considers that Pentecostalism in Ghana is a way of negotiating the individualistic benefits of modernity within an African context.¹³ Others, like Ogbu Kalu, refute claims that portray a dichotomy with the past and declare that this phenomenon be understood as a debate about which past continuities are preserved, revived or reinterpreted.¹⁴ One way in which continuities have been observed is in the widespread cyclical tendency for religious revival during times of perceived social malaise which pre-dates the introduction of Christianity.¹⁵ Whilst Kalu's emphasis on past continuities may err in its neglect of any modern influences his reminder that, 'Our past is always in our present'¹⁶ adds another layer of understanding to the discourse present in the EAC as a result of the charismatic movement. This discourse is a dialogue of old and new influences in a contemporary setting. Those experiencing it first hand are divided as to whether particular characteristics are more accurately described as 'traditional' or 'contemporary'. More significantly, they disagree on the merits of these characteristics, using the discourse of evil to explain their disapproval.

Theology student, Buyana Mulungula says of the youth involved in the EAC charismatic movement, '...they are increasingly free from the shackles of the "contemporaries of Apolo Kivebulaya" to relaunch the work of Christ in a purely African manner'(note the avoidance of direct criticism of Apolo).¹⁷ He is suggesting two things; that the EAC was not sufficiently Africanised by Apolo's contemporaries who did little but ape western religiosity – a position on mainline churches held to

¹² Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, (London: Hurst), 1998: 321.

¹³ Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1999: 211, 215-216.

¹⁴ Ogbu Kalu, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Reshaping of the African Religious Landscape in the 1990s," *Mission Studies* 20, 1 (2003), 84-86.

¹⁵ J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Indiana: Indiana University Press), 2000: 313.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁷ Buyana Mulungula, "Etude théologique du Boom charismatique de la Paroisse anglicane de Bunia," (Diplôme de Graduat diss., ISThA), 1994: 5. '... ils sont plus en plus libérés de ce carcan des "contemporains d'Apolo Kivebulaya" pour relancer l'oeuvre du Christ à la manière purement africaine.'

one degree or another by many African theologians but questioned in this thesis;¹⁸ and that the charismatic movement represents an African expression of Christianity - a point less frequently made by African theologians but upheld by Kalu. Theologians of mainline churches often provide different interpretations of events than those of grassroots members. Whilst Buyana was not alone in desiring a 'purely African' Christianity, many migrant EAC members calling for change in the church sought a 'pure' Christianity and were wary of one which could be described as 'African'. They thought that Apolo's contemporaries set the EAC on a course which did not sufficiently distance itself from indigenous customs and societal structure, that it was, in some ways, too African. The problem is raised on several levels. Firstly, Revivalists and migrant EAC youth distanced from the ethnic roots of their parents often possessed a strong belief that Christians should not perform customary religious rituals and considered them evil. This had always been the stated position of the EAC but was often honoured in the breach.¹⁹ Secondly, the same groups were wary of indigenous social structures, often connected with ancestral rites, which had been accommodated by church structures and which maintained the power of gerontocratic elites from prominent social families. For example, escarpment Anglicanism for women merely added variety to a continuing situation in which men held ultimate control. The escarpment EAC fitted too closely to the social system to permit a negotiation of feminine roles which altered the balance of gendered power. Junior migrant women, therefore, seized upon their dislocation from ethnic customs to negotiate a greater participation in church affairs; a situation they regarded as 'Christian' rather than 'African'. Thirdly, for second generation migrant EAC members 'African' in this discussion was often used to mean 'the culture of a particular ethnic group', usually the Hema, rather than a more generic 'African' to which theologians might refer. The negative use of 'African' should not be taken as an attempt to deny identity as Africans but rather as shorthand in a particular context for traditional practices which one group no longer wished to perpetuate. Young people, in conversations about local attributes they considered positive, like music and dance, might use 'African' or 'Congolese' to describe them. This thesis has

¹⁸ Norman Etherington, "Recent trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 2 (1996), 210.

¹⁹ Emma Wild, " 'Is it Witchcraft? Is it Satan? It is a Miracle.' Mai-Mai Soldiers and Christian Concepts of Evil in North-east Congo," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, 4 (1998), 460.

shown that many whose migration had distanced them from the customs of their ethnic group were wary of a form of Christianity which was close to those customs; they did not entirely understand it and considered it divisive and contrary to expectations of unity in Christ. Those members of the EAC who most wanted change used the language of modernity, contemporaneity and Christian purity when talking of innovation. They spoke of continuity in largely negative terms.

First generation migrants and non-migrants used similar arguments when confronted by the changes introduced to the EAC by their children: the accusations of 'paganism' or 'African' were mutual, but levelled at different practices. They spoke of continuity with EAC tradition in positive terms but of the introduction of charismatic elements as a frightening revival of elements of traditional religion. They might have agreed with Kalu that Pentecostalism regained '... a pneumatological and charismatic religiosity as existed in traditional society,'²⁰ but they neither liked it nor wanted it in their church. Many first generation migrants considered the congregational participation encouraged in popular song and charismatic worship to be akin to the emotional rites of popular forms of traditional religious behaviour like possession cults. It lacked order - considered to be a divine attribute²¹ - which was provided by formal liturgy performed by the ecclesiastical elite. Revivalist or charismatic activity suggested to them disorder, insecurity, improper power and a re-emergence of a pre-Christian past; all things that they considered the work of Satan and that they wished to avoid in their adherence to Anglican *utratibu* as they knew it.

Similar reactions can be seen elsewhere in mainline churches. Birgit Meyer suggests the assumption within mission established churches in Ghana that manifestations of this nature are evil has left these churches unable to provide an appropriate spiritual response to perceived needs of individuals and has encouraged the rise of Pentecostalism.²² However, although churches addressing issues of healing and deliverance are popular because they are meeting a need felt by many Africans, many members of mainline churches are not looking for these things and some continue to find them disturbing. For the EAC, however, the desire for church

²⁰ Kalu, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Reshaping," 106.

²¹ Chapter Four, 149.

²² Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 117-119.

growth and unity and the relative lack of effective central control prevented the criticism of first generation migrants and non-migrants from causing a severe crisis in the church. However, their unease remained that spiritual manifestations were regarded as regressive and evil. Whilst specific traditional rites and structures were demonised by their children it was the spiritual characteristics connected to popular religiosity which were considered satanic by the parents. The success of the introduction of these contested elements indicates a partial shifting of power towards junior members of the EAC.

Different groups within the EAC disagreed about the origins and merits of practices that were new to their church because the Christianity of the EAC underwent a continual process of re-interpretation throughout its history. It possessed traditional African elements re-coded in a contemporary situation and influenced by a variety of local and global forces, ancient and modern. In the Zimbabwean context, David Maxwell, sees variant concepts of Africanisation re-coded in different churches:

Carmelite Catholics first sought to replace traditional rituals and symbols with their own, and then...to incorporate them into Catholic practice. In contrast, the Pentecostals arrived at Africanisation through the exclusion of traditional religious components by exorcism, demonisation and the destruction of sacred objects... perpetuating an African tradition of cyclical societal cleansing²³

These examples demonstrate different approaches, neither of which are seen in their entirety in the EAC. However, in the course of its history the EAC maintained connections with different elements of traditional African religious life that emphasised either an alliance with social elites or the forming popular expression of worship and pastoral care. Chapter Four indicated that escarpment Anglican identity was a hybrid of different influences.²⁴ The EAC identity which emerged in migrant areas by 2000 possessed an alternatively plotted hybridity in which links with indigenous culture were differently configured from those of the EAC on the escarpment, because the culture which migrants represented was not an isolated, rural one but a migrant, mixed culture which engaged with urban opportunities, national influences from Kinshasa, life experience in Uganda, international connections with the Anglican Communion, *inter alia*, and thus challenged the

²³ David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A social history of the Hwesa people, c. 1870s-1990s*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1999: 100.

²⁴ Chapter Four, 164.

immediate inherited tradition. This identity responded to contemporary culture rather than producing an a-cultural stance. Modern choir music illustrates the hybridity of contemporary culture; its local, national and international influences produced a modern blended sound associated throughout Africa with the Congolese nation and yet used as a vehicle to express local concerns. The migrant Christianity of EAC members could be said to do the same.

African Christianities, as the EAC has illustrated, are part of an ever shifting cultural context in which issues of power reflect change in society at large. Many of these Christianities display similar traits to each other whilst maintaining their individual identities. They select, reject, plot and reinterpret the influences available to them whether they be from the past or present, local or global contexts. In marrying diverse influences to meet present needs they produce hybrid identities which re-code the sources from which they gained their inspiration.

Gender and Generation

...the old women...they forgot the young girls. They didn't think about the future...²⁵

Oh, this one she wants to change us. We were leaders and now she wants to change us. She wants to be the leader like that. She wants to overtake our power.²⁶

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the ways in which Anglican identity, in the context of migratory change, was influenced by other identity features. The alteration of generation and gender roles was found to be a significant factor in shifting ecclesiastical identity. Both gender and generation signify a complex of negotiated power relations which would benefit from greater research and analysis in the context of North-east Congo. Nevertheless, some conclusions that illuminate shifts in ecclesiastical authority structures may be drawn negotiated alteration of influence within the EAC.

Social change induced by migrations ultimately challenged the gender and generation norms which had been upheld within the EAC. It moved from being an institution which was largely led and oriented by gerontocratic men to one in which

²⁵ Androsi Kasima, Boga, 08/10/00, [478-480]; '...les veilles mamans... elles ont oublié les jeunes filles. Elles n'ont pas pensé à la vie future...'

²⁶ Damali Sabiti, Mukono, 19/10/00, [242-245].

younger and junior men were given positions of leadership and in which women, possessed increased, but still negligible, opportunities to lead and, a more significant influence on the orientation of the church.

The thesis has gone some way to demonstrate that gender is ‘...culturally diverse, historically dynamic and inflected by differences of age, class, race, ethnicity and nation’²⁷ by tracing the expression of demands made by men and women, and their relative and changing exercise of power. Women on the escarpment found some variety and usefulness in the skills and fellowship imparted through the Mothers’ Union (MU) that provided new religious and developmental opportunities within those male social structures that were perpetuated and, in some cases, enhanced by the EAC. However, northern women who migrated from Uganda could not ally MU values with escarpment values, nor could they entirely marry MU values with their own traditional social customs. Furthermore, younger women were no longer content to be sidelined within the EAC by membership of the MU and desired greater recognition from the male leadership for their role within the church as a whole. Using narratives centred around the importance of *maendeleo* and *uhuru* for women, they re-interpreted the emphasis of the MU so that it met the needs of young migrant women and affected the practice of the wider church. To facilitate this change younger women challenged the narration of gerontocratic authority by older women that was selected from traditional society and plotted with discourses of *heshima* and *utaratibu* to maintain their control. They saw the opportunities for the social freedom and development they desired expressed in the meetings of the *Federation des Femmes*. The emphasis on direct intervention by the Holy-Spirit and small-scale projects specifically for women suggested a greater self-determination in daily life that was not dependent upon societal hierarchies or education; a stance not dissimilar to *Wokovu* whose desire for particular social change was also expressed most cogently in their religious life. In re-interpreting their religious identity *vis-à-vis* their membership of the EAC women were selecting a hybrid range of narratives - local and global, traditional and modern - that included a response to the alteration of the economic situation, knowledge of changes elsewhere in Africa, and meeting with women from other local denominations. These selected narratives encouraged

²⁷ Dorothy Hodgson and Sheryl McCurdy, "Introduction," in *'Wicked' women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa*, Hodgson and McCurdy, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann), 2002: 5.

women to take more prominent social and ecclesiastical roles and revived a charismatic orientation in worship which had connections with the past.

This newly asserted identity was not a dramatic or sudden departure from pre-migrant identity. EAC women wished to be considered respectable and moral and, in so far as these values were defined by male social and ecclesiastical leadership, their identity remained under male control. Male leaders were often wary of sharing their public roles of leadership and decision making. They might pay lip-service to increased public participation by women in church leadership but they continued to attempt to control the manner of this participation and limit its scope by recourse to traditional and national narratives of the importance of women's domestic roles and their subordination to men. However, often using covert tactics, women began to negotiate practices within worship, pastoral care and the organisation of their own groups which oriented the EAC towards the needs and aspirations of women.

Elizabeth Isichei notes in *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 'the strength and autonomy of women's church organizations' throughout the continent²⁸ and she sees in their corporate moral and financial influence on the churches an increased empowerment for women. The MU of the EAC and its activities with the *Federation des Femmes Protestantes* complied with this description as it attempted to increase its internal independence and alter the orientation of the church to which it belonged, utilising changing social circumstances and altered expectations to further its goals.

Generational changes were evident from the arrival of the northern migrants. The rapid spread of the church was largely facilitated in this area by networks of junior members of society, who had little status or formal education and were often young. This contrasted with the urban growth of the EAC which was largely facilitated by influential laity and centrally appointed church workers who had a stake in maintaining the socio-religious power structures of the escarpment church.

Nevertheless, the leadership of the EAC, pleased with the enlargement of the church in the north, responded by training many northerners, according them status through ordination and attempting to absorb them into the escarpment model of church. The northerners responded positively to those elements which fitted their understanding of Anglicanism. They accepted training and ordination (unless they were radical

²⁸ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa from Antiquity to the Present*, (London: SPCK), 1995: 303, 350.

revivalists) but they remained critical of elements of worship or social custom within the EAC which they associated with escarpment culture. Institutional *umoja* was, nevertheless, desirable to both groups and was achieved through consensual interpretation of Anglican *utaratibu* and a willingness to accept some diversity of opinion in the way in which *utaratibu* was interpreted and applied locally. The ability of the two groups to work together within one organisation paved the way for a similar set of negotiations and compromises to be applied when the urban youth instigated more radical changes within the framework of the EAC.

Second generation migrants in North-east Congo, like their counterparts in other parts of the globe,²⁹ often felt uncomfortable with the ethnic ambience of their parents' religion. They drew on a hybrid range of socio-religious influences. They were frequently more fluent in Swahili, Lingala and French than their parents' language, they accessed new opportunities and alternative forms of behaviour and they considered Anglican services formal and dull. In their study of American immigrant religion, Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz suggest that the majority of young second generation migrants do not attend their parents' place of worship.³⁰ Paul Gifford suggests that African young people tend to be drawn to Neo-Pentecostal churches because they address the 'preoccupations of youth' and 're-order society for the benefit of youth'³¹ leaving the mainline churches with older congregations. Millar's study of second generation Korean migrants in Los Angeles explains their preference for establishing new churches. He says they began '...to move away culturally, linguistically, and spiritually from the insularity and conservatism of their elders,' and experiment with 'innovative religious forms' wanting churches that were '...less formal, more vigorously evangelical, less hierarchical, and more likely to be multi-ethnic.'³² Millar's description of Korean churches resonates with the aspirations of second generation migrants in the EAC. Yet, in opposition to these findings, young EAC members, whilst experiencing inter-generational conflicts, did not leave their church in any significant numbers. Indeed by the 1990s the EAC was attracting youth from other churches. The difference was

²⁹ Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*, (Walnut Creek: AltaMira), 2000: 129-130.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

³¹ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 88 & 347.

³² Jon Millar, "Missionaries and Migrants," 7.

that EAC youth was able to find within the EAC a flexibility that permitted sufficient informality, multi-ethnicity and evangelicalism to provide a form for engaging with contemporary society. Likewise, among the *Wokovu*, who were often considered junior members of society, only a few left the EAC. Unlike many of their counterparts in Kenya and Tanzania,³³ they remained within the EAC rather than joining Neo-Pentecostals because the rapid migrant growth of the church prevented the central institution from exerting much influence over them. These groups were sufficiently able to narrate their own identities within that of the larger EAC. They could select stories of *uhuru* and *furaha* and yet were willing to plot them, to some extent, with *utaratibu*. Active and meaningful participation within their own groups permitted them to instigate greater change affecting the entire EAC; a change that might not have been possible where migration had less of an impact and the EAC was able to exert greater centralised control.

The gerontocratic male structures of escarpment society were not fundamentally changed by the introduction of the EAC. However, the development of the EAC in the 1990s challenged gender and generation norms. Church growth through widespread migration had already weakened the effective power of the centralised gerontocratic elite. Thus in the 1990s real gains in influence were made for junior members of the EAC without them feeling the need to leave their parents' church, either by forming a schismatic group or joining the growing number of Pentecostal churches. As a result, they too spoke of the EAC in affectionate terms, able to articulate loyalty to it, both for the new elements within it that they enjoyed and for the familial association it held. They could even appreciate *utaratibu* once it no longer monopolised identity within the EAC. In doing so they articulated *umoja* as vital for Anglican identity. The loosening of gerontocratic control through the historical process of migratory growth and adaptation made a practical, institutional *umoja* between different generations both an obtainable reality and a vital necessity.

Ethnic and national identity

[When] someone hears the call of God...you will have the benefit of your tribe and, in addition, you will have the benefit of your whole country. That's to say, I identify well as Lugbara... and also with the

³³ Mlahagwa, "Contending for the Faith," 299.

benefit of our country... Our country includes many tribes. These are all one people. We must unite and... work together.³⁴

Ethnic and national identity are complex topics that this thesis has tackled only in so far as they operate within the discourse of belonging offered by membership of the EAC during the migratory process. They present different, but not necessarily contradictory, options to 'the dilemma of selecting an appropriate symbol of cultural identity',³⁵ offering a choice of smaller or larger units of belonging. The tension between the universal and the local is considered by Gregory Maddox to be a familiar trait in African Christianity: 'Christian practice acts as one factor that encourages a sense of community beyond the immediate setting. This element is what gives Christianity its power in Africa.' Christianity, he says, has also '... become embedded in many African contexts.'³⁶ These contexts allow for indigenisation and in which local, small groups may have great influence on identity. The development of the Yoruba people as analysed by J.D.Y Peel³⁷ is an early example of the unitary discourse of Christianity being used to unite separate groups into a single cultural unit which did not exist prior to the introduction of Christianity. In a later situation, Christian literature written on Rwanda since the 1994 genocide has been critical of churches that were either compliant with or complacent of local tensions.³⁸ They were seen to have failed by not presenting Christian unity as an attractive alternative to ethnocentric concerns. In both these examples Christianity was expected to impact other loyalties and to widen belonging to encompass a greater number of people. The intersection of ethnic and national identities with Anglican identity in North-east Congo demonstrates how African Christian identity affects and is affected by other identity choices.

³⁴ Ozua Samson, [455 - 464]; '... mutu alikuwa na mwito ya Mungu... takuwa na faida kwa kabila yako na pya utakuwa na faida kwa jumla kwa inchi yako. Ni kusema ninajitambulisha vizuri sana kama mimi ni Lugbara... na pya kwa faida na inchi yetu... Inchi yetu sasa inacloturer na makabila mengine. Hizi yote ni watu moja. Inafaa tuungane na ... tutumikiane pamoja'.

³⁵ Victor Uchendu, "The Dilemma of Ethnicity and Polity Primacy in Black Africa," In *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict and Accommodation*, Lola Romanucci-Ross and George De Vos, eds, (Walnut Creek, AltaMira), 1995: 130.

³⁶ Gregory Maddox, "African Theology and the Search for the Universal," in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, 35.

³⁷ Peel, *Making of the Yoruba*, 282.

³⁸ For example, Tharcisse Gatwa, *Rwanda, Eglises: Victimes ou Coupables? Les Eglises et l'idéologie ethnique au Rwanda, 1900-1994*. (Yaoundé: Editions CLE), 2001: 45 & 101f.

Most EAC members understood ethnicity to be a paramount, strong identification with a small homogeneous group who shared the same land, customs, language or blood-line. During the forty year period studied in this thesis, they changed their understanding of ethnic identity *as it related to their religious identity*. It altered from one in which ethnicity was considered to provide familiarity and cohesion within the EAC to one in which ethnicity was more likely to be considered as divisive and fragmentary. The quotation at the start of the section aligned the ‘call of God’ to become a Christian with the assumption of a national identity which encompassed one’s ethnic identity. In terms of action, national identity took priority as all ethnic groups were considered to be one people able to unite together.

In the 1960s the narration of the religious identity of the EAC on the escarpment was plotted with ethnic identity. As a result of missionary agreements and colonial policy the EAC was unable to spread beyond the escarpment until after independence and so its identity was shaped by the Hema as the dominant ethnic group in the area. After migration from the escarpment this link was maintained by those who first established EAC chapels in towns as providing ‘home’ in a new location. For first generation migrants Anglican rites and ethnic customs were intertwined. It is this group which can best be said to uphold the theory that, ‘Migration, more than any single phenomenon, brings to the fore aspects of ethnic identity which otherwise may remain relatively latent...’³⁹ There is much documentation on the heightened awareness of ethnic difference and the provision of kinship support through ethnic associations as the result of migration to towns.⁴⁰ However, there were several factors inherent in members’ loyalty to the EAC that question the universality of the theory quoted above and that meant that members would accept change wrought by others which diminished ethnicity as interpretative of the EAC. Firstly, EAC members wanted growth in an ethnically plural region, a desire legitimised by their interpretation of Apolo’s burial request. Secondly, no matter how dominant the Hema were in the EAC, the church had never been an entirely mono-ethnic institution on the escarpment. In the EAC Hema dominance came to be seen – even by many Hema - as undesirable in a national denomination. Thirdly, their political

³⁹ For example, Anthony O'Connor, *The African City* (London: Hutchinson & Co.), 1983: 101, 116; Uchendu, "The Dilemma of Ethnicity", 131-133.

⁴⁰ William Miles, "Self-Identity, Ethnic Affinity and National Consciousness: an example from rural Hausaland," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 9, 4 (1986), 429.

and economic acceptance of nationalism in the 1970s made it more feasible for them to accept it in religious life. From the 1960s onwards a nationalist discourse was prominent in the political sphere. Initially articulated by the independence movement and then by the Mobutu government,⁴¹ those dislocated from traditional communities found it persuasive as they adapted to new situations and formed new identities and it influenced the migrant EAC. Finally, the nature of Anglicanism as a transnational church which frequently aspired to national influence caused church leaders to support the popular expansion. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek... all are one in Christ' (Gal. 3:28) was often quoted to demonstrate Biblical universal kinship. This inclusive discourse lent itself to the association with wider groups of belonging than might otherwise be the case. Even interviewees who strongly articulated their ethnic identity assumed that Christian values were intended to encompass a larger, more varied constituency. Social change as a result of migration necessitated the forging of new relationships with groups with whom EAC members were interacting.

The returned migrant northerners introduced a change in the ethnic emphasis of the EAC. They were not from the escarpment and did not know escarpment customs. In the context of political unrest in Uganda, they were relieved to be able to flee to another state. Once in Congo, they felt estranged from many of their own ethnic customs, either from a long absence from home, a commitment to revivalism, or because of the association of CECA 20 as the local Protestant denomination and guardian of social custom (if not traditional religious rites). Thus they understood the utility of national units and challenged the continuation of escarpment values within the EAC. They had migrated, however, to areas which were relatively ethnically homogeneous. Church leaders were concerned that ethnocentrism might be expressed in the establishment of village chapels and archdeaconries following clan or ethnic boundaries.⁴² Anglican members had to work out the relationship between numerous ethnic groups with different languages and customs and larger networks of belonging presented through the EAC and its membership in the Anglican Communion. The quotation with which this section begins is from a northerner who lived with his fellow ethnics yet aspired to an identity larger than that which the Lugbara could offer him. He plotted Christian identity with national identity thus

⁴¹ Kevin Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: the International Relations of Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2003: 76 & 112.

⁴² Chapter Three, 121.

interpreting Christianity inclusively as belonging to a large network of ethnic groups united in order to work together within the nation state.

Second generation urban migrants asserted their identity as Christians over their ethnic loyalty, claiming a universal kinship which was most immediately evident in relationships across ethnic groups, subscription to elements of national culture and Christianity, and the selected use of variant practices from within the Anglican Communion. In encouraging a greater identification with the Christian and universal aspects of Anglicanism rather than the ethnic aspect the Anglican migrants in North-east Congo went against the growing trend of ethnocentrism in Congo. National rhetoric as a political tool had waned by the 1990s and ethnocentrism became a feature of politics and regional relations throughout Congo.⁴³ The decline in political structure of the nation-state of Congo and the rise of politically motivated ethnic divisions did not cause a decline in nationalist discourse among EAC members. It did, however, localise such a discourse. Nationalism was no longer articulated as state-policy in the way it had been in the 1970s, but became the product of the popular cultural domain in which ‘...the local appropriates the national such that the nation has various different local meanings.’⁴⁴ Within the EAC the local interpretation of nationalism was used to promote internal unity beyond the bounds of ethnicity. It was also used increasingly to encourage Christian inclusivism beyond the bounds of denomination. EAC members did not forget their ethnic identity but ethnocentrism was regarded as a hindrance in the perceived Christian duty of maintaining relationships within the EAC or among Christians of other denominations. Inclusivity and harmony were seen as attributes of true religion and thus there was a move towards those representations of religion which were seen to unite a wider group of people; nationalism served this purpose. This understanding was part of the discourse on *umoya* which emerged as the EAC became increasingly ethnically diverse. The inclusive rhetoric of Christianity was sincerely expounded by migrant EAC members who, in the Christian context, often portrayed ethnicity as divisive and unhelpful. For most migrant members, the nation - primarily as cultural community rather than dysfunctional state - provided the immediate context of

⁴³ Titre Ande, "Authority in the Anglican Church of Congo: The Influence of Political Models of Authority and the Potential of 'Life-Community Ecclesiology' for Good Governance," (Ph D, Birmingham University, 2003), 58-61.

⁴⁴ Alon Confino and Ajay Skaria, "The Local Life of Nationhood," *National Identities* 4, 1 (2002), 9.

Christian identity, in which worship and evangelism were to be carried out, and in which engagement with a variety of Christian communities was expected to take place. This nationalism was informed by a sense of trans-nationalism; the Anglican Communion offered a second locus of wider belonging with a group beyond national boundaries. Thus Congolese Christianity provided a group identity⁴⁵ that intersected with membership of a transnational denomination demonstrating that in certain circumstances religion and nationality can provide more persuasive narratives for identity than ethnicity.⁴⁶

The emphasis on nationalism to sustain at local level Christian inclusivity at the expense of ethnic loyalty might seem surprising in the light of events in North-east Congo since 2000. The area has become increasingly disordered by the internal war which has affected the entire country. What was originally a Rwandan and Ugandan invasion in 1998, fronted by unpopular Congolese rebel groups, to shore up their political and economic interests became, in Nord-Kivu, a battleground for Mai-Mai militia determined to guard their land from external interests and, in Ituri, a politicised ethnic conflict in which those with territorial power and the ability to exploit mineral wealth were able to mobilise those who lived precariously on their land,⁴⁷ many of whom had some allegiance to a Christian denomination.⁴⁸ The contention of Johan Pottier is that the violence is better explained by the exploitation of 'poor, unfree and unprotected folk' for the enrichment of local warlords and foreign powers than simply ethnic loyalty.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, 'tribalism' was seen as a partial explanation of the violence because exploitation of the poor often followed assumptions of ethnic allegiance. The fact that violent divisions appeared along

⁴⁵ A similar phenomenon was observed in mining communities in South Africa. Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa: 1860 – 1910*, (London: James Currey), 1994: 215.

⁴⁶ William Miles, "Nationalism versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa," *American Political Science Review* 85, 2 (1991), 394 & 397.

⁴⁷ Johan Pottier, "Emergency in Ituri, DRC: Political Complexity, Land and Other Challenges in Restoring Food Security," *FAO International Workshop, 'Food Security in Complex Emergencies'* Tivoli, Italy, 23-25 September 2003, 6-7.

⁴⁸ The epicentre of violence in Djugu zone was among Lendu and Gegere (Hema-Nord) where there was little Anglican presence. Mahagi and Aru zones were only involved indirectly. However, by 2001 the Giti (Lendu Bindi) and Hema on the Semeliki escarpment were drawn into the fighting. Towns like Bunia became refuges for internally displaced people and eventually attracted the violence seen elsewhere.

⁴⁹ Pottier, "Emergency in Ituri," 12.

ethnic lines demonstrated to interviewees the pertinence of their concern that denominational identity should not be confused with ethnic identity, that the church should distance itself from anything which connected it with a particular ethnic cultural expression.⁵⁰ In these circumstances emphasis on nationalism and inclusive Christianity could be understood as, often unsuccessful, attempts to negate deeply felt alternative identities. The discourse of Christian *umoja* did not generally provide a convincing framework for action beyond the confines of the EAC⁵¹ nor did it sufficiently address the appeal of ethnically based identities for certain sectors of the population in particular circumstances.

The use of discourses of ethnicity, nationalism or trans-nationalism⁵² to energise societal or ecclesiastical conflicts and resolutions within North-east Congo and the response of different religious groups to them would repay further study. Likewise, with the rise of ethnonationalism within African states,⁵³ study on Christian influence in cultural nationalism might provide a starting point for inquiry into relative aspects of contemporary group loyalty. It is clear, however, that both Christianity and nationalism can provide ideologies for crossing rather than maintaining ethnic boundaries. For a denomination which had grown rapidly in a region of ethnic pluralism combining the two identities enabled the maintenance of belonging and unity among a larger group of people.

Anglican identity

Anglicans... are proud to belong to an international church. They know that their church is found throughout the world... Secondly, they are proud of their episcopal system...the liturgical rite... their church does not know much conflict or dissidence...⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Church leaders, with a few exceptions, exempted themselves from all involvement in ethnic violence. An exception was the Catholic priest at Muzipela in Bunia who was considered to be implicated in the violence. Many of his congregation walked several kilometres to take mass at Nyakasanza parish to show their disapproval. Conversation with Sabiti Tibafa and Titre Ande, Birmingham, 13/10/03.

⁵¹ An exception to this was the work of *Agape* and *Operation Spirituelle* in grassroots reconciliation in Bunia, Chapter Seven, 245.

⁵² See Peel, *The Making of the Yoruba*, 317-8, for variations of identification within Nigerian denominations.

⁵³ Emorc Emordi, "The Oodua People's Congress in Lagos, Nigeria," unpublished paper presented at the African History Group, Cambridge University, 10 February 2004: 4.

⁵⁴ Isingoma Kahwa, Edinburgh, 07/06/00, [199-200]; 'Les anglicans ... ont la fierté d'appartenir d'une église qui est internationale. Ils savent que leur église se trouve partout dans le monde. ...

The emphasis of this thesis has been on the local grassroots expansion of a member of the global Anglican Communion. It has charted the re-coding of common identity features to enable indigenous ownership. The importance of adhering to Anglican patterns of liturgy and hierarchy, albeit with a local interpretation, were mentioned in Chapter Four but neither the theory of Anglicanism nor relations between the EAC and the Anglican Communion have been fully explored. Such issues were important for many members of the EAC. Most were proudly aware that they were part of an international movement, that they had connections more influential than their size or infrastructure in Congo would suggest. Some were the direct or indirect recipients of aid from other Anglican Provinces. Unsurprisingly, it was the clergy who most often articulated an awareness of Anglican heritage. It was they who strove to maintain the liturgical and hierarchical order as necessary characteristics of Anglicanism. They were also increasingly likely to be aware of other descriptions of Anglican identity propounded throughout the Communion and they used these to interpret favourably local change. ‘Unity in diversity’ and ‘*via media*’ (the middle way)⁵⁵ were two such descriptions mentioned by EAC clergy.

The intention of Anglicanism to maintain a broad spectrum of Christian belief and practice within a single church whilst situating itself in the centre of the ecclesiastical spectrum provided clergy in the EAC with justification for the changes which were taking place in the 1980s and 1990s. The diversity of which they spoke was *not* that often referred to in Anglicanism; High or Catholic, Low or Evangelical and Broad Church. The characteristics presented as Anglican virtues of diversity and *via media* in the EAC were its ability to allow certain Anglican groups a degree of *uhuru* to worship as they wished and its improved relationships with local denominations. The discourse of internal and external *umoja* within the EAC was seen to fit with global Anglican aims. Moreover, the change in EAC understanding of its identity in relation to other denominations was met by generally cordial relations with those other denominations. For example, CECA 20 changed its perception of the EAC during the forty year period. CECA identified the EAC first as a fellow Protestant church

deuxièmement, ils sont fières de leur système épiscopal... le rite liturgique ... leur église ne connaît pas beaucoup de conflit ou bien de dissidence... ils se voient toujours protestant évangélique.

⁵⁵ For an explanation of these terms see William Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1993: 8-10, 125-126; Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta, *Anglican Vision* (London: SPCK), 1971: 128-129.

(perhaps with dubious moral standards) operating in a different geographical area. Once Anglican migrants arrived in CECA areas from the 1960s the EAC was seen as a threat to local Protestant unity by providing an alternative religious identity. By the 1990s, the effects of urbanisation and the influence of marginal groups encouraged CECA members increasingly to perceive EAC members as Protestant companions who shared the same ultimate objectives. Although relationships with other denominations did not become totally harmonious and jockeying for power still occurred, in the narration of interviewees events stressing *umoja* were more likely to be emphasised than those stressing tension and strife. By 2000 EAC members were interpreting grassroots relationships with CECA and others as increasingly unified and of mutual benefit.

By the 1990s migrant EAC identity was still likely to include reference to liturgy and hierarchy - usually regarded as universal elements despite their local re-coding - and reference to Apolo Kivebulaya who introduced these elements locally. It would also be more likely to mention characteristics of Anglican churches elsewhere which permitted difference, variety and change. *Utaratibu* remained but the knowledge that Anglican practice elsewhere deviated from this course permitted the choice of locally observed forms of Christian worship to be adopted by those whose power might otherwise have prevented it. Church leaders could negotiate with informal, popular networks of *Wokovu*, women and youth that were effectively re-shaping the function of the hierarchy, providing those networks did not launch a direct attack on hierarchical and liturgical *utaratibu*. The EAC leaders were able to legitimise the variant identities expressed by EAC members; most Anglicans could adhere to *utaratibu*, some plotted it with *maendeleo* events, others selected stories of *uhuru* and *furaha*, whilst revivalists in Mahagi could describe Anglicans as ‘all those who were struck by the truth of preaching’⁵⁶ and those who ‘don’t smoke and don’t drink.’⁵⁷

Migration changed the way members perceived their religious identity and that of their church. The expression of unity in diversity as a virtue of Anglicanism was not inevitable: had the EAC remained on the escarpment, or had its original power base

⁵⁶ Ubotha Marthe, Mahagi, 27/08/00,[305-306].

⁵⁷ Ugen Lambert, Mahagi, 28/08/00,[642-643]; ‘Ukiwa muanglican, hutavuta cigara, hutakunya pombe.’

been larger or more influential, altering the original codification of *utaratibu* might have been more problematic; had the EAC possessed an immutable doctrinal and ethical code, change would have come more slowly and might have resulted in schism. The particular historical and social circumstances surrounding migration, which weakened centralised authority, challenged prior assumptions about Anglican identity, and encouraged negotiation and compromise rather than division, both sustained and altered the EAC. The EAC, as a small church suddenly grown bigger, was more agile than, for example, the huge machinery of the Church of Uganda which operated from a position of power. A comparison of the EAC with a denomination like the *Communauté des Eglises baptistes au Congo-Est (CEBCE)*, members of which migrated from Nord-Kivu and established chapels in the Kasese area of Uganda, might well illuminate the relative influence of migration, ideology and prior ecclesiastical structure on grassroots change.

The foundational identity of the EAC - *utaratibu* as interpreted by *upole* and *heshima* - was challenged from within the EAC and became marginal within it. However, notwithstanding all the significant changes to identity which have been identified as a result of migration, *utaratibu* - interpreted more diversely - remained a significant part of identity in 2000. There is a strong indication that, in the competing market place of denominations, Anglicans may well attempt to retain the distinctiveness of the EAC vis-à-vis other denominations by maintaining *utaratibu* whilst providing room for *maendeleo*, *uhuru* and *furaha* and *umoja*. Another possibility is that other areas of the EAC may have an effect on Ituri and Nord-Kivu. The Anglican identities within the dioceses of Bukavu, Lubumbashi, Kisangani and Kindu are areas for further study on EAC identity. These dioceses were formed as a result of migration from Rwanda and Burundi in the 1970s, from Zambia in the 1950s and internal migration, respectively. They also grew through the adherence of individuals or whole churches to the EAC through a change in their denominational loyalty. They all possess isolated parishes that have been cut off from diocesan centres by dilapidated infrastructure and years of political unrest and that do not possess copies of the Prayer Book. As the EAC continues to spread westwards and southwards it may appear steadily less like the two dioceses in the North-east of the country. This thesis claims that the EAC was able to unite diverse histories and interests within one denomination and provide it with a coherent identity and that the basis for this identity was a common, although contested, understanding of *utaratibu* supported by

a discourse of *umoja*. If further research were to widen the study to the entire EAC it would present groups of even greater diversity than those studied here. It would need to examine in what way, if any, *utaratibu* remained a cohesive force for the province and in what way ideas of *umoja* were used to provide a sense of corporate belonging as an Anglican province. It would also need to further analyse the relationship between local, national and global Anglican influences on identity within the EAC. The present research suggests that it is likely that whatever national and global influences might be found they will be present as a response to perceived local needs and concerns.

Conclusion

The migration into and throughout Congo of Africans loyal to an Anglican church enabled its inception on the Semeliki escarpment from 1896 and its spread throughout the North-east between 1960–2000. This thesis has demonstrated that post-independence migration brought significant change to the EAC. The nature of the change depended on the negotiation between the identities of groups within the EAC and corporate EAC power structures. The religious identity of the EAC has been shown to be hybrid, mobile and interconnected with other aspects of identity. As such it suited the growing diversity of members and their wider social and cultural backgrounds. Such diversity, however, meant that *umoja* as a single national Anglican province was not inevitable. It developed as local, regional, national and trans-national influences were used and reinterpreted to respond to present needs in a way that encouraged unity within the EAC and a greater common expression of Christianity across lines of denominations and categorisations. Several cohesive identity signifiers became stronger than features which might have provided smaller units of religious belonging. The appeal of the story of Apolo Kivebulaya's work on the escarpment and more particularly his desire to be buried with his head towards the west was one such signifier. *Utaratibu*, *maendeleo*, *uhuru*, *umoja* and *furaha* were other significant terms expressing identity by different groups of Anglicans possessing a variety of influence in the EAC. By the 1990s Congolese Anglican identity could still be narrated through a re-interpretation of the Apolo story, which plotted his ministry with subsequent migratory events. Thus, common EAC identity was rooted in the participation in migrations which were the routes of growth of the EAC.

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 Anguzu Alfred (m) church compound night watchman, Aru, Swahili, 10/8/00.
 Anziko, Aser, Duria, Berocan, Bigule Tiru, Kiko, Mawanzo, Neema, Onzia, Seme, Usaru, (f), CECA 20 and Catholic women from EAC *Foyer Social* group, Aru, Lingala, 11/8/00.
 Anzu Asinata (f), Aru sub-parish M.U. leader, Lugbara, Asuje Ella Jesi (f), Aru sub-parish MU leader, Swahili, O'daru Rada Monique (f), sub-parish MU leader, Swahili, 12/8/00.
 Anzokaru Marita (f), church founder and revivalist, Lugbara, [Anguzu Georges and Titre Ande, translators] 21/8/00.
 Arie Rose (f), MU member, Kumuru, Kakwa, 17/8/00, [Wani Ezra and Agele Isaac, translators].
 Asiki David (m), Archdeacon of Mahagi, Aru, English, 22/8/00.
 Atuku Abe Nason (m), EAC member, Kumuru, Swahili, 19/8/00.
 Baba Atseko (m), Anglican Medical Service Administrator, Aru, French, 14/8/00.
 Balinda Tito (m), retired Archdeacon of Beni, Boga, Swahili, 2/10/00.
 Basimasi Kyakuhaire (f), early catechist in Boga, Komanda, Swahili, 21/9/00.
 Bataaga Beni (m), provincial communications officer, Bunia, English, 15/9/00, also in May '98.
 Beatrice Kalumbi (f), Archdeaconry women's leader, Butembo, Swahili, 16/6/98, interview by Bitamara William.
 Bilete Sila (m), founder of EAC, revival leader, Aru, Swahili, 10/8/00.
 Bitanihirwa Kamakama (m), Anglican schools co-ordinator, Bunia, French, 10/9/00.
 Bonabana Christina (f), Beni church benefactor and Canon, Swahili, 17/6/98, interview by Kalule Baudoin.
 Buno Boaz (m), pastor of Linga, Mahagi, Swahili, 29/8/00.

- Byaruhanga Araly Isaka (m), choir leader, Bunia, Swahili, 13/9/00
 Caroline Mwangi (f), Diocesan MU Secretary, Swahili, 16/6/98 by Bitamara William.
- Damali Sabiti (f), MU provincial trainer, Mukono, English, 20/10/00.
 Damaria (f) and Esther (f) founders of Ombi sub-parish, Aru, Lugbara, 10/8/00
 – [Anguzu Georges and Titre Ande translators]
- Dezo Rasili (f), Toongo evangelist's wife, Aru, Swahili, Munduru Beti (f), Lugbara, 12/8/00.
- Etsea Ang'apoza Kila (m), CECA 20 president, Bunia, French, 18/9/00.
 Evasta Kasuna (f), ex MU leader, now Jehovah's Witness, Bunia, Swahili, 16/9/00.
 Gbona Amuel (m), founder of Bongilo church, Kumuru, Swahili, 18/8/00.
 Grace Peter (f), member of MU wife of pastor, Kumuru, Swahili, 19/8/00
 Irene Bahemuka (f), diocesan MU worker, Boga, French, 30/9/00
 Isingoma Kakwa Henri (m), Bishop of Katanga, Edinburgh, French, 7/6/00
 Janette Sinziri (f), M.U. member, wife of Archdeacon of Kumuru, Kumuru, Swahili, 18/8/00.
- Joyce Babote (f), Mother's Union member, Komanda, Swahili, 21/9/00.
 Jurua Jonathan (m), elder of Aru-ville church, Aru, English, 11/8/00.
 Kabarole Baguma (m), Archdeacon of Aru, Aru, Swahili, 9/8/00, also July '98 by Yossa Way.
- Kaheru Rosa (f), founder member of Bunia church, Bunia, Swahili, 16/9/00.
 Kalume Sivengire, (m), Development worker, Butembo, French, 11/06/98, interview by Ndungu Valihari.
- Kamanyoha (f) and Isingoma (m) Chwa, church members, Bunia, Swahili, 23/9/00.
 Kapondombe Wiyajik Francois (m), pastor of Pathole, Mahagi, Swahili, 27/8/00.
 Kipindu Rachel (f), sub-parish leader of M.U., Kumuru, Swahili, 19/8/00.
 Kiko Dudu (f), M.U. member, Kumuru, Lingala, 17/8/00, [Wani Ezra, translator].
 Kupajo Matatia Yobu (m), Imbokolo evangelist, Kakwa, 17/8/00, [Wani Ezra and Agele Isaac, translators].
- Kusika Kenyi Fredric (m), elder of Toongo church, Aru, Swahili, 11/8/00
 Kyamulesere Geresomu (m), founder of Bunia and Komanda churches, Komanda, Swahili, 21/9/00.
- Leti Christophe (m), Head Christian of Ekanga parish, Swahili, Aru, 11/8/00
 Likambo Tamaru (m), evangelist, Boga, French, 9/10/00.
 Lukumbula Kihandasikiri Elia (m), Director of Mbau Bible School, Swahili, 25/7/00
 Mahirani Mustum Melena (f), EAC founder, Butembo, Swahili, 21/9/00.
 Mama Josephine (f), evangelist, founder member of Aru church, Swahili, 13/8/00.
 Mawa Isaac Remo (m), CECA 20 youth leader, Kumuru, French, 19/8/00.
 Mbusa Bangau Etienne (m), Vicar général of Bukavu Diocese, French, 28/7/00.
 Mukasa Nasanairi (m), canon, Ugandan missionary to Congo, Luganda, 1998 [notes from several conversations with Bahemuka Mugeni].
 Muhindo Tsongo Joyce (f), Tutor at ISThA, Edinburgh, French 17/12/99 & Bristol 10/4/00.
- Munega Kabarole (m), Archdeacon of Bunia, Bunia, Swahili, 13/9/00 also in June '98 by Yossa Way]
- Musubaho Ndaghalwa (m), retired diocesan evangelist and canon, Kaimana, Swahili, 5/10/00.
- Ndirtho Paulo (m), Archdeaconry evangelist, Mahagi, Swahili, 29/8/00.

- Neema Adroro (f), M.U. member, Kumuru, Swahili, 17/8/00.
- Ngadjole Fredrick (m), Roman Catholic, Kampala, French, 22/10/00.
- Ngona (m) Phineas (m) and Richard Lombu (m), CECA 20 reformée members, Bunia, Swahili, 25/9/00.
- Njang'u Uzele Esther (f), church founder and revivalist, Mahagi, Alur, 28/8/00. [Ubaya Uchaki and Udaga pi Mungu, translators. Only Swahili and French translations available].
- Oloni Seth Walter (m), new pastor, English, Aru, 11/8/00
- Otuwa Simeon (m), founder of church and revival leader, Aru, Lugbara, 11/8/00. [Anguzu Georges and Titre Ande translators]
- Ozua Samson (m), Aru Archdeaconry Sunday School co-ordinator, Aru, Swahili, 10/8/00.
- Revival group meeting, Bunia, Swahili, 17/9/00.
- Ridsdale, Lucy (f), Deaconess, Bible School Teacher in Boga and CMS Mission Partner, Cambridge, English, 15/01/99.
- Ridsdale, Philip (m), Bishop of Boga-Zaire, 1972-1980, and CMS Mission Partner, Cambridge, English, 16/01/99.
- Rwakaikara Andre (m), trader and elder in Bunia church, Bunia, Swahili, 23/9/00.
- Sengi Lupanzula (m), pastor, Bwakadi, Swahili, 6/10/00.
- Sibanza Buleti Palini (m), ex-archdeacon of Rwenzori, Komanda, Swahili, 5/10/00.
- Sinziri Onadra Christophe (m), Archdeacon of Kumuru, Kumuru Swahili, 18/8/00 also in July '98 by Yossa Way.
- Tabu Abembe (m), Archdeacon of the Forest, Bwakadi, French, 6/10/00.
- Tchulu Dhelo (m), CECA 20 pastor, Bunia, Swahili, 20/9/00.
- Thumbe Ferdinand (m), church founder and revivalist, Mahagi, Swahili, 29/8/00.
- Tindyera Kabarole (f), MU leader and Archdeacon's wife, Bunia, Swahili, 19/09/00.
- Tingoli Kasuna Bunangana (m), EAC elder, Bunia, Swahili, 16/9/00.
- Titre Ande George (m), Principal of ISThA, Edinburgh, French, 25/9/99 & 28/12/99.
- Tongo Joyce (f), M.U. member, Kumuru, Kakwa, 17/8/00, [Wani Ezra and Agele Isaac, translators].
- Tsongo Kima Abraham (m), Nord-Kivu Diocesan Secretary, French, Kampala, 29/7/00
- Tumusiime Drumo Rhoda (f), Kumuru Archdeaconry M.U. president, Kumuru, Swahili, 18/8/00.
- Ubotha Marthe (f), church founder and revivalist, Mahagi, Alur, 27/8/00 [Uchaki Ubaya and Udaga pi Mungu, translators. Only Swahili and French translations available].
- Uchaki Ubaya (m), pastor of Mahagi, Mahagi, Swahili, 30/8/00.
- Uketi Amosi (m), church founder and revivalist, Mahagi, Alur, 29/8/00. [Uchaki Ubaya and Udaga pi Mungu, translators. Only Swahili and French translations available].
- Uweka Marie (f), EAC member, Mahagi, Alur, 28/8/00. [Uchaki Ubaya and Udaga pi Mungu, translators. Only Swahili and French translations available].
- Ugen Lambert (m), church founder and revivalist, Swahili, 28/8/00.
- Uzele Salatiel (m), church founder and revivalist, Mahagi, Alur, 28/8/00. [Uchaki Ubaya and Udaga pi Mungu, translators. Only Swahili and French translations available].
- Wadhiko Dina (f), Aru Archdeaconry president of M.U., Aru, Swahili, 10/8/00.

Wani Ezra (m) evangelist and archdeaconry secretary, Kumuru, French, 18/8/00
 [also July '98 by Yossa Way].
 Yaka Warra Idroru (m), CECA 20 pastor, Kumuru, French, 19/8/00.
 Yobuta Peter (m), Pastor of Kumuru parish, Kumuru, Swahili, 19/8/00
 Yossa Way (m), Academic Dean, ISThA, Kampala, French, 27/7/00
 Yuma Ajule Hezekiah (m), EAC elder, Kumuru, Swahili, 18/8/00.
 Zamba Asu Hezron (m), catechist, Kumuru, Swahili, 18/8/00.

Transcriptions (Swahili, French and English) by Emma Wild-Wood, Ngadjole
 Frederic, Faustin Rugambwa, Likambo Tamaru, Baguma Bahemuka, Bwanamuzuri,
 Kahindo, Ngadi Banoba.

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CMS – Crowther Hall

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COU - Church of Uganda Archives, Uganda Christian University, Mukono,

Box 2bp10.1 Correspondence of Bishop of Uganda about Mboga

MU - Africana Department Archives, Makerere University, Kampala.

Apolo Kivebulaya's Diaries in Luganda

Anne Luck's file, including English translations of Apolo Kivebulaya's diaries, letter
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 20/11/80, 28/11/1980, 6/10/1980.

Voice of Uganda (Kampala), 13/3/1979, 27/3/1979.

The archives mentioned below are part of the continuing Oral History and Archive project of the EAC (supported by the Pew Charitable Trust and OMSC, Yale). It is organising EAC archives to be copied on to microfilm by Yale Divinity Library.

ArchA - Archdeaconry of Aru office

Parish and Archdeaconry statistics, 1985-1999

Hadizi ya Archidiacone ya Aru, 1996

Historical Background of the Anglican Church in Leri, Sila Bileti, 1988.

ArchK - Archdeaconry of Kumuru office

Parish and Archdeaconry statistics and maps, 1994 - 2000

Hadizi ya Archidiacone ya Kumuru, 1996

BP - Bunia Parish Office

Parish registers – Marriages, baptisms, Sunday services.

DBg - Boga Diocesan Office

‘New Diocese in Zaïre,’ Philip Ridsdale and Ndahura Bezaleri, BKbk750825h

‘Journal de Bord: Diocese de Boga-Zaïre,’ Philip Ridsdale, BG790527a

Musubaho Ndagaliwa. *L'Eglise Anglicane du Zaïre*. n.p: c.1988.

DBk - Bukavu Diocesan Office

‘Bref Aperçu historique de l’Eglise Anglicane, Diocèse de Bukavu’, BK951218.3

DNK - North-Kivu Diocesan Office

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OHA - Oral History and Archive project data found only in the library of the Institut Supérieur Théologique Anglican (ISTHA), Bunia

Histoire de la Paroisse Azangani, 1999

PRP - Philip Ridsdale Papers. Deposited in Henry Martyn Centre, Cambridge, January 2003.

‘Report on Visit of Miss Diana Witts to the Dioceses of Boga and Bukavu, Zaïre, October 1979 – May 1980.’

‘Unpublished account of life and work as CMS missionaries’ Beryl Rendle, n.d.

RDO - Rwenzori Diocesan Offices

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