

Christian Remnant – African Folk Church

Seventh-Day Adventism in Tanzania,
1903-1980

BY Stefan Höschele



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Christian Remnant—African Folk Church

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Photograph by Spencer Maxwell. Used by permission of Stanley Maxwell, Watford. The person in the left is Mathayo Shengena, and the third and second from the left are Esikia Wandea Kirekero and his wife Orpah.

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*To Baldur Pfeiffer and Winfried Noack,
historians, missiologists, and most inspiring teachers,
and to Gerlinde and Renate, their wives—models of faith and dedication*

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FOREWORD

In the late 1960s, when I was a student at Makerere University in Kampala, Louise Pirouet, who was to become my first supervisor, mentioned that it would be worth observing how a Christian denomination changes when it travels from one continent to another. When I got down to my own research, I did observe significant changes in the Moravian Church. This denomination, which had always been small in Europe, was so successful in its missionary work that in the 20th century by far the majority of all Moravians lived in what used to be known as the “mission fields.” I also realized that in certain parts of Tanzania the Moravian Church was the majority church, a typical folk church—different from Germany, where it had come from.

Three decades after these observations at the fringe of my research, it is a major achievement that this book pays all the attention to these two phenomena that is due to them. The Seventh-day Adventist Church, which remained somewhat small in its country of origin, has now, with its 15 million members world-wide, a large African-South American majority, to which Tanzania with its 300,000 members makes a strong contribution.

Though the Seventh-day Adventist Church is quite centralized with its world-wide structure, changes necessarily took place when it travelled from Europe (initially Germany) to East Africa. Stefan Höschele traces these changes with care and perception, and they justify the title “Christian Remnant—African Folk Church.” During the research for the book the author was fascinated that the process of change did not simply move this denomination with its growing numbers *from* remnant *to* folk church, but that both remain the poles between which Adventist history in Tanzania develops. This seems to me to be appropriate for a church that started with a call to the remnants of a 19th century revival movement and produced a gospel for the whole world.

Thus the book is a breakthrough as a full history of a Seventh-day Adventist national church in Africa, replete with details and asking all the relevant questions a historian should ask. As the first reader, I was fascinated by what I read, and I believe the same will be true for any other reader.

Klaus Fiedler

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Many officials of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania and Kenya assisted me by giving me access to documents in their files and archives. The administrators and colleagues at TAC, where I worked from early 1997 to mid-2003, and at the Tanzania Union of Seventh-day Adventists (my employer) generously granted me time for research and travel. They were always sympathetic with this project and made me feel that I am doing something that is relevant even beyond academics. Living with these Tanzanian Christians and learning from them was one of the most rewarding side effects of research! *Bwana awabariki.*

During my research trips, my hosts taught me the importance attributed to a visitor in Tanzania. To the families of Pastors Joel Yoyo, Davis Fue, Ezekiel Mashambo, Julius Msangi, and Mr Alvin Eliamani I wish to convey thanks in particular. They extended the famed Tanzanian hospitality to me and did not give me the proverbial hoe after three days! *Ninawashukuruni kwa moyo wote.*

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My wife, Alina, not only accepted that I work on such an extensive project but supported me in pursuing it with never-ending patience. Hannah, Jonathan, and David tolerated that Daddy wrote his book if he only read theirs to them as well. Now that two of them are in school, they started writing their own books—probably I talked so much about “my book” that they assume everybody must write some! My parents have always believed in me and, as our “home base” during our Tanzanian years, tirelessly supported us in innumerable ways, even in research matters. *Ein großes Dankeschön, ihr Lieben.*

An earlier version of this study was submitted to the University of Malawi, Central Africa, as a dissertation for a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Theology and Religious Studies in the year 2005. Professors Klaus Fiedler and Felix Chingota as well as the other members of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Chancellor College, University of Malawi, combined impressive qualities by guiding me both in a gentle and in a rigorous way. My main supervisor, Klaus Fiedler, was the kind of person with whom every doctoral student would wish to work: encouraging, critical, and efficient. Moreover, he is a *Doktorvater* in the real sense of the word. *Zikomo kwambiri.*

Prof Dr Baldur Pfeiffer and Prof Dr Winfried Noack are those among my teachers who brought me on the path of mission and research. *Herzlichen Dank.* They and their wives, Gerlinde and Renate, are true role models, and it is to them that I dedicate this work.

Beyond these words of gratitude, what remains to be expressed is only praise. Studying a religious community has been enjoyable and insightful, but rendering glory to the One who is the reason for its existence is the most pleasant and worthwhile thing to do.

Mungu atukuzwe!

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

AHPH	Africa Herald Publishing House
AMs	Autograph (hand-written) manuscript
AAE	Historical Archives of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe, Friedensau, Germany
BA	Bezirksamt [District Office]
CCT	Christian Council of Tanganyika/Tanzania
EAU	East African Union of Seventh-day Adventists
ENF	East Nyanza Field of Seventh-day Adventists
ETC	East Tanzania Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
GCA	General Conference Archives of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Silver Spring, USA
MC	Mara Conference of Seventh-day Adventists
MUCOA	Makumira University College Archives, Makumira, Tanzania
NETC/NETF	North-East Tanzania Conference/Field of Seventh-day Adventists
SAD	South(ern) African Division of Seventh-day Adventists
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist
SDAE	<i>Seventh-Day Adventist Encyclopedia</i> , ed. by Don F. Neufeld, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1966
SM	Suji Materials, located at North-East Tanzania Conference, Same
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TGF	Tanzania General Field of Seventh-day Adventists
TMF	Tanganyika Mission Field of Seventh-day Adventists
TMs	Typewritten manuscript
TNA	Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam
TU	Tanzania Union (Mission) of Seventh-day Adventists

PERIODICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>Der Adventbote</i>
ABH	<i>Der Adventbote in der Heidenwelt</i>
AMDI	<i>Afro-Mideast Division Impact</i>
AR	<i>Adventist Review</i>
AS	<i>Advent Survey</i>
HW	<i>Herold der Wahrheit</i>
MAE	<i>Ministerial Association Exchange</i>
MB	<i>Missionsbericht der Europäischen Abteilung der S.T.A. Generalkonferenz</i> [later: <i>Missionsbericht der Europäischen Divisionskonferenz der S.T. Adventisten and (Missions-) Bericht der Deutschen Advent-Missionsgesellschaft e.V.</i>]
MW	<i>The Missionary Worker</i>
RED	<i>(Annual/Quarterly) Report of the General Conference of S.D.A., European Division</i> [later: <i>European Division Conference Review; Statistical Report of the European Division; and Quarterly Review of the European Division of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists</i>]
RH	<i>Review and Herald</i>
SADO	<i>South(ern) African Division Outlook</i>
TADO	<i>Trans-Africa Division Outlook</i>
ZW	<i>Zionswächter</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The growth of Christianity in Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is one of the most fascinating shifts in the history of religions. Where no single church member could be found just one hundred years ago, whole societies are Christian today. This is true even in areas where mission churches that were minority denominations in their countries of origin dominated the process of Christianization. Seventh-day Adventism¹ is such a movement: it had little prominence in North America and Europe, yet came to comprise a significant part of the population in several African regions. Today African Adventists constitute more than one third of the denomination's fifteen million members. In spite of this tremendous expansion, the African segment of this church has not yet received much scholarly attention.

Tanzanian Adventism in particular is an intriguing phenomenon. Like the worldwide Adventist denomination, this national church body emphasizes the imminent return of Christ and considers itself to be a "remnant," a movement consisting of God's faithful end-time people called out of "every nation, tribe, language and people."² Yet this very movement developed into a folk church in several regions, i.e., a religious community to which a majority of the people came to belong.³ How this was possible and how the Adventist remnant identity continued alongside this shift will be a guiding question in the present study.

The aim of this study is to portray and interpret the history of the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church. This aim entails several

¹ In this study, the common abbreviation "SDA" as well as "Adventist" are used as synonyms for the term "Seventh-day Adventist." There are a few non-sabbatarian denominations that resulted from the Millerite Movement, such as the Advent Christians and the Evangelical Adventists. They can also be called "Adventists," but because they remained numerically small and their activities were largely confined to North America, here the use of "Adventist" is limited to people and issues connected with the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

² Revelation 14:6. All Bible quotations in this study are from the New International Version except where indicated.

³ In 2006, Seventh-day Adventists in Tanzania had more than 350,000 members. Together with their unbaptized children, their number exceeds 0.6 million.

objectives: (1) To explore how Tanzanians interacted with the emissaries of Adventism, why different groups of people accepted or rejected Adventist Christianity, and how conversion affected those joining the denomination. (2) To delineate the spread of Adventism across the country.⁴ (3) To clarify how inherited characteristics of Adventism were received in Tanzania and how new features developed, especially in the realms of religious practice, lifestyle and cultural issues, political attitudes, and theology.⁵ (4) To highlight the contributions of Tanzanians to the growth and the identity of their church.⁶

(5) The fifth objective is a more general issue and needs to be contemplated on its own: to illuminate how Tanzanian Adventism developed into a folk church in some areas and how this related to the denomination's remnant theology and self-image. The distinction between folk church and free church identities and concepts, which may be regarded as one of the major watersheds in ecclesiology, has not been much debated in the theology and history of mission. Yet in this study, it emerges as a crucial theme which touches most other aspects that are dealt with here; therefore, the issues mentioned in the other objectives must be analysed in the remnant-folk church framework as well. In fact, Tanzanian Adventism serves as a fine example of the transformation of a minority denomination into a dominant religious group, and the insights of this study may be valid for similar movements as well.

“Remnant” and “Folk Church”

The terms “remnant” and “folk church” are used in a threefold way in this study: as theological notions, as descriptions of an empirical reality, and as sociological concepts.

1. *Theologically*, “remnant” means, in Adventist thinking, “God’s faithful end-time people.” Seventh-day Adventists emphasize that God has

⁴ See chapters 3 to 5 and 10.

⁵ See chapters 6 to 9.

⁶ Only few Tanzanian Adventists are given significant credit for their contributions in the existing literature. However, evangelism in regions where the church was planted early as well as the expansion into new areas was carried out by Tanzanians themselves in most cases. Moreover, they were the agents in the inculturation of Adventism, even if this inculturation was often not a conscious undertaking. This necessitates an examination of their role in this process.

had a distinct people on Earth in each period of history. They maintain that especially in “the last days, a time of widespread apostasy, a remnant has been called out to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.”⁷ Although this concept may be likened to the *ecclesia invisibilis* of theological tradition, many Adventists insist that there is a visible organization that represents God’s will most fully. They identify the Seventh-day Adventist Church as this organization, whence the expression “Remnant Church,” which is sometimes used as a designation for this denomination.⁸ The remnant’s task is believed to be announcing judgement and salvation to “every nation, tribe, language and people” (Revelation 14:6) and gathering the true people of God.⁹

2. *Empirically*, the term “remnant” is often used to express that a particular group comprises a relatively small number of adherents. Because Adventists, like other denominations that belong to the free church tradition, have often thought of themselves as a group of modest size, the status of a minority denomination has become a common connotation in their use of the word “remnant.” Although this notion is not necessarily implied in the biblical use of the word and in official Adventist ecclesiology, it is such a strong popular tradition that its importance should not be neglected.

3. *Sociologically*, this study uses “remnant” as synonymous with “sect”¹⁰ as defined by Stark and Bainbridge: “a religious group that has high tension with (i.e., rejects) its social environment.”¹¹ This sociological concept implies a minority status of some sort, but goes beyond it by adding a notion of conflict between the sect (“remnant”) and the majority.

⁷ This is how the current official statement of beliefs puts it; see its text in *Seventh-Day Adventists Believe...: A Biblical Exposition of Fundamental Doctrines* (Silver Spring: Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2d ed., 2005), 181; cf. Revelation 12:17 and 14:12. For literature on Adventist remnant ecclesiology, see 2.1.

⁸ See, e.g., Ellen G. White, *The Remnant Church*, Compilation from the writings of Ellen G. White (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1950).

⁹ From the Adventist Fundamental Belief no. 12; see its text in *Seventh-Day Adventists Believe*, 181.

¹⁰ On the general history of the term “sect,” see Marc van Wijnkoop Lüthi, *Die Sekte... die anderen? Beobachtungen und Vorschläge zu einem strittigen Begriff* (Luzern: Edition Exodus, 1996).

¹¹ Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, 23. Stark and Bainbridge argue that “churches” and “sects” can be measured with this one single attribute rather than a whole array of characteristics, as had been done earlier in the context of the traditional church-sect-theory developed by Weber and Troeltsch. For the traditional church-sect theory, see Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (New York: Macmillan, 1931); and Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949).

The same dimensions exist in the term “folk church”:

1. *Theologically*, it signifies that a church either claims religious authority over an entire people or intends to serve the population of a given area as a whole.¹² With the *Volkskirche* concept, this ecclesiological view has a particularly strong tradition in Germany.¹³ It has historical roots in the legal definition of a positive relation between the regent’s faith and his people’s religion (*cuius regio, eius religio*).¹⁴ Later, the concept came to be reinterpreted; it was used to emphasize the view that Protestantism was enrooted in the whole people. Subsequently, it became a crucial ingredient of nineteenth and early twentieth century German Protestant mission theology, which stressed the necessity to reach a *Volk* (people) in its entirety.¹⁵

¹² Klaus Fiedler defines, “churches which, in theory or in fact, identify with the social entity they belong to (state, tribe, territory and so on), claiming authority in it”; see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1994), 103. Georg F. Vicedom, *Das Dilemma der Volkskirche: Gedanken und Erwägungen* (München: Claudius, 1961), 40, defines the German territorial churches as “folk churches according to their commission” and “churches which seek to encompass through their service the whole people.”

¹³ Karl-Fritz Daiber states that the term *Volkskirche* is not a sociological category but a historically grown term that therefore is hard to translate into English. In fact, none of the terms that he proposes (“national church,” “popular church,” and “people’s church”) expresses the sentiments that committed German members of the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* associate with the term *Volkskirche*. See K.-F. Daiber, “Volkskirche,” in *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon: Internationale theologische Enzyklopädie*, vol. 4, ed. Erwin Fahlbusch et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), cols. 1199–1202. The expression is even used by Lutherans in North America and also appears in Scandinavian languages, e.g., *folkekirk* in Danish. It has approximately the same meaning as the German *Volkskirche* and is commonly translated into English with “folk church.” See, e.g., Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, vii, 4, 39, 216.

¹⁴ Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 465. It must be noted, though, that the German term *Volkskirche* was originally coined by Schleiermacher against the prevailing contemporary idea of “national” churches, i.e., in order to emphasize the importance of the people for the church; see Henning Schröer, “Kirche IX: Praktisch-Theologisch,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 18, ed. Gerhard Müller (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 335.

¹⁵ On the missiological discussion about *Volkskirche*, see Peter Beyerhaus, *Die Selbstständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem* (Wuppertal-Barmen: Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft, 1956), 78–105; and Johannes Hoekendijk, *Kirche und Volk in der deutschen Missionswissenschaft* (München: Kaiser, 1967). The outstanding missiology resulting from the folk church concept was Gustav Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, 3 vols. (Gotha: Perthes, 1897–1903), especially vol. 3, no. 1, “Der Betrieb der Sendung,” 233–271 (“The missionary task as folk Christianization”). See also Heinrich Frick, *Vom Pietismus zum “Volkskirchentum”*: *Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem deutschen Gepräge der Mission* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1924).

2. *Empirically*, a folk church is a religious majority group, which signifies that in a given area it is considered “established”¹⁶ because of the large number of people that belong to it.¹⁷
3. *Sociologically*, “folk church” is used in this study in the sense of Stark’s and Bainbridge’s definition of “church”: “a religious group that has low tension with (i.e., accepts) its social environment.”¹⁸ This implies that it “relates positively to a people’s cultural identity”¹⁹ and thus constitutes a significant part of the people’s cultural sphere by providing “folklore” such as transition rites, festivals, and public functions to the majority.²⁰ The epithet “folk” also expresses the tendency toward a monopolizing relation of a particular church to an ethnically or geographically defined group of people.

An important preliminary observation regarding these three manners of using “folk church” and “remnant” is that in spite of their differences they do overlap. Empirical folk churches, for instance, often dominate a specific ethnic group, are built upon corresponding theological models, and to a large extent fit in with the sociological model as well. Yet the differences of the three levels of definition must also be recognized. A denomination with a folk church theology may remain a minority in some contexts. Conversely, a group with a remnant theology can develop into a local majority, and it may be inevitable that the tension of this group with the rest of society in a particular area also decreases while the religious community does uphold its theological convictions. On the other hand, the tension of this locally established group with society on a national scale and with communities in regions beyond may still be determined by a remnant identity.

Thus, “remnant” and “folk church” are only strict opposites when using one of the three dimensions of definition. By way of contrast, a

¹⁶ The European folk churches have also been called “Established Churches” because of their intimate relationship with governments, especially in Great Britain. This legal definition differs from the empirical observation that a certain religious group is the majority in a given region.

¹⁷ Aylward Shorter uses such an empirical definition of “folk Christianity.” He rejects a definition “in terms of pagan survivals within Christianity” and uses the term in the sense of the extent to which Christianity (in one of its imported forms) has become customary to a social grouping. See his article, “Folk Christianity and Functional Christology,” *African Ecclesial Review* 24, no. 3 (1982): 134.

¹⁸ Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, 23.

¹⁹ Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 25.

²⁰ Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 103.

theological remnant concept may not necessarily conflict with an empirical or a sociological reality. Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration that religious movements are able to move into both directions on a spectrum between the two extremes in all three dimensions—the theological, the empirical, and the sociological.

Perspective and Framework

The church history perspective of this study necessitates a consideration of all aspects that are important to the life and development of Christian communities. They include such items as theology, church organization, and leadership; spirituality, holy days, festivals, literature, worship, music, and art;²¹ ethics, women's issues, marriage, and youth; the relation to society, culture, particular groups of people, and governments; and evangelism and expansion.²²

Evidently, this variety of elements goes beyond the older *mission* history paradigm in the writing of African church history as well as what has been called the “traditional bifurcation” of church historiography, i.e., its reduction to institutional history and history of doctrine.²³ At the same time, one must take into account that the expansion of Christianity in Africa was a missionary process. Therefore, one would do injustice to the subject if neglecting the “mission” aspect. What was “mission history” in an older historiographical paradigm should therefore be evaluated in the sense of “transmission history” with a focus on how an emerging religious community dealt with the many aspects that defined it as part of a confessional tradition. In the case of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, this observation of mission and transmission processes is especially significant because this denomination

²¹ Art is an area in which Adventists have been notably weak. There is no significant Adventist tradition of art until the present and hardly any literature on the subject except Richard E. Kuykendall, Jeri Gallemore, and Ruben Whittemore, “Adventist Art: Designed for a Purpose,” *Adventist Heritage* 9 (1984): 19–29. On art as a source and medium of African theology, see Martin Ott, *African Theology in Images* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 2001).

²² Cf. the lists by Kenneth R. Ross, “Doing Theology with a New Historiography,” *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 99 (Sept. 1997): 95; James E. Bradley and Richard A. Muller, *Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works, and Methods* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 5; and Douglas A. Foster, “The Historiography of Christianity in Ecumenical Perspective: A Bibliographic Essay,” in *Telling the Churches' Story: Ecumenical Perspectives on Writing Christian History*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert and Charles W. Brockwell Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 127.

²³ Bradley and Muller, *Church History*, 2.

commonly viewed itself as a missionary movement that constantly aimed at spreading further.²⁴ Only a perspective that synthesizes the missionary impulse connected with Adventism's remnant pole and the emerging Tanzanian Adventist life of a folk church will do justice to the complexity of this denomination's history.

Consequently, a threefold framework has been borne in mind in interpreting the many aspects of the development of Tanzanian Adventism: (1) worldwide Seventh-day Adventism with its traditions and the developments that took place in this denomination during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, (2) the people and groups that Adventism interacted with, and (3) Tanzanian and African Christianity at large. These three factors form the scene of the Tanzanian Adventist story, and they should be given prominence in analysing its evolution.²⁵ They blend in the leading question of this study: how Tanzanian Adventists reconciled their emerging folk church character with the theological remnant ideal.²⁶

A Glance on the Literature

Since this is the national history of a Christian denomination in Africa, several fields of literature have had a bearing upon the framework for this study.

²⁴ In giving the patterns of denominational expansion significant weight, this study makes the distinction between *church* history and *mission* history less rigid than it might appear necessary at first sight. Yet if *mission* is understood (as Adventists do understand it) as the growth and development of the church as a whole and not just as one function of the church, it becomes almost synonymous with *church*.

²⁵ This framework implies that some dominating elements of other African church histories do not play a central role here, such as the relationship between church and state, the question of colonialism and mission, or the "making of a new elite" of post-colonial leaders. These aspects are certainly crucial for general church history and in the context of some particular denominations. Yet they do not feature remarkably enough to function as part of an overall framework when one studies Adventism as it grew in Tanzania. For these themes, which were prominent in African church historiography of the 1960s and 1970s, see, e.g., J.F.A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891: The Making of a Modern Elite* (London: Longman, 1965).

²⁶ The balance of the focus on Adventist, African, and Christian elements naturally differs in the various chapters. Although they always appear mixed, the strong Adventist denominational identity at times overshadows the other dimensions. Yet the African component, as much as it may be hidden in Adventist issues at time, often lies in the way Africans interpreted Adventism. The Christian factor usually serves as a part of the total Adventist identity and, with regard to the larger Christian context, as a setting in which Adventists emphasized their distinctiveness yet shared fundamental values with other Christians.

1. Most of the existing publications about the *history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania* are articles or chapters that focus on the beginnings of missionary activity up to World War I.²⁷ Some related works discuss Adventism in the region at large.²⁸ The only substantial works are a small book in popular style written in Swahili by K. Bariki Elineema²⁹ and an equally short English manuscript with similar content by the same author.³⁰ Both mainly deal with the early missionaries' work.³¹

²⁷ See the series of thirteen short articles by Wilhelm Mueller in AB 1970–1971 on pre-World War I developments; Yohana Lusingu, “Die Entwicklung der Adventgemeinde in Tansania, 1903–1984,” *Adventecho* 83, no. 22 (1984): 4–5; Baldur Pfeiffer, “Die Deutsch-Ostafrika-Mission 1903–1939: Vor acht Jahrzehnten begannen deutsche Missionare mit der adventistischen Mission in Ostafrika,” *Adventecho* 83, no. 22 (1984): 1, 6; and K.B. Elineema, “German Adventist Contributions to Eastern Africa,” in *Die Adventisten und Hamburg: Von der Ortsgemeinde zur internationalen Bewegung*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träder, and George R. Knight (Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 110–131; this article is almost identical with K.B. Elineema, “The Development of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Tanzania,” in *The Development of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Eastern Africa: Proceedings of the International Scientific Symposium*, ed. K.B. Elineema (Dar es Salaam: by the editor, 1992), 44–63; as well as Daniel Heinz, “Auf den Spuren der Pioniere: Adventmission in Ostafrika,” *Adventecho* 92, no. 2 (February 1993): 13–14.

²⁸ Baldur Pfeiffer, ed., *Seventh-Day Adventist Contributions to East Africa, 1903–1983* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1985); K.B. Elineema, ed., *The Development of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Eastern Africa: Proceedings of the International Scientific Symposium* (Dar es Salaam: by the editor, 1992). The account of Virgil Robinson, “Third Angel over Africa,” TMs (photocopy), n.d., has 147 pages on “Nyasaland and East Africa,” which are missionary history up to World War II, consisting mostly of dates, facts, and institutional and organizational development.

²⁹ K.B. Elineema, *Historia ya Kamisa la Waadventista Wasabato Tanzania, 1903–1993* (Dar es Salaam: by the author, 1993), has 89 pages of text, which deal almost exclusively with the beginnings of the different missions before World War I. The book contains no bibliography and very few references. A significant contribution that Elineema makes is a collection of many details such as the names of pre-World War I converts, the circumstances of the establishment of various missions, and an almost exhaustive list of schools operated by Seventh-day Adventists in Tanzania at that time. Elineema attempted to do research about “The Historical Development Impact [*sic*] of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Tanzania in the Fields of Education and Health, 1903–1965” for a Ph.D. at the University of Dar es Salaam in the years 1979 to 1981. However, he did not finish the project. The short publication in Swahili is the outcome of his research. See Kangalu B. Elineema, “Research Proposal,” File East Africa, GCA.

³⁰ K.B. Elineema, “The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Tanzania: A Short History,” TMs (photocopy), 2003. This manuscript contains 84 pages before the conclusion. It is essentially a rearranged version of Elineema’s *Historia* with a few additions of his own and some input by Daniel Heinz, archivist at the Adventist European Archives in Friedensau, Germany.

³¹ Among Elineema’s main interests was the expansion of Adventist educational activities, and he succeeded in collecting many factual details from the earliest period of the church’s operations. Other published histories are a number of short jubilee brochures from various regions; they are naturally limited to a skeleton of facts and dates as well as some matters of present interest. See section 1 in the bibliography.

2. *General Adventist historiography* has gone through different phases.³² What started as reminiscences and the quest for giving the Adventist identity a historical foundation³³ turned more or less apologetic in the first half of the twentieth century.³⁴ During the most recent generation, historians have taken diverse routes. Some endeavoured to break traditional Adventist taboos through critical inquiry³⁵ while others have continued to write with clear confessional interests in mind.³⁶ A third strand is represented by those who seek to pursue rigorous historical research that goes beyond the apologetic pro-Adventist and the polemic revisionist paradigms.³⁷ It is this third approach that is used in this study.

The *denomination's history outside North America and Europe* did not play a major role in "official" Adventist histories for a long time, for they generally focus on the movement in the nineteenth century and relate further history mainly from a North American viewpoint. Where mention of Africa is made, the interest of the authors focuses almost exclusively on early missionaries. This is understandable when one considers the fact that the major college textbook on Adventist history,

³² For reflections on the development of Adventist historiography, see Ronald D. Graybill, "The Rise of a New Adventist History": Review of *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), *Spectrum* 7, no. 4 (1976): 46–47; Gary Land, "From Apologetics to History: The Professionalization of Adventist Historians," *Spectrum* 10, no. 4 (March 1980): 89–100; and Rolf J. Pöhler, "The Adventist Historian between Criticism and Faith," in *Glaube und Zukunftsgestaltung: Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Theologischen Hochschule Friedensau*, ed. Bernhard Oestreich, Horst F. Rolly, and Wolfgang Kabus (Frankfurt: Lang, 1999), 203–210.

³³ See John N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-Day Adventists* (Battle Creek: General Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892).

³⁴ See M. Ellsworth Olsen, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-Day Adventists* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1925); William A. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1925).

³⁵ See, e.g., Ingemar Lindén, *The Last Trump: An Historico-Genetical Study of Some Important Chapters in the Making and Development of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1978); and Ronald Numbers, *Prophets of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). Lindén questioned the traditional Adventist explanations of the Millerite Movement and the subsequent years that led to the emergence of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Numbers explained the experiences of Ellen G. White, the prophetess of Seventh-day Adventism, in a manner that excluded the transcendent dimension.

³⁶ Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-Day Adventists*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1961–1962); C. Mervyn Maxwell, *Tell it to the World: The Story of Seventh-Day Adventists* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1976).

³⁷ See, e.g., Gary Land, ed., *Adventism in America: A History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986); Richard W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1979).

Light Bearers, was originally published almost thirty years ago, when the centre of Adventism was still in the United States.³⁸ Still, this body of literature is of utmost importance, for Adventism with its insistence upon worldwide unity can only be understood against the backdrop of its North American and nineteenth century roots.

Histories of Adventism in parts of Africa do not show a coherent picture.³⁹ Many are written by foreigners, but an increasing number comes from African Seventh-day Adventists. Some works are mainly descriptive;⁴⁰ others try to examine the topic from a non-confessional historical approach or from sociological, missiological, or anthropological perspectives, emphasizing the unique dynamics of contextualized types of Adventism.⁴¹ On the basis of the expanding body of such literature, an awareness of African Adventism as a distinctive part of a global movement has grown. Yet unlike the history of the denomination in Europe, Latin America, North America, and the South Pacific,⁴² the story of African Adventism still awaits a comprehensive attempt of

³⁸ Schwarz, *Light Bearers* (1979), devoted a total of 7 pages out of 630 to Africa, which are spread across half the book. The recent update, Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 2000), adds material from recent decades and from each region from the world, but Africa still does not receive much attention. Maxwell's *Tell it to the World* deals with Africa on 4 of 270 pages; *The Story of Our Church* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1956), has 9 of 536 pages on Africa.

³⁹ For an attempt at identifying paradigms in historiography on Adventism in Africa, see Stefan Höschele, "Interpreting African Adventism: In Search of a Paradigm," in *Misión y contextualización: Llevar el mensaje bíblico a un mundo multicultural*, ed. Gerald A. Klingbeil (Libertador San Martín: River Plate University Press, 2004), 91–112.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., David Agboola, *The Seventh-Day Adventists in Yorubaland, 1914–1964* (Ibadan: Daystar, 1987); Kofi Owusu-Mensa, *Saturday God and Adventism in Ghana* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1993).

⁴¹ See, e.g., Balduz Pfeiffer, *The European Adventist Mission in the Middle East, 1879–1939* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1981) [includes Egypt]; Abraham A. Kuranga, "Seventh-Day Adventism in Western Nigeria, 1914–1981: A Study in the Relationship between Christianity and African Culture from the Missionary Era to the Introduction of African Leadership," Ph.D. diss., Miami University, 1991; Nehemiah M. Nyaundi, *Religion and Social Change: A Sociological Study of Seventh-Day Adventism in Kenya* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993); Yonah Matemba, *Matandani: The Second Adventist Mission in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere, 2004); and Eva Keller, *The Road to Clarity: Seventh-Day Adventism in Madagascar* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁴² See Hugh I. Dunton et al., *Heirs of the Reformation: The Story of Seventh-Day Adventists in Europe* (Grantham: Stanborough, 1997); Arthur J. Ferch, ed., *Journey of Hope: Seventh-Day Adventist History in the South Pacific, 1919–1950* (Wahroonga: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1991); Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1992); and Land, *Adventism in America*.

interpretation.⁴³ Interestingly, the majority nature of Adventism in some African communities has been noted,⁴⁴ but has not yet yielded a major study of its own.

3. *Tanzanian and African church historiography* has developed through different stages and with diverse emphases. Mission history was the common genre of the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. This approach to historiography included rather descriptive variants⁴⁵ as well as more interpretative attempts.⁴⁶ In the following generation, much writing aimed at a critical reconstruction of mission history that laid special emphasis on the colonial context of the missionary past.⁴⁷ A special line of inquiry, which experienced its peak in the same period, was the interest in African Instituted Churches; the large number of such studies was stimulated by the peculiar synthesis of African and Christian elements that they represented.⁴⁸ Echoing studies of such movements and due to the fact that the study of mission history lost its apologetic and polemic functions by the 1970s and 1980s,

⁴³ There is, however, a website dedicated to Adventism in Africa: "Adventism in Africa," online: www.thh-friedensau.de/sda-africa, which is maintained by the author.

⁴⁴ Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-Day Adventists and Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 13, notes that Adventism is the "established Church" in some regions of the world. Yonah Matema, *Matandani: The Second Adventist Mission in Malawi*, 107–111, gives attention to the fact that Adventist folk churches currently decline around one early Adventist centre. A short discussion of issues related to this phenomenon is Stefan Höschele, "Volkskirche Adventgemeinde?: Gemeindeidentität im modernen Tansania," *Adventecho* 101, no. 6 (June 2000): 20–21.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Paul Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings around Mt. Kilimanjaro: The First Forty Years* (Erlangen: Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1998, 1st ed. 1936); Julius Richter, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika* (Bertelsmann: Gütersloh, 1922).

⁴⁶ Charles Pelham Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, 4 vols. (London: Lutterworth, 1948–58); Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longman, 1952).

⁴⁷ See, e.g., A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Missions* (London: Longman, 1972); Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880–1924* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Emmanuel A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842–1914: A Political and Social Analysis* (London: Longman, 1966); and Thomas O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

⁴⁸ Among the host of studies, I wish to mention the ground-breaking work by Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961, 1st ed. 1945), the comprehensive interpretative attempt by David B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), and the major work on Tanzania in this context, T.O. Ranger, *The African Churches of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972).

an approach that focused on typically religious aspects was increasingly employed even in the study of churches that originated in European or American missionary activity.⁴⁹ Naturally, the scene further diversified; today, a multitude of works on African church history emphasize a particular aspect or stem from a specific methodological perspective.⁵⁰ These specialized studies are complemented by a good number of national,⁵¹ regional,⁵² and continental church histories.⁵³ On the basis of such a diverse picture, the present paradigm has been rightly called “holistic” African Christian historiography.⁵⁴

While the national history of a single denomination will hardly use a whole array of methodologies, it has to take into account the wide range of potential issues. Therefore, there are two notable features in the contemporary paradigm that play a special role in this study: (1) an emphasis on the dynamics of religious continuity and change, and (2)

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Bengt Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: Church and Community in Tanzania* (London: C. Hurst, 1980); Hance Mwakabana, *The Life and Work of the Lutheran Church in Urban Tanzania: With Special Reference to Iringa* (Helsinki: Finnish Society for Missiology and Ecumenics; Finnish Missionary Society, 1982); Wilson B. Niwagila, *From the Catacomb to a Self-Governing Church: A Case Study of the African Initiative and the Participation of Foreign Mission in the Mission History of the North-Western Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, 1890–1965* (Ammersbek: Verlag an der Lottbek Jensen, 1991); Joseph Wilson Parsalaw, *A History of the Lutheran Church, Diocese in the Arusha Region from 1904 to 1958* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1999).

⁵⁰ A few examples from Tanzania: Birgitta Larsson, *Conversion to Greater Freedom? Women, Church and Social Change in North-Western Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), focuses on women. Kathleen R. Smythe, “Fipa Childhood: White Fathers’ Missionaries and Social Change in Nkansi District, 1910–1980,” Ph.D. diss., Madison University, 1997, deals with social change in a more general way. Klaus Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture: Conservative German Protestant Missionaries in Tanzania, 1900–1940* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), examines missionary dealings with culture. Maia Green, *Priests, Witches and Power: Popular Christianity after Mission in Southern Tanzania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), explores the dynamics in a Tanzanian church.

⁵¹ The major church history of Tanzania is the somewhat popular work by Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Kraft to Rugambwa: A Church History of Tanzania* (Makumira: by the author, 1986).

⁵² Ogbu Kalu, *The History of Christianity in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1980); Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983). No comparable work on East Africa exists to date.

⁵³ Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); John Baur, *Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Africa: An African History, 62–1992* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1994); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); Bengt Sundkler, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁵⁴ Frans J. Verstraelen, “History of Christianity in Africa in the Context of African History—Four Recent Contributions Compared,” *Exchange* 31, no. 2 (2002): 175–176.

the African engagement of mission Christianity.⁵⁵ One approach that takes up these two features is found in the book *East African Expressions of Christianity*. One of its editors, Thomas Spear, argues that only a well-balanced historiography does justice to the subject matter. He proposes such a balance by grouping the pertinent issues in six themes: (1) “mission,” (2) “conversion,” (3) “popular evangelism,” (4) “struggle for control,” (5) “charismatic prophecy & healing,” and (6) “Protestant revival / popular Catholicism.” Spear insists that none of these themes must be left unnoticed.⁵⁶ A similar approach is used in this study. Writing African church history means giving each stage of history its appropriate weight; it must duly take into account all aspects that were vital for members of a particular religious movement at their time.⁵⁷

4. *African historiography* has displayed dynamics similar to African church historiography. From chronicle and colonial history, it has passed through a phase that attempted to construct a national heritage with colonialism as the great object of criticism. During the most recent generation, a diversification of perspectives has taken place, with social sciences playing a prominent role. This broadening of understanding, which includes a focus on the lives of ordinary Africans and their culture,⁵⁸ is as crucial for an understanding of the context of Adventist growth as is the national history of Tanzania.⁵⁹ A few histories and

⁵⁵ For the latter feature see, e.g., Anne Marie Stoner-Eby, “African Leaders Engage Mission Christianity: Anglicans in Tanzania, 1876–1926,” Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003. Earlier works that emphasize a similar line are Niwagila, *From the Catacomb*, and David B. Barrett, ed., *African Initiatives in Religion: Twenty-one Studies from Eastern and Central Africa* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971).

⁵⁶ He observes that commonly the second, third, and fourth elements have been underemphasized; see Thomas Spear, “Toward the History of African Christianity,” in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 3–24.

⁵⁷ The “mission,” “conversion,” and “popular evangelism” themes are found in chapters 1 to 6 and 10 in this study; “struggle for control” appears in chapters 6 to 9, and “charismatic prophecy & healing” as well as “revival” and “popular religion” in chapters 6 and 9.

⁵⁸ The recent interest in popular African culture parallels the examination of Adventist interaction with culture in chapter 7. See, e.g., Hildi Hendrickson, ed., *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Andrew Michael Ivaska, “Negotiating ‘Culture’ in a Cosmopolitan Capital: Urban Style and the Tanzanian State in Colonial and Postcolonial Dar es Salaam,” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2003.

⁵⁹ On general Tanzanian history, see John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); M.H.Y. Kaniki, *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (London: Longman, 1980); Isaria N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu, eds., *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); Juhani Koponen, *Development*

anthropological works on ethnic groups where Seventh-day Adventists made a significant impact, most notably the Pare, Kuria, and Sukuma,⁶⁰ contribute to the framework of the present study by elucidating the peculiarities of the people who embraced Adventism or rejected it.

5. *Other fields of literature* that relate to this study are those that have to do with its guiding question: the phenomenon of a church with a minority identity that has grown into a folk church in some regions. Most literature on the nature and characteristics of folk churches has been written in view of the ecclesiastical situation in Europe; therefore, it has only limited application in the Tanzanian situation.⁶¹ Of more importance are the sociological issues connected with the folk church phenomenon. Concepts from several works by Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge have been used as tools for analysing the development of Tanzanian Adventism.⁶² Moreover, pioneering sociological

for *Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914* (Münster: Lit; Helsinki: Tiedekirja, 1994).

⁶⁰ On the Pare, see William McAlston O’Barr, “An Ethnography of Modernization: Pare Traditionality and the Impact of Recent Changes,” Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1970; Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860–1960* (Oxford: James Currey, 1991); and Cuthbert Kashingo Omari, *God and Worship in Traditional Asu Society* (Erlangen: Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1991). On the Sukuma, see Frans Wijzen and Ralph Tanner, *Seeking a Good Life: Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania, 1945–1995* (Nairobi: Paulines, 2000); Frans J. Wijzen and Ralph Tanner, “*I am Just a Sukuma*”: *Globalization and Identity Construction in Northwest Tanzania* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002). On the Kuria, see Gabriel N. Chacha, *Historia ya Abakuria na Sheria Zao* (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1963); Paul Asaka Abuso, *A Traditional History of the Abakuria, c. 1400–1914* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980); Eva Tobisson, *Family Dynamics among the Kuria: Agro-Pastoralists in Northern Tanzania* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1986); and Malcolm Ruel, *Belief, Ritual and the Securing of Life: Reflexive Essays on a Bantu Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁶¹ Among the many titles see, e.g., Alfred Adam, *Nationalkirche und Volkskirche im deutschen Protestantismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1938); Georg F. Vicedom, *Das Dilemma der Volkskirche: Gedanken und Erwägungen* (München: Claudius, 1961); Wolfgang Lück, *Die Volkskirche: Kirchenverständnis als Norm kirchlichen Handelns* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980); Fritz Erich Anhelm, ed., *Protestantismus als Volkskirche: Eine Perspektive gegen den Strom?* (Loccum: Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 1995).

⁶² Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), is foundational in its definition and discussion of “sect” and “church.” The groundbreaking study of Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), attempts to measure the intensity of religious commitment. William Sims Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1997), demonstrates that a “medium tension” with society is necessary for religious movements to achieve ongoing growth, and he asserts that Adventism is such a “medium tension” movement.

studies of Seventh-day Adventism have been done by Ronald Lawson.⁶³ He argues that worldwide Adventism is on the road to denomination-ization, i.e., the change from a “sect” to a “church” identity.⁶⁴ This observation will have to be examined in the Tanzanian context.

A Note on Sources

The choice of data presented in this study depended, first of all, on the availability of different sources for particular phases and regions. The 1940–1980 period, for instance, is only insufficiently reflected in published sources, while missionary contributions before pre-World War I are well-documented in them. Thus, oral tradition regarding the early years is less important to establish a factual skeleton but to enlighten the mood of the epoch. For later periods, however, interviews constituted a major contribution even to the very establishment of an accurate factual account.

This asymmetric situation calls for particular types of hermeneutics in validating and evaluating the different kinds of sources. The most important part of *the published sources* are the many articles in denominational magazines, written mainly by missionaries. Their main value is that of providing basic information and establishing chronology, especially for the pre-World War I period.⁶⁵

⁶³ Lawson is a Seventh-day Adventist himself. See Ronald Lawson, “Sect-State Relations: Accounting for the Differing Trajectories of Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah’s Witnesses,” *Sociology of Religion* 56, no. 4 (1995): 351–377; Ronald Lawson, “Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 2 (1996): 279–311; Ronald Lawson, “Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventists and the Issue of Military Service,” *Review of Religious Research* 37, no. 3 (1996): 97–122; Ronald Lawson, “Broadening the Boundaries of Church-Sect Theory: Insights from the Evolution of the Non-Schismatic Mission Churches of Seventh-Day Adventism,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 4 (September 1998): 652–672.

⁶⁴ A similar observation is found in Bryan Wilson, “Sect or Denomination: Can Adventism Maintain Its Identity?,” *Spectrum* 6, no. 4 (1975): 34–43, albeit somewhat more tentatively.

⁶⁵ In addition to articles, there are a few books that were published by Seventh-day Adventist missionaries who worked in Tanzania. These help to enlighten the context of their work, their opinions, and missionary issues of the period. What they obviously cannot do is to elucidate much the African side of the story. See Ernst Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1919); Ernst Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht: Sitten und Gebräuche der Wapare in Ostafrika* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, 1922); Ernst Kotz, *Sklaven* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, 1925); Oliver Jacques and Fredonia Jacques, *Africa Called Us* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1952);

As far as unpublished materials are concerned, minutes, correspondence, and other documents from different bodies have been used. As with the published sources, attempt has been made to collect or inspect an exhaustive set of items related to Adventism in Tanzania in archives. The bulk of relevant materials comes from several regional church *Fields and Conferences*, from *Tanzania Union Mission*, and older correspondence found in mission files.⁶⁶ Of utmost importance were the materials that I discovered under the roof of a former mission and church office at Suji in the Pare Mountains. Without these papers, which I have called Suji Materials, this study would certainly look very different, for they provided important data for many sections in the 1920–1960 period and the thematic chapters.⁶⁷ While some of these sources have a missionary bias, their interpretation in this study seeks to put them into the framework of African church history, thus aiming at discovering the church realities behind official statements and church leaders' perspectives. The same is applicable for other archival items.⁶⁸

Valdemar E. Toppenberg, *Africa Has My Heart* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1958); Spencer G. Maxwell, "I Loved Africa," TMs (photocopy), 1975 (apparently, this was originally intended for publication). The writings of Kotz and Maxwell contain very useful historical information; the books by Jacques and Jacques as well as Toppenberg are more personal reminiscences.

⁶⁶ Tanzania has been under several different administrative units with headquarters in Europe, America and Africa; their successor organizations—Divisions (a continent or a major part of it) and Unions—have yielded no minutes and correspondence except that which was found at the General Conference Archives, the Historical Archives of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe, and the East African Union.

⁶⁷ The materials had been lying at Suji for several decades, probably since the early 1960s. These documents include correspondence from 1921 onward as well as the only existing copy of committee minutes of the Pare Mission Field and the Tanganyika Mission Field, dating back as far as 1923 and 1933, respectively. As is visible in the bibliography, these documents fill almost one hundred large files. The Suji Materials are now kept in the archives of the North-East Tanzania Conference headquarters at Same.

⁶⁸ Two examples: the *Tanzania National Archives* in Dar es Salaam holds a considerable number of files with documents and correspondence between the church and the German and British colonial governments. As with the Suji Materials, these documents have not been used in previous publications on Tanzanian Adventist history. Naturally, their significance has been most marked for the understanding of the earliest period, for the Adventist expansion in the country before independence, and for the denomination's relation to the government. The Seventh-day Adventist *General Conference Archives* in Washington, D.C., holds copies of all General Conference minutes and many Division minutes (a Division is a major region of the world), including those which concern Tanzania. Furthermore, it contains some correspondence between General Conference leaders and missionaries in the field and church leaders who were in charge of the mission in Tanzania, mainly from the pre-World War I period. A large part of the periodicals that include reports about Tanzania are found there as well. For comments on items and documents in other archives and church offices, see the bibliography.

Of great importance were also *interviews with Tanzanian Adventists*. Reminiscences of persons, events, stories, conflicts, and attitudes have often been preserved in people's memories up to the present. More than ninety interviews were conducted.⁶⁹ In order to cover the main areas of Adventist presence in Tanzania, a substantial group of interviewees was from areas where Adventism entered relatively early, i.e., Pare and the Lake Victoria region.⁷⁰ I myself did interviews in Pare, in the Lake Victoria region, and with individuals from a few other places and with missionaries and their children; three research assistants conducted interviews in the Lake Victoria region, in several towns, and in the southern and western regions.⁷¹ In the selection of interviewees, an attempt was made to include both church leaders and male and female laity.⁷² The large number of interviewees helped confirm, at times modify, and in a few instances correct the picture that key informants and the written sources provided, especially in cases where opinions were of critical importance, e.g., in the section on Adventism and culture.⁷³

* * *

This study is intrinsically linked with a major period in my life, for I lived and worked in Tanzania from early 1997 to mid-2003.⁷⁴ Being a

⁶⁹ At times the interviews took several hours, and they were recorded in writing; the manuscripts are all in my possession. Interviews were also conducted with missionaries who worked in Tanzania and their descendants; in other cases, they answered interview questions by letter. Because of the many interview references in the footnotes, the places and dates are omitted after the first occurrence.

⁷⁰ Others came from areas where Adventism started later (Heri and Mbeya), and another group from major towns (Arusha, Moshi, Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Mwanza, Musoma, and Morogoro). The coverage of regions and issues in the sources available suffers from a certain geographical imbalance: Pare is overrepresented in several categories of materials—published books, articles from the early period, and especially the voluminous Suji Materials. This makes the interviews even more important, for most of them come from other areas.

⁷¹ By travelling to many places which are of importance to Tanzanian Adventism, I was also able to gather firsthand impressions about the church whose history I wrote. I visited Pare, Mbeya, Bupandagila, Busegwe, Arusha, Moshi, Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Musoma, and Morogoro.

⁷² Naturally, elderly people who were involved in church activities as early as the 1940s and 1950s, at times even before, were given preference. A few church leaders may be considered key informants, e.g., A. Abihudi, G. Elienza, A. Kiboko, G. Lekundayo, H. Mashigan, E. Okeyo, S. Otieno, and E. Wanjara.

⁷³ There were but few cases of disagreement, and where they arose, it was hardly on the factual-historical level but with regard to theological and personal preferences and interpretations of ecclesiastical or societal developments.

⁷⁴ Through my position as a lecturer in the Department of Theology at Tanzania Adventist College, I became acquainted with Adventist students, pastors, church

Seventh-day Adventist myself, I have felt both the debt and the challenge of working on a topic that would enhance the understanding of the dynamics in the history of my church. It is my conviction that commitment to a religious community also entails the responsibility of realistic judgement. Therefore, it was my intention to write a sympathetic history yet one that investigates the issues without undue bias—in short, as a “critical insider.”

* * *

The book is divided into two major parts and one appended chapter. The first part (chapters 2 to 5) follows a geographical outline. The emphasis in these chapters is laid on such aspects as missiology, missionary methods, local peculiarities, and institutional development. The second part (chapters 6 to 9) deals with four major themes in the development of Tanzanian Adventism until 1980.⁷⁵ A concentration on internal issues is found in the chapters on church life and theology (6 and 9), and the interaction of the denomination with society is the focus of the chapters on the relationship with culture and with the government

administrators, and church members from most regions of Tanzania. Moreover, I had the unique opportunity of becoming part of Tanzanian Adventism by participating in the life of this church. Living in Tanzania also enabled me to conduct interviews in Swahili; translations from Swahili and German in the text were made by myself. Swahili or German original texts are only added where they are of special interest.

⁷⁵ There have been several reasons for limiting the scope of research to the period until 1980. A practical aspect was that a certain distance was helpful in assessing difficult aspects of history. This distance enables the observer to judge from the sources themselves, not from current realities. Furthermore, in the political environment the time around 1980 marks the beginning of a new period in Tanzanian society. The war with Uganda 1978–79 and the decline of socialism in Tanzania marked a juncture in public life that was paralleled in the history of Tanzanian Adventism. The uniformity, authoritarian structure, and relative peace in the church and the nation first began to be seriously challenged in the 1980s when the different ethnic groups began to assert their roles more audibly.

Most important, however, have been certain developments in the history of Tanzanian Adventism itself. The church had attained a significant degree of autonomy and sophistication, and a relatively strong unity on lifestyle questions still existed, yet genuine folk church situations had already developed in several regions. Adventists had spread throughout the country as far as urban centres are concerned, but they were still largely absent from the rural areas outside the few fields where the denomination had been established in the generations before. Thus, 1980 marks a period when continuity with the pre-independence tendencies was still noticeable. At the same time, Tanzanian Adventism could self-assuredly display itself as a thoroughly African church with indigenous leadership for the first time: in 1980, Tanzania Union and all the Fields had indigenous leaders for the first time; the denomination had its own college and press as well as the first publications by Tanzanians since 1975/1976, and the first Tanzanian, John Kisaka, had acquired a doctorate in the field of theology in 1979.

(7 and 8). Chapter 10 is special in that it takes up the thread that runs through the whole study. In one sense, it is the continuation of the first part with its focus on particular areas and the spread of Adventism to new regions. In another sense, by discussing Tanzanian Adventism as a folk church it takes up an aspect of the guiding theme of this study and analyses it in its own right.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LAUNCHING BASE: EUROPEAN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate the developments that led to the beginning of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania in 1903. This will be done in three steps: (1) The early development of this young denomination and major theological concepts that were of importance for its missionary undertakings will be outlined. (2) The character of the movement in Europe will be investigated. Since European Adventists first brought this particular brand of Christianity to the then German East Africa, their peculiar identity reveals something about the background and characteristics of Tanzanian Adventism as well. (3) Finally, the steps that led to the establishment of the first Adventist mission in Tanzania will be examined.

2.1 *The Historical and Theological Background*

The Development of Seventh-Day Adventist Identity in the Nineteenth Century

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was two generations old. As a missionary movement with roots in the North American Millerite Revival,¹ Adventism was a product of the nineteenth century and in some respects resembled other “post-classical” missionary movements, which also had their origin in nineteenth century revival movements.² Since its inception in the aftermath of

¹ This movement, named after its initiator, William Miller, first emphasized the soon return of Christ and finally set its date for 1843–1844. See Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); George Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise: Pacific Press, 1993); and Everett N. Dick, *William Miller and the Advent Crisis, 1831–1844* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1994).

² Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 13, 24–26, 121, defines as “post-classical missions” those that were founded from the nineteenth century onward, independent of older established churches, while “classical missions” are those that were strongly related to

Millerism in the mid-1840s and its official organization in 1863,³ the Seventh-day Adventist movement had experienced both continuity and change. Once a theological profile had developed by the early 1850s, several constants preserved the identity of the nascent denomination: a strong emphasis on distinctive eschatological teachings⁴ and the Sabbath doctrine,⁵ which led the denomination to adopt its name,⁶ and its peculiar remnant ecclesiology.

The remnant concept had its historical origin in the experiences after the “Great Disappointment” of 1844. The awaited end of the world had not come and only a small number of believers continued to assert the importance of the particular interpretation of apocalyptic prophecy that the Millerites had promoted. As an increasingly strong profile developed among this “Little Remnant Scattered Abroad”⁷ through emphasis on the Sabbath and a few other doctrines,⁸ sabbatarian Adventists came to view themselves as the eschatological “remnant”

the older Protestant churches, and often worked with the objective of founding folk churches. Many other post-classical missions (especially the “Faith Missions”) had their origin in revivals, especially the one that climaxed in 1859 and 1873 in the USA and England, respectively; see *ibid.*, 112, 115–116. These revivals were also connected to the nineteenth century Prophetic Movement and thus to roots of Adventism.

³ For a detailed account of the theological developments during the founding stages of the Seventh-day Adventist Church including the Millerite Movement, see P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-Day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977).

⁴ Among the multitude of Adventist works on eschatology, see V. Norskov Olsen, ed., *The Advent Hope in Scripture and History* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1987), and Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1911), 582–678. The latter is one of Ellen White’s most well-known books.

⁵ There has been a large amount of literature on this subject written by Seventh-day Adventists. Among them, two outstanding books are Kenneth A. Strand, ed., *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1982); and John Nevins Andrews, *History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1861).

⁶ The nickname “Adventists” had originally been given to Millerites by outsiders, which is a parallel to the way the name “Methodists” originated. The denominational designation “Seventh-day Adventists” was adopted in 1860, three years before the official organization of the denomination, by leaders of the movement in the process of incorporating the publishing association that was then the main bond holding sabbatarian Adventists together.

⁷ This term occurred in the title of one of the first publications of Ellen White: Ellen Harmon, *To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad*, Broadside (Portland: n.p., 1846).

⁸ They have been popularly summarized as Second Coming, Sabbath, Sanctuary, Spirit of Prophecy, and State of the Dead.

of Revelation 12:17.⁹ From the 1850s onward, the term had become a common self-designation of the movement, and soon the concept emerged as an explicit teaching through the creation of the expression “Remnant Church.”¹⁰ Although this ecclesiological view did not imply that Adventists were the only true Christians on earth,¹¹ it did express the claim that this denomination fulfilled a special role in God’s plan with the world, calling others to accept biblical teachings that had been neglected before. Thus, early Adventist ecclesiology contained strong elements of exclusivism coupled with a missionary impetus directed towards other Christians.

⁹ One argument that has been used since that time is that Ellen White’s prophetic ministry confirms the “remnant” nature of Seventh-day Adventism. The chain of logic used in this argument connects several texts in the biblical book of Revelation. Revelation 12:17 speaks about the “remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ” (King James Version). The “testimony of Jesus” is identified with “the spirit of prophecy” in Revelation 19:10, whence Adventists conclude that the prophetic gift is a mark of identity of the remnant. Since Ellen White had the prophetic gift, so they argue, Adventism fulfils this criterion. See *Seventh-Day Adventists Believe*, 247–261 (on “The Gift of Prophecy,” one of the Adventist 28 Fundamental Beliefs), especially 221 on the verses above, and Hans K. LaRondelle, “The Remnant and the Three Angels’ Messages,” in *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000), 886–888.

¹⁰ For a historical overview of Adventist pronouncements regarding the remnant concept, see Rolf J. Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2000), 105–109. An Adventist’s study of the Old Testament remnant concept is Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1972). More recent publications and works on Adventist ecclesiology and the remnant concept include Clifford Goldstein, *The Remnant: Biblical Reality or Wishful Thinking?* (Boise: Pacific Press, 1994); Johannes Mager, ed., *Die Gemeinde und ihr Auftrag* (Hamburg: Saatkorn, 1994); Gerald A. Klingbeil, Martin G. Klingbeil, and Miguel Angel Núñez, eds., *Pensar la Iglesia Hoy: Hacia una Eclesiología Adventista* (Libertador San Martín: Editorial Universidad Adventista del Plata, 2002); Carmelo L. Martínez, “El concepto de remanente in la Iglesia Adventista del Séptimo Día: Razones subyacentes en el debate contemporáneo,” Ph.D. diss., River Plate Adventist University, 2002; and Gerald A. Klingbeil, “Ecclesiology in Seventh-Day Adventist Theological Research, 1995–2004: A Brief Introduction and Bibliographical Guide,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 43, no. 1 (2005): 11–29.

¹¹ When asked whether Adventists claimed to constitute the only true church in 1870, an article in the denominational magazine clarified, “The Seventh-day Adventists have never put forth this claim. We attach great importance to the doctrines which we cherish; but we have ever held that God has true people wherever men are found who are obeying what light they have.” See J.N. Andrews and J.H. Waggoner, “The Articles of Eld. T.M. Preble,” *RH* 35 (15 February 1870): 60. A similar point is made by Jack W. Provonsha, *A Remnant in Crisis* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 1993). He emphasizes that the remnant motif implies a task and the call to be a prophetic movement, not an ontological quality of an organization: “God’s true church is bigger than anything humans... can turn into an exclusive institution.” (*Ibid.*, 167).

The numerical connotation of the remnant concept matched well with the smallness of Adventist congregations during those early years. Although the movement engaged in evangelism throughout the 1850s, many sabbatarian Adventists resisted the establishment of a denominational organization for many years. A theological reason for this attitude was the expectation of an imminent end of history, which obviously meant that an officialized church structure was not necessary. Furthermore, many believed that any formal association would constitute a part of “Babylon,” i.e., those churches that Adventists had left during the early 1840s. These views became obsolete, however, when an increasing number of Adventists wanted to see their movement formally incorporated in order to fulfil the missionary task that they felt called to do. A visible entity, they reasoned, would challenge the world to recognize the existence of the remnant and its message. The ultimate denominational organization of 1863 then became the foundation for a mission programme that would reach beyond the boundaries of North America.¹²

Still, the decades that followed were devoted to a mission with a rather limited scope: calling out Christians from other, mainly Protestant, denominations to join their ranks. The world at large with its non-Christian population had not yet been discovered. Adventists were largely found in North America, with small congregations starting to emerge in Europe, Australia, and South Africa. The denomination’s identity was that of a reform movement, which had neither the means nor the will to reach out to the non-Christian world. Rather, its task was believed to be warning supposedly nominal Christians of the coming doom and calling them to prepare for the last events of history by following all the commandments of God and joining the Adventist “Remnant Church.”¹³

Of central importance to the young church was the prophetic leadership of Ellen G. White (1827–1915).¹⁴ She never held any official

¹² Borge F. Schantz, “The Development of Seventh-Day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal,” Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983, 199–278, distinguishes the “American experience” period of Adventist mission from 1830 to 1860 and the “Christendom experience,” i.e., outreach beyond America into other countries with a Christian heritage, from 1860 to 1890.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 237–278.

¹⁴ Since 1844, Ellen G. White experienced visions and had dreams that contained directions and advice concerning the work and life of Adventists. She and her husband

position in the denominational hierarchy but was most influential in the movement through her writings and advice. Mrs White's role was crucial several respects. (1) She gave legitimation to the denomination's claim to be the eschatological remnant through her prophetic gift.¹⁵ (2) She represented continuity with the Millerite Movement, in which she had been involved and which she interpreted as part of God's plan. (3) She had helped to shape the early sabbatarian Adventism. (4) As the movement of Sabbath-keeping Adventists continued to expand, Mrs White supported several key innovations, notably in the realm of doctrine.¹⁶ (5) Her role as an agent of change was even more visible in the issues that concerned church operations and the believers' lives, such as the elaboration of a peculiar Adventist lifestyle,¹⁷ the development of educational institutions,¹⁸ the denomination's publishing efforts, its organizational setup,¹⁹ and the church's missionary programmes.²⁰

started keeping the Sabbath in 1846 and then personally kept the sabbatarian movement together for several years. Throughout her life and beyond, Seventh-day Adventists have respected her voice as authoritative on matters of religious life. Among the many works on her, see Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (Washington, D.C.: Ellen G. White Estate, 1959); Roy E. Graham, *Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (New York: Lang, 1985); George R. Knight, *Meeting Ellen White* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 1996); and Herbert E. Douglass, *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 1998).

¹⁵ For a discussion of the reasoning behind, see footnote 9 above in this chapter.

¹⁶ On the doctrinal level, modifications and novelties that Ellen White influenced included (1) the rejection of the "shut door" concept, the teaching held by prominent sabbatarians for some years that only Millerites had access to salvation after 1844, (2) the keeping of the Sabbath from sunset to sunset, different from the previous 6 p.m. to 6 p.m. pattern, and (3) much later the adoption of trinitarian theology including the personality of the Holy Spirit; see Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching*, 36–109 and 225–244.

¹⁷ Ronald Numbers, *Prophets of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

¹⁸ Cf. Floyd Greenleaf, *In Passion for the World: A History of Seventh-Day Adventist Education* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 2005); and George R. Knight, ed., *Early Adventist Educators* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1983). Ellen White published several books on education, including *Education* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1903), and *Counsels to Parents, Teachers, and Students* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1913).

¹⁹ George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2001), 28–66; Barry D. Oliver, *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present and Future* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1989).

²⁰ On the emergence of Adventist missiological thought, see Stefan Höschele, *From the End of the World to the Ends of the Earth: An Overview of Adventist Missiology* (Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 2004); and Schantz, "The Development of SDA Missionary Thought," 199–346.

Given this crucial role in the shaping of Adventism, it is not surprising that she was also instrumental in helping the denomination manage a major doctrinal crisis one generation after its organizational foundations had been laid. At the 1888 General Conference meeting in Minneapolis, a serious theological confrontation occurred between two groups: on the one side, Ellet J. Waggoner and Alonzo T. Jones, church leaders of the younger generation, and on the other, most of the older denominational leadership. Ellen G. White sided with Jones and Waggoner, who emphasized the centrality of the doctrine of justification by faith, challenging many older leaders' implied or sometimes open soteriological legalism. This led to hostile reactions from a large number of delegates, but ultimately the theological shift was accepted by most church leaders.²¹ By reemphasizing this central element of Protestant theology, post-1888 Seventh-day Adventism implicitly redefined its ecclesiology as well. The remnant paradigm was no longer sufficient if distinctive Adventist teachings could be assigned a rank secondary to general Protestant persuasions.

It is probably more than a coincidence that the church sent missionaries to the non-Christian world for the first time in the 1890s. With a renewed, Christocentric identity, the Adventist movement was no longer only a religious protest group among Christians but also a church that had a message for non-Christian peoples. Different from the remnant paradigm, which defined the aim of Adventist activities as converting individuals from a Christian background, reaching out to those who did not know Christ and Christianity implied the option of becoming a major religious community in some societies.

Adventist Ecclesiology and Missiology at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Still, the new theological emphasis at the end of the nineteenth century did not mean a complete transformation of the Adventist message. Rather, the distinctive elements of Adventist theology were retained while a gradual realignment with general Christianity occurred.²² What

²¹ On 1888, a much-discussed chapter of Adventist history and theology, see, among the many works, George R. Knight, *A User-Friendly Guide to the 1888 Message* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 1998).

²² This realignment was probably not only an Adventist phenomenon. Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart observe that the American religious scene was more diverse in the mid-nineteenth century than in the beginning twentieth century, and that Adventism therefore followed a general trend to some extent; see Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-Day Adventism and the American Dream* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 91.

resulted from this merger of grace and law, of Christ-centredness and a heritage of distinctive teachings about Christian life and obedience, was a movement that was clearly evangelical in character²³ but was often still considered as a sectarian body by outsiders. The ostracism brought upon its adherents by other Christians certainly reinforced the self-image of being the remnant of God's few elect. Yet the very fact that the movement had organized itself into a church that held all orthodox Christian teachings²⁴ made the denomination resemble other Protestant denominations.

It is therefore with an ecclesiological double identity that Seventh-day Adventists entered the twentieth century. The remnant teaching provided the impetus for targeting other Christians with the proclamation of distinctive Adventist doctrines. The self-understanding as a church made it possible to reach out to the world. These two concepts were not mutually exclusive; rather, in practice the two concepts could also merge or constitute two complementary aspects. In Europe and America, Adventists would at times present themselves as the *true* church and preach that other denominations had become "Babylon" and were therefore not churches of God any more.²⁵ In missionary endeavours

²³ For a portrayal of Adventism as part of Evangelicalism, see Russell L. Staples, "Adventism," in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, ed. Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 57–71.

²⁴ An exception is the fact that some leading individuals (e.g., James White and Uriah Smith) held anti-trinitarian views in the nineteenth century. Still, the movement as a whole did not endorse any heretical teaching as far as major Christian dogma is concerned (as found, for instance, in the Nicene Creed). No official statement of beliefs was published until 1931 (a 1872 statement written by Uriah Smith, the editor of the *Review and Herald*, the denominational magazine, was unofficial). Until the present, Adventists emphasize that "the Bible is our only creed" in spite of the fact that the church has an elaborate collection of official doctrines last reformulated at the 1980 General Conference session in 27 articles and supplemented in 2005 with a 28th article. See Rolf J. Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching*, 36–40 (on anti-trinitarians) and 257–276 (the 1872, 1931, and 1980 statements of faith).

²⁵ The designation "Babylon" is rooted in Revelation 14:8, 9 where it is described as "fallen." These verses had already been applied by Millerites to the churches that they had come from and that had rejected the Millerite Movement. Seventh-day Adventists accepted this heritage and reinterpreted "Babylon" to refer to other churches that teach doctrines which Adventists consider unbiblical, such as Sunday observance, the immortality of the soul, or children's baptism. Cf. the chapter, "What constitutes Babylon?," in *Seventh-Day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Explanation of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-Day Adventist Belief* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1957), 197–202.

among non-Christians, Adventists could present themselves as the *only* church because competing denominations were often far away.

However, a major aspect of remnant ecclesiology and a central motif in the Adventist understanding of mission was “warning the world” of God’s impending judgement. The denominational task was conceived as conveying the “last message” to the perishing human race.²⁶ Therefore, Adventist mission and evangelism naturally did not aim at producing folk churches. Such churches would comprise a majority or the whole of a people in a given area, resulting in a *corpus permixtum* of more and less dedicated church members. This ecclesiological concept was directly opposed to Adventism’s strong persuasions of the necessity of individual conversion in view of the impending final events of history and the present investigative judgement.²⁷ Early Moravian concepts of mission, “winning souls for the lamb” or harvesting “firstfruits” of different nations²⁸ were much closer to Adventist missionary objectives, albeit on a different theological basis.²⁹

²⁶ The importance of this theme is easily visible when one examines the books of Ellen G. White. In her main books found in *The Ellen G. White Writings: Standard Library Edition* [CD-ROM] (Silver Spring: Ellen G. White Estate, 1998), the expression “last warning” appears 58 times. “Warning (to) the world” appears 92 times, and “last message” 170 times. Ernst Kotz, a major early missionary to Tanzania, also uses the expression “the last message” in the first sentence of his first book *Von Schwarzen und Weißen* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1919), 3. Expressions frequently found in Adventist literature that parallel the “last message” concept are the “third angel’s message” or the “three angels’ messages” of Revelation 14, a biblical chapter that Adventists commonly interpreted to refer to themselves.

²⁷ Adventists distinguish three phases of the eschatological judgement: the investigative phase, the pronouncing of the sentence, and the execution. In this context, the teaching about the “investigative judgement” is that a heavenly-antitypical “Day of Atonement,” the judgement phase preceding the *parousia*, is taking place since 1844, the end of the 2300 day-year period indicated in Daniel 8:14. This stage represents the closing chapters of history and the decision about every individual’s eternal destiny; therefore, this teaching adds to the urgency of Adventism’s eschatological message. See part two of the chapter “The Investigative Judgment in the Setting of the Arminian Concept,” in *Seventh-Day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, 423–445, and page 422 on the three phases.

²⁸ John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 100; Erich Beyreuther, *Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1962), 155–156. The Moravian “firstfruit” concept is connected with Revelation 14:4, an interesting fact when one considers that Adventist identity was strongly shaped by the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation.

²⁹ Missionary objectives stated in the context of the German East African mission confirm this. They included the aim that “souls may be gathered out from among the sons of Ham” and that “before long some souls here will wait for the Lord’s coming”; see Guy Dail, “First-Fruits From German East Africa,” RH 85 (4 June 1908): 13–14; and B. Ohme, “Majita, East Africa,” RH 89 (7 March 1912): 13.

The organizational effect of the Adventist remnant theology was the close integration of missionary activities in the structure of the denomination. To a large extent, “church” was identical with “mission.” The 1901 reorganization of the global denominational structure did away with the Adventist Foreign Mission Board, which had existed since 1889. Instead, the General Conference Executive Committee became the authoritative body that decided all matters of foreign mission. The idea behind this structural readjustment was that the whole church was to be a mission agency; thus, the highest executive body of the denomination rather than a semi-independent organization was to take the mission of the church into its hands.³⁰ What is more, in Europe, the whole denomination was explicitly conceived as a “mission society,”³¹ and every country was regarded as a mission field.³²

In the context of their remnant teaching, it is also important to understand how early twentieth century Adventists viewed the missionary work of other Christian churches and their own mission as related to it. The first article in the German Adventist mission magazine that appeared from 1914 onward, *Der Advent-Bote in der Heidenwelt* (“The Advent Messenger in the Heathen World”), expresses appreciation of the “century of mission,” thus crediting other Protestant mission agencies with doing a significant part of God’s work in the nineteenth century. Every new penetration into the “dark world of the heathen” by other churches was viewed as a sign of Christ’s near return. At the same time, it was maintained that God “has intended for the time of the end a special work for the full shaping of the Kingdom of God.” Although the work of other denominations was not rejected as such, the eternal Gospel was believed to be most tangible among those who proclaim the “commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.”³³ The role of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, hence, was defined as halfway between a reform movement among other Christians and a mission agency for the entire world.

³⁰ Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 271, 278.

³¹ MB 1913, 5. It should be noted that this motif was another parallel to a Moravian feature.

³² In Germany, an Adventist foreign mission society, the Advent-Missionsgesellschaft, was operated from 1913 onward, but it was fully dependent on the church and actually reinforced the Adventist self-understanding as a missionary movement.

³³ “Der Adventbote in der Heidenwelt,” ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 2, 4, with reference to Rev. 14:12.

A major task of the remnant was believed to be the eschatological role of ushering in the end by fulfilling the last prophecy that was waiting for consummation: the preaching of the gospel as a testimony for all nations according to Matthew 24:14.³⁴ Although Adventists at times focused their prophetic interest upon political events and speculated that these might indicate the end of history, it was the completed mission of preaching the gospel to all the world that was believed to be the key sign of the soon second coming of Christ.³⁵ Therefore, the “Remnant Church” had to participate in the Christian mission to the whole world and even excel in it in order to contribute to the acceleration of the awaited consummation of history.

2.2 *The Missionary Role of European Adventism*

The First Mission Field: Establishing a European Remnant

The beginning of Adventist mission in Europe belongs to the period before the denomination engaged in worldwide missionary activities, and its character was similar to the intra-Christian evangelism practised in North America. Yet the very existence of a European Adventism constituted a step of great importance. It is in Europe where the American-born movement first encountered serious cultural and societal differences. These forced Adventists to search for evangelistic techniques appropriate for the differing circumstances.³⁶ Moreover, even Adventist identity as such had to be conceptualized afresh, for the Millerite

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

³⁵ MB 1913, 3. Still, eschatological events were expected to come very soon in spite of the tremendous missionary task in Africa for Christianity, let alone for Adventism by itself. This is seen in a statement made by the former General Conference president George A. Irwin that he made after visiting the East African coast. He praised God’s providence of making it possible “to reach the native peoples in the interior of this great continent with the third angel’s message in this generation.” See G.A. Irwin, “From Zanzibar to Port Said,” RH 84 (18 July 1907): 14. Irwin had been General Conference president from 1897 to 1901.

³⁶ Daniel Heinz describes how John N. Andrews, the first missionary of the denomination, who was sent to Switzerland in 1874, encountered an environment that differed so radically from the USA that he did not succeed in contributing significantly to the growth of the church during his years of service. See Daniel Heinz, “L.R. Conrads missionarischer Durchbruch: Ein Modell für die Zukunft?,” in *Die Adventisten und Hamburg: Von der Ortsgemeinde zur internationalen Bewegung*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träger and George R. Knight (Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 148.

Movement, which had been crucial in the formation of Seventh-day Adventism, had not reached most of Europe, and references to it therefore seemed rather irrelevant.³⁷ After an initial period of little success in the 1870s and early 1880s, the denomination's agents started to contextualize their message to some degree. This was a necessity because Adventism did not come to the Old World as a revival movement but as a rival denomination. Moreover, much of the European population was, unlike Americans, not Protestant, but Catholic, a fact that forced Adventists to find new ways of delivering their message.

In many parts of Europe, Seventh-day Adventism was perceived as a somewhat strange phenomenon, an "American sect," during those years. The religious situation in Europe differed markedly from the "free religious market" in North America. Almost all countries had established churches that dominated the religious scene and left but little room for other denominations to grow. Thus, persecution, proscription, or popular contempt was the rule of treating religious minorities like the Seventh-day Adventists to a larger extent than was the case in the USA. In short, Adventism had to expect remaining a minority group, a numerical and sociological remnant, in Europe.³⁸

There was one case, however, where relatively fast growth occurred: Germany.³⁹ The membership expansion was impressive in the first decades: from 2,000 members in 1900, the movement grew to almost 15,000 in 1914 and to 35,000 in the mid-1930s.⁴⁰ The main factors for the early success of Adventism in Germany may have been that some denominational diversity was accepted by society and that the Adventist message had to be thoroughly translated. This necessitated native

³⁷ There was some limited impact of the Millerite Movement on England; see Hugh I. Dunton, "The Millerite Adventists and Other Millenarian Groups in Great Britain, 1830–1860," Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1984. The rest of Europe, however, apparently experienced hardly any Millerite influence. Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-Day Adventist Message and Mission*, 53–55, only mentions Great Britain and missionaries around the world as being part of the "Millerite World Mission," but no significant translation activity that targeted other European countries.

³⁸ On Adventist history in Europe in general, see Hugh I. Dunton et al., eds., *Heirs of the Reformation: The Story of Seventh-Day Adventists in Europe* (Grantham: Stanborough, 1997).

³⁹ This period is covered by the dissertation of Gerhard Padderatz, *Conradi und Hamburg: Die Anfänge der deutschen Adventgemeinde (1889–1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der organisatorischen, finanziellen und sozialen Aspekte* (Hamburg: by the author, 1978). An earlier dissertation on the era that uses mainly American sources is Jacob M. Patt, "The History of the Advent Movement in Germany," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1958.

⁴⁰ For the statistics, see the *Seventh-Day Adventist Yearbook* of the years concerned.

leadership, different from England, where one might have expected the greatest impact because of missing language barriers. Yet since both literature and leadership mostly came from the other side of the ocean, the British Adventist Church was never quite able to free itself from the stigma of being American in its first decades of existence. In contrast, German Adventists had indigenous leadership from the very beginning. Apparently the very necessity of translating the Adventist message into German, not only linguistically, but culturally, enhanced the movement's growth.⁴¹

In some respects, the patterns of Adventist church planting and growth in most of Europe were similar to those in the United States, but they differed in important details. There were three main methods of propagation. The first was "literature evangelism," i.e., the selling of books containing the Adventist message by "colporteurs" who could thus earn a living while spreading Adventism.⁴² Ludwig Richard Conradi (1856–1939), the outstanding European Adventist leader of the period, had established a school for colporteur training in Hamburg shortly after his arrival from the USA, and books soon helped establish the first Adventist congregations in Germany and beyond.⁴³ The second method was public lectures. They commonly drew people's attention to the prophetic writings of the Bible and connected them with current events, thus attracting a considerable number of listeners. The approach in these meetings was, however, less aggressive than the American counterpart, where meetings were often conducted as religious debates or revivalist preaching. In this respect, conservative Europe demanded some inculturation.⁴⁴ The third was personal witness,

⁴¹ This argument is presented by Schantz, "The Development of SDA Missionary Thought," 695–701.

⁴² This occupation also helped many early Adventists to survive when they lost their jobs because of refusing to work on Saturdays. It thus constituted not only a missionary method but also an attractive economic alternative for enterprising individuals. For later parallels in Tanzania, see 10.2.

⁴³ Johannes Hartlapp, "Germany," in *Heirs of the Reformation: The Story of Seventh-Day Adventists in Europe*, ed. Dunton et al. (Grantham: Stanborough, 1997), 103. Conradi also founded the Hamburg-based publishing house *Internationale Traktatgesellschaft* (International Tract Society) in 1889. It produced German books and evangelistic papers such as the *Herold der Wahrheit* (Herald of the Truth) with editions going beyond 100,000; literature in 13 other languages was added from 1895 onwards. From 1903 to the 1920s, publishing house branches were established in seven European countries. See "Advent-Verlag," SDAE, 7.

⁴⁴ Daniel Heinz, "Origin and Growth of Seventh-Day Adventists in North America and Europe and their Outreach in Africa," in *The Development of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Eastern Africa*, ed. K.B. Elineema (Dar es Salaam: by the editor, 1992), 34.

frequently accompanied by Bible instruction in homes; this was done by lay members, colporteurs, and pastors. Bible studies in people's homes were especially appreciated in areas with Pietistic traditions.⁴⁵ All in all, European Adventist evangelistic methods were a first experiment of adapting Adventism to a new context, an experience that should prove helpful for the Tanzanian missions to be founded.

A dimension of European Adventism that differed to some extent from American Adventism was that in America the denomination had already developed a large number of institutions by World War I, especially schools. European Adventists tried to do the same but did not succeed to the same degree: the membership basis was small and scattered, the church had to operate in so many different countries where Adventists were often not legally recognized, and school systems were largely state-operated. The observation that Seventh-day Adventist constructed their own world in an "alternative social system that meets the needs of its members from the cradle to the grave"⁴⁶ was valid in North America quite early. In Europe, however, it was hardly applicable. In this respect, European Adventism was a step backwards from a kind of North American Adventist folk church that was developing around Adventist institutions. In the Old World, Adventism became a scattered remnant again.

One way of expressing this Adventist remnant identity was ecclesiological terminology. Similar to other small denominations, which today are also called "free churches" in Germany,⁴⁷ German Adventists preferred not to use the word *Kirche* ("church") to describe itself but

⁴⁵ Dunton et al., eds., *Heirs of the Reformation*, passim; Daniel Heinz, "L.R. Conradis missionarischer Durchbruch," 159. Lothar E. Träder, "Erziehungskonzepte und Gemeindegewachstumsstrategien zwischen 1889 und 1933," in *Die Adventisten und Hamburg*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träder, and George R. Knight (Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 101–106, refers to these three mentioned evangelistic methods first and adds a number of others practised especially in Germany, such as port mission, Sunday School, and the Youth Association, which, however, were only of secondary importance.

⁴⁶ Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, 96.

⁴⁷ On these denominations, which view themselves as alternatives to the dominating territorial churches, and for a general discussion of the German concept of "free churches," see Erich Geldbach, *Freikirchen—Erbe, Gestalt und Wirkung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989). Geldbach includes the following denominations in his portrayal: Mennonites, Hutterites, Baptists, Free Evangelical Churches, Methodists, the Salvation Army, Nazarenes, Pentecostals, Quakers, Moravians, and Adventists. It is illuminating that the section that Geldbach devotes to Adventists starts with the question whether they are really a "free church" or rather what is commonly viewed as a "sect." He proposes that there are dimensions in Adventism that led to the latter view but since Adventists do not view themselves as the only true believers they should be considered a *Freikirche*.

(*Advent-*) *Gemeinde* for the local church and both (*Advent-*) *Gemeinde* and *Gemeinschaft* for the organization.⁴⁸ Both are words that emphasize closeness and fellowship. *Kirche*, in contrast, was applied by Adventists to the large Catholic and Protestant bodies.⁴⁹ This term often signifies the institutional aspect and the territorial nature of religious organizations and was assigned rather negative connotations by Adventists. Because of the power of majority churches, their apparatus and tradition, their supposed preoccupation with this-worldly matters, some of their doctrines that Adventists viewed as unbiblical, and the large number of nominal members among them, in short, their identity as folk churches, the term *Kirche* was viewed with theological suspicion.⁵⁰ It was *Gemeinde der Übrigen* (remnant church),⁵¹ a term often construed to mean the congregation of the few, which was considered the true *ekklesia*.⁵²

⁴⁸ Cf. the discussion in Manfred Böttcher, *Wagnis des Glaubens: Dialog und Zeugnis der Adventgemeinden in der DDR* (Hannover: Norddeutscher Verband der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten, 2001), 16–17. It is difficult to translate *Gemeinde*. The word is used for a village or urban (political) community, a parish, or for a local church congregation when emphasizing the people as constituents of the respective entity. In the Evangelical Church in Germany, the word *Kirchengemeinde* is often used. *Gemeinschaft* means “fellowship.” Even the regional and national organizational levels of the Seventh-day Adventist Church were translated into German with terms that entail closeness: *Vereinigung* and *Verband*.

⁴⁹ In Germany, the territorial Protestant churches are Reformed and Lutheran Churches as well as the “Evangelical Church of the Union,” which is a result of their amalgamation mainly in the former Prussia. Adventists, however, never saw a big difference between them, for they were all traditionally linked to state power. Other Protestant churches such as the Brethren, Baptists, and Methodists, had comparatively few adherents and thus did not constitute a major conflicting group. Some of them used similar terminology (“*Gemeinde*”) in attempt to distinguish themselves from the territorial churches.

⁵⁰ The distinction between *Gemeinde* and *Kirche* has dominated Adventist ecclesiology in German-speaking countries until far into the twentieth century. In the first doctoral dissertation by a German Adventist in the field of theology, Johannes Schwital contrasts *Großkirche* (which means majority church) and *Sekte* (sect) and gives the sect a quite positive meaning. Another (Austrian) Adventist theologian, Hans Heinz, has two chapters on *Gemeinde* in his dogmatics textbook where *Kirche* appears mainly as “fallen church” while *Gemeinde* is the true church. See Schwital, *Großkirche und Sekte: Eine Studie zum Selbstverständnis der Sekte* (Hamburg: Saatkorn, 1962) [Dr. phil. diss., Frankfurt University, 1961]; and Heinz, *Dogmatik: Glaubenslehren der Heiligen Schrift* (Bern: Europäisches Institut für Fernstudium, 1974), 181–202.

⁵¹ “*Gemeinde der Übrigen*” is the official translation of the English expression “Remnant Church”; see, e.g., Richard Lehmann, “Die Übrigen und ihr Auftrag,” in *Die Gemeinde und ihr Auftrag*, ed. Johannes Mager (Hamburg: Saatkorn, 1994), 74–78, 98–101.

⁵² At the same time, *Gemeinde der Übrigen* and opposition to the established churches contained a missionary dimension. Since to them *Kirche* had become an epithet of

The peculiarities that were visible in Adventist evangelism and ecclesiological terminology obviously had theological roots. Adventism was held together by a high degree of theological uniformity. At the same time, European Seventh-day Adventists, and particularly their leader in the first decades, Conradi, attempted to establish a European Adventist theological identity that would make them less dependent on American Adventism.⁵³ Of course, the most important and distinctive denominational teachings, eschatology, the Sabbath, and remnant ecclesiology, were given the same prominence as in North America. Still, Adventists in the Old World developed the idea of a European Adventism that preceded North American Adventism by trying to trace Adventist teachings back to the Reformation, the Anabaptists, Pietism,⁵⁴ and the English Advent Movement.⁵⁵ Furthermore, many continental Adventists,

immobility, German Adventists liked to present themselves as the “Advent Movement,” which was actually not a *Kirche* but a dynamic, growing religious community.

⁵³ The distinct character of parts of European Adventism has even been observed by outsiders. Irmgard Simon observes: “In spite of its North American origin, since the establishment on German soil it [German Adventism] had its own character, which is rooted in the tradition of European history of spirituality.” See her book *Die Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in volkskundlicher Sicht* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 217.

⁵⁴ For instance, Adventists liked to emphasize their similarities with the Moravians, who had introduced Sabbath keeping and foot washing (two practices cherished by Adventists) in some of their communities for some time and organized outstanding missionary endeavours in the 18th century; see MB 1910, 5, where Moravians are referred to in a very positive way. On these features among Moravians, see John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 85, 170–171. The American Moravian council introduced Saturday observance in addition to Sunday keeping in 1752, but this double observance was discarded after a few years. Foot washing was introduced in the late 1720s at Herrnhut but was discontinued after Zinzendorf’s death. For an Adventist appreciation of Zinzendorf, see Hans Heinz, “Nikolaus Ludwig Graf Zinzendorf—Wertschätzung und Auseinandersetzung aus adventistischer Sicht,” *Freikirchenforschung* 3 (1993): 65–75.

⁵⁵ Hans Heinz, “Die theologische Prägung der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Deutschland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer nordamerikanischen Wurzeln,” in *Die Adventisten und Hamburg*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träder, and George R. Knight (Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 39–45; Heinz, “Origin and Growth of Seventh-Day Adventists,” 38. On the (non-Millerite) English Advent Movement to which belonged individuals like Henry Drummond and Edward Irving, the father of the Catholic Apostolic Church, see, e.g., Arnold Dallimore, *Forerunner of the Charismatic Movement: The Life of Edward Irving* (Chicago: Moody, 1983); and the Adventist classic LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1946), 435–447 [Drummond] and 514–526 [Irving].

particularly in Germany, put less emphasis on the Adventist sanctuary teaching⁵⁶ and the prophetic role of Ellen White.⁵⁷

It may seem a paradox of history that Conradi, who had most consciously worked at making the denomination fit in with the European context, finally left the church that he had built.⁵⁸ Yet this break also shows that Adventist theology had its neuralgic points that could not easily be adapted to new environments. At the same time, European Adventism's search for identity was a model for European missionary work outside the continent. The central tenets of Adventist faith were to be upheld, but evangelistic methods, cultural issues, and historical points of reference could differ. In short, it was possible to contextualize Adventism—at least to some degree.

The Second Mission Base: Planning a Worldwide Church

Europe played an important role in the global Adventist expansion not only as the first major mission field and as a first attempt at an inculturated Seventh-day Adventism, but also because it developed into the second mission base in the worldwide outreach of the denomination after just one generation of organized work in the Old World.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ The sanctuary teaching explained the “Great Disappointment” of 1844 by interpreting Daniel 8:14 in a way that differed from the view of the Millerite Movement. While Millerites had believed this verse indicated the end of history, Seventh-day Adventists construed that Jesus’ high priestly ministry had entered a new phase. On the sanctuary teaching, see Roy Adams, *The Sanctuary Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1981).

⁵⁷ Daniel Heinz, *Ludwig Richard Conradi: Missionar, Evangelist und Organisator der Siebentags-Adventisten in Europa* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1998), 90–106.

⁵⁸ After his break with Adventism, Conradi initiated the German Seventh Day Baptist branch with two former Adventist pastors and a few hundred Adventists; by 1939, at the time of Conradi’s death, there were 533 Seventh Day Baptists in Germany. On Conradi’s break with Seventh-day Adventism in 1931–1932, see Johannes Hartlapp, “Eine vergessene Liebe: Ludwig Richard Conradi und die Adventgemeinde,” *Spektrum Christiana* 17 (2006): 69–83, and Heinz, *Ludwig Richard Conradi*, 93–111. Conradi’s views concerning Ellen White and the traditional Adventist sanctuary teaching had been critical since the beginning of his membership in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1878, and after World War I, when he was not appointed European Division president any more after the tensions of the war years, he must have felt bitterness. As a Field Secretary, he was freed from his many administrative duties and spent more time for studies that contributed to his theological break with Adventism.

⁵⁹ Adventist work in Europe started with a group of Swiss people who read Adventist literature in the late 1860s; however, no stable work was developed even during the time after the first ever Adventist foreign missionary, John Nevins Andrews, was sent to Switzerland in 1874. Only when some nationals returned from the United States were they able to trigger successful growth in their home countries. Two such individuals

This is not surprising: from its inception, European Adventism was a greatly diverse mission endeavour in itself. The movement targeted nations and regions as different as Protestant Scandinavia, Catholic Portugal, Germany with its mixed Protestant and Catholic population, and Orthodox Russia. Considerable intra-European missionary took place since the first Adventist churches were planted in Europe in the 1870s, with Swedes working in Finland, Germans in the Netherlands and Russia, Swiss in Belgium and France, and the like.⁶⁰

Besides, Conradi had great plans from the beginning of his activities in Europe. His choice of Hamburg, the “gate to the world” with its international flair, as the centre from which he started and directed much of European Adventism, testified to his far-reaching visions. The opening of the “Missionary and Industrial School” at Friedensau in the heart of Germany in 1899, with easy accessibility for the whole of Eastern and Central Europe, aimed at the same purpose: Adventism was to be spread across the whole of Europe and beyond.⁶¹

One can only understand the mood of European Adventists at the turn of the century when considering the epochal change that the 1901 reorganization of the structure of the worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church brought about. A North American denomination comprising 3,500 individuals in 1863 had developed to an international movement with 80,000 members. Thus, the time had come to initiate a model of international governance that would decentralize power and, at the same time, ensure global unity and a co-ordinated missionary programme. This happened at the 1901 General Conference. Two major innovations were made: (1) Formerly semi-independent entities such as the Foreign Mission Board, the Sabbath School Association, and the International Tract Society, were integrated into the church structure as departments. (2) An intermediate level between the local conferences and the General Conference was created for all regions

who made a great impact were John Gotlieb Matteson, who went back to his native Denmark in 1877, and L.R. Conradi, who came to Germany in 1886.

⁶⁰ Dunton et al., eds., *Heirs of the Reformation*, passim.

⁶¹ The committee action of the then German Conference regarding the envisioned school said, “In view of the task to proclaim the everlasting gospel to all peoples, languages, and tongues, we recommend to the dear brothers and sisters to establish a mission school in which workers are being trained both for the field at home and for the colonies of Germany and Holland that are found in all the world.” Quoted without source in *Chronik Friedensau: Von der Klappermühle zur Theologischen Hochschule, 1899–1999* (Friedensau: Theologische Hochschule Friedensau, [1999]), 6.

of the world: the Unions.⁶² In this new administrative model, much executive authority was vested in regional or national leaders, which was crucial for Europe, because now far-reaching decisions could be made by European Adventists themselves, including such significant ventures as outreach to other countries.⁶³

The turn of the century was an exciting period for Adventist mission as a whole. After most countries of Europe had been entered from the 1870s onwards,⁶⁴ South America and a few Asian and Pacific countries yielded their first converts in the 1890s. The first Black African countries, Ghana and Zimbabwe, saw missions being established in 1894,⁶⁵ and more Adventist undertakings began in Egypt, Lesotho, and Malawi up to 1902. The major missionary ventures, such as India, South America, and the Far East, remained almost entirely under American leadership because of the large potential of manpower and financial support in the birth country of Adventism. Moreover, Americans had a strong influence even in West Africa and the then Rhodesias. European missionaries had also been sent to countries in other continents such as Argentina, Brazil, Palestine, and Egypt, but these were still individual instances without an overall plan.⁶⁶

⁶² On the reorganization in 1901, see Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil*, 103–131.

⁶³ The trend of increasing power on the regional level was also visible in the formation of a “European General Conference” in the same year. It was a significant move in the direction of regional independent churches, which showed the Europeans’ will to administer their own affairs. The 1907 session of the worldwide General Conference discontinued the European bid for self-determination, but the “Divisions” that were formed in 1913 arose from the need to have yet another level of administration approximately corresponding to continents. See *ibid.*, 132–135.

⁶⁴ Switzerland was entered in 1870; Germany in 1874; Denmark and Italy in 1877; Norway and Great Britain in 1878, with most of the other countries following until shortly after the turn of the century. “Entered” in Adventist terminology means the establishment of a church, an official mission or institution, or a permanent mission worker conducting evangelistic activities. See Schantz, “The Development of SDA Missionary Thought,” 765–770.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 765–767. South Africa had its first (White) Adventists already in 1887.

⁶⁶ “Vuilleumier, Albert Frederic,” SDAE, 1384; “Argentina,” SDAE, 53–54; “Ribton, Herbert Panmure,” SDAE, 1084–1085; “United Arab Republic,” SDAE, 1363; “Brazil,” SDAE, 157–158; “Israel,” SDAE, 617. Wolfgang Hartlapp, “Von Deutschland ausgesandte Missionare und Krankenpflegepersonal im Zeitraum von 1902–1921,” AMs (photocopy), n.d., lists fourteen missionaries sent out from Germany before the mission in Tanzania started. On German Adventist missionary activities until World War I, see Stefan P. Adam, “Historischer Abriss über die weltweite Außenmission der deutschen Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten von den Anfängen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg,” Thesis, Theologisches Seminar Marienhöhe, 1990.

Seen in this context, it was logical that Europeans Adventists wanted to find their own mission fields. Watching American Adventists expand their network of mission over half of the world, and after some experience of sending European Adventist missionaries to various places but without an integrating strategy, European leaders decided to launch a large missionary project of their own. The then German East Africa seemed most promising to start with. It had the closest ties with Germany among its few colonies, and considerable missionary experience and literature from other religious bodies was available about this land. Furthermore, it was Germany where the largest Adventist membership had emerged by the beginning of the twentieth century, thus providing the strongest home base. The German Union session of 1902 made the following resolution:

As the German Empire owns a large mission field in the colonies and it is our duty to warn the peoples there, we therefore decide that the Union take steps so that we may obtain permission to establish a mission station in East Africa and start the work from there.⁶⁷

Once Adventist work was established in Tanzania in 1903, it became not only the beginning of regular German Adventist missions⁶⁸ but also an example to other missionary enterprises by European Adventists in Africa in similar, mostly colonial, settings. Algeria (1905), Kenya (1906), Ethiopia (1907), Nigeria (1914), and Rwanda and Zaire (1920) followed soon.⁶⁹ The Tanzanian pattern in which Germans were responsible for staffing and financing a particular African territory would also be copied in two other mission fields: with Conradi's encouragement, British Adventists adopted Kenya and Scandinavians accepted responsibility for Ethiopia.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Otto Lüpke, "Bericht von der Unionskonferenz," ZW 8, no. 16 (18 August 1902): 147–148.

⁶⁸ H. Drangmeister, "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre deutsche Außenmission," AB 34, no. 20 (15 October 1928): 306, calculates the Tanzanian venture as the real beginning of German Adventist "foreign missions" although activities in other countries had been going on even before.

⁶⁹ See the respective articles in SDAE.

⁷⁰ L.R. Conradi, "In the Heart of Africa," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1909, 54. On the beginnings in Kenya and Ethiopia, see Baldur Pfeiffer, "The Coming of the Mission to East Africa," in *Seventh-Day Adventist Contributions to East Africa, 1903–1983*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer (Frankfurt: Lang, 1985), 27–32.

Only ten years after this first large European project had started, Conradi could speak about two zones of Adventist mission in the world: the field of the European Mission Board and the field of the American Mission Board. European Seventh-day Adventists, and their leader in particular, were quite ambitious; Conradi envisioned a time when European Adventism and its missions would overtake the Americans numerically.⁷¹ This did not become a reality in the pre-World War I era; in 1913, the European Division had only 96 missionaries while Americans had 513. Yet membership in Europe and its mission fields was much closer to the North America and its mission territories than in the beginning of the century.⁷² The Tanzanian mission, then, functioned as a step of diversifying the operations of European Adventists in their competition with Americans. More important, though, was that it served as a prototype of a new model of Adventist missionary activity highlighting the worldwide character of a movement that was poised between remnant and church identities.

2.3 *Preparation for Missionary Work in Tanzania*

Initiating the Project and Raising Support

The immediate inspiration for planning a mission in East Africa had come from several sources. Since they recruited members from other churches, the general climate of missionary enthusiasm among Christians in general influenced Adventists as well. Another factor was that a few denominational missions existed in Africa already. In 1901, Conradi travelled to Egypt where he saw the pioneering work of Adventist missionaries as well as stations of other mission societies. A man of vision, he imagined that new missions could be planted along the Nile until reaching Ethiopia or Sudan. This intention, however, never matured beyond the stage of ideas.⁷³

⁷¹ Heinz, "Origin and Growth of Seventh-Day Adventists," 38 (footnote 15); Heinz, *Ludwig Richard Conradi*, 101.

⁷² In 1913, the relation was 30,000 (Europe) as compared to 80,000 (North America); in 1900, it had been 12,000 and 63,000, respectively. See MB 1913, 5, 12, 34, and the *Yearbooks* of the years concerned.

⁷³ Pfeiffer, "The Coming of the Mission to East Africa," 15.

An important impulse was given by Joseph Booth, the founder of an Adventist mission in Malawi. When he came to Europe in 1902, Conradi first met him at a gathering of European and General Conference leaders in London. Booth had been working in the then British Central Africa since 1892.⁷⁴ He had rather unusual persuasions regarding early African national independence, the importance of African Americans as missionaries, and “industrial missions.” Therefore, he did not easily cooperate with some of the organizations that supported him. Being persuaded of the validity of the biblical Sabbath, Booth joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church in early 1902.⁷⁵ He was immediately sent back to Malawi by the General Conference, whose leaders were initially excited about Booth’s experience and vision.⁷⁶ Conradi was so impressed with Booth when he met him in Britain that he decided on the spot to make him visit Friedensau and the Adventist congregations in the major cities of Northern Germany in order to promote missions.⁷⁷

By mid-1902, the idea of establishing a large missionary project was already in the minds of European Adventists, but there was no exact plan yet. Since Booth’s station was located in a territory adjacent to Tanzania, Conradi developed the idea that they could “start from there the mission work in our German colonies.”⁷⁸ Yet in reality the mission in Malawi was too far away to connect it in any way with a new Tanzanian project.⁷⁹ Moreover, as early as August 1903, Conradi expressed doubts about Booth, probably after reports of his conflicts with the Branch family, the African American missionaries who had gone to Malawi with him. He began to “question both the man and his methods” and decided that the East African mission should be started

⁷⁴ Booth worked with the Zambezi Industrial Mission and the Seventh Day Baptists in the 1890s and after his Seventh-day Adventist episode was affiliated with the Watch Tower Movement and Seventh Day Baptists again.

⁷⁵ An excellent account of the life of this very unusual missionary is Harry Langworthy, *Africa for the African: The Life of Joseph Booth* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 1996); see especially pages 43–44 for the beginnings of his sabbatarian beliefs and pages 161–190 for his Seventh-day Adventist period.

⁷⁶ Arthur G. Daniells—W.C. White, 5 May 1902, Box Briefwechsel L.R. Conradi—H.F. Schuberth, 1916–1921, AAE.

⁷⁷ L.R. Conradi, “Reiseerfahrungen,” ZW 8, no. 13 (7 July 1902): 115.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ However, the idea of linking missions in neighbouring countries still continued to impress Conradi. It helped establish the Lake Victoria missions that were located very close to the work in British East Africa.

without any involvement of Booth.⁸⁰ Thus, Booth's main impact was to stimulate further the European Adventists' missionary enthusiasm and to motivate them to seriously think about where to send their own missionaries.⁸¹

A decisive impact was made by Conradi himself. Having been the unchallenged leader of German, and later European, Adventists for most of the time since his return from the United States in 1886,⁸² his zeal and determination to make the church grow were only equalled by the strength of his theological persuasions. Conradi's view of the necessity of a twofold Adventist mission amongst other Christians and in the non-Christian world made him the protagonist of the idea that the time had come to reach out beyond the confines of the Old World. Moreover, he had the "Führer" type of personality that impressed German Adventists to an extent that hardly any one would have dared to oppose him. His role was also crucial in recruiting personnel. It was Friedensau, the school he had been instrumental in establishing, which became his main source of young missionaries. Conradi did all he could to stimulate interest: he supplied Friedensau with a small missions library and he personally promoted the mission cause among students.⁸³ In short, Conradi was the suitable leader for such a project, a natural "Mission Director."⁸⁴

Financially, the mission was not a matter to be decided without hesitation. The initial investment needed was more than the annual

⁸⁰ L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 19 August 1903, GCA. Further cooperation with Booth was also not possible because of Booth's eventual change of denomination and Adventism's strongly denominational character of missions, which did not allow any significant cooperation with non-Seventh-day Adventists.

⁸¹ The German Union committee voted for the opening of an Adventist mission in Tanzania only a few weeks after his journey through Germany; see Otto Lüpke, "Bericht von der Unionskonferenz," ZW 8, no. 16 (18 August 1902): 147–148.

⁸² He was president of the European General Conference from 1901 to 1907, and European Division president from 1907 until after World War I.

⁸³ When additional missionaries were needed in 1909 after the death of missionary Gustav Sander, Conradi's call for a new volunteer was enthusiastically answered by 20 students. See L.R. Conradi, "Reise-Erfahrungen," ZW 15, no. 6 (15 March 1909): 97–99; L.R. Conradi—W.C. Sisley, 18 September 1902, GCA; W. Seiler et al., "Unsere Pionierarbeit in Afrika," AB 59, no. 17 (1960): 265.

⁸⁴ Conradi often used the title "Mission Director" although it was not an official designation; see Heinz, *Ludwig Richard Conradi*, 24–26. Johannes Hartlapp, "Die Blütezeit der Adventmission in Deutschland 1889–1933," in *Die Adventisten und Hamburg*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träder, and George R. Knight (Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 78, shows the darker side of Conradi's leadership style—that he hardly ever tolerated opinions differing from his.

appropriation received by any Adventist Field or Union in Europe.⁸⁵ Moreover, no self-support was to be expected for African fields soon, different from Central Europe, where Adventist operations did not need any more outside input within the first generation. Conradi knew that the project was going to be a major liability for years to come, for he had collected information about initial investments and running expenses from other mission societies.⁸⁶ He also understood that the burden of fundraising had to be borne by European Adventists themselves to a large extent.

Conradi succeeded in securing from the General Conference half of the US \$ 10,000 that was necessary initially,⁸⁷ but for the other half and the yearly budget he had to develop effective fundraising strategies. The “First Day Offering,” a special mission sacrifice, was voted to be used for the East African Mission only and immediately doubled after the adoption of this plan in 1903.⁸⁸ A “Week of Prayer Offering” was scheduled once per year at the annual spiritual climax of German Adventists in which members were encouraged to give a large sacrifice, and the weekly “Sabbath School Offering” was fully devoted to missions.⁸⁹ With such significant contributions and a variety of other sources of funds,⁹⁰ the Tanzanian venture was going to be successful.

⁸⁵ L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 4 December 1903, GCA, mentions \$ 6,500 for the Orient and \$ 5,178 for England out of a total appropriation of almost \$ 20,000 in 1904. This means that the \$ 5,000 not covered by the General Conference constituted as much as one fourth of what Europe with its mission fields habitually received as an outside help.

⁸⁶ L.R. Conradi—W.C. Sisley, 18 September 1902, GCA.

⁸⁷ In order to understand what \$ 10,000 meant, it might be interesting to know that an Adventist doctor's salary in Europe at that time was US \$ 13 per month.

⁸⁸ See Willy [= Wilhelm] Kölling, “Eine Vierteljahresversammlung im Paregebirge, D.O.A. Friedenstal, den 3. und 4. Januar 1909,” ZW 15, no. 5 (1 March 1909): 90–91; “Neunte Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Union” ZW 15, no. 16 (16 August 1909): 277.

⁸⁹ This was different from the USA, where this offering did not yet serve foreign missions only. See L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 21 July 1903, GCA; “Unsere Sabbatschulgaben,” ZW 12, no. 11 (4 June 1906): 201–202; MB 1913, 9–10. The latter shows that in 1913, these three kinds of offerings accounted for almost two-thirds of the budget for European Adventist missions.

⁹⁰ Examples are a tithe of the German Unions' budgets, the call for special donations and legacies, which started to come in even before the first missionaries travelled to their destination, and promotion among the German Adventists of the American Midwest. The German-Americans were well acquainted with Conradi, for he had been an outstanding leader among them in the 1880s. See L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 21 July 1903, GCA; L.R. Conradi—W.C. Sisley, 18 September 1902, GCA; MB 1913, 9–10.

Conradi's zeal may appear even more surprising when considering that he had a keen sense of economics. He differed with American Adventists because they, according to him, infused too much energy into the development of Adventist work in the home regions, especially in setting up institutions. Conradi argued that this would lead to a point where "nothing will be left for foreign work."⁹¹ As a strategist, he believed that the growing European Church needed a diversification of activities in order to maintain its dynamism.⁹² This calculation was correct: at the beginning of World War I, the German church with its heavy involvement in the Tanzanian missions provided more than two-thirds of all missionary expenses in mission fields operated by European Adventists. Conradi had not only succeeded in finding support for one project but also to persuade many members to contribute generously to other missionary initiatives.⁹³ As early as 1902, he had declared that any missionary project for which people felt a burden would be good for stimulating a spirit of evangelism and giving. Obviously, this conviction became true in the subsequent years.⁹⁴

Striving for Recognition by the Government and Society

Apart from fundraising and backing from the church, a necessary factor in establishing and running a mission was cooperation with the government that had the power to grant permission for such a venture. This, however, was a rather challenging matter because German Adventists found themselves in a legal framework that left much to be desired. The major legally recognized Adventist body in Germany, the "Hamburg Association," was only allowed to hold property in the city state of Hamburg. The denominational college at Friedensau and its associate institutions were held by an Adventist health association, for Prussia would not grant the church the recognition as a religious

⁹¹ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 21 July 1903, GCA.

⁹² He argued, "what we invest there will come in increased donations and a live missionary spirit"; L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 21 July 1903, GCA.

⁹³ MB 1913, 9–10. In 1913, 117,000 M came in from the East German Union and 175,000 M from the West German Union. This was almost three times the amount needed for the Tanzanian missions.

⁹⁴ L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 24 December 1902, Presidential Files, GCA. In 1904, Conradi repeatedly affirmed that nothing "has stirred our people" as much as the East African mission that "has aroused an enthusiasm beyond our fondest hopes"; see L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 30 January 1904, GCA; in similar words, L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 6 January 1904, GCA.

society, and the situation in other regions of Germany was even more difficult. This meant that the government could have easily decided that Seventh-day Adventists were not mature enough to engage in missionary activities in a colony.

Yet things worked out in an unforeseen way. Conradi learnt that the church could be given the right to hold property even in Germany through being recognized as a mission society, for the petition that Conradi had to write to the German government asked for this right “in the empire and its colonies.”⁹⁵ When this petition was granted, it therefore constituted a major legal breakthrough. Although being granted full rights as a religious society was not achieved until after World War II, the beginnings of this legal process are to be found in the Tanzanian mission which provided an opportunity to regularize Adventist relations to the government.⁹⁶

It is somewhat surprising how easily Adventists were granted the privilege of opening their missions in the then colony in spite of their small membership and short history in Germany. A combination of a chain of favourable circumstances and Conradi’s public relations activities helped to accomplish this goal. The first official whom Conradi met in the Colonial Department of the German Empire, Dr Solf, knew Seventh-day Adventists from his service in Samoa,⁹⁷ where an American Adventist, Dr F.E. Braucht, had done medical work from which Solf himself had once benefited. Solf was therefore aware of both the positive contributions of Adventists to colonial society and the harmlessness of Adventists’ political attitudes and religious practices.⁹⁸ Although there was fear that “American tendencies” in Adventism might have a negative impact on German colonies, the Adventist

⁹⁵ L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 24 December 1902, Presidential Files, GCA.

⁹⁶ Adventist relations to the German state had been rather conflict-ridden in the years before. One has to consider that during the period before the Tanzanian mission, there was hardly any realm of Adventist cooperation with the government. It was typical for the government to receive state church representatives’ complaints about the “Adventist sect” and to deal with Sabbath problems of employees and students. At times even the colporteurs’ work was banned. See Hartlapp, “Die Blütezeit der Adventmission,” 75; Balduf Pfeiffer, “The Coming of the Mission to East Africa,” 35.

⁹⁷ On Adventist beginnings in Samoa and Polynesia in general, see Dennis Steley, “Advances and Reversals in Polynesia: 1890–1918,” in *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific, 1885–1918*, ed. Arthur J. Ferch (Wahroonga: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986), 164–173, especially 167.

⁹⁸ L.R. Conradi, ed., *Freud und Leid der Missionare des S.T.A. Missionsgebietes am Viktoriasee* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1919), 5; W. Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, n.d.), 23; Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 4.

non-involvement in the American, British, and German political conflicts of 1898–1899 in the Pacific was particularly underlined in government correspondence concerning the opening of Adventist work in Tanzania.⁹⁹ In this case, the Adventist remnant identity helped opening doors: the denomination's political quietism in Samoa was a logical consequence of its character as an worldwide and apolitical revival movement with an eschatological message.

When Conradi met the governor of German East Africa, Count Adolf von Götzen, in Berlin in December 1902, the question whether Adventists could open work in the colony had already been decided. In October, Conradi had sent the denomination's petition to the German Colonial Department, which had led to correspondence between the Colonial Department and the Free State of Hamburg, where Adventists were officially recognized. The Hamburg administration did not see any impediment and assessed Adventism as slightly differing from Lutheran teaching.¹⁰⁰ The German authorities must have known that a large part of European Adventists were Germans at that time, and since Germans were deemed especially desirable according to colonial policies, it seems that Adventists fit in well with the government plans. All that remained to be done by von Götzen was to welcome Adventists to the colony.

Yet this was not the last word. Some suspicion about the activities of this religious movement continued to exist among government officials. These feelings were fuelled by German Protestant mission leaders, who, through their intermediary agent von Jacobi made the urgent request that Adventists mission stations be geographically separated from the work of any existing mission society. Thus, the Colonial Department, referring to “the sectarian leanings” of Adventists, appealed to the governor that this concern be made a condition for the admission of Adventists.¹⁰¹

Having succeeded in gaining access to Tanzania, Adventists organized themselves for missions in ways similar to those of other continental

⁹⁹ Königlich-preußische Gesandtschaft in Mecklenburg und den Hansestädten—Bürgermeister Dr. Buchard, 12 November 1902, Politische Polizei SK 197 Bd 1, no. 131–132, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

¹⁰⁰ Padderatz, *Conradi und Hamburg*, 262–263.

¹⁰¹ In spite of these reservations, the department recommended that the “sect of the Seventh-day Adventists” be admitted to the colony in view of their “extremely beneficent” medical work. See Hellwig [Auswärtiges Amt, Kolonialabteilung]—Kaiserliches Gouvernement Dar-es-Salam [*sic*], 23 April 1903, TNA G9/42, no. 1.

mission societies. Missionaries Bruno Ohme and Ernst Kotz were trained at the Oriental Seminar in Berlin as early as 1904–05,¹⁰² and others were sent to the Colonial Institute located in Hamburg.¹⁰³ This preparation distinguished many missionaries involved in the new venture from those who had been previously sent out from Europe and from America, for others had not received any specialized missionary training.¹⁰⁴ An important side-effect of this training was that it provided an opportunity for Adventists to make friends with other missionaries and leading academics, and thus to present Adventist missions as a respectable undertaking. Moreover, one implicit significance of professionalized missionary training was that the importance of long-term plans in missions was now no longer underestimated. Adventists started to think in terms of decades instead of months or years, and although eschatology remained a powerful motivation of missionary activity, intense apocalypticism was curbed and balanced by missiological realism. A new equilibrium between the remnant and folk church paradigms was being experimented with.

An interesting aspect of the interaction of Adventists with the German government in the context of missionary operations in Tanzania was the “Emperor Donation” of 1913, just ten years after the beginning of the Tanzanian venture. This fundraising effort was made throughout the country to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reign of Emperor Wilhelm II.¹⁰⁵ German Seventh-day Adventists participated in this endeavour although it could have been viewed as incompatible with the traditional Adventist emphasis on separation of church and state. Adventists raised 26,000 M, which had to be submitted to the government, and then received back 50,000 M. Of course, this was an excellent deal.¹⁰⁶ Although the Adventist share of the total was relatively

¹⁰² Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 6.

¹⁰³ E.g., Otto Wallath and Friedrich Winter in 1910 and Franz Bornath and Richard Munzig, who did a six-month course in 1912; see MB 1910, 27, and L.R. Conradi, “More Workers for Africa,” RH 89 (11 April 1912): 15.

¹⁰⁴ On the basis of this experience, Kotz, Conradi and H.F. Schubert urged in 1919 that specialized training be carefully considered for all missionaries; see Minutes of the European General Conference, 9 December 1919, Box Europäische Division—Protokolle, Korrespondenz, AAE.

¹⁰⁵ This idea had been conceived by liberal Protestants and was first rejected by a number of leading Protestant mission societies because it was thought to be an undue amalgamation of state and church and because the mission societies were not the initiators of the idea. Later, however, they accepted the project.

¹⁰⁶ L.R. Conradi, “Nationalspende zum Kaiserjubiläum für die christlichen Missionen

small,¹⁰⁷ the fact that they received a substantial amount of the collection can be considered to be a striking success of a mission that was merely a decade old and belonged to a denomination that still had the smell of a foreign sect among the general population.¹⁰⁸

The Emperor Donation was merely the climax of sentiments that were common among almost all Germans who were interested in Christian mission in the colonies. Most of them had welcomed the fact that Germany acquired colonies and saw God's hand in history in this development. When missions had become a respectable part of the colonial undertaking after some initial ideological struggle with colonial theorists, it was generally believed that colonialism and Christian mission were complementary and mutually beneficial.¹⁰⁹ Adventists came to argue in a similar way. A.C. Enns, one of the first two Adventist missionaries to Tanzania, declared in 1915,

the Lord has offered us the colonies, and the German people has become aware of its duty that it has not only received these colonies in order to lift up its trade but that it has been given with them a higher task, that is to take the Gospel to them.¹¹⁰

Apolitical as they were because of their expectancy of Jesus' soon second coming and their very small numbers, Adventists did not mind seeking an ally in the state if it could enhance their missionary work. Although one might argue that a close relationship with the government was an almost natural consequence of missionary activity in the age

in unseren Kolonien und Schutzgebieten," ZW 19, no. 9 (May 5, 1913): 252–253; L.R. Conradi, "Die Nationalspende für die christlichen Missionen," ZW 19, no. 22 (November 17, 1913): 531–532.

¹⁰⁷ Most of the 2,825,000 M that was to be shared by Protestants was distributed according to the number of workers in the missions (80%) and the number of schools and students (20%), and some 630,000 M were channelled into institutions that served all Protestants. See Horst Gründer, *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus, 1884–1915* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1982), 106–111.

¹⁰⁸ It is interesting to compare the Adventist position with that of the Neukirchen Mission, a German faith mission. The Neukirchen leaders accepted an amount similar to the one that Adventists received, but only after considerable debate. Whereas this faith mission attempted to remain as independent from the state as possible, Adventists did not even discuss whether or not accepting such funds from the government was adequate. See Bernd Brandl, *Die Neukirchener Mission: Ihre Geschichte als erste deutsche Glaubensmission* (Köln: Rheinland, 1998), 283–285.

¹⁰⁹ Hans-Joachim Niesel, "Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1890–1914," Dr. phil. diss., Free University of Berlin, 1971, 80–83 and 114–116.

¹¹⁰ "Etwas über Deutsch-Ostafrika," ABH 1, no. 3 (1915): 48–49.

of colonialism, it was a new development for the remnant to become a junior partner of a worldly government.

When considering the home base, the prospect for missionary success in Tanzania was relatively bright. Of course, European Adventism was young, exclusive, and small, and thus clearly a remnant empirically, sociologically, and in its theological persuasions. At the same time, as far as its Tanzanian project was concerned, the Adventist mission became a mission like the others to a large extent, partly because in this African venture it had to cooperate with the government and partly because of the very nature of missionary work among non-Christians. Becoming part of the missionary establishment and thus resembling other organizations that aimed at a folk Christianization was one a root of later Tanzanian Adventist folk churches.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BIRTHPLACE OF TANZANIAN ADVENTISM: PARE¹

3.1 *Beginnings*

*“Possessing the Land”*²

Johann Ehlers and A.C. Enns, the first Seventh-day Adventist missionaries to work in Tanzania, reached Mombasa and Dar es Salaam in early and mid-November 1903. The question of an allocation of a territory for Seventh-day Adventists had not yet been decided. Earlier Conradi had sought permission to set up stations in the west of Lake Victoria, probably because the land was easily accessible by rail and ship and the population density was rather high. The missionaries repeated this request when they arrived. However, the governor did not grant it because the White Fathers had occupied the territory already.³ Another suggestion that the governor had made with reference to the medical needs in the area and the Adventist interest in health activities was that Adventists could settle in the Kilwa region, at the coast south of Dar es Salaam. However, this advice was ignored by Conradi and the missionaries. Adventists certainly knew that the area was already too much influenced by Islam to expect any significant success. On the other hand, the governor was not inclined to accept other requests

¹ A note on names: I have chosen to use as few prefixes as possible for peoples, languages, areas and the like because of their great diversity (e.g. Wapare, Vaasu, Abakuria, Upare, Usukuma, Chasu, Igikuria, Ecijita). For countries, I use the modern names (Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, etc.), not those that were used in the colonial epoch, except where the context makes this use particularly desirable.

² With this formulation, I follow H. Robson, “Tanganyika Territory,” SADO 53, no. 10 (1 June 1955): 5. It has, of course, a rather colonial smell but I believe it accurately describes the attitude of the Europeans involved.

³ L.R. Conradi—von Götzen, 14 August 1903, TNA G9/42, no. 2; L.R. Conradi—von Götzen, 25 September 1903, TNA G9/42, no. 3. The Bethel Mission began to work in the Bukoba region later, in 1910. This was due to the fact that congregations of persons who had become Protestants in Uganda had developed; on this basis, Lutherans were granted to operate missions in the area. See Niwagila, *From the Catacomb to a Self-Governing Church*, 75–104.

Conradi had submitted—that a mission could be started among the Sagara (near Tanga) or the Kami (near Morogoro).⁴

The negotiation process continued when Enns and Ehlers, who had initially planned to travel directly to Lake Victoria from Mombasa, without first reporting to Dar es Salaam, were summoned to the capital by the governor. In accordance with the administrative principle of the priority of already established missions,⁵ he continued to insist on geographical distance to the territory of other mission societies. Yet the missionaries also had their preferences; understandably, they wished to be given a highland area to avoid health hazards, particularly the danger of malaria, and one that was easily reachable. It was finally agreed that they could visit the southern part of the Pare Mountains and Rwanda, although Rwanda had a White Fathers' mission and the Lutherans at Kilimanjaro and in the Usambara Mountains had already shown interest in the Pare region.⁶

Leipzig missionaries had actually started working at Shigatini, North Pare, in 1900, and had planned to extend their area to South Pare in the following years but did so only around three months after the Adventists arrived with the opening of Gonja Mission.⁷ Conradi asserts that the Lutherans then “claimed our territory”⁸ but that they did not have any authority to do so because Adventists could refer to the governor's permission. The only success of the Leipzig missionaries' advance was to limit Adventist expansion through all of South Pare. In spite of all efforts of the German government as well as the general Protestant community to keep a distance between other missions and Adventists, the latter succeeded in securing a field that did not really fulfil this criterion. Once government support had been secured and

⁴ Max Pönig, “Die Vorsehung Gottes im Pare-Missionsfeld (Ostafrika),” AB 28, no. 6 (15 March 1922): 93.

⁵ Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 96–99, explains that the German colonial government wanted to ensure that missions did not come into conflict with each other and thus designed a strong principle of assigning territory exclusively to single mission agencies.

⁶ Handwritten notes of von Götzen after arrival of SDA missionaries, n.d., TNA G9/42, no. 3. According to Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860–1960* (London: James Currey, 1991), 53, Bethel missionary Roehl had built a house at Tanda Hill, Hedaru, but the house was torn down by residents because it was believed to be a source of cattle disease. Subsequently, the Bethel Mission never attempted again to extend their operations to Pare.

⁷ Paul Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings around Mt. Kilimanjaro: The First 40 Years* (Erlangen: Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1998), 53.

⁸ L.R. Conradi, “In the Heart of Africa,” *General Conference Bulletin*, 1909, 54.

Adventists were thus recognized as an at least halfway respectable mission, the Adventist missionaries insisted on the principle of parity that the German government applied to missions, at least to those of German origin.⁹ Consequently, they did not want to be assigned just any field but insisted on criteria that would ensure the success of their labour, even if this meant being in close neighbourhood of other missions with the possible conflicts implied.

Interestingly, Conradi wrote in 1919 in an idealizing manner that in the initial choice for Adventist work in Tanzania, apart from easy accessibility, distance from other mission societies was a key element.¹⁰ Yet it appears that he did so only from later experience, particularly at Lake Victoria. Regarding Pare, the missionaries cared more about health and infrastructure. Distance to other missions was not a major issue at that early stage. What is true, though, is that even for this first Tanzanian mission Adventists desired to administer “virgin ground,”¹¹ i.e., fields that had not been worked on and that would be assigned to them exclusively, so that Adventism’s impact might remain unchallenged in this territory. The remnant was sowing seeds of a folk church.

Enns and Ehlers seem to have been so much satisfied with the situation in South Pare that the journey to Rwanda suggested by the governor was never undertaken. When they arrived, they first settled at Mamba-Giti, which they called Friedenstal (valley of peace).¹² On the third day, chief Mauya granted them a piece of land. It was located in an area assigned to the spirits, for Mauya and his people believed that these spirits would ensure that the strangers would not stay for long.¹³ Yet the two pioneers did not only stay but erected the first mission station.

⁹ The parity principle mainly meant that Protestants and Catholics were to be given equal chance of working in the German colonies. This could also be applied to other denominations apart from the two largest German church bodies. See Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 96–99.

¹⁰ L.R. Conradi, ed., *Freud und Leid*, 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² This name was chosen in remembrance of the Adventist college in Germany, Friedensau; see L.R. Conradi, “Unsere Missionare in Deutsch-Ostafrika,” HW 25, no. 13 (1908): 101.

¹³ Elineema, *Historia*, 33, without reference. In several cases Elineema uses oral tradition without indicating sources; this seems to be one of them. Since Elineema is a Pare himself, the tradition is likely to be correct. Ernst Kotz reports that there was a holy grove called *zimbwe* very close to the Friedenstal station; see Ernst Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht: Sitten und Gebräuche der Wapare in Ostafrika* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, [1922]), 187. It is not clear whether the two traditions have the same roots; today the Friedenstal area is almost completely depopulated because it is very dry.

This activity filled their first year's work together with another group of four missionaries, Christoph Wunderlich, August Langholf and his bride Frieda Breitling, and Mrs Rosa Ehlers. They all arrived just four months later with Conradi, who wanted to see the situation firsthand.¹⁴ As early as May 1905, another team followed: Bruno and Helene Ohme as well as Ernst Kotz, who would subsequently lead the Pare Mission Field.

What was Pare like when it first received these Adventist strangers? Until the present, Pare consists of two main subgroups, the northern and southern Pare; the latter are also called Asu.¹⁵ This distinction has its roots in the precolonial period. Apart from these two main subgroups, clan identity, i.e., local origin, had been most important for the Pare even before.¹⁶ Thus, when Adventists came to Pare, they dealt with a few clans located in southern South Pare who all belonged to the Asu language group. In their relationship with outsiders, the majority of the Pare looked back to a history of conflict. The Maasai, the neighbours to the south-west, were generally feared although there was a little exchange trade taking place between the Pare and them. The relations with the Sambaa were better, but in the second half of the nineteenth century, when slave caravan routes passed along the Pare Mountains, the

¹⁴ L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 4 December 1903 and 25 May 1904, Presidential Files, GCA. Conradi spent six weeks in the country. Mrs Ehlers died already in 1907; see Hartlapp, "Von Deutschland ausgesandte Missionare," 1.

¹⁵ They call their language *Chasu*, but here I am using the shorter "Asu" for the language, except where the sources say *Chasu*. Some northern Pare groups do not speak Asu but Gweno, which is related to some Chagga dialects.

¹⁶ Before the rise of Christianity, Pare had been a somewhat heterogeneous association of at least two peoples of different origin and several divergent dialects of Gweno and Asu. O'Barr shows that identities were found mainly in the rather localized clans, being the most significant social organizations, and, probably from around the mid-nineteenth century, in the Asu and Gweno ethnic communities with their distinct languages. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that a concept of "Pare" developed, partly because in a conflict among the inhabitants of what is now North Pare, the Gweno and the people of Usangi, the latter were supported by the Asu in the south, and permanent ties were established between the two groups. The Wasangi then adapted Asu and ceased speaking Gweno. A more important influence that led to grouping these people groups together, however, was that the colonial rulers who defined the "tribe" by geographical means—similar to the "Chagga tribe" with their several distinct languages. The Germans had used "Asu" for people in the whole region, but the British called them Pare, and a consciousness of Pare-ness developed throughout the colonial period but came to be strong only around the mid-twentieth century. See William M. O'Barr, "The Bases of Pare Ethnic Identity: Ritual, Homeland, and Language," in *Tradition and Identity in Changing Africa*, ed. Mark A. Tessler, William M. O'Barr, and David H. Spain (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 42–55.

population was terrorized by foreigners of all sorts, including Sambia, Chagga, and Zigua, who raided villages for slaves.¹⁷ Since the times before the Adventists' arrival were perilous for the common man and woman, it is no wonder that people feared the Whites when they first arrived and hid their children, believing they were hunting for slaves as the Arabs and their suppliers had done.¹⁸

As far as religion is concerned, the Pare were a people who shared the common religious assumptions of most Bantu groups of Tanzania. They believed in a rather removed creator God, venerated their ancestors, and had a number of shrines that provided social, political, and religious bonds to the people.¹⁹ Daily life was permeated by a large number of customs and taboos that regulated the interaction between individuals and families.²⁰ Yet these traditions appear not to have been so strong that change was unimaginable. The previous interaction with the larger world by the Pare and their sedentary lifestyle made it relatively easy for residential missionaries to settle among the Pare.

In order to imagine the way the first representatives of Seventh-day Adventism and Christianity at large must have appeared to most Pare in the pre-World War I years, the sociological conceptualization of religious movements by Stark and Bainbridge is helpful. In addition to churches and sects, they identify "cults" as movements that are deviant from the mainstream. Different from sects, cults create a wholly new system of religion in a given environment through either innovation or importation.²¹ Adventist Christianity was such a foreign cult when it

¹⁷ Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 25, 41–45. Even several Pare chiefs misused their power to sell individuals into slavery. Interestingly, the chiefdom where Adventists reached first, Mamba, was the one least affected by the slave caravans; see *ibid.*

¹⁸ Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 10.

¹⁹ See Cuthbert Kashingo Omari, *God and Worship in Traditional Asu Society* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1991), and Josaphat L. Lebulu, "Religion as the Dominant Element of the Superstructure of the Pare of Tanzania," *Social Compass* 26, no. 4 (1979): 417–459. On traditional Pare shrines, see Isaria N. Kimambo and C.K. Omari, "The Development of Religious Thought and Centres among the Pare," in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 115–118.

²⁰ For details, see Kavucha Fanuel Simeon, *Desturi na Mila za Wapare* (Soni: by the author, 1977). A discussion of some of these customs is found in 7.5.

²¹ Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, 25. Cults thus differ from sects in that they do not intend to purify or revive the dominating religious orientation, which sects do. It is noteworthy that a cult, according to this definition, is not doomed to remain small or to attract only people from the fringe of society; rather, according to Stark and Bainbridge, they commonly appeal to individuals in the upper sections of society and are therefore potentially successful.

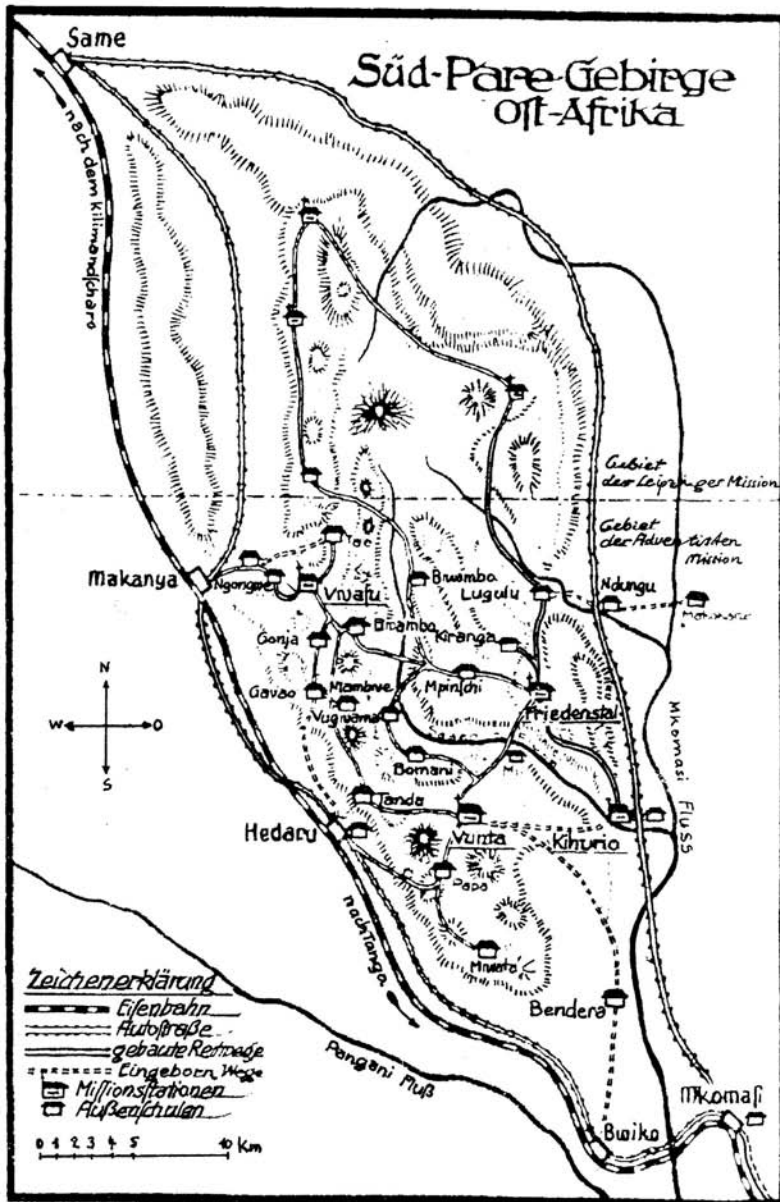


Figure 1. Adventist Mission Stations in South Pare, 1913²²

²² An interesting detail is the line that divides the area of the Leipzig Mission and the Adventist area. The map comes from H. Drangmeister, "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre deutsche Außenmission," AB 34, no. 20 (15 October 1928): 306. Used by permission (© Advent-Verlag Hamburg/Lüneburg).

was first introduced to the Pare Mountains. Therefore, the Pare must have felt rather strange about it, similar to how Europeans viewed, say, *Hare Krishna* when it appeared from the late 1960s onward.²³ Of course, there were differences between the “Adventist cult” in Pare and modern cult movements in industrialized nations: the protection by, and support from, the colonial government, the economic home base, and, probably most important, the setup of Pare itself. Still, Christianity was an exotic religion to the average Pare when it first arrived.

In spite of this strangeness, missionary work steadily advanced. The first years were mainly devoted to building up a viable infrastructure that would allow the church to carry on its activities smoothly. Since it took almost four and a half years until the first baptism was celebrated, reports from the very first years mainly inform about the daily struggles of the missionaries and their attempts to establish centres from which the new religion was to radiate through the mountains. After the erection of the Friedenstal station, a second mission was founded at Kihurio in 1905. In 1906, a third centre was established on the opposite end of the territory that was to be Adventist terrain, at Suji, then called Vuasu.²⁴ Similar to the location at Mamba, the place had been a “cursed forest.”²⁵

One tradition asserts that missionary Enns began establishing the Suji station by putting up a flag there instead of building the central station that had been planned first at Bwambo, situated between Mamba and Suji. The account says that Enns had heard that the Lutherans had

²³ One may excuse the “European” or “etic” perspective in this comparison and the rather unusual example. I use it to show how the normal person might have felt about Christianity in the beginning, which does not mean that this feeling remained the same way for a long time, for cults can develop into an established religion—a “church”—and lose their strangeness.

²⁴ MB 1912, 43; W. Ising, “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 17 (4 September 1905): 213–216; [Bruno Ohme,] “Friedenstal,” ZW 11, no. 16 (20 August 1906): 281–282; [A.C. Enns,] “Vuasus (Ostafrika),” ZW 12, no. 17 (3 September 1906): 294. Before, A.C. Enns and his assistant Kihoko Maridadi had tried to start a school at neighbouring Vuriva, but the house had collapsed three times, and the chief did not want to sell land to them. See Elineema, *Historia*, 40.

²⁵ The spot was considered to be cursed because a battle between the Chagga and the Pare in which many people had died had taken place there. The people of Suji also assert that there had been a prophecy that at *Kiva Nkanja* in the Suji area where then the mission was located, White people would come and many young people would work in the fields with them, and that the Whites would bring good news. See interviews Aron Msangi and Naomba Msangi, Suji, 18 July 1999, and Chaberwa Kanyempwe and Reine Kanyempwe, Suji, 18 July 1999. This tradition might be related to the one cited by Kotz when he writes that it had been prophesied that White men with new customs would come to their land; see Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 224.

reached Chome, the chiefdom next to Suji, and therefore he wanted to claim as much territory as possible.²⁶ When the fourth central mission station was finally founded at Vunta in 1910,²⁷ the church had symbolically taken possession of all the four corners of the land, strategically marking out the boundary of an Adventist country-to-be. The end-time remnant had silently mutated to a well-established mission with folk church plans.

Choosing Missionary Strategies

After the first seeds of the church had germinated on the still foreign soil, the question was how the plant's growth was to be enhanced. It is most interesting that the years until World War I do not show any significant difference in missionary strategy with other major missions active in the territory. All the principal features of Adventist missionary activities in Pare during these years resembled those of other mission societies: schools as the overall framework, biblical instruction during worship and catechetical classes, a little agriculture, some medical work and industrial activity, and the publication of literature in vernacular languages.²⁸ Most notably, in the emphasis on school work, Adventists followed a model that was almost universally accepted at the outbreak of World War I.²⁹

Although one might argue that there was no other reasonable model of ministry that could have been applied successfully, it was not at all self-evident for Seventh-day Adventists to follow exactly this pattern. Their apocalyptic-missiological emphasis on "warning the world" and proclaiming the eschatological "three angels' messages" of Revelation 14 could have also resulted in a "diffusion method,"³⁰ an almost

²⁶ *Seventh-Day Adventist Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania, 1903–1978* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, 1978), 2.

²⁷ MB 1912, 44; Heinrich Drangmeister, "Von einer Außenschule in Deutsch-Ostafrika," ZW 16, no. 18 (20 September 1910): 309–310; H. Drangmeister, "Deutsch-Ostafrika," ZW 16, no. 20 (18 October 1910): 340–341.

²⁸ On agriculture and industrial activities, see "Aus Ostafrika," ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 92–93; MB 1910, 25; E. Kotz, "Pare-Missionsfeld, 1. Halbjahr 1912," ZW 18, no. 21 (4 November 1912): 413; on the other items, ZW and MB passim.

²⁹ John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 217, mentions that almost all major missions in Tanzania—the UMCA, Holy Ghost Fathers, White Fathers, Benedictines, the Leipzig Mission, the Berlin Mission, and the Moravians—followed this trend.

³⁰ This diffusion approach was continued to be discussed by Adventist mission strategists even in later years, but was never officially advocated; see W.E. Read—E. Kotz, 1 April 1930, File North European Division, GCA.

purely evangelistic mission, similar to early activities of the evangelical Africa Inland Mission at Lake Victoria.³¹ Another course that Adventist missionary activities took in countries such as China was heavy institutionalization, with large numbers of converts being attached to the organization by employment in medical, publishing, and educational facilities.³² Besides, the most successful and common Adventist model of “winning souls” was proselytizing among those who were already Christians, often with Adventist literature playing a major role. This practice was not only followed in traditionally Christian Europe and America, but also in several Asian countries and, sometimes, in Africa. In non-Christian countries, the converts from other denominations would then form the nucleus of the Adventist church, often carrying on missionary activities among both non-Christians and fellow Christians.³³

However, this style of evangelism was not possible in the German East African context because of the restrictions set by the colonial administration, a kind of “government-imposed comity” that forbade new missions to settle or work in areas already occupied by other societies. The institutional approach was not easy to be implemented because it demanded heavy investment, which could not be afforded by the small European home base.³⁴ Surprisingly, even a “proclamation only” type of mission was not a valid option for most Adventist mission strategists. Adventists typically preferred working with the aim of getting few but thoroughly persuaded converts who were ready to “wait for the Lord’s coming”³⁵ the way they defined it. This mission practice can be viewed as a consequence of the Adventist remnant ecclesiology: conversion, and thus, salvation, was generally understood in ecclesiological terms to some extent, i.e., joining the “Remnant Church,” identified with Seventh-day Adventism.³⁶ Preaching to as many souls as possible in

³¹ The German colonial government file on the Africa Inland Mission shows that there must have been much preaching and little school work with almost no industrial activity in this mission’s work; see TNA G 9/49 (“Afrika Inland Mission” [sic]), no. 2–15.

³² Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 573–574.

³³ This pattern is depicted with China as an example by Borge F. Schantz, “The Development of SDA Missionary Thought,” 327–330.

³⁴ Conradi advocated self-supporting institutions, which could not easily be built in a country with a less developed infrastructure and economy; see L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 21 July 1903, GCA.

³⁵ This formulation is used in B. Ohme, “Majita, East Africa,” RH 89 (7 March 1912): 13.

³⁶ In this sense, Hans K. LaRondelle writes much later in the chapter, “The Remnant and the Three Angels’ Messages,” in *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology*, ed.

order to give everybody the chance to hear the basic gospel, as advocated by early faith missions such as China Inland Mission, would not lead to this result.³⁷

Thus, the most logical direction to take and the only viable option remaining for the initiators of Adventism in Tanzania was to copy all those methods that had proven successful in the activities of other mission societies, especially an extended school network. Since Adventists had arrived later than several other societies, they were able to learn from their experience. Besides, one certainly wanted to build missions that were respectable in the eyes of the government administrators. As a sideline church, using mainline methods helped achieve recognition in society. Moreover, permanent success in the work probably depended on this basic decision; potential converts could more easily accept the Seventh-day Adventist Church as reputable and worthy of joining if some prestige was attached to this organization. With Conradi as the mission director whose mission philosophy of limited contextualization had proved successful in Europe, there was room for developing the Tanzanian work along innovative lines.

Most important in choosing missionary methods was also the idea of creating a folk church, still a semi-subconscious concept in 1903, but soon to be expressed more openly. Conradi commented about his 1906 journey to Uganda that he had seen “wonderful successes of mission among the heathen.” These impressions from Anglican activities strengthened his “decision to occupy the whole eastern shore as a mission field”³⁸ at Lake Victoria. This determination to replicate

Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000), 887: “Seventh-day Adventists believe it their appointed role as the remnant church to restore revealed truth in worshipping God as Creator-Redeemer by restoring the seventh-day Sabbath as the memorial of His creation...Based on the urgency of this message, they summon God’s children in all churches to flee from the historic apostasy to escape punishment for Babylon’s sins.”

³⁷ Hudson Taylor, the founder of China Inland Mission, worked as a travelling missionary for a considerable time with the aim of taking the gospel to all corners of China as quickly as possible. See A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China’s Open Century*, vol. 6 (London: Hodder & Stoughton; Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1988), 104, 111; and vol. 5 (1985), 147, 351. In fact, Andreas Franz argues, “Itinerant preaching became the decisive missionary method of the CIM in the first decades,” yet in later decades Taylor changed this practice, and the mission station approach, which had been first rejected, was then also used. See Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen: Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* (Gießen: Brunnen, 1993), 6–9.

³⁸ Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 7.

the “missionaries’ new ideal”³⁹ confirms Conradi’s goal of building an Adventist society. That this stood in sharp contrast to the traditional Adventist emphasis on individual conversion and remnant identity did not seem to bother anybody, especially as initial conversions were scarce and the objective of creating an Adventist folk church was only implied, not expressly stated. Still, even the implicit concept was a significant departure from earlier Adventist missiology.

Creating a School Network

The standard missionary approaches used by Adventists in Pare were also a pragmatic way of responding to emerging needs in the mission field, for Adventists entered Tanzania at a very auspicious moment indeed. Just around the time when the work among the Pare was started, demand for primary education, and thus, the provision of such services almost exclusively by missions, was on a sharp rise. Obviously, this situation also increased the probability of conversions. Thus, Adventists were spared the frustrations of years of almost fruitless work that other mission societies had experienced before the turn of the century.⁴⁰ The Adventist field in Pare, with its total population of an estimated 20,000,⁴¹ had more than 2,000 pupils as early as 1913, which corresponded to the situation in which other missions found themselves.⁴² Thus, Adventist education started to touch the masses quite early and laid the foundation of a comprehensive movement of religious change.

If setbacks occurred in this process of enrolling pupils, they were rather temporary. It is true that students could only be attracted by

³⁹ This is how Iliffe characterizes Buganda’s effect on missionary ventures in early twentieth century Tanzania; see Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 218.

⁴⁰ The Church Missionary Society among the Kaguru and the Gogo and the London Missionary Society in Urambo had very little success with their efforts until the end of the nineteenth century; see *ibid.*, 217.

⁴¹ Guy Dail—“Dear Brother” [probably W.A. Spicer], 21 February 1913, GCA. Possibly the field had even fewer inhabitants, since 1931 figure for the whole of Pare including the well-populated North Pare and the Lutheran area of Central and South Pare was 56,431. This figure was certainly even higher than the corresponding figure of 1913. See Omari, *God and Worship in Traditional Asu Society*, 24. Even some later estimations are lower: A.F. Bull, “Progress in Pare, East Africa,” *MW* 31, no. 7 (9 April 1926): 6, approximated 15,000 inhabitants in the Adventist part of Pare.

⁴² It was estimated that on an average a quarter of all school age children were found in schools all over the country. It was a general trend before World War I that missions had thousands of pupils in their school, and since there were still many areas without missionary impact, it can be inferred that students were many in most areas where Christians operated schools. See Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 223–224.

being given gifts or a “monthly pay” in the beginning. However, this system must have ceased early as it is not mentioned any more after the second year of operation.⁴³ Instead, recruiting students became a relatively easy task a few years later; several village communities even decided to collect materials for schools buildings themselves.⁴⁴ Students and parents grasped the advantages of education very quickly and were ready to contribute.⁴⁵

After the Maji-Maji war,⁴⁶ the government announced that school attendance was not compulsory any more in order to react to some grievances that were believed to have precipitated this insurrection. When many students left, Adventists, in spite of their tradition of advocating the separation of church and state,⁴⁷ lamented that this newly emphasized government policy of freedom of attendance hindered the work.⁴⁸ Being able to refer to the power of the government had been a powerful yet “un-Adventist” way to move parents to accept schooling for their children. The ensuing conflicts were remembered for many decades, particularly at Suji, where missionaries are reported to have punished parents who refused to bring their children.⁴⁹ Still, the drop in school attendance proved to be only temporary. Whether Maji-Maji had an influence on people’s decisions in the north of the country or

⁴³ At times they were promised payments because they threatened that they would otherwise run away, which they actually once did as a group of 40 at Kihurio. Similar attempts were initially made to attract people to church services. See W. Ising, “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 17 (4 September 1905): 214; E. Kotz, “Kihurio” [*sic*], ZW 12, no. 18 (17 September 1906): 307–308; B. Ohme, “Friedenstal-Kihurio-Friedenstal,” ZW 15, no. 11 (7 June 1909): 192; and Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 56.

⁴⁴ This was the case at Kiranga, Kambeni, Mshihui near Friedenstal, and Mpinji, where out-schools were opened at the inhabitants’ initiative; see B. Ohme, “Friedenstal-Kihurio-Friedenstal,” ZW 15, no. 11 (7 June 1909): 191–192; and B. Ohme, “South Pare Mission, German East Africa,” RH 87 (16 June 1910): 39–40.

⁴⁵ Some were so eager to attend that they put up with a three hour walk to benefit from the service of the earliest schools. See [Max Kunze], “Deutsch Ost-Afrika,” ZW 15, no. 16 (16 August 1909): 281.

⁴⁶ On this movement, which took place from 1905–1907, see Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 168–202, and Karl-Martin Seeberg, *Der Maji-Maji-Krieg gegen die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft: Historische Ursprünge nationaler Identität in Tansania* (Berlin: Reimer, 1989). As it was located in the south of the country, it did not have any direct impact on Adventists. The only Adventist report that mentions the uprising is A. Langholf, “Die Unruhen in Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 20 (2 October 1905): 247.

⁴⁷ On the Adventist relationship with governments, see chapter 8.

⁴⁸ Auguste Eichholz, “Friedenstal,” ZW 13, no. 17 (2 September 1907): 298; “Aus Kihurio” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 17 (2 September 1907): 297–298.

⁴⁹ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 14. The kind of punishment is not specified, but the practice of punishing is connected with missionary A.C. Enns.

not, in the following years school attendance increased dramatically again.

It has been argued that a reason for the popularity of education was that many Africans, especially the young, felt that sticking to traditional life was only the second best alternative, the best being fitting in with the rulers' system.⁵⁰ This is certainly true to some extent, although it should be emphasized that not all thought so, and acquiring education as such was not an approval of the colonial rule. Besides, the products of the mission school in South Pare had not yet become the "new elite" that would direct the fate of the local society in later decades. Still, young people were ready to experiment with new ways of life.

Up to 1908, some of the teachers were not yet Christians.⁵¹ Later they had to be church members, because their main function apart from the basic teaching work was evangelism. For this double purpose, more formal training was initiated in 1913.⁵² A special school project at Kihurio was a girls' school conducted by Helene Ohme as early as 1906, and a similar venture at Friedenstal was started by 1913.⁵³ The impact on the female half of society was considerable: in 1913, 828 of the 2046 students in Adventist schools were girls.⁵⁴ These developments show that after only ten years of operation the Adventist school work in Pare had reached an advanced stage.

The reports in mission publications and administrative correspondence with the home field are naturally missionary-centred and usually do not even mention full names of African teachers, but the very statistics imply that they contributed the major lot of school work from 1910

⁵⁰ This is argued by Horst Gründer, *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus, 1884–1915* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1982), 246–255.

⁵¹ It seems, though, that only baptismal candidates were eligible, such as a Zigua named Abdallah who worked in Ndungu in 1906, a certain Hamisi in Kirore, and Anderea Senamwaye in Ndungu in 1908. See "Aus Afrika," ZW 14, no. 4 (17 February 1908): 92–93; and Ernst Kotz, "Kihuiro" [*sic*], ZW 12, no. 18 (17 September 1906): 307–308.

⁵² A sort of in-service training, four times two weeks per year, was initiated and made compulsory for all teachers. See M. Kunze, "Unsere Christen als Außenschullehrer," ZW 19, no. 5 (3 March 1913): 124–125; and M. Kunze, "Unsere Jahresversammlung i. Parefeld," ZW 19, no. 6 (17 March 1913): 157–158.

⁵³ E. Kotz, "Kihuiro" [*sic*], ZW 12, no. 18 (17 September 1906): 307–308; "Aus Afrika," ZW 14, no. 4 (17 February 1908): 92–93; and Hilde Kotz, "Abendschule für Christenfrauen in Afrika," HW 38 (1921): 7. Apparently there were girls' schools at each of the three major stations at one time; see B. Ohme, "South Pare Mission, German East Africa," RH 87 (16 June 1910): 39–40.

⁵⁴ L.R. Conradi, "Mission Report of the European Division Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, 1913," File 4468, GCA.

onward. By then, ten out-schools had come into existence in addition to the three central schools at Friedenstal, Kihurio, and Suji, with a total of one thousand pupils. The development accelerated especially until 1912, when twenty-six African teachers served seventeen schools.⁵⁵ Consequently, what had started as a European affair and nominally remained under missionary control soon became a predominantly African enterprise and involved some of the brightest minds. Moreover, the influence of Adventism was felt almost everywhere in the southern Pare Mountains. On a seven-hour journey between Suji and Vunta in 1913, Conradi could proudly report, “every hour we saw either to the left or right in the valley below one of our out-schools.”⁵⁶ Adventism as a religious movement was still in its beginning stages, but the denominational school network could be regarded as being well-established.

3.2 *Evangelism and Interaction with Society*

Adventist Evangelism in a Non-Christian Society

Still, the religious aspect of the church’s presence was a crucial one from the outset. The missionaries had come with decidedly religious objectives in mind, and the response they anticipated was that people would convert to their brand of Christianity. As one might expect, the reports are thus filled with stories about successes, and sometimes failures, of this religious mission. At the same time, it is interesting to observe that the “last warning” rhetoric was retained by missionaries in reports for the home constituency⁵⁷ but was not prominent in the African context, which was so different from Europe and America. The task in Africa was less to warn and to preach the Adventist distinctives than to teach the basics of Christianity and to add those Adventist peculiar teachings that ensured continuity with the European mother church and attachment to it. Thus, even the traditional Adventist ecclesiology, which focused on the true church amongst other “fallen” churches evidently had to be redefined. The battlefield had shifted; the absence of competing

⁵⁵ MB 1910, 25; E. Kotz, “Pare-Missionsfeld, 1. Halbjahr 1912,” ZW 18, no. 21 (4 November 1912): 412–413.

⁵⁶ L.R. Conradi, “Mission Report of the European Division Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, 1913,” File 4468, GCA. Cf. figure 6 (p. 611).

⁵⁷ B. Ohme, “German East Africa,” RH 89 (23 May 1912): 13; Kotz *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 3.

churches relativized the traditional Adventist remnant concept. At the same time, an important aspect of all Christian (and therefore even Adventist) identity in a Traditionalist society was to be a remnant of the faithful few among the non-Christians. Hence, remnant and church were reconciled and had become virtually synonymous. Since duplicating European realities was impossible, envisioning the possibility of a folk movement became a missiological option.

While modes of evangelism and the definition of what “church” meant differed from Europe in this environment, continuity did exist in Adventists’ view of the church being identical with mission. Evangelism was supposed to be the main purpose of Adventist activities everywhere. It was primarily the school network that had to fulfil the evangelistic function in Tanzania, albeit in an indirect way. However, direct evangelism was also an important component of Adventism’s presence in Tanzania. Since the people’s way of life was deeply religious, they resented that Christianity contradicted so many of their cherished customs and beliefs. Because of this breach between Traditional Religion and Christianity, conventional Adventist evangelism, which mainly consisted in preaching the Adventist distinctives, would obviously not impress the Pare much. Instead, it was often extraordinary experiences and events that evoked interest in the new religion among the Pare, for both sides considered the clash between the two systems of life to be of supernatural nature.⁵⁸

Accordingly, the representatives of Adventism frequently exploited exceptional events and phenomena in their evangelistic endeavours. Missionary Langholf took an earthquake in December 1907 as an opportunity to preach to a large crowd at Friedenstal that assembled on the following Sabbath. Langholf’s message stressed the apocalyptic destruction of the earth, which was going to be much more frightening than the earthquake and the hope for a better home than the homes that could be shattered by such a catastrophe.⁵⁹ Similarly, droughts were experiences that helped to communicate the Christian message in a way that would appeal to the common mind. Heinrich Drangmeister

⁵⁸ This is visible in the fact that at all four places with central stations, chiefs tried to allocate “dangerous” areas to Adventists or to use other magical means to prevent them from settling; see the respective accounts in this chapter.

⁵⁹ “Erderschütterung in Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 14, no. 4 (17 February 1908): 88; “Aus Afrika,” ZW 14, no. 4 (17 February 1908): 92–93.

recounts a time in the autumn of 1913 when people were desperate. The traditional *vabaha* (rainmakers) had not succeeded in bringing rain, and the situation was most serious in the Vunta area. When Drangmeister arrived at Hedaru near Vunta and found the elders discussing how to bring rain down, he felt the chance had come for him to point to the originator of all blessings and called a meeting of the whole village in order to pray for rain in public. Throughout the same night, there were heavy rains, and the drought was over.⁶⁰ Although no immediate move to Christianity followed, an alternative religious way of dealing with such existential issues was certainly attractive.⁶¹

Occurrences of disease and death were other incidents that Adventists used for illustrating their message. Yaha of Kihurio, an *akida* (local government representative), lay dying but recovered after being given treatment by Kotz. When a village chief in the Kihurio area did not want to accept the message of resurrection and judgement some time later, Kotz confronted him with the fact that he might die without hope as the *akida* had nearly done.⁶² When chief Kimera of Tanda died after drinking medicine from a traditional doctor-magician, his wife was saved by missionary Drangmeister, while the magician himself died after trying to prove that his medicine was not poisonous.⁶³ Still, questions of life and death also touched the missionaries personally,⁶⁴ and their attitudes spoke a strong language. Nineteen-year-old Mrs Ella Drangmeister died

⁶⁰ H. Drangmeister, "Außenschulbesuch," HW 31, no. 19 (1914): 149–151; H. Drangmeister, "Die Wapare und der Regen," AB 28, no. 4 (15 February 1922): 59–60. Even in other years, Pare came to the missionaries when the rain rituals had not worked; see W. Seiler et al., "Unsere Pionierarbeit in Afrika," AB 59, no. 17 (1960): 266.

⁶¹ A similar story made a strong impact in the evangelization of neighbouring Malawi. A breakthrough of Christian missionary activity among the Ngoni happened in 1886 when missionary Donald Fraser prayed for rain in a drought situation. See "Livingstonia Mission: The Ngoni Response," in *Christianity in Malawi: A Source Book*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross (Gweru: Mambo, 1996), 23–32.

⁶² E. Kotz, "Kihuiro" [*sic*], ZW 12, no. 18 (17 September 1906): 307–308.

⁶³ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 104–106. Drangmeister seems to have been prominent in the confrontational mode of dealing with Traditional Religion. In one instance he searched for a traditional holy place, emptied a magic pot, and thus proved that no destructive power was inherent in the place; see H. Drangmeister, "Aus dem Pare-Gebirge," HW 31, no. 11 (1914): 85–86.

⁶⁴ The first missionary who died was "mission craftsman" Christoph Wunderlich; he passed away shortly after returning to Germany for health reasons in September 1905, only one and a half years after arriving in Africa. See O. Lüpke, "Todes-Anzeigen. Unser erster Verlust v. Ost-Afrikanischen Felde," ZW 11, no. 22 (20 November 1905): 284; Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 18. Wunderlich had been called *Bwana Ndevu* (Mr Beard) by the Pare because of his full beard.

in 1910 just after delivering her first baby. Her husband testified about his hope of seeing her again when people sympathized and mourned with him.⁶⁵ This authentic testimony of hope in such a tragic situation was an impressive witness that illustrated the strength of Christianity to deal with seemingly hopeless situations.

Prime occasions of religious confrontation were possession phenomena, which happened at times at Christian meetings⁶⁶ or at local *ngoma* (dances). One night, Ohme and Kotz heard the drum being beaten and went to observe the event after being told that this was a “spirit dance.” Several women appeared to be possessed by supernatural forces. Kotz then warned a man known to him: “You have chosen Satan and you see how he tortures you. Now there is only one who is greater who can free you from the chains of Satan, your friend Jesus! You have to follow Him.” The man asked the drum players to stop, and the crowd promised that they were going to listen to God’s word.⁶⁷ Several Adventist converts, especially females, testified that they had been troubled by the *pepo* disease,⁶⁸ which had grown to the extent of an epidemic particularly among women, but that they were no more harassed by the same occurrences after conversion.⁶⁹ Surely the liberation from fear related to spirits, witchcraft, and curses was a major attraction for people to join the Christian flock.⁷⁰

A recurring Adventist theme of proclamation was the Sabbath. As the day of rest and worship and as a major theological emphasis of Adventism, it was both taught and implemented seriously by Adventists in Pare.⁷¹ Apart from visits to invite and remind people of the Sabbath

⁶⁵ Luise Werner to the author, 24 April 2000; H. Drangmeister, “Aus Afrika,” ZW 16, no. 6 (15 March 1910): 107.

⁶⁶ Kotz reports that a lady was “visited by the devil” in the middle of a Sabbath sermon; see “Erderschütterung in Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 14, no. 4 (17 February 1908): 88.

⁶⁷ “Aus Kihuiro” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 17 (2 September 1907): 297–298.

⁶⁸ The *pepo* (spirits) disease led to phenomena believed to arise from demonic possession.

⁶⁹ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 210–211. For an analysis of similar dynamics that led to the conversion of many Maasai women three generations later, see Christel Kiel, *Christians in Máasailand: The History of Mission among the Máasai in the ELCT-North Eastern Diocese* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1997), 195–219.

⁷⁰ Kotz reports that Traditionalists often hid their small children for fear of sorcery, which was believed to be particularly dangerous for the young; conversely, Christians were not afraid of magic any more. See Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 50.

⁷¹ For more on modes of Adventist Sabbath keeping in Tanzania, see 6.1, 8.3, and 9.1.

worship meetings,⁷² oral tradition asserts that missionaries sometimes forced people to refrain from working in their fields on the Sabbath day, thus imposing religious discipline even upon non-Christians. The story goes that some missionaries would investigate those places where they saw smoke ascending from newly cleared fields and applied corporal punishment to the owners of the fields, asking them, “Why did you not come to worship?” Besides, they tried to persuade chiefs to stop irrigation on Sabbaths so that people might not work on those days.⁷³ Adventist missionaries knew that they were feared and evidently believed that the exercise of their authority as quasi-chiefs⁷⁴ could speed the people’s acceptance of Adventist Christianity. The opposite was probably true,⁷⁵ but what such actions certainly did was to publicly demonstrate the Europeans’ power and the implicit claim that the region was under Adventist jurisdiction, an increasingly conscious yet imposed folk church concept.

The Sabbath theme was not only a favourite Adventist topic but also constituted an interesting parallel to Pare practices. According to Kotz, a Pare prophet had announced in the 1890s, possibly under the influence of Lutheran Christianity, that the first and the last day of the Pare six-day week, called *nguta* and *zekisia*, respectively, were to be holidays, and a great traditional healer had commanded that no work should be done in the fields on these days.⁷⁶ Whether this information is authentic or a claim invented by Traditionalists for some reason,⁷⁷ it

⁷² M. Kunze, “Meine ersten Erfahrungen in Afrika,” 394–395.

⁷³ This story was told to me by several Pare, and tradition holds A.C. Enns was involved in beating people, which is understandable in the light of his general comportment; see Elineema, *Historia*, 24. On Enns’s beating of people, see also 4.2 and A.C. Enns—Geheimrat [name not indicated], 4 June 1907, TNA G 54/360, no. 63–65.

⁷⁴ Kotz was referred to as “chief” by the man to whom he talked at the spirit *ngoma* incident, and Conradi was even called the “great chief” from Germany at his 1913 visit at Vunta, see “Aus Kihuiro” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 17 (2 September 1907): 297–298; E. Kotz, “Vom See zurück nach Pare,” ZW 19, no. 6 (17 March 1913): 158–159; Kotz, *Sklaven*, 48.

⁷⁵ Several aged Pare interviewees related the account with accompanying laughter and approval with the argument that the missionaries brought the truth and therefore it was not all that bad that they used some force. Still this does not mean that these actions really helped the process of evangelization.

⁷⁶ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 37–38.

⁷⁷ The information on the holidays is reported as a legend (Kotz says: “Twenty-five years ago, one of their prophets is said to have made the first and last days of the week holidays”) and thus might be a later reinterpretation of tradition in the light of Christian influence. The six-day week itself, however, with its tradition that the second and fourth days were the days for certain festival practices and family matters,

shows that the issue of a weekly day of rest had become plausible to the Pare. Thus, a teaching that traditionally represented the denomination's remnant identity assumed a new significance in Tanzania, where it constituted an element of transition between Traditional Religion and Seventh-day Adventist Christianity.

As at most places in twentieth century African church history, African Christians were the strongest influence in evangelism.⁷⁸ It was the natural impetus of early Adventists to share their faith with their families and friends. Even if this did not always result in conversions, the Christians' lives were impressive testimonies, as in the case of Ezekiel Kibwana, whose parents rejected him after his conversion but later observed that he remained a faithful son, which led to reconciliation.⁷⁹ Since this personal evangelistic work was conducted on the level of individuals' daily lives, it did not always make extraordinary stories; therefore, reports do not mention it at length. Still, it must have been a major force. Once one family member converted, others followed more easily, as in the case of Petro Risase's sister Rebekka, who was married by Petro Mlungwana, Maria Kajembe, who was baptized a year after her husband in 1909, and Abrahamu and Hana Sengoka, who were baptized together in the same year.⁸⁰

Organized models of evangelistic ministry also developed, first under missionary auspices and subsequently by Tanzanians themselves. In the newly organized churches of Kihurio and Suji, a "Young People's Missionary Society" was initiated around 1910 and soon brought in a "baptism harvest" of thirty-one persons.⁸¹ Moreover, converts were regularly organized for missionary activities, and particular villages were assigned to small groups who then spent Sabbath afternoons

constituted an important custom that had impact on many events in traditional Pare life. See *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Baur, *Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Africa*, 263, estimates that about 90% of all Christian conversions in the early twentieth century were the fruit of catechists' (= evangelists'/bush teachers') instruction. He does not explore the impact of individual Christians in their families, but the tendency is clear: Africans were mostly converted by Africans.

⁷⁹ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 190.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 192; Elineema, *Historia*, 43. Another case is the wife of Daniel Mwenda, an early teacher, who did not want to follow her husband's faith for several years but finally decided to do so; see W. Kölling, "'Washenzi,'" *ABH* 2, no. 3 (1916): 37.

⁸¹ A.C. Enns—Review and Herald, 22 April 1913, *GCA*; W. Kölling, "Jugendabteilung Kihurio, D.-O.-A.," *ZW* 17, no. 22 (20 November 1911): 468–469; Max Pönig, "Missionsstation Vwasu, D. O.-A.," *ZW* 19, no. 11 (2 June 1913): 280.

there to evangelize.⁸² Thus, the Adventist way of evangelism was a mixture of common missionary methods, responding to unexpected opportunities, and the spontaneous sharing of religious persuasions in natural networks.

Conversions and Conflicts

The success of a nascent religious movement is measured to a significant degree by its ability to attract permanent converts. Adventists in Pare had this objective as well and rejoicingly reported conversion stories, baptisms, and breakthroughs in new areas. At the same time, there were areas where the new religion was not accepted. It is this double dynamics that significantly marked the initial phase of Adventist growth in Pare.

A notable conversion story of the earliest years is that of Anderea Senamwaye⁸³ of Kihurio, one of the first individuals to profess conversion in 1906. He had lost one eye in his childhood because of smallpox, was not strong physically, and was only fourteen years old in 1906, but already worked as Ernst Kotz's language teacher. He must have been particularly intelligent, for he had learnt reading largely by himself and was able to understand the Swahili New Testament at his young age with very little schooling. Upon reading it, he requested baptism on his own initiative. When a local festival that was believed to prolong life was held, Senamwaye refused to attend and argued that "if God wants that you die tomorrow, you will die anyway; therefore, you are dancing completely in vain."⁸⁴

Just after announcing his conversion to his parents, they forced him to participate in *ngasu ya mshitu*, a forest festival commonly interpreted as a fertility ritual.⁸⁵ He submitted to the parental decision as his parents

⁸² Around 1910 the government ordered the population to live together in villages instead of residing in scattered homes, a kind of colonial precursor of the post-independence *ujamaa* villages. This enabled the Christians to reach their fellow Africans more easily because they could now preach to many people at the same time. See M. Kunze, "Arbeit mit Seelen in Afrika," ZW 19, no. 11 (2 June 1913): 280–282; E. Kotz, "Pare-Missionsfeld, 1. Halbjahr 1913," ZW 19, no. 16 (18 August 1913): 405–406. This villagization programme is also reported in Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 77.

⁸³ Also found as "Senamwai" and "Senamwae."

⁸⁴ Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 22–24; "Aus Ostafrika," ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 92–93; E. Kotz, "Kihuiro" [*sic*], ZW 12, no. 18 (17 September 1906): 307.

⁸⁵ For a detailed description of the *mshitu* celebrations, see Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 60–83. A fuller discussion of the Adventist attitude towards this feast is found in 7.2.

threatened not to give him any assistance for later bridewealth and since they promised that he was going to be allowed to participate in baptismal instruction at the mission once he had gone through this *mshitu* ceremony.⁸⁶ Finally, he married a Christian girl, Raheli, who was as eager as he was to live and serve at places where the Christian message was not yet known.⁸⁷

Senamwaye is typical for the very early converts in several respects. Most of them were rather young, and some were individuals outside the mainstream of society who were therefore more open for experiments than the average Pare. Yet as the most outstanding student of the Kihurio mission school, he was among a new class of people who were ready to advance because of their acumen and who felt that the traditional way of life included threatening elements from which Christianity would free them. It is also noteworthy that, in spite of considerable opposition, no outright persecution arose against them.⁸⁸ Individuals who became Christians were often ousted by their families, and stories circulated that those baptized would be forced to eat snakes and crows and would be taken to Europe soon.⁸⁹ Yet since the German rule and the church's presence were firmly established, violence and open clashes with the Europeans were certainly viewed as dangerous.

Initially, the Adventist membership growth was rather slow. As among the neighbouring Lutherans, it took years until a group of baptismal candidates developed.⁹⁰ The first six were baptized in April 1908. Among them, Davidi Mazumba Chambega came from Friedenstal and the five others from Kihurio: Abrahamu Salimu Seivunde, Yohana Kajembe, Anderea Senamwaye, Filipo Mmbago, and Lazaro Omali.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 78–79.

⁸⁷ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 188–189. Senamwaye died before World War I after a short illness; see *ibid.*

⁸⁸ This is also visible in a testimony of another early convert who reports that he was threatened to be killed, but nothing happened; see Daudi Kiboko, "Wie ich Christ wurde," AB 32, no. 15 (1 August 1926): 236. The picture seems to have been more sombre in places far away from the Germans' centres, such as Vugwama where the first believers had to endure "severe persecution"; see *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 16.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; Kotz, *Sklaven*, 79.

⁹⁰ In this period of waiting for the first conversions, Adventist missionaries reported that Paul Rother of the neighbouring Leipzig Mission at Shigatini in North Pare had had to wait for four years until the first person applied for becoming a catechumen, which might have been somewhat of a consolation. See "Aus Ostafrika," ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 91.

⁹¹ G. Dail, "First-Fruits From German East Africa," RH 85 (4 June 1908): 13–14; the last person should be identical with Lazaro Mshimbula Chambega in the list of

More baptisms followed in May 1909 at Friedenstal; three of the fifteen baptized were women, the first to become Christians in the area. They were Maria Kajembe and Raheli Senamwaye, wives of two of the first converts, and Hana Sengoka, the wife of Abrahamu Sengoka, who was baptized with her.⁹²

In the years shortly before the war, the number of new church members increased. Fifty-one were baptized on one occasion in 1912 alone. The type of candidates changed as well: after initial doubts whether anyone could be converted apart from the young, the first older people were among the new church members in 1913. An interesting fact is that sons and daughters of chiefs and government officials had been among the converts from the earliest time. The well-known Abrahamu Sengoka, for instance, was the son of chief Mauya of Mamba and renounced his right to become chief when he became a Christian, and Davidi Mazumba Chambega's father was a chief as well.⁹³ Reuben Munyuku Shazia, who professed Adventist Christianity in 1912, was chief of Suji from 1917 onward, a most interesting development, which showed that some Christians were respected by society very early in spite of their religious change.⁹⁴ With such high-ranking individuals among the Adventist members, it was to be expected that many others would follow.

Still, resistance to this growing religious influence continued to exist. In some areas such as Moure and Lukuta, people openly rejected the missionaries' preaching. Yet when calamities befell the very persons who

Elineema, *Historia*, 43, who is also mentioned in *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 3. The latter books have two more names (Abrahamu Makonta Sengenge and Isaka Ndiga) which, however, may stem from later baptisms, for the number six for the first baptism is firmly established in contemporary accounts. Cf. figure 7 (p. 611)

⁹² Elineema, *Historia*, 43. This second baptism was a major breakthrough, for the ceremony triggered more decisions. Immediately another baptismal service was planned four months later, with ten candidates already in place, and the first people from Suji also requested to become Christians. See [B. Ohme,] "Erfreuliches aus Deutsch-Ostafrika," ZW 15, no. 13 (5 July 1909): 230; "Aus Deutsch-Ostafrika," ZW 15, no. 14 (19 July 1909): 251–252.

⁹³ E. Kotz, "Aus Afrika," HW 26, no. 10 (1909): 77. In addition, several *akidas'* sons of the Mpinji, Kambeni, Mshihui, and Sambeni areas, and Maria Risase, the daughter of a chief called Kantu, were among the early converts. See Kotz, *Sklaven*, 92.

⁹⁴ L.R. Conradi, "The South Pare Mission," RH 90 (15 May 1913): 463–464; "Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913," ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 4; B. Ohme, "Friedenstal-Kihurio-Friedenstal," ZW 15, no. 11 (7 June 1909): 191–192; "Aus Ostafrika," ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 91; M. Pönig, "Die Vorsehung Gottes im Pare-Missionsfeld (Ostafrika)," AB 28, no. 6 (15 March 1922): 93; Elineema, *Historia*, 28; and Kotz, *Sklaven*, 192.

had refused to listen, many came to believe that this was a punishment of God and became interested in the Christian message.⁹⁵ Once people even attempted to kill the strangers. The missionaries obtained milk daily in which some women put poison one day, but because of the smell and informed boys, the plot became known. Legal steps were taken, the suppliers were warned, the *akida* was informed, and the Wilhelmstal government post made aware of the problem.⁹⁶ The significance of such events was that Adventist Christianity as perceived by the Pare was a threat to the established order and, therefore, was often hated by people more or less openly. If it was not countered by violent means for fear of government retaliation, at least plans were laid on how to trouble those who promoted the still foreign religion.

An interesting incident of resistance happened at Vunta, the fourth area where Adventists built a major station. Plans for an out-school had initially been laid in 1909, and chief Karo welcomed the mission but made plans to prevent the establishment of the school by consulting a traditional doctor-magician. That man bewitched a cock that was to be eaten at the next meeting with the Adventists. This was to ensure that they would never come back. In fact, the missionaries ate it and then delayed coming back for several weeks. Naturally, the people believed the magic had worked. When they finally returned, however, the magician explained that because his fee had not been paid he could not help any more.⁹⁷ This may have sounded plausible to some, but others may have wondered whether the failure of magic implied that the White man's faith was more powerful than the old ways.

Certainly no easy common denominator was to be found on the theological and religious levels. Missionary Kotz noted that his preaching about all men being sinners was plainly rejected by people. They interrupted his sermon and argued, "We are not [sinners], perhaps you Europeans are; but we are all good, we have even come to this meeting to hear God's word whence you can see that we are good."⁹⁸ Children were often cursed by their parents if they chose to become Christians. The battle was for individual souls, and, to put it in Kotz's

⁹⁵ One man's hut burnt down with his goats at Lukuta, many of the children at Moure died, and the Moure people lost their crops in the same period. See "Aus Ostafrika," ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 92.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 93.

⁹⁷ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 30–31.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 31.

words, “the tribe as such rejected” Christianity.⁹⁹ In spite of Adventists’ great plans, the environment forced them to remain a numerical remnant for the time being.

Kihurio: Early Successes and Frictions in a Diverse Environment

A peculiar experience for Adventists in South Pare was Kihurio.¹⁰⁰ Initially, the success of Adventists was most marked in this area, but it was also troublesome in some respects. The denomination had erected its second major station in this large village at the south-eastern end of the Pare Mountains. It had been an almost “multicultural” place for a considerable time before Christianity arrived there in its Seventh-day Adventist garb. An outstanding aspect of its culture was that Islam had made an impact on the people for many years; A.C. Enns estimated that 60% of the two thousand inhabitants of the Kihurio area were Muslims in 1913. The *akida* Ngoma was a Muslim, and a trader called Omari led a small Qur’an school.¹⁰¹ Thus, Islamic resurgence constantly threatened Adventist work. Moreover, sudden drops of school attendance occurred even after several years of presence.¹⁰² Kihurio was also different from the rest of the area because of its location at the foot of the mountains, which had attracted many non-Pare in the nineteenth century, including Sambaa, Zigua, Maasai, and Nyamwezi.¹⁰³ Thus, the community was more involved in the larger economic and political context of the colony than the rather conservative villagers in the mountains and had a population exposed to progress and a variety of cultures.¹⁰⁴

As at Mamba-Giti and Suji, Adventists had been assigned a place believed to be dangerous, the “Spirit Mountain.”¹⁰⁵ Yet individuals from Kihurio were much more open for Adventist teachings in the

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰⁰ Kihurio was spelled Kihuiro in some earlier articles and Kihulio in some TNA documents. Today, the commonly accepted form is Kihurio.

¹⁰¹ E. Kotz, “Bericht der Mission der Adventisten vom 7. Tage,” Bundesarchiv, R 1001/6561, no. 16–17.

¹⁰² In 1913, for instance, the student body suddenly decreased from 165 to 30; see A.C. Enns, “Mission Station Kihüiro [*sic*], East Africa,” RH 90 (9 January 1913): 13.

¹⁰³ On the different language groups see [E. Kotz,] “Der Islam in Afrika,” ZW 11, no. 19 (1 October 1906): 329; “Kihuiro” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 9 (4 May 1907): 165.

¹⁰⁴ Isaria N. Kimambo expounds the impact of the slave trade and other economic changes on the towns at the foot of the Pare Mountains in his book *Penetration and Protest*, 37–45.

¹⁰⁵ Heinrich Drangmeister, “Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 16, no. 12 (21 June 1910): 210.

early years. The Kihurio school had 160 boys and 20 girls when the Friedenstal school had 45 in 1906. In the end of 1911, Kihurio had 47 church members while Friedenstal had only 21, and Suji and Vunta combined only 11. By 1915, membership had reached 119, almost half the total of the Pare Mission. Even among the teachers, 17 were from Kihurio in 1913, which was more than half of the total.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, at Kihurio Adventists attracted a following among people of different ethnic backgrounds. Many of the very first pupils were non-Pare,¹⁰⁷ and when converts were baptized from several ethnic groups in 1911, hopes were harboured that “the Lord wants to send through them the message to other languages that we do not understand.”¹⁰⁸ However, this vision did not work out in practice.¹⁰⁹

One method used by Adventists in the missionary encounter with the Muslims of Kihurio was debating. Such antagonistic discussions between Adventists and Muslim leaders as the one that Kotz reports certainly did not enhance good relations with the Islamic community, and Muslims continued to win ground in Kihurio, demonstrating their influence by building a mosque that was nearly finished in 1906.¹¹⁰ When a Muslim or someone under Islamic influence converted to Adventism, this was celebrated as a great achievement.¹¹¹ These conversions were rare, however. The Adventists’ primary strategy was apparently not to convert Muslims to Christianity but to prevent as many persons as possible from

¹⁰⁶ “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 91; MB 1912, 44; Enns, “Mission Station Kihüiro” [*sic*], 13; Report of the Pare Mission, 1st Quarter 1915, SM 72.

¹⁰⁷ W. Ising, “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 17 (4 September 1905): 215, mentions twelve names (Hamisi, Hamdala, Kalamu, Diga, Shimalivwa, Mambo, Omali, Kaniki, Slimu, Sororo, Sangiwa, Madchomane). Most of them are Muslim names, not Pare names, and suggest that these young people came from other ethnic groups, such as the Sambaa, Nyamwezi and Zigua. See also W. Kölling, “Jugendabteilung Kihurio, D.-O.-A.,” ZW 17, no. 22 (20 November 1911): 469.

¹⁰⁸ W. Kölling, “Die ersten Tage im neuen Jahre in Kihurio, D.-O.-A.,” ZW 17, no. 6 (1911): 124.

¹⁰⁹ Missionary encounters with the Maasai, for instance, were unsuccessful in this early period. In 1907, there were some friendly contacts between Bruno Ohme and two Maasai who spoke Swahili. They had asked for medicine for their child, and Ohme visited their kraal, a ride of more than three hours away from Kihurio, but no lasting relationship developed. See “Kihüiro” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 9 (4 May 1907): 165.

¹¹⁰ [E. Kotz] “Der Islam in Afrika,” ZW 11, no. 19 (1 October 1906): 329.

¹¹¹ An individual Muslim was baptized in 1911; he had also been a traditional doctor, had suffered from spirit possession, but was drawn to Christianity after being healed from some wounds at the mission, remembering that his father had dreamt before he was born that he will be called *mwalimu* (teacher) but should not become a Muslim. See W. Kölling, “Die ersten Tage im neuen Jahre in Kihurio, D.-O.-A.,” ZW 17, no. 6 (1911): 124.

becoming Muslims. Building a “bulwark” of Christianity at Kihurio aimed at hindering the spread of Islam into the mountains.¹¹²

The Kihurio experience was quite different from later periods, when successes occurred among the Pare in the mountains, who had initially been slow to accept religious change. Those cherishing the Adventist dream of establishing a remnant in “every nation, tribe, language, and people” (Revelation 14:6) were thrilled about the early successes at Kihurio. However, later it would become apparent that penetrating the mountains and creating an Adventist folk church among the Pare was a more promising undertaking in terms of numerical growth.

The Relationship with Churches in the Neighbourhood

The relationship between Adventists in Pare and other denominations is an important topic for several reasons. (1) In the history of Adventist expansion, the issue of denominational conflict is a recurring theme and results from Adventist ecclesiology.¹¹³ (2) The Tanzanian situation with a kind of government-prescribed comity was a historical first for Adventists and had to be handled in some way theologically and practically. (3) In Pare, as in Tanzania in general,¹¹⁴ competition existed not only between Adventists and Lutherans, but also between Lutherans and Catholics when the latter established their work in the neighbourhood of Leipzig Mission stations.

The fact that relations with other denominations were relatively better in Tanzania than in Europe was noticed by Adventists themselves.¹¹⁵ This was understandable, for in Europe Adventists extracted all new

¹¹² Kotz, *Sklaven*, 39. Another approach to what was viewed as the “Muslim threat” was literature. Kotz, for instance, published a Swahili tract in 1912, *Yesu ama Mohamadi?* (Jesus or Mohammed?); see E. Kotz, “Yesu ama Mohamadi?,” ZW 18, no. 12 (17 June 1912): 243. Cf. also a Lutheran booklet written in the same year, W. Wohlrab, *Muhamadi au Kristo* (Soni: Vuga Mission Press, 1956, 1st ed. 1912).

¹¹³ This theme has not been addressed in Adventist historiography in an extensive way, and no history of the Adventist relationship with other denominations or an academic study of Adventist views on ecumenism has been published yet. For more on Adventist relations and conflicts with other Christian denominations, see the last part of 9.1.

¹¹⁴ The Benedictines and the Berlin Mission in the south, for instance, had considerable quarrels before they came to an agreement; see Horst Gründer, *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus*, 97–99. The Spiritans and the Leipzig Mission had similar conflicts in the Kilimanjaro region; see Baur, *Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Africa*, 227.

¹¹⁵ E. Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 28 August 1910, GCA; J. Ehlers, “Aus Friedenstal, Deutsch-Ost-Afrika,” HW 22, no. 12 (1905): 94.

members from other churches whereas in Africa one faced a common task: converting the “heathen” to Christ. One way in which the friendly relationship was expressed were mutual visits. Conradi, for instance, called upon the Bodelschwingsh and Mission Inspector Trittelvitz of the Bethel Mission, which worked in neighbouring Usambara. They seemed to know Adventists comparatively well and commended the fact that this small church was doing great things. This must be regarded as more than mere niceties given the otherwise rather cold relationship between Adventists and other denominations in Germany.¹¹⁶ When visiting the Adventist missions in Pare, Conradi also visited the Lutheran establishments on his first and second journeys.¹¹⁷

Since non-interference with other mission territories was an order of the German colonial administration, Adventists had to agree with the policy and tried to make the best out of it. In this atmosphere, Conradi felt free to present extensive reports of the Leipzig work in Pare in German Adventist magazines and to praise them for what they had achieved.¹¹⁸ Some publications on the Lutheran side likewise commended Adventists for their zeal.¹¹⁹ Most positive was the friendly relationship of individual Lutherans and Adventists during the war. Whether nationality or common Christian faith and service was the decisive factor, when internment was forced upon the Adventist missionaries, some of them were taken care of by the Bethel mission in Usambara in an extremely amiable manner.¹²⁰

Still, there were many events and developments that strained the religious peace in South Pare. The Lutherans had severe conflicts with Catholics when the latter tried to establish posts at Mvureni and to expand from their mission at Kwissu in South Pare into what Lutherans

¹¹⁶ L.R. Conradi, “Reise-Erfahrungen,” ZW 15, no. 6 (15 March 1909): 97–99.

¹¹⁷ L.R. Conradi—A.G. Daniells, 25 May 1904, Presidential Files, GCA; L.R. Conradi, “In German East Africa,” RH 86 (11 March 1909): 12. On his first journey, one reason for the visit was to agree on the question of boundaries.

¹¹⁸ “Aus dem Paregebirge,” ABH 1, no. 2 (1914): 32–34; Missionar Rother, “Wie es vor der Zeit der deutschen Herrschaft in Pare (Ostafrika) aussah (I, II),” HW 23, no. 7 and 8 (1906): 54, 62–63; and “Nachrichten aus der Station Gonja (Deutsch-Ostafrika),” HW 24, no. 2 (1907): 13.

¹¹⁹ As in Carl Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1910), 36, 169.

¹²⁰ “Missionsnachrichten über Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ABH 4, no. 2 (1918): 12–13. Among them were Heinrich and Auguste Drangmeister as well as Max and Hermine Pönig.

considered to be their area according to oral comity agreements.¹²¹ The situation was so tense between Lutherans and Catholics both at Gare (West Usambara) and in South and Central Pare that the government had to intervene in 1908. The governor himself declared any extension of Catholic work into the area as undesirable since, according to him, South Pare was “unchallenged property of the Leipzig Evangelical Mission and the Seventh-day Adventists.”¹²² It is noteworthy that the administration protected Adventist interests so early. Only five years after Adventists had occupied southern South Pare, their mission was regarded as an established body.

As far as Adventist-Lutheran relations are concerned, everything seemed quiet in the first years after the two missions had claimed their respective territories in 1904 and South Pare had thus been divided. The Leipzig Mission had aimed at working in the very territory that Adventists occupied, but since they had their most important mission field among the Chagga and other stations among the Meru, Arusha, and North and Central Pare, the loss of half of South Pare was probably not deemed very severe. In 1906, boundary lines were negotiated between the two denominations,¹²³ and even in 1909 the situation seemed to be cordial.¹²⁴ In the absence of a body of African Christians who could try to convert their fellow Africans to their respective denominations, much conflict could not actually exist.

Yet later Lutheran mission literature repeatedly refers to what was perceived as the “Adventist threat.” Understandably, Lutherans found faults mainly on the other side of the dividing line. Paul Fleisch asserts that “the work of the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries was a source of disturbance right from the start.”¹²⁵ Probably the very presence of another denomination that was perceived as a sect and not a respectable

¹²¹ See the correspondence Mbagā 1904–1925, MUCOA, 2891 B 11, especially no. C 16, C 26, and 28.

¹²² Kaiserlicher Gouverneur von Deutsch-Ostafrika—Reichskolonialamt Berlin, 4 November 1908, Bundesarchiv, R 1001/862, no. 6. The Catholics nevertheless started work in South Pare in 1909, which caused the Lutherans’ hurry to set up new mission stations (Vudee, Chome, and Muhezi) in order to occupy as large a territory as possible; see Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 78.

¹²³ Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 77. The Lutherans had been the first to enter Pare in 1900, although in the northern part, at Shigatini. They arrived in South Pare in 1904 at Gonja and opened another major station at Mbagā in 1908.

¹²⁴ L.R. Conradi, “In German East Africa,” RH 86 (11 March 1909): 12.

¹²⁵ Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 53, has no reference to any specific annoyance caused by Adventist in the first years to which he refers.

Protestant church was the main reason for apprehension by some. Yet most serious for the Lutherans was the later “defection” of African leaders such as the change of affiliation of Naftali Kikwasha, who, according to a former colleague, “left us in order to fight against our faith.”¹²⁶ Moreover, since the Lutheran Pare flock was bigger than the Adventist membership before World War I,¹²⁷ denominational change was likely to occur in the Adventist direction. Thus, missionary Paul Rother asked in his history of the Leipzig Mission, “What will happen to the poor, hungry Pare, what will happen to the work which is threatened by the Adventists, Islam, and by Rome?”¹²⁸ As Rother, some Lutherans must have viewed Adventist activity as inspired by “the Tempter” himself.¹²⁹

The Adventist perspective on the relationship differed markedly. They held that the policy of restricting missionary activities should only apply to the erection of schools and stations¹³⁰ and did not accept calling back African Christians from sharing their faith in other missions’ areas. This “partial comity” went beyond what was practised by Adventists in other countries,¹³¹ but it was still different from the expectations of the Lutherans, who wanted complete non-interference in their territory. Yet such a rigid spatial arrangement was not agreeable for Adventists, who held freedom of religious choice to be a more important principle than harmony.¹³² Lutherans complained that Adventists “had some features which had a luring effect on the Africans.”¹³³ In contrast, the Adventist

¹²⁶ Letter from Abraham Ndoe, 9 November 1921, in Paul Rother, “Geschichte der Leipziger Mission in Ostafrika bis zum 1. Weltkrieg,” TMs, n.d., 7, Leipzig Mission Archives. Two other instances are mentioned by Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 155–156.

¹²⁷ At Shigatini there were 210 Lutheran members in 1913 with a church attendance of around 800 and more than 800 students in thirteen schools, and at Gonja there were 140 members and 886 students in five schools in the same year. See Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 76–77.

¹²⁸ Rother, “Geschichte der Leipziger Mission,” 101.

¹²⁹ Rother asserted, “Where God has his work, the Tempter is also there in order to sow weeds. In South Pare, the Adventists have brought considerable confusion to our churches.” See *ibid.*, 36.

¹³⁰ Ernst Kotz—L.R. Conradi, 22 November 1926, File Conradi, L.R., GCA.

¹³¹ For a fuller discussion of Adventists and comity, see 4.1. On comity in general, see R. Pierce Beaver, *Ecumenical Beginnings in Protestant World Mission: A History of Comity* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1962). Beaver also observes that Adventists generally did not enter into comity agreements; see *ibid.*, 154, 269.

¹³² E. Kotz—L.R. Conradi, 22 November 1926, File Conradi, L.R., GCA.

¹³³ Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 155. This probably referred to the Adventist insistence on Sabbath keeping and their general biblicism.

missionary Max Kunze stated with some degree of pride that “when the native Christians of the Leipzig Mission met with our Christians in the Christian village in order to do Bible study, they [the Leipzig Christians] had to confess their deficiencies.”¹³⁴

The perception of what actually took place in encounters of Christians from the two denominations differed, but evidently Adventists were more seen as a threat by Lutherans than vice versa. In the context of the Adventist concept of mission and the denomination’s remnant ecclesiology, competition for souls was not to be condemned but a necessary aspect of evangelism. At the same time, the Adventist encounter with Lutherans in South Pare was momentous in that it stimulated Adventist thinking on inter-denominational relations. Through friction with their neighbours and on the basis of a religious and legal situation quite different from Europe, Tanzanian Adventism made a very limited degree of ecumenism possible. At the same time, the traditional Adventist ecclesiology made them draw a demarcation around what was acceptable cooperation in their view.

3.3 *Characteristics of the Emerging Adventist Community*

Church Structure and Indigenous Leadership

After ten years of Adventist presence in Pare, the church had not only become a visible part of society; it had also reached an advanced stage of internal differentiation. A permanent organizational structure, indigenous leadership, and basic literature had come into existence. The basis for a formal church structure was laid when the four main stations were organized into full-fledged churches in January 1913.¹³⁵ Another major element of church organization were the twenty-two schools that were run by an army of twenty-nine African teachers among whom the future church leadership would develop.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ W. Seiler et al., “Unsere Pionierarbeit in Afrika,” AB 59, no. 17 (1960): 266. The only advantage that Rother found in the “Adventists’ attack” was that the Lutheran Christians started reading the New Testament with additional zeal.

¹³⁵ M. Kunze, “Unsere Jahresversammlung i. Parefeld,” ZW 19, no. 6 (17 March 1913): 158.

¹³⁶ Many names well known in later years appear in the few reports of this early period mentioning Tanzanian leaders: e.g., Abrahamu Sengoka, who started the Kiranga school, Yohana Mkenge at Lugulu, Filipo Sekisago at Mpinji, Paulo Kilonzo at Ntambwe, Petro Risase Kime at Vunta, Daniel Teendwa at Tanda, and Filipo Mmbago at Ndungu. See “Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913,” ABH 1,

In 1913, five particularly outstanding teachers were ordained as the first deacons. Being an ordained deacon was and is no paid position in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and in most countries ordination today is a standard procedure for any deacon who is assigned this duty for the first time. In the early twentieth century, however, it meant an important step for the church in an African country.¹³⁷ As an act of recognizing the deacons' abilities, the ordination implied the establishment of the beginnings of an African "hierarchy," i.e., a differentiation of status in a religious community, and thus constituted a significant step of Africanization.

At the same time, it was meant as a confirmation that the ordinands corresponded to the ideals of a remnant that aimed at further expansion, for the deacons were deemed especially qualified for missionary service. Two of the five, Abrahamu Seivunde and Petro Mlungwana with his wife Rebecca went to the new Sukuma mission field in 1912.¹³⁸ Three more Pare teachers, Filipo Sekisago, Daniel Mwenda and Isaya Fue followed them to Sukumaland during the following year. And more were ready to go: when Kotz asked Pare Adventists who was willing to move to Lake Victoria in order to become a missionary to the people there, almost all expressed their willingness by standing up.¹³⁹ The dream that Conradi had presented to the Pare in the same year started to become true. He had called for

competent, willing, self-denying evangelists, who will do for the other parts of Africa just what the white missionary has done for Pare—leave home and friends and kindred, and go out into the neglected regions of the Dark Continent.¹⁴⁰

no. 1 (July 1914): 4; E. Kotz, "Pare-Missionsfeld," ZW 17, no. 1 (2 January 1911): 10; E. Kotz, "Schulvisitation," ZW 18, no. 14 (15 July 1912): 278–279; and E. Kotz, "Tanda, Westseite des Pare-Gebirges," ZW 19, no. 2 (15 January 1912): 25–26. A complete list of pre-World War I schools is found in Elineema, *Historia*, 95–96.

¹³⁷ Guy Dail, the secretary of the then European General Conference, joyfully commented that the deacon ordination showed "that the work has arrived at a more advanced stage here than in the other fields." See G. Dail—"Dear Brother" [probably W.A. Spicer], 21 February 1913, GCA.

¹³⁸ W. Kölling, "Abendmahl und Taufe in Vwasu, D.O.A.," ZW 18, no. 14 (15 July 1912): 278; L.R. Conradi, "The South Pare Mission," RH 90 (15 May 1913): 463–464; W. Kölling, "Unsere eingeborenen Sendlinge," ABH 4, no. 1 (1918): 6; Kotz, *Sklaven*, 199. Mlungwana was accompanied by his friends Paulo and Hanna Lushino, who volunteered for this missionary work on their own initiative and stayed there for about one year.

¹³⁹ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 186.

¹⁴⁰ G. Dail, "Among Our Missions," RED 1, no. 4 (1912): 75–78.

An aspect of structural development that proved to be a temporary provision only was the establishment of Christian villages. The first settlement of this kind was begun in 1907 at Kihurio, where three baptismal candidates put up their homes near the mission station. The purpose of this move was a separation from the influence of their old friends, who were perceived as a threat to the young Christians' spiritual progress.¹⁴¹ In 1910, there were three such villages at the then three main stations, built "where our converts may till the land daily, and are not compelled to witness the evil works of the heathen." In 1913, the villages already counted eleven.¹⁴² As in other areas of East Africa, they were still common in the 1920s but lost importance in the 1930s. Since the membership began to grow significantly in this decade, the status of Adventists in society became less vague and the Traditionalist majority was no more deemed a danger for the faith of the newly converted.¹⁴³ The existence of Christian villages shows that early Adventist missionaries insisted on having converts thoroughly re-educated according to Adventist ways. In this early period, becoming an Adventist Christian was still equal to "coming out from Babylon," i.e., society at large, and joining a society of its own kind: the Remnant Church.

Ernst Kotz and the Literature of the Young Church

One important feature of the emerging church was the development of literature. The beginning of publications in the language of the southern Pare, Asu, is almost synonymous with the name of Ernst Kotz, who has been called "one of the most gifted Africa missionaries that Adventism had brought forth."¹⁴⁴ Kotz had come to Tanzania

¹⁴¹ The village was called Nazareti; see "Kihurio" [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 19 (5 October 1907): 346; L.R. Conradi, "In German East Africa," RH 86 (11 March 1909): 12; and Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 27.

¹⁴² Another Nazareti and places called Tariso (Tarsus) and Beteli (Bethel) existed at Suji; see interview Msangi and Msangi; B. Ohme, "South Pare Mission, German East Africa," RH 87 (16 June 1910): 39–40; and "Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913," ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 4. In other denominations, similar patterns developed; in pre-World War I Usambara, for instance, Christians called their Christian villages Tariso, Ararat, Betania, or Sinai; see Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 231.

¹⁴³ The last references to this phenomenon that could be found is in the Minutes of the Pare Church Council, 15 July 1930, SM 7, for Pare, and Wilhelm Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, n.d. [ca. 1935]), 69, for Majita at Lake Victoria.

¹⁴⁴ Daniel Heinz, "Kotz, Ernst," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 15, ed. Traugott Bautz (Herzberg: Bautz, 1999), col. 798. Other discussions of Kotz's work

after studies at Friedensau and one year at the Oriental Seminar at Berlin. He was only eighteen years old.¹⁴⁵ Kotz started to work on the Asu language in July 1905, immediately after his arrival.¹⁴⁶ Because of his outstanding language abilities, which were soon recognized by his colleagues, language work became his special assignment in 1909, and from April 1910, Kotz served as the director of the Pare Field.¹⁴⁷ Much of the early translation work into Pare was his responsibility.

After the detention experience during the war years, Kotz and his wife Hilde, who had joined him in Tanzania in 1910, longed to return directly to Tanzania, but they were never able to do so any more. Rather, after some short time of studying at a university in Germany in 1920,¹⁴⁸ he climbed the ranks of the church hierarchy and first became European Foreign Missions Secretary, then an Associate Secretary of the General Conference, and finally the Secretary of the General Conference. From this post he had to resign in 1933 after it had become known that he was an alcoholic.¹⁴⁹ His two sons, though, continued to serve the denomination as missionaries in Africa.¹⁵⁰

Kotz was the only outstanding writer among the German Adventists who worked in Tanzania. His more than fifty magazine articles

are Rudolf M. Reinhard, "Ernst Kotz: Sprachforscher und Missionar," *Adventecho* 84, no. 13–14 (1 July 1985): 15, and Hubert Kazmierczak, "Die interkulturelle Begegnung der Missionare der deutschen Advent-Missionsgesellschaft e.V. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Missionars Ernst Kotz im Lichte der gegenwärtigen Missionstheologie," Thesis, Theologisches Seminar Marienhöhe, 1988, especially 50–66.

¹⁴⁵ [L. R. Conradi,] "Nach Deutsch-Ostafrika," *ZW* 11, no. 10 (15 May 1905): 126; L.R. Conradi, "Reise-Erfahrungen," *ZW* 11, no. 8 (17 April 1905): 85–86; and *MB* 1910, 24.

¹⁴⁶ W. Ising, "Aus Ostafrika," *ZW* 11, no. 17 (4 September 1905): 216.

¹⁴⁷ Conradi came to believe after only few years that he was "by far the best scholar and reliable" in language matters. See L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 30 November 1908, *GCA*. Kotz was also mostly the interpreter in meetings where other languages were used; see Willy Kölling, "Eine Vierteljahresversammlung," *ZW* 15, no. 5 (1 March 1909): 90–91; Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 27.

¹⁴⁸ E. Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 2 June 1920, *GCA*. Possibly he studied at Hamburg since the letter came from there.

¹⁴⁹ He had been elected president of the Central European Division in 1933, but this call was not implemented because of his dismissal from denominational employment. See Central European Division Minutes, 24 July 1933, *GCA*; Central European Division Minutes, 309th session of 8 May 1934, *GCA*. The use of alcohol is a reason to be disfellowshipped from the Seventh-day Adventist Church until the present. Total abstinence from alcohol has been an Adventist principle since the mid-nineteenth century; see Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 106.

¹⁵⁰ Hans Kotz served in Tanzania and Rwanda, and Siegfried Kotz, who was a medical doctor, also served the church in various capacities. They and their sister Ilse remained church members until their death.

and three books on missionary work and ethnographical observations testify that he was both an insightful missionary and an astute lay anthropologist; in fact, his interest in traditional cultures was unique among the Adventists of his time.¹⁵¹ However, Kotz's greatest and lasting contribution to Tanzanian Adventism was his language work. After a small hymnal had been issued in 1908,¹⁵² Kotz's first major publication came as a surprise. When he sent a Pare Grammar to his teacher, Carl Meinhof, with the request to look at it, it was published almost immediately in 1909.¹⁵³ The good relationship between Kotz and Meinhof was certainly the major reason for the swift acceptance of his manuscript,¹⁵⁴ for Meinhof was the leading authority on African languages at that time.¹⁵⁵

What followed in the next year was a series of publications that followed the usual set of literature in missionary situations: a primer for use in the schools, an enlarged hymnal, and a first Gospel.¹⁵⁶ Already in 1909, Conradi reported that Kotz, with the assistance of Enns, had finished the translation of the four gospels to be published by the Adventist publishing house at Hamburg.¹⁵⁷ Conradi was justly proud about the fact that this was "the first work our denomination has thus far done in getting out any part of the Scriptures in a tongue heretofore

¹⁵¹ For more on Kotz's anthropological work and his books, see 7.1.

¹⁵² See W. I[sing], "Unsere Sprachforschung in Deutsch-Ost-Afrika," ZW 13, no. 9 (4 May 1907): 164–165; "Aus Kihuiro" [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 17 (2 September 1907): 297–298. The first hymnal was *Nyimbo za Mtaso* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1908). It contained 27 songs.

¹⁵³ E. Kotz, *Grammatik des Chasu in Deutsch-Ostafrika (Pare-Gebirge)* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909; 2d ed.: Farnborough: Gregg, 1964).

¹⁵⁴ Kotz's connection with Meinhof continued even when Kotz had moved to the USA; see E. Kotz—Carl Meinhof, 22 November 1928 and Carl Meinhof—E. Kotz, 14 December 1928, File E. Kotz, GCA.

¹⁵⁵ Meinhof, who had studied African languages while being a village pastor in Germany, became the first full professor of African languages in the world in 1905 and was one of the founders of the study of African languages. See Rainer Hering, "Meinhof, Carl Friedrich Michael," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 17, ed. Traugott Bautz (Herzberg: Bautz, 2000), col. 921–960.

¹⁵⁶ The primer: *Missionare der S.T. Adventisten in Süd-Pare, Fibeli ya Chasu* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1910). The hymnal: *Malumbo a Mtaso: 55 Geistliche Lieder in der Sprache der Vaasu (Vapare)* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1910). The book of Matthew: *Bible—NT—Matthew—Asu (Mhuri Yedi Yakwe Mateo: Das Evangelium Matthäus in der Sprache der Vaasu [Vapare])*, transl. by Missionare der S.T. Adventisten Mission in Süd-Pare (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1910).

¹⁵⁷ L.R. Conradi, "Hilfe für ferne Felder," ZW 15, no. 10 (17 May 1909): 169; L.R. Conradi, "More Help for Eastern Africa," RH 86 (22 July 1909): 13.

unprovided with any part of the Word.”¹⁵⁸ The European leadership was certainly also happy to undertake projects that made the church look as respectable as other missions. At the same time, the language work at the Tanzanian mission made a historical impact on the denomination as a whole by stimulating similar activities in other Adventist missions, particularly in Eastern Africa, where Adventists participated in Bible translations into Luo, Gusii, Rwanda, and Jita.¹⁵⁹

As soon as the three small books of 1910 had been published, contact was made with the British and Foreign Bible Society, which received the Adventist Asu publications very positively. While Adventists were planning to translate and publish the whole New Testament, similar work was going on in the neighbouring Leipzig Mission field, although they used a slightly different dialect.¹⁶⁰ This situation, in which two missionary societies pursued the same aim, could have been a chance of cooperation, but in this case it became an outlet for frustrations that had arisen from the frictions between the two missions. After Adventists had decided in 1910 that they wanted the Asu New Testament to become a reality, negotiations with the Leipzig Mission began. However, Kotz soon felt that they did not lead to a viable compromise and admonished Adventists back in Germany to prepare for making a fully Adventist-backed publication possible.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ L.R. Conradi, “More Help for Eastern Africa,” RH 86 (22 July 1909): 14.

¹⁵⁹ The next Adventist translation of a Bible part was published in another language spoken in Tanzania, Luo, though on the Kenyan side, where Luo is much more widespread; see *Bible—NT—Matthew—Luo (Injili mar Mathayo—The Gospel according to St. Matthew in Dholuo)*, translated by A.A. Carscallen, Tentative Edition (London: British Foreign and Bible Society, 1914). Between the World Wars, Henri Monnier was instrumental in translating parts of the Bible into Rwanda; see “Monnier, Henri,” SDAE, 820–821. The Gusii New Testament was translated by Adventists E.A. Beavon and G.A. Lewis; see Maxwell, “I Loved Africa,” 143. About the work in Jita by Rudolf Reider, see 5.2.

¹⁶⁰ On the linguistic work of the Leipzig Mission in general, see Language Conference Chasu 1909, MUCOA, 2891 B 18. The Leipzig Mission published translations of the gospels of John and Mark; see *Bible—NT—John—Asu (Mhuri Yedi ya Kristo ha Yohane: Das Evangelium Jesu Christi nach Johannes, übersetzt in Chasu, die Sprache der Vasu (Vapare), Deutsch-Ostafrika)*, translated by J. Dannholz [and L. Oldewage] (Leipzig: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, 1912); *Bible—NT—Mark—Asu (Mhuri Yedi ya Yesu Kristo ha Marco)* (Moshi: Evangelical Lutheran Mission, 1916). Copies of the gospels and the full New Testament are available in MUCOA; they use a slightly different orthography and a different choice of words. Moreover, a hymnal had been published as early as 1904 and thus constituted the first ever publication in Asu. See *Liederbuch für Schigatimi—Upare* (Moshi: Evangelical Lutheran Mission, 1904).

¹⁶¹ E. Kotz, “Pare-Missionsfeld,” ZW 17, no. 1 (2 January 1911): 10–11.

Two other major projects that Kotz accomplished in the year 1914 were the translation of a book containing Old Testament stories¹⁶² and the launching of a periodical called *Mbirikizi* (“Preacher”).¹⁶³ In starting such a paper, Kotz imitated what had been done earlier by other missions in Tanzania;¹⁶⁴ among Adventists, however, this was a historical first again. More literary projects had been planned, but sadly, Kotz’s collection of hundreds of Pare sayings got lost in the turmoil of the war.¹⁶⁵ During the war years, the Asu publication work was continued by missionary Max Pönig. While he was interned in the Usambara Mountains he prepared one of the first Ellen White books in an African language,¹⁶⁶ translated portions of the Old Testament, and designed a “prophetic chart” in Asu.¹⁶⁷ Thus, Adventist publications in Pare came to include both general Christian materials and distinctive Adventist

¹⁶² *Mburi za Murungu za Maagano a Kale: Die biblischen Geschichten des Alten Testaments in Chasu*, Nach Zahn-Giebe übersetzt von Ernst Kotz, Missionar der S.T. Adventisten in Süd-Pare (Hamburg: Verlag der Internationalen Traktatgesellschaft, 1914). From the fact that the Leipzig Mission published similar books in the preceding years, it may be inferred that he borrowed the idea from them. See *Kitabu cha Mburi ya Biblia (Biblische Geschichte des Neuen Testaments für die Stationen der evang.-luth. Mission in Pare, Deutsch-Ostafrika)* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evang.-Luth. Mission in Leipzig, 1912); *Kitabu cha Mburi ya Biblia: Mme wa Kae (Biblische Geschichte des Alten Testaments in Chasu nach Wendel)* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, 1913).

¹⁶³ “Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913,” ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 5. The magazine appeared only seven or eight times because of the war. Unfortunately, no single copy of this magazine can be traced any more. However, a few articles of *Mbirikizi* were republished in Kotz, *Skaven*, 146.

¹⁶⁴ Other missions used Swahili as well, but mainly at the coast and on Zanzibar; those in the inland used the local languages like the Adventists. The UMCA, for instance, had published *Habari ya Mwezi* from 1895 and *Msimulizi* from 1904; the Benedictines started *Rafiki Yangu* and the Berlin Mission *Pwani na Bara* in 1910, all being Swahili. Only the Bethel Mission with *Mkoma Mbuli* in Kishambala from 1905 and Leipzig with *Mbuya ya Vande Veu* from 1904–1912 in Chagga attempted vernacular periodicals. See Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 183, and “Verzeichnis der Bücher die in der Missionsdruckerei der Leipziger Mission in Moschi + in anderen Missionsdruckereien in Tanganyika gedruckt worden sind,” n.d., MUCOA, Leipzig Mission A1.

¹⁶⁵ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 237.

¹⁶⁶ Ellen G. White, *Kufika he Kristo* (Gendia: South Kavirondo Press, n.d.) [= *Steps to Christ*]. Only few books by Ellen White were published before on the continent, e.g., the same book in Xhosa (Ellen G. White, *Amanyatelo okuya ku Kristu* (Cape Town: International Tract Society, [1898]). Pönig also translated portions of Ellen White’s *Testimonies* and *Desire of Ages*; see the whole file SM 54.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. figure 8 (p. 612). The Psalms were published by Bethel Mission: *Mazumo he Kiteo cha Kimpare* (Vuga: Missionsdruckerei, 1919); sections from Proverbs and the books of Isaiah and Esther were duplicated by typing machine and hectograph; see M. Pönig, “Bericht unsres Missionars Pönig vom Missionswerk in Pare (im früheren D.-Ostafrika),” ABH 7, no. 2 (1921): 11–13.

literature and thus reflected both the remnant paradigm and a folk church option.

It must be emphasized that the translation projects were not possible through the work of foreigners alone. Kotz heavily depended on assistants. Anderea Senamwaye, who served as his language teacher, shaped his understanding of the language, and Kotz continued discussing issues in translating the New Testament into Asu with him. Petro Risase was also indispensable; he was involved in perfecting translations and typed several book manuscripts as well as Sabbath School lessons for all the churches. Risase was only twelve years old when Kotz began teaching him in 1905, but soon he became a valued colleague who worked as Kotz's personal secretary for years and was a full-time translation assistant in 1914.¹⁶⁸ The ties that developed between Kotz and his co-workers were very strong; he declared that Senamwaye was a real friend to him,¹⁶⁹ a feeling that was not common during a period when Africans were looked upon as inferior by many Whites, even missionaries.

Conradi could report quite early that the British and Foreign Bible Society was inclined to cooperate with Adventists alone "if the Leipzig folks were not willing to join us."¹⁷⁰ Such a development, that a small and little known denomination was preferred to the somewhat prestigious Leipzig Mission, was surprising. Did it mean that Adventists were more accepted in the anglophone world? It is difficult to guess, but the Meinhof connection might have played a significant role as well.¹⁷¹ When the New Testament was finally published in 1922, it was the translation of Kotz and his African Adventist colleagues. The Leipzig input was apparently limited to the editing stage after the whole manuscript had been prepared.¹⁷² When the New Testament finally reached Pare after

¹⁶⁸ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 192–193; Petro Risase, "Petro Risase," AB 44, no. 18 (15 September 1938): 287.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁷⁰ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 15 September 1910, GCA.

¹⁷¹ That Meinhof was not much interested in the linguistic work of the Leipzig Mission may be inferred from the fact that they are not mentioned anywhere in Meinhof's linguistics magazine, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, while several Adventist publications are listed.

¹⁷² *Bible—NT—Asu (Maagano Masha: A Mfumuwa na Mkiza Wetu Yesu Kivisito—The New Testament in Asu)*, translated by Ernst Kotz (London: British Foreign and Bible Society, 1922). L.R. Conradi—T.E. Bowen, 17 April 1912, GCA, mentions that the British and Foreign Bible Society wanted other Protestant societies to read the [NT] manuscripts; thus, it should be assumed that this actually happened.

its publication had been delayed by the war for years, it caused great joy among the Pare Christians.¹⁷³ There was some bitter taste added to the sweetness of the Word, however: the Leipzig Mission claimed that it emphasized Adventist doctrines and refused to use it, at least in the first few years.¹⁷⁴

Pare Adventists in Crisis: The War Years

The First World War was a time of crisis and great affliction for the young church. The most immediate effect of the hostilities was that the plans of expansion beyond the field, which were conceived in early 1915 by the Pare Field Committee, could not be implemented.¹⁷⁵ But a most serious development occurred when the British took over the area: Africans were prohibited to hold worship and any other meeting, even school sessions. Still, they continued to meet secretly.¹⁷⁶ Most male missionaries were interned in 1916, as were many African teachers. Nevertheless, the prison experience was a powerful faith experience for the young Christians from which they emerged strengthened in their faith.¹⁷⁷

In 1917, Pare Adventists requested the government to be allowed to resume church activities and got permission to do so.¹⁷⁸ Twelve teachers started school again; tithes and offerings were kept and were later divided among the teachers. However, all day school buildings fell into ruins.¹⁷⁹ When there was some degree of freedom, the Pare Christians

¹⁷³ Kotz reports that Hezekia Kilonzo declared, "On the day that I saw the New Testament in Chasu, I was very happy and jumped around [for joy]." In a similar manner, Mathayo Shengena wrote, "We thank God that he has shown this mercy to the Pare people, for there are many tribes in Africa that do not possess the Word in their language." See Kotz, *Sklaven*, 76–77.

¹⁷⁴ Maxwell, "I Loved Africa," 142.

¹⁷⁵ "Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1914," ABH 2, no. 1 (1915): 3.

¹⁷⁶ This prohibition was unusually strict, but similar local rulings existed in a few other areas as well, such as Tukuyu where Africans were forbidden to worship because of their connections with German missionaries. See William B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa, 1840–1974* (Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977), 75.

¹⁷⁷ The teachers had agreed to pray daily for being released after two months and were given freedom exactly when these two months ended; see M. Pönig, "Bericht unseres Missionars Pönig vom Missionswerk in Pare (im früheren D.-Ostafrika)," ABH 7, no. 2 (1921): 11–13; and Kotz, *Sklaven*, 213.

¹⁷⁸ M.N. Campbell—J.C. Shaw, report entitled "East African Missions No. 2," [1922], File European Division, GCA.

¹⁷⁹ E. Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 25 June 1920, GCA; W.T. Bartlett, "Tanganyika," MW 25,

made efforts to keep contact with their spiritual mentors and succeeded in visiting the interned missionaries at Tanga in 1916 or 1917.¹⁸⁰ The war years were also a period in which the impact of missionary women was felt even more than before. In the absence of their husbands, some remained on their stations to take care of the mission administration. Even during internment, it was possible for Martha Enns and Adeline Seiler to get permission for visiting the missions, which they did. Hilde Kotz, still in her twenties, held the semi-official leadership of the whole Pare Field in the absence of her husband.¹⁸¹

The most trying impact of the war on the young church was felt at Kihurio, the place that was most exposed to the war events due to its location at the foot of the mountains. Initially, things had seemed favourable. The church's shoe-making business that had been started to overcome the financial constraints caused by the war flourished and employed thirteen African craftsmen.¹⁸² In 1917, however, after the British takeover, the church building was made a mica factory by a certain Mr Büchner, a German deserter. He first asked to be accommodated in a room at the mission, but then took possession of the whole estate and sold the mission property. Pare Adventists were forced to work even on Sabbath and were threatened to be beaten if they disobeyed. Only in 1919 were they granted a work-free Sabbath again.¹⁸³ In spite of such measures, most Christians remained steadfast throughout the war. Kihurio had ninety-six members in 1914, Friedenstal had seventy-two, and Suji fifty-nine; these were sufficient numbers that helped the respective congregations survive. In some areas, the membership numbers even grew.¹⁸⁴

no. 10 (26 October 1921): 3; and S.G. Maxwell, "More News from Tanganyika," MW 25, no. 21 (16 November 1921): 1–2.

¹⁸⁰ W. Seiler et al., "Unsere Pionierarbeit in Afrika," AB 59, no. 17 (1960): 266.

¹⁸¹ Martha Enns, "Kriegserfahrungen in Südpare," ABH 5, no. 3 (1919): 21–23; H.F. Schuberth, "Nachruf," AB 38, no. 6 (15 March 1932): 96. Hilde Kotz was born in 1888.

¹⁸² "Erfahrungen in Deutsch-Ostafrika," ABH 5, no. 4 (1919): 26.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*; S.G. Maxwell, "Kihurio Mission," MW 27, no. 3 (23 August 1922): 2; "Missionsrundschaue," ABH 6, no. 1 (1920): 8; and M. Pönig, "Bericht unsres Missionars Pönig vom Missionswerk in Pare (im früheren D.-Ostafrika)," ABH 7, no. 2 (1921): 11–13.

¹⁸⁴ E. Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 25 June 1920, GCA; S.G. Maxwell, "More News from Tanganyika," MW 25, no. 21 (16 November 1921): 1–2; L.R. Conradi, *Untitled Mission Report, 1916*, GCA; and "Frohe Botschaft aus Deutsch-Ostafrika," ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 11. In 1916, the area reached a maximum of 296 members.

In spite of, and partly because of, the turmoil it brought, the war had a few positive effects on the Adventist community. One was the opportunity to reveal a Christian spirit through assistance of those in need.¹⁸⁵ Another effect, as among other denominations, was that the period brought a further boost to the leadership development that had already taken place before. When all missionaries had to leave Pare in 1916, four teachers were given charge of the church by Drangmeister, the last missionary who departed. The first three had been ordained as elders. Ezekiel Kibwana, the overall head, served at Kihurio, Daniel Teendwa at Mamba-Giti, Abrahamu Msangi at Vunta, and Petro Sebughe at Suji. The elders even baptized ten persons in 1920.¹⁸⁶ In spite of having to leave, mission superintendent Kotz was full of hope and asserted that the churches had grown mature enough to take care of themselves.¹⁸⁷ Thus, the Pare church, like their leaders, emerged from the war tribulations as a remnant that had stood severe tests.

3.4 *The Adventist Impact and the Significance of the Pare Experience*

What was the overall impact of Adventists on “their” part of South Pare until the end of World War I? This question can be answered in different ways. With missionary Enns, one could regard the area as “very thoroughly worked” in view of the denomination’s presence, its school network, and the proclamation of basic Christian and Adventist doctrines.¹⁸⁸ Indeed Adventism had become a force that could no more be entirely disregarded. Through its thriving congregations, it represented a viable alternative to Traditional Religion at least in some parts of the area.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Often those Christians who experienced loss and were not able to get enough food in those years of upheaval were helped by other Christians. Pare Adventists themselves initiated a project to help the needy by dedicating a whole maize field to this purpose. See M. Kunze, “Unsere Missionsarbeit während des Krieges,” ABH 6, no. 1 (1920): 7.

¹⁸⁶ Elineema, *Historia*, 45; [E. Kotz,] “Eine kleine Kraft,” ABH 6, no. 3 (1920): 20. L.R. Conradi reports that *four* Pare had been ordained, but does not mention their names; see “Hoffnungsblick,” ABH 6, no. 4 (1920): 28–30.

¹⁸⁷ A letter of Ernst Kotz quoted in G. Dail—W.A. Spicer, 13 August 1917, GCA.

¹⁸⁸ A.C. Enns—T.E. Bowen, 6 February 1912, GCA.

¹⁸⁹ Large numbers of people commonly attended special occasions, which testifies to the importance that the church had. When Conradi visited Pare in 1912, for instance,

Yet to the majority of the Pare, the 250 church members at the outbreak of World War I constituted but a small minority, a somewhat undesirable “cult.” Adventists had not yet changed the power structures of Pare society. At the same time, this small group formed a new elite in society as far as education is concerned. Similar to most new religions, Adventism developed among progressive individuals who sought the opportunity to experiment with a degree of freedom not known before.¹⁹⁰ Adventist Christianity was clearly attractive; this is why the size of the Adventist nucleus had reached already more than 1% of the total population in such a short time. Even relatively slow ongoing growth implied that the majority of the population would eventually join. With conditions remaining stable, the Christian “cult” could become a folk church.¹⁹¹

The Pare experience was the cradle of Tanzanian Adventism and pointed beyond its humble beginnings in various ways. (1) Land had been “marked out” for exclusive missionary use by Adventists, a setup of operations that differed from Europe in a striking way. (2) A Tanzanian church with African leaders had developed in one and a half decades. (3) The boundary agreements with the neighbouring Leipzig Mission and the irritations in these interdenominational relations reflected Adventism’s double identity as a remnant and a projected folk church.

crowds of 400 came together at Kihurio, 450 at Suji, and 800 at Vunta, with 40 standing up to declare their desire for baptism. See L.R. Conradi, “The South Pare Mission,” RH 90 (15 May 1913): 463–464; and E. Kotz, “Vom See zurück nach Pare,” ZW 19, no. 6 (17 March 1913): 158–159.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Wolfgang Gabbert, “Social and Cultural Conditions of Religious Conversion in Colonial Southwest Tanzania, 1891–1939,” *Ethnology* 40, no. 4 (2001): 291–308. Gabbert argues that conversion to Christianity among the Nyakyusa was strongly conditioned by inequalities within Nyakyusa society. Thus, the response to missionary proclamation tended to be strong in those groups that aspired more influence through conversion.

¹⁹¹ In their discussion of cult (and sect) formation, Stark and Bainbridge emphasize that the major challenge for a new religion is to attract a nucleus of believers large enough to spark ongoing growth. They argue that once this has been achieved, future expansion is almost merely a function of time except for the issue of saturation, which depends on the size of the “pool” from which adherents are drawn. Thus, with a potential pool of 100% of the population to be converted and, say, a modest 100% growth per decade, it takes less than eighty years to convert the whole population if the starting point is 1%. This is the approximate situation from which Adventists started after World War I, and what happened afterwards was precisely such a growth. See Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, 346–365 (the chapter entitled “The Arithmetic of Social Movements: Theoretical Implications”).

(4) While using the same missionary methods as other emerging churches and thus being a church like others to a considerable extent, Adventists in Pare continued to believe in possessing a special call: being God's remnant in Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SECOND FOOTHOLD: MISSIONS AT LAKE VICTORIA

4.1 *Initial Stages*

Acquiring Another “Virgin Territory”

After four years in Pare, Adventists decided to enter a second territory in Tanzania. In one way, this is surprising. So far, there had been no baptism in the Pare mission, and the work in the mountains was still in its infancy in most respects. Nevertheless, Adventists must have felt that South Pare was not enough as a field of evangelization. Expansion to areas next to these narrow confines was impossible,¹ and the small area could not satisfy the missionary energy of German Adventists. As early as 1906, Adventists had become aware of the fact that four main mission centres were enough to serve this area. Yet the potential of missionaries and funds was big enough to support a much larger work.² In 1907, Ernst Kotz, a leading brain in the mission, argued that it was “definitely necessary that we also do wider travelling in order to see where the land is open.”³ This push for exploratory trips was finally implemented in late 1907 when missionary Enns was sent to Lake Victoria in order to survey the whole region, which resulted in the establishment of Adventist stations in the east of the lake from 1909 onward.⁴

Why was the eastern side of Lake Victoria chosen as a second foothold of Adventist mission in Tanzania? The main concerns in the choice of mission fields were commonly health matters and population density.⁵

¹ The Leipzig Mission had occupied the adjacent area in the north just after Adventists had come in; the Bethel Mission claimed solitary access to the area on the other side, and the large steppe in the south-west did not have a sedentary population.

² Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 7; “Etwas über Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ABH 1, no. 3 (1915): 49.

³ “Kihuiro” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 19 (5 October 1907): 346.

⁴ Enns had made an exploratory journey to Lake Victoria already in 1906, when a place for the Adventist mission in Kenya was chosen. In 1907, he visited Shirati, Bukoba, Mwanza, and Mengo in Uganda, where he met the Anglican Bishop Tucker; see Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 7; A.W. Enns, “Aus Afrika,” ZW 14, no. 19 (5 October 1908): 357–358; and W. Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 28.

⁵ Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 76. Other missions in the then German East Africa enjoyed environments similar to Pare as far as the absence of

Different from the Pare Mountains, one had to be much more worried about health around Lake Victoria. Yet the fact that the region was rather densely populated justified heavy investments. Moreover, the territory was so large that Adventists could establish stations at many places. Another advantage of this area was communication and transport. There was a reliable and relatively fast connection with the coast through ships on the lake and the Kisumu-Mombasa rail through Kenya. Although hopes for permission to put up a mission in the Bukoba area, in the west of Lake Victoria, had not materialized in 1903, the lake area still remained a favourite Adventist choice. In spite of its health hazards, the eastern side promised to provide more opportunities for missionary work than Pare.

In addition to these general considerations, the “virgin territory” principle was a cardinal reason that led to inaugurate this second segment of Adventist work in Tanzania. Adventists expected to have much more freedom at the lake than in Pare because no other missions competed according to the 1907 survey. Catholics were not very far, but the area was so big that it was very easy to allot different parts of the territory to these two denominations. Conradi began to dream about establishing a church that served an enormous number of people.⁶ For this purpose he intended to secure land in which an unchallenged Adventist presence, free from competition with other Christian bodies, would enable the mission to build an Adventist folk church. Of course, under German colonial policies, even the government was interested in allocating such territories to any mission that would guarantee the absence of inter-denominational controversies. After Adventist South Pare had not exactly been such a territory, it might have been a relief even for the government to see Adventist energies being shifted to a zone with less potential for conflicts.

The Adventist belt was to be laid around the east and south-east of Lake Victoria. A large population lived there: Mara with its many small ethnic groups and the territory of the Sukuma, the largest among the peoples of Tanzania. There were about five hundred thousand

malaria is concerned. This was the case, among others, in the Usambara Mountains, the Kilimanjaro region, the Mbeya area, and Rwanda.

⁶ In 1909, Conradi enthusiastically wrote about the “[h]undreds of thousands of Protestants” including the king and many of his administrators in Uganda and applied this observation to the potential in the lake area; see L.R. Conradi, “In the Heart of Africa,” *General Conference Bulletin*, 1909, 56.

Sukuma, and in Mara, the Jita alone numbered more than twenty-five thousand, more than the Pare in the Adventist sphere of influence. Apart from some smaller ethnic groups, there were also several others with numbers similar to the Jita, such as the Kerewe, Kuria, Kwaya, and the Tanzanian Luo.⁷

One reason why the area had hardly been noticed by missions until then was its location at the periphery of development. The government considered some of the ethnic groups living east of the lake to be backward, “uncivilized,” and difficult to rule, especially the Kuria of North Mara and the “thick-skinned, stubborn Wazanaki.”⁸ Thus, both the German rulers and, later, the British administration invested very little into the region.⁹ Adventists were therefore assigned a large yet somewhat unpromising area where firm outside authority was lacking, possibly as a government attempt to have at least minimal influence on such zones. Sukumaland was closer to a peripheral centre of commerce, Mwanza, but was not yet closely integrated into the larger economic and political framework of the colony. Still, some people groups seemed to be quite auspicious as far as missionary success was concerned, like the Jita, who were called “the most civilized and hard working” people in the Musoma sub-district by later government officials.¹⁰ It was among such progressive segments of the population that Adventists would make the biggest impact in the decades to come.¹¹

⁷ A 1921 census, which should have numbers similar to the beginning of the century because of war losses that might equal population growth in the pre-World War I period, showed the following figures for the Musoma sub-district: Gaia (= Luo): 16,480; Jita: 25,641; Shashi: 21,296; Zanaki: 35,189; see Musoma Sub-District Book, 1916–27, 65, TNA [no classification no.]. The figures seem to be quite realistic only for the Jita and Luo; the Zanaki and Shashi must have been significantly less since 1934 statistics show 16,938 for the Zanaki and 4,026 for the Shashi. The Sukuma were almost 600,000 in 1934; see Julius Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future* (London: World Dominion, 1934), 101–102. Probably the census included other small groups in the Zanaki and Shashi categories. In Richter’s statistics, the Jita had reached more than 50,000 by 1934.

⁸ “Bericht über die Mission der Adventisten vom siebenten Tag,” Schulz [Bezirksnebenstelle Schirati]—BA Muansa, 15 April 1911, TNA G 9/43, no. 32–34.

⁹ Tobisson, *Family Dynamics among the Kuria*, 16–19; Abuso, *A Traditional History of the Abakuria*, 170–172.

¹⁰ Musoma Sub-District Book, 1916–27, 25, TNA. This perspective is confirmed by a later observation by Rudolf Reider; see his article “Die Wirtschaftsformen der Djita und ihre Beziehungen zu den Nachbarstämmen,” *Koloniale Rundschau* 31, no. 4 (1940): 221.

¹¹ Adrian Hastings argues that the new political order naturally influenced the most progressive individuals first, which implied a greater openness for religious change as well; see Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 403–404.

The actual process of choosing the region was enlightening. When A.C. Enns had made the 1907 exploratory trip around the lake, he had found that there were bright prospects for Adventist mission work at several locations. However, according to his proposal, the first choice was not in Tanzania but Uganda. According to Enns, the people there were “literally running about to find truth.” He happily reported that twenty individuals had asked him to stay and teach the Bible, including such subjects as the Sabbath and prophetic interpretation.¹² This suggestion forced Adventist missionary planners to choose between two options: establishing a sectarian movement in Uganda with its already large Christian churches or planting seeds of an eventual Adventist folk church among populations that had not yet been touched by Christianity. Enns knew that Adventists might not be allowed to start Adventist activities in Uganda because other churches were well-established and the government could easily refuse permission on these grounds. Still, he argued that Adventist settlers should be encouraged to work among the Ugandans—a scheme that was not implemented. Another radical proposal of missionary Enns was that Adventist settlers could supervise the work in Pare, for if only one of the three stations was left there, manpower could be shifted to Lake Victoria with its hundreds of thousands of people.¹³

These plans did not materialize, and one could dismiss such ideas as the brainchild of an eccentric individual. Yet they also show the apocalyptic context in which some Adventist workers argued and operated.¹⁴ For Enns, the work had to be finished quickly, and wherever the message had been preached already, he considered the Adventist mission to be accomplished. The fact that all of Enns’s plans were disregarded implies that the eschatological emphasis of Adventist theology did not prevent a manner of missionary strategizing that would follow the lines common among other denominations, including starting work that would take several decades to mature. Moreover, the Adventist missionary leaders who were in charge of the East African venture had evidently come to view evangelism among non-Christians as more

¹² A.C. Enns—A.G. Daniells, 7 January 1908, GCA.

¹³ *Ibid.* Enns’s proposal concerning Pare was partly based on the assumption that the Adventist section of Pare had only 5,000 inhabitants, which was definitely far too little, i.e., only one third or one fourth of the real figure.

¹⁴ Enns’s enthusiasm did not remain without an impact: Adventist mission leaders temporarily considered opening work in Uganda along medical lines. See L.R. Conradi—Brother Nethery, 14 January 1908, GCA.

meaningful than the proclamation of the denomination's distinctives among Christian Africans.

After the Uganda plans had ebbed away, the opposite side of Lake Victoria remained as an alternative option. Conradi personally met the governor during his 1908 trip to East Africa and requested him to issue a recommendation for the planned mission field.¹⁵ Having visited the British Adventist missions in Kenya as well as Uganda, Bukoba, Mwanza, and the east coast of Lake Victoria himself, Conradi decided to ask for the whole east coast area to become Adventist territory. This desire was not granted immediately and fully; rather, it was an explicit order of the governor, Albrecht von Rechenberg, to the district officials that the Adventist mission be allocated an area where no collision with other missions was possible.¹⁶ The concern about missionary conflicts over fields of work was as alive as in 1903 when Adventists had first come to the country. However, the vast size of the potential Adventist territory reveals that the Seventh-day Adventist Church had risen to somewhat respectable status in the eyes of the governor.¹⁷

Experimenting with Comity Agreements

The Adventists' joy of having a zone reserved for their exclusive use did not last very long. They had come to an area that others planned to enter just around the same time, similar to South Pare, where the Lutherans extended their sphere of influence only a few months after Adventists had entered it. The large population in the region apparently stimulated the interest of other missionary strategists as well. It was again the Leipzig Mission that was trying to take over an old mission station of the Church Missionary Society at Nassa in 1909.¹⁸ Yet they came too late: the Africa Inland Mission (AIM) had proposed the same takeover only a short time earlier. The Leipzig leaders made

¹⁵ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 30 November 1908, GCA.

¹⁶ L.R. Conradi—von Rechenberg, 28 March 1909, von Rechenberg—BA Muansa, 29 April 1909, TNA G 9/43, no. 9–10.

¹⁷ Governor von Rechenberg had also visited Kihurio mission the year before, had noted its "efficiency and progress," and had donated 250 books to the mission; see L.R. Conradi, "In the Heart of Africa," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1909, 55.

¹⁸ This station had been administered by the Church Missionary Society in Uganda; it was located at the place where Alexander Mackay, the pioneer of Christianity in Uganda, had died. See Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. 4 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1916), 78; Dick Anderson, *We Felt Like Grasshoppers: The Story of Africa Inland Mission* (Nottingham: Crossway, 1994), 53.

a nationalistic appeal to the government, arguing that if the case was not decided yet, a German mission should be preferred. However, the AIM had been promised the Nassa area already, and therefore the government did not want to make the embarrassing decision to favour Leipzig against earlier arrangements. One year later the White Fathers wanted to occupy the Nera area, but even here the AIM had been quicker.¹⁹

The White Fathers had been the unchallenged mission in the area for fourteen years; they had worked mainly on Ukerewe Island.²⁰ Therefore, they were surely not pleased when Adventists initiated what was to become a race for territory. Conradi reported in 1912 that Catholics were “trying hard to push their missions” forward in competition with Adventists.²¹ Since theological persuasions differed a great deal, a relaxed relationship was not intended by both sides.²² Relations with the colleagues of the Africa Inland Mission must have been much better, for both Kotz and Conradi report friendly visits at their Nassa station. They asserted that a “good spirit is surely present in this mission.”²³

Yet altogether Adventists felt that they were not always viewed as serious colleagues in evangelizing the heathen by other Protestant denominations. Kotz lamented in 1920 that according to some voices

¹⁹ On the AIM efforts to acquire Nassa, see the whole of TNA G9/49; regarding Leipzig and the White Fathers, see Weishaupt—von Rechenberg, 5 August 1909, no. 13; Kausch [?] (BA Mwanza)—Kaiserliches Gouvernement Dar es Salam, 5 October 1910, no. 26, both in TNA G9/49.

²⁰ B. Ohme, “Gründung unseres neuen Missionsfeldes in Usukuma,” ZW 19, no. 2 (20 January 1913): 30–32.

²¹ L.R. Conradi, “More Workers for Africa,” RH 89 (11 April 1912): 15. In a similar vein, Guy Dail, the secretary of the European Division, commented that at Lake Victoria “the Catholics keep a close eye upon us.” See Guy Dail—“Dear Brother” [probably W.A. Spicer], 21 February 1913, GCA.

²² Sometimes the only solution was state intervention, as in the case of the Adventist Iramba mission, which was opened on Catholic territory in 1913. Adventists succeeded in holding on to Iramba only because of a coincidence that brought a significant number of children into their school. The government had depopulated the area, which had been ridden by various diseases, but subsequently the people were relocated to Iramba and were ready to send their children to Adventist schools. Finally, the government separated the Iramba area from the Catholic domain; see R. Stein, “A Report From Africa,” RED 2, no. 3 (1913): 58.

²³ Although this single statement should not be over-interpreted, the Adventist affinity with the piety of the evangelical missionaries of the Africa Inland Mission was certainly greater than with other missions. On the other hand, both Kotz and Conradi aired the impression that the AIM work was rather disorganized, and the casual visits did not develop into close friendship. See Ernst Kotz, “Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 19, no. 5 (3 March 1913): 123–124; MB 1913, 28.

only Muslims, Catholics and *some* Protestants had the right to be present in the colonies and that Adventists in a way had to apologize for working in the country.²⁴ Adventism's combined remnant and Protestant identity still provided a basis for competitors to point towards Adventists' "sectarianism" in the struggle for territory and souls.

Nevertheless, Mission Director Conradi was steering a clearly more ecumenical course than most other Adventists, Americans and Europeans alike. On the basis of his concept of theological continuity with the Reformation and with Pietism, it was natural to check the exclusivism inherent in the Adventist remnant ecclesiology and to view representatives of other missions as fellow workers for a common goal. Thus, Conradi sought to establish a good relationship with Lutheran experts such as Julius Richter, whom he respected as "our leading missionary authority on the continent."²⁵ Such contacts, Conradi hoped, would "help much to wear off prejudice."²⁶ It is not surprising that it was Conradi who urged Adventist participation at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910.²⁷

Although he was persuaded about the peculiar task of Adventism, he had definite views on what was to be avoided in the relationship with other Christians. Once he lamented that some "native brethren's ideas are too narrow" when they completely refused to cooperate with other societies. Conradi disagreed with the course of those who "put forth continually the most objectionable features of the message in all their dealings with their fellow Christians." Furthermore, he expressly rejected calling "everybody that did not agree with us, Babylon" and other "scathing terms used in the [book of] Revelation."²⁸

²⁴ Ernst Kotz, "Unsre Arbeit," ABH 6, no. 4 (1920): 27–28.

²⁵ After the death of Gustav Warneck, the founder of missiology in continental Europe, Julius Richter, who concentrated on the history of mission, was the most prolific German missiologist. See Karl Rennstich, "Julius Richter," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 8, ed. Traugott Bautz (Herzberg: Bautz, 1995), cols. 251–252.

²⁶ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 18 January 1914, GCA.

²⁷ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 2 February 1910, GCA. Those who attended the meetings were L.R. Conradi, W.A. Spicer, W.J. Fitzgerald, Guy Dail, H.C. Lacey, and M.A. Altman. Among them were important Adventist leaders: Fitzgerald was the denominational leader in England, Dail was Secretary of the church in Europe, and Spicer was General Conference Secretary. See *World Missionary Conference, 1910*, vol. 9, *The History and Records of the Conference* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1910), 51, and Keith A. Francis, "Ecumenism or Distinctiveness? Seventh-Day Adventist Attitudes to the World Missionary Conference of 1910," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 482. No traces of any Adventist discussion contributions are found in the records of the proceedings.

²⁸ L.R. Conradi—T.E. Bowen, 17 April 1912, GCA. Conradi certainly referred to the "beast" or the "harlot" of Rev. 13 and 17.

With this position, Conradi clearly repudiated a one-sided remnant theology.

Thus, Conradi's concept of ecumenism in the mission field was essentially one of mutual non-interference and came very close to the comity concept; he declared in 1921 that a "sincere striving for avoiding any invasion into other mission fields" was an Adventist principle.²⁹ Yet his eagerness to maintain peace with other denominations was apparently an exception; he was probably more comity-minded than even many of his closest associates. One of them, Ernst Kotz, summarized well the mainstream European Adventist missionary principle when he explained that in East Africa, "our 'restriction policy' applied only to the erection of school [*sic*] and stations."³⁰ Other missionary endeavours, in contrast, had intentionally been excluded in a contract between Adventists and Lutherans in Pare. Thus, Conradi's 1921 statement was certainly an idealization which was never fully implemented nor desired by the workers in the field. Still, it is significant as far as intent is concerned, especially because it was made by the leader of European Adventists, and it represented a notable deviance both from later Adventist policy and from earlier practice.

How did such sentiments on comity influence the situation at Lake Victoria? Because of the missionary rush into the area around 1910, government administrators soon felt the necessity to intervene. They empowered the District Officer to work out a plan with the different mission societies "which all still seem to wish to expand" to have them agree "voluntarily" on limitations of their fields of work.³¹ Obviously, this agreement, which materialized in 1911, was at most semi-voluntary, for no serious mission leader wanted to risk the good relations with the government. The district office reported,

The Mission Societies of the White Fathers, the Seventh-day Adventists and the Africa Inland Church . . . agreed—with the reservation of revocation at any time—to limit their missionary activity to specific areas of the district that have been particularly assigned to them.³²

²⁹ "Missionsrundschau," ABH 7, no. 5 (1921): 40. Thus, when the Belgian Adventist missionary Delhove was reported to have occupied the Bethel mission station in Kirindi, Rwanda, in March 1921, Conradi quickly advised the General Conference to move him to unoccupied territory; see *ibid.*

³⁰ Ernst Kotz—L.R. Conradi, 22 November 1926, File Conradi, L.R., GCA. Kotz mentions here that he made a contract at Moshi with a representative of the Leipzig Mission.

³¹ Von Rechenberg—BA Muansa, 20 October 1910, TNA G/49, nos. 28, 29.

³² BA Muansa—Kaiserliches Gouvernement Daressalam, 24 September 1911, TNA G 9/49, no. 33.

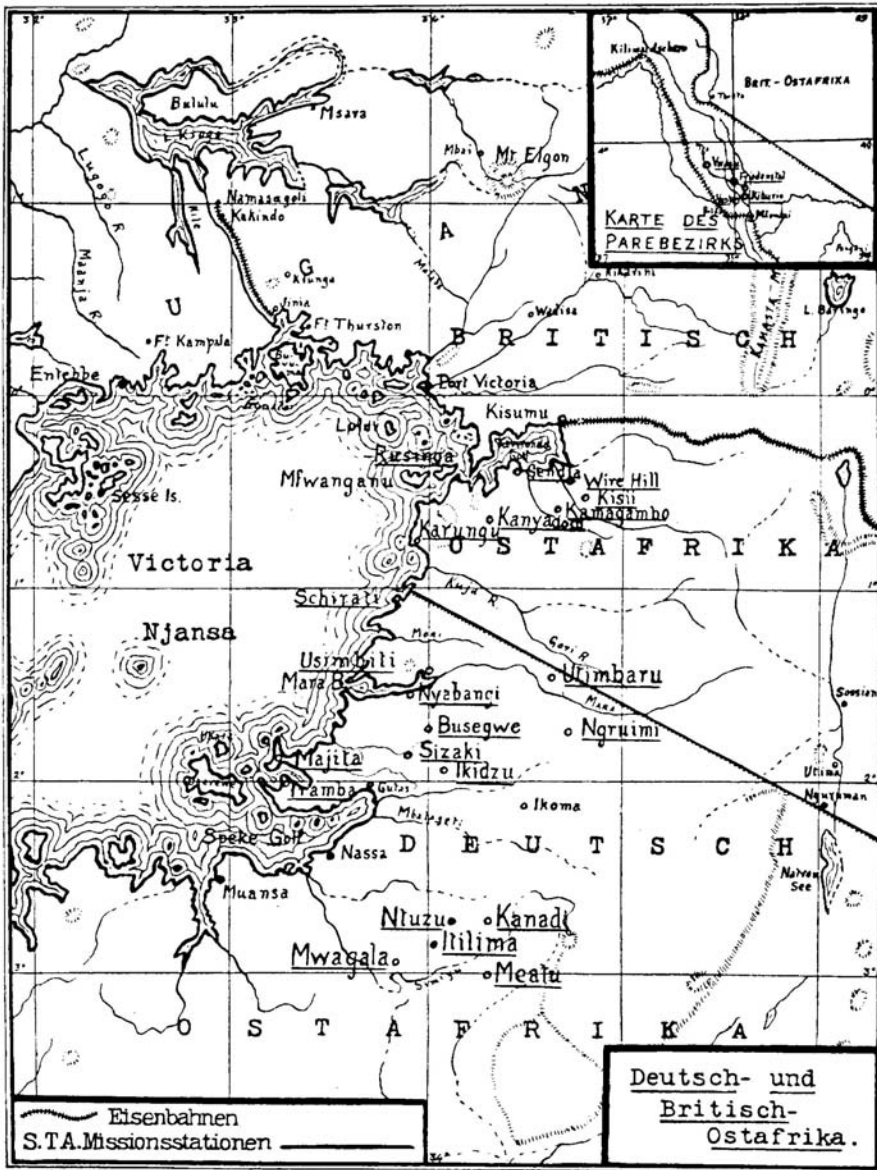


Figure 2. Adventist Missions at Lake Victoria, 1914³³

³³ From ABH 1, no. 1 (1914): 6. Used by permission (© Advent-Verlag Hamburg/Lüneburg). The Meatu, Ngruimi, and Usimbili stations were still in the planning stage.

The main dividing line was River Simi between the Catholics and the Adventists, while the Africa Inland Church received Nera and Nassa.³⁴ As a rather young mission, Adventists could be quite satisfied to be guaranteed solitary access to such a large field. It is also noteworthy that there was no sign of discontentment at all on the side of Adventists; presumably they understood that the time had not yet come to work in excessively large areas. Kotz expressed the official line of Adventist mission administration in Tanzania when he stated that orderly school work could only be conducted and thrive if borders with other missions were agreed upon and respected.³⁵

The Tanzanian experience of Adventist comity agreements is momentous when one compares it with similar developments in Adventist history at large. The relationship with other missions and churches has always been a controversial topic in Adventism. The view of other Christians has ranged between the extremes of sweepingly labelling them “apostate churches” on the one side and recognizing them as “part of the divine plan for the evangelization of the world” on the other.³⁶ Some Adventist leaders, even in Europe, completely rejected comity agreements;³⁷ they would consciously work in territories of non-Christian lands that other Christians had reached already. Naturally, this caused bitter quarrels and resentments at times.³⁸

The different attitudes of Adventists, and the fact that the issue was a burning one for the denomination at large just around the time

³⁴ BA Muansa—Kaiserliches Gouvernement Daressalam, 24 September 1911, TNA G 9/49, no. 33. More specifically, the White Fathers were assigned “Usukuma in the west of river Simi except Nera; Ukerewe, Ukara, and Wiru islands, and everything in the west of the Mwanza gulf, and Bururi near Shirati,” while Adventists secured “Usukuma east of river Simi except Nassa, but plus Magalla, Bugalama, and Meatu; Shirati district except Bururi; Ukerewe peninsula and Guta and Shashi.” River Simi was also called Simiyu, as it is today, and Magalla is today called Mwagala (see figure 5).

³⁵ Ernst Kotz, “Unsre Arbeit,” ABH 6, no. 4 (1920): 27–28.

³⁶ On the latter, see “Our Relationship to Other Societies,” RH 97 (19 August 1920): 5–6.

³⁷ The later European Division president, Lewis H. Christian, for instance, “questioned . . . the way we had been carrying on our missionary program in East Africa and our relation to other societies” according to Kotz; see Ernst Kotz—L.R. Conradi, 22 November 1926, File Conradi, L.R., GCA.

³⁸ For conflicts of Adventists with other missions in the Pacific Islands, for instance, see Dennis Steley, “We Do Not Ask for Tolerance But We Must Have Liberty,” in *Journey of Hope: Seventh-Day Adventist History in the South Pacific, 1919–1950*, ed. Arthur J. Ferch (Wahroonga: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1991), 163–174. In China, China Inland Mission workers protested that Adventists were using false promises of schooling, and even deceptive promises of cooperation, to intrude in areas where other mission societies were working; see Margarete Wetzel—L.R. Conradi, n.d., File Europe 1927, GCA.

Tanzanian Adventism faced it, are perhaps best visible in two 1917 drafts of statements concerning the relationship with other missions. One came from India and the other from China, and they were discussed on the highest administrative level of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the General Conference. The “Statement on Comity” of the India Union Mission emphasized the duty of Adventists to proclaim the “three angels’ messages” of Revelation 14:6–14 and the soon coming of Christ. It asserted,

In the proclamation of these messages we gladly enter the most difficult and unpromising fields where Christ has not been named... but we feel it to be our duty also to make known these truths to our fellow-Christians of whatsoever race in every mission field and in every Christian land.³⁹

Here any comity arrangement was implicitly excluded. On the other hand, the revised “Comity Declaration” of the Asiatic Division Conference declared,

Our chief concern in the mission fields should be for those who have not accepted Christ as their Saviour; therefore our great aim should be to reach the unsaved... [W]hile our conception of the great gospel commission, and of the purpose and message of God for this generation, prevents us from co-operating with others in any plan for dividing mission territory into denominational areas, yet we nevertheless counsel our workers to press into the dark places of the mission field where the gospel is not being preached by others.⁴⁰

This declaration is significant in several respects. (1) It implied that other Christians could attain salvation as well. (2) It conceded that non-Adventists preach the gospel, even if the Adventist understanding of its content differed to some extent. (3) This concept resulted in a call to concentrate on working for non-Christians in non-Christian lands. (4) On the other hand, the statement rejected any comity agreements. Thus, it did not go as far as Adventists in Tanzania went.

The contribution to Adventist missiology by reflections arising from the Tanzanian missionary operations found its most detailed and astute analysis in a letter written by Guy Dail, the secretary of the European Division. In this letter, he defended the European deviance from what Americans viewed as the correct course in comity matters. Although he did not use the word “comity” but “acquisition of virgin territory,”

³⁹ Both documents are attached to J.S. James [Vice president, Asiatic Division Conference]—Dear Brethren, 18 September 1917, File Comity, GCA.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

he clearly advocated the comity principle. His arguments can be summarized as follows:⁴¹

1. Comity allows a free hand in a given territory.
2. Working along the lines of least resistance, at least at first, will bring better results.
3. Adventists cannot avoid the expected apocalyptic persecution from the “fallen churches,” but this does not mean that one should not cooperate in anything with other denominations.
4. The Adventist light may become known to other Christians through a humble and godly life and if Adventists do not oppose their suggestions from the very first.
5. Instead of being viewed as intruders everywhere, Adventists should use the opportunity to develop better relationships with other religious societies.
6. In Europe, the work is still done amongst other Christians notwithstanding territorial agreements in heathen lands.
7. The Adventist practice in West Africa, where the American missionary Babcock opened a mission a few miles from another mission, must be opposed.
8. Comity may contain a noteworthy eschatological dimension, for it means “to so divide up the world that the name of Christ may more speedily be proclaimed where it is not, and . . . this can be done better if the societies do not all the time try to antagonise each other, but spread out more, and occupy new ground.”
9. The work which other mission societies are doing is preparatory to the work Adventists are to do; thus, there is no need to interfere with their activities.

Dail’s advocacy of strategic comity was a breakthrough of mission theory for Adventists. Although no outright theological ecumenism was linked with it, the Tanzanian experience produced a new way of thinking about the relationship with other Christians. Moreover, it implied a subtle dialectic of the remnant and folk church paradigms: rather than insisting on either of them, a creative tension between the two was constructed. This balanced approach led to the concept that in Africa mission among non-Christians was more important than

⁴¹ Guy Dail—T.E. Bowen, 23 June 1914, GCA.

Protestant denominational differences, even if Adventists wished to maintain their theological distinctiveness.

Although the Tanzanian position did not enter into church policies, it did add to the diversity of Adventism by contributing to the denomination at large a distinct position that went beyond any other common view in its ecumenical orientation. Furthermore, what was important ecclesiologically was that Adventists envisioned a folk church role for the first time—pragmatically, not theologically, but still a folk church identity was accepted as a definite possibility. This redefined the self-understanding of Adventists to some degree: the denomination could assume several identities, depending on the context. At the same time, this move did not lead to major theological readjustments but simply to a diversification of ecclesiological options.

Planning a Folk Church

Once a territory was secured, the task at hand was to permeate it by planting centres from which the church-to-be could spread across the field. Mission strategists at the home base took this task of laying the ground for a folk church very seriously. After travelling through East Africa, Guy Dail commended “the great advantage there is of our diligently occupying virgin territory in heathen lands,”⁴² for the expected result was a stable and sizeable church. Of course, no theology of an Adventist folk church existed. Yet individual missionary thinkers did envision such an option at least implicitly. Kotz, for instance, could later write rejoicingly that “whole tribes are won for Christianity” in the Pacific and refer to Pitcairn, the Adventist island in the South Pacific, as the “island of the blessed.”⁴³ Even if it was never formulated as an official missionary goal, Adventists certainly dreamt that they would achieve in Tanzania what had happened in the Pacific.

This meant that one had to initiate a sufficient number of nuclei scattered over the region, at least one for every natural unit such as chiefdoms or smaller ethnic groups.⁴⁴ Thus, after the rush for “virgin

⁴² Guy Dail—“Dear Brother” [probably W.A. Spicer], 21 February 1913, GCA.

⁴³ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 182, 218–220. On Pitcairn, see Steley, “Advances and Reversals in Polynesia: 1890–1918,” 164–167.

⁴⁴ This strategy is reflected in the names that were given to the missions. In the pre-World War I period, most stations were labelled according to the name of the chiefdom or the area, e.g., Ntusu, Mwangala, Itilima, Kanadi, Majita, Utimbaru, Ikizu, Vwasu, not the village in which the stations were located.

ground,” the second quick move was to open one station after the other. Busegwe mission station had been founded in 1909⁴⁵ and the Majita and Ikizu stations in 1910; Nyabangi and Iramba were started in 1911, Utimbaru, Itilima, and Bupandagila in 1912, and Sizaki, Shirati, Kanadi, and Mwangala in 1913.⁴⁶

In addition to the dream of initiating Adventists folk churches in all corners of the field, this rapid development took place for several reasons. One was that Adventists wanted to make sure that the claim on “their” territory could not be revoked any more, for only an actual presence in a given area could protect them from future conflicts with other churches and missions which might “invade” it. Another reason was the denomination’s remnant missiology, which did not necessarily conflict with its folk church plans. Once a territory was secured, the strategy was to spread the message to as many places as possible to give all inhabitants the chance to hear the “last warning message” soon.⁴⁷ In this manner, two different methods were combined at Lake Victoria: concentration on a limited field and diffusion throughout this particular area.

The spread of Islam was a further motivation to hurry the establishment of stations all over the region. Just as in South Pare, fears were great that Muslims could gain more ground than Christians, even in the interior of Sukumaland. How much these concerns were justified is not clear. Yet Ohme had the impression that “mosques are erected everywhere” at the lake.⁴⁸ The strip closest to the lake seems to have been particularly affected: at Bukima in Majita, for instance, Islam was represented already by Swahili and Indian traders. Therefore, Adventists decided to open the first out-school right there. In the end, Islam did not make any major impact on Majita; this may have been the result of such early decisions.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Enns, who had located sites for the establishment of stations in 1909, was joined by a missionary couple, Ernst and Mrs M. Räßler, and missionary Max Kunze; the Räßlers directed activities at Busegwe. See E. Räßler, “Von Ostfriesland nach Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 15, no. 20 (18 October 1909): 330–331.

⁴⁶ Wilhelm Mueller, “Fortschritte im Seegebiet des Viktoria Njansa,” AB 70, no. 2 (15 February 1911): 66–67; “Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913,” ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 5–6.

⁴⁷ The “last warning message” motif is applied to the Adventist work at the lake by F. Winter, “Zweite Versammlung der Arbeiter des Viktoria-Njansa-Missionsfeldes in Majita vom 8.–11. Oktober 1911,” ZW 17, no. 24 (18 December 1911): 494–495.

⁴⁸ At least for Sukumaland, no quick move to Islam was to be expected. An Indian village with a mosque near Itilima that provoked alarm in mission president Bruno Ohme did not seem to make a religious impact on the indigenous population as Arabs had done in other places. See B. Ohme, “Victoria Nyanza Mission,” RED 1, no. 4 (1912): 73–74.

⁴⁹ Ibid.; F. Winter, “Erste Außenschule der Station Majita,” ZW 18, no. 23

One factor that contributed to the swift beginnings was that Adventists were often assisted by the local rulers in setting up stations.⁵⁰ In the accounts that deal with the initial establishment of missions, hardly any resistance is reported. It seems that many chiefs, if they did not fear negative repercussions in case of opposing the foreigners, believed that they might profit from them. Such an association with the leaders of society would contribute to Adventism's becoming an acceptable religious community to adhere to.

In spite of the fact that Adventists hastily tried to establish an all-encompassing network of stations, some plans did not work out. In Sukumaland, Adventists were assigned nine chiefdoms, but only four had been entered by the time the war broke out.⁵¹ Apart from Meatu in Sukumaland, stations had also been planned among the Luo at Usimbiti for 1915 as well as among the Ngurimi, a people related to the Kuria, as early as 1911–1912.⁵² However, none of them came into existence. They were thwarted by the war, which halted all further expansion; besides, there was already enough work to do at the existing missions.⁵³

4.2 *Missionary Activities and Their Results*

Majita: The Model Mission

The second mission station at Lake Victoria, Majita-Bwasi, soon excelled in several respects and served as regional headquarters as well. One asset that the area had was its location at the shore. Therefore, Bwasi enjoyed the privilege of easy accessibility, different from other stations. The other attraction was that the Jita were concentrated in a small

(2 December 1912): 481–482; and B. Ohme, "Gründung unseres neuen Missionsfeldes in Usukuma," ZW 19, no. 2 (20 January 1913): 30–32.

⁵⁰ In Sukumaland in particular, chiefs Masanga of Mwagala, Mvanga Balele of Ntusu, Mwanilanga of Itilima, and Kabula Malugu at Kanadi welcomed missionaries Bruno Ohme and Richard Munzig when they made a preparatory trip through their chiefdoms in late 1912. See *ibid.* and *Seventh-Day Adventist Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973* (N.p., 1973), 9.

⁵¹ These were the Ntusu, Itilima, Kanadi, Mwagala, Meatu, Masanza, Tutwa, Ugalama, and Ng'ung'hu chiefdoms; only the first four received Adventist mission stations. W. Kölling, "Land und Leute in Usukuma," ABH 1, no. 2 (1914): 28.

⁵² "Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1914," ABH 2, no. 1 (1915): 6; L.R. Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 19; "Victoria Nyanza Mission," RED 1, no. 3 (1912): 45; and B. Ohme, "Unser Werk am Viktoria-Njansa in Deutsch-Ostafrika," ZW 17, no. 18 (18 September 1911): 371.

⁵³ In 1912, Ohme reported, "We could establish ten new stations immediately if we only had the necessary workers"; see MB 1912, 42.

area and appeared more progressive than other groups around. It is somewhat surprising, however, that Adventists were welcomed so easily: Bwasi was the very site where a Catholic outpost had been started in 1901 by an African missionary from Mwanza who had subsequently been chased away by the Jita.⁵⁴ By 1909, however, chief Kusaga was apparently ready to try an alliance with Christian missionaries again.

It is remarkable that Majita showed the strongest response to Adventist services right from the beginning. When a school that was to hold 160 children was opened in 1910, 600 boys and 175 girls applied.⁵⁵ That the denomination's religious teachings made the fastest impact on this area as well was therefore almost to be expected. The two first Adventist converts at the lake were baptized at Bwasi on 2 December 1911 and were related to Majita, not to the Busegwe station, which had been founded earlier. One was Yohana Mtarimbo, a Jita; the other one, Filipo Kayanda, was a Sukuma who used to work in Majita.⁵⁶ Mtarimbo had been healed from some internal disease after prayer by missionaries. He shared this experience with his wife before he was baptized, and she followed her husband soon after, the first Jita woman to become a Christian. Subsequently, he served as the first out-school teacher in the Majita area at Bukima, a small market settlement with Indian traders. Mtarimbo's school opened in September 1912 with 125 students and reached 180 students the same year. His commitment to the new faith is visible in that he refused working for Indians at Bukima who offered him twice the salary he got from the mission. Kayanda became the second African teacher in the area at Bulingwa.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Bwasi, the place where Majita mission was built, was called Kulwenge at that time. It is not entirely clear why Catholics did not manage to gain a firm hold on Majita. Apparently, Paul Marko Makuyu, the main agent of Catholicism, had become entangled in local conflicts, and Catholics did not further pursue the venture. See Elineema, *Historia*, 72, and interview Joshua M. Muganda, Bwasi, 22 December 2000.

⁵⁵ A.C. Enns, "Victoria Nyanza Mission," RH 87 (16 June 1910): 40–41. Because of space constraints, about 600 of them had to be turned away.

⁵⁶ B. Ohme, "German East Africa," RH 89 (23 May 1912): 13.

⁵⁷ B. Ohme, "Victoria Nyanza Mission," RED 1, no. 4 (1912): 73–74; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 16, 18.

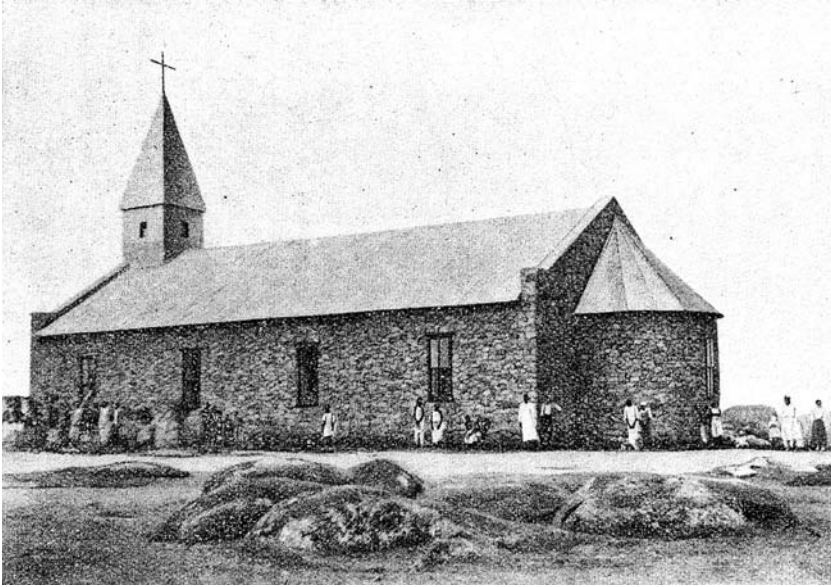


Figure 3. Majita Church Building⁵⁸

Missionaries must have sensed that Majita was going to be a place where Adventists would soon play a significant role. This is visible in the fact that a church that seated 600 was constructed almost from the outset. It was dedicated on the day of the first baptism.⁵⁹ In order to understand the meaning of this colossal building, one has to take into account the background of German Adventism from which the missionaries to Tanzania came. (1) There was no single Seventh-day Adventist congregation anywhere in Europe that had reached 600 members. (2) Most German Adventist buildings were not really churches of the common European type but meeting houses that resembled residences or small secular meeting halls. (3) Adventists in Germany actually rejected the term “church” for such buildings. Many viewed the cathedral style with some suspicion since it expressed ecclesiastical power and had an appearance of a church for the masses; they

⁵⁸ From HW 29, no. 10 (1912): 1. Used by permission (© Advent-Verlag Hamburg/Lüneburg).

⁵⁹ “Victoria Nyanza Mission,” RED 1, no. 1 (1912): 12–13; L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 3 January 1913, GCA.

preferred expressions such as “Advent House” or *Gemeinde* (fellowship, community). (4) Some additional elements in church architecture that were almost a must for Lutheran and Catholic German churches were missing in most German Adventist church buildings: church bells, towers, and crosses on top.⁶⁰

The edifice at Majita looked strikingly different. At a first glance, one might think of a Lutheran village church of Eastern Germany, sizeable but rustic, with a cross on top of a tower and walls more than five metres high. Closer inspection would reveal a church bell, as in the Kihurio and Mamba churches in Pare.⁶¹ This monumental house of worship was definitely more than a functional device. Rather, it stood like a claim on the whole Majita area: whosoever would become a Christian was to find a place in this house. At a time when there was hardly any convert yet, missionaries were already anticipating a church of the masses. Without expressing it in words, Adventist mission aimed at a folk church.

Although church members would not fill the Majita church until more than one generation later, it still served to host masses of non-Christians for special occasions, such as the second baptism that took place in June 1912. Eleven were baptized, among them the first individuals from Nyabangi, Busegwe, and Ikizu, and the chapel was completely filled with people.⁶² When the war started, Majita was leading by far in the whole field in terms of membership.⁶³ Even in the number of students Majita excelled: of the 1,214 pupils in the field in 1913, Majita had almost 400, twice as many as at other places. By 1916, more than 1,000 students were counted together with the seven out-schools that belonged to the mission.⁶⁴ A good number of girls attended a girls’

⁶⁰ Crosses were visible in some Adventist churches, but in the absence of towers, no crosses were erected on top of Adventist church roofs.

⁶¹ B. Ohme, “Vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld in indische Gefangenschaft (I),” *ABH* 6, no. 2 (1920): 13–14.

⁶² Among the first believers at Ikizu were Yakobo Mabururuki and Yohana Mkaka; the first Adventists at Busegwe were Hosea Mrundi, Samuel Isinziro, and Simon Mwinamira. See *Seventh-Day Adventist Church 1909–1979, Mara Field* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1979), 10; interview Andrea Wandiba, Busegwe, 17 December 2000; “Victoria Nyanza Mission,” *RED* 2, no. 2 (1913): 38–39; and Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 18.

⁶³ While Busegwe had twenty-four members and the whole of Usukuma only fourteen, the Majita church counted fifty-six Christians; see B. Ohme—W.A. Spicer, 23 April 1914, *GCA*.

⁶⁴ B. Ohme, “Jahresbericht des Victoria-Nyanza Missionsfeld” [*sic*], 1913, *GCA*; B. Ohme—W.A. Spicer, 23 April 1914, *GCA*; and B. Ohme, “Vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld... (IV),” *ABH* 7, no. 2 (1921): 13–14.

school as well. It was taught by Mrs Helene Ohme well into the war years together with Elisabeti Kayanda, Filipino Kayanda's wife, who was the second female Christian.⁶⁵ How strong the Adventist claim on the area was may also be seen in the way the Sabbath was announced. At Bwasi, the sub-chief beat the drum every Saturday and shouted, "Obhwoyo bho mjungu wa misheni Kulwenge."—" [Today is] the rest [day] of the White man of the mission at Kulwenge."⁶⁶ Although Adventism was still a "White man's religion," nobody was to be left in ignorance about the claims of the remnant that prepared to mutate to a folk church.

As the leading station and because of its favourable infrastructure, Majita also served as a centre where practical experiments were made. In the mission's boat transportation business,⁶⁷ peanut and cotton production, a soap industry and an oil mill, a rice processing unit, and cloth production,⁶⁸ people were employed who often had their first close contact with the mission. Thus, the emerging church engaged in a variety of activities that made a considerable impact on the lives of a good number of people even if it was only for a rather short period. It was very appropriate indeed to call Majita "our biggest and most well-established station in East Africa."⁶⁹

Developments and Growth in the Other Fields

After only three years of work at the lake, the stations had become so many that that they could not be directed from Majita alone any longer. This need of structural adjustments led to the formation of three districts by the end of 1912: (1) Majita district with Majita, Iramba, Nyabangi, and Shirati, (2) Busegwe district with Busegwe, Ikizu, Utimbaru, and Sizaki, and (3) Usukuma district with Ntusu, Itilima, Mwangala,

⁶⁵ Helene Ohme, "Eben-Ezer—bis hierher hat uns der Herr geholfen," ABH 5, no. 3 (1919): 19; B. Ohme—W.A. Spicer, 23 April 1914, GCA.

⁶⁶ Elineema, *Historia*, 74. Elineema spells "obwoyo." Kulwenge is identical with Bwasi.

⁶⁷ The *Herold* (herald) was bought in 1911, amortized in the same year, and produced profits until it was confiscated by the German government for war purposes. The boat was destroyed in the war the same year; see MB 1912, 41; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 14; and Wilhelm Mueller, "Die Adventmission Ostafrikas im Ersten Weltkrieg," AB 70, no. 3 (1 February 1971): 49–50.

⁶⁸ B. Ohme, "Vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld... (II)," ABH 6, no. 3 (1920): 22; and B. Ohme, "Vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld... (III)," ABH 7, no. 1 (1921): 5–6.

⁶⁹ MB 1913, 28.

and Kanadi. Some of the missions were yet to be established, but the great vision necessitated a more differentiated administration than in the beginning.⁷⁰

The advance of the church in these places differed markedly. Ikizu⁷¹ was deemed “a hard mission field” because people did not like attending meetings. Some even moved to other places in order to avoid the forced schooling of their children.⁷² Where missionary work started late, such as Shirati and Sizaki, hardly anything tangible is reported. Iramba and Nyabangi seemed to make good progress.⁷³ Early developments at Busegwe, the first station, seemed satisfactory. Three baptisms took place, and the last baptism was attended by eight hundred persons, including two chiefs and other community leaders.⁷⁴ An impressive network of seven schools was organized in only two years.⁷⁵ At the same time, some of these places with their constant threat of malaria soon claimed their first victims: pioneer Räßler died at Busegwe in August 1911, Auguste Mertke and Anna Kaltenhäuser at Majita in 1911 and 1912, respectively, and Irene Vasenius and her child Oune at Ikizu in 1913.⁷⁶

The work among the Kuria at Utimbaru took off quite successfully at first sight, presumably because missionary Franz Bornath could rely on a Kuria co-worker, Mwita Mukira, who had studied in government

⁷⁰ L.R. Conradi, “The Majita General Meeting, German East Africa,” RH 90 [1 May 1913]: 420–421.

⁷¹ For the general historical background of the Ikizu and related groups in South Mara, see Jan Bender Shetler, *Telling Our Own Stories: Local Histories from South Mara, Tanzania* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁷² Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 16. Elineema reports that when chief Matutu saw that hundreds of his people moved to Shashi, he reported to the government post at Shirati, and students’ fathers and some mothers were seized and imprisoned; see Elineema, *Historia*, 56, and Nimrod Lugoe, “Wamishonari wa Kisabato Waingia Majita,” TMs (photocopy), n.d.

⁷³ At Iramba, Mrs L. Stein did reputable medical work, and the flock of Christians grew to 35 up to June 1916. For Nyabangi, 175 students were reported as early as 1913, even though no school buildings existed yet. See Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 17; Rudolf Stein and L. Stein, “‘Das Evangelium allen Völkern’,” ABH 6, no. 1 (1920): 6; and MB 1913, 25.

⁷⁴ J. Persson, “Vom Victoria-Njansa,” ABH 2, no. 1 (1915): 15.

⁷⁵ For the names of teachers and locations of these early schools, see Elineema, *Historia*, 70. At Ikizu, four out-schools were opened in 1914; see *ibid.*, 57. One and a half years after the start, there were around eighty male pupils and forty female day pupils; see E. Räßler and M. Räßler, “Busegwe bei Schirati, Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 17, no. 2 (16 January 1911): 26–27.

⁷⁶ MB 1913, 26; Elineema, *Historia*, 93; and Irene Vasenius Collings, “Irene Barsokevitz Vasenius: God’s Handmaiden in Africa,” TMs (photocopy), n.d.

school and served both as a translator and a teacher.⁷⁷ One hundred students attended classes at the time when the first baptism of ten took place in April 1914.⁷⁸ Yet the interests of the missionary and the Kuria differed so strongly that it was difficult to achieve permanent good relations. Strong conflict broke out over the issue of youth who were undergoing initiation ceremonies. Parents refused to allow their children to go to school during these rituals, and Bornath had to agree to these conditions when a group of armed Kuria elders came to him.⁷⁹ Especially when some youth converted, the different perspectives of Bornath and the people came to the light. Young people turning Christian were considered dead by society because they had to do away with so many Kuria customs.⁸⁰ The traditional Kuria world and the Adventist way of life seemed incompatible, and in spite of the baptism, no lasting impact was made upon the community.

Among the Sukuma, the church's presence started rather late. The territory was surveyed only in late 1912, possibly because both Anglicans and Catholics were already active in Sukumaland.⁸¹ A first baptism of ten was held already before the war started,⁸² and even a first group

⁷⁷ Elineema, *Historia*, 61. Another reason for the relative success in the early period might be that the following account given by Bornath may contain a factual basis: a Kuria called Matonge had a dream around February 1912 that a settlement of Europeans would be established on the Kibumaye hill. The people did not believe him, but he dreamt the same dream again with the addition that he saw a European praying together with children. Six months later, Franz Bornath and his wife established the mission right at the place where the dream had pointed to, in spite of attempts to direct the missionaries to other places. See F. Bornath, "Wie hat der Herr die Leute so lieb!" ABH 3, no. 4 (1918): 29–30.

⁷⁸ Later, student numbers even went up to 150; see F. Bornath, "Das Evangelium eine Kraft Gottes," ABH 2, no. 4 (1916): 52; F. Bornath and A. Bornath, "Erste Taufe in Utimbaru" ABH 1, no. 2 (1914): 30; and Bornath, "Wie hat der Herr die Leute so lieb!," 30. The following persons were baptized in the first two baptisms of 1914: Daudi Chacha, Paulo Mwita Magwi, Yusufu Makuri, Isaka Ngomahi, Petro Tisoro, Nyamugire, Chaguiche, Filipino Okech, Yusufu Mahiri, Yohana Gati, Andrea Guragura, and Daniel Chacha; see Elineema, *Historia*, 62–63. Ten were baptized in the first group and two in the second baptism. It is not clear who among the twelve names belongs to which baptism. Elineema adds that the last two were Bornath's workers.

⁷⁹ Elineema, *Historia*, 61–62.

⁸⁰ F. Bornath, "Das Leben der Bakurya (II)" ABH 7, no. 5 (1921): 35–37.

⁸¹ The Church Missionary Society established a first mission in Buzalima in 1882, and Catholics started an establishment at Bukumbi in 1883, with many other stations following; for details see Frans Wijzen, "Popular Christianity in East Africa: Inculturation or Syncretism?," *Exchange* 29, no. 1 (2000): 40.

⁸² Their names have been recorded in Elineema, *Historia*, 54. From Mwangala came Petro Magila, Musa Magwa, Yusufu Madili, and Isaka Kilala; from Itilima, Ezekiel Lingu, Eliya Pangani, Yona Sichabu; and from Kanadi, Eliya Maduhu. The names

of African teachers began to work: Lazaro Bomani of Itilima, Zakaria Mhuli of Ntusu, Melki Mazinge of Kanadi, and Yosefu Madiri of Mwangala.⁸³ The most remarkable aspect of the Sukumaland project was the participation of Pare missionaries. They were exemplary workers who fit in easily with the foreign environment in spite of language and culture differences. After observing the impact they made, missionary Wilhelm Kölling acknowledged the dedication of these African teachers and commented enthusiastically, “Where the Gospel has worked on the human heart, it connects the tribes that before had often been enemies.”⁸⁴ A few White missionaries actually called their African colleagues “missionaries,” a term that others would have reserved for Europeans. Thus, they considered them to be equals and noted that their work was of superior importance compared to theirs.⁸⁵ The Adventist missionary leaders were persuaded that “the native Africans themselves must become the main power in the propagation of the Gospel,”⁸⁶ and this concept had become a reality in these Pare missionaries.

They all displayed special qualities: Isaya Fue knew the Sukuma language soon, Abrahamu Seivunde taught Swahili at Ntusu, and Petro Mlungwana, who led an out-school with fifty students, soon prepared some young men for baptism. Filipino Sekisago faithfully taught school in the absence of missionary Karl Kaltenhäuser, was able to give account of all monies, and maintained a close and very friendly relationship with Kaltenhäuser when he was in the military.⁸⁷ Danieli Mwenda, when doing shopping in an Indian village where Arabs and Swahili also lived, was confronted with serious threats by a Muslim teacher

of the Ntusu converts are problematic, for Elineema presents four names instead of two who are reported in earlier sources: Yohana Mdongo, Lazaro Lupembe, Rebeni Makene, Yakobo Malugu. That the total was ten and two came from Ntusu can be established from K. Kaltenhäuser, “Briefe schwarzer Schüler,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 27–28, and Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 25.

⁸³ K. Kaltenhäuser, “Briefe schwarzer Schüler,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 27–28; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 25; and *SDA Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973*, 10. Madiri is called Yusufu Malili (and Madili at other places) here, which are mere pronunciation variants.

⁸⁴ Willy Kölling, “Unsere eingeborenen Sendlinge,” ABH 4, no. 1 (1918): 6. Kölling and Karl Kaltenhäuser also witnessed that they were hard working (a special praise from Germans!); see Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 27.

⁸⁵ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 201–202; “Unsere afrikanischen Sendlinge,” ABH 4, no. 2 (1918): 11. The German word *Sendlinge*, which does not have the same force as “missionaries,” is used in the title of the article, but in the text, *Missionar* (missionary) is used.

⁸⁶ “Etwas über Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ABH 1, no. 3 (1915): 49.

⁸⁷ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 203–204; MB 1913, 28; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 18, 29–30.

but responded humbly but firmly that he would continue teaching the gospel.⁸⁸ Each Pare teacher did not only do the regular school work but participated in building mission stations and taught various crafts.⁸⁹ At the same time, the Pare missionaries had to make great sacrifices. The women had to endure particular hardships and felt the distance from home even more. During the critical period of childbirth, Magdalena Sekisago was fortunate to be assisted by Mrs Kaltenhäuser, but Maria Fue and Rebecca Mlungwana both died.⁹⁰

The Pare missionaries' work was so successful that a plan existed in 1914 to send them to the chiefdoms where no mission station had been erected yet.⁹¹ This plan was never realized, however, because the war broke out. In the absence of the Europeans, they were the natural choice for overseeing the four stations that had been established until then. In this task they portrayed veritable heroism. When money became scarce soon, missionary Robert Lusky asked the teachers whether they wanted to discontinue working or go home until money was available again. Their answer was short: "*Hapana!*" ("No!"), and Petro Mlungwana declared, "We are working for God and we shall continue working without pay."⁹²

In spite of the adverse economic circumstances, the infant church in Sukumaland flourished. After the war, all four Pare missionaries were able to report that they had a considerable number of baptismal candidates.⁹³ This first experience in sending Tanzanian missionaries became a lasting inspiration to further generations of African Adventists.⁹⁴ It illustrates that Adventist Christianity had the capacity for

⁸⁸ W. Seiler, "Zeugenmut eines Schwarzen," ABH 6, no. 1 (1920): 7.

⁸⁹ "Unsere afrikanischen Sendlinge," ABH 4, no. 2 (1918): 11. Cf. figure 9 (p. 612).

⁹⁰ W. Kölling], "'Washenzi,'" ABH 2, no. 3 (1916): 35; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 18, 30; Kotz, *Sklaven*, 203–204.

⁹¹ W. Kölling, "Land und Leute in Usukuma," ABH 1, no. 2 (1914): 28.

⁹² "Unsere afrikanischen Sendlinge," ABH 4, no. 2 (1918): 12.

⁹³ Danieli Mwenda had eight at Itilima, Isaya Fue ten at Kanadi, Petro Mlungwana eleven at Ntusu, and Filipo Sekisago eighteen at Mwangala. See "Our Work in East Africa," RH 97 (21 October 1920): 32. Elineema reports that the Pare missionaries to Sukumaland had prepared 120 converts of whom 97 were baptized in 1923, but he does not provide any reference for this. Missionary stories report that 70 were preparing for baptism at Itilima, Kanadi, and Mwangala in 1922 while 100 were waiting for baptism at all the Sukuma stations in 1923; see W.T. Bartlett, "Among the Mwanza Missions," MW 27, no. 10 (29 November 1922): 2; and W. Cuthbert, "Reconstruction in Tanganyika," MW 28, no. 10 (1 June 1923): 3.

⁹⁴ For other Pare missionaries who were sent to various places in East Africa, see Nikundiwe N. Mauya, "Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare toka 1913–1953," [1953], SM 47. This document also reports that Petro Mlungwana remained among the Sukuma

motivating its faithful to make great sacrifices for the cause of their “Remnant Church.”

An Assessment: The Early Impact of Adventists at the Lake

What, then, were the overall achievements of Adventists at the lake in the first decade of their presence? A statistical overview may give a first answer. The five years until the outbreak of the war and the early war years were a period of growth not only in terms of stations and foreign personnel, but, most important, of pupils in school, converts, and African workers. The last statistics before the end of the war reported 12 main stations, 19 outstations, 30 “native assistants,” 2,565 pupils, 76 baptismal candidates and 176 African Christians.⁹⁵ This could have been the beginning of further significant growth had not the war and the subsequent period of lacking leadership disrupted the work in most places.

In part, the growth was the effect of the investments that had been made by the European Church. In 1912, twenty-three missionaries were stationed at the lake, i.e., just about one fourth of the total European Adventist overseas work force.⁹⁶ Yet the early successes at the lake must mainly be attributed to the dynamics in the societies that received Adventist Christianity. Only because openness for change existed in some communities were Adventists able to respond to the emerging need for education and religious alternatives.

A second area of accomplishment was linguistic work. Before the arrival of Adventists, only a little had been done by the Catholics and the Church Missionary Society in this regard. Apart from Sukuma, no written literature existed for most language groups at the lake. Encouraged by the first linguistic successes in Pare and motivated by their peculiar religious message, Adventists intended to embark on a major multi-language project at the lake from the outset. Mission president

for eighteen years; Filipo and Magdalena Sekisago stayed for ten years until he died, Daniel Mwenda and his wife Leni also stayed for ten years and then returned, while Isaya Fue remained there for the rest of his life, i.e., until the 1950s.

⁹⁵ Seventy persons had been baptized during the war. See Guy Dail—[W.A. Spicer], 3 May 1918, GCA; “Missionsrundschau,” ABH 4, no. 1 (1918): 8; L.R. C[onradi], “Nachrichten aus indischen Gefangenenlagern,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 14. These reports are from 1917 and may actually be slightly overstated as several stations had been destroyed already and no reliable figures can have been available any more for other places. Yet they most probably reflect the peak of the development at most stations.

⁹⁶ MB 1913, 12, 30, 32.

Ohme reported in 1912 plans to publish hymns, primers, and the four gospels in Kwaya and Zanaki. However, these plans were ultimately not completed.⁹⁷ Slightly more successful were endeavours in the Jita and Sukuma languages. Ohme himself worked on Jita, and by 1914 a primer and a hymn book were completed. Yet all was lost in the turmoil of the war.⁹⁸ Missionary Kölling did the same for Sukuma, but plans to publish at least the hymnal were disrupted by the war until 1924, when it was finally printed in Kenya at Gendia as *Mimbo a Basukuma*, the only Sukuma publication ever issued by Seventh-day Adventists.

The Luo language is mainly spoken in Kenya; in Tanzania only a rather small section of North Mara belongs to Luoland. The major responsibility in language matters was naturally taken care of on the other side of the border,⁹⁹ notably by the Adventist missionary Arthur A. Carscallen, who was the pioneer of linguistic work in Luo. He wrote the first ever Luo dictionary, issued a paper called *Jaote Luo* (“Luo Messenger”), and participated in the translation of the first Luo New Testament.¹⁰⁰ This foundational work was to serve the Luo on the Tanzanian side as well and initiated a long history of Adventist publications in this language.¹⁰¹

The results of these efforts could have been great if the events of 1914 to 1918 had not halted them. Different from Pare, many projects had been started at the lake, but no single published item was available on the Tanzanian side at the beginning of the war, and several manuscripts got lost. Thus, in spite of the substantial efforts that had been made, the misfortune that befell the whole land also affected the

⁹⁷ B. Ohme, “Victoria Nyanza Mission,” RED 1, no. 4 (1912): 73–74; “Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913,” ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 6.

⁹⁸ MB 1912, 41; Helene Ohme, “Eben-Ezer—bis hierher hat uns der Herr geholfen,” ABH 5, no. 3 (1919): 20.

⁹⁹ Missionary Hugo Palm had learnt Luo and was on friendly terms with the people, but his time at Shirati was very short. See J. Persson, “Vom Victoria-Njansa,” ABH 2, no. 1 (1915): 15.

¹⁰⁰ [A.A. Carscallen,] “Kavirondo (Luo) Dictionary,” TMs, 1921, AHPH. This dictionary was never published, but a manuscript is found in the Africa Herald Publishing House archives. On the magazine called *Jaote Luo*, which only appeared five times because of the war, see L.R. Conradi, Untitled Mission Report, 1916, GCA. For Carscallen’s contribution to Bible translation, see *Bible—NT—Matthew—Luo (Injili mar Mathayo—The Gospel according to St. Matthew in Dholuo)*, translated by A.A. Carscallen, Tentative Edition (London: British Foreign and Bible Society, 1914); *Bible—NT—Luo (Muma Manyien mar Ruodhwa gi Jakonywa Yesu Kristo)*, translated by A. Morrison, a magistrate at Nairobi, J.J. Willis and A.E. Pleydell (CMS), A.A. Carscallen (SDA Mission), and J.F. Clarke (AIM) (London: British Foreign and Bible Society, 1926).

¹⁰¹ For titles of Adventist publications in Luo, see the bibliography.

literary plans of the young church. From this calamity it never recovered: the immediate post-war years saw no new publications in any of the languages spoken at Lake Victoria.

If the linguistic attempts of Adventists were a failure because of circumstances, the missionaries' relationship with the government and with the population was strained several times because of individuals' shortcomings. This relation of friction started right from the beginning, particularly because of A.C. Enns's harsh treatment of Africans who worked for him, which led to the intervention of the government.¹⁰² That such happenings were not mere exceptions shows the fact that similar problems were caused by Enns in Pare, where he had once beaten chief Kahungu of Bwambo and forced people to bring their children to school by applying corporal punishment to those who failed to do so. This sad story ended in 1915 when Enns was disfel-lowshipped because of illicit relationships with African ladies.¹⁰³ He had done much for the expansion of the denomination's influence as a trailblazer, but his idiosyncratic ways were ultimately untenable for the missionary leadership.

Ernst Räßler was another missionary who caused tensions. He once let his boy beat a local headman and a chief at a pupils' excursion because they did not provide the food he had ordered. At other instances, Räßler also appears to have had conflicts and misunderstandings with the Zanaki whom he was to serve. Similar problems were observed in missionary Dominick, who once slapped a chief, and Wallath, who was sentenced because of coercion in 1913.¹⁰⁴ Even at

¹⁰² Enns had not paid workers properly, i.e. in cash, but in clothes. Furthermore, apparently he had beaten a worker cruelly. Thus, district officials took sides with the African worker and threatened that if the disciplined man went to court there would be no bias on Enns's behalf. See *Bezirksnebenstelle Schirati—Missionar Enns*, 6 May 1910, A.C. Enns—Bezirksnebenstelle [Schirati], 12 May 1910, TNA G 9/43, no. 29–31. Corporal punishment was permitted in school and existed, to a limited degree, as a right of a master over a servant in some cases like lying, theft, and sexual offences; but, of course, not as church discipline; see Niesel, "Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen," 156–157.

¹⁰³ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 14; A.C. Enns—Geheimrat [name not indicated], 4 June 1907, TNA G 54/360, no. 63–65; and Ernst Kotz—L.R. Conradi, 13 May 1915, GCA.

¹⁰⁴ "Bericht über die Mission der Adventisten vom siebenten Tag," TNA G 9/43, no. 32–34; "1913 Bestrafung Missionar Wallath," TNA G9/43, no. 66. Wallath had to pay a 500 M fine which was considerable—approximately a year's salary. No other details could be found about the case.

Iramba, where things seemed so bright, the local people rejected the reopening of an Adventist mission after the war because they claimed that missionary Rudolf Stein used to punish families of children who were coming to school too late.¹⁰⁵

The irony in these occurrences could hardly have been greater. The same government that had taken possession of the Africans' land by force now had to protect Africans who were maltreated by agents of Adventist Christianity, who intended to bring good news to them. Presumably, Adventist missionaries felt secure to do whatever pleased them because they assumed that they had taken control of part of the land including its inhabitants. Another aspect of this aggressive missionary approach might have been the very urgency inherent in Adventist theological thinking that was able to exert its full force in such a monopoly situation. Since the societal framework had changed from a remnant situation to the prospects of a folk church, for some the maxim of Adventist work apparently became, "compel them to come in."¹⁰⁶ Yet fear and compulsion hardly contributed to genuine conversion. Whether the almost complete collapse of the pre-war accomplishments was furthered by such rude behaviour or not, it was surely not a means that helped to fulfil Adventism's spiritual mission.

Of course, such grievous incidents did not happen every day. There were probably more achievements than lapses. In addition to the overall impression statistics can give, the most substantial consequences of the Adventist presence at Lake Victoria were visible in individuals' lives.¹⁰⁷ It is certainly not an exaggeration when missionary Valdemar Toppenberg declared that some of his students had become teachers to him regarding what Christian love means.¹⁰⁸ The buildings, language

¹⁰⁵ Stories were heard of animals taken away from the respective child's parents and the fining and beating of parents of runaway children. See Sultan Gabrieli of Ukerewe—G. Webster (Mwanza), 29 June 1922; Administrative Officer (Musoma)—Senior Commissioner (Mwanza), 19 September 1922, TNA 215/10/2, no. 5, 19.

¹⁰⁶ Luke 14:23 (King James Version).

¹⁰⁷ Missionary Stein relates several stories of individuals such as Hosea Kakweia and Abrahamu Maneno, who were teachers and displayed exemplary Christian attitudes; see Rudolf Stein, "Lohnt es sich?," ABH 6, no. 3 (1920): 21.

¹⁰⁸ See, for instance, V.E. Toppenberg, "Wie Wazera Zeugnis von der Liebe ablegte," ABH 7, no. 1 (1921): 2–3. Toppenberg later wrote the popular book *Africa Has My Heart* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1958). The information in this book about his Tanzanian time is limited to personal details and war events; he later also served in Uganda.

projects, economic activities, and school work all did not have enough time to develop and to exert a considerable effect on the people among whom these enterprises were undertaken. But the few who decided to join Adventism were a sign that the Christian gospel was able to change people. Furthermore, at Majita and in Sukumaland, where the strongest numerical growth had taken place, developments similar to Pare were to be anticipated in the future.

4.3 *The War Years*

For the time being, however, World War I interrupted and destroyed much of what had been built so far. This setback also had effects on the pan-African missionary vision that Conradi had developed with special attention to the German colonial empire. As early as January 1913, he had the dream to use the Tanzanian experience as a model for other fields. In this context, it was his plan to use missionaries who had gained practical missionary knowledge in Tanzania “to head several new mission fields in the Congo and elsewhere from here.”¹⁰⁹

In early 1914, Conradi visited a German colonial officer who was looking for a Protestant mission society to occupy some new territory. Julius Richter had recommended the Adventist mission, and the project was to take off in 1915. Probably this plan referred to preparations for Adventist work in German Cameroon.¹¹⁰ There the signs were particularly auspicious, for the governor of German Cameroon, who had earlier visited some Pare stations, offered a very friendly invitation. Even part of the Emperor Donation had been set aside for starting Adventist missions in Cameroon.¹¹¹ A detailed strategy had been designed already, and the territory was to be divided between Adventists and another Protestant mission society, so that both would be able to build churches

¹⁰⁹ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 3 January 1913, GCA.

¹¹⁰ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 23 February 1914, GCA. Another possibility is that the plan was identical with the idea of opening a station in Namibia; see L.R. Conradi, *Untitled Mission Report*, 1916, GCA. Yet this plan is not mentioned anywhere else; thus it may be assumed that it did not relate to the 1914 visit.

¹¹¹ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 18 January 1914, GCA; “Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913,” *ABH* 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 5–6. Another part had been used for opening the Sizaki, Mwangala, and Kanadi stations. On the Emperor Donation, see 2.3.

on their own territory.¹¹² Yet all these arrangements did not materialize because of the war.¹¹³

The immediate effects of the war on the young churches at the lake were considerable. One was that supplies on which the mission operations had depended were cut. Thus, alternative sources for most basic articles of daily use had to be found. It is doubtful whether the workers in the field felt like Conradi, who wrote that “missionaries there are learning a wonderful lesson—how to get on without resources from home.”¹¹⁴ Missionary Toppenberg complained that they had returned to the Middle Ages since they had to manufacture clothes from goat and gazelle skins, soap from ashes and lime, and candles from tallow.¹¹⁵

More serious was that male missionaries were drafted in August 1915 after Winter, Dominick, Wallath, and Drinhaus had volunteered already months earlier.¹¹⁶ While this gave more importance to the African teachers’ work and missionary women’s role, it robbed some missions of their only leaders because unmarried Europeans had been stationed there and no indigenous leadership had developed yet. Bruno Ohme and Rudolf Stein were allowed to stay at their respective stations for some months and were thus able to combine government service with mission activities. Yet this also meant that the mission was forced to align closely with the government. Nyabangi, Ikizu, Utimbaru, and Busegwe became small military hospitals, military stores, or military stations, and soon school work had to be discontinued at most places.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Missionary Kölling, who had been working in Sukumaland, was to become a pioneer in Cameroon, and an expedition had been planned for the autumn of 1914 in cooperation with a German mission society to explore the region of the Gbaya. It has not been possible to find out which mission society this was. See “Missionsrundschau,” ABH 1, no. 2 (1914): 40; Guy Dail—T.E. Bowen, 23 June 1914, GCA.

¹¹³ Another post-war plan, to open work in neighbouring Mozambique with some of the missionaries who had been serving in Tanzania, also did not work out. B. Ohme, W. Seiler, and M. Kunze had been designated for this plan; see Minutes of the *Advent-Missionsgesellschaft*, 18 July 1921, Europäische Division—Protokolle, Korrespondenz, AAE.

¹¹⁴ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 13 September 1915, GCA.

¹¹⁵ V.E. Toppenberg, “Bericht vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 11.

¹¹⁶ Ernst Kotz—L.R. Conradi, 13 May 1915, GCA. Volunteering for military service was a rather unusual thing to do for a Seventh-day Adventist. On Adventists and military service in Tanzania, see the last part of 8.3.

¹¹⁷ Helene Ohme, “Eben-Ezer—bis hierher hat uns der Herr geholfen,” ABH 5, no. 3 (1919): 20; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 41–43; and V.E. Toppenberg, “Bericht vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 12. Ohme also collected taxes, organized food for the military, and did mail services.

From 1917 onward, all German missionaries and their families were interned by the new British administration. First they were stationed at various places in the country such as Tabora, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, and Bukoba. Then they proceeded to Nairobi, Kampala, and Cairo, and finally they had to go as far as India and France. Most painful was the death of missionaries Richard Munzig, Hugo Palm, Friedrich Winter, and Otto Wallath.¹¹⁸ A government prohibition of missionary operations was also effected in 1917 and continued up to 1920.¹¹⁹

What were the overall results of the war? It is certainly not overstated that, different from Pare, the battles had a devastating effect on the Adventist churches at the lake. Many members died during the war, although the exact number is not known and few specific persons are mentioned in the records.¹²⁰ All the promising language work, which was still in its infancy, collapsed, and most of the buildings were destroyed. In 1921, when the first British Adventists were allowed to enter the field again, they found that at many missions only ruins were left and that most former members could not be traced any more or lived a life that was incompatible with Adventist Christianity.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Munzig was speared by Maasai warriors when he tried to assist his beloved Sukuma at Kanadi, and Palm at Shirati was shot by British troops at his station. Winter died from the stress of the war years after having been a soldier and a military nurse for some time, and Wallath died “the death of a hero for his earthly fatherland,” to put it in Conradi’s words. See “Einige Worte zum Hinscheiden vier treuer Missionare,” ABH 2, no. 3 (1916): 47; V.E. Toppenberg, “Bericht vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 12; L.R. C[onradi], “Missionar Friedrich Winter †,” ABH 4, no. 1 (1918): 7; and Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 45.

¹¹⁹ L.R. Conradi—W.A. Spicer, 23 August 1920, GCA. The new government justified this refusal by asserting that the majority of Adventist missionaries had taken up arms against the British government. See Administrator’s Office Wilhelmstal—A.A. Carscallen, 26 December 1917, GCA.

¹²⁰ They include a certain Yakobo and other Christians at Ikizu and those who had been left there by Dr Frederick Vasenius, a Finnish physician who had served mainly at this place; see M.N. Campbell, “After the Institute,” MW 26, no. 4 (22 February 1922): 6; Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 33, 53; and V.E. Toppenberg, “Bericht vom Victoria-Njansa-Missionsfeld,” ABH 3, no. 2 (1917): 12.

¹²¹ Iramba was devastated with four out of fourteen members remaining, and at Busegwe only a few of the dozens of Christians who had been there could be traced. Nyabangi and Shirati were completely destroyed with hardly any sign of Christians; in Sizaki, there was only one Christian and ruins, and Utimbaru had no Christians and buildings left. Ikizu had buildings remaining, but of the formerly fifteen members “all had fallen”; even several teachers had married additional wives. See M.N. Campbell—J.L. Shaw, 19 December 1921, GCA; W.T. Bartlett, “Visiting Our Looted Missions,” MW 26, no. 1 (11 January 1922): 1–2; and Ernst Kotz, “Wiederaufbau in Afrika,” AB 28, no. 4 (15 February 1922): 57–59.

The most significant vestiges of the church were found among the Jita and at the four stations among the Sukuma. In Sukumaland the Pare missionaries had faithfully continued with their work, and at Majita, where the biggest investments had been made, the people had been most responsive. Petro Mapigano had been conducting school for fellow teachers, and a “remnant who had tried to hold on”¹²² was still in existence in 1921: of the seventy-eight members at the peak of the congregation’s growth, ten were left after periods of smallpox, war events, and famine.¹²³

German Adventists had good reason to believe what Guy Dail described as their feeling already at the beginning of the war. According to them, the war had been

inspired by the devil, to weaken and if possible wreck the German people whence the third angel’s message has thus far received its strongest support in means and it[s] greatest number of laborers in the missionary cause.¹²⁴

It is true that German Adventists had contributed more than half of the budget of all European-based mission operations and half of all missionaries.¹²⁵ Yet all this was over. A strong devaluation of German currency made operations on the pre-war scale almost impossible, and German missionaries were removed from “their” mission fields for years.¹²⁶ In 1918, Conradi had still harboured the hope that German Protestant Missions would have an even wider field of work after the war and that Adventists would participate in this expansion,¹²⁷ but this was not to be realized. Instead, the first period of Tanzanian Adventism had come to an abrupt end.

¹²² M.N. Campbell—J.L. Shaw, 19 December 1921, GCA.

¹²³ Among these ten were Zakaria Mbilima and his wife, Paulo Kabende and his wife, Ibrahim Lisso, Petro Mapigano, Timotheo Musarika, Yakobo Bwahema, and Isaka Marwa; see Nimrod Lugoe, “Wamishonari wa Kisabato Waingia Majita,” TMs (photocopy), n.d. Elineema, *Historia*, 76, adds Isaka Marwa’s wife.

¹²⁴ Guy Dail—Brother Tait, 6 October 1914, GCA.

¹²⁵ “Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913,” ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 16.

¹²⁶ Dail deplored this already in 1919. See Guy Dail—J.L. Shaw, 14 August 1919, GCA. Apart from East Africa, this concerned various countries in the Middle East.

¹²⁷ L.R. C[onradi], “Gottes Ratschlüsse sind treu und wahrhaftig,” ABH 4, no. 1 (1918): 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSOLIDATION AND BEGINNINGS IN NEW REGIONS UNTIL 1960

The “Great War” had been a time of tribulation for the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church, but it still existed after these strenuous years were over. The majority of the Pare members had survived and remained steadfast, and even at Lake Victoria vestiges of the church’s short presence could still be found. Yet the denomination had experienced severe conflict with the British government, which had taken over the country’s administration in the latter part of the war. In fact, the denomination’s operations in all of East Africa were endangered. Arthur A. Carscallen, the leader of Adventist work in Kenya, had clashed with the British colonial government in Kenya because he affirmed the traditional Adventist non-combatant persuasions.¹ Apart from the suspicion that this position provoked among the colonial rulers, the authorities indicated that they disapproved of the fact that Adventist taught Africans not to work on the Sabbath. The impression of government officials—that Adventist work in East Africa had what was then called “strong enemy connections”—further complicated the situation. In the negotiations about taking up work again in East Africa, this conglomerate of problems would have almost led to a refusal of new Adventist missionaries. Only distrustfully did the colonial office finally grant British Adventists a chance to prove their worthiness of conducting missionary work in Kenya again by April 1920.²

Once being granted permission to take up missionary activities again, a group of ten British Adventists arrived the same year to staff the missions in the region.³ Although the administrative responsibility

¹ Isaac Okeyo, *Adventism in Kenya: A Historical Perspective* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1989), 16. “Non-combatant” means the rejection of military service.

² E. Northey, Governor of the E.A.P.—Under Secretary of State, 10 January 1920; H.J. Read—M.N. Campbell, 7 April 1920, TNA 11333/I, no. 7, 17. On the problems facing Adventists at the time of re-entry, see also 8.1.

³ “SDA Missions in East Africa: British East Africa,” n.d., File SDAE Article, EAU, 6, 8–9; “Kenya,” SDAE, 657. They were met by veteran Carscallen in Mombasa, who handed them over maps showing the locations of the missions in Kenya and Tanzania.

of the work in Tanzania had been transferred to the British Union in 1919, it took another year after the arrival of new missionaries until access to Tanzania was granted by the government in May 1921.⁴ The way being opened, Spencer G. Maxwell moved to Pare in order to take charge of the work there. William T. Bartlett, the superintendent of the East African work, travelled to the Tanzanian Lake Victoria missions with Dr G.A. Madgwick to investigate the situation. They were soon followed by missionaries Ernest B. Phillips, Roy H. Matthews, and William Cuthbert, who were to administer Ikizu, Majita, and Ntusu, the major stations.

In spite of encouraging new beginnings, two factors impaired the work under the British missionary administration: the shortage of finance and personnel. Bartlett rightly felt that accepting the burden of the Tanzanian work was a “colossal enterprise,” and that “taking over these fields will surely mean great financial strain for the churches at home.”⁵ The fact that only eight missionary couples replaced the twenty pre-war European workers with their families indicates how acute the lack of personnel was compared with previous years. This tension was certainly somewhat relieved when the British Union handed over its missions to the European Division in early 1923, which put the Tanzanian venture on a broader administrative base.⁶ Yet the constraints of funds and manpower compelled the church leadership to reduce mission stations in all areas, in Pare from four to two and finally to one, and at the lake from twelve to five, and at times to four.⁷ The far-reaching pre-war schemes thus had to be suspended, and the Germans who had initiated the Tanzanian venture with their implicit folk church plans grievously accepted the fact that this mission field remained inaccessible for them.⁸

⁴ “Tanzania,” SDAE, 1293; J. Read [Downing Street]—[M.N. Campbell], 27 May 1921, GCA.

⁵ W.T. Bartlett, “Visiting Our Looted Missions,” MW 26, no. 1 (11 January 1922): 1–2; Ernst Kotz, “Wie die andern unsre Paremission antrafen,” ABH 7, no. 6 (1921): 43.

⁶ L.H. Christian—W.A. Spicer, 23 January 1923, GCA.

⁷ W.E. Read, “A Visit to Our East African Missions,” RED 10, no. 2 (1924): 4–5.

⁸ Ernst Kotz, “Seid fröhlich in Hoffnung,” ABH 6, no. 2 (1920): 10–11.

5.1 *Pare: Building upon the Foundations**New Beginnings and Educational Activities*

When the ravages of World War I had passed over Pare, the church had undergone tribulation, but its very existence was never in real danger. In the beginning of 1921, the number of Christians in Pare, which had reached 296 during the war, was still 218 “in spite of difficulties, persecution, epidemics, etc.”⁹ Among the missionaries, only Max and Hermine Pönig had been permitted to remain at Lutindi, Usambara, and upheld the communication between Pare and Europe until 1920.¹⁰

The four ordained Pare elders, Ezekiel Kibwana, Daniel Teendwa, Abrahamu Msangi, and Petro Sebughe, were a major force behind the continuation of church activities. By July 1920, the church bells rang again in the Adventist territory of South Pare. They had also approached the government earlier that year to ask for permission to reopen the schools. The government offered to reconstruct the dilapidated buildings, but the Pare preferred to build them on their own. School was conducted by Pare teachers under the elders’ supervision, and even some geographical expansion of activities took place.¹¹ When no decisive information from Europe had reached them for a long time after the war, Ezekiel Kibwana and Paulo Saburi Kilonzo travelled to Gendia, the church headquarters in Kenya, in order to see whether Adventist missions there still existed and to proceed to the four Pare missionary families at Lake Victoria. They had even raised funds to go with books and money for their missionaries. However, since they found Spencer Maxwell at Gendia preparing to move to Pare, Kilonzo returned while Kibwana waited in order to accompany him.¹²

⁹ Ernst Kotz, “Negerbriefe,” ABH 7, no. 4 (1921): 30; “Brief des Hosea Lomba,” ABH 7, no. 3 (1921): 22. Just after the war, a severe smallpox epidemic swept over South Pare. The article “Tanzania,” SDAE, 1294, mentions 246 Christians still practising their faith, but Kotz’s figure may be more reliable or at least indicates the lowest figure reached.

¹⁰ Ernst Kotz, “Unsre Arbeit,” ABH 6, no. 4 (1920): 27–28. The Pönigs had been given special permission to remain because the wife had experienced nervous problems during the war.

¹¹ L.R. Conradi, “Hoffnungsblick,” ABH 6, no. 4 (1920): 28–30; interview Esikia Wandea Kirekero, Bwambo, 19 July 1999. Giriko, the sub-*akida* of Bwiko, helped to erect schools and asked Adventists for a teacher to start teaching children in Hedaru, at the foot of the mountains.

¹² S.G. Maxwell, “What We Found in Tanganyika,” MW 25, no. 21 (16 November 1921): 1.

Primary education remained the crucial missionary method in the new dispensation. Schools were a potent means of Adventist influence throughout the 1920s, especially after the government announced in 1923 to chiefs in Pare that all children were supposed to attend school.¹³ In the same year, pre-war numbers were surpassed: with 33 teachers, 30 day schools, and an enrolment of 2,546 children and 300 adults,¹⁴ Adventist education among the Pare reached a quantitative peak never to be exceeded again. So strong seemed the hunger for education that it became a mission policy to “test the desire on the part of the people by requiring [them] to build the school” on their own,¹⁵ different from pre-war policy, when the mission had at least provided the materials.

However, a major crisis occurred in 1929. Whereas around two thousand students were registered by mid-year,¹⁶ a few months later almost the whole Adventist school system collapsed. Only one hundred students remained in the out-schools, and all but four schools had to be closed.¹⁷ How could this happen? Two developments appear to have coincided: the fact that the government announced that attendance is voluntary, and the reintroduction of school fees.¹⁸ After this dramatic drop, it took years for the school work to grow again, although it would barely reach about half of the former numbers.¹⁹ Only in the 1940s did the situation improve, and district officials observed that now the “proportion of schooled to unschooled in this district is very high” and

¹³ Spencer G. Maxwell, “The Government Helps Our Pare Mission,” MW 28, no. 10 (1 June 1923): 2.

¹⁴ [S.G. Maxwell], “SDA Missions—South Pare. Brief Report for 1923,” SM 27.

¹⁵ [S.G. Maxwell]—District Political Officer Lushoto, 2 December 1923 [1], SM 27.

¹⁶ Elineema, *Historia*, 41, indicates only 1,400 students, but A.F. Bull, “East Tanganyika Mission,” AS 1, no. 4 (October 1929): 4, talks of 2,300 in October 1929. The quarterly “Statistical Report of the Suji Mission,” SM 72, lists only 1884 students in the out-schools for June 1929.

¹⁷ See the quarterly “Statistical Report of the Suji Mission,” SM 72. Elineema, *Historia*, 41, reports that the number of students remaining was 320. He quotes a 1930 Suji Report but, unfortunately, without archival reference. This numerical discrepancy could be due to the fact that the “Statistical Report” only counted out-school students while Elineema might have included students at the Training School at Suji.

¹⁸ Elineema, *Historia*, 41. The missionary in charge, A.F. Bull, is remembered to have told students in 1929: “I am beating you to come to school, for next year you have to pay and you will not come any more.” See interview Kanyempwe and Kanyempwe.

¹⁹ Attendance grew from 400 in 1933 to 1,000 in 1939 but stagnated on that level even until the 1950s, and the number of schools reached only 16 in the 1930s. In 1952, 1,291 students attended 13 Adventist primary schools. See Provincial Education Officer, Tanga—District Commissioner, Same, 24 November 1952, TNA 19/17/23; and “Statistical Report of the Suji Mission,” SM 72.

“compares with any part of the Territory.”²⁰ The government backing in the 1920s had guaranteed enormous Adventist influence. With the change of educational requirements, Adventists were forced—at least for some time—to revert to a scheme that fit the remnant paradigm.

One special Adventist concern in Pare was the education of girls. The need for this line of work was felt already early because it was common for girls, both Christian and non-Christian, to be taken out of school when they reached marriageable age. Moreover, some female converts had nowhere to go when fleeing persecution at home.²¹ Another reason for special girls’ schools was the temptation of easy sexual access to females that male teachers experienced in out-schools.²² Perhaps the most important objective was that of “supplying our teachers with enlightened Christian wives,”²³ i.e., women who knew and lived according to Christian and health principles. Most Christian young men strongly desired to find wives with such a background.

After first attempts with separate girls’ education at Vunta in 1925,²⁴ a regular school was opened in August 1927, when Miss Winifred Clifford took charge of this project. She taught up to forty-six students in “mothercrafts,” sewing, and “native industries” in addition to some ordinary subjects with the aim “to uplift and school these black maidens into quiet, orderly, sensible, and useful little women.”²⁵ Unfortunately, personnel constraints made the school not to continue beyond Clifford’s two years of service, coinciding with the drop in primary school enrolment. Another short-lived girls’ school existed at Suji in 1948–1949, but at Lake Victoria, this kind of ministry was more successful.²⁶ Another

²⁰ Annual Report of Pare District, 1944, no. 19, TNA 19/6/1, 4. In the 1930s, weak interest in education must have been a general trend in Pare, for government representatives lamented in 1938 that not more than 11% of Pare children attended schools. See “The District of Same, Upare, Native Affairs during 1938,” 8, TNA 19/6/1.

²¹ “Findings Relative to Establishing a Central Mission in Pare”; n.d. [ca. 1925], SM 4; Winifred D. Clifford, “A Peep at the Girls’ School in East Tanganyika Mission,” AS 2, no. 9 (September 1930): 4.

²² [W. Ludwig]—R. Reinhard, 21 June 1938, SM 34. In the first half of 1938, the missionary leadership dismissed five teachers because of fornication, which prompted Ludwig to plan opening a girls’ school at Mamba.

²³ H. Robson, “Tanganyika,” AS 1, no. 6 (December 1929): 5.

²⁴ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 5.

²⁵ Clifford, “A Peep at the Girls’ School,” 4, 8; A.F. Bull, “East Tanganyika Mission,” AS 1, no. 4 (October 1929): 4.

²⁶ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 23 February 1947, SM 1; in the *Seventh-Day Adventist Yearbook* of 1950, Mrs F.B. Wells is still listed as the head of the girls’ school, which refers to the previous year.

outstanding contribution to women's education that Adventists made in Pare was the training of female teachers. Damari Kangalu of Suji was the first woman in Tanzania to be awarded a government teacher's certificate in 1931. The government Director of Education congratulated: "Your Mission may be justly proud of having established such an important landmark in the progress of female education."²⁷ While preaching another kingdom to come, the remnant could be quite successful in the things of the present world.

An interesting educational experiment was the industrial school at Suji. Plans of industrial training had been in the missionaries' minds since the mid-1920s.²⁸ They were realized in 1929 when the government urged Adventists to start such a school and generously promised to support it with £ 90 per year for an African teacher.²⁹ The courses included carpentry, brick laying, sewing, and shoemaking, and student numbers reached beyond sixty in the early 1930s.³⁰ Missionary Arthur F. Bull envisioned that the industrial school would produce "self-supporting tailor and boot-maker evangelists" who "will be able to set up a prosperous little business for their support in different parts of the field where the message has not yet penetrated."³¹ Although this missionary vision was never quite realized, it appears that the fame of the school was conspicuous in those early years: its products were sold even in Tanga.³²

²⁷ S.W. Beardsell, "First Girl Teacher in Tanganyika," AS 4, no. 3 (March 1932): 7. This was the result of a process of upgrading general teacher training. In the 1920s, teachers were called for study after every three months for two weeks until the first group of nine graduated with a government certificate in 1927. In 1927, a full teachers' course was begun by Bull at Suji; it offered a Grade II teacher's certificate. See Elineema, *Historia*, 41; *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 6.

²⁸ "Findings Relative to Establishing a Central Mission in Pare"; n.d. [ca. 1925], SM 4.

²⁹ A.F. Bull—Brother Pedersen [Northern European Division], 14 March 1929, SM 27. The £ 90 were a surprisingly high amount compared to the normal salary of African workers, who earned between Sh 15 and 50 per month in the mid-1930s (£ 1 was equal to Sh 20); see "Suji Mission Comparative Statement of Tithes and Offerings [1934–1937]," SM 72.

³⁰ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 6; Elineema, *Historia*, 43.

³¹ A.F. Bull, "East Tanganyika Mission," AS 1, no. 4 (October 1929): 4.

³² Elineema, *Historia*, 22, 43. A list of thirty-seven products manufactured at the Suji Industrial School is found in "Suji Industrial School—Taarifu ya Bei, Februari, 1935," SM 35. Presumably the business was so successful because the school was among the first of its kind in the region. Later, hardly anything was heard about the school any more in spite of the fact that it continued to exist until the time of independence.

With the Suji industrial school, Tanzanian Adventism followed earlier experiments with industrial activities at colleges of the denomination in North America and Europe and resembled similar Adventist attempts in other African countries.³³ Yet the “industrial mission” concept, which implied schemes for missionary self-support and economic development as a major element of missionary activity, never became an integral part of Adventist mission strategy.³⁴ Experimentation with peculiar schemes was an option, but in some respects, Adventists had become a church like others and probably wanted to avoid the appearance of pursuing eccentric activities. In spite of ups and downs, general educational activities were successful enough and kept the remnant busy on its way to a folk church.

Crises and Growth of the Church

While school work flourished in the 1920s as far as attendance is concerned, the body of believers underwent a major crisis during the same period. Throughout the decade, numerical growth was minimal, from 246 members in 1921 to 312 in 1928. It appeared as if much of the church was paralysed. Missionary Pönig had already found in 1919–1920 that “wild elements had grown among the precious plants” during the war years—i.e., many church members had committed adultery. Pönig believed that the people concerned had repented,³⁵ but the same practices continued until 1927 when a certain Elizabeth, who was considered a pillar of the church, stood up during a week of prayer and confessed publicly that she had committed adultery with several men in the church. After this, almost the whole congregation rose and confessed the same sin.³⁶ Consequently, nearly all church members were disfellowshipped, and missionary Bull, together with chief Reuben Shazia and a few church leaders who had remained steadfast, designed

³³ Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 198–206. Even the first Adventist college in Europe, Friedensau, was initially called “Mission and Industrial School,” but industrial activities constituted only a small part of its activities. An African example of an Adventist industrial school is Matandani; see Matemba, *Matandani*, 89–95.

³⁴ The “industrial mission” concept was promoted, among others, by Joseph Booth; see Langworthy, *Africa for the African*, passim.

³⁵ Max Pönig, “Bericht unsres Missionars Pönig vom Missionswerk in Pare (im früheren D.-Ostafrika),” ABH 7, no. 2 (1921): 11–13.

³⁶ W. Kölling—E. Kotz, 3 September 1928, File German Letters, GCA. The identity of the woman called Elizabeth could not be ascertained.

strict rules about fines and the disciplining of any church member or catechumen who committed sexual offences.³⁷

Bull was cheerful enough to view the extensive confessions of sin as a “wonderful outpouring of the Spirit” and to believe that they led to a “rooting out of the evil which had been choking the Word.”³⁸ This was too optimistic, for similar occurrences happened again in 1934. Missionary Sidney W. Beardsell reported that the “sore of adultery” had come to the surface,³⁹ and membership dropped from 400 to 348 in that year.⁴⁰ Another eight years later, Harold Robson was so discouraged about these recurring problems that he called a similar incident one of Pare’s “periodical outbreaks of adultery.”⁴¹ This time, church leaders mainly dealt with Suji for fear that the affair could grow to overwhelming proportions.⁴² So much was the reputation of the area stained that when a Pare worker’s unmarried daughter was found pregnant at Mbeya in 1942, Robson argued it made little difference if she went back home as there was already plenty of adultery anyway, while at Mbeya her presence would harm the work.⁴³ The 1942 “outbreak” was the last one to be noticed by the church leadership. Of course, this does not mean that the Pare changed completely. Rather, from the mid-1940s to the 1950s, a period of unprecedented numerical growth took place, which means that the church was so much preoccupied with the instruction and incorporation of thousands that dealing with moral imperfections assumed a secondary role.⁴⁴

³⁷ Marie Fenner, “Freud und Leid im Missionsdienst (III),” AB 50, no. 19 (1 October 1951): 302; Maagizo ya Mabaraza yote ya Kanisa, 2 January 1928, and Baraza la Wanaume Wakanisa, n.d., SM 7. For more on church discipline, see 6.2.

³⁸ A.F. Bull, “East Tanganyika Mission,” AS 1, no. 4 (October 1929): 4.

³⁹ G.A. Ellingworth—Members of the Tanganyika Mission Committee, 30 April 1934, SM 21.

⁴⁰ Statistical Reports of 1933 and 1934, SM 72.

⁴¹ Four teachers were dismissed, seven members were disfellowshipped and thirteen suspended, as well as eight boys expelled from school. See [H. Robson]—S.G. Maxwell, 11 June 1942, SM 36; see also [H. Robson]—F.G. Reid, 9 June 1942, SM 15. Numerical growth also stagnated during the period between 1939 (722 members) and 1943 (740 members), but the war and its consequences—general instability and changing missionaries—certainly also contributed to this fact.

⁴² *Ibid.* The Tanganyika Mission Field president, Hubert M. Sparrow, had advised to “make a clean sweep” and “dismiss every man and woman that is guilty,” yet it appears that the church leadership in Pare was reluctant to apply harsh discipline this time. See H.M. Sparrow—H. Robson, 30 June 1942, SM 36.

⁴³ H. Robson—D.K. Short, 6 January 1942, SM 36. The name of the lady is mentioned but is being withheld here.

⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that the 1950 Repentance Movement dealt with adultery as well, interestingly after another eight years, but replaced church discipline by attempts of cleansing sin in a ritual way. See 9.2.

One may wonder whether Ernst Kotz was right with his somewhat paternalistic opinion that the root of the problem was to have left unstaffed three of the formerly four main stations in Pare.⁴⁵ At least statistically, his concerns were justified: instead of the five German couples before the war,⁴⁶ only two missionary families were present for most of the time from 1920 until independence. Whether this fact as such had negative consequences is not easy to assess. Yet together with reduced mission funds, it did mean a concentration on fewer areas than before World War I, especially in the 1920s and 1930s when the church was still a tiny minority among the population. Thus, the Adventist impact was rather asymmetric for some time; especially the old Adventist stronghold at Mamba was left without much care.⁴⁷ This was probably not the real cause of such endemic crises but a contributing factor. At the very least, centralization decreased the prestige of Adventism and resulted in slowing down the development of Adventist folk churches.

Compared with Lutherans, who counted 1,698 members in their part of South Pare in 1930, Adventists were many years behind, for they reached a similar level only in the mid-1940s.⁴⁸ From then onward, significant numerical growth was achieved: from 1944 to 1958, membership increased from 798 to 3,681.⁴⁹ Thus, one could count Seventh-day Adventism as a well-established religious group in most areas of southern South Pare only in the 1950s.⁵⁰ The church's very existence, though, was never threatened even in earlier years, given the support by

⁴⁵ E. Kotz—W. Kölling, 16 September 1928, File German Letters, GCA. Plans were made to establish a single central mission instead of two missionary-staffed stations in the mid-1920s, mainly to enable strong school work. Before that, Maxwell and Bull had been residing at Vunta, Kihurio, and Suji for different periods. The proposal was implemented and, from 1926 onward, when Bull moved to Suji, the Pare Mission was directed from this one extreme end of the Adventist territory in South Pare for decades to come. See "Findings Relative to Establishing a Central Mission in Pare"; n.d. [ca. 1925], SM 4, and *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 7.

⁴⁶ "Jahresbericht der S.T.A. Missionsgesellschaft in Europa für 1913," ABH 1, no. 1 (July 1914): 4.

⁴⁷ "Aus Briefen," AB 41, no. 18 (15 September 1935): 286. Many people had moved from Giti (Friedenstal) to Mamba-Myamba, and the majority of church members had come from Mpinji and Myamba anyway, which resulted in the old Friedenstal mission falling into ruins; the same happened at Vunta where not even an out-school was located in the mid-1930s.

⁴⁸ Paul Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 156. Adventists passed the 800 mark in 1945, which, together with children, approximately equalled the 1930 membership of Lutherans, who counted children in their membership statistics.

⁴⁹ Statistical Reports in SM 67 and SM 72.

⁵⁰ In the jubilee year 1953, the approximately 2,200 members belonged to 10 churches and 38 companies scattered throughout the area. See M.B. Musgrave, "Jubilee Year at Suji Mission," SADO 51, no. 13 (15 August 1953): 8, 11.

Adventist chiefs who were former mission teachers, Reuben Munyuku Shazia of Suji and Joeli M. Mtindi of Hedaru-Bomani, who became chief in 1934. Nevertheless, it was significant that the powerful chief Daudi Manento Sekimang'a of Mamba,⁵¹ the place with the strongest Adventist impact apart from the small Suji chiefdom, was baptized only in 1938 after divorcing four of his five wives.⁵² He and many others had preferred to continue adhering to the old paradigms for many years, but his conversion also indicated that the tide was changing. Many others would follow his example soon.

A line of activities that received more attention once permanent headquarters had been established was medical services. Karentze Olsen started a dispensary in 1930, and Anni Ludwig as well as Ada Robson are remembered to have continued this work in the following years.⁵³ Yet plans to open an Adventist dispensary at Mamba in the 1930s never materialized. The Suji one-room clinic remained an Adventist token activity, and missionary F. Brock Wells had to admit in 1949 that Adventists were rather weak in this line compared to the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the Lutherans in the adjacent territories.⁵⁴ That Adventist leaders felt reluctant to engage in health services more was caused, apart from the fact that neighbouring missions made provision for this need, by permanent financial shortages. Since the need was not so great as to force the church to do so, education and evangelism were higher on its priority list. Evidently, numerical growth was a more central concern to the denomination on its path between the remnant and folk church paradigms.

A major project of those years was church construction. Missionaries put up a 300-seat building at Suji, which was dedicated in 1929,⁵⁵ but the

⁵¹ Sekimang'a died in 1958 and had begun to rule in 1925. As so many leaders in Pare post-World War I society, he had attended Adventist schools before World War I. More about his life is reported in John Sekidio, "Maisha ya Marehemu Mfumwa Daudi Sekimanga [*sic*]," *Habari za Upare*, no. 91 (October 1958): 7.

⁵² It is reported that he decided to be baptized after two other chiefs were reconciled after years of dispute by Joeli Mtindi, the Adventist chief of Hedaru. See Adolf Minck, "Aus Berichten über unsere Missionsfelder," AB 45, no. 12 (15 June 1939): 180.

⁵³ C. Olsen, "With Our Missionaries: Medical Work at Suji," AS 3, no. 1 (January 1931): 5; Elineema, *Historia*, 47.

⁵⁴ A. Sprogis—G.A. Ellingworth, 20 October 1936, SM 33; F.B. Wells—D.H. Abbott, 14 January 1949, SM 37. Ultimately, the people of Mamba began to operate their own dispensary through the local government; see TNA 517/M1/29 (the file "Medical Mamba Dispensary & SDA Dispensary"), which contains records of the "Native Authority" dispensary but does not show any Adventist activities in spite of the file title.

⁵⁵ W.T. Bartlett, "A Few Words from East Africa," AS 1, no. 1 (July 1929): 6.

primary undertaking of the period was a sanctuary at Mamba-Myamba with dimensions similar to the one at Majita built before World War I. The construction was done in a communal effort, which, however, had its own drawbacks: it took three years to finish the structure as such, and in the end it appeared as if people had become rather tired of the work involved.⁵⁶ Yet when the house of worship was finally dedicated in 1935 by Wilhelm Mueller, the secretary of the Central European Division to which Tanzania belonged, two thousand attended, including six chiefs, and there was a baptism of seventy-eight persons.⁵⁷ The edifice seated around seven hundred people, and missionary Luise Drangmeister felt that there was no Adventist church building in the whole of Germany that rivalled the beauty of the Mamba church.⁵⁸ Interestingly, members were less than two hundred in the whole Mamba area at the time, and it would take more than another generation to fill the building. Thus, this construction project certainly demonstrated that Adventists were envisioning significant further growth in spite of the slow progress since 1920, and that they did not oppose the idea of a folk church in practice.

In other areas of the region that had been assigned to Adventists before World War I, the growth of the church differed widely. Most surprising was the fact that Kihurio, the most thriving Adventist mission station in Pare before World War I, experienced but little progress. In the mid-1940s, the number of members hardly exceeded the 119 who had joined the church in 1915.⁵⁹ This can be attributed to several factors: the Muslim influence and opposition to Christian activities,⁶⁰ the mixed population some of whom had other denominational affiliations already, and the impact of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa from the 1930s onwards. A contributing factor was also that the Adventist centre, Suji, was at the opposite side of the mountain range

⁵⁶ A. Sprogis—G.A. Ellingworth, 30 April 1935; G.A. Ellingworth—A. Sprogis, 13 May 1935, SM 33. Ellingworth was so frustrated that he called the Mamba church project “a great mistake right from the beginning” because he felt members had become reluctant to participate in building, and the heathen did not even want to attend church meetings because of fearing the work to be done. This judgement was certainly too one-sided but shows the strain it involved for the church.

⁵⁷ Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 47.

⁵⁸ “Aus Briefen,” AB 41, no. 18 (15 September 1935): 286; G.A. Ellingworth, “Mission Work in Tanganyika,” RH 114 (11 March 1937): 10. Cf. figure 12 (p. 615).

⁵⁹ Statistical Reports of the Suji Mission, 1939 and 1945, SM 72.

⁶⁰ Apparently, the conflict with Muslims was especially strong immediately after the war; see Elineema, *Historia*, 41.

that Adventists claimed as their territory.⁶¹ Conditions similar to Kihurio prevailed at other places situated on the boundaries of Adventist South Pare. In the early 1920s, Petro Risase opened work in Mkomazi, where people considered Islam to be the religion for strong people; thus, no lasting result was brought forth by his ministry.⁶² At Makanya, at the foot of Suji, a school was first opened by Andrea Mburuja in 1921, but registered school work started only in 1938.⁶³ The main focus of evangelism in the post-World War I generation was directed towards what Adventists regarded as “our South Pare.”⁶⁴

Evangelism without “Spheres of Influence”

Extensions beyond the periphery of this small area created a good deal of concern. A chiefdom situated most closely to “Adventist territory” was Chome, located in the extreme south-west of what was Lutheran territory before World War I. Adventists opened evangelistic work there in 1925, but Lutherans strongly opposed this move. Because of this conflict, the Suji congregation used a trick to establish evangelist Zakayo Nzige in the area. They built a hut during a single night, and then nobody dared removing him any more in spite of great hostility on the Lutheran side in the following years.⁶⁵

After one decade, Adventists had increased to a group of seven families, and the evangelist began to teach Adventist children at his home.⁶⁶ Then Leipzig missionaries complained to the government that Adventists had started to expand into a real school what had been labelled “religious classes only” at Chome-Muhero. The District Office demanded to withdraw the teacher immediately in view of the fact

⁶¹ In view of the relatively small membership, the pastor of Kihurio even had to care for far away Moshi and Arusha in the late 1950s; see Baraza la Upare Minutes, 3 April 1957, SM 1.

⁶² Kotz, *Sklaven*, 215–216.

⁶³ W. Fenner—District Officer, Same, 9 October 1938, TNA 19/17/4B, no. 80. Less than a decade later, a church was organized there, but the Leipzig Mission was also active at the place from 1938 onward. See Baraza la Upare Minutes, 31 October 1946–1 November 1946, SM 1; W. Fenner—A. Sprogis, 11 March 1938, SM 35.

⁶⁴ This expression was used by missionary Wilfred Fenner; see W. Fenner—Advent-Mission, Mitteleuropäische Abt. der STA, 3 March 1938, SM 35.

⁶⁵ Spencer G. Maxwell, “Visiting Pare, East Africa, after Twenty-five Years,” RH 130 (11 June 1953): 15; John Steimer, Mbagu Lutheran Mission—Rev. Maxwell, 26 May 1926, SM 27.

⁶⁶ A. Sprogis—District Officer, Same, 11 June 1935, TNA 19/17/4B, no. 38–38b; [S.W. Beardsell]—Mr Guth, 26 June 1934, SM 21.

that the Lutheran school was only thirty yards away.⁶⁷ This was done, a formal application for a school was sent, and finally chief Folongo Makange gave permission for an Adventist school a fifteen-minute walk away from the Lutheran school, at Chome-Champishi.⁶⁸ The Chome episode is intriguing in two respects: (1) chief Makange agreed to a variety in the religious landscape of his chiefdom against the will of Lutheran leaders, and (2) Adventists did not eschew the conflict. Different from the views of the German missionaries before World War I, their mission theology apparently ruled out comity agreements.

Compared to the Chome case, Adventist endeavours in other formerly Lutheran areas and their effects only differed in detail, not in principle. Work at Mbaga was started in 1925 as well,⁶⁹ and it took one generation to form a nucleus of believers.⁷⁰ At Vudee, Adventist operations were also begun in 1925 by Petro Sebughe, but the denomination's activities lay more or less dormant until 1939, when four Adventist families asked for a teacher because they did "not want to send their children to evangelical [Lutheran] schools."⁷¹ In subsequent years, the church only grew slowly.⁷² The most spectacular case of Adventist expansionism happened at Gonja. When the Adventist evangelists Naftali Kikwasha and Petro Risase reached Gonja, Nils Melander, the Lutheran missionary who was stationed there, was so enraged that he struck them both and slashed Kikwasha, a former Lutheran, across the face with a whip several times.⁷³ Missionary Arthur Bull decided to keep

⁶⁷ B. Leechman, District Officer Same—Secretary, SDA Mission Suji, 8 April 1935, SM 21; the same letter was found in TNA 19/17/4B, no. 36.

⁶⁸ A. Sprogis—District Officer, Same, 11 June 1935; Folongo Makange—District Officer Same, 26 July 1935; Application for School, 1936, TNA 19/17/4B, no. 38–38b, 41, 56–61.

⁶⁹ Elineema, *Historia*, 46.

⁷⁰ This company of believers was supposed to be organized into a full church in 1947, but later records seem to indicate that it took another eighteen years to implement the action; see Baraza la Upare Minutes, 26 May 1947, SM 1; *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 23. Even then, no permanent school was located at the place although as early as 1943 non-Christians had indicated their interest in Adventists' plans of opening a school. See Evangelist Otinieli, "Mbaga," [1943], SM 59; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 26 May 1947, SM 1.

⁷¹ W. Fenner—R. Reinhard, 5 March 1939, SM 35.

⁷² An evangelist was stationed at Vudee in the mid-1940s, but no further details are reported. See S.S. Singo—F.B. Wells, 24 November 1947, SM 16; TGF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946, no. E. 212, SM 5.

⁷³ Melander soon repented, realizing that he could be jailed, and pleaded for forgiveness to Arthur Bull, the head of the Adventist mission at Suji. See Nils Ludwig Melander—A.F. Bull, 20 October 1925; G. Barnes—S.G. Maxwell, 23 June 1926, SM 27. The incident is also shortly related in Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 118.

things confidential; in his view, the incident helped Adventists to gain a better reputation among the non-Christians than their neighbours. Meanwhile, Adventist activities at Gonja continued at a slow pace.⁷⁴ Yet at places where Lutherans had been firmly rooted Adventist work naturally did not reap as much success as in the areas where there was no competition.

In North Pare, the situation was even more difficult because Adventists did not only face Lutheran opposition but the strong presence of Islam. Yohana Kilonzo was sent to the area in 1944,⁷⁵ but results of his work and the evangelistic efforts conducted by teams from South Pare in the following years were exceedingly meagre.⁷⁶ Pastor Elisa Manongi correctly observed that almost all people were *watu wa dini*, people belonging to the [respectable] religions, i.e., the Lutheran Church or Islam, and that they did not want to change religious adherence.⁷⁷ Hardly anybody saw the need of risking his status in society by joining a variety of Christianity that was yet unknown. That chief Minja Kukome decided to allow a diversification of religious forces in the area under his jurisdiction as Folongo Makange at Chome had done did not help much either.⁷⁸

While the root of the Adventists' striving for expansion was their self-image of being the Remnant Church with a mission to other Christian denominations, the opportunity arose with the abolition of "spheres of influence" effected by the British administration in 1924. In the pre-1924 period, conflicts between missions in the territory could be solved by referring to geographical divisions inherited from the German period. This procedure was even used by Adventists in defending "their" territory.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Pare Adventists apparently

⁷⁴ A.F. Bull, "A Trip in Pare, East Africa," RH 104 (27 October 1927): 12; [A.F. Bull]—Rev. Gutt [sic], 2 May 1927, SM 27; and interview Kirekero.

⁷⁵ K.G. Webster—Washirika wote wa Pare na Usambara, 24 March 1944, File 4468, GCA.

⁷⁶ E.g., at Kivia, house to house visitation, preaching and pictures shown by missionary F.B. Wells in the evenings did not result in a single convert in 1948. See interview Godson Elienzeza, Hedaru, 13 June 2002; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 21 January 1948, SM 1; R. Lindup—Watendakazi Wote, 16 July 1946, SM 12.

⁷⁷ Elisa [Manongi] Kilonzo—Mmisheni Walles [= F.B. Wells], 19 September 1947, SM 16.

⁷⁸ Makange told evangelist Yohana Kilonzo: "I have made this school work of yours come in so that your religion may get a foundation here." In fact, there was no real need for schools; many existed already. See Yohana Kilonzo—K.G. Webster, 11 January 1947, SM 16; Yohana Kilonzo—K.G. Webster, 20 June 1947, SM 85.

⁷⁹ In 1922–1923, it was debated whether permission could be granted to Catholics

did not care much about the lines that governments and missionaries had drawn. In 1923, Stephan Isaac and Zakaria Lusingu, who had been granted government permission to sell Adventist books, travelled far beyond the boundaries of the Adventist field. This affair caused so much stir that government leaders in Dar es Salaam felt compelled to ask Adventist leaders to prevent “over-zealousness on the part of native converts in other districts.”⁸⁰ The Adventist missionary leadership were in a curious situation. On the one hand, they supported the “native converts” in these activities, but on the other hand, they had to maintain good relations with the administration. Yet Tanzanians themselves were conspicuously indifferent regarding the “spheres of influence.”⁸¹ To them, comity agreements were apparently part of the colonial complex, impositions from outside by which strangers sought to control African affairs.⁸² In this respect, their remnant persuasions provided an excellent means of self-assertion.

The 1924 government policy abolished the division of mission territories that had been so firmly established by the German administration.⁸³

to start a school at Mt. Mafi. Maxwell argued that it was Adventist territory, and the government assented. See [Gare Mission]—Rev Fathers Mission Kihurio, 8 December 1922; [S.G. Maxwell]—District Political Officer Lushoto, 9 January 1923; Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 4 April 1923, SM 27.

⁸⁰ Acting Chief Secretary Dar es Salaam—S.G. Maxwell, 15 December 1923, SM 27. American Lutheran Missionaries voiced concern about the “natives” who were “disposing of literature and spreading propaganda” on behalf of the Adventist mission in the sphere of Leipzig and Bethel influence. In the same affair, the district office had ordered to restrict the work of literature evangelists to the Adventist area and to call back any mission members from outside. See Administrative Officer i/c, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 19 November 1923, SM 27.

⁸¹ Spencer G. Maxwell, who was in charge of the work in Pare until 1926, asserts that the African Christians in Pare “were eager to preach wherever their language was understood.” See Maxwell, “I Loved Africa,” 71.

⁸² Perhaps it comes as a surprise when Hastings asserts that Africans seldom liked comity agreements. He does so, however, in trying to analyse their influence on the African believer in contrast to lofty ideals that stemmed from Europeans’ views. His argument is remarkable; Hastings reasons that rivalry between Catholics and Protestants and among different Protestant groups “had at least the merit that it provided Africans with a certain freedom of religious choice and even standards of evaluation to judge each particular missionary package.” See Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 420–421, 578. For a similar view, see Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, 217.

⁸³ It declared, “It is not intended to introduce any system of spheres of missionary influence.” See Extract from the Annual Report on the Territory for the Year 1924, SM 27. Cf. Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 152. The ruling included the warning that the government might “issue regulations which might have the effect of restricting, in some measure, the free teaching of religion” in case public order was

This new ruling made it almost impossible for missions and churches to appeal to the government in matters that had been brought to its attention just one year before. Adventists received the new guidelines with joy and immediately translated them into increased evangelistic activities in neighbouring areas.⁸⁴ Pare Field leader Spencer Maxwell even tried to secure a government document explaining to village headmen in Swahili that the former mission spheres of influences did not exist any more so that Adventists might send their evangelists unhindered everywhere. This attempt at securing maximum government backing for Adventist expansionism did not succeed,⁸⁵ yet it demonstrates the Adventist persuasion that the peculiar message of the “Remnant Church” was for all people, including those who were Christians already.

Maxwell’s position was typical for Adventist missiological persuasions of that period. He viewed the Lutheran perspective as an undue attempt to control “the brand of Christianity available to certain districts.” Claiming “part of the mountains as their special reserve,” to Maxwell, was incompatible with religious freedom.⁸⁶ Lutherans, however, naturally continued to maintain their pre-1924 stand. They officially urged Adventists to accept the necessity of respecting missionary comity,⁸⁷ and when Adventists showed that their viewpoint was quite different through their actions at Chome, missionary John Steimer of Mbagaa warned in 1926,

We can unite our complaints against your proselytizing propaganda and ask in the first place for justice at Daresalaam [*sic*] and then in Europe. This is a MANDATE TERRITORY. Now please practise common MISSION COMITY.⁸⁸

Steimer’s threats were impractical and did not have any tangible consequences. Yet they do reveal the deep rift that existed between the two Christian bodies only two years after the new policy.

threatened. Yet this was a very weak regulation compared with the former “spheres” policy.

⁸⁴ Adventist work was opened in the four neighbouring Lutheran-dominated chiefdoms (Chome, Mbagaa, Gonja, and Vudee) the same year; see the discussions above.

⁸⁵ Maxwell was advised that the *jumbes* were well aware of the policy; see S.G. Maxwell—Administrative Officer Lushoto, 13 May 1926, SM 27.

⁸⁶ Maxwell, “I Loved Africa,” 71.

⁸⁷ President of the Conference of Missionaries of the Tanganyika Lutheran Mission, Moshi Mission Station—A.F. Bull, 3 December 1925, SM 27.

⁸⁸ John Steimer, Mbagaa Lutheran Mission—Rev. Maxwell, 26 May 1926, SM 27 (capitalization in the original).

Obviously, working with such antagonistic premises was no enjoyable thing to do in the long run. Another factor that helped to come to a minimum consensus one year later was the more irenic attitude of Arthur F. Bull,⁸⁹ who took over the leadership of the Pare Field from Maxwell in 1926. Bull soon saw the necessity of negotiating a formal arrangement with Wilhelm Guth on the Lutheran side. They considered the outcome of their discussion as “personal and local agreements,” yet it was slightly more, for the document that they wrote would be used in negotiations by later church leaders as well.⁹⁰ It expressed the Adventist view of the relationship with other denominations more sympathetically than official Adventist documents, and I quote it at length because of its uniqueness. Bull and Guth agreed:

1. That the former ‘spheres of influence’ of both their Societies be regarded as common territory for the purpose of Evangelistic Work, either party being at liberty to preach anywhere in the former ‘sphere’ of the other Society with the exception of its Christian communities. It is further agreed that we should all preach for Christ and His Truth, rather than against each other, laying, for the benefit of the heathen, more emphasis on our common faith in Christ and His Salvation than on the doctrinal differences which distinguish us.
2. We also agree not to resent secessions from our churches in favour [of] the other Society, recognising the right of every man to follow his own judgement in religious matters.
3. For the present it is agreed that no school buildings or places of worship should be built in the former sphere of the other Society, but that children of adherents or adherents themselves can be taught in the evangelist’s house.
.....
5. It is earnestly hoped that we shall be able to work together harmoniously in a spirit of Christian charity so that the work of God may prosper in our midst.⁹¹

⁸⁹ This attitude is already visible in Bull’s explanations regarding Adventist work in Gonja, precisely where the Melander affair had taken place two years before. Bull took pain to point out to the Lutheran missionary Guth that the Adventist work in Gonja was only to care for Adventist families. He promised to “fully respect your interests in the district.” Other children joining to the school should do so only if parents agreed. See [A.F. Bull]—Rev. Gutt [*sic*], 2 May 1927, SM 27.

⁹⁰ E.g., in [S.W. Beardsell]—Mr Guth, 26 June 1934, SM 21.

⁹¹ “To All Whom it May Concern” [Agreement between A.F. Bull and W. Guth], Suji/Gonja, 24–25 August 1927, SM 35. The statement was signed by both Bull and Guth; at least in the form preserved in the Suji Materials, it was written by Bull, for the statement misspells “Leipsig” for “Leipzig” Mission in the introduction.

This statement contains a middle position between the official policy that precluded any comity agreement and the pre-war views of Conradi and Dail, who advocated comity for the sake of concentrated and unhindered work. What is unique about the agreement is that a compromise was found in which both sides abandoned persuasions that constituted the major issues in the conflict. The idea of not resenting “secessions” obviously originated from Bull, while the exclusion of Christians as a missionary target had certainly been demanded by Guth, for it clearly departed from the official Adventist stand.⁹² Furthermore, that Adventists and Lutherans could “work together harmoniously” and had “a common faith” were insights not readily shared by many on both sides of the denominational lines. Thus, one gains the impression that Adventists and Lutherans met as equals; Bull had the self-esteem to negotiate a middle ground while upholding essential Adventist viewpoints.

Although the statement never became an official policy and was only of local importance,⁹³ it may be regarded as a milestone in the history of Adventist ecumenical relations in Tanzania.⁹⁴ Yet it also represented a missionary approach that was concerned with demarcations more than the church as a whole was. To the common Adventist folks, the agreement might not have made a real difference. The average church member negotiated his local, Christian, and Adventist identities in face-to-face encounters, not in interdenominational contracts. Tanzanian Adventists did not only manage to live with the tension inherent in the paradox of two paradigms inherent in their faith—being part of an exclusive remnant and yet belonging to Christianity at large—but accentuated each in different situations.

This is visible in the years that followed. If the late 1920s saw a truce in the interdenominational antagonism,⁹⁵ the mid-1930s reversed the situation again. Although Adventists did not attract a great number of

⁹² Cf. the Adventist views on on comity discussed in 4.1.

⁹³ The document stated that the agreement was “subject to the approval of their respective boards,” but no Adventist board ever made it a policy.

⁹⁴ It is an interesting turn of history that Bull changed his denominational affiliation to the Anglican Church in 1934 and chose a career as a specialist of Swahili. See G.A. Ellingworth—A. Sprogis, 24 August 1934, SM 33. On later developments in Adventist ecumenical relations in Tanzania, see the last part of 9.1.

⁹⁵ In his 1928 report, Guth considered the relationship to Adventists excellent and added, “it seems to me that the contract agreed upon is not without value”; see [Wilhelm Guth,] “Die Arbeit in Südpare im Jahre 1928,” File Stationen Shigatini, Usangi, Gonja, Mbagu, Vudee, 1912–1938, Leipzig Mission Archives.

Lutherans,⁹⁶ the Lutherans answered what they called the “extension of Adventist propaganda” by a “counterattack”⁹⁷ against this “arch-enemy.”⁹⁸ In 1936, Guth preached at Mamba-Myamba, the geographical centre of Adventist presence in South Pare, and the Lutherans had even chosen two workers for the place. They were planning to open a school and had registered twenty-nine children already, nine being non-Christians and twenty of Lutheran families. Chief Manento of Mamba, however, who was baptized an Adventist in the same period, waited for the Adventists’ opinion before giving permission to the Lutherans to build and apparently opposed the project at last.⁹⁹ Still, Adventist leader Andreas Sprogis was in a state of acute tension; he reported that people felt that “the S.D.A. Mission is *kufa*” [to die].¹⁰⁰

A most interesting detail in this newly kindled conflict was the position of a leading Pare Adventist, Elisa Manongi Kilonzo, one of the first two Tanzanian Adventist pastors. He questioned the whole boundary thinking, which was not only a Lutheran brainchild but had remained part of Adventist reasoning even after “spheres of influence” had been officially abolished for more than a decade. Kilonzo was not much concerned about the Leipzig advance at all and suggested it was good to allow them to go ahead with their plans at Mamba so that Adventist may also work in “Lutheran areas” more freely.¹⁰¹ Pare belonged to its

⁹⁶ By 1933, 18 Lutherans including children had joined Adventism; see Hans Fuchs, “Bericht über die Visitation der Stationen Vudee, Mbaga und Gonja,” 1933, File Missionsrat: Briefe, Protokolle an das Kollegium in Leipzig, 1928–1933, Leipzig Mission Archives.

⁹⁷ G. Laiblin, “Rundschau über die deutsche evangelische Missionsarbeit,” in *Die deutsche Evangelische Heidenmission: Jahrbuch 1935 der vereinigten deutschen Missionskonferenzen* (Hamburg: Verlag der Evangelischen Missionshilfe, 1935), 84–85.

⁹⁸ A memorandum of the Leipzig missionaries in 1933 called Islam, Catholicism and Adventism the “three archenemies from outside”; see “Denkschrift,” Madschame, February 1933, File Missionsrat: Briefe, Protokolle an das Kollegium in Leipzig, 1928–1933, Leipzig Mission Archives.

⁹⁹ E.M. Kilonzo—A. Sprogis, 25 September 1936, SM 33.

¹⁰⁰ Probably this mixed English and Swahili phrase intends to render people’s feeling that the Adventist mission was *dead already*. Sprogis also expressed concern about the fact that chiefs were “nearly ready to invite the Leipzigers even at our old places like Mamba, Bwambo and Bomani”; see A. Sprogis—G.A. Ellingworth, 20 October 1936, SM 33. Lutherans converted some individuals but did not make much inroads. See W. Fenner—Advent-Mission, Mitteleuropäische Abt. der STA, 3 March 1938, SM 35; “Jahresbericht des Hirten Abraham Mdoe [*sic*], Gonja,” 1936, and A. Mndoe, “Jahresbericht des Hirten von Gonja,” 1938, File Hirtenbriefe (Jahresberichte) von Afrikanern, 1934–1962, Leipzig Mission Archives.

¹⁰¹ E.M. Kilonzo—A. Sprogis, 25 September 1936, SM 33.

people, and while foreigners were often preoccupied with their artificial monopolies, the Pare themselves could see the advantage of abandoning them both in theory and in practice. Whereas some missionaries still envisioned something like an Adventist folk church protected from outside competition, Kilonzo supported evangelistic liberty for the sake of carrying out what he viewed the missionary concept of his church.

5.2 *Lake Victoria: New Beginnings and Diverse Growth*

Majita: A Success Story with Imperfections

The conflict with rival missions after World War I also continued at Lake Victoria.¹⁰² Adventist leaders strongly feared that Catholics could encroach upon what had been Adventist territory at the lake. William T. Bartlett, the superintendent of the East African Union, argued that the Adventist presence had to be expanded quickly lest other missions be allowed to intrude.¹⁰³ A notable case of Adventist boundary thinking related to Iramba. Although no worker was available for this Adventist pre-war station and in spite of the fact that the chief and the people there did not wish Adventists to return at first, Bartlett asked the government to reserve the Iramba area for exclusive Adventist access. Finally the government confirmed that no other denomination was allowed to enter.¹⁰⁴ The folk church principle was still at work.

Yet Adventist denominationalism at the lake was not only an outlook imposed by foreigners. The ten individuals at Majita who had preserved their Christian faith also continued to cling to their particular Adventist identity. When Bartlett visited them in 1921, he was surprised to find that the Christians who received him asked many detailed and difficult questions, particularly about the books of Daniel and Revelation. Later he learnt that they did not wish to gain more knowledge but intended to test the new White man carefully if he was the true successor of

¹⁰² Government leaders observed in 1924, “The year was pleasingly free from the inter-mission bickering and disputes which had attained their maximum in the year 1921.” See Annual Report on Mwanza District for the Year 1924, TNA 1733/13/86, 17.

¹⁰³ W.T. Bartlett, “Die Leuchtfeuer in Ostafrika brennen wieder,” AB 29, no. 5 (1 March 1923): 73; see also Ernst Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 2 June 1920, GCA.

¹⁰⁴ Acting Chief Secretary Dar es Salaam—S.G. Maxwell, 15 December 1923, SM 27.

the former missionaries, for they wondered, "How can we know that he is not a false prophet?"¹⁰⁵

One surprising feature of Adventist operations in the whole lake region was that school activities took off much less successfully in the 1920s than in Pare. In the very beginning, educational work had not lacked its enthusiasts. The newly arrived missionary Roy Matthews immediately began teaching four classes at Majita in 1921, at first in the church, and Paulo Maiga, one of the pre-war teachers, reopened the Bukumi school in 1922 with 110 students, reaching 180 in the same year.¹⁰⁶ Yet in subsequent years educational activities progressed somewhat slowly: in 1927, total enrolment in the then Mwanza Mission Field was only 981 while in Pare it had reached 2,271.¹⁰⁷ Two reasons probably hampered greater advance. One was that at the lake, unlike in Pare, school attendance was not enforced by the government in the 1920s. The other reason might have been that Adventists had been somewhat late to open or reopen many schools, so that many requests were denied by the government because Catholic or Africa Inland Mission schools were located too close to the proposed sites.¹⁰⁸ In this context of modest advance, Majita was evidently the single most prosperous mission. In 1935, it boasted fourteen schools and 585 students, and many calls for more schools could not be answered for financial reasons.¹⁰⁹

As far as membership is concerned, the Majita mission was also the most flourishing Adventist venture in the 1930s. It had taken all of the 1920s to reach 134 members.¹¹⁰ From 1934 onward, however,

¹⁰⁵ Wilhelm Becker, "Besuch aus Afrika!," AB 32, no. 19 (1 October 1926): 289–294.

¹⁰⁶ "Übersetzte Briefe aus Ostafrika," AB 29, no. 4 (15 February 1923): 62; interview Joshua Muganda. Likewise, at Sizaki, a mission that was discontinued after the war, a volunteer had started again teaching two hundred children around 1920. See Bartlett, "Die Leuchtfener," 73.

¹⁰⁷ "Our Native Workers and Schools in Heathen Africa, 4th Quarter 1927," RED 14, no. 1 (1928): 17. Statistics of 1929 show only about 200 students, but 58 teachers, which must be a mistake; see "Our Native Work in Heathen Africa, Second Quarter, 1929," AS 1, no. 6 (December 1929): 8–9.

¹⁰⁸ The file TNA 215/10/2 contains many such rejected applications. In addition, procedures became more complicated in 1929, when all applications for new schools had to be sent to Dar es Salaam, where such requests were subjected to stricter conditions.

¹⁰⁹ Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 69.

¹¹⁰ One hundred persons had been in baptismal class as early as 1923. See Bartlett,

a virtual church growth explosion took place. On a single day, on 19 October, 186 persons were baptized. The year's total baptisms counting 276 exceeded the whole membership of the previous year.¹¹¹ Less than two years later, total numbers reached 800, and the 1,000 membership mark was passed in 1938. Christians belonging to the Majita station had come to comprise around 40% of all Tanzanian Adventists.¹¹² Bwasi, the location of the Adventist mission, became a predominantly Adventist village during that period, and even the majority of the people who lived in close proximity had joined the church.¹¹³ It seemed as if an Adventist folk church was becoming a reality.

The 1930s were also an exciting period in another respect: the extension of the work to Ukerewe, the largest island in the lake. Adventists had tried to enter that territory several times in the 1920s but did not succeed because Catholicism had gained considerable strength and the Catholic chief Gabriel Ruhumbika, a staunch supporter of the White Fathers, opposed an Adventist presence. The breakthrough came with a purely indigenous initiative: Jonathan Malelo Muganda returned to Irangala on Ukerewe from Majita, where he had been exposed to Adventism. Although he was not baptized yet, he opened a Sabbath School of twenty-five members. By 1931, his relative Petro Mugunda Muganda cooperated with him, and they promptly prepared 19 persons for baptism.¹¹⁴ Soon the latter began to take over leadership in what became a veritable people movement. One report relates that the effect of Mugunda's work was a "mighty awakening" that led to a "public burning of many idols." On 10 November 1933, the first baptism took place: fifty-nine people were added to the church, and one hundred more were in baptismal class while four hundred had joined the hearers' class. In 1934, eighty-six more were baptized, and in 1935 a full

"Die Leuchfeuer," 73; and Spencer G. Maxwell, "West Tanganyika Mission," RH 107 (27 February 1930): 17.

¹¹¹ Rudolf Reider, "Siku kuu," AB 41, no. 6 (15 March 1935): 82–83.

¹¹² Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 70; "Missionarsbriefe," AB 44, no. 24 (15 December 1938): 377.

¹¹³ Interview Danny Maradufu, Tarime, 7 December 2000.

¹¹⁴ Among the first converts were, apart from Jonathan Malelo Muganda: Kalebua Muganda, Paulo Mkaluka, Henok Kasese, Petro Bwire, Zefania Maselele, Thomas Ngofira, and Yerima Mulwambo. See Samweli M. Kayange, "Historia ya Kanisa la Seventh-day Adventist Kuingia Katika Maeneo ya Tanzania, Wilaya ya Ukerewe na Mwibara Mtaa wa Kisorya," term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 2000, 1–2; R.H. Matthews, "Work Among the Majita" [*sic*], AS 2, no. 4 (April 1930): 11; G.A. Ellingworth, "Tanganyika Mission," RH 111 (12 April 1934): 18.

church was organized. It was certainly not overstated when missionary Rudolf Reider called Mugunda “a hero in the history of the Advent message.”¹¹⁵

A facilitating factor was that chief Ruhumbika surprisingly asked the government to have a Protestant mission coming in. In 1932, Adventists were able to start teaching at Bukumba, where residents of the area erected the first Adventist school on the island. It immediately enrolled 130 students.¹¹⁶ By 1937, eight Adventist schools had been founded on Ukerewe. Soon afterwards members at Majita were asked to move to the island to live there as lay missionaries. Fourteen were sent, supported by the mission only by an amount equalling government taxes and some assistance for moving.¹¹⁷ With this model of lay evangelism, the Ukerewe venture became an experiment that would soon be applied in other regions of the country as well.¹¹⁸ After these dramatic beginnings, the Adventist presence on the island continued to expand.¹¹⁹

The most eminent European missionary at Majita was Rudolf Reider, who served precisely during the years of rapid growth.¹²⁰ Reider has been rightly called “one of the outstanding Africa missionaries of the Seventh-day Adventists.”¹²¹ His linguistic work, a translation of the New Testament into Jita¹²² and a dissertation about the Jita language,

¹¹⁵ R. Reider, “Petro Mgunda,” AB 40, no. 12 (15 June 1934): 181–182; Reider, “Siku kuu,” 82–83; and TMF Minutes, 21–24 January 1935, SM 5.

¹¹⁶ “News from West Tanganyika,” AS 4, no. 7 (July 1932): 5–6; Ellingworth, “Tanganyika Mission,” 18; Kayange, “Historia ya Kanisa,” 3; and Spencer G. Maxwell, “Tanganyika Territory,” RH 110 (12 January 1933): 13.

¹¹⁷ Elineema, *Historia*, 73. Unfortunately, the names of the volunteers could not be found out.

¹¹⁸ In 1937, Tanzania counted seventy such volunteers. Tax assistance was to be given only after twelve months and if church members at the place contributed at least the amount of the leader’s tax. TMF Minutes, 22–31 August 1934, SM 5; H.F. Schubert, “Das Tanganjikamissionsfeld,” AB 39, no. 12 (15 June 1933): 179; Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 70.

¹¹⁹ After an Adventist presence had been established at Mibungo, the first Adventist congregation on Ukerewe, teacher-evangelist Samsoni Magoti worked at Malegea, east of Irangala, from 1932–1934. Other areas that were reached in these early years included Chigala, Sokolo, and Bunere. See “Missionarsbriefe,” AB 44, no. 24 (15 December 1938): 377; Kayange, “Historia ya Kanisa,” 4–7; and *SDA Church 1909–1979*, *Mara Field*, 10.

¹²⁰ Missionary Rudolf Helbig was also stationed at Majita from 1936 to 1939 and is remembered mainly for his medical service there; see Elineema, *Historia*, 48.

¹²¹ Daniel Heinz, “Reider, Rudolf,” in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 18, ed. Traugott Bautz (Herzberg: Bautz, 2001), col. 1178–1180.

¹²² *Bible—NT—Ecijita (Indagano Inyaya yo mukama no mukasya weswe Yesu Kristo)*, translated by R. Reider (SDA Mission), and checked by a committee including Emil Sywulka,

was pioneering,¹²³ and he was one of the few Adventist missionaries who was deeply interested in the language and culture of the people whom he served. It was unfortunate that Reider could stay among the Jita for only about four years, from 1933 to 1937. Yet the shortness of his work among the people he highly esteemed shows that he was truly an “extremely capable linguist.”¹²⁴ With his linguistic work, Reider was the only missionary who took up the tradition of Adventist pre-World War I translation activities at Lake Victoria, which had been discontinued in the 1920s.¹²⁵

On the surface, it appears that such a gifted and dynamic person came to Majita at the right time. Unfortunately, however, not all was well in Reider’s working relationship with colleagues. His main conflict was apparently that with Field superintendent George A. Ellingworth, who complained in 1937 that Reider’s work was not satisfactory. Ellingworth felt about Majita and Reider that “every phase of the work has dropped there, and his general attitude is very difficult.” The superintendent referred to the fact that in 1935 the teachers at Majita had written Reider a letter with copy to him, the superintendent, asking that Reider return to Europe. Ellingworth considered Reider to be

Fay Toney, Frank Manning (AIM) (London: British Foreign and Bible Society, 1943). For later editions and precursors, see the bibliography.

¹²³ Rudolf Reider, “Laut- und Formenlehre der Djita-Sprache,” Dr. phil. diss., Friedrich-Wilhelm-University Berlin, 1942. Reider had acquired much of his knowledge of the Jita language from Abrahamu Maradufu, Andrea Siti, Petro Mapigano, and Naftali Mkome; see *ibid.*, 5. The only major later work on the Jita language is Laura Jo Downing, *The Tonal Phonology of Jita* (Munich: LINCOM Europa, 1996).

¹²⁴ W.J. Bradnock—F.J. Bedford, 2 July 1953, in my possession. In this letter written by a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it is reported that Diedrich Westermann, a leading Africanist, had recognized already in 1937 that Reider’s linguistic ability was extraordinary. Reider’s peculiar talent and his academic interest are evident in that he used his furlough of 1937–1938 and the years after his permanent return to Germany, 1940–1942, to study ethnology and African studies at the University of Berlin after being granted special permission for university entrance. See “Lebenslauf—Reider, Dr. Rudolf,” TMs (photocopy), 1999; “Prediger Dr. Rudolf Reider †,” AB 72, no. 8 (15 April 1973): 16. Reider apparently did not have a high school certificate but was admitted after doing a special examination. His later career included appointments as a Goethe Institute Director in Ghana and Kenya from 1962 to 1967.

¹²⁵ With this work, Reider also made a significant contribution to the history of Bible translation in Tanzania. Although smaller portions of the Bible had been published in many languages, New Testament translations that appeared before the Jita NT were only those in Swahili, Sambia (1908), Bena (1920), Pare (1922), Sukuma (1925), Haya (1930), and Chagga-Mochi (1939); see C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 4, 1914–1954 (London: Lutterworth, 1958), 361–370. Thus, Adventists contributed two of the eight first New Testaments in Tanzanian languages.

energetic, following up new interests, but criticized that “he has seemed to pull down with one hand what he built with the other, and he has changed his policy so often with regard to his workers that I hardly know where things are.”¹²⁶

From the scant data available, it is not easy to judge what had really happened. Only a few facts may hint at the larger context of this conflict. One is that Reider, a German with strong nationalistic feelings, certainly did not feel at ease to see Ellingworth, a Briton,¹²⁷ and other non-Germans being in charge of the Adventist work in what he still called “German East Africa.”¹²⁸ Because of this conflict with Ellingworth, Reider’s return to Germany in 1937 was supposed to be permanent; only through the intervention of German church leaders who also released Ellingworth from his leadership post could Reider go back to Africa in 1938, albeit to a station in a different region altogether—Mbeya.¹²⁹ Another issue might have been the sheer volume of work that Reider had to accomplish. With the biggest station in the Field, growing membership in Majita and Ukerewe, language learning, and Reider’s attempt to open work in Uzinza, an area beyond Mwanza,¹³⁰ he was very busy indeed. In this setup, it was easy make mistakes at home. Whether the 1935 letter was a temporary expression of the teachers’ anger or an expression of general frustration with Reider’s strict leadership is not entirely clear.¹³¹ Still, Reider cooperated well with Abrahamu Maradufu, who was to Reider in translating the New Testament what Petro Risase had been to Ernst Kotz before

¹²⁶ G.A. Ellingworth—A. Sprogis, 17 May 1937, SM 33.

¹²⁷ For the background of Ellingworth, see “Ellingworth, George Albert,” SDAE, 375–376.

¹²⁸ Rudolf Reider, “Aufbauarbeit im Südhochland von Deutsch-Ostafrika,” AB 46, no. 16 (15 August 1940): 123. Cf. also Reider’s article, “Die Wirtschaftsformen der Djita und ihre Beziehungen zu den Nachbarstämmen,” *Koloniale Rundschau* 31 (1940): 210–221. In the years under German administration from 1933, the Tanganyika Mission Field committee continued to be composed of British members and the Latvian-German A. Sprogis, who had strong conflicts with Reider. Reider was a committee member only in 1936; after that, R. Helbig and H. Kotz were members, but the fact remains that the German impact that Reider might have hoped for was never realized.

¹²⁹ W.K. Ising—E.D. Dick, 1 July 1937, File Central Europe, GCA.

¹³⁰ In 1936, Reider travelled to Uzinza several times. However, no stable work resulted from these missionary attempts. TMF Minutes, 12–15 March 1936, SM 5; M. Ellingworth—A. Sprogis, 21 August 1936, SM 33.

¹³¹ Elizaphan Wanjara asserts that Reider’s leadership style was stricter than that of his British predecessors, which angered some teachers; see interview Elizaphan Wanjara, Morogoro, 25 December 2000.

World War I.¹³² Altogether, Reider seemed to have a good relationship with the Jita, for he repeatedly praised them in an article published in the magazine *Koloniale Rundschau*.¹³³

Fast growth may imply unexpected difficulties, and even at Majita not all went well. When the sudden membership explosion had occurred in the 1930s, Ellingworth resented the fact that tithes and offerings were very low, a fact that did not fit into his plan of making missions self-supporting as far as wages for African workers were concerned.¹³⁴ What Ellingworth failed to understand, however, was that the common strict rules on tithing could not easily be applied in a situation where a virtual mass movement toward the church took place. Furthermore, it is evident from tithe reports that all smaller missions had a larger average tithe, presumably because of the relatively larger number of mission workers who had a stable income, and perhaps because a small number of people could be controlled more carefully.¹³⁵ The conflict between Ellingworth and Reider was therefore possibly one about missionary models as well. Whereas Ellingworth advocated strictness in matters that he considered to be crucial in upholding an Adventist identity and therefore represented a typical remnant approach, Reider stood for a more inculturated approach that left room for indigenous dynamics leading towards an African folk church.

A surprising aftermath of the swift membership increase in the 1930s was a decade of numerical standstill, decline, and recovery that lasted from 1938 to 1947. By 1944, the number had dropped from more

¹³² *SDA Church 1909–1979, Mara Field*, 11. Maradufu was also in charge of the church work at Majita during this period.

¹³³ Reider, “Die Wirtschaftsformen der Djita,” 210, says, “They have good intellectual qualities” and “they are quite usable and capable in all professional lines.”

¹³⁴ G.A. Ellingworth—A. Sprogis, 17 May 1937, SM 33. The self-support plan stipulated that different stations were to be able to raise support for African workers after two to four years, only that the Majita figures were yet to be worked out, which apparently was difficult to do under the given circumstances. See TMF Minutes, 21–24 January 1935, SM 5. Low tithe returns continued also in the following years: members’ contribution per capita averaged less than half of those at other mission stations between 1937 and 1939. On the other hand, in 1933 and 1934, the Sukuma stations had even lower returns. See “African Tithe & Offerings 1st Quarter 1939” and the corresponding reports of 1937 and 1938, SM 72, and “Report of Tithes and Offerings,” first quarter 1933 and 1934, SM 74.

¹³⁵ “African Tithe & Offerings 1st Quarter 1939,” SM 72. In 1939, Busegwe had 15 members with an average of Sh 3.29, Mwagala 91 members with Sh 1.10, Utimbaru 355 members with Sh 0.74, while Majita had 984 members with an average of Sh 0.25.

than 1,000 to 561.¹³⁶ Then the graph went up again, and by 1947 the 1,000 line was crossed again. How could this happen? There are several answers: (1) The drop may partly be viewed as a result of the Adventist struggle with accurate statistics. At times, apostasies were not dealt with every year; rather, church membership rolls were purged periodically, which could result in a sudden drop in a single year.¹³⁷ (2) One may conjecture that the new wave of missionaries that replaced the Germans who had served a Majita in the 1930s applied rules in a stricter way. (3) Moreover, the rapid growth in the previous period had its own impact on the subsequent church life. Although thorough instruction, at times three to four years, had been given to the new converts, the large number of new members could strain the operations to such an extent that it was difficult to keep them all, especially during the war years when the turnover of missionaries was unusually high.¹³⁸ (4) The latter 1930s and early 1940s were the years when several new religious movements came to Majita and its adjacent territories: the Mennonite Mission, the Africa Inland Mission, the Catholic Mission at Murangi, and the Last Church, an attractive African-initiated version of Christianity, which had originated on Ukerewe.¹³⁹ They certainly created considerable religious stir. With such potent competitors, the Adventist monopoly of Christian influence among the Jita was broken, and with it a part of the attraction that Adventism provided.

If the early 1940s made Adventist leaders wonder whether the future was going to be bright, the post-World War II years kindled new hope. A period of stable growth at Majita and around considerably strengthened

¹³⁶ The year 1944 alone shows 46 deaths and 298 apostasies in the records. See "Statistical Report Tanganyika Mission Field 1944," SM 74.

¹³⁷ At Utimbaru Mission, for instance, 56 apostasies were reported among the less than 600 members in 1944, the same year that the great losses at Majita occurred, and in 1940, membership had suddenly dropped from 422 to 343. See the annual membership records in SM 74.

¹³⁸ R. Helbig had taken over from R. Reider in 1938 but had to leave in 1939; A. Sprogis was assigned to Majita in 1940 but took over only temporarily. K.H. Minifie stayed for less than two years (1941–42). Only with Lloyd D. Brown (1943–52) did Majita get permanent leadership again.

¹³⁹ For more on the Last Church, see 9.2. The Africa Inland Mission opened stations on Ukerewe and Ukara in 1937 and 1948, respectively; see Kenneth Richardson, *Garden of Miracles* (London: Victory Press, 1968), xi. On the Mennonites, see Mahlon M. Hess, *The Pilgrimage of Faith of Tanzania Mennonite Church, 1934–1983* (Musoma: Tanzania Mennonite Church, 1985), 42–47. The Africa Inland Mission had started a congregation at Rwanaga in 1929, and in 1936, this church of 41 members decided to transfer to the Mennonites, who had begun to work in Mara in 1934. By 1942, the Mennonite station at Mugango had 12 little satellite congregations.

the church: between 1947 and 1959, membership grew from 1,077 to 3,251.¹⁴⁰ The 1940s and 1950s were also the years when the Ukara, Kweru, Kome and Wiru islands near Majita were reached.¹⁴¹ Thus emerged the Seventh-day Adventist Church as a well-established religious group around Majita Mission in the 1950s that would transform into a full-fledged folk church in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁴²

Utimbaru: Moderate Advance among the Luo and the Kuria

While a small group of believers at Majita had withstood troubles during the turbulent World War I years, the work of the church in neighbouring North Mara among the Luo and Kuria had been almost completely razed. At Shirati, where the church had been in existence among the Luo for hardly one year when the clouds of war darkened the horizon, no buildings and members were found when missionary A. Watson first arrived there in 1921. The same was true for Utimbaru, where no European worker was available at first. After he had married, Watson stayed at his post in Luoland until 1924, but then moved to Utimbaru because of the perpetual and dangerous malaria at Shirati.¹⁴³

At Utimbaru-Kibumaye where beginnings had been made among the youth before the war, the population seemed welcoming at first. After the launching of Adventist activities among the Kenyan Kuria in

¹⁴⁰ Among these, Ukerewe members, whose number had remained on a plateau of around 200 between 1937 and 1943, grew to 800 in the following generation. See G.A. Ellingworth, "Mission Work in Tanganyika," RH 114 (11 March 1937): 11; F.H. Thomas, "The Ukerewe Island Campmeeting, 1943," SADO 41, no. 17 (15 October 1943): 2; and Rudolf Reider, "Wiedersehen in Afrika (III)," AB 62, no. 24 (15 November 1963): 381.

¹⁴¹ TMF Minutes, 26 February–3 March 1950, E. 742, SM 6; *Tanganyika Reporter* 2, no. 5 (April 1942), SM 75. Again, Petro Mugunda was a pioneer in this undertaking.

¹⁴² In 1971, Bwasi district alone had 1245 members and was divided into two. In 1981, there were 21 districts in the then Mara-Kagera Field, most with more than 500 members; the Bwasi, Ushashi, and Musoma districts had more than 900 members each. See Central Nyanza Field Minutes, 16 August 1971, no. 230, MC; "Ripoti ya Katibu Muhazini—Mkutano wa Sita wa Makanisa ya Waadventista Wasabato Mara Kagera Field, Ikizu, April 23–25, 1982," 1982, 2, MC.

¹⁴³ W. Bartlett—Senior Commissioner, Mwanza, 14 November 1924, TNA 215/10/2, no. [88]. A. Watson's daughter wrote later that the move was in 1922, but this must be an error of memory; see Secretary to C.T.J. Hyde—M.E. Lind, 23 April 1963, File SDAE Article, EAU. The Shirati property was disposed of in 1935 (see Minutes of the Tanganyika Field Committee, 21–24 January 1935, SM 5); many Adventists continue to be found in the Shirati area until today, but the Mennonite Church also made significant impact on the district.

1923,¹⁴⁴ missionary work among the Tanzanian Kuria was a logical step to take. Yet what Watson believed to be an open door for the gospel turned out to be a test of faith during his remaining years of ministry up to 1930.¹⁴⁵ Resistance among the Kuria was considerable. In 1924, Chief Itembe sent a message to the government declaring,

the elders of the whole land have rejected that the mission should come in, because...they do not want to read but...keep cows, goats, calves, and to dance, but mission—no.¹⁴⁶

The only thing the Watsons could do from 1926 onward was to engage in “quiet medical work.” Government administrators encouraged the missionary family that this would hopefully induce the population to allow them starting religious work.¹⁴⁷

After such discouraging beginnings at Utimbaru, the Watsons continued working mainly among the Luo, in spite of the fact that Kibumaye Mission was located in the Kuria territory. While Kuria at times even threatened the Watsons’ lives, the Luo were much more responsive.¹⁴⁸ Apparently there was no pronounced conflict with Traditionalists, and although none of the chiefs became an Adventist, they definitely welcomed Christianity. The Adventist work grew steadily through the

¹⁴⁴ Adventist missionary work in the Utende area was started by Harun Owuor, a Luo. He even translated the book of Matthew although in handwriting only. A first baptism with eight persons took place in 1927. See “SDA Missions in East Africa: British East Africa,” n.d., File SDAE Article, EAU, 23–24.

¹⁴⁵ Already before his move the government had been reluctant to grant readmission for Adventists on the grounds that they considered the territory as part of the Catholic sphere of influence. See Acting Senior Commissioner, Mwanza—Administrative Officer in charge, Musoma, 28 June 1923, TNA 215/10/2, no. 39a.

¹⁴⁶ Sultan Itembe—O.G. Williams, 18 August 1924, TNA 215/10/2, no. 78b. The Kuria especially resented the fact that uncircumcised girls had been taken to school before the war, and government administrators felt that the general relationship between the previous Adventist missionary and the people was rather hostile. See [O.G.] Williams, Administrative Officer in charge, Musoma Sub-District—Senior Commissioner, Mwanza, 28 August 1924; P. Russell, Administrative Officer in charge, Musoma, on the Adventist mission planned at Utimbaru, 19 February 1925, TNA 215/10/2, no. 78, 101b.

¹⁴⁷ The government granted a small assistance of £ 15 for medical work but insisted that it could not support the erection of schools against the will of the people. See Turnbull—Administrative Officer in-charge, Musoma, 16 March 1925; Adm. Officer in-charge Musoma—Senior Commissioner Mwanza, 3 February 1926; A. Watson—Turnbull, Senior Commissioner Mwanza, Utimbaru, 16 November 1926, TNA 215/10/2, no. 104, 124, 124c; and W.T. Bartlett, “East African Union Mission,” RED 12, no. 1 (1926): 4–5.

¹⁴⁸ Spencer G. Maxwell, “West Tanganyika Mission,” RH 107 (27 February 1930): 17; Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 77.

service of several Kenyan Luo teachers.¹⁴⁹ Of course the Adventists were not the only alternative to Traditional Religion in the area; the Mennonites began activities at Shirati in 1934 and soon built a hospital there. Moreover, half of the then 80,000 Tanzanian Luo became Catholics between the 1930s and independence.¹⁵⁰ Still, the Seventh-day Adventist Church made a significant impact on some parts of Tanzanian Luoland. Adventist majorities or at least considerable numbers are found today in several villages around the former pre-war mission station at Shirati-Saragire.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, there were many who felt that Seventh-day Adventism was a “hard religion” and therefore preferred other denominational affiliations.¹⁵² Thus, both folk church and remnant aspects of Adventism appeared in the development of the denomination among the Luo.

On the Kuria side, Frithjof and Borghild Muderspach, who arrived at Kibumaye in 1930, slowly succeeded in winning the people’s trust. The relationship was mainly built through medical work; in their first year, they reported over 6,000 treatments. This ministry influenced the chief of Utimbaru to change his attitude after some of his wives had received treatment. At several places people started to build school buildings and teacher’s houses in 1931. By 1933 the school at the central mission had reached four grades, and in 1935, thirteen out-schools with 344 students were counted. At the same time, Adventists lost their monopoly even in Kurialand: three Catholic missions and one Mennonite station were started during this period.¹⁵³

The following decades were a phase of growth which, however, was not without difficulties. One was the inherent conflict between the two ethnic groups present around the mission, the Kuria and the Luo. Since the Luo had entered the church earlier, they constituted the major

¹⁴⁹ Outstanding among them were James Otero, who served as an Assistant Mission Director for about a decade from 1925, and Luka Amayo, who worked there in the 1940s; see interviews Timothy Samuel Odiembo, Morogoro, 9 August 2001, and Elisha A. Okeyo, Arusha, 18 May 2003. Other Luo teachers who came over from Kenya include Samuel Odiembo, Jeremia Osogo, Naaman Opembi, and Barnaba Gungu.

¹⁵⁰ Hess, *The Pilgrimage of Faith*, 29–38, 102–103, 123; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 544.

¹⁵¹ They include Minigo, Saragire, Lolwe, Rwang’enyi, Sota, Siko, and Kanyos-ingo.

¹⁵² Interview Odiembo.

¹⁵³ Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 77–78; Hess, *The Pilgrimage of Faith*, 51–54; Elineema, *Historia*, 62; and F. Muderspach, “Medical Work at Utimbaru, East Africa,” AS 3, no. 10 (October 1931): 8.

group in the beginning. Yet they appear to have been hardly accepted as workers among the Kuria because of the prejudices that the Kuria had against their uncircumcised neighbours. In the mid-1940s, Pare and Jita missionaries who came to serve at Kibumaye mission were more successful in their evangelistic endeavours among the Kuria and opened new work at Nyabasi, Magoto, Bwirege, and Nyamongo.¹⁵⁴ Still, it took until 1953 to divide the Kuria district into two.¹⁵⁵

A serious difficulty was the relationship between Christianity and tradition among the Kuria. In the 1950s, the Kuria were still considered to be “uncivilized” by people from other areas, for they had few clothes and generally did not like school much, different from the Luo, who were known to be eager to acquire education. Especially Kuria girls hardly attended school.¹⁵⁶ Too strong were the feelings among the Kuria, both Christian and non-Christian, that teenage girls who went to school became “prostitutes” and that their characters would be spoilt. People who had attended school were regarded as *Waswahili* by others, i.e., persons who were not good Kuria any more because they had adapted to the customs of a foreign group, which, of course, was a correct observation.¹⁵⁷

The same conflict between traditional life and Christian innovation was much stronger in those areas where the influence of Kibumaye Mission was not as powerful. At Kiribo, for instance, Adventists were much opposed in the 1950s and 1960s as they did not participate in many traditional practices such as atonement sacrifices. At weddings these church members slaughtered their own animals, and when

¹⁵⁴ Interview Samson C.M. Bina, Mogabiri, 11 December 2000. Among these workers were Paulo Kilonzo, Andreas Siti, and Enock Katondo.

¹⁵⁵ TMF Minutes, 30 June 1953, SM 6. On the other hand, by the mid-1940s, nine local churches already existed under Kibumaye Mission, but several of them were Luo churches; see TMF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946, SM 5. One year later, the Kuria work in Kenya, which had been under TMF auspices, was returned to the leadership of the Kenyan side; see TMF Minutes, 24 June 1954, SM 6.

¹⁵⁶ Mostly only a few very young girls entered grades one and two. Harun Mashigan, a Sukuma who served as a teacher at Utimbaru for seven years, reports that only one girl attended school for an extended period, Mariam Yohana Mwita, whose father was a former Adventist. Missionaries wanted to remedy the situation by bringing a woman teacher, Bethsheba Badi from Sukumaland, but she stayed there for two or three years and waited for more girls in vain. See interview Harun K. Mashigan, Bupandagila, 26–27 August 2001.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* For more on the intense conflict between tradition and Adventist Christianity among the Kuria, especially regarding the circumcision and polygamy questions, see 7.2 and 7.3.

traditional leaders announced that people should abstain from work because of some ritual, Adventists did not follow such directives. In 1963 non-Christians decided not to allow any Christian to enter their houses any more or to fetch water from their well. Christians were to decide either to leave their faith or to be segregated from society. Five Adventist young men¹⁵⁸ resolved to stand firm and reported the issue to the District Commissioner, Arfaxad Werema Chambiri, who was also a Kuria Adventist. Chambiri commanded that everybody be treated equal, and they gained access to the wells again.¹⁵⁹ Being a numerical and social remnant did not prevent the Adventist faithful from seeking powerful allies.

In spite of such occurrences, the Adventist influence had grown considerably by the time of independence, at least around Utimbaru itself.¹⁶⁰ This is also visible in a sad episode of 1960. Missionary Frithjof Muderspach was assigned to Utimbaru for the second time after his service there thirty years earlier, and the Kuria loved him very much. Tragically, he was drowned with his car together with Pastor Mishael Manjali when they crossed a river after heavy rains.¹⁶¹ After his death, a Muderspach Memorial Fund was initiated, which aimed at the construction of a Middle School at Utimbaru that had been planned by Muderspach himself.¹⁶² Local Adventists took such a great interest in the project that the government inspector, Mary Hancock, praised the progress of the Adventist mission schools in the area and commended that the Kuria, who had “been slow to take a real interest in education,” showed an ardour that should not be quenched.¹⁶³ Adventism had succeeded in bringing considerable change into the lives of people who had been known as backward and traditionalistic. Although the

¹⁵⁸ Israel Chacha Marwa, Simon Mwita, Chacha Marwa Kebubuyo, Charles Masaro, and Samson Makorere.

¹⁵⁹ Interview Samson S. Makorere, Tarime, 13 December 2000.

¹⁶⁰ In some villages in the area around Kibumaye, Adventists were around 25% of the population in the 1960s and 1970s; see interviews Gesase M. Gesase, 10 December 2000, Japhet S. Machage, Bisarwi, 5 December 2000, and Bhoke W. Chambiri, Tarime, 10 December 2000.

¹⁶¹ “Asleep in Jesus,” SADO 58, no. 6 (15 June 1960): 11; “Muderspach, Frithjof Hartvig,” SDAE, 834–835.

¹⁶² C.T.J. Hyde, “Muderspach Memorial School Fund,” SADO 58, no. 7 (15 July 1960): 4.

¹⁶³ Mary Hancock, District Education Officer Musoma—Provincial Education Officer Mwanza, 10 November 1959, TNA 436/E38, no. 6; Permit for Public Collection, TNA 544/M6/3, no. 10.

denomination remained a numerical and cultural remnant among the Kuria as a whole until the 1960s, its growth to folk church dimensions around Utimbaru, where the membership exceeded one thousand at the time of independence, could not be stopped any more.¹⁶⁴

Sukumaland: Slow Progress in a Large Field

The situation of Adventist missionary work in Sukumaland in 1920 was quite unlike that in North Mara. Due to the ministry of the four Pare missionaries, a new take-off was not very difficult.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, shortage of personnel resulted in a permanent reduction of mission stations to two, Ntusu and Mwagala.¹⁶⁶ This meant that the earlier successes at Kanadi and Itilima were reversed by an absence of adequate care of the infant churches located there.¹⁶⁷ This situation became permanent when two Pare missionaries returned home in 1924. Isaya Fue stayed, made Sukumaland his home, and continued serving there until his retirement in 1957, and even Petro Mlungwana remained for a few more years.¹⁶⁸ Yet in spite of the burning need, no replacement workers came for Filipo Sekisago and Daniel Mwenda.¹⁶⁹ In the long run, the concentration on two locations in this vast area necessarily resulted in slow advance.

Mwagala is located about one hundred kilometres south of Ntusu. The station remained virtually unattended until 1933 and for years in

¹⁶⁴ In 1961, the membership was 3,486 for the East Lake Field, which comprised the Luo and Kuria areas. Even with a conservative estimate, which assumes that a large majority of members were on the Luo side, the number of Kuria members must have reached more than 1,000 already.

¹⁶⁵ On the Pare missionaries and the pre-war activities in Sukumaland, see 4.2.

¹⁶⁶ Hans Kotz lamented in 1955 that all the other mission societies working among the Sukuma had five to six mission stations, while Adventists had only Ntusu and Mwagala, and the latter was sometimes left unmanned; see H.E. Kotz—B. Ellingworth, 20 March 1955, SM 48.

¹⁶⁷ Kanadi and Itilima are both situated less than forty kilometres from Ntusu, and probably they were discontinued as central mission stations with the idea that these areas could be cared for from Ntusu. In the absence of regular church work, the Kanadi-Habiya property had to be surrendered to the government in 1935; see TMF Minutes, 21–24 January 1935, SM 5. Only in 1972–1974 were a church, a pastor's house, and a dispensary built through the help of a German donor, E.W. Schmidt; see interview Mashigan.

¹⁶⁸ Mauya, "Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare." Fue is listed as an ordained minister until the 1958 *Yearbook*.

¹⁶⁹ The superintendent of the then West Tanganyika Field, W. Cuthbert, asked for two "Pare boys" to be sent, but this never happened. See W. Cuthbert—S.G. Maxwell, 11 January 1926, SM 27.

later periods.¹⁷⁰ Under Hans Kotz's leadership in the 1930s,¹⁷¹ there had been something like an awakening; people came from all directions and asked for teachers, and in the absence of personnel and funds, church members served as volunteer teachers. For some time, even a boys' boarding school was run at Mwangala.¹⁷² Still, staffing problems naturally translated into slow progress in missionary outreach. When missionary Brian Ellingworth called Mwangala "the most discouraging area I have seen in my life" after visiting in 1955,¹⁷³ this statement summed up a history of a struggle for survival. Only in the 1960s and 1970s would the church grow beyond proportions of a tiny numerical remnant in the area.

Compared with Mwangala, an extension at the other extreme end of Adventist operations in Sukumaland proved to be more promising. The work at Mwamanyili in the Nassa area, close to Lake Victoria and more than one hundred kilometres from Ntusu, began in the early 1920s. It was started by Petro Mlungwana, one of the two Pare missionaries who remained after the war. As early as 1926, he was credited with "filling a very responsible position at Nassa."¹⁷⁴ In these early years, the work at Nassa was apparently of evangelistic nature only, for the beginning of school work has been dated as 1932.¹⁷⁵ It took one more generation to grow the body of believers to 150, but under the leadership of Pastor Harun Kija Mashigan from 1955 to 1957, membership doubled in only two years.¹⁷⁶ Although Adventists were still a minority

¹⁷⁰ In 1930, Ernest B. and Lily Phillips arrived there. However, Mrs Phillips died of blackwater fever the same year. It took three more years until Hans and Viola Kotz could revive activities, which they did for five years. Even from 1938 to 1941 and throughout the 1950s, no full-time director supervised the work at Mwangala. See *SDA Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973*, 21.

¹⁷¹ Hans Kotz, whose father Ernst Kotz had felt so much affection for the Pare, made a good son in that he dearly loved the Sukuma. He once declared that the Sukuma were "very conservative and hard to convert, but once converted make good Saints." See H.E. Kotz—B.L. Ellingworth, 5 May 1955, SM 48.

¹⁷² "Aus Briefen," AB 40, no. 12 (15 June 1934): 191; "Aus Briefen," AB 40, no. 18 (15 September 1934): 285; interview Mashigan.

¹⁷³ B. Ellingworth—H.E. Kotz, 13 April 1955, SM 48. He also talked of his impression that the more progressive people were leaving to the Geita mines, but the church situation contributed to his statement as well.

¹⁷⁴ W. Cuthbert—S.G. Maxwell, 11 January 1926; A.F. Bull and S.G. Maxwell—Petro Mlungwana, 29 December 1925, SM 27.

¹⁷⁵ Elineema, *Historia*, 104.

¹⁷⁶ Interview Mashigan. Already in 1946, Mwamanyiri (an alternative form for [Nassa-]Mwamanyili) was mentioned as a fully organized church; see TMF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946, A. 45, SM 5. Mashigan later served as the president of the denomination in the South Nyanza and Mara Fields in the 1960s through the 1980s.

and would not develop into a folk church due to competition with the Africa Inland Mission and African Instituted Churches in the area,¹⁷⁷ the Mwamanyili venture was significant, for it showed that a wholly African-staffed project could swiftly achieve a numerical importance similar to Mwagala.

The major Adventist station in the region was Ntusu. Through their service of more than fifteen years at this place, Ada and Harold Robson became almost synonymous with Adventist missionary work in Sukumaland in the period. They were a very curious couple indeed. The husband has been described as “totally impractical,” a man who “could not even hammer a nail into the wall,” but “a great scholar” with perfect command of Swahili. His wife complemented the man with her common sense and a courage that is exemplified in the way she began to serve the sick during her first week at Ntusu in 1924. This dramatic story is worth recording at some length:

A man had come with a finger where the flesh had rotted away and the bare bone was sticking out. Mrs Robson said, “Give me an axe.” She chopped off part of the finger, then cleaned and dressed it... For two weeks, the man was not seen again. Then he came back, his finger totally healed and carrying a chicken as a thank-you gift. Thus started Mrs Robson’s extraordinary medical career in Africa. She saved many, many lives.¹⁷⁸

Though being a self-educated medical practitioner, Ada Robson’s service was of such a quality that Africans and Indians alike came to her all the way from Mwanza. She could care for fourteen patients at a time who would lie in the two small rooms of the mission dispensary, and at times, she would even set bones. Only in 1933 was a small dispensary erected, which regularized her medical activities.¹⁷⁹ In recognition of her service, the Sukuma gave Ada Robson a fitting name: “Living, bubbling water.”¹⁸⁰

The one undertaking at Ntusu that records deal with more than any other aspect of missionary work is the girls’ school. In Pare, the

¹⁷⁷ See 9.2.

¹⁷⁸ Luise Drangmeister, “A Young Girl Travels to Africa,” TMs (photocopy), n.d., 10–11.

¹⁷⁹ Drangmeister, “A Young Girl Travels to Africa,” 10–11; “Missionarsbrief aus Ostafrika,” AB 43, no. 18 (15 September 1937): 282; *SDA Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973*, 7, 18, 19; and H. Robson, “The Ntusu Mission, Tanganyika,” AS 5, no. 7 (July 1933): 4–5.

¹⁸⁰ Drangmeister, “A Young Girl Travels to Africa,” 21. Unfortunately, the original Sukuma word could not be found out. Cf. figure 13 (p. 616).

denomination's attempts at establishing such an institution remained temporary measures.¹⁸¹ With the Ntusu girls' boarding school, Adventists opened the first such institution in the Mwanza Province. The government generously supported this endeavour by providing funds for accommodation even before operations began. The beginnings in 1930 were small; the first group consisted of twenty girls among whom six were daughters of teachers. Enrolment fluctuated considerably because parents could take out girls easily,¹⁸² yet interest grew steadily: in 1933, eighty-four girls were studying at Ntusu.¹⁸³

In addition to the "three R's," the school schedule included physical activities, homecraft subjects, agriculture, games, and outreach. When women of the community were sick, girls were assigned to assist them in their daily chores, and often they would go to people's homes and clean or bathe the children. Sabbath afternoons were spent by visiting villages around, singing for people and telling them Bible stories. Such activities certainly exerted a powerful influence on the people of the area; what is more, they meant a first-hand experience of practical Christianity for the students.¹⁸⁴

Of course, there were also problems at Ntusu girls' school. The greatest challenges were the shortage of missionary staff and the demanding nature of the work.¹⁸⁵ Still, continuity existed in the work of African

¹⁸¹ A major problem was the availability of suitable personnel; see 5.1.

¹⁸² The problem of girls leaving after a rather short period persisted throughout the school's existence. In 1933, only substandards and standards 1 and 2 were taught, and even in 1938, TMF superintendent Sprogis had to apologize to the government for the fact that most girls attended for only one or two years by explaining that many were married off rather early. See "Report on the Girl's Boarding School of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Ntusu," n.d. [1933], and A. Sprogis—Director of Education, Dar es Salaam, 17 October 1938, TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 96–97.

¹⁸³ See figure 14 (p. 616). The majority were Sukuma, but students came from various places such as Ikizu, Majita, Ukerewe, Utimbaru, Kwimba, and Nassa in addition to those from the Ntusu area. See Lucy J. Clarke, "The Girls' School, Mwanza," AS 3, no. 3 (March 1931): 5–6; H. Robson, "The Ntusu Mission, Tanganyika," AS 5, no. 7 (July 1933): 4; G.A. Ellingworth—G.N. Eeles, Education Inspector, 19 March 1934, TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 31–34; Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 6; *SDA Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973*, 7, 19; and interview Joana Kabale, Bupandagila, 27 August 2001.

¹⁸⁴ Luise Drangmeister, *Als Lehrerin im afrikanischen Busch* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, 1938), 5, 7; Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 9; School Inspection Reports, 1930–1932, TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 2–6; and interview Kabale.

¹⁸⁵ This is exemplified in the service of Luise Drangmeister. After Lucy Clarke's departure, it took one and a half years until she assumed the headmistress's post. The church had placed her into this environment utterly unprepared. She had neither teaching experience nor any knowledge of Swahili when she first arrived. Apart from

teachers such Lea Munyuku,¹⁸⁶ Ezekiel Mafuru, Yohana Malili, Filipino Kamba, Apolo Kwilabya, and Mispereth Rutolyo.¹⁸⁷ As in the short experiment with female education in Pare, the importance of the Ntusu girls' school can hardly be overestimated. It served as an indispensable tool of introducing the comprehensive cultural change that the remnant model of Christianity embodied in Adventism aimed at. Superintendent William Bartlett rejoiced in the fact that many were converted and insisted on marrying Christian husbands only. He proudly declared already in 1930 that girls who had attended the schools at Kamagambo (Kenya), Suji, and Ntusu "look so superior with their clean appearance, and learn so many things, that the other girls demand permission to come, too."¹⁸⁸ Lucy Clarke happily answered the question, "Do girls' schools pay?," with a clear "Yes."¹⁸⁹

Apart from medical and educational work, Ntusu served as a centre for Adventist mission in all of Sukumaland. Most success was visible around the mission station. Four hundred members were counted in the late 1930s, and the Sukuma Christians themselves built a church that was dedicated in 1935.¹⁹⁰ There were several factors that helped the church attract individuals. (1) Dedicated African teachers raised companies and churches of ten to twenty and more members without help of the missionaries.¹⁹¹ (2) The Sukuma hardly persecuted persons who became Christians. (3) There were no significant initiation rituals that would have made conversion difficult for young people. (4) Chiefs and other leaders in society generally had a positive attitude towards the denomination's activities.¹⁹²

the distinction of being the child of a pre-war missionary to Pare, her only qualification was a high school certificate. So strong was the strain on Luise that she got a nervous breakdown in 1935, which removed her from school duties for half a year. See Drangmeister, *Als Lehrerin im afrikanischen Busch*, 2; Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 7, 21; and correspondence and reports on Ntusu Girls' School, TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 11–12, 31–34, 54–56.

¹⁸⁶ Lea Munyuku was the daughter of chief Reuben Shazia Munyuku of Suji. Tragically, she died of malaria at Ntusu.

¹⁸⁷ See figure 15 (p. 617). Drangmeister, *Als Lehrerin im afrikanischen Busch*, 2; correspondence and reports in TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 2–6, 71, 91–93, 93B.

¹⁸⁸ "Aus Briefen," AB 40, no. 12 (15 June 1934): 188; W.T. Bartlett, "Work Amongst the Girls in Africa," MW 35, no. 13 (27 June 1930): 3.

¹⁸⁹ Grace Clarke, "Do Girls' Schools Pay," MW 35, no. 13 (27 June 1930): 3.

¹⁹⁰ Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 66; see Figure 14.

¹⁹¹ "Missionarsbriefe aus Ostafrika," AB 42, no. 6 (15 March 1936): 92–93. As a result of such efforts, a baptism of forty-six was celebrated at one time in 1936.

¹⁹² Already in 1922, the chief of Ntusu, who was a Catholic, paid several friendly visits to the mission, and the relationship with chiefs continued to be positive in the

Yet for a large majority of the Sukuma, especially for men, conversion to Adventist Christianity was not an option in the 1930s and 1940s. They had various reasons for their rejection of the new religion. (1) Some laughed about the idea of a resurrection and said, “Who has ever seen a man who has risen from the dead?” (2) Many loved dancing, which was proscribed by Adventists. (3) Polygamy, which was also prohibited for Adventists, was a matter of great prestige. (4) For men, it was accepted to drink beer, while for women it was a taboo. Thus, it is not surprising that women were the majority of church members in that period.¹⁹³

The trend of a modest response to Adventist Christianity remained until the 1960s. Compared with the large number of Sukuma, the denomination’s impact remained rather limited.¹⁹⁴ With the one stable mission station among the Sukuma, a wider spread was almost impossible. While Utimbaru, Suji, and Majita and their respective areas were organized into administrative Fields with a membership between 3,300 and 3,800, West Lake Field, which comprised the Sukuma area, was started with little more than 2,100 members in 1961. At least at that early period, the emerging Adventist folk churches in the area were rather small although one factor in their growth was the lack of rivalry with other Christian missions. Adventism developed into an acceptable alternative to traditional life around Ntusu and to some extent at Mwangala, but the many demands of Adventism on its converts made adherence to this remnant type of Christianity an option that few would choose in earlier decades and in other areas of the vast Sukuma territory.

1930s and beyond. The chief’s daughter even attended the Ntusu Girls’ School in 1937; see L. Drangmeister, “Ein Brief aus Afrika,” HW 54, no. 7 (1937): 108–109; “Aus dem Tagebuch einer Missionarin in Ostafrika,” AB 42, no. 24 (15 December 1936): 379; W.T. Bartlett, “Among the Mwanza Missions,” MW 27, no. 10 (29 November 1922): 1–2; and interview Mashigan.

¹⁹³ Interview Kabale. On the phenomenon of religion in Sukumaland in general, especially the common tendency of rejecting Christianity, see Frans Wijzen and Ralph Tanner, *Seeking a Good Life: Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania, 1945–1995* (Nairobi: Paulines, 2000), and Ralph Tanner, “Christianity in Usukuma: Part I: Reasons for Rejecting Christianity,” *African Ecclesiastical Review* 10 (1968): 383–390. In this article, Tanner identifies the following as major reasons for rejecting Christianity: materialism, a life isolated from other families, strict church requirements, and the strong adherence to tradition.

¹⁹⁴ In 1978, the Mwanza region alone had 1.443 million inhabitants; see The United Republic of Tanzania, *1978 Population Census: Preliminary Report* (Dar es Salaam: Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, n.d.), 40.

Ikizu and Busegwe: Institutional Development and Missionary Failure

In 1940, the ten-year experiment with the girls' school was brought to an end at Ntusu, and the school was relocated to Ikizu. There were several reasons for this decision:¹⁹⁵ (1) It was difficult to get female teachers to stay at Ntusu permanently, for single women would eventually marry and then leave the school. (2) The health situation at Ntusu with lots of malaria and bilharzia was not attractive. (3) The accessibility of this school for girls from other ethnic groups where Adventist work was going on was not good.¹⁹⁶ (4) Ikizu appeared the ideal place for the girls' school because by 1940 it had already emerged as the centre of Adventist educational activities at Lake Victoria. Students could easily go beyond the level offered at Ntusu, and expenses were less when schools were combined. Yet once the move to Ikizu was over, the unique character as an institution for girls got gradually lost among the many other activities going on at this place.¹⁹⁷

It had required several steps for Ikizu to become the Adventist educational centre. After World War I, work at Ikizu had to start afresh: Roy Matthews opened a school in 1923, and by 1924, Ezekiel Kibwana, the leading Pare teacher at the period, was assigned to head the school.¹⁹⁸ Ikizu was also the headquarters of the then West Tanganyika Mission until 1933.¹⁹⁹ The decisive move toward making Ikizu the main Adventist educational institution happened in 1927, when a teacher training school with initially twenty-five students started under the leadership of Miss Millie Morgan with Ezekiel Kibwana as the assistant principal.²⁰⁰ The teaching staff during those early years included the

¹⁹⁵ Some of the reasons given here are listed in Elineema, *Historia*, 53.

¹⁹⁶ Ntusu was located at one extreme end of the Adventist field of operations at the lake, and although Jita girls, for instance, were heroic enough to walk 100 miles and to cross a steppe where they actually met lions, a location more close to other Adventist missions had definite infrastructural advantages. See "Application for Grants-in-Aid," TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 27-28; and Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 7-8.

¹⁹⁷ In 1954, the girls' school was closed by the government because of inadequate staff and overcrowding; see G.J.E. Coetzee, "Ikizu Training School," SADO 52, no. 19 (15 October 1954): 7.

¹⁹⁸ It was soon reported that he was "doing very creditable work at Ikizu"; see W. Cuthbert—S.G. Maxwell, 11 January 1926, SM 27. See also Mauya, "Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare."

¹⁹⁹ Since 1925, Ikizu had been the home of William Cuthbert, the superintendent of the Adventist work at the lake. See the *Yearbook* editions of the respective years. Before 1929, the area was called Mwanza Mission.

²⁰⁰ In 1929, the government made it a condition that from 1931 teachers had to

most outstanding workers from the lake region at that time: Ibrahim Lisso, Abrahamu Maradufu, Petro Mapigano, Petro Mwasi, Yohana Malili, and Filipo Kamba.²⁰¹ Moreover, the experience of the industrial school at Suji enabled the church to open a second school of this type at Ikizu in 1948.²⁰²

The preoccupation with educational activities at Ikizu hid the fact that very little church growth was achieved among the local population. In 1930, principal Andreas Sprogis could boast that the students in the teacher training course came from eleven of the thirteen ethnic groups in the region, with only the Ikoma and Isenye missing.²⁰³ Yet among the Ikizu, only minimal success was achieved, in spite of the fact that medical work was blossoming since the 1930s and some primary school work was going on throughout the decades between World War I and independence.²⁰⁴ Tanganyika Mission Field president F.H. Thomas rejoiced in 1946 that fourteen Ikizu were baptized in one year, but this was only so remarkable because the total number of Ikizu who had joined the church until then was twenty-six.²⁰⁵ The 1946 experience proved to be an exception, and among the more than 200 church members at Ikizu Mission in the 1940s and 1950s, the few Ikizu must have felt rather out of place. By independence, the area had brought forth only one congregation as opposed to fifteen at Majita and nine in

be certified, and in 1930, five succeeded in obtaining government certificates. See Elineema, *Historia*, 57–58.

²⁰¹ The teacher training school was upgraded somewhat slowly. In 1937, the entry requirements were five years of schooling; but in 1954, principal G.J.E. Coetzee was alarmed that the school had not yet succeeded in training a single teacher who was qualified to teach standards 7 and 8. See P. Werner, "Bericht vom Lehrerseminar Ikizu 1933–1937," AB 43, no. 24 (15 December 1937): 375–376; G.J.E. Coetzee, "Ikizu Training School," SADO 52, no. 19 (15 October 1954): 7.

²⁰² Elineema, *Historia*, 88. The industrial training was led by Jason Kadio, who taught tailoring, and Elifariji Kihara, who instructed carpenters-to-be; both came from Pare. Other lines taught at the Ikizu industrial school were printing and agriculture, but in the 1950s, the school drew fewer students and was closed in 1960. The comment of Paulo Bomani, the later government minister who attended Ikizu in that period, is interesting. He felt that it was the American missionary influence that led to establishing this course that taught "self-reliance and working with hands," different from the British, who had focused on academics. See interview Paulo Bomani, Dar es Salaam, 1 January 2001.

²⁰³ A. Sprogis, "Lehrerseminar Ikizu," AB 40, no. 6 (15 March 1934): 83–84.

²⁰⁴ In half of the year 1935, for instance, more than 3,000 treatments were given; see Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 81. Primary schools under Ikizu Mission Station were between two and four in the 1940s. See the respective *Yearbooks*.

²⁰⁵ F.H. Thomas, "Items from Tanganyika," *East African Mission News*, no. 13 (June 1946): 2–3, SM 75.

Sukumaland.²⁰⁶ When Philipp Werner called the place a “hard soil” in 1935, he expressed the sentiments of several generations of missionaries to the area. The denomination’s presence in the area was visible through its school and its colonial-style church building, but like the latter edifice, Adventism remained a foreign element.²⁰⁷

The main difference at Busegwe was that no major Adventist institution existed there and that the station was not staffed by missionaries in the 1930s when it was under Ikizu Mission. The well-established pre-war school network had been continued by teachers such as Daudi Iganana and Yohana Isamatwi under the leadership of Ernest B. Phillips, who arrived in 1922. Although almost all who had been Adventists before 1915 at Busegwe had severed their ties to the church,²⁰⁸ several schools were reopened after the war, but attendance did not grow significantly in subsequent years.²⁰⁹ As far as church growth is concerned, the development after 1920 was very similar to that at Ikizu; only fifty-eight members were counted at the mission in the early 1940s, and merely two organized churches existed in the area around Busegwe Mission in 1959.²¹⁰

The relationship of the church with the Zanaki as a group certainly left much to be desired. It is characteristic of this relationship that the Catholic author Benjamin Mkirya mentions Seventh-day Adventists only once in his book on the history and customs of the Zanaki and calls them “the Christians of Busegwe and Bumangi, who completely do not

²⁰⁶ More than a decade later, in 1959, there were still only 258 members, and most of them were persons from other regions connected to the training school. See “Statistical Report—Tanganyika Mission, 15 October 1959,” SM 43; Agenda [Baraza ya Upare], [23–26 March] 1942, SM 7.

²⁰⁷ Aus Briefen,” AB 41, no. 6 (15 March 1935): 95. Cf. figure 16 (p. 618).

²⁰⁸ Bartlett, “Die Leuchtfeuer,” 73.

²⁰⁹ E.B. Phillips—Political Officer, Musoma, Busegwe, 5 October 1922, TNA 215/10/2, no. 21b. At Butiama, the home village of Julius K. Nyerere, the later president, Adventists opened a school in 1938. See Rudolf M. Reinhard, “Begegnung mit einem afrikanischen Häuptling und seinem berühmten Sohn,” AB 63, no. 20 (15 October 1964): 313–314. Elineema, *Historia*, 70, talks about 25 schools opened during that period, but this is certainly a mistake, for there was no manpower available to teach at so many places, and he names only three of them: Bukiroba, Buruma, and Butiama. In the 1940s, between five and seven schools were operated under Busegwe Mission Station (see the *Yearbooks* of the respective years). A main reason for stagnation was that while Germans had forced parents to send their children to school, schooling was voluntary after the war, and most people did not agree with their children’s attendance any more.

²¹⁰ Agenda [Baraza ya Upare], [23–26 March] 1942, SM 7; “Statistical Report—Tanganyika Mission, 15 October 1959,” SM 43.

accept some customs.”²¹¹ This one instance reports a conflict between the people and the first Christian mission that worked among them over a sacred tree that had been unintentionally felled by Adventists.²¹² In view of the strained relation between Adventists and the Zanaki, it is not surprising that the Catholics, who arrived in the area only in 1957 and who did not demand any significant changes in the lives of their adherents, won many people soon.²¹³

Why did Adventists not make a similar impact on the Zanaki and the Ikizu as on the Pare, Jita, Sukuma, Kuria, or Luo? Probably several factors made these two groups resist the Adventist impact more than others did. One was the fact that both were particularly conservative and strongly adhered to cattle keeping, which was intrinsically connected with their polygamous lifestyle.²¹⁴ Another factor was probably that they were rather small ethnic groups,²¹⁵ which meant that the number of individuals interested in change was also relatively small; thus, a numerical breakthrough that would attract even more converts was difficult to achieve.

On the side of Adventists, their rigidity was surely another element that made the Zanaki and Ikizu resist. The Adventist type of Christianity was so far removed from the Zanaki and Ikizu tradition that compromises were almost impossible. Since two groups met that were both strict about their conflicting lifestyles, it was difficult for one to overcome the other. In the case of Ikizu, this was even furthered by the fact that the vast majority of church members at the mission were non-Ikizu. Although Adventists certainly did not wish to communicate that they were strangers among the Ikizu, this is the message that must have reached them through the prominence given by Adventists to

²¹¹ Benjamin Mkirya, *Historia, Mila, na Desturi za Wazanaki* (Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1991), 69. According to Mkirya, some Adventists were people whose “mind was completely out of order” (Swahili: “wameharibikiwa akili kabisa”).

²¹² Ibid. A very similar story dated 1946 is related by Elisha A. Okeyo, “God’s Hand in the Life of Pastor Elisha A. Okeyo,” TMs (photocopy), 2000, 3, and another similar story with a Mennonite evangelist in Hess, *The Pilgrimage of Faith*, 48.

²¹³ Interview Wandiba.

²¹⁴ E.B. Phillips, “Die Missionsstation in Busegwe,” AB 31, no. 8 (15 April 1925): 140–141. Phillips also mentions the prevalence of cattle-stealing as a hindrance to conversion. On the “cattle complex,” see the classic text by Melville Herskovits, “The Cattle Complex in East Africa,” *American Anthropologist* 28 (1926): 230–272, 361–388, 494–528, and 633–664.

²¹⁵ According to 1934 statistics, the Zanaki were 16,938 and the Ikizu 8,265; see Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future*, 102–103.

schooling non-Ikizu people in their midst.²¹⁶ Thus, Adventist Christianity remained a “cult” that the Ikizu and Zanaki deemed adequate for non-indigenous people, but not for themselves.

5.3 *Early Attempts at Missionary Outreach from Pare*

At Lake Victoria, the 1920s were a period when Adventists mainly tried to rebuild what had been destroyed by the war. In the eastern part of Tanzania, however, Adventists made several attempts at reaching beyond their territory during the same decade. The earliest of these endeavours took place in areas adjacent to the “Adventist territory,” i.e., other parts of Pare and Usambara,²¹⁷ but they were just the beginning of an even wider spread of evangelistic activities. In spite of the conflicts that the 1925–1926 expansion brought about, Adventist leaders apparently derived encouragement from it, for during the latter part of that decade and the 1930s, new missionary activities were begun in more distant territories: Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and Moshi. That these ventures did not simply stem from the mind of individual missionaries can be deduced from the fact that what had been called Pare Mission was renamed East Tanganyika Mission in 1929. The new name was to reflect the task of reaching out to all of the eastern part of the country as opposed to a rather local identity of the church as reflected in the previous name.

Pare, though, remained the critical part of the Mission, for it provided manpower for entering these new areas. That the Pare might be good workers in opening new areas was a thought that East Africa superintendent William T. Bartlett had already emphasized in 1921. He reasoned, “If we strengthen the work at this place properly, I believe we shall soon have able workers from Pare who will take the message to other parts of Central Africa.”²¹⁸ Soon a veritable stream of missionaries was flowing out of the Pare Mountains and into the new missions that were opened during these years in the country and beyond. Between 1913

²¹⁶ The lack of Adventist interest in work among the Zanaki and Ikizu is also visible in the fact that, different from the Pare and Jita cases, they did not make any attempt at translating parts of the Bible into their language. When the first translation of any part of the Bible, the Gospel according to Matthew, was published in Zanaki in 1948, Adventists had not contributed to this work; it had been a Mennonite project.

²¹⁷ On outreach to other parts of Pare and Usambara, see 5.1 and 5.3.

²¹⁸ Ernst Kotz, “Wie die andern unsre Paremission antrafen,” ABH 7, no. 6 (1921): 44.

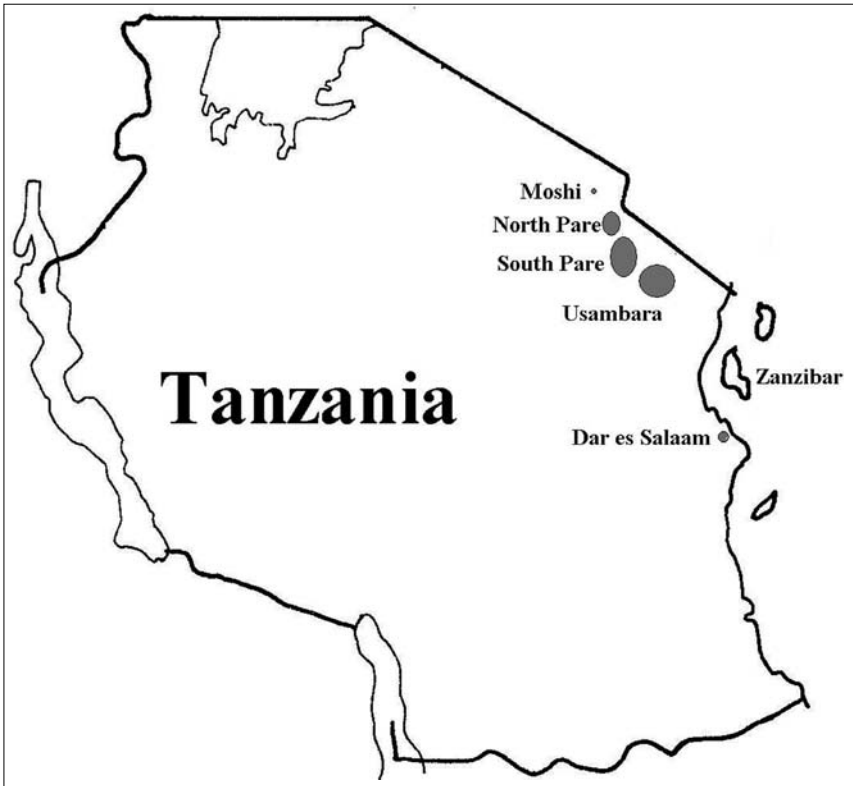


Figure 4. Activities in the East Tanganyika Mission, 1920s and 1930s

and 1953, thirty-three Pare missionary individuals or families went to places of work outside their home area.²¹⁹ The mission leaders knew well that African missionaries were a major factor in making a lasting impact among other Africans.

One main reason for reaching out beyond Pare was the eschatological conviction that Adventists were responsible to preach to all groups of people in Tanzania in view of the impending end of the world. Adventists believed they were “faced with the tremendous task of evangelizing all these thousands of people with the third angel’s message” and that outreach beyond Pare “will help us to finish the work rapidly.”²²⁰ A way

²¹⁹ Mauya, “Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare.” For names of these missionaries, see the sections below.

²²⁰ This was written by missionary A.F. Bull in the context of the Adventist outreach

had to be found between continuing to build a regional Pare church and engaging in the further geographical spread of the Adventist brand of Christianity. The future would show that the establishment of a folk church was the more successful model in numerical terms, but Adventists had to try the strategy of setting up little remnants everywhere because of their theological persuasions.

An additional motivation for the hurry to enter new fields was that other missionary societies were still entering the country and proceeded to areas that had not been claimed by any Christian mission yet. As early as 1929, Spencer Maxwell pressed for opening Adventist work in the Tabora area, which he considered to be “a Roman Catholic stronghold.”²²¹ Maxwell lamented that Catholics “recently occupied many new centres where we should have been preaching the message years ago,”²²² but in spite of more progress in the same Tabora plans,²²³ financial and personnel limitations finally rendered Maxwell’s vision futile. Theological persuasions and missionary zeal were not always matched by economic realities.

Still, Maxwell was all but a dreamer. His concern drew from practical experience in penetrating new regions. After directing the South Pare Mission from 1921 to 1925, i.e., until the time of the Adventist expansion into other areas of Pare, he had been instrumental in opening Adventist work in Uganda. Some of the most outstanding Tanzanian and Kenyan teacher-evangelists were sent to Uganda to establish an Adventist presence there, making the new mission a truly East African venture, with African missionaries hailing from both Tanzania and Kenya.²²⁴ From Pare, Petro Risase and his wife Naetwe pioneered the work in Uganda with Maxwell from 1927 and stayed there up to

to Usambara; see W.E. Read, “The Onward March of the Message in Pare, East Africa,” *MW* 31, no. 13 (2 July 1926): 5–6.

²²¹ Spencer G. Maxwell, “Wanted—Those Missing Links,” *AS* 2, no. 3 (March 1929): 11. Apparently Maxwell overlooked the Moravian presence in the Tabora area; see Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future*, 33.

²²² Spencer G. Maxwell, “The Papacy in Mission Lands,” *MW* 37, no. 19 (7 October 1932): 3.

²²³ Several openings for securing a property around Tabora had been found in 1931, and a Tabora station was voted in the same year; see G.A. Lindsay, “The Needs of Tanganyika,” *AS* 3, no. 7 (July 1931): 7–8; Minutes of the Northern European Division, 27 December 1931, and 11 March 1932, GCA.

²²⁴ In 1928, the East African Union passed the plan that additional African workers be sent to Uganda from different origins: Gendia 1, Kamagambo 1, Kisii 2, Pare 1, Majita 1. See Minutes of the EAU Mission Committee, February 1928, SM 4.

1935. Other Pare who joined the project in 1928 were Andrea Mburuja and his wife Miriamu as well as Abrahamu Msangi and his wife Raheli.²²⁵ From the Tanzanian side of Lake Victoria followed Abrahamu Maradufu and Benjamini Rudara in 1929.²²⁶ Uganda was a field altogether different from Kenya and Tanzania because Adventists hardly used schools as a missionary method; direct evangelism and literature were the main activities among the largely Christian population.²²⁷ While folk churches would slowly develop in Tanzania, Uganda represented a return to the remnant model. In their evangelistic zeal, East African Adventists did not mind working with both paradigms.

Usambara: Targeting the Neighbouring Mountains

Different from the Uganda mission, the missionary ventures in Usambara, the Muslim coast and in Moshi were conceived and staffed exclusively by Adventists in Pare. The outreach to Usambara resembled experiences in central and northern Pare in several respects. The year when operations began was 1925 when “spheres of influence” had just been abolished by the government, and the territory was claimed by Lutherans as well.²²⁸ In an initial attempt to take the Adventist message to Usambara, seven Adventist preachers were sent over in 1925 and 1926.²²⁹ Official work was first established at Mpangawe-Kimbo (Malindi), and the first baptism took place in 1927 with Daudi and Nathanieli Ikera, their wives, and Andrea Kahungo. Yet given the overwhelming influence of the Lutherans in the area, it was no surprise that Adventist activities in the Usambara area were viewed with resentment in the beginning. Yohana Makanta was once accused in court and imprisoned in the late 1920s for his evangelistic activities.²³⁰

²²⁵ Mauya, “Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare.” A tragedy befell the Msangi family in 1929: Abrahamu Msangi fell from his bicycle one day, and his many wounds did not heal. He soon died, and his wife and family had to return to Pare.

²²⁶ Elineema, *Historia*, 76. Abrahamu Maradufu worked in Kireka, Kampala, from 1929 to 1933; see interview Maradufu.

²²⁷ For more on Adventist history in Uganda, see “Uganda,” SDAE, 1338–1340.

²²⁸ On the Bethel Mission work in Usambara, see Gustav Menzel, *Die Bethel-Mission: Aus Hundert Jahren Missionsgeschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986).

²²⁹ A.F. Bull, “Progress in Pare, East Africa,” MW 31, no. 7 (9 April 1926): 6. Some apparently only went for exploratory trips, but several others stayed for longer periods: Yohana Makanta and his wife Nakizwa at Bumbuli, Zakaria Mnandi and his wife Tabea at Mwangoi until 1931, Yesaya Mashambo and his wife Lea at Bumbuli, as well as Hosea Lomba and his wife Rebekka at Bungu. Many others followed in later years. See Mauya, “Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare.”

²³⁰ SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania, 19; Elineema, *Historia*, 46–47.

A less obvious though most important similarity with Pare was that one part of Usambara was inhabited by Pare people. Naturally, the Adventist work in the area started with these Pare because they were the people whom the Adventist evangelists and teachers could reach most easily.²³¹ This seemingly auspicious situation had two consequences. One was that with regard to government relations and other churches, Adventist work proceeded relatively smoothly. When Adventists applied for a permanent school site at Maribwi-Tambwe ten years after their initial arrival,²³² the District Officer had no objection; he was satisfied that the “natives who wish to attend the Tambwe school are nearly all Wapare.” This meant that conflicts with other missions, which had focused their activities on the indigenous Sambia, were almost automatically excluded.²³³ The second consequence was that the Adventist work among the Pare of Usambara proceeded in a manner similar to the missionary activities in Pare itself. Yet Adventists were latecomers, and people had other options of adherence to a Christian church—the Lutheran, Anglican, and Catholic confessions. It was not easy to contend for souls with three serious competitors.²³⁴

An unplanned effect of the activities among the Pare of Usambara, however, was that the Sambia, the major group of inhabitants of the area, hardly responded to the Adventist message. In the 1930s, Adventist work was almost exclusively conducted among the Pare, and when evangelist Esikia Kirekero served in Usambara from 1945 to 1958, a few Sambia church members were only found at Tekwa, most of them

²³¹ Interview Kirekero.

²³² The school at Maribwi, which had been projected to teach one hundred students, did not work out ultimately because the people and the chief were not ready to build it. In those years, the church was to provide the teacher for a new school, but the people were to erect a structure. See W. Ludwig—Ihr Lieben in Suji, 10 October 1935, SM 33; W. Fenner—R. Reinhard, 26 January 1939, SM 35.

²³³ R.E. Seymour, District Officer—Provincial Commissioner, Tanga, 22 November 1935, TNA 304/651/66, no. 3. Interestingly, there is no mention of Adventists either as neighbours or as a threat in Gustav Menzel’s history of the Bethel Mission, *Die Bethel-Mission*, which may be interpreted as indifference and the absence of feelings of rivalry on the side of Lutherans in Usambara in later periods.

²³⁴ In the 1950s, the Adventist missionary Brian Ellingworth complained that “Catholics are trying to break down the hold the Lutherans have in the mountains and they are offering free education.” This setup endangered the very existence of Adventist schools in that period, and Ellingworth even feared that the whole Adventist presence in the area was at risk; see B. Ellingworth—E.G. Reid, 10 June 1955, SM 46; B.L. Ellingworth—E.G. Reid, 25 November 1955, SM 46. On the Anglican work around Korogwe, see George Herbert Wilson, *The History of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa* (Westminster: Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, 1936), 117, 140. This work aimed mainly at Zigua, but Sambia were also converted.

belonging to one extended family.²³⁵ The Seventh-day Adventist Church thus remained a foreign body. The very responsiveness of the Pare contributed to Sambaa resistance to the same type of Christianity. Yet even growth among the Pare was not very impressive. Thus, only five Adventist groups but no organized church were counted in Usambara in 1952, and there were five churches with only 335 members in 1978, fewer than Adventists among the Iraqw where work had started twenty years later.²³⁶ Missionary Arthur F. Bull had expressed confidence 1926 that “we shall shortly have a strong church in Usambara,”²³⁷ but what had started as an ambitious project to reach out to a new ethnic group remained an Adventist diaspora mission, a small geographical extension of the incipient folk church in South Pare.

Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar: Evangelistic Endeavours in Muslim Areas

The difficult beginnings in Usambara did not cause bewilderment to Adventists. Rather, there were regions further to the east that they also felt compelled to reach with their message. The fact that the Tanga area, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and the whole Muslim coast constituted a peculiar challenge because of their religious heritage was not unknown to the church leadership. Yet different from their pre-World War I predecessors, they did not shun the coast in exchange for easier inland activities. At an East African missionaries’ meeting in 1926, the need for special work among Muslims, Indians, and educated Africans was recognized, and literature was suggested as an appropriate method to reach them.²³⁸ Even the pan-European Division²³⁹ Foreign Missions Council, which was in charge of the Tanzanian work, noted in 1928 that too little had been done so far for the more than one hundred million Muslims in the Division territory in view of the impending “close

²³⁵ Interviews Tuvako and Kirekero.

²³⁶ Spencer G. Maxwell, “Missionen am Kilimandscharo,” AB 51, no. 23 (1 December 1952): 367; *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 19. Among the Iraqw, members counted 373 then; see *ibid.*, 30, 32.

²³⁷ Bull’s letter was quoted in W.E. Read, “The Onward March of the Message in Pare, East Africa,” MW 31, no. 13 (2 July 1926): 6.

²³⁸ W.T. Bartlett, “The East African Conference,” MW 31, no. 8 (23 April 1926): 1–2.

²³⁹ Later in the same year 1928, the European Division was split into the Southern, Central, and Northern European Divisions.

of probation.”²⁴⁰ It was an awareness of these “unwarned millions”²⁴¹ that prompted Adventist strategists to attempt missionary work in rather unpromising fields of evangelism. Furthermore, a few conversions of Muslims around the Pare Mountains must have given Adventists hope that at least small Adventist establishments might be planted in regions wholly dominated by Islam.²⁴²

The first attempt of reaching out to regions dominated by Islam was made in 1929. Four Pare literature evangelists, among them Paulo Saburi Kilonzo and Zakaria Sekidio, travelled to Zanzibar, where they distributed and sold “hundreds of books, tracts, and papers.” After a few days, three of the four evangelists were arrested by the authorities, but the fourth continued his work, and finally, the British consul gave them all official permission to sell their books.²⁴³

The public stir caused by the four colporteurs was considerable.²⁴⁴ A number of Muslims complained to the consul about the pictures of the prophet Mohammed and some other elements, mainly those dealing with Islam, in a book sold by the Adventists, *Mambo Makuu ya Leo*.²⁴⁵ Because these had caused great offence to them, they asked the government both to trace the copies that had been sold and to stop the importation of more books of the same type. In a similar vein, an article in the newspaper *Zanzibar Samachar* asserted that the publication had “wounded the feelings of the Muslims.” Therefore, Muslim religious leaders demanded that this publication be forbidden and that the writer be punished according to Islamic law.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ “Resolutions and Expressions from the Foreign Missions Council,” RED 14, no. 2 (1928): 21.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² One such a case was Justin Asmani of Mkomazi in the Pare district, who had searched his way into Adventist Christianity almost by himself in 1927. In a 1929 evangelistic effort in Pare, Bull noted that two prominent Muslims declared that they wanted to follow Christ. See A.F. Bull, “A Brand Plucked from Islam,” RH 104 (17 March 1927): 11–12, and A.F. Bull, “Evangelizing in Pare, East Africa,” RH 106 (20 June 1929): 17–18.

²⁴³ A.F. Bull, “The Message Enters the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba,” AS 2, no. 2 (February 1930): 5–6; G.A. Lindsay, “The Needs of Tanganyika,” AS 3, no. 7 (July 1931): 7; and interview Kirekero. Cf. figure 17 (p. 618).

²⁴⁴ On this paragraph and the following, see also the correspondence in the second half of the file TNA 11333, no. 25–45.

²⁴⁵ Arthur S. Maxwell, *Mambo Makuu ya Leo* (Watford: Stanborough, 1927) [Translation of Arthur S. Maxwell, *Great Issues of the Age: Has Christ a Solution?* (Watford: Stanborough, 1927)].

²⁴⁶ A copy of the text of this article, “Reverend Gentlemen & Islam,” *Zanzibar Samachar*, 10 November 1929, was found in SM 27. The same article is also mentioned (but

The government of Zanzibar immediately reacted by requesting the Tanganyika government to prevent any further copies being sent to Zanzibar. The response from Dar es Salaam, though, was surprisingly firm. They retorted that there was nothing in the book that was to be deemed offensive and defended some of its criticized content as being not essentially different from the content of New Testament, the Anglican Prayer Book, and what was “taught daily in Zanzibar . . . by the Missions.”²⁴⁷ Since the publication could therefore not be considered to be “subversive of peace and good order,” the government was neither willing to suppress it nor to take any other action.²⁴⁸ The other side of the story is that apparently certain individuals found the book attractive, not a blasphemy as the religious establishment did. During the weeks that followed the Zanzibar experiment, missionary Bull rejoiced that “each mail brings letters from Zanzibar inquiring about the truth.”²⁴⁹ Still, lasting results in terms of conversions did not occur.

Different from the attempts on Zanzibar, reaching out to Dar es Salaam was more than an episode of a few weeks. Certainly the coast did resemble the island in that only a tiny minority was Protestant in the then Eastern Province in the early 1930s.²⁵⁰ The vast majority of the people on the coast already professed Islam. This, however, did not deter Adventists from earnestly attempting to establish their presence in the country’s capital in 1930.²⁵¹ The actual work at Dar es Salaam

not rendered in full text) in TNA 11333, no. 42. For complaints see The Comorian Association, Zanzibar, untitled document with a list of statements that they found offensive, TNA 11333, no. 26, and Chief Secretary to the Government, Zanzibar—Chief Secretary, Tanganyika Territory, 20 November 1929, TNA 11333, no. 25.

²⁴⁷ Isherwood, Ag. Director of Education—Chief Secretary Dar es Salaam, 23 January 1930, TNA 11333, no. 29–30a.

²⁴⁸ D.J. Jardine, Chief Secretary to the Government—Chief Secretary, Zanzibar, TNA 11333, no. 35–36.

²⁴⁹ A.F. Bull, “The Message Enters the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba,” AS 2, no. 2 (February 1930): 5–6.

²⁵⁰ Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future*, 87. The Eastern Province comprised the Muslim area around Dar es Salaam and the Morogoro and Kilosa regions. In the early 1930s, only 0.2% of the population were Protestants.

²⁵¹ Adventist literature evangelists even worked at Tanga and Morogoro around the same time, but their work there did not last very long. Zakaria Sekidio and a companion were discovered in Tanga district selling *Mambo Makuu ya Leo* and its English original, *Great Issues of the Age*, without proper licence, and had to return; see District Officer Tanga—Priest-in-Charge, Seventh-Day Adventists [*sic*] Mission, Pare District, 7 March 1930, SM 27. Stefano Isae, who worked at Morogoro, was shifted to Dar es Salaam in early 1931; see East Tanganyika Mission Committee Minutes, 26 March 1931, SM 4.

took only two years, from 1930 to 1932. Esikia Wandea Kirekero and Paulo Kilonzo built a house at Kinondoni and sold the books *Baada ya Kufa ni Nini?*²⁵² and the one that had caused so much stir on Zanzibar, *Mambo Makuu ya Leo*. The market, though, must have been saturated quickly,²⁵³ for after successful sales in the beginning of 1930, financial difficulties plagued Kirekero and Stefano Isae, who had come over from a similar but fruitless Morogoro project in 1932.²⁵⁴

Moreover, the undertaking was to be counted a near failure in terms of religious conversions. During two and a half years of going house to house, only one convert was made, Jim Mankokwe, who ultimately returned to his native Malawi.²⁵⁵ Thus, the major objective of this evangelistic project, to start a viable group of believers in the country's capital, was not achieved. The indigenous population was unresponsive, and too few receptive non-natives resided in what was at that time still a little town. Besides, the majority of Africans were labourers and must have had a hard time deliberating to worship on Saturdays given the nature of their work.²⁵⁶ It would take more than a generation for the Adventist church to find its way back to Dar es Salaam.

Was there, then, any significance in the Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar experiences? In spite of the fact that these episodes remained without measurable consequences, they reveal three facts: (1) Because of their convictions regarding the urgency of their distinctive message, Adventists

²⁵² The title means: "What is [= comes] after Dying?" (Gendia: Advent Press, n.d. [ca. 1930]).

²⁵³ Bull reports that a thousand *Mambo Makuu* were sold in Dar es Salaam already in early 1930, which is an amazingly high figure but if it is true (which is possible given the fact that there were not many other books available), it certainly means that not many more could be sold later. See A.F. Bull, "The Message Enters the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba," AS 2, no. 2 (February 1930): 5–6. Kilonzo remembers that sometimes he alone sold hundreds of books and magazines in a very short time; see Paulo Saburi Kilonzo, "My Life and Work," TMs, n.d.

²⁵⁴ While Kilonzo stayed only for one year and then returned to Pare because of his wife being sick, Esikia Kirekero was returned to Pare in mid-1932, and Stefano Isae was given but a small allowance as it was assumed that he could sell books and do some gardening; see East Tanganyika Mission Committee Minutes, 6–7 July 1932, SM 4; and *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 34.

²⁵⁵ Kilonzo, "My Life and Work." In *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 34, it is stated that Mankokwe opened Adventist work in Zomba, his hometown; this, however, seems not to be correct, as there are records that imply the beginning of Adventist work in Zomba in 1926; see Daniel Harawa, "Soul-Winning in Unentered Territories," TADO 63, no. 7 (15 July 1965): 8.

²⁵⁶ Dar es Salaam had about 34,300 inhabitants in 1931; see Richard H. Sabot, *Economic Development and Urban Migration: Tanzania, 1900–1971* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 17.

were ready to experiment with evangelistic activities among a variety of groups. (2) As in their first Tanzanian encounters with Islam before World War I, a spirit of conflict prevailed that was certainly equally strong on the side of Muslims. (3) Significant attempts at contextualizing the Adventist message for Muslims were not made. In a Muslim environment, the Adventist identity as a Christian remnant presented an almost insurmountable challenge to missionary activity.

Moshi: Another Attempt at Establishing the Church in a Town

In spite of the failures at Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, the missionary leaders of the Adventist church in Pare soon tried to establish their faith in another town; after all, Adventism was a movement with a significant urban constituency in Europe. After a first attempt in 1932 to sell literature in the area of Moshi,²⁵⁷ the town located closest to Pare except the strongly Muslim Tanga, an exploratory trip by Paulo Kilonzo followed in 1935. Kilonzo's report was rather discouraging.²⁵⁸ He observed that in town almost all the people called themselves adherents of some religion but drank alcohol or practised adultery. Targeting the villages where the Chagga lived did not make much sense to him as well considering the fact that Lutherans and Catholics had taken firm hold of all areas. Furthermore, he felt that it was difficult to attract the Chagga to the Adventist style of Christianity because they feared sorcery very much, and apparently they did not like receiving visitors, loved unclean meat, blood, and alcohol, all of which was unacceptable for Adventists.

Kilonzo's main concern was evidently to warn that work in this area might become another loss like the Dar es Salaam project. He did explore even Machame and Marangu and admitted that some Adventists lived at Arusha Chini near Moshi, but altogether it is clear from his remarks that he did not see much light for a mission at Moshi. Hence, his suggestion to enter Moshi either "with all might" or "secretly like a snake," might be interpreted as a polite way to express his doubts concerning the viability of any work there.

Paulo Kilonzo was the most respected African leader among the Pare Adventists, and apparently his message reached its goal, for it took

²⁵⁷ Yohana Mseli worked there for three months; see East Tanganyika Mission Committee, 6–7 July 1932, SM 4.

²⁵⁸ Paulo S. Kilonzo—A. Sprogis, 30 June 1935, SM 33.

another three years for Moshi to appear in the mission correspondence again. This time, it was an initiative “from below.” Petro Mlungwana, a retired teacher, settled at Himo near Moshi, operated a school,²⁵⁹ and soon reported three Kikuyu and four Kamba interested in the Adventist faith.²⁶⁰ The fact that these Kenyans felt attracted to Adventism did not imply that a door had opened for work among the Chagga, but it was taken as an opportunity to conduct evangelistic meetings at Himo and Moshi in 1938 and 1939, respectively. However, they apparently did not produce any notable results.²⁶¹

The 1940s did not bring much change in this picture, except that evangelists were stationed around Moshi intermittently. The number of church members remained relatively stable, except at Arusha Chini, where fast growth occurred in 1947.²⁶² Added to the problem of discontinuity was the fact that the last evangelist to serve there, Adriano Kileng’a, seems to have been overly preoccupied with disciplining members.²⁶³ Another reason for the little impact Adventists made was that it was easy for Pare to reach their fellow Pare, even a few Lutherans, but quite difficult to convert others.²⁶⁴ Too much did the Chagga look down upon their shorter Pare neighbours that any native of the Moshi area would have accepted the Adventist message at such an early period of history.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ This school apparently did not last long, for nothing is found about it any more in the sources of the 1940s.

²⁶⁰ W. Ludwig—A. Sprogis, 7 April 1938, SM 34; W. Ludwig—A. Sprogis, 9 August 1938, SM 34; and W. Fenner—R. Reinhard, 12 March 1939, SM 35.

²⁶¹ W. Ludwig—Watendakazi Wote, 9 June 1938, SM 12; W. Fenner—Watendakazi Wote, 22 June 1939, SM 12; and W. Fenner—W.H. Anderson, 30 May 1939, SM 35.

²⁶² Evangelist Yohana Lukwaro led twelve persons to baptism there; see interview Yohana Lukwaro, Morogoro, 3 December 2000. Apart from Arusha Chini, approximately twenty members were counted in 1943, while in 1948, members were eighteen; see [K.G. Webster]—G. Pearson, 13 April 1943, SM 15, and Adriano Kileng’a—F.B. Wells, 3 December 1948, SM 51.

²⁶³ Kileng’a stated that he was not ready to take the Lord’s Supper with people who cook *ugali* on the Sabbath or who plait their hair; see A. Kileng’a—F.B. Wells, 1 May 1948, SM 38; Adriano Kileng’a—Bwana Mmisheni, 18 August 1947, SM 39. Church leaders were not satisfied with Kileng’a’s service, most probably because no real growth occurred during his period; see Baraza la Upare Minutes, 27 June 1949, SM 1; “Safari ya Moshi, Himo, Ugweni,” 1946/47, SM 69.

²⁶⁴ Two Pare from Vudee, which was Lutheran-dominated territory, were baptized in this period; see “Safari ya Moshi,” 1946/47, SM 69. Even all of the twelve who were converted at Arusha Chini were Pare; see interview Lukwaro.

²⁶⁵ Missionaries knew this as well. Sidney Beardsell reasoned about the Adventist presence among the Pare in 1933: “When one thinks of the other and far more important

After an experiment of little more than a decade, the work at Moshi was left unattended again in 1949.²⁶⁶ The activities did not compare favourably with the strong growth that was going on in the Pare Mountains at the same period, and presumably workers were needed where the opportunities justified their presence. What Paulo Kilonzo had already formulated in 1935, that both the Muslims in the town and the Chagga in the area around were hardly receptive, was true. As in the case of Dar es Salaam, it had become evident that the time for the remnant mode of advertising the Adventist faith among other Tanzanian Christians had not yet come.

5.4 *Ventures in New Fields: Mbeya, Heri, and Iraqw*

Entering the South: Mbeya Station

While attempts at reaching the young towns in the eastern part of Tanzania were not particularly successful, the Adventist leadership on the national level did feel the need for a presence in additional rural areas. In the 1930s and especially in the 1940s, several plans were laid to open missions far away from the areas of Adventist establishment. However, some of these projects such as the Tabora plans and endeavours at Kondoa-Irangi did not succeed.²⁶⁷ Likewise, earlier plans by Spencer Maxwell to enter the southern part of the country took years to be implemented in some way.²⁶⁸

and big tribes, one would wish sometimes that the gospel would have been taken to them first instead of this lowly tribe." This was certainly overstated, for the Pare emerged as one of the progressive groups in the decades to come. Yet the truth remained that the Pare were hardly able to impress their immediate neighbours. See Sidney W. Beardsell, "Von unsrer Missionsstation Suji," AB 39, no. 12 (15 June 1933): 183.

²⁶⁶ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 27 June 1949, SM 1.

²⁶⁷ See the introduction to 5.3 and TMF Minutes, 25 July 1944, SM 5; H. Robson—K.G. Webster, 31 March 1944, SM 15; K.G. Webster—Washirika wote wa Pare na Usambara, 24 March 1944, File 4468, GCA; and interview Filippo Gara, Daudi (Mbulu), 5 August 2002.

²⁶⁸ Maxwell had proposed to reach out to the Fipa or to start a mission at Tukuyu among the Nyakyusa; see Spencer G. Maxwell, "Wanted—Those Missing Links," AS 2, no. 3 (March 1929): 11. However, it must have been known to other Adventist leaders in the 1930s that the Fipa had come to be so much dominated by Catholicism that it was not easy for any other denomination to reach out to them at that time. In fact, already in the 1920s, 75% of the Fipa had been baptized as Catholics; see Bengt Sundkler, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 865.



Figure 5. Reaching Out to New Rural Areas in the 1930s and 1940s: Mbeya, Heri, Iraqw

Yet church leaders did agree on the need for expansion; therefore, the Adventist Mission Society in Europe approved the acquisition of a plot in the south of the country in 1933.²⁶⁹ When George A. Ellingworth, the Field superintendent,²⁷⁰ made a first exploratory trip to the south, he found several interesting plots, four among the Hehe of Iringa as well as three in the Mbeya area. Ellingworth realized that the Hehe, Bena, and Kinga, as well as the Nyakyusa were cared for by some other

²⁶⁹ Minutes of the Advent-Missionsgesellschaft, 7 March 1933, Box Advent-Missionsgesellschaft Sitzungsberichte, AAE.

²⁷⁰ Ellingworth had come to Tanzania from Malawi, where he had headed the Matandani and Malamulo missions; see Matemba, *Matandani*, 51–62.

Christian mission.²⁷¹ Yet he thought that no missionary society worked among the Safwa and therefore decided that this was the right area for Adventists. Like the pre-World War I church leaders, he did not actively seek conflicts with other mission societies and knew about the advantage of what Conradi had called “virgin territory.”²⁷²

Shortly after his journey, in December 1933, a lease for a plot in Usafwa was granted by the government under the condition that it was to be effectively occupied. This, however, was not done, probably because of the financial strains of the period, and four years later, the district administration threatened to revoke the right of occupancy.²⁷³ Whether this was the major reason for Mbeya Mission to be finally opened in 1938 is not clear. What the records show, though, is that no great enthusiasm was invested into this new project, for the missionaries who ultimately founded the station, Rudolf and Lydia Reider, were sent there to a kind of exile after conflicts with the mission administration.²⁷⁴

It was in this somewhat odd situation that the Reiders laid the foundation for the first lasting Adventist establishment in an altogether new Tanzanian region after World War I. The population in the small town from which the mission was only two kilometres away was probably as little receptive as the people of Moshi and Dar es Salaam; thus, Reider immediately designed a comprehensive strategy for the rural areas around the mission. Due to his linguistic talent, he began to learn the language of the people in the area, the Safwa, without delay, as he had done at Majita.²⁷⁵ At the same time, he recognized the fact that there were three ethnic groups around him, the Nyakyusa and

²⁷¹ On earlier Protestant missionary work in this region of Tanzania, see Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971); Julius Richter, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1824–1924* (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1924), 632–694; and Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 49–73; 136–163.

²⁷² F.A. [*sic*] Ellingworth, “Eine Fahrt durch Süd-Tanganjika auf der Ausschau nach einem geeigneten Platz für eine neue Missionsstation,” AB 40, no. 12 (15 June 1934): 180 [his correct initials are G.A.]. Ellingworth was not completely right, for Moravians conducted some activities among the Safwa even at that time; see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 162. On the “virgin territory” principle, see 4.1.

²⁷³ TNA 77/17/39, no. 1–9.

²⁷⁴ After a conflict with Ellingworth, they were not supposed to return to Africa. When they did come back after special intervention by leaders in Germany, they were not allowed to continue their service at Majita Mission. See 5.2.

²⁷⁵ “Missionare schreiben,” AB 45, no. 12 (15 June 1939): 178.

the Sangu apart from the Safwa, and therefore decided to build one school for each group. Attendance at these schools soon rose to fifty, thirty, and thirty, respectively. Reider's goal was to penetrate all three groups, although he believed that the Sangu were the most promising.²⁷⁶ This judgement was probably caused by the strong Moravian influence among the Nyakyusa and by the fact that the Safwa resisted the Adventist presence to the extent of threatening that they were going to withdraw completely from the area.²⁷⁷

Reider's activities did not have any great effect, for the war broke out before he was able to baptize any individual or establish some degree of permanence. Teachers from Majita and Ikizu, Lukius Mkobe and Petro Mwasi,²⁷⁸ were also present, but Reider's departure in 1939 created a real vacuum. His successor, Paulo Kilonzo, first refused to serve at Mbeya and then only arrived in 1940 when Reider had already been away for about one year.²⁷⁹ Of course the war years brought a lot of disruption to Adventist work in all of Tanzania. Yet the fact that three White missionaries headed Mbeya Mission in quick succession during the short period from 1941 to 1942 shows that it remained a stepchild of the church's administration in those early years.²⁸⁰ Naturally, none of these short-term directors was able to develop any significant plans for Mbeya. At least the African missionaries embodied some continuity; as in the Uganda project a decade earlier, they were a truly multicultural team.²⁸¹

When missionaries Oliver and Fredonia Jacques arrived in 1946, they gave the station the new impulse that was needed after another two years without a mission director. The Jacques' main achievement was

²⁷⁶ Rudolf Reider, "Aufbauarbeit im Südhochland von Deutsch-Ostafrika," AB 46, no. 16 (15 August 1940): 123, Rudolf Reider, "Wir bauen eine neue Station," AB 45, no. 18 (15 September 1939): 277-278.

²⁷⁷ Reider, "Wir bauen eine neue Station," 276-277.

²⁷⁸ Rudolf Reider, "Wiedersehen in Afrika," AB 62, no. 22 (15 November 1963): 346; Elineema, *Historia*, 63.

²⁷⁹ Rudolf Reider, "Wiedersehen mit Mbeya," AB 64, no. 24 (15 December 1965): 463; R. Reinhard—W. Fenner, 17 January 1939, SM 35; Mauya, "Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare."

²⁸⁰ They were Donald Short, Andreas Sprogis, and W. Marais.

²⁸¹ On Uganda, see the introductory part of 5.3. At Mbeya, William Mntindi and Abduel Nzota Mlemba, two Pare, joined in 1939, and Onesmo Lambo and Zakaria Mhuri, two Sukuma, as well as Raphael Odunga, a Luo, in 1942-1943. In the 1950s, several other Pare and Jita served around Mbeya. See Elineema, *Historia*, 63-64; [W. Fenner]—R. Reider, 10 March 1939, SM 35; Oliver Jacques, *Birth of a Mission* (Brushton: TEACH, 2006), 4; and Mauya, "Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare."

to establish a school at Masoko, one of the few areas where Adventists would grow to a small folk church. Mr Oldacre, the Provincial Commissioner, had challenged Jacques to do so in this “a hostile, impenetrable region,” where the inhabitants were much opposed to colonial rule since Germans had killed several thousand Nyakyusa of the area during World War I. What seemed difficult to initiate then turned out to be an easy thing: against all expectations, the influential chief Mwakatumburu²⁸² swiftly agreed to Jacques’ plans of building a school at Lupando, and the building process started immediately. However, Mwakatumburu changed his view soon and he objected to the project for a whole year.²⁸³ What followed was a struggle between the people, who wanted the school, their chief, who opposed it, and the mission. Eventually, school construction continued, for it served the local people to assert their own aspirations against the will of their chief and his supporters among the elders.²⁸⁴

An important aspect of the ultimate establishment at Masoko was that from the beginning an important local person was involved in the process: Tito William Mwakibinga. Mwakibinga had worked as a policeman before and had converted to Adventism while monitoring evangelistic meetings conducted by the denomination. He had strongly advocated Adventist work to be started at Masoko and offered the plot for the school building. Although Mwakibinga was trained as an evangelist in Uganda, he preferred returning to his native Masoko as an unpaid lay evangelist rather than being employed by the church and being sent to other areas. His enthusiasm for house to house visitation and preaching at social gatherings such as funeral assemblies made a lasting impression on his people.²⁸⁵

²⁸² Jacques, *Birth of a Mission*, mistakenly spells “Mwakatumbula.”

²⁸³ District Commissioner Tukuyu—PC Southern Highlands Province, Mbeya, 20 August 1948, TNA 77/17/39. Mwakatumburu went to the extent of demanding from the Tukuyu District Commissioner, Mr Kingdon, that the buildings that had already been built be removed.

²⁸⁴ Jacques, *Birth of a Mission*, passim; Oliver Jacques and Fredonia Jacques, *Africa Called Us*, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1952, 170 and 183–187; and Oliver Jacques to the author, 2 May 2002. Pastor Jacques is a great-grandson of Ellen G. White. Jacques thought that Mwakatumburu had come to resent the fact that he had rejected the chief’s request to build the mission right at his village, Londoni, which he had done to remove the church’s activities from the chief’s direct influence. Yet the problem had apparently been Mwakatumburu’s fear that the Whites were going to take away his source of income—gold from a nearby river, which was illegally sold to Indians.

²⁸⁵ *Jubilee 1938–1988: West Tanzania Field* ([Mbeya: West Tanzania Field of Seventh-day Adventists], 1988), 18; interview Mwambogela. Actual numerical growth was rather

Apart from Masoko, Adventist gained some prominence in four other areas: Mwakaleli,²⁸⁶ also situated in the Tukuyu area, Tenende near Kyela, Izumbwe near Mbeya, and Iganzo near Mbeya town, where the head mission was located. There was an unforeseen aspect of this development: the first three of these locations were in the middle of Nyakyusa areas. Moreover, even at Iganzo, which was Safwa territory, almost exclusively Nyakyusa joined the church, not the Safwa, who had originally been thought of as a major reason for Adventist work in the south, or the Sangu, whom Reider had deemed so promising.²⁸⁷ The Safwa remained almost completely resistant to Adventist attempts of evangelization.²⁸⁸ In spite of earlier Moravian activities among them,²⁸⁹ very few accepted Christianity, and although they had lived around the whole Mbeya area, they retreated to the mountains when Europeans came to settle in the neighbourhood. Thus, Nyakyusa took possession of part of the former Safwa territory.²⁹⁰ Other denominations did not do any significant work among the Safwa as well because it was felt that they did not respond positively.

One of the few early Safwa Adventists was Madege Gideon Kalambile, who converted in 1949 and was baptized in 1951. His family chased him away immediately, and he had to live with missionaries Gert and Elena van Niekerk. Kalambile soon became an evangelist among his people²⁹¹ and later worked as a pastor but lost his ministerial credentials

slow in the beginning. When Abduel Tuvako started to work at Masoko in 1956, he served five church members and sixteen Sabbath School members apart from the two teachers. In 1958, however, a breakthrough happened: membership reached forty, and many more were flocking to the baptismal classes. See interview Tuvako.

²⁸⁶ There was also a Berlin Mission station at Mwakaleli; see Richter, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft*, 641–642.

²⁸⁷ Some Sangu did attend an Adventist school at Lwiwa, where Onesmo Lambo taught, but no convert was ever made, and apparently the school was discontinued in the 1950s; see interview Mwambogela.

²⁸⁸ There was a strong conflict between the Adventist mission and the Safwa very early because they used to pass through the mission compound with their cattle, and the church leaders closed the way. The problem was resolved by constructing another way around the mission campus, but this episode shows that relations were not very warm. See interview Madege G. Kalambile, Dar es Salaam, 21 August 2000.

²⁸⁹ On the Safwa in general, see J.S. Mwakipesile, *Mila na Desturi za Wasangu, Wasafwa na Wasagara* (Dar es Salaam: Idara ya Utafiti na Mipango, Wizara ya Utamaduni wa Taifa na Vijana, n.d.), and Elise Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa: Ein Ostafrikanischer Volksstamm in seinem Leben und Denken* (Berlin: Reimer, 1926), vol. 1, *Das Leben der Safwa*; vol. 2, *Geistiger Besitz*. The latter is the most impressive work on the Safwa to date. On Moravian work among the Safwa from the time before 1900, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, 1–4.

²⁹⁰ Rudolf Reider, “Wir bauen eine neue Station,” AB 45, no. 18 (15 September 1939): 276–277.

²⁹¹ Rudolf Reider, “Wiedersehen mit Mbeya (II),” AB 65, no. 1 (1 January 1966): 12.

for irregular family matters. In this, he followed a trend among several of the few young Safwa who had become Adventists in the earlier years: some became polygamists or started to use alcohol and were thus lost to the church.²⁹² Kalambile praises the Adventist Church for the provision of health services among the Safwa since the early 1960s²⁹³ and for having tried many ways of reaching the Safwa, such as singing evangelism, giving them gifts, staying with them for some time, preaching, and making friendship. Yet in terms of conversions these activities bore very little fruit.²⁹⁴

Some Safwa, especially women, did attend worship even in the early years, but the gap between the Safwa as a whole and the strict type of Christianity embodied by Adventists could hardly have been greater. Jacques discouragely called them “one of the wildest, most uncivilized tribes in the country.”²⁹⁵ The Safwa, on the other hand, rejected Adventism for several reasons: (1) the strongly polygamous family patterns among the Safwa, (2) their habit of using alcohol (even children were given alcohol at times), (3) general conservatism, (4) a marked emphasis on ancestor veneration, and (5) fear of involvement with non-Safwa.²⁹⁶ The evidence of this clash between Safwa identity and Adventist Christianity is that it took up to 1965 for Safwa Adventists to increase from four to eight while Nyakyusa members already numbered 250 at that time.²⁹⁷ Even later years did not bring any real Adventist breakthrough among the Safwa; until 1982, merely two families, the Kalambile and Philip Siwanja families, were Adventists.²⁹⁸ Only in the 1990s has there been some modest church growth in a few areas.²⁹⁹

²⁹² Interview Kalambile. It is to be noted that he stated himself that he committed adultery.

²⁹³ See also M.H. Schaffner, “Opening of New Mbeya Dispensary,” TADO 62, no. 8 (15 August 1964): 8.

²⁹⁴ Interview Kalambile; Enos Mwakalindile, “History of Adventist Mission in Mbeya and Sumbawanga Regions, 1938–1982,” term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 2001, 2.

²⁹⁵ Jacques and Jacques, *Africa Called Us*, 46.

²⁹⁶ Interview Philipp Siwanja, Mbeya, 27 May 2000. Siwanja is one of the very few early Safwa Adventists.

²⁹⁷ Rudolf Reider, “Wiedersehen mit Mbeya (III),” AB 65, no. 2 (15 January 1966): 33.

²⁹⁸ Mwakalindile, “History of Adventist Mission,” 2.

²⁹⁹ In recent years, the Kinga have been doing considerable trade with the Safwa, and as a result of this interaction with outsiders, some (mainly young) Safwa have become more progressive than previous generations. This facilitated conversions to Christianity as well, and mainly young Safwa are in the church today. Still, there are only two churches that have many Safwa, the Idimi and Iziwa congregations. See interview Siwanja.

The trend of Adventist work among the Nyakyusa shows both similarities and differences with the experiences among the Safwa. One similarity was that in the early period most Adventist work took place among illiterate non-Christians, who often rejected this version of Christianity because of its strictness in matters of polygamy, drinking, and adornment.³⁰⁰ Even school work was not particularly successful in terms of conversions.³⁰¹ Furthermore, it was a common thing that converts in the 1950s and 1960s were chased away by their families or encountered problems with Sabbath keeping and were then taken care of by missionaries and by fellow church members.³⁰² Whether this stony road to Adventist Christianity was a disadvantage or a sign of strength certainly depends on the perspective of the observer,³⁰³ but certainly it did ensure that Adventism's remnant identity remained strong in the first generation.

One element of conflict with society was that in some areas where Adventists entered, Moravians and to some extent Lutherans had arrived before. Both groups were therefore better known and felt threatened by the existence of a new church.³⁰⁴ Conflicts were especially heated at Izumbwe, where Moravian parents forbade their children to attend the Adventist school pioneered by Yakobo Mgeni.³⁰⁵ Their fears of losing members were not unfounded: a few of the earliest Adventists had been Moravians before.³⁰⁶ At Masoko, however, almost all students and converts were non-Christians, and even the first individuals to be baptized at Mbeya Mission in 1944, Jorati Mwakigolile, George Mwan-gosi, and at a later date that year Yakobo Kisiwa and his wife Mariam, came from a non-Christian background.³⁰⁷ Again Adventists did not

³⁰⁰ Interviews Mwambogela and Tuvako.

³⁰¹ Interviews Samson Josephson, Mbeya, 19 May 2000, Ambonisye W.K. Kajula, Dar es Salaam, 20 August 2000, and Siwanja.

³⁰² Interview Mwambogela.

³⁰³ Oliver Jacques, for instance, consciously pursued a strict course of action holding that it helped avoiding the creation of a class of "rice Christians," i.e., individuals who mainly converted for ulterior reasons. See Jacques, *Birth of a Mission*, 76.

³⁰⁴ Interview Siwanja. An exception was missionary Jacques who felt that he enjoyed excellent relations with other missions. He relates that his family went on vacation with a Lutheran missionary colleague once, which was not an obvious thing to do for an Adventist pastor at that time. See Oliver Jacques to the author, 2 May 2002.

³⁰⁵ Mwakalindile, "History of Adventist Mission," 4; Elineema, *Historia*, 64.

³⁰⁶ One such person was Numkete Kajigili, who had been a Moravian deacon before; see Jacques and Jacques, *Africa Called Us*, 147.

³⁰⁷ Interview Tuvako; telephone interview Joshua Kajula, 1 November 2003; and Elineema, *Historia*, 64.

care much where someone came from but where he or she headed to; the “Remnant Church” was open for anybody to join.

How can the Adventist work in the south of Tanzania be evaluated? As far as statistical growth is concerned, steady progress in the third and fourth decades can be observed. In 1959, there were only five small churches with approximately 200 members, but in the early 1980s, membership in the Mbeya area had reached about 1,500.³⁰⁸ Still, this growth was concentrated at Masoko, Mwakaleli, Tenende, and Iganzo, areas with little other Christian impact and where Adventist schools were first planted. Even today, most Adventists who are natives of the Mbeya region are Nyakyusa and trace their origin to these four locations,³⁰⁹ and like the Moravians, Adventists did not make any significant impact among the Sangu and Safwa.³¹⁰

Historian F.B. Welbourn asserted in the 1970s that the Moravians “established an almost tribal church” and claimed “all but a very few of the new élites” among the Nyakyusa. According to him, adherents of other denominations could therefore “be regarded as only marginal Nyakyusa.”³¹¹ This was certainly true for major parts of the area until the early 1970s when ethnic ties were still almost identical with religious and cultural affiliations. As that decade passed, however, Adventists emerged from the social margins among the Nyakyusa; at the same time, they did remain geographically peripheral in that they were largely confined to a few pockets where Moravians had not yet penetrated at the time of the Adventist arrival. Still, Adventism ultimately developed into a growing religious movement in the Tanzanian south, a remnant that pursued the strategy of growing in several small home bases and entering wherever the door would open.

Initiating a Medical Mission: Heri Hospital

Like the Adventist missionary activities in the southern part of Tanzania, the beginnings of Adventism in the west meant that entirely new

³⁰⁸ Exact figures are not available, but West Tanzania Field, which was founded in 1982, started with 5,258 members and therefore had approximately 5,000 the year before. Around 2,000 members must have been located around Heri Hospital and in the Kigoma region plus another 1,700 in other areas of the field, leaving approximately 1,500 for Mbeya.

³⁰⁹ Interview Siwanja.

³¹⁰ Moravians aimed at evangelizing these peoples in the 1890s but apparently had very little success as well; see Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika*, 66–67.

³¹¹ F.B. Welbourn, “The Impact of Christianity on East Africa,” in *History of East Africa*, vol. III, ed. D.A. Low and A. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 391.

territory was to be entered. Given the financial and administrative trouble that the church and the society underwent in the late 1930s and early 1940s, one would not have expected new missions to be established in those years. However, the search for yet another mission field was connected to the apocalyptic tension inherent in Adventism. End-time speculations were fuelled by World War II, which made the Tanganyika Mission Field Committee declare in 1942, “we live in the most solemn hour of earth’s history and everything about us gives clear and convincing evidence that the kingdom of God is at hand.”³¹² The consequence of this sense of urgency was a renewed call for evangelism in unentered territories, and it was resolved that a systematic plan be followed to cover all such territories.³¹³ The same war that hampered or halted work in some areas of the country raised Adventists’ apocalyptic expectations and thus stimulated the remnant side of their identity, which implied increased expansionist plans.

Another major impetus that led to the opening of Adventist work at what was to be called Heri Mission was the denomination’s strong medical programme, often called “the right arm of the message.”³¹⁴ Adventist health activities had a long tradition. In the nineteenth century, the interest had focused on temperance issues and “dress reform”³¹⁵ as well as preventive medicine and healthful living.³¹⁶ In the twentieth century, the Adventist health concern also produced a strong programme of medical education and hospital services in the

³¹² TMF Minutes, 3–6 February 1942, no. 130, SM 5.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ In the Tanzanian context, see, e.g., G.A. Ellingworth, “Mission Work in Tanganyika,” RH 114 (11 March 1937): 11. This expression, which is common among Adventists, can be traced back to a statement by Ellen White in which she said, “The health reform, I was shown, is a part of the third angel’s message and is just as closely connected with it as are the arm and hand with the human body.” See Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1 (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948), 486; this statement comes from the description of a vision in 1865.

³¹⁵ See Ellen G. White, *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene* (Battle Creek: Good Health, 1890), and Numbers, *Prophetess of Health*, 129–147. The Adventist nineteenth century “dress reform” attempted to establish a middle position between the heavy, unhealthy long dresses worn traditionally and the and the rather short reform dresses of other women reformers.

³¹⁶ For more on the health teachings of Adventists, see 7.4. On nineteenth century Adventist medical activities, see Harold M. Walton and Kathryn Jensen-Nelson, *Historical Sketches of the Medical Work of Seventh-Day Adventists from 1866 to 1896* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1948); and Doris E. Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message: The Origin, Character, and Development of Health Education in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1943).

context of the church's international missionary outreach.³¹⁷ In Africa, this meant that wherever the church was reasonably well established, leaders tried to open at least one hospital per country in the decades between World War I and independence.³¹⁸

Adventists in Tanzania had somewhat lagged behind such developments. In neighbouring Kenya, Kendu Hospital was opened at Lake Victoria in 1925,³¹⁹ but in Tanzania, superintendent Ellingworth lamented in 1937 that the church only owned six "pitiable dispensaries," which operated under rather primitive conditions.³²⁰ These services were certainly not in vain, yet the great need, the absence of a large Adventist institution, and the expansionist dreams of the denomination called for larger plans. The financially difficult pre-World War II years hampered decisive progress, but in 1940 the Tanganyika Field Committee voted to call a doctor to open a medical facility.³²¹

After abortive attempts to do so at Ntusu, Field superintendent Hubert Sparrow emphasized in early 1942 that it was necessary to "cover unentered territory" with the medical mission-to-be.³²² Already in September that year Sparrow announced that a site near Iringa had been "definitely chosen" and rejoiced that the climate there was "just ideal."³²³ This joy, however, should not last long, for in November the Medical Director of Tanganyika Territory rejected the Iringa site; he argued that it was within easy reach of existing medical facilities and criticized that missionaries often looked for "somewhere pleasant for themselves to live in" rather than "the amount of benefit they can confer upon 'the African people'." Instead, he suggested Mbulu, Uha, Ufipa, Songea, or the Southern Highlands Province as acceptable regions for

³¹⁷ See Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, and Richard A. Schaefer, *Legacy: The Heritage of a Unique International Medical Outreach* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1977).

³¹⁸ Hospitals were opened through the years in Uganda, Angola, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi, Libya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Rwanda, and South Africa; see the respective SDAE articles.

³¹⁹ "Kendu Hospital," SDAE, 652.

³²⁰ G.A. Ellingworth, "Mission Work in Tanganyika," RH 114 (11 March 1937): 11.

³²¹ Dr L.P. Foster arrived at Ntusu in 1940, but no stable work developed, and the Foster family left in 1942. See TMF Minutes, 12–21 February 1940, no. 1, and TMF Minutes, 3–6 February 1942, no. 88–91, SM 5.

³²² H.M. Sparrow, "A General Review of the Year's Work in the Tanganyika Mission Field During 1941," 3–5 February 1942, 3, SM 5.

³²³ H.M. Sparrow—T.J. Michael, 21 September 1942, File SAD, GCA. The site chosen was called Lyandembwa; see TNA 77/17/39, no. 11–20, especially no. 14b (District Commissioner Dowsett—Director of Lands and Mines, 18 January 1943).

Adventist medical activities. The Medical Director deplored the fact that Adventists did not want to have their hospital located in the Lake Province where they were well established,³²⁴ yet he reasoned in a way quite different from Adventists, who wished to combine medical service and evangelism in new territories.

Only in 1947 did building activities finally start at Nyamasovu in the Kigoma region.³²⁵ William Sparrow, a builder and the former superintendent's son, constructed the first houses, ran a dispensary in a garage and conducted a Bible class.³²⁶ In spite of rather humble conditions, interest in the church was great from the beginning. Thus, already in October 1948 it was voted to send an evangelist, Petro Marwa from Utimbaru, to Heri Mission.³²⁷ After the establishment of the mission, activities continued on the two lines that Sparrow had initiated: evangelism and medical service. On the medical side, there was a continuous expansion of activities: after a regular clinic was opened in 1949, a settlement for thirty to forty lepers was created in 1951 with the support of the government.³²⁸ In 1953, a seventy-bed hospital was opened, and in the 1970s, the institution operated a dozen dispensaries as well.³²⁹

Initially Adventists were not welcomed by everyone. Some people warned "not to go to Nyamasovu as there are White men who eat people," but soon such rumours disappeared because the people of what was a rather backward region were happy to receive help of various kinds.³³⁰ As far as religion is concerned, the Ha people of the

³²⁴ Director of Medical Services, Dar es Salaam—Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam, 2 November 1942; D.M.S.—A.S., 2 November 1942, TNA 31278, no. 1, 4.

³²⁵ Another abortive move in 1944 revived Maxwell's idea of 1929 to explore a site in Ufipa, but again this did not lead to satisfactory results; see TMF Minutes, 14–18 February 1944, no. E 13, SM 5.

³²⁶ "Heri Hospital, Tanganyika," SADO 45, no. 11 (15 June 1947): 4; *East African Mission News*, no. 16 (April 1947): 2, SM 75.

³²⁷ TMF Minutes, 31 October 1948, no. E 538, SM 5. In 1949, an attendance of up to forty was normal during Sabbath services. See *East African Mission News*, no. 25 (June 1949): 3, SM 22.

³²⁸ W.D. Eva, "Report of the President of the East African Union Mission," SADO 49, no. 6 (1 April 1951): 3; J.D. Harcombe, "A Trip Through Tanganyika," SADO 56, no. 2 (15 February 1958): 8.

³²⁹ Interview Rugera Wanjara, Friedensau, 25 August 2003. These dispensaries included places as far away as Mpanda in the Rukwa region and Tabora. The total of dispensaries in the country (including those that were not administered by Heri) was twenty-eight in 1975; see L.C. Robinson, "Garnering for the Kingdom in Tanzania," AMDI 5, no. 6–8 (June–August 1975): 6.

³³⁰ Interview Enock Maguru, Heri Hospital, 2 December 2001.

area had not been exposed to much foreign influence. Few other Ha belonged to any Christian denomination: the Neukirchen Mission had only 187 Ha Christians in 1939, and Catholics and Anglicans would become more numerous in the following decades,³³¹ but in the area where Adventists built their mission, the impact of these other missions was rather weak.

A notable aspect of institutional development was a unique experiment in the history of Adventist education in Africa: the “Adventist Seminary of Health Evangelism.” This school offered a one-year “health evangelism” certificate³³² in cooperation with Loma Linda University, the denomination’s renowned medical institution in North America.³³³ Under the leadership of missionary Charles Stafford, this course attempted to combine basic health education and spiritual formation by offering courses about the Great Controversy,³³⁴ Adventist philosophy of education, the Spirit of Prophecy,³³⁵ medical missionary ethics, and a host of health classes. Many of these focused on natural remedies or preventive medicine.³³⁶

Certainly the course as a whole heavily leaned on the health side rather than on evangelistic or theological subjects. Still, for some time it served to train individuals who would be absorbed into pastoral ministry as well, for a weak aspect of the programme was that no permanent market existed for its graduates. This is certainly the reason why the programme was combined with the denomination’s ministerial course

³³¹ Brandl, *Die Neukirchener Mission*, 429. On the early Neukirchen work among the Ha, see the whole section in *ibid.*, 421–447, and J.H. Scherer, “The Ha of Tanzania,” *Anthropos* 54, no. 5–6 (1959): 898–899.

³³² “Heri Hospital and Leprosarium,” *The Medical Exchange*, second quarter 1966, 4, SM 50; *Newsletter: Adventist Seminary of Health Evangelism* 11, no. 2 (September 1974), SM 50.

³³³ On the history of Loma Linda University, see Jerry Wiley, *Loma Linda University Next Right* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1968); and *From Vision to Reality, 1905–1980: Loma Linda University* (Loma Linda: Loma Linda University, 1980).

³³⁴ I.e., Adventist theology of salvation history. The term “Great Controversy” has become a popular expression for this topic because of Ellen G. White’s book *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1911).

³³⁵ I.e., the ministry and writings of Ellen G. White.

³³⁶ These included Anatomy and Physiology, Tropical Hygiene, Health Education, Medical Concepts, Applied Nutrition, Philosophy of Health, First Aid, Home Nursing and Hydrotherapy, Christian Home and Family Health, Public Health, and Health Principles. Even agriculture was taught. See “Health Education School of Seventh-Day Adventists: 1967 Bulletin,” SM 50.

at Arusha Adventist Seminary in 1976.³³⁷ Removed from Heri, however, health aspects were stressed only until 1979; after that, the health evangelism idea was abandoned again. The course had never taken deep roots in the church,³³⁸ yet it must be recognized that it was a unique attempt to combine two major aspects of Adventist identity.

A tragic episode happened in 1972. Dr James Twing had been the Medical Director at Heri for a little more than a year and had sold many of his possessions to buy a plane that would enable him to supervise the two dozen dispensaries in the country. When he flew to Morogoro in January 1972, he never arrived.³³⁹ The surprising outcome of the story, however, was that his fifty-year-old wife, Ethel Twing, took courage, raised funds back in America for nine months, and initiated the Twing Memorial Project, which would build dispensaries, office buildings, workers' houses, and a church. Upon completion of this project, Mrs Twing continued such activities for thirty more years while working at the hospital. She supported more than a hundred students through secondary school and college, contributed to the building of thirty-six churches, and regularly sponsored the work of up to twelve pastors.³⁴⁰ The Ha Adventists continue honouring her as their mother, an attitude which properly illustrates that her ministry enhanced a decisive phase of Adventism in the Heri area: the transition from mission congregations to a local folk church.

Naturally, medical service and the teaching and preaching of the Christian faith were strongly integrated. In villages near the hospital, mobile clinics would be opened first, where treatment as well as medicine was offered for low prices. Even before the health evangelism course started, workers assigned to such places were conceived as "medical

³³⁷ "Arusha Adventist Seminary," Report to Tanzania Union Session, 1977, SM 50.

³³⁸ One aspect of the foreignness of the course was that it served all of Eastern Africa. Especially in the beginning, the majority of students came from outside the country; see EAU Minutes, 27 November 1959, no. 312, EAU, where the initial student quota for Tanzania was decided to be three while nine were to come from different fields and institutions in East Africa.

³³⁹ There is a persistent opinion among individuals connected to Heri Hospital that Dr Twing was shot down by the Tanzanian Air Force at Ngerengere near Morogoro because he might have flown over restricted territory; see interview Adam C. Bwenda, Arusha, 15 May 2000. However, this conjecture lacks evidence, and Mrs Twing herself reports that he voluntarily crashed his plane in order to avoid flying into a large group of people; see interview Ethel Twing, Heri Hospital, 30 November 2001.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* I knew Mrs Twing personally; she retired in 2002 at the age of 80 after a stroke that made it necessary for her to return to the USA.

evangelists,” i.e., professionals as well as lay missionaries. When medical services had become well established, a church would be built. Thus, people came to like Christianity and joined the church easily.³⁴¹

One contributing factor for the rather smooth growth of Adventist congregations was that the serious religious and cultural conflicts experienced in other areas did not occur in the church’s interaction with the Ha. The absence of both men’s and women’s circumcision and the fact that dances were not a central aspect of this people’s leisure made it easier for Adventists to propagate their strict type of Christianity.³⁴² Yet even Adventists themselves approached cultural issues of the Ha in a more tolerant way than they did in other regions. During the first generation, women were permitted to sit in church with braided hair, different from Pare and the Lake Victoria area; drums were used in church until the 1970s, and even the use of alcohol was silently tolerated among members in some cases.³⁴³ In the 1950s and 1960s, the strategy of church leaders was evidently to attract people to the Christian faith by “treating them very gently.”³⁴⁴ Only in the 1970s did leaders tighten the screw of strictness in several matters.³⁴⁵ By then, the church had grown to a considerable size already, and medical services had lost their principal role as the medium of attracting people to the church. The mission had given birth to a full-blown church that was streamlined into the larger body of Tanzanian Adventism and its combined remnant and folk church identity.

The gentle mode of evangelism evidently worked out quite well. From 1952 to 1963, membership grew from 8 to 410, while Heri’s older sister, Mbeya Mission, had hardly reached 250 members.³⁴⁶ Heri Mission also attracted persons from beyond the Burundi border to Adventism,

³⁴¹ Interviews Maguru and Jacob Kagize, Heri Hospital, 1–2 December 2001. One example of this process is Nyenumbu, seventeen miles from Heri. In 1966, one hundred patients visited the clinic each week, and when an evangelist was sent and a church was built, up to eighty worshippers attended even before the first baptism was conducted. See V.H., “A Clinic Day,” *News Notes: Tanzania Union* 2, no. 1 (November 1966): 11–12, SM 55.

³⁴² Interview Magogwa.

³⁴³ Interview Elesi Takisiya, Heri Hospital, 5 June 2002.

³⁴⁴ Interview Kagize. The term that Kagize uses (*kubembeleza bembeleza*) actually means the gentleness one applies when rocking a child to sleep. It is a common Swahili word to describe an action of persuading that avoids any use of force.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ “Heri Hospital,” SDAE, 519.

and even in later decades, the work in this western region of Tanzania continued to compare favourably with churches in the south.³⁴⁷ Two large church districts emerged, which today have a membership of around 5,000 inside a ten-kilometre radius, with a definite Adventist majority around Heri.³⁴⁸

Heri is a significant part of the Tanzanian Adventist story for several reasons. (1) An evangelistic approach relying heavily on medical service was used initially, unlike at other Adventist missions, where schools were the central feature. (2) Different from Mbeya as well as Pare and the Lake Victoria missions, Adventism hardly appeared as conflicting with cherished elements of traditional culture. (3) The patterns of strictness changed in a way divergent from other areas: after more inculturated beginnings, church leaders became stricter after one generation when the church was rather well established already and thus had a stronger influence. Altogether, conditions were far more auspicious than in other regions, and the result of Adventist operations was almost predictable: a small folk church.

Extending Work in the North-East: A Mission among the Iraqw

In spite of beginnings in the same period, the development of Adventist churches among the Iraqw followed a pattern other than those of Mbeya and Heri. The first difference was that it did not start “from above,” i.e., with a mission site chosen by church administrators. Rather, work among the Iraqw was in a way an accidental outcome of the war. Missionary Philipp Werner, who was interned at Oldeani near Karatu with his family, found the Iraqw people around him almost unevangelized and called for action in 1945. Colleagues at Suji Mission responded, and a team consisting of evangelists and pastors from Pare were sent to the area for one month to conduct public meetings.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ The membership in the area continued to grow on levels about 50% higher than those of the Mbeya region. West Tanzania Field was split into West and South West Tanzania Fields in 1990, and the western part remained with 10,352 members that year while the south-west had only 6,867. Even in the following years, growth in these two regions was similar; thus, one can safely estimate that similar proportions had existed in the decade before.

³⁴⁸ Interview R. Wanjara.

³⁴⁹ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 29; interview Gara. The members of this team that had also conducted evangelistic meetings at Kondoa were Stefano Kajiru, Simioni Izungo, Nikundiwe Mauya, and Yohana Makanta. At Kondoa, their activities did not have any lasting results.

Initially the most difficult problem was that the Iraqw did not receive any visitors from outside their ethnic group into their homes; thus, it was almost impossible for the Pare Adventists to stay anywhere. However, Tambo Ami, the Werners' cook, who had studied the Bible with Philipp Werner since 1944, opened the way for them to stay with his relative Ibrahimu Nade Ami, who was soon among the first converts.³⁵⁰ In the following three years, evangelistic meetings were held annually,³⁵¹ and what became an outstanding feature of the developing Iraqw mission is that Pare missionaries were major agents of evangelization for one generation. Yonazi Salehe and his wife Naamini were stationed at Daudi near Mbulu for more than a decade, and Eliamani Kilonzo and his wife Maria were sent to Mbulu in 1948 and stayed there well into the 1950s.³⁵² In spite of the obvious language problems,³⁵³ they seem to have been accepted quite well, and although they certainly lacked some of the prestige that European missionaries brought with them, their identity as fellow Africans might have helped them to concentrate on their religious mission.

In the years following the promising beginnings, several attempts were made to stabilize the church's activities. One strategy was to open schools at Oldeani in 1948, at Karatu in 1950, and at Mbulu in 1954, but none of them existed for a long time because children attended rather irregularly. A major reason for this failure were Iraqw taboos related to death; as in schools of other Christian denominations, there were frequent periods when no students appeared at all.³⁵⁴ More successful was the plan of sending Iraqw converts to school in Pare. In 1950 Filipino Gara and Yohana Siyasi underwent a "crash programme" at Suji in which teachings on lay evangelism were combined with courses from different levels of general schooling. The climax of the year was their baptism in November, and the same month, five more persons were baptized at Karatu.³⁵⁵ Filipino Gara became a self-supporting evangelist

³⁵⁰ Luise Werner to the author, 24 April 2000; interview Gara; and Luise Werner, "Oldeani," TMs, Box Deutsche Ostafrika-Mission, AAE, 36.

³⁵¹ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 14–15 October 1947, 21 January 1948, 31 January 1949, and 1 February 1949, SM 1; K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 26 June 1947, SM 12.

³⁵² Other Pare who later served among the Iraqw were Abihudi Bwelela and Stefano Mkengwa. See Mauya, "Taarifa ya Wainjilisti Wapare"; interview Gara.

³⁵³ See, e.g., Stefano Kajiru—F.B. Wells, 16 December 1947, SM 16.

³⁵⁴ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 21 January 1948, SM 1; interview Gara, interview Abduel Tuvako, Kihurio, 20 July 1999.

³⁵⁵ W.D. Eva, "Report of the President of the East African Union Mission," SADO 49,

until 1970 and opened Adventist work at Mbulumbulu in 1956 and at Babati in 1960.³⁵⁶

A significant feature of the church's interaction with the Iraqw was cultural tension. To the Pare missionaries, Iraqw life seemed so full of taboos and strange customs that they found it very hard to attract them to Christianity.³⁵⁷ Likewise, F.G. Reid, the then Tanganyika Field president, commented that "they must be the worst shenzis in Tanganyika."³⁵⁸ Yet the clash of Christianity and traditional culture led to different results.

1. Initially many Iraqw completely shunned Christians of all backgrounds; the latter were considered to be "unclean" because they did not practise various taboos. One such taboo that caused much friction was *metimane*, which prescribed that a family whose member had died was not to be visited for an extended period.³⁵⁹
2. Other Iraqw were attracted to Christianity exactly because of these taboos with which they wished to do away.
3. A third group of people apparently appreciated elements of both Traditional Religion and Christianity. An interesting detail that

no. 6 (1 April 1951): 3; M.B. Musgrave—H. Robson, 21 September 1951, SM 18. The names of those baptized were mentioned by Filipo Gara; however, he lists eight, while the contemporary sources above both mention seven. In his list are Ibrahim Ami, Musa Nade, Maria Musa, Elizabeth Xoyang, Isaya Shuri, and Habakuk Alloo. It may be that one of the last two was not in the first baptismal group, for they were a Sukuma and a Luo, respectively, who had had some Adventist exposure before and were thus almost automatically part of the emerging church.

³⁵⁶ Interview Gara.

³⁵⁷ A general account of Iraqw customs and traditions by an Iraqw is Ramadhani Hemedi, "Mapokeo ya Historia ya Wairaqw," TMs (photocopy), Endagikot, 1955. Some Iraqw traditions and elements of early Iraqw history are related in W.D. Kamera, *Hadithi za Wairaqw wa Tanzania* (Arusha: East African Literature Bureau, 1978). For the conflict of Lutherans with Iraqw traditions, see also Wilhelm Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie: Christliche Theologie in Ostafrika vor dem Hintergrund religiöser Syntheseprozesse* (Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2002), 172–178.

³⁵⁸ F.G. Reid—M.B. Musgrave, 11 July 1952, SM 43. *Shenzi* is most a despising term for a completely uncivilized person.

³⁵⁹ On the *metimane* taboo and the general taboo (*meta*) concept among the Iraqw, see John Ng'aida, "The Concept of Taboo 'Meta' among the Iraqw Peoples and its Hindrance to Christianity," Diploma Thesis, Lutheran Theological College Makumira, 1975, especially 37–38, and Yotham J.B. Fissoo, "The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw, with Special Reference to the Lutheran Church in Mbulu," B.D. thesis, Lutheran Theological College Makumira, 1982, especially 29–37. Fissoo states that the *metimane* taboo was to be observed for six months to three years depending on the area; see *ibid.*, 31, 36.

reveals the struggle between, and the synthesis of, the two religious forces, is the fact that quite a number of people joined Adventism during the time when they fell under the *metimane* taboo. Some of them, however, reverted to traditional practices later. Ibrahim Ami, one of the earliest Iraqw Adventists, composed a tiny song in Iraqw sung with the melody of “Jesus, Lover of My Soul” to ridicule those short-term Christians. It said:

Dirang ee ala faki. (“May the time when someone died pass [someone of my house died; I am therefore under the *metimane* taboo].”)

Daghaani ana yami kü. (“Finally, I shall go back to my worldly things [and not remain a Christian; after all, I only converted to escape the taboo].”)³⁶⁰

4. The fourth result was that ultimately Christianity had such an impact on Iraqw culture that *metimane* and other taboos disappeared more and more. In the 1980s, even most non-Christians discontinued observing them, except in the east of the Iraqw area where a traditionalist stronghold was located.³⁶¹

One feature of Adventist growth among the Iraqw was perennial competition with other Christian churches. From the outset, Adventist leaders deplored that other denominations had come earlier. Fears were strong among the Adventist leadership that their mission was going to lag behind the Lutherans.³⁶² Again, an eschatological mood was part of this sense of urgency; the Tanganyika Field committee warned, “the door for entrance will soon be closed against us” in the work for the Iraqw.³⁶³

In spite of what was perceived even by others as great rivalry between the different denominations,³⁶⁴ the struggle was less one of “sheep-stealing” in the fold of other groups than the bid for reaching Traditionalists before others did so. After all, most converts to Adventism in the first

³⁶⁰ Elias Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw,” AMs, 2001.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² F.B. Wells—H.E. Kotz, 10 December 1949, SM 6; [B. Ellingworth]—F.G. Reid, 11 July 1955, SM 46. In 1950, Y. Salehe wrote, “the work here at Karatu is good, but Satan is trying his best to use the Catholics, i.e., the Romans, but the Holy Spirit chooses good people who have been prepared for eternal life.” See Yonazi Salehe—Director [Suji], 25 July 1950, SM 41. The Holy Ghost Fathers and White Fathers had arrived as early as 1906–1907 and were joined by Pallutines in 1939. In 1938, the Swedish Evangelical Mission, a Lutheran body, entered the area. See Fissoo, “The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw,” 11–12.

³⁶³ TMF Minutes, 26 February–3 March 1950, E. 711, SM 6.

³⁶⁴ Fissoo, “The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw,” 14.

decades were from a Traditionalist background.³⁶⁵ Despite the general climate of antagonism, there were also instances of heartfelt friendships between leaders of different denominations, such as the one of Filipo Gara and Joseph Qamunga, an Adventist and a Lutheran, who worked at Mbulumbulu in the early 1960s and preached in each other's churches. Only when four Lutheran families joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church, conflicts arose. Yet the basic controversy lay even deeper than individuals' changing affiliations. It was a common Adventist view that Catholic and Lutheran Christianity provided what many people preferred: an "easy religion" that did not demand much from its members.³⁶⁶ The remnant paradigm allowed for some sympathies with other denominations yet precluded actual cooperation.

In the context of this double conflict with indigenous culture and other Christian bodies, Adventist congregations could not thrive as much as they did at places such as Heri. By 1958, small companies of believers had come to existence at Karatu, Mbulu, and Daudi,³⁶⁷ but in the late 1970s, there were still no more than three organized churches in the same locations with a total of 373 members.³⁶⁸ Work in other areas was initiated rather late,³⁶⁹ and in no single village or area did any Adventist majority emerge even in the following decades.³⁷⁰ Compared to almost 40,000 Catholics and about 22,000 Lutherans among the 200,000 inhabitants of the Mbulu district around 1980, Adventists had remained a dwarf denomination, a remnant, not only theologically, but also numerically.³⁷¹

5.5 *An Evaluation: Three Types of Growth*

The decades that followed World War I were a period in which diverse patterns emerged in the regions where the Seventh-day Adventist Church operated in Tanzania. These patterns depended on four

³⁶⁵ Lomay, "Adventism among the Iraqw."

³⁶⁶ Interview Elias Lomay, Ngongongare, 28 September 2002.

³⁶⁷ J.D. Harcombe, "A Trip Through Tanganyika," SADO 56, no. 2 (15 February 1958): 8.

³⁶⁸ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 30, 32.

³⁶⁹ A start was made in Babati and Mto wa Mbu only in the 1960s and in Katesh only in the 1980s; see *ibid.*, interview Lomay, and interview Gara.

³⁷⁰ Lomay, "Adventism among the Iraqw."

³⁷¹ The church statistics are figures from 1980, and the general population is from 1978; see Fissoo, "The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw," 11–12. Today, Adventists in the area count more than 2,000, although not all of them are Iraqw.

main factors: (1) the local people, (2) the denomination's theology and policies resulting from it, (3) the church leadership—both foreign and national—and their way of relating Adventism to local conditions, and (4) other contextual factors such as the presence or absence of competing religions or denominations. Three main types of the interaction between these factors can be distinguished: (1) fast growth, (2) failure (or near failure), and (3) slow growth.

The first type is found in communities that were rather progressive on an overall scale and received Adventist Christianity in a process that was moulded by a constructive interaction between the emerging church and the rest of the society. In spite of temporary setbacks, such as the crises in Pare and Majita, Adventism became an equivalent of a modern identity in those societies, as was most clearly visible among the Ha around Heri Hospital. At Heri, the process of Christianization was further speeded by the absence of serious cultural conflict. Because there was no real religious alternative to the enormous influence of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, these are areas where Adventism emerged as the new folk religion. Yet significant growth took place only around mid-century and after, which indicates that even in these communities the acceptance of the Adventist type of Christianity was not automatic.

The second type, complete or near-complete failure, was a reality in a number of regions that share several characteristics. The most important is the absence of readiness for change, i.e., a cultural conservatism regarding general change as well as religious innovation. Since this was often matched by an Adventist inability or reluctance to engage in major attempts of inculturation, the two worlds that met had to clash more or less violently. This was the case in areas dominated by Islam such as Zanzibar and pre-independence Dar es Salaam, as well as Ikizu and Busegwe, Moshi in the 1930s and 1940s, and among the Safwa in the Mbeya area. Patterns that belong to this type may differ slightly: at Busegwe and Ikizu, another major problem might have been sociological, i.e., the absence of local leadership and the lack of a critical number of indigenous converts who would impress others. In Moshi and Dar es Salaam, the primary obstacle was certainly the fact that the type of religion that Adventists brought was not attractive enough as such. The outcome, though, was the same: communities rejected Adventism almost as a whole, and the opposite of a folk church developed. Adventists remained a rather obscure cult or disappeared from the scene while the original folk religion remained dominant.

The third type, slow growth, occurred in several patterns. Any of the factors stated above could inhibit the expansion of what thought of itself as a growing movement. In some areas such as Sukumaland and Kurialand, the local people were rather conservative; yet given enough time, a critical mass of Christians would form a body sizeable enough to attract even more converts. In Usambara, the potential of the church was greatly limited by the foreignness of its leadership and members, i.e., the fact that Pare Adventists attracted other Pare but hardly any Sambia. At Mbeya, among the Iraqw, and in North and Central Pare, a major hindrance to Adventist advances was the fact that the church arrived at a time when other denominations had already established themselves quite firmly. Among the Luo, promising beginnings had been made on the Tanzanian side before World War I and the Adventist impact was enormous in neighbouring Kenya. Yet the fact that Tanzanian Luo work became an appendix of Kenyan missions with little concentrated Adventist impact weighed against the progressive attitude of the Luo and limited the denomination's diffusion. In many such areas, the movement remained a sect or a diaspora church among other, more influential religious bodies and traditions—a remnant of different kinds.³⁷²

What these three types demonstrate is that Seventh-day Adventist theology and missionary activities could lead to quite different results, depending the factors involved. Certainly Adventism's eschatological remnant identity made the denomination aim at evangelizing "every tribe and people"; this is why even in Tanzania conflicts with other churches were not avoided. This resulted in Adventist minorities in several areas where other missions had introduced Christianity earlier, a process that resembled the emergence of Adventism in Europe and North America. However, even more perplexing than the friction between Adventists and representatives of other Christian groups must have been the fact that some societies plainly rejected Adventism, and

³⁷² This does not mean that the third type necessarily constituted a final stage. Different from the second type, which implies that a missionary venture failed, the second type was in some cases a transitory phase that led to something close to the first type. This was the case, at least to some extent, among the Kuria and Sukuma around the historical Adventist missions today, where a majority emerged, which was however not as strong as the folk churches in Pare and at Majita. Among the Sukuma, a remarkable increase in church membership occurred especially since the 1990s, but because Sukumaland is very large, this increase is more widely spread than its parallel in the two rather small territories of Pare and Majita during the 1960s and 1970s.

at times Christianity, as a whole. Here, the remnant model did not work the way it had functioned in the Christian Old and New Worlds. On the opposite extreme, some communities were drawn towards Adventism with such a force that the initial remnant grew into a folk church. This was an unforeseen development yet one that was gladly accepted by denominational leaders who valued a growing church membership as much as the geographical expansion which the remnant paradigm implied.

CHAPTER SIX

DIMENSIONS OF AN AFRICAN ADVENTIST CHURCH LIFE

The first decades of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania coincided with a period of several interesting transitions in the Adventist denomination and its environment: (1) The formative period of Adventism was over. A new era began in which a new generation of leaders took over; they did not know the founders of their church personally any more but mainly through their books. (2) Events and developments such as World War I, industrialization, urbanization, and new forms of communication and travel changed the lives of whole nations and made previously unexplored regions much more well-known than in the previous century. (3) Adventism expanded from a rather regional movement to a worldwide church. (4) Therefore, Adventist identity had to be translated into distinctive contexts as it took root in new soil.

The first transition mainly affected Adventism in Tanzania in an indirect way. The post-World War I generation represented a period of orthodoxy; it attempted to define what Seventh-day Adventism was to be after its founders had died. Despite the earlier official rejection of a creed¹ and an authoritative church manual,² leaders of the growing organization felt the need for guidelines which would provide identity and unite the whole denomination. This led to a whole series of documents that largely codified what had already become commonly

¹ A creed was rejected because leading Adventists emphasized that “the Bible is our only creed.” Instances of Adventists who had been disfellowshipped from their former denominations because of their millennial views (which had been interpreted as contrary to established creeds) added another reason to reject specific statements of faith. See Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 166–167.

² Already by 1883, some articles on church policy had appeared in the leading denominational magazine, *Review and Herald*. A committee had been commissioned by the General Conference to prepare a church manual, but then the manual-to-be was not adopted because of fears that it would lead the denomination to a formalism that would leave no room for development. In 1907, J.N. Loughborough published *The Church, Its Organization, Order and Discipline* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1907), which was much used but, as a personal undertaking, did not carry the authority of official guidelines. See “Church Manual,” SDAE, 264.

accepted standards: (1) a *Manual for Ministers*, which appeared in 1925,³ (2) a first official statement of beliefs, which was formulated in 1931, (3) the first *Church Manual*, published in 1932,⁴ (4) a uniform baptismal vow, adopted in 1941, and (5) a statement on “Standards of Christian Living,” which was agreed upon in 1946.⁵ That these documents came into existence rather late implies that the denomination often operated with unwritten or semi-official traditions before these respective years. These traditions had not yet become immovable guidelines but were in the process of becoming crucial elements of Adventist Christianity. This situation allowed for some degree of flexibility, which would ultimately contribute to distinct features in African Adventist church life.

While the second and third transitions mainly concerned the denomination as a whole, the fourth transition, the translation of Adventism into new contexts, was the major issue in Tanzania. This task was particularly challenging because it emerged at the very time when Adventist leaders were seeking to create worldwide uniformity through the documents referred to. In spite of all these attempts, the very environment in which the denomination grew and the people who constituted the Tanzanian Adventist church created a peculiar identity in four realms: (1) church life, (2) the church’s interaction with its cultural environment, (3) its relationship with the public realm, and (4) theology. These four aspects will be dealt with individually in this chapter and the next three; this chapter draws a sketch of Tanzanian Adventist identity as reflected in the life of this church.⁶

³ General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Manual for Ministers* (Washington, D.C.: Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1925).

⁴ *Church Manual*, [Washington, D.C.]: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1932.

⁵ This statement covered topics such as Sabbath keeping, entertainment, recreation and amusement, music, dress, health, courtship, marriage, and divorce. See “Standards of Christian Living,” RH (16 June 1946): 216–220.

⁶ Church life has been chosen as the beginning of the four thematic chapters because it was the primary dimension of faith for the majority of believers, the aspect of religious existence that was most tangible and local, i.e., it could be experienced immediately and permanently. Chapters 6 to 9 attempt to portray a “widening” picture of Tanzanian Adventism in that the most concrete phenomena are discussed first and each consecutive chapter presents an aspect that is somewhat more removed from religious every day life. Chapter 9, however, with its focus on popular theology and religious movements, in a way closes the circle by taking up issues that also appear in this chapter.

6.1 *God's Holy Times**The Sabbath: God's Holy Day*

Since the inception of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the most visible element of its identity has been the observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship on the seventh day of the week.⁷ In Tanzania, the centrality of the Sabbath for the denomination was already revealed in the 1920s and 1930s in the popular name *Msabato* (plural: *Wasabato*), which means “Sabbatist(s)” or “Sabbath-person(s).”⁸ The church itself never officially used this term; rather, it adopted various translations of the word “Adventist.”⁹ Since the 1960s, the official name has been *Kanisa la Waadventista wa Sabato* (“Church of [the] Sabbath Adventists”).¹⁰ Still, *Wasabato* remained the popular appellation for Adventist Christians throughout the decades, and common church members also used it as a self-designation.¹¹ Evidently, the word summarized well what both

⁷ See the many Adventist works on the Sabbath, e.g., Kenneth A. Strand, ed., *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1982). Interestingly, there is no monograph that deals with the history of Adventist Sabbath-keeping, but in recent decades Adventists have complemented their earlier, strongly apologetic literature on the Sabbath with books that stress the theology of the Sabbath and its function for modern man; see, e.g., Samuele Bacchiocchi, *Divine Rest for Human Restlessness: A Theological Study of the Good News of the Sabbath for Today* (Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1986); Roy Branson, *Festival of the Sabbath* (Takoma Park: Association of Adventist Forums, 1985); and Reinder Bruinsma, *The Day God Created* (Alma Park: Stanborough, 1992).

⁸ Hans Kotz, “Die Mission in Mwangala,” AB 43, no. 18 (15 September 1937): 283–284, reports that Adventists were called “Sabbath people” (the Swahili equivalent being *Wasabato*), and in the Lutheran magazine *Ufalme wa Mungu*, an article in 1927 uses this expression as well; see “Je! Injili ingine iko?,” *Ufalme wa Mungu*, no. 4 (June 1927): 2. In the earliest years, an Adventist Christian could also call himself *Mmasiya*—a man of the Messiah—in Pare; see Kotz, *Sklaven*, 92.

⁹ *Waadventisto* was used until the early post-World War I period; see Missionärer S.T.A. Mission Süd Pare, *Masomo ya Kitabu cha Muungu* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1914), 67, and *Roho ya Unabii* (Gendia: Advent Press, n.d. [1920s or early 1930s]), 20. *Waadventisti wa Sabato* was used later, see *Kamuni na Kawaida za Kanisa* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald Publishing House, n.d.), 19.

¹⁰ TU Minutes, 29 November 1967, no. 285, ETC. This was reconfirmed with a slight modification (“Kanisa la Wa-Adventista wa Sabato, Tanzania”) in 1977; see TU Minutes, 4–6 October 1977, no. 133, TU.

¹¹ Two reasons why the word *msabato* became well-accepted are the following: (1) Even the official designation, *Waadventista wa Sabato*, could easily be mistaken as *Waadventista Wasabato*. Some local churches actually spell their name this way, not knowing that it is not the official version. (2) The word *Waadventista* (and its other versions) does not carry much meaning in an African context where its root meaning is not understood. Conversely, the word *msabato* has a tangible connection with the Sabbath and was thus more easy to remember.

outsiders and Adventists themselves regarded as central among the church's characteristics: a holy day that is different from that of other churches.¹²

What did an Adventist Sabbath look like in Tanzania? Obviously, one crucial aspect of Sabbath observance was worship. By the late nineteenth century, Adventist worship had become an exercise that emphasized orderliness and mental processes rather than experience or spontaneity, in spite of revivalist roots in the history of the denomination.¹³ In the Tanzanian context, this concept of worship was translated into services that focused on the study and exposition of the Bible. Usually a preacher would choose several Bible texts on one topic and connect them by explaining them, making the divine service resemble a Bible class to some extent. At the same time, individual participation was encouraged, for instance by allowing the church to respond "Amen" to stress a point.¹⁴ It may be somewhat surprising that Tanzanian Adventists did not develop other peculiar elements of worship that distinguished them from Adventists in Europe and America. Yet this can be understood as a result of the Adventist tendency toward uniformity. Emphasis on the right day of worship did not automatically imply extraordinary modes of adoration.

One important inherited element of the Sabbath service was the Sabbath School, a forum of instruction in biblical teachings and of discussion regarding Christian life and doctrines in small groups. It took place before divine service. Sabbath School had emerged in the 1850s as an Adventist equivalent to the Sunday Schools of other denominations

¹² Since the Sabbath phenomenon has several distinct aspects, I shall not discuss all of them here, only the role of the Sabbath in the life of the local church, i.e., the experience of Sabbath worship and the mode of Sabbath-keeping. Problems with Sabbath-keeping in a non-Adventist context are discussed in 8.3 and Sabbath theology in 9.1.

¹³ The Millerite Adventist movement arose at the time when revivalist Charles Finney made his impact upon the USA, and Millerism and early Seventh-day Adventism had some of the features of contemporary revivalism; see Jonathan Butler, "Seventh-Day Adventism's Legacy of Modern Revivalism," *Spectrum* 5, no. 1 (1973): 89–99.

¹⁴ This was the case starting from the 1960s, while the expression *Bwana asifuwe!* ("May the Lord be praised!") and similar phrases common today entered the church only in the 1990s. This influence comes from Pentecostals and permeated even other Protestant churches. See interviews Joshua Masumbuko, Sumbawanga, 31 August 2000, Zebida N. Lisso, Morogoro, 24 December 2000, and Mashigan. On African sermons as a dialogical process, see Rainer Albrecht, *A Single Drum Sings No Song: Preaching as a Dialogic Event in a Culture of Oral Tradition* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2004).

but developed differently in that it became an integral part of worship. Moreover, it was regarded as necessary for any adult member in good standing to attend this programme regularly. In addition to the positive group dynamics associated with the Sabbath School, its prominence was connected with two facts. (1) The same biblical topics were studied all over the world, which demonstrated Adventist worldwide unity in an impressive way. (2) It exemplified that Adventist identity was strongly rooted in biblical study.¹⁵

It is not surprising, therefore, that this programme became an important element of Sabbath observance in Tanzania as well. Even before World War I, Sabbath School lessons were being translated in Pare,¹⁶ and from the 1920s onward, they were published in Swahili.¹⁷ In the early decades, these booklets were shortened editions¹⁸ because of financial considerations and due to the assumption that a condensed version was enough for the African context. However, this frustrated those who wanted to learn more, and in the 1960s, a full Swahili version became available after pressure had been applied by African leaders.¹⁹

The importance of this regular exposure to biblical materials can hardly be overestimated. Sabbath School was not only a way of

¹⁵ "Sabbath School," SDAE, 1122–1123; "Sabbath School Publications," SDAE, 1127. For more on the history and characteristics of the Sabbath School, see Gerald R. Nash, *Evangelism through the Sabbath School* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1964); General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Sabbath School Department, *The Sabbath School: Its History, Organization, and Objectives* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1938); McCormick, Sherman, "The Seventh-Day Adventist Adult Sabbath School: Its Purpose as Described and Perceived," Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1992, and Ellen G. White, *Counsels on Sabbath School Work*, Compilation from the writings of Ellen G. White (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1966). Cf. also figure 18 (p. 619).

¹⁶ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 193. Petro Risase was Ernst Kotz's secretary and typed the translations for the 30 teachers who used them.

¹⁷ F.H. Thomas—A. Bull, 3 June 1927, SM 8. In 1935, more than 2,000 lessons in Swahili were printed each quarter for the whole of East Africa. A large part must have gone to Tanzania, for Luo and Kisii translations were used in Kenya. See R.A. Carey, "The Advent Press, Gendia, Kenya Colony," AS 7, no. 11 (November 1935): 5–6.

¹⁸ Jocktan Kuyenga calls the Sabbath School of the 1940s and 1950s "more or less an exercise of memorizing Bible verses." The lessons mainly consisted of questions and Bible verses without the explanations or comments that were part of the English editions of those years. See interviews Jocktan Kuyenga, Morogoro, 4 December 2000, and Mashigan.

¹⁹ W. Fenner—W.H. Anderson, 30 May 1939, SM 35; Southern African Division Year-End Committee Minutes 1960, no. 1259/393, in File Africa Herald Publishing House History, AHPH; interview Okeyo. The study guide for Sabbath School, *Masomo ya Shule ya Sabato* [1930s–present] had 16 pages from the 1930s onward and 32 pages since the 1960s.

indoctrination and a training tool that gave Adventists a large quantity of religious knowledge. It also resembled a real school and trained the intellectual capacities of many who had access to limited education.²⁰ Therefore, it represented a central aspect of Adventist Christianity as the “readers’ religion.” Another crucial aspect of the Sabbath School was its capacity for connecting the day of rest with the other days of the week. Throughout the decades, Adventist leaders in Tanzania promoted the daily reading of the Bible in connection with the Sabbath School lessons.²¹ This type of spirituality culminated in the Sabbath experience and thus integrated the sacred day with life in the secular realm.

The idea of extending the Sabbath into the week was visible in other features as well. Prominent among them were worship services other than the Sabbath morning service. Opening and closing the Sabbath on Friday and Saturday evening with worship was a common feature from the beginning of Adventist presence in Tanzania, and each member was expected to attend.²² Those who lived far away from a church were advised to meet in their village or area. Yet commemorating the Sabbath in this way was not only fulfilling a commandment. Rather, it was also to bear witness to those who did not do so.²³ The opening and closing services served to separate the holy day from other days, but they also linked it with the rest of the week by making life focus upon this regular climax.

The second major aspect of Sabbath-keeping apart from worship services was abstaining from work. Various rules defined the way of

²⁰ For a perceptive analysis of the contemporary Adventist Sabbath School in Madagascar, which parallels observations from the Tanzanian context, see Eva Keller, “Towards Complete Clarity: Bible Study among Seventh-Day Adventists in Madagascar,” *Ethnos* 69, no. 1 (March 2004): 89–112. She emphasizes that Bible study, which centres around the *Bible Study Guide* used for the preparation of the Sabbath School, is an intellectual endeavour, which leaves room for individuals’ divergent opinions, discussion, and genuine engagement.

²¹ TMF Minutes, 16–18 February 1944, no. A 55, SM 5; E.D. Hanson, “East African Union,” SADO 50, no. 16 (1 September 1952): 9; Trans-Africa Division, Idara ya Shule ya Sabato, “Mafundisho ya Waongozi wa Shule ya Sabato,” TMs, 1966, SM 55.

²² One interviewee stated that this “was done as it has been described in the Bible” through the decades; this reveals that church members were taught that it is a religious duty to attend these services. See interview Japhet S. Machage, Bisarwi, 5 December 2000. Adventists celebrate the Sabbath from Friday sunset to Saturday sunset.

²³ Jocktan Kuyenga, Sabbath School departmental director at Tanzania Union in the 1970s, admonished in this regard, “let us blow the trumpet with a voice that can be heard.” See Jocktan Kuyenga—Maraisi wa Field, Makatibu wa Field wa Idara, Waongozi wa Mitaa, 6 April 1973, ETC.

observing the day of rest, for Adventists had come to Africa with specific traditions of accepted and rejected Sabbath activities.²⁴ Moreover, they did not hesitate to add others for the Tanzanian church. Cooking, journeys (except emergency travel to hospitals), games, receiving or making payments, wedding preparations, attending the chief's council, ironing, listening to the radio, and even church board meetings were all labelled unsuitable for God's holy day. Throughout the decades, this topic was frequently brought up in church committees in order to ensure that members honoured the memorial of God's creation and authority. Since this day belonged to God, actions during the Sabbath were all to be related to him and his church.²⁵

The church leaders' insistence upon these prescriptions, which is visible in the many committee actions stressing Sabbath observation, was not caused by a general neglect of Sabbath observation, nor were leaders a pious elite preoccupied with things that the majority of believers did not care about. Many common Adventists took this issue very seriously as well. At Heri, for instance, it was unheard of that someone would pay a bus fare on Sabbath; people would rather walk or go by bicycle, different from towns, where using public transportation was deemed acceptable for going to church. At Mbeya, receiving visitors on Sabbath was discouraged, for doing so would frequently imply many "secular" activities.²⁶ Sabbath preparations were at times started on Thursday to make sure everything was finished before the beginning of the day of rest on Friday evening.²⁷ Some church members viewed those preparing *ugali* on Sabbath as sinners while in other areas doing so was common,²⁸

²⁴ See, e.g., "Sabbath," SDAE, 1120; and *Church Manual*, 170–172. On the Puritan background of Adventist Sabbath-keeping, see Winton U. Solberg, *Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977). Puritans kept Sunday, not Saturday, but called it "Sabbath" as well.

²⁵ "Organization of E. Tanganyika Native Church Council," 18–21 April 1929, SM 4; Baraza la Makanisa, 21 March 1932 and 8 January 1934, SM 7; K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 3 October 1945, SM 12; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 26 May 1947, SM 1; TU Minutes, 20 November 1970, no. 1065, and 3–6 December 1972, no. 276, ETC [Resolutions on Sabbath Observance].

²⁶ Interviews Simion Magogwa, Heri Hospital, December 2001, and Mwambogela. In addition to this, when missionaries once travelled from the Mbeya mission station to reach worship services at Masoko and returned the same day, Africans were shocked because they would never make a journey on this holy day.

²⁷ Interview Kiondo.

²⁸ A. Kileng'a—F.B. Wells, 1 May 1948, SM 38. *Ugali* is the staple food in many regions of Tanzania, stiff porridge made from maize, cassava, and the like. The Pare

and a local district meeting in Pare in 1982 regarded even activities related to funerals as breaking the day of rest.²⁹

One could dismiss such attitudes as the legalistic extremes of individuals who did not grasp the New Testament gospel or as the outgrowth of pre-Christian taboo thinking. Indeed the latter made Sabbath restrictions more plausible, and a certain bent toward legalism is certainly inherent in Adventism as well as it is in other segments African Christianity,³⁰ and, indeed, in humans in general. However, such interpretations alone would unduly simplify the complexity of the matter. Rather, the fact that certain activities were proscribed only among some groups shows a degree of diversification that implies that variations were possible and expressed the earnestness of believers in their respective environments.

Furthermore, one should bear in mind that Adventist Sabbath theology had to be articulated in some practical way. Without making the observation of the fourth commandment³¹ a way of salvation by works, Adventists attempted to obey it as conscientiously as possible in order to honour God. In Tanzania, this was expressed by missionary Kenneth Webster in a typical way, which resounds among believers even today. He argued that the Bible commanded, “rest from all your things,” which means abstinence from all private matters which are not absolutely necessary.³² Still, he recognized that “there are necessary jobs like protecting fields and taking care of cows, even doing completely necessary journeys, especially for the work of God.” Yet he warned that such necessities were “not an excuse to waver” concerning other aspects

commonly prepared *kande* for Sabbath, a meal consisting of beans and maize that can be cooked the day before. In some areas it was common to cook *ugali* but nothing else; see interview Masumbuko.

²⁹ “Mkutano wa Mtaa Uliokaa Gonjanza, 14–3–82,” SM 50.

³⁰ For a perceptive discussion of African law-orientation and legalism in African Christianity, see Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie*, 260–271. Further on this topic see Theo Sundermeier, “Das Problem des Legalismus im Leben einer Jungen Kirche,” in *Um Einheit und Auftrag: 125 Jahre Kirche und Mission in Südwestafrika* (Wuppertal: Verlag der Rheinischen Mission, 1967), 39–53; and Theo Sundermeier, “Gesetz und Gesetzlichkeit in den afrikanischen Kirchen,” *Evangelische Theologie* 31, no. 2 (1971): 99–114.

³¹ In the Adventist counting of the Ten Commandments, the Sabbath is counted as the fourth commandment.

³² K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 26 June 1947, SM 12. I repeatedly encountered the same argument during my stay in Tanzania. Some people even interpreted the phrase “rest from all your things” as “everything that implies pleasure,” including sexual intercourse.

of Sabbath sanctification. Webster asserted that Adventists did not have “many laws like the Pharisees concerning the Sabbath”; therefore, he felt justified to insist, “those that we have let us not nullify them.”³³

The other side of Sabbath-keeping was that certain activities were welcomed and promoted. They obviously included worship attendance, but also participation in afternoon meetings in the church, where music, memorized verses, and youth programmes were presented.³⁴ Another common Sabbath feature was evangelistic activity such as visiting people in their homes.³⁵ In fact, many Sabbath devotees felt that every bit of time on the holy day should be devoted to some spiritual activity. This Tanzanian style of Sabbath-keeping is exemplified in a document from 1973 sent to all pastors by Jocktan Kuyenga, the Tanzania Union Sabbath School director. It was entitled “Teach the Holiness and the Way of Keeping the Sabbath” and directed:³⁶

1. On Friday evening, all Adventists should attend church to open the Sabbath.
2. During night after supper, songs in the homes should be sung and texts be recited, especially those that speak about the Sabbath.
3. Morning: in the morning prayers in the homes, recite the fourth commandment.
4. Worship attendance.
5. On Sabbath afternoon, every member should be involved in some activity: the young people in learning songs and Pathfinder slogans and texts; in visiting the sick; opening and leading branch Sabbath Schools; and reading the Bible to people in their homes. Loitering and common conversations should be avoided.
6. Closing the Sabbath. Go back to No. 1.³⁷

This detailed instruction illustrates an interesting aspect of the process that the denomination experienced in the transition from its Euro-American background to its new African home. The Adventist Sabbath was not reinterpreted as a whole nor was it simply taken over as it arrived, but two major aspects were Africanized: (1) the communitarian component, which is part of each of the six instructions, and (2) the

³³ K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 3 October 1945, SM 12.

³⁴ Interview Mashigan.

³⁵ “Conversions in Africa,” MW 32, no. 3 (11 February 1927): 2; Drangmeister, “A Young Girl Travels to Africa,” 9.

³⁶ Jocktan Kuyenga—Maraisi wa Field, Makatibu wa Field wa Idara, Waongozi wa Mitaa, 6 April 1973, ETC.

³⁷ This meant that as in no. 1, “all Adventists should attend church,” this time to close the Sabbath.

fact that the whole of the Sabbath was viewed as a time for activity related to God rather than merely rest from work. Thus, the Tanzanian Adventist Sabbath contained unconscious yet significant dimensions of reinterpretation.

The similarity of Tanzanian Adventist Sabbath-keeping with many African Instituted Churches can easily be recognized, making Seventh-day Adventism a very African faith in this respect.³⁸ Several outstanding African Christian movements insisted on the seventh day as the weekly Sabbath, e.g., the *amaNazareth*a founded by Isaiah Shembe, the *Abamalaki* of Uganda, John Maranke and his *Bapostolo* in Zimbabwe, and Sabbath-keeping churches in Ghana, just to mention a few.³⁹ Together with the many other sabbatarian denominations that have sprung up among Africans,⁴⁰ they all incorporated this day into their tradition because it fit into their type of spirituality with its proclivity to the Old Testament. Besides, the very existence of Sabbath commands in the Bible provided an argument with which they defended this practice as seriously as Adventists did.⁴¹

African Instituted Churches have been viewed as the most genuine representatives of African Christianity for a long time,⁴² especially in the realm of spirituality,⁴³ and are often fascinating for scholars because

³⁸ The African factor of the Sabbath is what Charles E. Bradford, the retired North American Division president and an African American, emphasizes in his book *Sabbath Roots: The African Connection* (Vermont: Brown, 1999).

³⁹ Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 183–189; F.B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches* (London: SCM, 1961), 31–43; Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Maranke* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 34–36, 283; Phillip Denhe Mazambara, *The Self-Understanding of African Instituted Churches: A Study Based on the Church of Apostles Founded by John of Marange in Zimbabwe* (Aachen: Mainz, 1999), 221–224; and Jacob J. Nortey, “Sabbath (7th Day)-Keeping African Independent Churches and the Seventh-Day Adventists in Ghana,” in *Adventist Missions Facing the Twenty-First Century: A Reader*, ed. Hugh I. Dunton, Baldur Pfeiffer, and Borge Schantz (Frankfurt: Lang, 1990), 180–192.

⁴⁰ Sundkler’s 1945 list alone has 20 with names that contain the words “Sabbath” or “Seventh Day”; see Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, 354–374.

⁴¹ Shorter, “Recent Developments in African Christian Spirituality,” in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 536–538.

⁴² See David B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968). For an insightful critique of a one-sided application of this position to all African Instituted Churches, see Heinrich Balz, *Weggenossen im Busch: Erzählende und theologische Briefe aus Kamerun* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1998), 236–245.

⁴³ See, e.g., Bengt Sundkler, “Worship and Spirituality,” in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 545–553. This essay, which focuses on the *Balokole* movement and South African Instituted Churches,

of their somewhat exotic features. Yet Tanzanian Adventism resembled some of them in regard to Sabbath spirituality and often attracted more followers than they did. This points to the fact that many Africans, as *homines rituales*,⁴⁴ did not necessarily care as much about the fact that a particular denomination was initiated by Africans themselves as they did appreciate the type of religion that was actualized by the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Although Adventists did not actively and consciously experiment with the inculturation of the Sabbath, the communities that the church met made it an element of continuity with their concerns.⁴⁵ Thus, the Tanzanian Adventist Sabbath united crucial aspects of Adventism with major African concerns. The denomination's emphasis on biblical teaching, its tradition of strictness, and its concern for practised religion all became tangible in observing this holy day. At the same time, it served the Africans' need for a holistic religion that stretches into the whole week.⁴⁶ Rather than the common Protestant stress on reflection and the individual, they commonly preferred a spirituality with an emphasis on community, spiritual activity, and ritual. Thus, Adventist Sabbath keeping constituted an important link with elements of traditional African religiousness, which put emphasis on exactly these features.⁴⁷ That a key aspect of remnant identity coincided with dynamics that enhanced the denomination's growth into a folk church had not been anticipated but implied that remnant theology and an empirical folk church were not mutually exclusive options.

does not refer to the spirituality of mission-initiated denominations. It should be mentioned, however, that Sundkler explored the spirituality of a mission church in his book *Bara Bukoba*.

⁴⁴ Theo Sundermeier calls the African a *homo ritualis* (ritual man) in his book *Nur gemeinsam können wir leben: Das Menschenbild schwarzafrikanischer Religionen* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1990), 67.

⁴⁵ Most noteworthy is the parallel to Pare traditions of a day of rest; see 3.2. Even without week cycles in other traditional societies, the celebration of the Sabbath apparently corresponded to needs of many Africans, which accounts for its popularity.

⁴⁶ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 3.

⁴⁷ Apart from highlighting these aspects as central to African spirituality, Aylward Shorter mentions the "memorial" aspect, which is obviously part of the Sabbath experience as the Sabbath is a memorial of creation. Interestingly, though, this aspect is not emphasized in the Tanzanian sources. This should not be interpreted as a complete absence of this aspect; rather, this element of the Sabbath is more theological than liturgical and has therefore not been emphasized much among Tanzanian Adventists. See Aylward Shorter, "Recent Developments in African Christian Spirituality," 532–535.

*The Camp Meeting: God's Holy Season*⁴⁸

While the weekly ritual of the Sabbath was the most perceptible sign of identity in Tanzanian Adventism because of its frequency and its eminence in the denomination's theology, the spiritual climax of this church was the annual *makambi*⁴⁹ (camp meeting) season. This ceremony brought even more excitement because of the sheer mass of people who assembled, because of its manifold attractive activities, and because it occurred only once a year.

In North America, camp meetings had flourished among Methodists and many other groups during the major part of the nineteenth century, particularly on the American frontier.⁵⁰ They had also been used by Millerite Adventists in promoting their apocalyptic teachings,⁵¹ and some American Seventh-day Adventists organized their camp meeting as well. In spite of reservations concerning the emotionalism and disorder that was experienced at conventions of this kind, the General Conference recommended in 1868 that camp meetings be held everywhere. Ellen and James White featured prominently in many camp meetings throughout the 1870s, the dreaded emotionalism did not erupt, and the meetings remained popular in North America well into the twentieth century.⁵²

In Tanzania, *makambi* were experimented with in Pare since 1926,⁵³ and seven regional meetings were officially launched in 1938.⁵⁴ They

⁴⁸ A revised version of this section and the following have been published as an article: Stefan Höschele, "When Weekly Worship is Not Enough: The Tanzanian Adventist *Makambi* Celebration—an Example of Inculturation 'from Below'," *Spes Christiana* 15–16 (2004–2005): 132–146.

⁴⁹ Singular: *kambi*. Both the singular and the plural are used to denote the occasion, although the plural is preferred. *Kambi* is the Swahili transliteration of "camp" and is used even in other contexts like the English word.

⁵⁰ "Camp Meeting," SDAE, 193. On the history of camp meetings in general, see Kenneth O. Brown, *Holy Ground: A Study of the American Camp Meeting* (New York: Garland, 1992).

⁵¹ Milton Lee Perry, "The Role of the Camp Meeting in Millerite Revivalism, 1842–1844," Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1994.

⁵² Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 40–41 and 158–159. Seventh-day Adventists apparently conducted the first truly denominational general encampment in 1867; see Brown, *Holy Ground*, 41.

⁵³ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 4. Apparently, it was not held very regularly yet, for there is but little information about the meetings in the following years, and sometimes they were not called camp meetings but annual meetings again; see Spencer G. Maxwell, "Pare Annual Meeting," MW 35, no. 7 (4 April 1930): 2–3. A precursor were the quarterly meetings in Pare before World War I, and short annual meetings were held in Pare before even 1926. See Willy Kölling, "Eine Vierteljahrsversammlung," ZW 15, no. 5 (1 March 1909): 90–91; A.F. Bull, "Progress in Pare, East Africa," MW 31, no. 7 (9 April 1926): 5.

⁵⁴ "Missionarsbriefe," AB 44, no. 18 (15 September 1938): 280. In neighbouring

soon caused quite a stir in several communities with an Adventist presence, similar to the Christian folk festivals initiated by the Berlin Mission among the Bena of southern Tanzania in 1933.⁵⁵ By the late 1940s, the Utimbaru, Utegi, and Ntusu camps attracted one thousand and more participants, and at Majita numbers swelled to five thousand in the same period.⁵⁶ Thus, at each of these places those attending the meetings counted twice or three times the number of church members. From the 1950s onwards, the number of meetings steadily increased, and it became a sign of maturation for congregations of a given area to be granted permission to conduct a camp meeting of their own.⁵⁷ So popular did *makambi* become that their relative importance in Tanzania soon surpassed that of meetings in North America and other regions of the world.⁵⁸

The fascination that camp meetings exerted upon African Adventists throughout the decades of their existence can be summarized with one word: “enthusiasm.”⁵⁹ The “very great emotions” experienced by church members⁶⁰ were fuelled by a mix of popular activities, evangelistic elements, teaching, and intense feelings of fellowship. One outstanding characteristic of the meetings in the early decades was that people lived together in temporary huts made out of sticks and grass during

Kenya, camp meetings had begun in 1932, and the enthusiasm experienced there prompted church leaders to start them on a large scale in Tanzania as well. See Okeyo, *Adventism in Kenya*, 20–21.

⁵⁵ Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 157–163. These folk festivals were less explicitly Christian in their character but resulted in a significantly enhanced popularity of Christianity.

⁵⁶ Cf. figure 19 (p. 619). J.M. Hnatyshin, “Win-One Campaign in East Africa,” SADO 45, no. 22 (1 December 1947): 2; J. Raubenheimer, “Camp-Meetings in East Africa,” SADO 45, no. 19 (15 October 1947): 2–3; H. Robson, “Utegi Camp-Meeting,” SADO 45, no. 19 (15 October 1947): 8; H.M. Sparrow, “Camp Meetings in Tanganyika,” RH 126 (27 October 1949): 1; “Tanganyika,” *East African Mission News*, no. 10 (September 1945): 2, SM 75.

⁵⁷ At Mbeya, for instance, camp meetings began in the 1960s, when the number of church members was sufficiently high to justify the expenses involved; see interview Siwanja.

⁵⁸ In North America, a whole conference commonly conducted only one meeting in the 1950s. See “Camp Meeting,” SDAE, 193. For an analysis of the impact of camp meetings in the Pacific before World War I, see S. Ross Goldstone, “Adventist Camp Meetings—A Church Growth Strategy: 1893–1918,” in *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific, 1885–1918*, ed. Arthur J. Ferch (Wahroonga: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986), 128–140.

⁵⁹ Maxwell, “I Loved Africa,” 133. A description of camp meetings in Kenya that closely resembles those of Tanzania is found in Nehemiah Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii, Kenya* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1997), 131–146.

⁶⁰ Interview Maradufu.

the few days of the event. Food was prepared as a community, and cows would be slaughtered for consumption.⁶¹ In the 1950s and 1960s, women prepared special dresses for the gathering or wore uniforms such as white garments.⁶² Highlights of activities were the reciting of memorized verses, singing and choirs, Bible quizzes, slides shown by missionaries, and the dramatization of biblical stories.⁶³ Some leaders viewed these entertainment-like elements as dangerous diversions from the spiritual nature of the occasion,⁶⁴ but they were important features because they popularized the Adventist type of Christianity.

As in the case of the Adventist Sabbath, the official emphasis of the camp meeting programme was on teaching. According to the American prototype, topics comprised devotions, doctrine, prophecy, and various facets of the church's work, including Sabbath School, literature, education, health and temperance, as well as special sessions for youth and children.⁶⁵ Soon family matters and separate teachings for men,

⁶¹ Interview Mashigan. In the 1970s and 1980s, slaughtering decreased and finally ceased as the Adventist emphasis on vegetarianism began to be felt; see also 7.4.

⁶² Interviews Samson S. Makorere, Tarime, 13 December 2000, and Nazihirwa Abihudi, Ngongongare, 25 November 2000.

⁶³ "Mkusanyiko wa Kambini, Suji," 1939, 1949, 1950; "Kusanyiko la Kambini, Nyasimba," 1938, SM 85; Maxwell, "I Loved Africa," 133; Okeyo, *Adventism in Kenya*, 20–21; Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 138–139. Although some of the materials cited here talk about camp meetings in Kenya, the same elements were prevalent in Tanzania.

⁶⁴ "Putting a Spiritual Revival into Our Camp Meetings," MAE 5, no. 5 (1961): 8–9, SM 71.

⁶⁵ "Camp Meeting," SDAE, 194. The following is typical Tanzanian camp meeting programmes found in "Suggestive [*sic*] Campmeeting Programme," n.d. [1940s], SM 22:

	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Sabbath</i>
7:00–8:00	Devotional Prayer Bands	Devotional Testimony Meeting	Devotional Prayer Bands
8:00–9:00	B R E	A K F	A S T
9:15–10:00	Workers Meeting	Workers Meeting	S.S. Teachers Meeting
10:00–11:00	Dept.: Sabbath School Children's Meeting	Dept.: Miss. Volunteers Children's Meeting	Sabbath School Children's Sabbath School
11:15–12:30	Preaching Service	Preaching Service	Preaching Service
12:30–2:00	L U N C	H	
2:30–3:30	Parents Meeting	Bible Study on	Evangelists & Colporteurs Symposium
4:00–6:00	Dept.: Education	Tithes and Offerings Opening Sabbath Short Study	Closing Sabbath Short Study

women, boys, and girls were introduced as well in order to teach them to “respect their bodies,” i.e., to give them instructions about Christian sexual morality.⁶⁶

A second purpose of the camp meeting was evangelism. Certainly the large number of people present was impressive for anybody who had hesitated to join the Adventist faith. This atmosphere was used as an occasion for calling people to enter the hearers’ class⁶⁷ and, in more recent decades, to be baptized. Even among the regular church members, the display of a unified church community helped many who had become weary or indifferent to experience the camp meeting period as a time of spiritual renewal.⁶⁸ Moreover, the meetings were designed as a prime opportunity for former Adventists to “return home,” which they did in significant numbers.⁶⁹ At such a large convention, it was relatively easy for “backsliders” (as they were commonly called) to be reinitiated, for a new beginning could be made quickly and officially without assuming the shameful position of a penitent sinner in a local church.

The camp meeting mood was a unique and somewhat paradoxical mixture. Apocalyptic expectation blended with an almost opposite feeling of being blessed to an extent that people did not want the event to end. This ambience is perhaps best captured in a popular song composed for the occasion in the 1940s. It said:⁷⁰

Adventists in Tabernacles

1. We have come to the [feast of] tabernacles⁷¹ to receive blessings knowing that Jesus will be close to us.

Chorus: We do not know if we will meet like this [again],
but we hope to meet in heaven.

6:00–7:15	S U P P	E R	
7:15–8:30	Preaching Service or Lantern Lecture	Preaching Service or Lantern Lecture	Preaching Service or Lantern Lecture

⁶⁶ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 29 June–1 July 1943, SM 7.

⁶⁷ F.E. Schlehuber, “Ikizu Camp-Meeting,” SADO 45, no. 19 (15 October 1947): 8.

⁶⁸ See the song below, stanza 2.

⁶⁹ “Putting a Spiritual Revival into Our Camp Meetings,” 8–9. At Majita, for instance, 46 former believers came back to the church in 1949; see H.M. Sparrow, “Camp Meetings in Tanganyika,” RH 126 (27 October 1949): 1.

⁷⁰ The song was probably composed by missionaries; still, it expresses a significant aspect of the mood of the many Africans who participated in the meetings.

⁷¹ As the original meaning of the word “tabernacles” and the Hebrew word *sukkot*, the Swahili original says *vibanda* (huts).

2. We have come here to confess that we have fallen, and we depend on Jesus' blood for salvation.
3. The signs of the moon, the stars, war, famine, difficulties and increasing evil proclaim the great day.
4. One work remains: to preach the Gospel; let us give ourselves today, brother, so that the Lord may come soon.⁷²

For many years the visiting pastors, who carried the main load of preaching, were White missionaries. Starting in 1943, Yolam Kamwendo, a missionary from Malawi, served at such occasions, and it was not until 1951 that regular Tanzanian participation in leading these spiritual festivals began.⁷³ Thus, from an outside perspective the meetings might seem to be a foreign imposition. Africans, however, had made the event their own very early. Tanzanian pastors and other leaders gave the morning or evening devotions, and the organization of the practical parts, such as singing, caring for visitors, children's activities, and timekeeping, lay in the hands of the African workers from the beginning.⁷⁴ Therefore, it is certainly safe to argue that this Tanzanian version of camp meeting revivalism was a way of integrating different groups in a changing and divided society.⁷⁵

In 1960, when administrative Fields were introduced in Tanzania, almost all preachers at camp meeting were African Field leaders, and from the early 1980s, all pastors began to be involved because of the ever increasing number of meeting locations.⁷⁶ Another indication of the African nature of the *makambi* is that the event was so important to Tanzanians that they decided to double what had been a three-day

⁷² Camp Meeting Song 1948, SM 85. It was already sung in 1947; see J.M. Hnatyshin, "Win-One Campaign in East Africa," SADO 45, no. 22 (1 December 1947): 2.

In Swahili it says:

Waadventista Vibandani

1. Vibandani tumekuja tupate mibaraka tukijua kwamba Yesu atakuwa karibu.
Chorus: Hatujui kwamba tena tutakutana hivi, lakini twatumaini kuonana mbinguni.
2. Tumekuja kuungama kwamba tumeanguka, na twategemea damu ya Yesu kwa wokofu [*sic*].
3. Dalili za mwezi, nyota, vita, njaa, matata, kuongezeka maovu, zatangaza siku kuu.
4. Kazi moja inabaki: kuhubiri injili, tujitoe leo ndugu aje Bwana karibu.

⁷³ TMF Minutes, 1–2 February 1943; 17–24 January 1951, SM 5. In some years before 1951, Tanzanian individuals served at different places, but these were only temporary measures.

⁷⁴ "Makusanyiko ya Kambini, Mamba," 1940; "Kusanyiko la Kambini, Nyasimba," 1938, SM 85.

⁷⁵ This view is proposed for the American context by Ellen Eslinger, *Citizens of Zion: The Social Origins of Camp Meeting Revivalism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

⁷⁶ See the NETF Minutes, 1960–1971, SM 3, *passim*, for instance, 31 January–4 February 1962, no. 128. Today, hundreds of camp meetings are held annually.

pattern to a six-day schedule in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷⁷ The camp meeting had become the annual peak experience of Adventist church life in Tanzania.

“Camp Meeting Theology” and the Tanzanian Adventist Church Year

In spite of its growing popularity in Tanzania, the Adventist camp meeting lacked a definite theological basis. As many other aspects of church life, such as church buildings, literature, or the Adventist Sabbath School, it had been designed with its practical outcome in mind, not as a response to some biblical reference.⁷⁸ This lack must have been felt by church members, for through the years a “camp meeting theology” developed which is today accepted among East African Adventists of many regions although it is not part of the heritage of nineteenth century Adventism.⁷⁹ In this theological concept, camp meetings are equated with the feast of tabernacles in the Old Testament.⁸⁰

This popular thinking arose from two sources. One was the attempt of church leaders to make the ceremony more plausible to church members by linking it with parts of the Old Testament. The second was a misunderstanding among the common believers. They concluded that the references to biblical texts, which were meant as mere analogies,

⁷⁷ In some areas, they were scheduled for three days only even in the early 1980s, but in others, changes had been made already, and since the late 1980s, all camp meetings in the country follow a six-day schedule. The 1982 camp meeting schedules in North East Tanzania Field, for instance, often stretched from Thursday evening to Sunday evening only; see SM 50. In other countries, the duration of camp meetings varied: the original American pattern was a ten-day meeting, while in Kenya, it was a five-day to one-week meeting; see “Camp Meeting,” SDAE, 194; Okeyo, *Adventism in Kenya*, 20–21; Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 134.

⁷⁸ Camp meetings are not held universally among Adventists. In Europe, for instance, they never gained much influence although they were held at a few places such as Germany and Norway. See Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 216.

⁷⁹ No official Adventist publication demands the observance of the Jewish festivals found in the Old Testament; rather, they are considered “a shadow” according to Colossians 2:17; see “Sabbaths, Annual (ceremonial),” SDAE, 1129–1130. Recently, a leading Adventist theologian who is now retired, S. Bacchiocchi, privately published two volumes on these festivals in which he suggested how they could be included in a church calendar. However, there was massive disagreement with his position. See Samuele Bacchiocchi, *God’s Festivals in Scripture and History*, Part I: *The Spring Festivals* (Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1995); Samuele Bacchiocchi, *God’s Festivals in Scripture and History*, Part II: *The Fall Festivals* (Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1996).

⁸⁰ Interviews Siwanja and Lukwaro. Even Nehemiah Nyaundi, a Kenyan Adventist theologian, argues that the “Adventist practice of camp meetings derives its origin from the Bible”; see Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 131–132. I also encountered this view among Adventists from both Kenya and Tanzania.

constituted a call for obeying a divine command. As early as 1946, appeals were made to Adventists to participate in the camp meeting by quoting Deuteronomy 16:16, “Three times a year all your men must appear before the Lord your God.”⁸¹ The obvious parallel between the Israelites’ living in huts for their feast and the Tanzanian Adventist custom of doing the same for theirs was exploited to the extent of calling camp meetings *sikukuu ya vibanda*,⁸² “feast of huts.”

Thus, church leaders inadvertently gave *makambi* the status of a religious ceremony similar to the weekly day of worship, Christmas, or Easter. The consequence was that the Adventist faithful in Tanzania interpreted the practice as the observance of a biblical prescription that was universally held by the denomination,⁸³ which was, of course, not the case. Yet such a conviction was understandable given the Adventist emphasis on other items conspicuous in the Old Testament, such as the Sabbath and dietary laws, and the denomination’s emphasis on having biblical foundations for church practices as opposed to mere church traditions.

A peculiar Tanzanian idea that originated from this popular camp meeting theology is what may be called the “Adventist church year.” When Tanzanian Adventists got used to viewing the *makambi* as the spiritual climax of the year, they created the concept that the new year of the church begins after this festival.⁸⁴ This notion was derived from a text commonly cited at the beginning of camp meetings, Zechariah 14:16, where an eschatological celebration of the festival of tabernacles is prophesied to take place “year after year.”⁸⁵

This concept is important in relation to an associated issue: that of the liturgical year observed by other denominations. As some African

⁸¹ 1946 Camp Meeting leaflet, SM 85.

⁸² Cf. the song quoted above, “Waadventista Vibandani” (“Adventists in huts”); see “Camp Meeting Song 1948,” SM 85.

⁸³ An interesting detail in this context is the following: in 1961, Kuria Adventists asked for holidays for attending a camp meeting and explained, “it is a custom of the SDA religion and its followers in the whole world to meet every year to do invocations of praying to God for three days every day from morning to evening.” See Wazee wa Baraza Nyamwigura, Local Court Inchage, na Wafanya Kazi Wengine—Executive Officer North Mara Tarime, 21 August 1961, TNA 544/M6, no. 3.

⁸⁴ This was repeatedly asserted in conversations that I had with church members during my time in Tanzania.

⁸⁵ The full verse 16 says, “Then the survivors from all the nations that have attacked Jerusalem will go up year after year to worship the King, the LORD Almighty, and to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles.”

Instituted Churches,⁸⁶ Seventh-day Adventists never adopted the traditional church calendar with its peaks at Easter and Christmas; therefore, they do not have any officially endorsed annual festivals. Rather, their church calendar relates to major facets of the denomination's work.⁸⁷ Yet Adventist families have commonly felt free to celebrate Christmas, and even churches often conducted some kind of programme during that season. Still, there have always been a good number of Adventists who rejected Christmas and especially Easter because of their pagan origin in analogy to the Adventist rejection of Sunday as a day of worship⁸⁸ or because of what they considered the "frivolity and extravagance, gluttony and display" of Christmas celebrations in "the world."⁸⁹

In Tanzania, many missionaries did celebrate Christmas and followed Ellen White's counsel that Christmas should be made a day that uplifts God, which may include offering gifts to the needy and to those who can be drawn towards Christ.⁹⁰ At Ntusu, the season was used for evangelistic presentations and celebrations in the 1930s,⁹¹ and in Pare, Christmas was celebrated as a big feast in the 1930s and 1940s

⁸⁶ See, e.g., Mazambara, *The Self-Understanding of African Instituted Churches*, 225.

⁸⁷ The Adventist church calendar is a list of Sabbaths and weeks of the year to be used for the receiving of offerings for, promotion of, emphasis on, or study about various church departments and specific purposes. This plan goes back at least to 1918, when the General Conference voted some special offerings and special days of emphasis; see "Church Calendar," SDAE, 260. An example from the Eastern African context is the "Calendar of Dates for 1962," SM 85, which lists special Sabbaths almost every second week: Home missionary day, Temperance Commitment, Christian Home, Dorcas, Sabbath School Rally, Literature Evangelism, Visitation Evangelism, World Evangelism, Spirit of Prophecy, Disaster and Famine Relief, Medical Missionary, Pioneer Evangelism, Education, Literature Rally, Community Relations, Temperance. In Swahili, see also *Mipango ya Siku za Pেকে na Masomo ya Juma la Maombi* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1969).

⁸⁸ "Easter," SDAE, 357. In Germany, for instance, Christmas and Easter were rejected by many members until the 1960s; see Irmgard Simon, *Die Gemeinschaft der Siebentags-Adventisten in volkskundlicher Sicht* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 218. Interestingly, some Puritans had already rejected the celebration of Christmas and Easter as well; see Peter Staples, "Patters of Purification: The New England Puritans," in *The Quest for Purity: Dynamics of Puritan Movements*, ed. Walter E.A. van Beek (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), 77.

⁸⁹ "Christmas," SDAE, 248.

⁹⁰ For Ellen White's position on Christmas, which balances the concerns of rejecting worldliness and using the opportunity for Christian service, see Ellen G. White, *The Adventist Home: Counsels to Seventh-Day Adventist Families* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1952), 477–483. Interestingly, her position appeared also in the magazine for pastors in the Southern African Division: Ellen G. White, "Observance of Christmas," MAE 7, no. 6 (1963): 4–5.

⁹¹ Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 11.

in which cows were slaughtered and the meat was distributed to the people.⁹² Even at Heri, missionaries had celebrated Christmas in the initial years by giving workers and lepers gifts and visiting patients, although they emphasized that Jesus was not born on 25 December. In later years, however, the celebration of the day was abandoned and came to be strongly opposed.⁹³ In Pare, Pastors Yohana Makanta and Elisa Manongi likewise attacked the Christmas custom as a pagan institution, and although it has never been officially forbidden, its public commemoration ended in the 1950s.⁹⁴ Today, Christmas is not officially celebrated anywhere in Tanzanian Adventist churches, and the majority of members oppose its observance.

How did this change come about? One major reason may be that it was easy to discard what had never gained strong roots among the people. When African leaders became more influential in the 1940s and 1950s, they could easily persuade the majority to abandon this rather foreign thing. Another reason was to follow a logic similar to the assumption that camp meetings should be equalled with the feast of tabernacles. Christmas and Easter both lacked a clear biblical basis and were therefore viewed by some as a continuation of pagan predecessor feasts. Thus, one could easily use their non-observance to illustrate the Adventist principle of strictly adhering to biblical teachings. Furthermore, the camp meetings had begun to constitute a culmination of the year that did not need any rivals.

In appraising the Tanzanian camp meeting, one must appreciate the manifold aspects that it encompasses: the spiritual peak experience, communitarianism, the Adventist preoccupation with teaching, the particular services provided for different groups of people, the evangelistic impact, the biblical references, and the creation of an alternative church calendar. It is the combination of these factors that made the event so vital for Tanzanian Adventists. What was originally an American religious practice became a characteristic Africanized element of a Tanzanian denomination.

Several factors can be identified in this transition: (1) The most basic patterns of religious ceremonies can resemble one another even in different cultures given the similarity of human needs. (2) Rural living

⁹² Interview Godson Elieneza, Hedaru, 13 June 2002.

⁹³ Interviews Maguru and Kagize.

⁹⁴ Interview Natogola Eunice Kuga, Arusha, 16 May 2000.

and the tradition of religious enthusiasm were parallels between nineteenth century America, where the camp meeting arose, and twentieth century Africa. They contributed to the eminence of the practice in both contexts. (3) The “theologizing” of the camp meeting as *sikukuu ya vibanda* was an African attempt to give a religious meaning to an originally merely functional tradition. (4) As a surrogate for traditional Christian celebrations in the absence of the customary ecclesiastical calendar, the camp meeting could even develop into the focal point of an alternative church year.

In addition to these factors, the camp meeting was used as a functional substitute for traditional African rituals by Adventists, even if this may not have been a conscious process.⁹⁵ With its wide array of components, *makambi* corresponded to aspects of several types of traditional African communitarian rituals.⁹⁶ The fact that some African Instituted Churches celebrate ceremonies similar to the Tanzanian Adventist *makambi*⁹⁷ and that the East African Revival Movement organized large conventions of a similar kind⁹⁸ likewise shows that it constituted a notable aspect of Africanizing the Christian faith that Adventists brought.

As in the case of the Sabbath, the emerging Tanzanian Adventist folk church creatively used an element of Adventist tradition to form a synthesis of denominational and African concerns. This aspect of Adventist church operations, which had originally been designed as a pragmatic tool for advancing the church’s message, was sacralized and thus given considerably more weight than in other parts of the world. That such a reinterpretation was possible implies that the remnant had

⁹⁵ A functional substitute fills human needs that were connected with previous practices. Traditions may have been quite different from the substitute, but if the *function* of the substitute is similar, it may be acceptable and possibly even more successful than traditional elements. See Eugene A. Nida, *Customs and Cultures: Anthropology for Christian Missions* (New York: Harper, 1954), 247, 264.

⁹⁶ A list of typical African communitarian rituals is found in Aylward Shorter, *African Culture, an Overview: Socio-Cultural Anthropology* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1998), 64. Among the items of his list, four may be connected with camp meetings to some extent: seasonal rituals such as harvest festivals, territorial rites, initiation into social strata (cf. baptisms at camp meetings), and initiation of office holders (cf. the common practice of ordaining pastors at camp meetings). Most of the other rituals concern family matters, which were either Christianized by the churches or continued in some secular form.

⁹⁷ Isaiah Shembe’s *amaNazaretha*, for instance, had two annual festivals, one in July and one in January; the latter was also referred to as the “Festival of the Tabernacles.” Other Zionist churches also have festivals that resemble this feast. See Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, 198–199.

⁹⁸ Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, 125.

space for experimentation as long as it did not touch its essentials. As the Tanzanian Adventist Sabbath, the *makambi* celebration indicates that in some respects the theological remnant ideal did not need to conflict with a folk church reality.

6.2 *Becoming and Staying Adventist*

Evangelism, Conversion, and Catechesis

Whereas the weekly and yearly peaks of church life constituted tangible elements that excelled in their capacity for the inculturation of Adventist Christianity, processes in the life of the local Adventist church such as evangelism, conversion, catechesis, and church discipline seem to be much less outstanding phenomena. Because of their normalcy, the researcher might be tempted to neglect them, yet they constitute major dimensions of African Christianity which have not always been given much attention in historiography and should be therefore analysed carefully.⁹⁹

As far as evangelism is concerned, the diversity of methods which were developed is impressive. As in the pre-World War I period, schools remained a central element of the Adventist evangelistic strategy until independence. However, this was increasingly supplemented by an array of other types of evangelism which often involved indigenous creativity. A brass band went around Pare on evangelistic tours since the 1920s,¹⁰⁰ and at Masoko, students tried to attract new believers by going out in twos or threes, singing at funerals, conducting Bible studies, and dramatizing Bible stories and issues such as the dangers of drinking alcohol.¹⁰¹ In the 1950s, Pare churches had similar programmes with theatrical play.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Spear argues that this complex is one of the neglected aspects of African church history; see Thomas Spear, "Toward the History of African Christianity," in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 4–9.

¹⁰⁰ W.T. Bartlett, "A Few Words from East Africa," AS 1, no. 1 (July 1929): 6.

¹⁰¹ Interview Josephson.

¹⁰² [G.S. Glass]—C.T.J. Hyde, 5 November 1959, SM 47. Dramatization was certainly impressive even if it did not always fit the missionaries' taste, as expressed in this letter. In this instance, the Kihurio church enacted the resurrection of the dead and Satan's being consumed by fire.

Being a young church, the youth was naturally a main agent in such activities. An organization that aimed at channelling youthful vigour into outreach existed in the 1930s and 1940s and was called *Jeshi la Yesu* (“The Army of Jesus”).¹⁰³ Its rules stipulated that every member should draw one person to Christ every year and, for this purpose, was to concentrate on evangelizing at least two friends, and that groups should regularly go to villages to preach. Similar activities were conducted at other places by the church as a whole.¹⁰⁴ Together with an increasing number of organized evangelistic campaigns since the 1930s and the Sabbath School, which functioned as an additional baptismal class,¹⁰⁵ these activities ensured that church members practised their talents and learnt how to make their faith known to others. Their results differed widely,¹⁰⁶ corresponding to a multiplicity of reasons for people to accept or reject Adventist Christianity and to the different setups in which these dynamics operated.

Often a combination of factors and experiences worked together in an individual’s conversion.¹⁰⁷ Two examples of outstanding Adventists

¹⁰³ At Ntusu, they were called “Armies of the Lord,” see H. Robson, “The Ntusu Mission, Tanganyika,” AS 5, no. 7 (July 1933): 4–5.

¹⁰⁴ “Amri za Majeshi,” 1939/40, SM 59; interview Zabron Ntiamalumwe, Heri Hospital, December 2001. At times families even moved to distant places to kindle new interests; see H. Robson, “The Ntusu Mission, Tanganyika,” 4–5; E.D. Hanson, “Annual Report of the East African Union,” SADO 50, no. 23 (15 December 1952): 2.

¹⁰⁵ For a detailed discussion of the rise of public evangelism in Tanzanian Adventism, see 10.2. In addition to being an integral part of Adventist worship, the Sabbath School reinforced the socialization and teaching of “students of religion,” for the teachings resembled those given in the hearers’ and baptismal classes. The importance of the Sabbath School in the catechetical process becomes evident when one looks at attendance statistics. In 1929, for instance, there were 297 church members compared with 1430 Sabbath School members in the then West Tanganyika Field. The relationship between Sabbath School and membership was even more dramatic in neighbouring Kenya, where there were 1385 members and 6625 Sabbath School members in the same year. See “Statistical Report of the Northern European Division for the Quarter Ended March 31, 1929,” AS 1, no. 1 (July 1929): 7.

¹⁰⁶ In 1943, for instance, public evangelism led to 135 new believers in Utimbaru, 189 in Majita, and 125 in Ntusu in 1943; in Pare, however, only 28 persons joined the baptismal classes after six preaching campaigns in the same year. See Tanganyika Mission of Seventh-day Adventists: Report of Evangelistic Efforts Held During 1943, SM 5.

¹⁰⁷ A comprehensive theory of conversion from the perspective of religious psychology is Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Rambo presents a seven-stage model: context, crisis, quest, encounter, interaction, commitment, and consequences. Adventism often appealed to people who had travelled down this road for some distance already.

may illustrate this:¹⁰⁸ Elisha Okeyo was initially attracted to school and to Christianity by his sister, Eliseba Omindo. The night before he went to Busegwe for schooling beyond the primary level, he wished to attend a local dance and was almost injured in a fight that arose in the middle of the night. He then resolved to serve God rather than indulge in what he considered sinful activities and thus never to participate in dances again.¹⁰⁹ Raphael Megera was motivated to become an Adventist because of education: his teacher, Benjamin Nyangi, the first Adventist teacher among the Kuria, encouraged him to get schooling, and soon his objective was to become a teacher as well.¹¹⁰ Others were attracted by morally upright Christians or dreams, through fear of God's judgement, or because of the hope to see their beloved ones again.¹¹¹ Among women who converted in early periods, many seem to have followed their parents or husbands.¹¹²

A recurring theme in Adventist conversion stories is the Sabbath.¹¹³ A typical case is that of Jocktan Kuyenga. He was determined to become a Mennonite in 1942, but one evening he was attracted by the singing of Adventist youth. Kuyenga soon opted for attending this church and ultimately enrolled in an Adventist school at his village, Murangi. When his teacher, Ibrahim Lisso, explained the Sabbath teaching to him, he decided to become an Adventist.¹¹⁴ This and the previous stories reveal that in decisions for the Adventist type of faith, religious aspects were combined with personal experience and at times the choice between different denominations.

¹⁰⁸ Elisha Okeyo was Tanzania Union Secretary and Raphael Megera was Union treasurer in the 1980s.

¹⁰⁹ Okeyo, "God's Hand," 1–3. Similar dynamics are reported by Elizaphan Wanjara. He had attended an Adventist school and was on a fishing trip with three backslidden Adventists and one Traditionalist in 1940. The Traditionalist was eaten by a crocodile that had passed Wanjara first, which made him decide to continue with school and to be a serious Christian. See interview E. Wanjara. Wanjara was a prominent pastor who headed Union departments and several Fields in the 1970s and 1980s.

¹¹⁰ Interview Raphael Chacha Megera, Arusha, 12 March 2000.

¹¹¹ Interview Immanuel K. Machage, Bisarwi, 5 December 2000; S. Singo, "Nguvu ya Neno La Mungu," [1943], SM 59; interview Redneka Nzota, Makanya, 21 July 1999; and F.B. Wells—H.M. Sparrow, 2 October 1947, SM 17.

¹¹² See, e.g., interviews Takisivya, Z. Lisso, Kabale, and N. Abihudi.

¹¹³ Apart from the following story, the Sabbath teaching was stated as a reason for conversion in the interviews Josia Mwamgogwa, Mbeya, 15–16 May 2000, Masumbuko, and Makorere.

¹¹⁴ Interview Kuyenga. Kuyenga was also an outstanding Adventist leader from the 1970 to 1990s—he served in both Field and Union positions.

In the early decades, conversion to Christianity and to Adventism in particular was not an easy thing to choose. Although Adventists were no strangers any more in South Pare, some individuals converting to Christianity were chased away by their families well into the 1940s. In other regions such as Mbeya and Utimbaru such dramas happened even after independence.¹¹⁵ In addition to these adversities, the way to full church membership was an arduous path. As usual in many other missions in those first generations of Christian presence among African peoples, Adventists did not make it easy for converts to reach baptism. A minimum of two years of instruction was required for non-Christians and one year for those who had been members of another denomination already.¹¹⁶

Yet this was only one formal aspect of qualifying for membership. There were several other conditions as well. The character of a person was to be carefully considered, and the candidate had to pass a final examination. The ability to read, records of tithes returned, a host of memorized scripture verses, knowledge of the denomination's doctrines, Christian experience, and missionary ability were all prerequisites for admission to church membership.¹¹⁷ A "clear evidence of conversion" was required even *before* a person was given instruction.¹¹⁸ How seriously the requirements for baptism were taken is visible in the fact that women with plaited hair were not baptized until the 1960s, and that before someone was baptized, he or she was inspected naked by deacons of the respective sex if any charm was on the body. Since it was necessary to pay tithes, young people would ask their parents or other people to give them work so that they could tithe the income they got.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Interviews Makorere, Mwambogela, and Kanyempwe and Kanyempwe.

¹¹⁶ Until the mid-1940s, those in the first year of instruction were called *wasikilizaji* (hearers) and those in the second year *wanafunzi wa dini* (students of religion). The second year was commonly labelled "baptismal class." Apparently the hearer status was not a very respectable thing; thus, it was decided in Pare in 1944 to call persons involved in the first and second years "students of religion" on levels I and II. See Baraza ya Pare, 10 March 1944, SM 7.

¹¹⁷ The conditions referred to in this paragraph are found in "Local Working Policy, Tanganyika Mission," 1933, 3, SM 5; M.N. Campbell, "East African Missions," RH 99 (11 May 1922): 6, and H.M. Sparrow—Mission Directors, 16 October 1941, SM 31. Cf. also interviews Simeon Dea Otieno, Shirati, 13 December 2000, and Ntiamalumwe.

¹¹⁸ "Resolutions and Expressions from the Foreign Missions Council," RED 14, no. 2 (1928): 13.

¹¹⁹ Interviews Nakunda Mhina, Arusha, 17 May 2000, and Kuyenga.

A good number of people who failed to persuade church leaders that they were worthy of membership had to wait for one more year. Jacob Kagize at Heri, for instance, was not baptized among the first group of converts because he did not know how to interpret the prophecies of Daniel 2.¹²⁰ Others were refused admission because the tithes they had offered appeared not enough,¹²¹ because their character was not humble enough,¹²² or because of a reason as far-fetched as the teacher of the baptismal class committing adultery.¹²³ Adventist membership was often a privilege of a remnant, of the few who were ready to submit to all conditions.

Church Discipline

Whoever had managed to go the full way from hearer's status to baptism was certainly used to Adventist principles. Although the *Church Manual* did not appear until 1932 and was only translated into Swahili in the late 1950s,¹²⁴ a core of rules to be adhered to by church members could be derived from earlier semi-official Adventist publications on church order.¹²⁵ Some issues were taken care of locally; in 1929, for instance, the newly formed East Tanganyika Native Church Council was empowered to "legislate" in matters of church discipline and related church affairs.¹²⁶ In 1948, Divisions were authorized to add stipulations for their particular constituencies to the *Church Manual*.¹²⁷ The then Southern African Division did so by creating an appendix that has remained part of the *Church Manual* used in Tanzania until the

¹²⁰ Interview Kagize.

¹²¹ One person to whom this happened was Nimrod Lugoe, who was later Regional Commissioner of Mara Region and Tanzanian ambassador to various countries; see interview Nimrod Lugoe, Musoma, 20 December 2000.

¹²² An example is Minza, a student at the Ntusu girls' school, who had been unfriendly to the preceptress; see Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 9–10.

¹²³ This was in 1932; see interview Joshua Muganda.

¹²⁴ Unfortunately, the Swahili version, *Kanuni na Kawaida za Kanisa* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald Publishing House, n.d.), does not carry a date, but a reading committee for the Swahili *Church Manual* was created in 1959, which indicates that it must have been published shortly after; see EAU Minutes, 3 December 1959, no. 387, EAU.

¹²⁵ The non-official yet widely accepted book by Loughborough, *The Church, its Organization, Order, and Discipline*, 1907, contained an early version of Seventh-day Adventist conventions regarding church operations and discipline.

¹²⁶ "Organization of E. Tanganyika Native Church Council," 18–21 April 1929, SM 4.

¹²⁷ *Kanuni na Kawaida za Kanisa*, 19–20.

present in an almost unchanged form.¹²⁸ This appendix mainly deals with weddings, marriage, divorce, polygamy, circumcision, and funerals. Most important, the local church was always in charge of administering church discipline,¹²⁹ which meant that considerable differences could arise in the way cases were handled.

What may be surprising at first sight though similar to experiences in other Tanzanian churches is that Tanzanian Adventists administered church discipline almost exclusively in marriage matters and the related issue of sexual morality.¹³⁰ An outstanding early example of this tendency was the 1927 crisis in Pare, when the majority of members were disciplined because of adultery.¹³¹ Subsequently, strict laws about fines and disciplining were set for church members and catechumens who had been involved in such acts, including public corporal punishment from five to fifteen strokes by a deacon before all church members for men and wearing a “garment of shame” for fifteen days for women. This was supported with the argument that “Seventh-day Adventist religion is very strong” and that “the Lord, once he has purified His Church, will increase it with pure people.”¹³²

These measures can be partly attributed to the personality of the presiding missionary, Arthur F. Bull, and certainly also arose from the vacuum that existed before the availability of the *Church Manual*.¹³³ Yet the episode also shows that the church had considerable power over its members and that strictness was an intrinsic element in the Adventist concept of Christianity. Later instances confirm this: actions related to sexual immorality were relatively frequent,¹³⁴ and even prominent church members had to bow to church discipline in cases of adultery.¹³⁵

¹²⁸ *Kanuni za Kanisa la Waadventista Wasabato* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, 2000).

¹²⁹ *Church Manual*, 1932 edition, 96. After the stipulation that it is only a duly called church meeting (later called church business meeting), it was even reemphasized that a church board alone does *not* have the right to disfellowship persons.

¹³⁰ For Lutherans, see, e.g., Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 93.

¹³¹ See 5.1.

¹³² *Maagizo ya Mabaraza yote ya Kanisa*, 2 January 1928, and *Baraza la Wanaume Wakanisa*, n.d., SM 7.

¹³³ When the *Church Manual* was published five years later, it invalidated these local rulings.

¹³⁴ The files SM 15 and SM 46 contain several letters regarding moral lapses of students and teachers in 1945 and the mid-1950s at Suji and Ikizu, respectively. Other instances are recorded in F.E. Schlehuber—M.B. Musgrave, 25 October 1951, SM 18, and *Baraza la Upare Minutes*, 21 January 1948, SM 1.

¹³⁵ The wife of Paulo Kilonzo, the most respected leader of Tanzanian Adventists,

Church employees were dismissed for such behaviour and could be reemployed only after two years and rebaptism, while remarried divorcees and those who added wives after becoming Christians were only received back into church fellowship if they returned to their original marriage setup with the first wife.¹³⁶

Marriages with non-believers constituted a special problem, particularly in the early period when few potential partners were available among the small flock of Adventist Christians.¹³⁷ While it was accepted for a church member to marry a “student,” i.e., a member of the hearers’ or baptismal classes,¹³⁸ it was deemed unacceptable in the 1930s to marry anyone who did not belong to the Adventist fold. A person planning to do so was “to be warned by the elders and not to be allowed” to do so, but if the person refused, it was deemed his “own decision.”¹³⁹ This clear but tolerant position was later modified, for in the late 1940s, Paulo Masunga, a teacher at Mwagala, was dismissed from the work because he “married his daughter to an outsider.”¹⁴⁰ At Heri, accepting bridewealth from the family of a non-Adventist bridegroom was a reason for being disfellowshipped, as was marrying a non-Adventist.¹⁴¹ In other regions such as Mbeya, Pare, and the Iraqw, such a marriage implied being suspended, i.e., being put under church discipline, for up to nine months. At the very least, it implied being ineligible for church offices.¹⁴² Yet in 1965, the Tanzania Union committee looked into the matter and advised that members marrying non-Adventists should not be disfellowshipped only for this reason.¹⁴³

and Gertrud Reinhard, a missionary, were dropped from membership in the early 1940s for adultery; see TMF Minutes, 3–4 February 1943, no. 302, SM 5.

¹³⁶ TMF Minutes, 26 February–3 March 1950, no. E. 747, SM 6; TMF Minutes, 5–9 February 1945, no. A 23, SM 5.

¹³⁷ Most missions tried to prevent their adherents from marriage with non-Christians; see Erwin Steinborn, *Die Kirchenzucht in der Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), 232.

¹³⁸ Maagizo ya Baraza, 6–7 April 1931; Baraza ya Makanisa, 6 August 1934, SM 7.

¹³⁹ Baraza ya Makanisa, 12–13 August 1937, SM 7.

¹⁴⁰ TMF Minutes, 7–10 February 1949, no. 607, SM 6.

¹⁴¹ Interviews Ntiamalumwe, Kagize, and Takisivya.

¹⁴² Interviews T.E.K. Mbwambo, Dar es Salaam, 5 August 2001, Mwambogela, and Kuyenga; Elias Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw.”

¹⁴³ Church discipline was only intended for cases of polygamy and “evil practices” (probably fornication); see TU Minutes, 19 January 1965, no. 543, TU. This was fully line with what the *Church Manual* had always said; see *Church Manual*, 1932 edition, 173. Even Loughborough, *The Church, its Organization, Order, and Discipline*, 165, suggests that “marrying out of the truth” is not a “test of fellowship” in spite of the assertion

If marrying non-believers was unwelcome because of the Adventist concern for the Christian character of marriage, church weddings were deemed a necessity for the same reason. Of course, all the three possible forms of contracting a marriage—traditional, government and church weddings—were valid, and church leaders had to accept them. Still, they encouraged church members to have their weddings conducted in church. Government weddings were accepted somewhat grudgingly, but Pare Adventist leaders felt the urge to pronounce in 1938 that they did not like this mode “because it is a way to hide sin,”¹⁴⁴ i.e., they were utilized by people who had had sexual relations before marriage. Yet when the Utimbaru congregation disfellowshipped members who had married without ecclesiastical ceremonies, the Tanganyika Mission Field committee saw the necessity of ordering this church to receive them back by vote.¹⁴⁵ Principles were one thing, but Adventists also understood that not all ideals had to be insisted upon by way of strict disciplinary rules. Pragmatism was acceptable at least in some issues that did not threaten the core of the denomination’s identity.

This lenient stand in peripheral matters is visible also in subsequent deliberations regarding church weddings. In 1961, both North East Tanzania Field leaders and their colleagues in the East Lake Field wondered what to do with the many youth who married traditionally or who lived together before marrying.¹⁴⁶ As in other denominations, the problem of exorbitant sums demanded by the bride’s relatives and expensive festivities led to many cases of “marriage by eloping,”¹⁴⁷ a practice that was obviously not accepted by Adventists.¹⁴⁸ Because this was a country-wide issue, the Tanzania Union committee resolved in 1965 that church members be urged to marry in church, but where

that “on the authority of the apostle Paul, and the ‘Testimonies for the Church’, a marriage union is better to be ‘only in the Lord’.”

¹⁴⁴ Baraza la Wajumbe wa Upare, 11 September 1938, SM 7.

¹⁴⁵ TMF Minutes, 8–9 October 1944, no. 218, SM 5.

¹⁴⁶ TU Minutes, 12 May 1961, no. 339, NETC; ELF Minutes, 26 September 1961, no. 132, MC.

¹⁴⁷ For churches that arose from various faith missions, see Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 346–349, and Klaus Fiedler, “For the Sake of Christian Marriage: Abolish Church Weddings,” in *Rites of Passage in Contemporary Africa: Interaction Between Christian and African Traditional Religions*, ed. James L. Cox (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998), 46–60; for Lutherans around Kilimanjaro see Tagesordnung des 1. Kirchentages, Donnerstag, 21. August—Sonntag, 24. August 1930, MUCOA, Leipzig Mission A 6.

¹⁴⁸ The East Lake Field committee action conceded that the bridewealth rates were often exceedingly high, which implies that the marriage patterns that they considered irregular resulted from this problem. See ELF Minutes, 26 September 1961, no. 132, MC.

this was impossible “that they be encouraged to solemnize the marriage before a court of law which is competent to do so.”¹⁴⁹ Another way of dealing with the issue was giving church approval to marriages that had been contracted in some other way earlier, a solution that was applied as early as the late 1950s and continues to be used up to the present.¹⁵⁰ These measures obviously did not lead to more church weddings; in fact, church leaders continued to lament about the fact that the majority of young people did not “follow the procedures.”¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the church at least did not alienate its youth by undue rigidity. In spite of the importance of the Adventist remnant paradigm in the centre of denominational identity, there were aspects of Christian life that had to be left in suspense.

Of course there were also other reasons for church discipline apart from marriage and sexuality: breaking the Sabbath or breaking any of the Ten Commandments, bringing shame upon the church, and drinking alcohol or engaging in the production of alcoholic beverages.¹⁵² Yet no such case ever rose to great prominence. Other matters that could have been regarded as serious cases such as husbands beating their wives were not viewed as necessitating church discipline,¹⁵³ and a few issues that officially demanded disciplinary action were often not followed up closely, such as the Kuria custom of a woman “marrying” a woman,¹⁵⁴ some practices connected with traditional circumcision,¹⁵⁵ and, in some regions, the use of alcohol.¹⁵⁶ Thus, most of the actual incidences of church discipline were connected with matters of marriage and sexual morality.

When a case of immorality was brought to the attention of the Adventist community, there were several alternatives: issuing a warning,

¹⁴⁹ TU Minutes, 17 October 1965, no. 459, TU.

¹⁵⁰ Missionary G.S. Glass reported in 1959 that three couples who had not been married in the church were “consecrated” at Lushoto. See G.S. Glass—C.T.J. Hyde, 3 July 1959, SM 47.

¹⁵¹ “Idara ya Vijana: Taarifa ya 1972–1976,” TU Session, 1977, SM 71.

¹⁵² Baraza la Upare Minutes, 26 May 1947 and 27 June 1949, SM 1; interviews Kuyenga and Takisivya. In the 1940s, missionary Kenneth Webster even threatened church members who sold sugar cane to those who produced alcohol from it that it was a reason to disfellowship a member; see K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 24 May 1945, SM 12. On the sugar cane issue, see also 7.4.

¹⁵³ Interview Elphod B. Chobaliko, Sumbawanga, 30–31 August 2000.

¹⁵⁴ Interview Makorere; see also the introduction to 7.3.

¹⁵⁵ See 7.2.

¹⁵⁶ Among the Ha, the use of alcohol was apparently not viewed as a sufficient reason for church discipline in the early years; see interviews Kagize and Takisivya.

suspending a church member from three to nine months,¹⁵⁷ or dropping his name from church membership. Interestingly, the option of suspension was the most common course of action in the pre-independence period. Disfellowshipping was such a drastic measure that it was spared for the most serious cases with permanent consequences such as polygamy, divorce, and murder.¹⁵⁸ Because this was so, former members who wanted to return to the church had to start the process of catechesis afresh and were expected to pass through the hearers' and baptismal classes for two years.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, some missionaries were also very concerned about keeping their sheep. In the late 1940s, for instance, F. Brock Wells opposed a new policy coming from the Southern African Division that stipulated to drop people from membership rather than suspending them in the case of adultery.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, Tanzania General Field president David Dobias deplored in the mid-1970s that people were disfellowshipped too quickly when they lived together without being married. He advocated that suspension was enough if they agreed to make arrangements for official marriage.¹⁶¹ Adventist leaders did try to bring the lives of church members in line with remnant ideals but certainly did not want to lose them altogether.

Church discipline was not a one-way street, and many who were punished would come back later. The Adventist tradition has two ways for receiving back lapsed members: (1) a vote in the business meeting of a local church, and (2) rebaptism.¹⁶² Both modes were used,¹⁶³ but

¹⁵⁷ The *Church Manual* ruled that a "vote of censure" (suspension) was to be applied in cases of offences deemed not "serious enough to merit the expulsion of the member." However, no guidelines were ever given regarding which offences belonged to this category; see *Church Manual*, 1932 edition, 100.

¹⁵⁸ Disfellowshipping was also applied in cases of adultery in the pre-independence period, but only in few cases. See Agenda [Baraza ya Upare], [23–26 March] 1942, SM 7, and interviews Andrea M. Abihudi, Ngongongare, 18 May 2000, Kagize, and Takisivyva.

¹⁵⁹ Baraza ya Makanisa, 8 January 1934, SM 7.

¹⁶⁰ Without condoning the act, he deeply sympathized with the people and argued that according to their "background and tribal customs...it is almost as easy for a native to commit adultery as sneeze." See F.B. Wells—F.E. Schlehuder, 10 May 1949, File 4468, GCA.

¹⁶¹ David Dobias—Henry John, 22 March 1974, ETC.

¹⁶² In the 1932 *Church Manual*, rebaptism was connected with the gravity of the issue. It was argued, "if church vows have been broken by the members, rebaptism should precede reinstatement" of a formerly disfellowshipped members; see the *Church Manual*, 1932 edition, 98.

¹⁶³ Alinanine Mwambogela asserts that at Mbeya receiving a suspended or disfellowshipped person back into church was done by vote and subsequent shaking of hands until the 1960s; see interview Mwambogela, and similarly interview Siwanja.

a second (or, in a few cases, third etc.) baptism was evidently preferred by many, as it symbolically washed away the sinful condition that had led to church discipline. Rebaptism was originally meant for disfellowshipped members,¹⁶⁴ and in 1938, Tanganyika Mission Field leader Andreas Sprogis insisted upon dropping of names for a full year in cases of adultery and readmission to membership “upon sincere repentance and rebaptism.”¹⁶⁵ While dropping names from the church books was not always done, rebaptism became the prevailing procedure.¹⁶⁶

In later decades, individuals were often granted a second baptism even if they had not been suspended or disfellowshipped but felt they had done some grave sin that called for a new beginning symbolized in such a ritual.¹⁶⁷ Certainly this implies that rebaptism, on top of lacking a theological basis, tended to become an increasingly easy mechanism for readmission to church fellowship. On the other hand, it may also be viewed as a ritualized expression of grace appreciated by many who did not manage to live up to the standards of a strict denomination.¹⁶⁸ As Adventism became more popular and the only provider of Christian services to the population of some regions, it naturally accommodated to the religious needs of the people. That an Adventist folk church created a rather unusual sacrament of renewal in this process may be viewed with theological reservations but was a plausible synthesis of an Adventist tradition and the interpretation that the denomination’s Tanzanian adherents gave to it.

This account of church discipline demonstrates that Tanzanian Adventism was situated between ideals thought of as biblical and love for souls, between strictness and the realities of a church of sinners. In spite of shifting policies, a rather moderate stand on weddings conducted

¹⁶⁴ “Church Discipline,” SDAE, 262. The issue of rebaptism for lapsed Adventists was a matter of discussion until the 1886 General Conference essentially adopted the policy as it was throughout the 20th century, that church members who were disfellowshipped and wish to join the church again should be baptized a second time; see “Baptism,” SDAE, 102.

¹⁶⁵ A. Sprogis—Alle Mitarbeiter des Tanganyika-Missionsfeldes, 1 May 1938, SM 2.

¹⁶⁶ See, e.g., TMF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946, no. E. 238, SM 5, and 3–7 March 1952, no. E. 213, SM 6, and interviews Mbwambo and N. Abihudi.

¹⁶⁷ I personally encountered several such cases, and in conversations it was indicated to me repeatedly that this practice is common, especially at camp meetings when people wish to recommit their lives to God publicly without necessarily revealing the nature of the sins that they committed.

¹⁶⁸ The Pare Repentance Movement, which erupted in 1950 and contained an element of cleansing from sin in ritual way, betrays similar dynamics. See 9.2.

outside the church and on marriage with non-Adventists emerged in contrast to a firm rejection of divorce and polygamy. Transgressions unrelated to marriage and sexuality were rather rare, and even cases of adultery and unmarried couples were not automatically punished by disfellowshipping. Adventists attempted to produce persons prepared for Jesus' second coming in a visible *communio sanctorum*, but they realized that they dealt with humans who are *simul iusti et peccatores*.

The pragmatism applied in many cases was necessitated by the clientele that Adventism attracted. Individuals joining the Adventist faith knew what was expected from them and were generally really committed to their church and therefore hardly failed to abide by the denomination's rules and most general Christian behavioural standards. The main exception was sexual morality because of the very nature of temptations in this sphere. Most persons who joined the church were young and were yet to experience the desires for sex, marriage, and status in society, which so powerfully overrule good intentions at times. That Adventist leaders reacted with a balance of strictness and understanding shows that the denomination did not only cultivate the remnant dimension by exacting rigid adherence to its precepts, but also developed into a folk church that left its doors open for anyone to come back rather easily. That Adventism continued to demand strict standards from its neophytes, however, meant that the remnant aspect continued to be upheld as well alongside an empirical folk church.

6.3 *Women, Men, Leaders*

Tanzanian Women and Adventist Christianity

One peculiarity of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is the fact that its most important founder was a woman. Moreover, Ellen G. White is regarded as a prophetess by the denomination. Had Mrs White's influence upon the denomination not been so all-encompassing, one could downplay this aspect of Adventism. However, her writings and ministry contributed to almost every crucial dimension of Adventism during her lifetime. The fact that a woman made such a lasting contribution to this religious movement is also important in that this implicitly challenged traditional definitions of female roles.¹⁶⁹ The "Remnant Church" had

¹⁶⁹ Although Ellen White can not be considered a vanguard of the women's movements of the twentieth century, her impact on Christian women was considerable

a message that was more important to its promoters than traditional gender stereotypes. Because it was an innovative movement, it produced and attracted relatively many women who excelled in society and who served the denomination in leading positions.¹⁷⁰ In the first half of the twentieth century, however, women were more and more excluded from leadership positions in the church,¹⁷¹ a trend which has been observed in other Christian movements as well.¹⁷²

In Tanzania, the first effect of Adventist teachings, as that of other varieties of Christianity, was a liberating one for women, for they stood in sharp contrast with the many aspects of traditional life that oppressed women or at least made their life hard.¹⁷³ The most obvious improvement for women was that they did not lose so many children any more because of the medical services and hygiene that accompanied Christianity, and because they did not practise infanticide any longer, which had caused the death of many children in Pare and elsewhere.¹⁷⁴

and must be viewed in the context of a new identity of women in nineteenth century America, especially in the religious realm. On the women's movement in the nineteenth century, see, e.g., Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia, 1840–1920* (London: Helm, 1977); and Nancy A. Hardesty, *Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

¹⁷⁰ An outstanding example is Eva B. Dykes, the first African American woman (and therefore probably the first Black woman in the world) to earn a Ph.D. in 1921; see Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-Day Adventists with an African Heritage* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1984), 207. About one hundred others are listed in John G. Beach, *Notable Women of Spirit: The Historical Role of Women in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1976), 111–116. An earlier book on fifteen pioneer women in the denomination is Ava Marie Covington, *They Also Served: Stories of Pioneer Women of the Advent Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1940).

¹⁷¹ Bert Haloviak, "Adventism's Lost Generations: The Decline of Leadership Positions for SDA Women," 1990, online: http://www.adventistarchives.org/docs/SDAs_Lost_Gener.doc (accessed 1 December 2005); Steve Daily, "The Irony of Adventism: The Role of Ellen White and Other Adventist Women in Nineteenth Century America," D.Min. diss., School of Theology at Claremont, 1985.

¹⁷² For a similar tendency among faith missions, see Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 292–309.

¹⁷³ This is not to say that *all* traditional societies were oppressive of women on the individual level. Some Pare today proudly state that hardly any cruelty towards women was tolerated among them traditionally. Beating women, for instance, was never widespread, different from the Kuria or the Maasai where it was considered not only normal but a necessary ingredient of marriage life until about one generation ago. See interview Adzere Daudi Kiboko, Ngongongare, 30 April 2000.

¹⁷⁴ Missionary Jakob Dannholz, who worked among the Pare on the Lutheran side, reports the following about an investigation that he did in 1909 among 50 women: they had born a total of 282 children, but only 84 had lived beyond the age of infancy,

Compared to these practices, traditional food taboos for women were a minor issue, yet they show that it was quite common for women to be ill-treated in traditional societies.¹⁷⁵

The liberating effect of Christianity was recognized even by non-Christians. Among the Kuria, Adventism was regarded as a threat by leaders of society in the early years of the church's presence; they argued that it "will destroy our children and wives" and feared that women would have "no discipline" any more if they joined the church.¹⁷⁶ In a society where women had little to say traditionally, the biblical teaching that they were created in the image of God was a radical new concept. Even if it did not initiate an African women's rights movement, it attracted many women. Besides, the minimum benefit derived from the new faith was that by attending church services they had "an acceptable excuse for getting a few hours rest."¹⁷⁷ Thus, Adventist Christianity made women gain religious independence at the very least, which was often a symbol and a beginning of growing freedom in the social realm as well.

Two major Adventist contributions to the liberation of women were schools and the church's women programmes. Both general schools and the special schools for girls were steps towards the equality of women with men. Since girls often lagged behind boys in their educational achievements, Adventists lowered school fees for girls in higher classes, evidently in order to attract more girls into education beyond the lowest levels.¹⁷⁸

the reasons being twin killing, infanticide because of customs related to teeth, little care, and marriage laws that did not prohibit adultery but demanded higher fines if children resulting from adultery died, which made it easy to tempt people to kill them in order to demand the fine. See Jakob Dannholz, *Im Banne des Geisterglaubens* (Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1916), 16. For more on traditional infanticide among the Pare and other ethnic groups, see 7.5.

¹⁷⁵ Among the Jita, for instance, women were not to eat chicken and some types of fish. Adventists rejected this taboo, arguing that it had no rational foundation and that it oppressed women. See interview [Mrs] Zebida Lisso.

¹⁷⁶ Interview J. Machage.

¹⁷⁷ Eva Tobisson, *Family Dynamics among the Kuria: Agro-Pastoralists in Northern Tanzania* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1986), 154. With these words Mrs Tobisson referred to Catholics (she mentioned *Sunday* services), but her research was conducted in an village with 30% Catholics and Adventists each, and in principle the statement applies to Adventist worship services as well.

¹⁷⁸ In the 1950s, for instance, women who had reached standards 2 or 4 were considered educated in the Mbeya area, but the majority of women among the Adventists had no formal education, and many were married before sixteen years of age; see interview Monica Mwakalonge, Mbeya, 12 August 2000. Middle School fees in the

The Dorcas Society, a women's club with welfare work as the original main objective, was another noteworthy feature of Adventist operations.¹⁷⁹ The first Dorcas Societies in Tanzania were run from 1927 by missionaries Marjorie Bull, Mrs Beardsell, and Anni Ludwig in Pare. The most common programme was visiting churches in the area to conduct seminars on child rearing, tailoring, cooking, health, housekeeping, pregnancy, and the like.¹⁸⁰ In the 1940s and 1950s, these activities were confined to the area around a few mission stations,¹⁸¹ but the 1960s and 1970s were years of tremendous expansion of activities under African leadership. In 1960 there were 15 groups, but by 1981, 286 Dorcas Societies had been formed in the country.¹⁸² During the 1978–1981 period, their members helped between 33,000 and 78,000 persons per year, distributed between 7,000 and 81,500 pieces of clothing per year,¹⁸³ conducted tens of thousands of Bible studies, and attracted around 200 persons to the church each year.¹⁸⁴ As in other African countries and denominations,¹⁸⁵ such women's clubs thus did

mid-1940s were Sh 60 for boys and Sh 20 for girls; see Baraza la Upare Minutes, 31 January 1946, SM 1.

¹⁷⁹ Dorcas Societies originated in 1874 as a local initiative at Battle Creek, where the denomination's headquarters were then located. The welfare objective was the original purpose. The society's constitution in the USA says, "The objective of the Dorcas Welfare Society is to help people physically and spiritually ... irrespective of creed, class, nationality, or ethnic origin." See "Dorcas Welfare Societies," SDAE, 350. In the Tanzanian context, however, the range of objectives was widened: apart from serving people in need, it was "to teach health," "to teach society," and to do evangelism; see Msafiri Yohana, *Huduma za Jamii: Chama cha Dorkasi* (N.p., n.d.), 1–3, ETC [an outline of the association's activities].

¹⁸⁰ East Tanganyika Mission Committee, 21 November 1930, SM 4; Elineema, *Historia*, 47.

¹⁸¹ Fredonia Jacques initiated a Dorcas group at Mbeya in the 1940s, but only few ladies joined the club because many husbands thought of the matter as wasting time; see interview Masumbuko. In Sukumaland and other areas at Lake Victoria, the association was established in the 1950s; see interviews Kabale and Z. Lisso.

¹⁸² "Lay Activities Department Report," TMs, 1967, 2, SM 71; "Taarifa ya Huduma," 1982, 2–4, SM 81.

¹⁸³ The latter figure was apparently a result of clothes from outside the country that were distributed by Dorcas Societies.

¹⁸⁴ "Taarifa ya Huduma," 1982, 2–4, SM 81. Vivid descriptions of local activities are found in "Taarifu ya Dorkas, Kihurio," [1961], SM 50, and Loveness Kisaka, "'Dorkasi ... Alikuwa Amejaa Matendo Mema,'" *Uhai wa Kamisa*, SDA Church—NET Field, no. 3, January 1971, 11, SM 50.

¹⁸⁵ See, e.g., Rachel Banda, "Liberation through Baptist Polity and Doctrine: A Reflection on the Lives of Women in the History of Women in the Baptist Convention in Southern Malawi," M.A. thesis, University of Malawi, 2001. Banda focuses on a Baptist women's organization which resembles the Adventist Dorcas Society and finds many similarities in the numerous Christian associations of this kind, including the Adventist version.

an invaluable service to society and made significant contributions to the church.¹⁸⁶

Early agents of change who exemplified the diversity of women's possible ministries and thus served as an inspiration for Tanzanian Adventist women were the female missionaries. Hilde Kotz, for instance, held the Pare work together when her husband had been interned in World War I;¹⁸⁷ Luise Drangmeister, a young teacher, preached in the 1930s,¹⁸⁸ and Ada Robson, apart from serving thousands in her many years of medical ministry, supervised the construction of the church at Ntusu.¹⁸⁹ Winifred Clifford conducted weeks of prayer¹⁹⁰ and was headmistress at a girls' school, and Ethel Twing became the organizer of a comprehensive programme of developing church work among the Ha. Although African women would not necessarily do the same activities that European women did, the provision of role models of a new, Christian femininity by missionary women should not be underestimated.

The degree of involvement of African women into church affairs often depended on local factors. Among the Sukuma, for instance, women spoke free prayers in church and taught Sabbath School classes as early as the 1930s.¹⁹¹ They were thus given leadership positions even in groups where men were present. That women and men sat separate in several areas was not necessarily an indication of less women's involvement;¹⁹² rather, it expressed both continuity with traditional culture and the assumption that women cannot be mixed with men. Since the Sabbath School was often held in a single group for the whole church and it was

¹⁸⁶ No comprehensive history of Dorcas or Adventist welfare ministry has been written yet. Among the little literature that exists about these activities, the most outstanding is the history of Adventist welfare work in Germany: Eberhard Fischdick, *Helpfende Hände: Die Geschichte des Advent-Wohlfahrtswerkes in Deutschland* (Darmstadt: Advent-Wohlfahrtswerk, [1988]). The major document available from the English-speaking world is a rather old leaders' manual, *The Dorcas Society Handbook: A Manual of Practical Suggestions for Leaders of Dorcas Societies* (Washington, D.C.: Home Missionary Department, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1937).

¹⁸⁷ H.F. Schubert, "Nachruf," AB 38, no. 6 (15 March 1932): 96.

¹⁸⁸ "Aus Briefen," AB 41, no. 18 (15 September 1935): 286.

¹⁸⁹ Drangmeister, "A Young Girl Travels to Africa," 10.

¹⁹⁰ East Tanganyika Mission Committee, 21 November 1930, SM 4.

¹⁹¹ This was so remarkable at the time that it was reported by two different persons; see Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 66–67, and Marie Bremer, "Missionarsbrief aus Ostafrika," AB 43, no. 18 (15 September 1937): 281.

¹⁹² At Mbeya, Majita, and Suji, this was the case especially in the 1940s and 1950s, but some congregations such as the Arusha church continued doing so even in the 1960s, and at Suji, this pattern exists until today. See Jacques and Jacques, *Africa Called Us*, 45; interviews [Mrs] Kiondo and [Mrs] Z. Lisso.

deemed unbecoming for a woman to teach men, it was hardly possibly for women in Pare to teach in this programme up to the 1940s. The sole position available for them was that of deaconess. Only in the 1950s were the first women appointed as teachers and secretaries in the Sabbath School department.¹⁹³ At Majita, the developments were similar; until the 1940s, women “could only ask questions and teach children.”¹⁹⁴

In the post-independence period, two different trends manifested themselves: one was an ever stronger active participation of women in church activities, particularly in towns and a few progressive groups. In Arusha, for instance, women were given opportunities equal to men except the church elder’s and lay evangelism leader’s office, and among the Luo, Ellen Odongo was a company leader at Okanda around 1960.¹⁹⁵ In Dar es Salaam, individual Tanzanian women assumed many leadership roles in the 1960s and preached in church and in evangelistic meetings in the early 1980s, something unheard of in the preceding decades.¹⁹⁶

A curious thing happened among the Kuria where women were traditionally regarded as unfit for any leadership role. At Bisarwi, Surubu and Kunyongo, Bethsheba Newland and Firmness Immanuel Kisuka were company leaders in the 1960s and 1970s. So many men had become polygamists in their respective churches and had been disfellowshipped that no able men were available for leading positions.¹⁹⁷ Even where women’s leadership abilities were not utilized, one line of church activity for enterprising ladies was literature evangelism. This denominational book selling programme combined religious activity

¹⁹³ Interviews Elieneza, and Kanyempwe and Kanyempwe. In the light of this, it is probably an exception that the Pare Committee declared in 1931 that women were eligible for the church boards. Evidently, the impact on local churches was not very strong, although one woman, Lea Mashambo of Mamba, became a member of the Pare Committee in 1932. She is listed among those who “were chosen according to their work,” which means that she held some church office, most probably that of a church secretary. See Baraza la Makanisa ya Upare Minutes, 19 July 1931, and Baraza la Makanisa Minutes, 21 March 1932, SM 7.

¹⁹⁴ Interview Joshua Muganda.

¹⁹⁵ Interviews Kiondo and Otieno. A company is an incipient church which is not yet officially organized.

¹⁹⁶ Rudolf Reider, “Wiedersehen mit Mbeya,” AB 64, no. 24 (15 December 1965): 463; interview K. Bariki Elineema, Dar es Salaam, 22 July 2001; and Mishael S. Muze to the author, 17 March 2004. Two women who preached several times were Mrs Penueli Muze and Mrs Sipiwe Muze.

¹⁹⁷ Interviews Gesase and Otieno.

with the advantage of increasing the family income or giving women more financial freedom. Women often excelled in this business.¹⁹⁸

This record of female contributions to Adventist church life strikingly contrasts with an idea that is common in Tanzania almost universally: that women should not be allowed to serve on the church platform. This elevated part of the house of worship came to be considered as the equivalent of the most holy place in the Old Testament sanctuary, and women were commonly regarded as unfit to serve at this place. One reason for this assumption was that a woman who had her monthly period was believed to pollute this place.¹⁹⁹ Such feelings, which obviously lack any basis in church policies, continue to prevail up to the present and existed in other denominations as well.²⁰⁰ In many churches, no woman has ever been seen standing on the platform or been heard preaching, not even on Dorcas days, when the whole Sabbath morning programme is commonly conducted by women.²⁰¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that no female pastor was employed by the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania until the beginning of the twenty-first century.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ For more on literature evangelism, see 10.2. Nazihirwa Abihudi, for instance, was the most successful colporteur in the country several times in the 1960s and 1970s; see interview N. Abihudi. Other outstanding women who sold the largest number of books per year in South Nyanza Field in the 1970s were Martha Bomani (the sister of the government minister Paulo Bomani), Rhoda Sanyadi, and Hulda Mipawa. See S. Mange, *Historia ya Kanisa South Nyanza Conference* (N.p., [2003]), 19.

¹⁹⁹ Interviews Makorere, Maguru, Magogwa, and Masumbuko. At some places men were even supposed to sweep the platform, or possibly an old women who could no longer bear children; see interview Makorere (this detail was confirmed in several conversations as well). This is similar to another popular restriction in the 1940s and 1950s, when menstruating women were not admitted to serve as deacons and to Holy Communion in Adventist churches of some regions; see interview Z. Lisso.

²⁰⁰ On some African Instituted Churches, see Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, 216. Oduyoye and Kibira observe that applications of the “blood taboo,” which excludes women from sacramental roles and sacred spaces, are operative in many regions and denominations; see Mercy Amba Oduyoye, “Liberative Ritual and African Religion,” in *Popular Religion, Liberation and Contextual Theology*, ed. Jacques van Nieuwenhove and Berma Klein Goldewijk (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1991), 71, and Josiah M. Kibira, *Church, Clan, and the World* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1974), 51–52.

²⁰¹ Interviews John Moses, Dar es Salaam, 18 July 2001, E. Wanjara, and Lukwaro. Programs other than the divine service, i.e., Sabbath School, Friday and Sabbath vespers, Wednesday prayer meeting, and other meetings, are then usually conducted below the platform.

²⁰² The first two female pastors are Agness Nhyama, who was employed in 2003 in the South Nyanza Conference, and Mariam Samo, who serves in the North-East Tanzania Conference since 2005.

When comparing the positions on women's ministry in the Tanzanian church with international Adventist developments, one cannot fail to notice the wide discrepancy between trends abroad and the traditionalism in Tanzania. Although the Seventh-day Adventist Church was not a forerunner of women's involvement in society and in the church in most of the twentieth century, women were ordained as elders from the 1970s onward, and women pastors were allowed to conduct weddings and baptize in some of the denomination's Divisions since the early 1980s.²⁰³ In Tanzania the Union voted in 1983 that "the way be opened for ladies to be ordained as local church elders and deaconesses as congregations see fit." Yet the voted review of this action one year later never happened, the whole affair was forgotten, and women elders and ordinations of deaconesses have been unheard of.²⁰⁴ The discussion that dominated the complex of women's ministry in the denomination internationally since the 1970s, the ordination of women pastors,²⁰⁵ was never an issue in Tanzania. It was commonly perceived as a Westernism or an unscriptural thing altogether.²⁰⁶

How can the role of women in Tanzanian Adventism be evaluated? Adventist Christianity obviously contributed to the liberation of many women through education, the Dorcas society, the various options of involvement in church programmes, and to some extent by opposing traditional customs such as female circumcision more vigorously than

²⁰³ Patricia A. Habada and Rebecca F. Brillhart, eds., *The Welcome Table: Setting a Place for Ordained Women* (Langley Park: TEAM Press, 1995), 340–341, 354, 367.

²⁰⁴ TU Minutes, 1 December 1983, no. 495, TU.

²⁰⁵ On this issue, see "Symposium on the Role of Women in the Church," TMs, distributed by the Biblical Research Institute Committee, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1984; Nancy Vyhmeister, *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), a book advocating to open the way for the ordination of women as pastors; Mercedes H. Dyer, ed., *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry* (Berrien Springs: Adventists Affirm, 2000), a book that opposes opening the way for the ordination of women as pastors.

²⁰⁶ In later years, the introduction of a new department in the church, Women's Ministries, with an emphasis on the ability of women to preach and lead, led to strong tensions in Adventist churches in neighbouring Malawi. In 2000 and 2001, two churches were disbanded because of internal conflicts over these matters; see Bettina Krause, "'Gift of Preaching' Not Gender Exclusive, Affirms Church in Malawi," *Adventist News Network Bulletin*, 26 February 2002, <http://news.adventist.org/data/2002/01/1014741087/index.html.en> (accessed 1 December 2005). Even in Tanzania, there have been tensions over these matters, especially in the southern part of the country, where individuals have been disfellowshipped because they openly opposed the course of the church administration and declared that women's preaching contradicts the Bible.

even some other Christian groups.²⁰⁷ On the other hand, it may be typical that Mrs Elesi Takisivya, a long-time church member at Heri Hospital, deplors that African women cannot express their feelings openly or fulfil any leadership position in the church until today, even if they would desire it, because culture does not allow them to do so.²⁰⁸ To a large extent, Marja-Liisa Swantz's and Birgitta Larsson's observations among Lutheran Tanzanian women are true for Adventists as well. After an initial boost for women because of the freedom to choose their own religion and because of education and employment opportunities, traditional concepts started to limit the process of liberation. A "combined ecclesiastical-tribal ideology" thus kept women in a secondary, submissive position.²⁰⁹ Yet even in this framework Adventist women may be counted as relatively liberated because of the denomination's strictness in rejecting traditional practices and the type of activities it encouraged.

Still, one persisting paradox was that Tanzanian Adventists almost universally rejected female leadership in spite of the fact that their denomination was so strongly influenced by a pioneer prophetess. This was an unplanned process of inculturation, facilitated by biblical texts that demand women to be silent in church.²¹⁰ It illustrates that Adventism had the potential for developing characteristics that were not originally intended if they turned out to be crucial in the society which it met, and if they were not central to the church's identity. Thus, the remnant emphasis on the necessity of biblical foundations for Christian practices could rather easily combine with the unconscious concern of an emerging Adventist folk church for upholding traits of traditional culture. As the Swahili saying goes, *damu ni nzito kuliko maji*—"blood is heavier than water."²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Among the Kuria, for instance, Adventists consider Catholic women as less liberated because they often cling to traditions such as female circumcision; see interview J. Machage.

²⁰⁸ Interview Takisivya.

²⁰⁹ Marja-Liisa Swantz, "Church and the Changing Role of Women in Tanzania," in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 136–150. For an extensive study of women and Christianity in the Bukoba area, see Birgitta Larsson, *Conversion to Greater Freedom? Women, Church and Social Change in North-Western Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991). In her conclusion, she observes that on the one hand, many Haya women remained dependent on men in some respects; on the other hand, Christianity changed much and made them real actors with "greater dignity and freedom"; see *ibid.*, 216, 207.

²¹⁰ 2 Timothy 2:10–11; 1 Corinthians 14:33–35.

²¹¹ This normally means: a relative is more important to a person than a non-relative. Yet here it indicates that some deeply ingrained African traditions weighed more heavily than seemingly peripheral issues in the Christianity that was received from Europe.

European–African Relations in an Adventist Missionary Context

The relationship between missionaries and African Adventist leaders, like the relationship between the genders in the church, may be viewed as a combination of elements of continuity and discontinuity. Hans-Joachim Niesel makes several observations about the relationship between missionaries and Tanzanians before World War I in general. (1) The White heralds of Christianity frequently held negative stereotypes about Africans such as despising Africans as lazy and assuming a tendency to lie among them, and revealed a general hostility towards African cultures. (2) Missionaries commonly treated Africans like children, with the positive and negative aspects of such an attitude. (3) They recognized that Africans were generally faithful and hospitable. (4) The basic equality of all men before God was not doubted, but in practice equality was often not applied because of the idea that Europeans were automatically masters.²¹²

These descriptions reflect quite well what was the case among Adventists during the same period. On the one side, one could find a blend of paternalism, contempt for elements of African culture, some degree of racism,²¹³ and impatience with the behaviour of Africans.²¹⁴ This contrasts with expressions of love for Africans, an appreciation

²¹² Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 116–123. For a similar analysis from a neighbouring country, see Colin Reed, *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists: African Church Leaders and Western Missionaries in the Anglican Church in Kenya, 1850–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

²¹³ Ernst Kotz quotes [Hermann von] Wissmann (without indicating the source), “because the Negro recognizes the much higher position of the European, the most effective means of education is to recognize him to a certain degree as equal.” See Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 15. In the article “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 12, no. 6 (19 March 1906): 91–93, Kotz said when he had been in Tanzania for less than one year, “the heart of the Black is only turned toward the woman and the cattle.” Moreover, Kotz quotes a certain Otto Dempwolff [not Dempfwolff as he writes] about the necessity of Christian Mission for colonization: “It may be doubtful whether the abilities of race and the conditions of climate will ever allow that the Coloured reach equality with the Whites as far as achievements are concerned. But to develop them to what they are able to achieve... there is no better method than taking Christianity to them.” See Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 245 (the source was not acknowledged, and no writings of Dempwolff could be traced).

²¹⁴ See, e.g., [B. Ohme], “Friedenstal,” ZW 11, no. 16 (20 August 1906): 281: “What one has to say once in Germany has to be said here a hundred times again and again,” or [A.C. Enns], “Vuasu (Ostafrika),” ZW 11, no. 17 (3 September 1906): 294: “the Blacks are very indifferent,” or W. Ising, “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 17 (4 September 1905): 215: “it is very difficult to distinguish in a Black sincerity and hypocrisy” (E. Kotz).

of their affection and spirit of service,²¹⁵ a recognition that the bond of faith unites Black and White,²¹⁶ and the trust that God can do through Africans the same as through Europeans. Among these conflicting tendencies, the last was as much remarkable as others were to be deplored.

When Germans had all left and Africans had continued church activities, Max Pönig, one of the missionaries of the first generation, argued that God completes “through weak, native tools what was begun by German missionaries.” He continued by reasoning:

The Lord does not regard descent, high education, and training, but the main thing is that his tool is a believing child of God and knows that Christ is his Redeemer, just as the initiators of the first Christian churches, the apostles, were humble fishermen.²¹⁷

Pönig’s words are significant. They express a fundamental continuity between Adventist Christianity in the hands of European and African leadership in connection with the Adventist eschatological, missiological, and ecclesiological thinking: all humans are equal because the completion of God’s work is given to all; all members of the remnant share the same task and status.²¹⁸

In the post-war period, the feelings of distance towards White missionaries and antagonism with some of them appear to have been stronger in many Africans. The reason for this change was the display of superiority or even contempt by some Europeans, which was quite at variance with the Christianity they wished to represent. When Julius

²¹⁵ For expressions of love for Africans by Bruno Ohme, Ernst Kotz, and Gustav Sander, see W. Ising, “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 17 (4 September 1905): 215, 216; W. Ising, “Vuasu,” ZW 13, no. 5 (2 March 1907): 105–107. Kotz also happily reports that Naftali Kikwasha, a teacher, commended him and missionary Read for not being too proud to eat with Africans. Furthermore, he relates the great joy of Pare Adventists when the New Testament arrived. One Christian wrote, “Your love to us is deep like a lake,” and Yohana Endeende praised the missionaries, “I compare you with fathers, but [real] fathers who have begotten me.” See Kotz, *Sklaven*, 76–79. In 1907, after one of the then three baptismal candidates had cared for Kotz during his sickness, Kotz confessed, “I never thought one can give a Black person such a special place in one’s heart”; see “Aus Kihuiro” [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 17 (2 September 1907): 297–298.

²¹⁶ Ernst Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 25 June 1920, GCA.

²¹⁷ Max Pönig, “Die Vorsehung Gottes im Pare-Missionsfeld (Ostafrika),” AB 28, no. 6 (15 March 1922): 93.

²¹⁸ In the context of Pönig’s statement, the attribute “weak” should probably not mainly be understood as a contrast to European missionaries, for they also did not have much to present in terms of descent and education, but as relating to their little exposure to Christianity.

Nyerere, the later president of Tanzania, was a young boy, he once asked an Adventist missionary for a ride near Busegwe—only to be told by the missionary that he would prefer carrying stones rather than him.²¹⁹ At Ikizu, individual missionaries beat students without reasons even in the 1950s,²²⁰ and treasurers could reduce workers' wages unreasonably and without committee action.²²¹ The gap between theological theory and missionary practice was at times astounding.

Yet not only incidents made it difficult for the two groups to come together; written and unwritten policies contributed as well. Tanzania was part of the Southern African Division from 1940 to 1964, a Division that had its headquarters in South Africa and that sent a good number of South Africans to the other countries as missionaries. This meant that the procedures in Tanzania were determined by the South African style of church administration, which did not escape from the shadows of the apartheid spirit in some respects.²²² Certain regulations were unbelievable, such as the housing policy that made mission leaders tell Simeon Dea Otieno, the first African mission director of Majita in 1957, that he could not live in the house that the former South African director had used. When he decided to ask for a transfer to another area, he was finally allowed to move in.²²³

Until the 1960s it was very difficult for an African to enter a White man's house, and eating with them, which should have seemed a natural element of Christian brotherhood and sisterhood, was next to impossible at some places in the 1940s.²²⁴ Likewise, during Holy Com-

²¹⁹ From an interview. The interviewee, who was told this story by Julius Nyerere in the 1970s (while Nyerere was the president of Tanzania), prefers to remain unmentioned. The missionary's name was also not stated.

²²⁰ Interview Lothar Ganz, Friedensau, 9 September 2003.

²²¹ This happened once to E. Okeyo; see interview Okeyo. An official reduction of salary was imposed on Paulo Kilonzo when he refused moving to Mbeya from 1939 to 1940. See R. Reinhard—W. Fenner, 17 January 1939, SM 35; A. Sprogis—W. Ludwig, 6 May 1938, SM 34.

²²² This was visible even in some common terminology. In an official publication of the worldwide denomination, *Seventh-Day Adventist Encyclopedia*, editors dared using the distinction between "Coloured," "European," and "Bantu" for South Africa and Zimbabwe; see "South Africa," SDAE, 1208; "Rhodesia," SDAE, 1083. Even in Tanzania, questionable expressions such as the "Multi-Racial Evangelistic Effort Dar-es-Salaam" of 1960 were used; see TU Minutes, 28 December 1960, no. 179, NETCO. For an Adventist outcry against apartheid, see Pule B. Magethi and Thula M. Nkosi, *God or Apartheid: A Challenge to South African Adventism* (Braamfontein: Institute for Contextual Theology, 1991).

²²³ Interview Otieno.

²²⁴ Interviews Bina and Okeyo.

munion, the Whites would have their individual cups while Africans had their one shared cup until the 1950s, which definitely hurt African Christians.²²⁵ Most missionaries went some distance on the road of relating to Africans as colleagues in washing their feet before Holy Communion according to Adventist practice²²⁶ but did not go beyond half way. Evidently, helping people from an elated and secure position was easier for many than living in close fellowship with them. Likewise, working under Tanzanians was a difficult experience for some. When Elisha Okeyo became the first African headmaster at Ikizu Secondary School and had five missionaries under his administration, there was considerable discontentment among them about the fact that an African was their leader.²²⁷

Of course this is not the place to collect all mishaps and flaws that occurred in the ministry of foreign workers in the Tanzanian Adventist church.²²⁸ After all, there were many who sacrificed their lives and belongings for their ministry, such as the saintly Munderspach family at Utimbaru, the Robsons at Ntusu, and the Twings at Heri.²²⁹ Many others assisted those in need of education or shelter and risked their health and security. There were numerous missionaries who lived a Christian spirit, but some preferred to preach the remnant message “to every nation, tribe, people and language” and yet not to associate too closely with the “great multitude” that was to result from this proclamation.²³⁰ The emerging Tanzanian church and the theological remnant concept both stood in contrast with the spirit of the age, and even some heralds of the Adventist faith had a hard time living up to the ideals they preached.²³¹

²²⁵ Interview Otieno.

²²⁶ With reference to the account in John 13, Adventists always practice a foot washing ceremony before the Lord's Supper, which is commonly celebrated four times a year. This was evidently an excellent occasion of breaking down the unnatural walls that existed between Africans and Europeans. Missionary Wilhelm Kölling commented on one such an event when missionaries and Tanzanian Christians washed one another's feet, “we all felt one as followers of the one Master whose example we followed.” See Willy Kölling, “Eine Vierteljahresversammlung,” ZW 15, no. 5 (1 March 1909): 90–91.

²²⁷ Interview Okeyo.

²²⁸ A study dealing with the problem of Adventism and race relations is Alven Makapela. *The Problem with Africanity in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1996).

²²⁹ See chapter 5.

²³⁰ Revelation 7:9; cf. Revelation 14:6.

²³¹ For a very positive assessment of race relations in another movement with an

The Development of African Leadership

Given the missiological ideals pursued officially, the European reluctance to involve Africans more in church affairs is a startling matter. As early as 1928, the then European Foreign Mission Council had declared, “‘Mission’ should one day give place to the ‘Church’.”²³² Leadership development was therefore a crucial issue; the same resolution demanded that African Christians were to take up the “responsibility for carrying the Word of God efficiently to their own people.”²³³ The following year, more detailed plans were made in the African Division, which comprised several neighbouring countries of Tanzania. The main idea was to “begin immediately to draft our native brethren into the administrative branches of the service” by placing Africans on Field committees, placing “responsible trained native workers in charge of our stations,” giving African ministers charge of churches, giving them the opportunity to hold evangelistic meetings, and preparing African pastors for ordination “as rapidly as possible.”²³⁴

This was a comprehensive programme, but it came when there was only one licensed minister among the Tanzanian Adventists,²³⁵ and altogether, matters proceeded somewhat slowly in Tanzania. African committee involvement began in 1929 when East Tanganyika Mission obtained a “Native Council.” This council had the power to make decisions in matters of church discipline and other local church affairs, to plan events for the edification of the Christians, and to lay strategies about reaching out to people of other ethnic backgrounds and faiths. It included all European missionaries but consisted of a clear majority of Africans.²³⁶

apocalyptic bent, the Jehovah’s Witnesses, in neighbouring Kenya, see Bryan Wilson, “Jehovah’s Witnesses in Kenya,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 5, no. 2 (1974): 136–138.

²³² “Resolutions and Expressions from the Foreign Missions Council,” RED 14, no. 2 (1928): 14.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ “Development of Native Leadership,” Extract from Division Council Minutes, no. 1264, African Division, [1929], GCA.

²³⁵ A licensed minister is a pastor who has not been ordained. The first ministerial license was issued to Paulo Kilonzo in 1929; see East Tanganyika Committee Minutes, 13 March 1929, SM 4.

²³⁶ Minutes of the East Tanganyika Committee, 13 March 1929; “Organization of E. Tanganyika Native Church Council,” 18–21 April 1929, SM 4. The Native Council was soon called “Pare Committee” (Swahili: *Bazaza la Upare*). Bartlett had suggested to call the council “Sinodi” (synod), but apparently this designation, which is not found anywhere else in the Adventist tradition, did not convince the local leadership. Bartlett had started it in 1922 according to a pattern that had been used in Kenya before. See Isaac Okeyo, *Adventism in Kenya*, 26–37.

A similar committee was formed at Lake Victoria in 1934.²³⁷ Certainly these local committees constituted important first steps in the formation of African positions on church issues; yet to some extent they may be considered a mere alibi, for they did not have any executive power. The ultimate authority lay with the Tanganyika Mission Field committee, which was dominated by missionaries until 1960.

Only in 1940 were the first Africans listed as Tanganyika Mission Field committee members,²³⁸ and yet the circumstances of this responsibility were not favourable. Proceedings were still in English while the Tanzanian members hardly knew anything of this foreign language. Moreover, minutes in Swahili were not produced regularly.²³⁹ The most striking aspect of the Tanzanian involvement, or rather non-involvement, was the fact that two committees existed: the “Section I” committee and the “combined” committee. Section I consisted of missionaries only and discussed the decisive questions, including those that would later be brought to the combined committee.²⁴⁰ Thus, the combined committee, which included both missionaries and Africans, remained a mix of a formality and a deception; real decisions were hardly ever made in it. Evidently, the European leadership of the era felt the need to conform to the “progressive” practice of including Africans into committees but was not much convinced of the importance of African contributions.

In 1951, African delegates from Tanzania were sent to the Division Council for the first time,²⁴¹ which in itself was not a significant event, for the Divisions remained under firm control of foreigners until the early 1980s. Yet this development showed that things were changing in the 1950s. Two years later, the Tanganyika Mission Field committee

²³⁷ TMF Minutes, 22–31 August 1934, SM 5. It was called “Church Advisory Council” and had twenty-one African members in addition to the missionaries. No single copy of its minutes could be traced since almost all pre-independence items from the stations near Lake Victoria have been lost.

²³⁸ The *SDA Yearbook* lists Elisa [Manongi] Kilonzo, Lazaro Bomani, and James Otero.

²³⁹ Chaberwa Kanyempwe, a former cook for missionaries, reports that African Field committee members in the 1940s and 1950s such as Paulo Kilonzo were rather frustrated because they had to attend meetings in which they did not understand much; see interview Kanyempwe and Kanyempwe. For the minutes of the period, see the respective TMF Minutes, SM 5. Minutes found in Swahili were only those of 5–9 February 1945 and some in 1949.

²⁴⁰ See the respective years in the TMF Minutes from 1940, SM 5. Some are actually entitled, “Minutes of the Combined European and African Committees of the Tanganyika Mission Field.”

²⁴¹ TMF Minutes, 17–21 January 1951, no. E 5, SM 6.

altered its policy to include at least six Africans among the maximum of thirteen members.²⁴² This abolished the practice of a separate missionary committee and paved the way for notable African input in decision making in the years to come. Together with the ever-increasing importance of committees in the districts,²⁴³ the precursors of the later Fields, this action culminated in African Field leadership throughout the country when five Fields were formed in 1960.

Two other elements that enhanced Tanzanian leadership were the supervision of mission stations and departmental leadership. Mission station administration had been a prerogative of foreigners until the 1940s.²⁴⁴ Different from World War I, which had forced African leaders to take church operations into their own hands, World War II hardly enabled Tanzanian Adventists to practise leadership skills, for transition between the German and the South African missionary administration did not leave any extended gaps.²⁴⁵ In the 1950s, the first mission stations were assigned African directors: Paulo Kilonzo was sent to Kipsigis Mission in Kenya in 1953,²⁴⁶ and Mbulu and Ukerewe, former outposts of Suji and Majita missions, were upgraded to “African-operated” stations in the same year.²⁴⁷ In 1957, Simeon Dea Otieno and Justin Salimu became mission directors at Majita and Suji, respectively—the two most important missions.²⁴⁸

The Tanzanian involvement in the position of departmental directors evolved in a similar way. From 1929 to 1930, Paulo Kilonzo and Elisa

²⁴² TMF Minutes, 26–30 January 1953, no. 19, SM 6.

²⁴³ Tanganyika Mission Field superintendent F.G. Reid declared in 1952 that the district committees, which were supposed to have only advisory function for Mission Directors, had at times assumed too much power. This shows that African leaders were assertive on the local level, which was, after all, their own home area. See F.G. Reid—All Mission Directors, 15 June 1952, SM 43.

²⁴⁴ Spencer Maxwell had dreamed of handing over two stations to Africans already in 1933. However, his main concern was not empowering Africans but the idea that two European families could be freed to open new work in Central Tanzania. Still, the fact that he seriously planned to entrust Africans with administrative posts shows that he was a progressive mind. See Spencer G. Maxwell, “Tanganyika Territory,” RH 110 (12 January 1933): 12–13.

²⁴⁵ At most missions except at Mbeya, missionaries were absent for much less than a year if at all. At Suji, missionary Wilfred Fenner and the Tanzanian leaders had made the following agreement about the continuation of the work: Elisa Manongi was to be the mission director, Paulo Kilonzo his assistant, and Justin Salimu the head teacher; see “Mapatano ya Watenda Kazi juu ya Kazi,” 5–6 September 1939, SM 12.

²⁴⁶ TMF Minutes, 30 June 1953, no. 131, SM 6; Paulo S. Kilonzo, “From Our Mail Bag,” SADO 53, no. 14 (1 August 1955): 6–7.

²⁴⁷ TMF Minutes, 26–30 January 1953, no. 27, SM 6.

²⁴⁸ Interview Otieno; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 9 January 1957, SM 1.

Manongi led out in the literature and youth ministry departments, respectively.²⁴⁹ Yet departmental offices in Fields or at mission stations during those earlier years were similar to what they later meant in local churches or districts. More consequential was the appointment of Tanzanians to leadership of country-wide responsibility in the Publishing, Home Missionary, Youth, Voice of Prophecy, Sabbath School, Education, and Church Development departments in the latter half of the 1950s.²⁵⁰ The names of department leaders in this period read like a *Who is Who* of Tanzanian Adventism in the following generation: Silas Magembe, Yohana Lusingu, Fares Muganda, Harun Kija Mashigan, and Zakayo Kusekwa.²⁵¹ These men, together with a few others such as Simeon Dea Otieno, Jocktan Kuyenga, Mispereth Rutolyo, Elizaphan Wanjara, Godson Elieneza, and Zephania Bina held the presidency of the Fields and other key posts in the Tanzanian Adventist church for most of the 1960s and 1970s. They constituted the first generation of African leadership beyond the local level and therefore represented the development of Tanzanian post-independence Adventism as a national church identity. Thus, they were both products of the incipient local Adventist folk churches and a force which relativized these folk churches by forging an identity that transcended them.²⁵²

Four of the five Fields (the Adventist equivalent of dioceses) formed in 1960, the Majita-Ukerewe, West Lake, East Lake, and North East Tanzania Fields, had African presidents and secretary-treasurers by 1963.²⁵³ In the light of this, it may be surprising that the 1960s were a step backwards in the national church administration in that the majority

²⁴⁹ In the 1940s, youth activities were handled by Yohana Makanta and Nikundiwe Mauya. See Pare Church Council, 15 July 1930, and Baraza la Upare Minutes, 23–26 March 1942, SM 7; “Organization of E. Tanganyika Native Church Council,” 18–21 April 1929, SM 4; and SM 66 (Quarterly M.V. Reports, 1942–1954).

²⁵⁰ See the respective years and sections of the *SDA Yearbook*.

²⁵¹ Magembe became West Lake Field president in the 1960s; Lusingu was the later North East Tanzania Field president and Union president; Muganda was the Union evangelist of the 1960s, Mashigan served as president of different Fields for several decades, and Kusekwa was the driving force behind Tanzanian literature evangelists until the 1980s. Cf. also figure 20 (p. 620).

²⁵² For short biographies of Paulo Kilonzo, Harun Kija Mashigan, Simeon Dea Otieno, and Elizaphan Wanjara, see the respective entries contributed by the author to the *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, online: www.dacb.org; accessed 1 November 2006.

²⁵³ An exception was Tanzania General Field, which comprised the southern half of the country and where Adventist presence was very limited in those early post-independence years. In this Field, missionaries continued to be administrators until 1975.

of departmental responsibilities were again assigned to foreigners.²⁵⁴ Yet this was only a transitory phenomenon;²⁵⁵ the indigenization of national church leadership was both a desire of the people and a political imperative in an environment where nationalism was the mood of the epoch. In the 1970s most Union departments were staffed with nationals, and in 1980 even the presidency was assigned to a Tanzanian, Yohana Lusingu, for the first time.²⁵⁶ The Tanzanian Adventist folk church had thus obtained its appropriate leadership.

Pastoral Formation in an Expanding Church

Administrative nationalization was the most visible change in leadership matters, but the real difference in the life of Tanzanian Adventists was certainly brought by developments in the type of pastors who served them daily. Seventh-day Adventists as a denomination have strongly emphasized the priesthood of all believers since the outset of their operations, yet after a period of rather informal pastoral training, they recognized the necessity of standardized education for their ministers in the early twentieth century.²⁵⁷ In Tanzania, this evolution came later, for many missionaries provided pastoral services in the first decades

²⁵⁴ It may be worth mentioning how appointments on the Field and Union levels were made. Officers (i.e., the president and secretary-treasurer or one secretary and treasurer) were chosen by the respective next higher level of church administration. Thus, Field officers were appointed by the Union “in session” (i.e., with duly appointed delegates of the whole constituency present) while Union officers were appointed by the Division in session. Departmental directors, however, were appointed by the entity concerned in session (e.g., Field departmental directors by the Field in session). See *Constitution, By-Laws and Working Policy of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: [General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists], 1957), 35.

²⁵⁵ There were several reasons for this missionary role in the national leadership level. (1) Many capable African leaders were absorbed by the positions created in the new Fields in 1960. (2) Africans were probably more successful on the regional than the national level in this early period of the existence of a new nation. (3) Departmental work faced tremendous challenges in this period of political and societal change for which individuals were needed who had experience with particular lines of work. (4) Missionaries were still in control of affairs, had budgets from overseas at their disposal and probably felt more comfortable to work with people of their own kind at this level of church administration.

²⁵⁶ Lusingu had been the North East Tanzania Field president in the early 1960s, and in the 1970s he served as the Stewardship Department director of the Afro-Mideast Division. That a non-Tanzanian, R.W. Taylor, was chosen as a president again in 1985 was apparently an attempt to avoid tensions that existed between representatives of different regions in the church, but since 1990 until the present, Tanzanians have held this leadership post again.

²⁵⁷ See Meredith Jones-Gray, *As We Set Forth: Battle Creek College and Emmanuel Missionary College* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2002).

of the church's presence. The role of Africans was typically limited to school work not because Europeans did not want them to be their fellow leaders but because the demand of employees in the field of education was great. Besides, it appears that missionaries were mostly comfortable with this situation. Thus, the development of training for African ministers needed some pressure that would make definite steps indispensable.²⁵⁸

This was true as well in the issue of ordaining African workers to the ministry, which arose not only from the recognition of their call but might imply missionaries' giving in to the enormity of work. When Elisa Manongi and Paulo Kilonzo were ordained as the first Tanzanian Adventist pastors in 1932,²⁵⁹ Sidney Beardsell commented that this was done because he as the mission director was very much involved in school work and did not have much time for church activities.²⁶⁰ Although this was surely not the *sole* reason for such a momentous step, this statement shows that some missionary leaders did not feel much urgency about empowering their African colleagues. This is also evident in the fact that it took nine more years for another Adventist ordination to take place on Tanzanian soil,²⁶¹ this time of candidates who worked near Lake Victoria: James Odero, a Luo, Isaya Fue, another Pare who had served in Sukumaland since 1913, and Ezekiel Mafuru and Andrea Siti, two Jita. Until the early 1950s, granting a Tanzanian full ministerial authority was such an extraordinary matter that no single ceremony included more than four persons. After that, the tide changed, and from 1954 onward, larger groups of ministers were ordained.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ For similar developments among the Lutherans, see Andreas Hirsch, "Protestantische theologische Ausbildung in Tansania: Deren Geschichte, Hintergründe und Gestalt in den Anfängen," M.A. thesis, UNISA, 2002.

²⁵⁹ Among the neighbouring Lutherans, the first ordination took place after a special course at Machame in 1934; see Hirsch, "Protestantische theologische Ausbildung in Tansania," 27. Among the Catholics at Bukoba, the first priest had been ordained already in 1917; see Sundkler, *A History of the Church in Africa*, 875.

²⁶⁰ Sidney W. Beardsell, "Von unsrer Missionsstation Suji," AB 39, no. 12 (15 June 1933): 183.

²⁶¹ The third Tanzanian to be ordained in 1934 was Petro Risase, but this was in Kenya, where he worked at that time; see Petro Risase, "Petro Risase," AB 44, no. 18 (15 September 1938): 287.

²⁶² Ordinations in 1946, 1949, 1950, and 1952 took place with four, two, three, and one candidate, respectively. In 1954, 1956, and 1962, ordinations of nine, eight, and seven pastors took place. See the respective sections of the *SDA Yearbook*. The number of ordinands further increased in the 1960s and 1970s.

The increase in the number of ordinations was approximately proportional to the effort that the church invested in educating its ministers-to-be. The first two pastors had only been trained as teachers. In the 1930s, teacher training was enriched with some evangelistic instruction,²⁶³ and short evangelistic courses were first scheduled from 1938 to 1940,²⁶⁴ but a full training course did not commence until 1942. The initiation of a two-year ministerial course at Ikizu was the brainchild of the South African missionary Hubert M. Sparrow.²⁶⁵ Sparrow's previous experiences in Malawi persuaded him that "the best evangelists²⁶⁶ from each district" were to receive further training in order to become full pastors.²⁶⁷ Although Sparrow served in Tanzania only from 1941 to 1943 before he passed on to the presidency of the East African Union, his term as a superintendent came at a crucial juncture. The second German period of administration had just ended because of the political circumstances, which had created a leadership vacuum. Moreover, one generation after World War I, a new style of administration was necessary for the years to come. The church had become relatively stable and could be prepared for years of strong numerical growth. In introducing regular pastoral training, Sparrow did what was most needed at his time: providing African leadership for the thousands who would join the church in the decade to come.

Sparrow was not only a wise administrator; he was also ready to differ with his European colleagues on issues that were not particularly popular. This became evident when he overthrew a long tradition of missionary administration by introducing English into the curriculum of Ikizu Training School. One might think that this was a normal thing to do, since the government's 1927 Education Ordinance demanded students in intermediate schools to be taught in English.²⁶⁸ Yet numerous

²⁶³ TMF Minutes, 26–30 August 1935, SM 5.

²⁶⁴ Baraza la Wajumbe wa Upare, 11 September 1938, SM 7, mentions the beginning of a course for October 1938, and TMF Minutes, 12–21 February 1940, no. 6, SM 5, refers to a ministerial course at Ikizu in October and November with missionary Sprogis in charge.

²⁶⁵ For details of Sparrow's life, see "Sparrow, Hubert Martin," SDAE, 1251.

²⁶⁶ This word, "evangelists," is used here with the meaning "teacher-evangelists" or untrained ministerial workers, not in its later sense connected with public evangelism.

²⁶⁷ H.M. Sparrow—T.J. Michael, 26 February 1942, File SAD, GCA; H.M. Sparrow, "A General Review of the Year's Work in the Tanganyika Mission Field During 1941," 3–5 February 1942, 2, SM 5.

²⁶⁸ Most Lutherans, for instance, preferred Swahili; see Richter, *Tanganyika and Its*

missions opposed these guidelines. Thus, a paradoxical situation was created: many African students wished to learn the foreign language prescribed by the government and seen as a sign of progress, but missionary teachers were reluctant to share their knowledge with them.²⁶⁹ They commonly argued that “native education must be fitted in with the natives’ background and surroundings.”²⁷⁰ Yet this reasoning expressed in embellished terms what some missionaries actually believed: that learning English made Africans proud.²⁷¹ Insistence upon continuity with local culture—a position frequently derived from a theological folk church ideal—could at times become a cover for Europeans’ desire to remain superior.

Among Adventists, many leading European workers rejected the teaching of English as well.²⁷² It was resolved in early 1936 not to teach English anywhere in Adventist schools in Tanzania because of “discontent” between different teachers and stations.²⁷³ This had immediate repercussions: some African students and teachers left Suji for Marangu, the Lutheran teacher training school at Kilimanjaro, and Kamagambo, the Adventist teachers’ college in Kenya, because they argued that there they “have more freedom and can get English.”²⁷⁴ Yet even for those who stayed it was difficult to understand why the mission leadership would withhold such important knowledge from them. Since most of Ellen White’s books were available only in English, some even mused

Future, 65–66. Even in neighbouring Kenya, similar conflicts regarding the use of English occurred; see Reed, *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists*, 143–152.

²⁶⁹ This was notably so among the Chagga in connection with the Leipzig Mission; see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 127–128. Missionary Bruno Gutmann of the Leipzig Mission had even rejected the teaching of German before World War I although progressive Chagga teachers desired to learn it; see *ibid.*, 47.

²⁷⁰ Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future*, 67. While government officials believed that Africans wanted a full “White” curriculum with as much English as possible, which would not exclude them from “a full partnership in the ‘White’ civilization,” many mission leaders were afraid of a “danger of intellectual inflation and of an unhealthy caricature of ‘White’ civilization.” See *ibid.* Opposition to the teaching of English, for instance, was widespread among the Bethel, Leipzig, and Moravian missionaries. There were notable exceptions, though: Gutmann, for instance, supported the teaching of English because it was demanded by the government and because Africans demanded it. See Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 127–128 and 143–145.

²⁷¹ Several Tanzanian Adventists believed that Europeans felt this way; see interviews Wandiba, and Kanyempwe and Kanyempwe.

²⁷² Missionary A.F. Bull, for instance, opposed it when he was in Pare in the mid-1920s; see Elineema, *Historia*, 41.

²⁷³ TMF Minutes, 12–15 March 1936, SM 5.

²⁷⁴ A. Sprogis—G.A. Ellingworth, 20 October 1936, SM 33; A. Sprogis—G.A. Ellingworth, 17 September 1936, SM 33.

that the missionaries did not want them to be able to read them,²⁷⁵ a certainly unintended yet odd parallel to the firm Catholic control of “lay” members’ reading of the Bible until the 1960s.²⁷⁶

Sparrow’s act of reversing the practice of denying English to Tanzanian students, as simple as it may seem, caused considerable stir among both missionaries and Africans. He even felt compelled to threaten his fellow missionaries that he would send them home if they did not abide by the new line.²⁷⁷ It was one thing to begin proper ministerial training, but giving Africans the ability to be fully involved in church administration by knowing the language of leaders was an issue that carried more weight in church leadership. Yet evidently this is exactly what Sparrow wanted to do. He used his Malawian connections to send Justin Salimu, head teacher at Suji, to Malamulo for learning English²⁷⁸ and to call Yolam Kamwendo to work as an assistant headmaster at Ikizu besides serving as one of the English teachers there.

Kamwendo was an ordained minister and had served at Malamulo, the principal Adventist mission in Malawi.²⁷⁹ His service at Ikizu was significant in several respects: (1) as an African, Kamwendo understood his Tanzanian brethren well and assisted in forging an African Adventist identity, (2) as an English-speaking African, he was an excellent example for them, (3) as an ordained pastor, he was an important addition to the few Tanzanian ministers, and (4) as an African missionary, he was both an enrichment to the European crowd and a challenge to them in some matters. Besides, he remained in people’s memory for his music teaching, another first in the history of African Adventist education in Tanzania. Although Kamwendo served in Tanzania for only about four years, his impact was never forgotten.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Interview Otieno.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Walbert Bühlmann, “Die Bibel in der katholischen Weltmission,” in *Die Heilige Schrift in den katholischen Missionen*, ed. Johannes Beckmann (Schöneck-Beckenried: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1966), 8–10. Bühlmann here discusses the consequence of the episcopate’s monopoly of Bible interpretation among Catholics, which implied discouraging lay people to read the Bible before Vatican II.

²⁷⁷ Interview Mashigan. Even the principal of the training school at Ikizu, F.G. Reid, had not been in favour of Sparrow’s position and had to accept the new line.

²⁷⁸ TMF Minutes, 5 June 1943, no. 301, 302, SM 5.

²⁷⁹ TMF Minutes, 16–20 June 1941, no. 57, SM 5. Kamwendo had been a teacher since 1918 and was ordained in 1931. He later headed Adventist work in Central Malawi from Lilongwe Mission Station. See “Meet Our Workers,” SADO 58/4 (15 April 1960): 3.

²⁸⁰ Interview Mashigan. Kamwendo’s name is listed in the *SDA Yearbook* in Tanzania from 1944 to 1947. The retiree generation of Tanzanian church leaders remembers him until today; see interviews Elienza and A. Abihudi.

After these breakthroughs in ministerial and general education, the next step was to set up a more permanent and well-established institution for pastoral training. As the East African Union president, Sparrow did this in 1948 at Nchwanga, Uganda, for the whole Union territory.²⁸¹ This centralized school, first called Nchwanga Evangelists School and later Bugema Missionary College,²⁸² obviously had more potential than the Ikizu course in that it offered regular training taught by staff devoted to this task alone. Among the fourteen first individuals to be trained in a two-year course entirely taught in English, two were Tanzanians: Simeon Dea Otieno and Yohana Lusingu.²⁸³ The topics taught at Nchwanga were very practical and initially aimed at producing preachers who could take the Adventist message to those who had not heard it yet. It was called “evangelists’ course” rather than “ministerial” or “pastoral course” and focused on personal evangelism in the first year and on public evangelism in the second.²⁸⁴

This evangelistic emphasis at Bugema constituted a noteworthy aspect of the indigenization of Adventist leadership with an eschatological motivation. The college principal, Conrad T.J. Hyde, called for more investment into training Africans arguing that “European workers will never finish God’s work in Africa.”²⁸⁵ He believed that only few years were left for Europeans to train Africans until they would take over the work. Therefore, African students at Bugema Missionary College were to learn that “they are to be the missionaries to their fellow-Africans and they are to finish God’s work in East Africa.”²⁸⁶

The avenue to pastoral ministry slowly changed from successful teachers to an array of men from various backgrounds, many with experience in literature evangelism.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the training at Bugema continued

²⁸¹ For more on this historical site, which had been the first Adventist mission in Uganda, see “Uganda,” SDAE, 1338–1340.

²⁸² W.D. Eva, “Bugema Missionary College,” SADO 49, no. 9 (15 May 1951): 6; W.D. Eva, “Report of the East African Union Mission,” SADO 49, no. 11 (15 June 1951): 25.

²⁸³ TMF Minutes, 3–7 February 1947, no. 285, SM 5; C.T.J. Hyde—F.B. Wells, 2 March 1949, SM 37; and “Nchwanga Evangelists School,” *East African Mission News*, no. 20 (April 1948): 2, SM 75.

²⁸⁴ “Report of the Bugema Missionary College,” 1951, 3, SM 80.

²⁸⁵ C.T.J. Hyde, “Bugema Trains Evangelists,” SADO 53, no. 15 (15 August 1955): 4.

²⁸⁶ “Report of the Bugema Missionary College,” 1951, 5, SM 80; and C.T.J. Hyde—F.B. Wells, 2 March 1949, SM 37. Emphasis in the original.

²⁸⁷ In 1958, East African Union leaders stressed that only proper college education, not only background in church work, was sufficient for the future generation of pastors; see EAU Minutes, 15 December 1958, no. 1111, EAU. For literature evangelism

throughout the 1950s and 1960s until Tanzanian leaders saw the need to have their own institution. In 1971 Ikizu became the home of a two-year ministerial course again and functioned as such until 1974.²⁸⁸ By 1973, a site for a pastoral education institution had been acquired near Arusha, and a new institution, Arusha Adventist Seminary, combined the Ikizu Ministerial Course and the Heri Health Evangelism Course to a two-year training for pastors with some additional health teaching.²⁸⁹ In 1979, the school changed its name to Tanzania Adventist Seminary and College and became a recognized two-year college.²⁹⁰ Since then, it has trained pastors from Tanzania and Kenya as well as a few from other African countries and acquired university status in 2004.²⁹¹ Other Tanzanian pastors gained education in other African countries and overseas,²⁹² and the progress of Adventist theological training in this part of Africa resembled developments in other denominations.²⁹³

It was a coincidence that showed the maturation of the church that John Aza Kisaka,²⁹⁴ the first Tanzanian Adventist to receive a doctorate

as an avenue to pastoral ministry, see *Seventh-Day Adventist Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1987* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, 1987); ten out of a total of twenty-four pastors in the Field had been colporteurs before.

²⁸⁸ TU Minutes, 18 December 1969, without no. (“Ikizu Seminary”), TU; D. Dobias, “Ministerial Training Tanzania,” AMDI 1, no. 3 (March 1971): 3; and J.A. Kisaka, “Ikizu Ministerial Course,” AMDI 4, no. 2 (February 1974): 3.

²⁸⁹ TU Minutes, 6 November 1972, no. 265; and 18–19 September 1973, no. 441, TU.

²⁹⁰ TU Minutes, 4–6 October 1977, no. 169, TU; Minutes of the Arusha Adventist Seminary Board, Busegwe, November 27, 1977, ETC.

²⁹¹ The institution was renamed Tanzania Adventist College in 1996 and University of Arusha in 2004. It conferred its first Bachelor or Arts degrees in 1997 in theology.

²⁹² From the 1960s onwards, some went to the then Solusi College in Zimbabwe, others to Spicer Memorial College in India and institutions in the Philippines, Europe, and the USA and earned Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees. Solusi was the first Adventist institution to grant Bachelor’s degrees to Africans. Now it is Solusi University, one of the first non-governmental universities in Zimbabwe. Solusi was the first Adventist mission among non-Whites in Africa; for more on its history, see Virgil Robinson, *The Solusi Story: Times of Peace, Times of Peril* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1979); and Alberto Sbacchi, “Solusi: First Seventh-Day Adventist Mission in Africa,” *Adventist Heritage* 4, no. 1 (1977): 32–43.

²⁹³ Similar to Solusi, the united theological school at Limuru began to offer a BD of the University of London, and the then Makerere University College at Kampala started a Bachelor of Arts in Religious Studies in 1963; see F.B. Welbourn, “The Impact of Christianity on East Africa,” in *History of East Africa*, vol. 3, ed. D.A. Low and A. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 404.

²⁹⁴ For more on John A. Kisaka and details of his dissertation, see 7.3.

in the field of theology,²⁹⁵ became the first principal of the reorganized Tanzania Adventist Seminary and College in 1979, only one year before Yohana Lusingu was appointed the first African Tanzania Union president. With this indigenization of theological educators, the development of several decades had culminated. As in the issue of women's roles in the church, the boundaries between different groups, in this case missionaries and African leaders, had not been easy to be overcome. In some phases, however, the remnant paradigm had relativized the Europeans' predominance and had given impetus for a better training of Africans. As a fully developed nationwide denomination emerged after independence, an African Adventist pastorate became the natural force to direct the course of a movement that had come to combine remnant and folk church elements in its midst.

6.4 *An Appraisal: Between Adventist and African*

At first sight, the issues discussed in this chapter seem to be quite diverse. They belong to three dissimilar categories: (1) celebrations (Sabbath and camp meeting), (2) processes (evangelism, conversion, catechesis, church discipline), and (3) particular groups (women and leaders). Yet they resemble one another in that they all illustrate the dynamics between the two poles of Tanzanian Adventist church life: its denominational heritage and its African setting.

These two poles had to be reconciled in some way, which could happen in different ways: (1) through a merger of Adventist practices with traditional spirituality, as in the case of Sabbath-keeping and *makambi* celebration and theology, (2) by emphasizing central aspects of Adventist identity in a way that implied lenience in matters considered as peripheral, as in evangelism, catechesis, and church discipline, and (3) in gradual transitions from the traditional roles of the genders and

²⁹⁵ It was a Doctor of Ministry degree. The first Tanzanian who earned a doctorate in the field of theology other than a Doctor of Ministry is Lameck Miyayo, who wrote "Ted Peters's Proleptic Theory of the Creation of Humankind in God's Image: A Critical Evaluation," Ph.D. diss., Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Manila, 1998. This dissertation is neither about a specifically Adventist issue nor about something that has a direct relation to the Tanzanian or African background of the author, a marked contrast to Kisaka's dissertation and the theses of many other Tanzanian theologians who write about African issues. Still, there is something Adventist about Miyayo's thesis: it deals with creation, a fundamental theological topic that is of particular interest for this denomination because of its emphasis on the Sabbath.

of foreign and indigenous leaders to a decidedly African Adventist identity in the functions of these groups.

What shines through these diverse dynamics is that Euro-American exports could become more or less important elements of religiosity in Tanzania depending on how much they fit either traditional patterns or people's aspirations in a changing society. While the Sabbath and *sikukuu ya vibanda* celebrations actualized the Adventist predilection for biblical teaching, they were also filled with an African type of spirituality. The processes of evangelism and catechesis as well as church discipline constituted inculturations of Adventist strictness but left room for negotiation as well, which made a pragmatic way of dealing with Tanzanians' concerns possible. The emergence of an African leadership and the role of women in Tanzanian Adventism represented the process of Africanization that overcame missionary predominance and Western traditions and thus redefined the movement as a church that was as Tanzanian as it was Adventist. Still, the creative tension between these two aspects of identity remained in the movement, which indicates that the blend of the remnant and folk church paradigms did not mean a complete fusion. Rather, both poles continued being evoked and gained prominence in some issues. The following chapter will show what this meant with regard to cultural practices and Adventist lifestyle traditions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADVENTISM AND CULTURE IN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN TANZANIAN SOCIETY

7.1 *The “Remnant Church” and African Culture*

Among the many histories of churches in Africa, there are few accounts which do not put some emphasis on the interaction between the Church and traditional culture, but only few authors make this topic a guiding theme.¹ The discussion on the church’s relationship with African culture as a part of the church history of Africa has sometimes been overshadowed by the writing of European missionary history. Missionary history focused on the foreigners who imported Christianity and thus at times overemphasized their role. In contrast, the historiography in the generation after the independence wave of the 1960s often criticized what was deemed the history of missionaries’ shortcomings or impositions.² The latter, often in an attempt at digesting distressing aspects of the past,³ was certainly an important step towards understanding the role of Christian missionaries in the changing society.

¹ Traditional culture appears as a central aspect in, e.g., Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, and Edmund Ilogu, *Christianity and Ibo Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 1974). Specialized studies on African Christian art and music, Christian marriage in Africa, on theology and contextualization in Africa, and African Instituted Churches all touch aspects of culture. Among the major continental histories, Adrian Hastings devotes a special chapter to the topic in *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 317–325. Many others do not make culture a topic in its own right, including Baur, *Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Africa*; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*; Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa*; and Sundkler, *A History of the Church in Africa*.

² See, e.g., A.J. Temu, *British Protestant Missions* (London: Longman, 1972); Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880–1924* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Robert W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875–1935* (London: Heinemann, 1986), 78–87; Emmanuel A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842–1914: A Political and Social Analysis* (London: Longman, 1966), 330–342; Thomas O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 5–6; and Anza A. Lema, “Chaga Religion and Missionary Christianity on Kilimanjaro: The Initial Phase, 1893–1916,” in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 39–62.

³ I am trying to express here what Germans call “Vergangenheitsbewältigung,” the attempt of understanding and getting over Germany’s history, especially Nazi history. A similar approach must certainly be applied to the evaluation of colonialism and, partly, of the church’s existence in the colonial era.

However, after a period of such postcolonial publications, which viewed Christianity as a culturally foreign element on the African soil and as the religious arm of European imperialism, many historians have come to a more balanced approach to the interpretation of the dynamics of religious and cultural change. Today, it is widely recognized that African Christians themselves were the major force in the process of cultural change before, during, and after the colonial epoch.⁴ Therefore, in spite of all societal transformations, there was a basic continuity between traditional and modern African identities residing in these ordinary believers.

This chapter deals with a variety of issues that illustrate the process in which a Tanzanian Adventist identity was forged. Some of these issues are related to traditional African customs and others to the impact of typically Adventist concerns. The chapter focuses on the way Tanzanian Christians dealt with missionary patterns and their own cultural heritage, i.e., the Africans' initiatives and dynamics in accepting, modifying, and rejecting both according to their emerging identity.⁵ At the same time, this crucial focus on African initiatives needs to be used with caution as well. The African part of the story can only be understood when considering aspects of denominational and general Christian identity that exerted their own influence upon those who accepted and translated them.

The Cultural Remnant: Adventist Attitudes to its Environment

The Seventh-day Adventist Church entered Africa with its background of a peculiar relationship with culture that would shape what was to

⁴ See, e.g., Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983); Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995); and Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, eds., *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).

⁵ Cf. the emphasis on African initiatives in Barrett, *African Initiatives in Religion*; Niwagila, *From the Catacomb to a Self-Governing Church*; and Stoner-Eby, "African Leaders Engage Mission Christianity." A similar emphasis is found in Sanneh's *West African Christianity*, where he judges that the role of the African as the agent of religious adaptation was much more significant than that of the missionary as a transmitter; see *ibid.*, xi–xiii. Thomas Spear's model of six main elements in African church historiography likewise focuses on African identity and initiatives not only in African-initiated churches but especially in mission churches; see Spear, "Toward the History of African Christianity," in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 4–8.

happen in this new environment. Since its inception in the nineteenth century, the denomination was among those which tried to safeguard a rigid lifestyle.⁶ With their rules regarding many areas of individuals' lives such as food, dress and adornment, and amusement,⁷ Adventists resembled other denominations of American origin that designed catalogues of prohibitions derived from the desire to define holiness in tangible terms.⁸ The Adventist remnant identity was likewise expressed through strictness in relation to cultural phenomena.⁹ Among the many Adventist statements that illustrate the connection of eschatological convictions, remnant ecclesiology, and strictness in cultural matters, the following 1972 General Conference committee action may serve as an example:

⁶ The recent *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology* has a separate section on "Christian Lifestyle," which indicates that the issue is still a matter of importance to Adventists; see Miroslav Kiš, "Christian Lifestyle and Behavior," in *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000), 675–723. On aspects of Adventist lifestyle and ethics, see also Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-Day Adventism and Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), which deals with sexual ethics, and Steve Case, *Valuegenesis: Shall We Dance—Rediscovering Christ-Centered Standards* (Riverside: La Sierra University Press, 1996), which discusses the "standards" question from a Christocentric perspective.

⁷ The Puritan, Anabaptist, Victorian, and American background of these attitudes is outlined by Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas*, 43–51. For references concerning the food, dress and adornment, and amusement issues, see the respective sections in this chapter.

⁸ Outstanding representatives are churches that come from the Methodist-Holiness tradition, which is also one strand that Adventism incorporated (Ellen White had been a Methodist!). The Nazarenes, for instance, had rigid rules about Sunday keeping, dress, adornment, literature, and entertainment, and completely rejected alcohol and tobacco—just like Adventists. Some Nazarene groups even rejected the wedding ring, decorative pins, cutting the hair of women and girls, television, pictures or slides of any kind in church, and activities such as scouts, bazaars, and fairs. See W.T. Purkiser, *Called unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes*, vol. 2, *The Second Twenty-Five Years, 1933–58* (Kansas City: Nazarene, 1983), 62–65; 258–274.

⁹ Ellen G. White's writings, for instance, are full of such passages. In the collection of her writings, *The Ellen G. White Writings: Standard Library Edition* [CD-ROM], the phrase "the world's standards" and some other combination of "standard" and "worldly" are used 111 times, always in a negative sense. The phrases "separate(d)/separation from the world" are also used 111 times to emphasize the distinctness of the Seventh-day Adventist Church or historical people of God. The word "compromise" is used 135 times, almost always as part of a warning not to give in to worldly things. Some of these quotations are repeated in different books so that the actual number should be somewhat smaller, but the general thrust is clearly one of a complete rejection of "the world."

In this final hour of earth's history, the church must not lower its standards, blur its identity, or muffle its witness, but must with renewed emphasis give strong support to the standards and principles that have distinguished the remnant church throughout its history and have kept it separate from the world.¹⁰

When Adventists entered non-Christian societies, they naturally carried with them their persuasions about “the rigorous Christian life.”¹¹ Accounts from Africa, Papua New Guinea, South America, and Central America almost uniformly stress that Adventist strictness implied a far-reaching rejection of tradition.¹² In a concentrated analysis of the denomination's dealings in Solomon Islands, probably the best short presentation of the Adventist interaction with culture in missionary situations, David Steley confirms this. What he coins the “Adventist Package Deal” implied the possibility for individuals to make far-reaching amendments in their lives, which ultimately led whole villages to replace old paradigms with new every day life patterns. Steley emphasizes that the very Adventist rigidity and rejection of “adaptation” facilitated a comprehensive replacement of tradition through a holistic type of Christianity.¹³

In the African context, similar Adventist attitudes have been observed both by adherents of the denomination and by non-Adventist writers. The Nigerian Adventist Abraham Kuranga comments that the Adventist approach at times followed a “tabula rasa” policy, which aimed at “wiping out and replacing” the local cultural heritage.¹⁴ In a similar

¹⁰ “Display and Adornment,” General Conference Committee Minutes, 20 October 1972, no. 1225, GCA.

¹¹ I have borrowed this expression from Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 247. The faith missions, whose lifestyle Fiedler characterizes this way, parallel Seventh-day Adventism in their revivalist origins and their eschatological motivation.

¹² Sasha Josephides, “Seventh-Day Adventism and the Boroi Image of the Past,” in *Sepik Heritage: Tradition and Change in Papua New Guinea*, ed. Nancy Lutkehaus et al. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1990), 58–66; Raymond Massé, *Les Adventistes du Septième Jour aux Antilles Françaises: Anthropologie d'une Espérance Millénariste* (Montréal: Centre de Recherches Caraïbes, Université de Montréal, 1978), 36, 54, 71; Juliana Ströbele-Gregor, *Dialektik der Gegenauflärung: Zur Problematik fundamentalistischer und evangelikaler Missionierung bei den urbanen ayмара [sic] in La Paz (Bolivien)* (Bonn: Holos, 1988), 146.

¹³ Dennis Steley, “The Adventist Package Deal: New Lives for Old,” in *In and Out of the World: Seventh-Day Adventists in New Zealand*, ed. Peter H. Ballis (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1985), 152–171.

¹⁴ Abraham A. Kuranga, “Seventh-Day Adventism in Western Nigeria, 1914–1981: A Study in the Relationship between Christianity and African Culture from the Missionary Era to the Introduction of African Leadership,” Ph.D. diss., Miami University, 1991, 201.

vein, R.E.S. Tanner noticed that Adventists offered “a hard devotional life” to Tanzanians, for most important traditional amusements were completely “banned as directly evil.”¹⁵ Evidently, Adventists attempted to create an African “Remnant Church.”

This rejection was a logical consequence of what can be regarded as the Adventist missionaries’ concept of culture.¹⁶ One has to bear in mind that the way culture was conceptualized in the first decades of Adventist growth in Tanzania was different from post-World War II anthropology, which describes culture as a complex whole.¹⁷ Generally, “culture” was not clearly defined at the time among Protestant missionaries.¹⁸ Mostly the term “customs” was preferred,¹⁹ and where “culture” was used, it referred to products, practices, “civilization,” or the “mental and moral perfection” of humans.²⁰ Since the main focus was on “customs,” which were not necessarily understood to be intrinsic dimensions of a societal framework, Adventists believed they could deal with these practices the way they had done in Europe and

¹⁵ R.E.S. Tanner, *Transition in African Beliefs. Traditional Religion and Christian Change: A Study in Sukumaland, Tanzania, East Africa* (Maryknoll: Maryknoll Publications, 1967), 71. In a similar vein, Frans J. Wijsen and Ralph Tanner, “*I am Just a Sukuma*”: *Globalization and Identity Construction in Northwest Tanzania* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 104, write: “Perhaps only the Seventh Day Adventists took an extreme view of many aspects of Sukuma practices forbidding drinking, dancing and smoking to their converts.”

¹⁶ The word is not used very frequently in the sources. Kotz asserts that Africans “also have a culture” in his book *Sklaven*, 116. Another occurrence is in the introduction to Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 8, by F. von Luschan, who insists that the culture of Africans “is certainly completely different from ours, but it is not therefore inferior as such.” In the end of this book, he quotes Otto Dempfwofff (without reference): culture means “becoming master over nature because one can feel as a child of God.” See *ibid.*, 245.

¹⁷ Shorter, for instance, distinguishes 4 levels of the cultural make-up of a person: (1) the industrial technical level, (2) the domestic technical level, (3) the value level, and (4) what he calls “ultimate cultural coding”; see Aylward Shorter, Aylward Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church: An Introduction to Social and Pastoral Anthropology* (London: Chapman, 1973), 20–21. Another model differentiates the (1) cognitive, (2) affective, and (3) evaluative dimensions of culture, see Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 31.

¹⁸ Thorsten Altena, “*Ein Häuflein Christen mitten in der Heidenwelt des dunklen Erdteils*”: *Zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis protestantischer Missionare im kolonialen Afrika, 1884–1918* (Münster: Waxmann, 2003), 98–104.

¹⁹ This is paralleled by present usage among Tanzanians. They mostly speak about “customs and habits” (*mila na desturi*) when referring to matters of culture. Another word, *utamaduni*, is often rendered “culture” in English but means the arts, dance, music, and the like.

²⁰ Gustav Warneck, *Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen der modernen Mission und Kultur: Auch eine Kulturkampfstudie* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1879), 4; Altena, *Ein Häuflein Christen*, 99–101.

America, where certain activities had simply been prohibited. Moreover, different from some other missions, Adventists had no explicit *adiaphora* concept that would remove some cultural issues from the rigid demands of what was considered to be standard Christianity.²¹

Yet the Adventist conflict with African societies was not simply an issue of European vs. African culture. Ernst Kotz ironically illustrated this when he likened the “highly cultivated European” who has his herb bundle consecrated in church for the protection from lightning to the “uncivilized” African who procures holy water from a “medicine man.” Kotz could even suggest that “regarding superstitions Europeans are sometimes much more ‘savage’.”²² In the Adventist perception, cultural conflict was less significant than what they considered to be the clash between true and false religion and the practices connected with them.

The concept that there was only one true form of religion and that everything else was automatically “false religion” was also the reason why inculturation or its predecessor paradigm, adaptation, were hardly discussed in Adventist circles. Quite to the contrary, Robert Wieland, editor of Adventist publications for East Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, could reject the concept of “Africanization” on the basis of the persuasion that “Christianity [is] already perfect for Africa.” He argued that even “Europeanization” or “Americanization” of Christianity was unacceptable. To him, Adventist Christianity was supra-cultural, and inculturation of any kind would merely dilute what is absolute truth.²³ With such positions, it is not surprising that Adventism experienced many conflicts with the societies it encountered in Tanzania.

²¹ In the Leipzig Mission field, the Lutheran *adiaphora* concept, which implied the neutrality of some practices with regard to the Christian faith, helped in settling some conflicts such as the controversy regarding circumcision; see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 78.

²² Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 186; Kotz, *Sklaven*, 15, 18, 111. He argued that “civilization, even in association with the church, has often only changed the skin,” and therefore, there “is no difference” between Africans and Europeans before God. The “slave” theme is the framework of Kotz’s whole book *Sklaven*, a popular publication which provides an alternative to the triumphalist attitude then so common among Europeans in equating the spiritual slavery of man in Africa and Europe.

²³ Robert J. Wieland, “Shall we Africanize the Teachings of Christ?,” TMs (photocopy), n.d., 13, AHPH.

Comparing Gutmann and Kotz: Adventist Missionaries and Tanzanian Culture

Wieland's idea does not mean that Adventists in Tanzania were completely uninterested in traditional culture and in appreciating its value. On the European side, both missionaries and home representatives held that there were elements in traditional life that could be accepted by Christians. Wilhelm Mueller, the secretary to the Central European Division, who visited Tanzania in 1935, proudly asserted that German missions, among which he counted Adventists working in Tanzania before World War I and in the 1930s, were pioneers of studying indigenous societies, languages, customs, and law.²⁴ Likewise, Millie Morgan, who worked at Ikizu, affirmed in 1930 that everything which was "good in native custom and habits" should be upheld.²⁵ The most significant statement in this regard was made by the 1928 European Adventist Foreign Missions Council, which was in charge of the work in East Africa. It shows that Adventists earnestly tried to merge their tradition of strictness with missionary insights.²⁶ The council resolved,

We do not declare war upon native customs except as these have definite heathen significance; and...in laying down any regulations we move in harmony with the body of native believers as far as possible.²⁷

An outstanding example of a sympathetic Adventist approach to traditional culture among missionaries in Tanzania is found in the writings of Ernst Kotz, the finest Adventist missiological thinker before World War I. As a self-made ethnologist, he seriously tried to understand the traditional life of the Pare. In a context of prevailing racism among Europeans,²⁸ he advocated to respect Africans as equals and asserted

²⁴ Wilhelm Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission* (Hamburg: Vollmer & Bentlin, 1940), 11.

²⁵ M. Morgan, "West Tanganyika Training School, Ikizu," AS 2, no. 9 (September 1930): 3–4.

²⁶ Possibly this statement was influenced by similar declarations that were made by the conference on Christian Mission in Africa at Le Zoute in 1926, where Adventist delegates participated. Regarding "customs," this conference had stated, "everything that is good in the African's heritage should be conserved, enriched and ennobled by contact with the spirit of Christ." Participants differentiated three types of customs: (1) those that had to be regarded as evil, (2) those that were incompatible with Christianity, and (3) those that needed purification. See Edwin William Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa* (London: International Missionary Council, 1926), 108–109.

²⁷ "Resolutions and Expressions from the Foreign Missions Council," RED 14, no. 2 (1928): 14.

²⁸ If one reads, e.g., pre-World War I colonial magazines such as the *Koloniale Zeitschrift*, one is amazed about the open racism that is expressed in almost every edition. One statement may suffice to illustrate this. The article "Die Negerseele und die Deutschen

that one can learn something from them,²⁹ which was not an obvious insight at that time. In this framework of thought, he argued that “the messenger of the gospel is in the danger of wanting to extinguish all ‘heathenism’ with a Boniface zeal” without caring for the elements that can be cultivated. Moreover, he held that the missionary has the obligation to actively search for such elements.³⁰ Kotz did so himself: he exhaustively researched the Pare life cycle, Pare law,³¹ traditional economy, and Pare religion, and thus produced the first anthropological work ever written by a Seventh-day Adventist.³² He insisted that an African has the capacity for being a “philosopher, poet, and thinker”³³ and declared that Europeans could learn a lot for their parliamentary sessions from the patience and respect governing Pare courts.³⁴ Kotz’s open-minded understanding of Pare culture constituted one of the significant contributions of missionary activities in Tanzania to Adventism as a whole.

At the same time, Kotz was cautious enough not to idealize traditional culture. The titles of his two major books, *Sklaven* (“Slaves”) and *Im Banne der Furcht* (“Under the ban of fear”),³⁵ clearly express that he

in Afrika,” *Koloniale Zeitschrift* 8, no. 6 (1907): 106–107, declares that “millennia separate our spirit from his” [the African’s], muses about the “great weakness of the Negro,” and makes a distinction between “Kultur Mensch” and “Natur Mensch” (man of culture and man of nature) as if Africans had no culture. For more on racism and stereotypical complaints about Africans even among German missionaries in Tanzania, see Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 116–123.

²⁹ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 110. It has to be added that he asserted in the same context that Africans recognize that Europeans are on a higher level. This is probably a true observation for his own (pre-World War I) time, for the technology Europeans brought with them instilled at least fear if not respect in many Africans. Kotz’s perspective, thus, is a paternalistic one, but his affirmation of Africans’ equality is nonetheless of great importance in the context of racism and race theory, which Kotz vigorously dismissed as invalid; see *ibid.*, 122.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

³¹ Kotz applauded land rights among the Pare that resembled Old Testament law and virtually excluded extreme poverty; he quoted the Pare saying *msanga ni wakwe Murungu*—“the land is God’s”; see *ibid.*, 119.

³² Ernst Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht: Sitten und Gebräuche der Wapare in Ostafrika* (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, [1922]). The title means: “Under the Ban of Fear: Traditions and Customs of the Wapare in East Africa.”

³³ See the chapter in Kotz, *Sklaven*, 123–148.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 127–128.

³⁵ German: *Sklaven* and *Im Banne der Furcht*. The latter title is especially interesting in that Kotz certainly copied its first two words from a book on the Pare written by Leipzig missionary Jakob J. Dannholz, *Im Banne des Geisterglaubens* (Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1916) [English translation: “In the Bondage of Evil Spirit Veneration: Characteristics of Animistic Heathenism amongst the Vaasu in German East Africa,”

regarded Pare culture as corrupted in many respects. He attacked the idea that Africans were “happy children of nature” in view of many Pare practices that were dictated by fear rather than by harmony with creation.³⁶ Thus, in spite of his general appreciation of traditional culture, his opinion was that Pare customs comprised only some good elements.³⁷ An example for this sceptical view is sex education. Kotz openly criticized the concept among some Europeans that the youth was to be left in ignorance and contrasted it with Africans who “never had this unhealthy view,” which he called “completely unbiblical.” At the same time, Kotz asserted that the Pare had gone to the other extreme, which was even worse, for according to him, Pare sex education was designed as intentionally stimulating. In addition, customs of this kind were directly linked to Pare folk identity, which made this aspect of traditional life even more difficult to deal with for Christians.³⁸

This leads to the issue of “folkhood,”³⁹ a crucial theme in German missiology during the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁰ With their limited academic background, Adventists did not enter into the public missiological discussion; nevertheless, they appear to have known what thoughts were common around them. The main proponent of a missiology based on folk identity, Bruno Gutmann, worked with the Leipzig Mission in the immediate neighbourhood of the Adventist Pare Field. Gutmann’s voluminous writings⁴¹ were probably the most influential voice of a German missionary in the first half of the twentieth

TMs, 1985, MUCOA 2058]. Dannholz’s book is much less systematic and scholarly; it resembles more a collection of stories.

³⁶ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 169, 178, 183. An example Kotz presents here is that the ancestor veneration customary among the Pare seemed to instil much fear in the hearts of people. The common prayer *nkoma shinjiani* (spirits, sleep!), for instance, expressed their wish of being left in peace, not a joyful and satisfactory life in peace with nature and the “living dead.” In the same line of thought, W. Mueller calls the idea of a “happy condition” of the “children of nature” “stupid”; see Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 95; cf. also Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission* (Hamburg: Vollmer & Bentlin, 1940), 3–4.

³⁷ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 116.

³⁸ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 20–21.

³⁹ This term is not very common, but it has been used to translate the German *Völkstum*, which means “folk identity.” *Völkstum* is also the word that Kotz used in the citation above.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the background of the folkhood concept in Romanticism and its basis for missionary thinking, see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 12–22.

⁴¹ A short but useful introductory selection of his writings with a bibliography of 500 items written by him and others which discuss him and his work is Bruno Gutmann, *Afrikaner—Europäer in nächstenschaftlicher Entsprechung*, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Ernst Jaeschke (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1966).

century. His ideas have been widely discussed among missiologists and, to some extent, among anthropologists.⁴² Although this is not the place to expound his thoughts and theology in detail, which others have done,⁴³ a comparison with the strikingly different attitudes of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries are enlightening in the context of this study. In fact, Adventist positions appear to be antitheses of several of Gutmann's major concepts:

1. *The principal missiological concern:* Gutmann was mainly interested in the church's identity in a local African society and aimed at a folk church,⁴⁴ while Adventists' concern was what they considered to be biblical truth and the universality of the church, endeavouring to call a remnant out of all nations and peoples.
2. *The target of mission:* Gutmann was persuaded that man is not to be addressed as an individual, but as a part of an organic whole, as a person who lives embedded in what he regarded as constituting elements of traditional life, the "primal ties" of age group, clan, and neighbourhood.⁴⁵ Adventists, on the other hand, put emphasis on the individual's response to the gospel even if this implied cutting the ties that Gutmann valued so much.⁴⁶ In this, they put more emphasis on the very "ethical and religious demands of the gospel" that some critics believe were missing in Gutmann's missiology.⁴⁷
3. *The role of culture and cultural change:* Gutmann believed modern civilization to be the archenemy of all human social life.⁴⁸ Traditional

⁴² See, e.g., J.C. Winter, *Bruno Gutmann, 1876–1966: A German Approach to Social Anthropology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979); Johannes C. Hoekendijk, *Kirche und Volk in der deutschen Missionswissenschaft* (München: Kaiser, 1967); and Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*.

⁴³ Notably Ernst Jaeschke, *Bruno Gutmann: His Life—His Thoughts—and His Work* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1985); and Christoph Bochsinger, *Ganzheit und Gemeinschaft: Zum Verhältnis von theologischer und anthropologischer Fragestellung im Werk Bruno Gutmanns* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987).

⁴⁴ Bruno Gutmann, *Afrikaner—Europäer*, Jaeschke, *Bruno Gutmann*, ii.

⁴⁵ Bruno Gutmann, *Christusleib und Nächstenschaft* (Feuchtwangen: Frankenverlag, 1931), 26–41 and 87–104; Jaeschke, *Bruno Gutmann*, 18.

⁴⁶ The Adventist position is similar to the one found among pietistic circles, whose criticism of Gutmann's little emphasis on the individual's responsibility is recorded in Jaeschke, *Bruno Gutmann*, 234–237.

⁴⁷ Here I am using a formulation that Per Hassing employed in his evaluation of Gutmann. Hassing also criticizes, "in Gutmann's writings sin and paganism seem to be mentioned only incidentally"; see his article "Bruno Gutmann of Kilimanjaro," *Africa Theological Journal* 8, no. 1 (1979): 70.

⁴⁸ Bruno Gutmann, *Freies Menschtum aus ewigen Bindungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1928),

culture, conversely, does not appear as a real adversary to missionary work in Gutmann's writings, which included a rather positive view of Chagga religion.⁴⁹ In contrast, Adventists generally believed that many elements in traditional religion and society conflicted with the gospel.⁵⁰ Gutmann wanted to preserve the old while Adventists intended to "make all things new."

4. *The theological background:* In one way, Gutmann resembled Adventists, for his pessimism concerning civilization was not unlike the Adventist eschatologically motivated criticism of hope in human progress.⁵¹ Yet the theological answers they provided to their own questioning of modernity were fundamentally opposed: Gutmann seemed to propose, "Back to God's creation,"⁵² while the Adventists' answer was, "Forward to God's kingdom."

It is not clear whether Kotz was well acquainted with Gutmann's central idea about Christian mission aiming at a folk church, i.e., the importance of the "primal ties." Still, he must have understood the implications of an increased emphasis on folk identity: that traditional customs were to be viewed rather positively.⁵³ Yet to him such a stance was unacceptable. He reflected,

If one tries, as a missionary, to sustain the folk identity of the Pare man, one will, unfortunately, experience again and again that one can take over into Christianity only a very small remainder of his customs and practices because his whole doing and thinking is completely dipped in pagan religious and superstitious ideas.⁵⁴

65–70; Jaeschke, *Bruno Gutmann*, 19. Jaeschke clearly idealizes the situation of the Chagga when the mission encountered them. He asserts, "Gutmann came into contact with a people whose communal life style was still intact. The influence of civilization had... not yet begun its destructive work." (p. 64).

⁴⁹ Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 35.

⁵⁰ See Kotz's views above.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission*, 5.

⁵² Per Hassing expressed it this way: "Eschatology is absent from Gutmann. For him the gospel does not move forward to its consummation in the Kingdom of God but moves back into primeval ties, which seem to be static, unchangeable. Salvation does not break into history, but is carefully sorted out and tied to the existing forces of society." See Hassing, "Bruno Gutmann of Kilimanjaro," 69.

⁵³ Gutmann did not mean to automatically sanctify traditional customs; rather his folk church concept built on a "folk identity" that he believed was constituted in the "primal ties." See the chapter, "Das Wesen der Volkskirche" in Gutmann, *Afrikaner—Europäer*, 133–149.

⁵⁴ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 203.

The Adventist approach was certainly less sophisticated than Gutmann's but perhaps also more realistic in its scepticism regarding traditional culture.⁵⁵ In spite of the denomination's rigorous slant, Kotz's ideal was neither the "individualistic Protestant pietism" that has been observed in faith missions⁵⁶ nor a majority church built through minimizing requirements for membership. Kotz believed that a time was to come when among the Pare "everything has become new, and yet the people have not lost their identity in language and character. Only the ugly and the mean have had to cede."⁵⁷ Thus, he envisioned a transformation of culture through a Christian remnant of converted individuals who would make an impact on society as they adhered to biblical ideals.

In the following sections, several cases of the Tanzanian Adventist interaction with Tanzanian culture will be discussed. Naturally, the focus will be on practices that constituted reasons for controversy in order to show how conflicts were handled and resolved.⁵⁸ Initially three classical conflicts between Christian churches and traditional African practices are discussed: circumcision (7.2) as well as polygamy and bridewealth (7.3). After that, several issues will be highlighted that were typical for the friction between Seventh-day Adventism and general aspects of culture: adornment and dress, music and amusement, and diet (7.4). The last section of this chapter (7.5), finally, presents an overall evaluation of the relationship between Adventism and culture in Tanzania.

⁵⁵ One could argue that Gutmann's and Kotz's reasoning were fundamentally conditioned by the communities they worked with, the Chagga and the Pare, and the different problems they encountered among them. If one assumes that the Chagga were, accidentally or providentially, not as far removed from Christianity as the Pare, Gutmann's idealistic view of Chagga traditional culture could be better understood. This is difficult to prove, however. It is certainly true that the Pare had many customs that were directly contrary to Christian teaching, such as the common infanticide. Still, Kotz's attitude in particular and Adventists' stand in general was certainly fuelled more by theological persuasions than by ethnography.

⁵⁶ Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 14.

⁵⁷ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 182.

⁵⁸ This does not imply that conflicts were the only mode of interaction, for in some respects, Adventism resembled traditional societies; see the last part of 7.5.

7.2 *The Circumcision Issue**The Context: Inculturation and Rejection of Initiation Rituals in East Africa*

Both male and female initiation are practices that have been discussed much in the history of the Christian Church in Africa.⁵⁹ Most societies used to practise some kind of ritual for children or youth of both sexes in order to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. Circumcision was an element that many groups employed during these rituals,⁶⁰ mostly for males, but some societies also practised some kind of “female circumcision.”⁶¹

While the basic thrust of initiation rituals was the same in all societies, the actual details of the ceremony and its importance in different areas varied widely. Among some groups, participation in all features outlined by tradition was a condition for acceptance into the community. In others, the practice was more like a formality that could easily be simplified or varied. Some of these ceremonies were intrinsically connected to promiscuous practices whereas others aimed at imparting moral values to the youngsters involved. This diversity of settings is

⁵⁹ For a general discussion of the attitude of Christianity to initiation, see Marc Ntetem, *Die negro-afrikanische Stammesinitiation: Religionsgeschichtliche Darstellung, theologische Wertung, Möglichkeit der Christianisierung* (Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1983), and Anselme Titianma Sanon, *Das Evangelium verwurzeln: Glaubenserschließung im Raum afrikanischer Stammesinitiationen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1982). James L. Cox, ed., *Rites of Passage in Contemporary Africa: Interaction Between Christian and African Traditional Religions* (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998), puts the issue into a larger framework. Of particular interest for the present study are the historical accounts by Felix Chingota, “A Historical Account of the Attitude of Blantyre Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian towards Initiation Rites,” and Joseph C. Chakanza, “Unfinished Agenda: Puberty Rites and the Response of the Roman Catholic Church in Southern Malawi, 1901–1994,” in *ibid.*, 146–156 and 157–167.

⁶⁰ Among some groups, such as the Sukuma, Luo, Ha, Nyakyusa, Safwa, or Fipa, there is no tradition of circumcision of any kind.

⁶¹ The term “female circumcision” is rejected by many scholars today, but since the sources often use it, the term is retained here with the understanding “what is called ‘female circumcision.’” For a general discussion of the phenomenon, see Bettina Shell-Duncan and Ylva Hernlund, *Female “Circumcision” in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change* (Boulder: Rienner, 2001). Types of female circumcision range from the removal of the clitoris to the removal of the inner and outer labia. For male circumcision, Leipzig missionaries differentiated “Bantu circumcision” and “Maasai circumcision” and forbade the latter because of what they perceived as cruel features; see Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 91; Joseph W. Parsalaw, *A History of the Lutheran Church, Diocese in the Arusha Region from 1904 to 1958* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1999), 115–120.

one reason why the views of Christians on these rites differed widely. Other major reasons for differing opinions included the missionaries' denominational provenance and theological background as well as the function of initiation in changing societies.

C.P. Groves discerns four attitudes to these rites: (1) prohibition, (2) deferred prohibition, (3) Christian adaptation, and (4) accepting the rites as basic to the life of the respective society.⁶² Churches and missions in East Africa experimented with all of these options with varying degrees of success. Three of the most striking examples which illustrate the different options are the Masasi, Kikuyu, and Chagga cases.

At Masasi, Bishop Vincent Lucas of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa experimented with an elaborate Christianization of male initiation rituals in the beginning of the twentieth century. His approach was so much appreciated among the population that even Traditionalist and Muslim parents sent their sons to the Christian *jando* (initiation).⁶³ Among the Kikuyu of central Kenya, Presbyterians took a very different course. They forbade female circumcision in 1926, and the Africa Inland Mission followed soon. The people's reaction was overwhelmingly negative: violence broke out, hundreds of Christians left their churches or were excommunicated in the following years, and several independent denominations were founded.⁶⁴

With the Chagga, the situation seemed to be almost opposite.⁶⁵ It had been decided as early as 1913 at a Leipzig Mission conference that both male and female circumcision were ultimately to be abolished. Yet missionaries among the Chagga, with Bruno Gutmann leading, did not see the necessity of taking quick action, for to them, the matter was an *adiaphoron*. However, "progressive"⁶⁶ Africans, mostly teachers,

⁶² C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 4, 1914–1954 (London: Lutterworth, 1958), 214–215.

⁶³ T.O. Ranger, "Missionary Adaptation of African Religious Institutions: The Masasi Case," in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 221–251; Klaus Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 106–108 and 167–181; Noel Q. King and Klaus Fiedler, eds., *Robin Lamburn—From a Missionary's Notebook: The Yao of Tunduru and Other Essays* (Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, 1991). Similar experiments with female circumcision were less successful.

⁶⁴ Robert W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875–1935* (London: Heinemann, 1986), 136–155 (= chapter VII written by Jocelyn Murray).

⁶⁵ For this whole paragraph, see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 36–38 and 76–87.

⁶⁶ Fiedler calls those who hold on to traditional culture "conservative" and those

had the strongest influence in the church during several years of the missionaries' absence after 1920. They believed that the Bible forbade circumcision and influenced the elders' general meeting in 1923 to abolish the practice and to suspend every believer whose children underwent the rite. Still, many church members continued having their children circumcised, both boys and girls, which brought great tension into the Lutheran churches on Kilimanjaro. When Gutmann came back to Tanzania in 1925, he sided with the silent majority of "conservative" Christians who did not want circumcision to be prohibited. Gutmann's view ultimately became the official position, mainly because it corresponded to the needs of the majority. It is nevertheless significant that the "progressive" African minority was much stricter than both the missionaries and the Christian body as a whole.

As visible in these accounts of the interaction of missionaries, African Christians, and societies, each of the three groups could play a decisive role in influencing the course of action taken. It is against this background that the Adventist attitudes toward initiation issues must be understood as a negotiation process between different groups which, in the Adventist context, advocated more of a remnant mode or an increasing accommodation to a folk church reality. The following sections describe and evaluate the way Adventists dealt with this custom among three major groups among whom both male and female circumcision was practised.⁶⁷

Pare: Slow Decline

Male initiation among the Pare was among those customs that were most appalling for Seventh-day Adventists. While circumcision as such was a rather simple ceremony administered to boys between the age of five and ten, the second and decisive step of initiation was carried out in a forest (*mshitu*) and was thus called *ngasu ya mshitu* (forest feast). The ceremony was a symbolic action during which already circumcised boys

who are ready for change "progressive." In this sense, Seventh-day Adventists have always tended to be progressives. However, the major issue in Adventism appears to be "strictness" or "rigorism," another category used by Fiedler in his book *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1994), 247–271 (the chapter entitled "The rigorous Christian life").

⁶⁷ Other groups did not have any tradition of circumcision, and again others such as the Jita practised male circumcision only. Among the Jita, no major tensions developed around the issue.

were “eaten” by the forest or the “forest animal,” the *ngurunguru*, and were then “vomited” by it again. This was enacted with four gates in the forest through which every child had to pass with an adult helper. Especially at the last gate, men would stand with clubs to beat the passing children, and in this process some children died.⁶⁸

Girls’ circumcision was done at around four years of age in a short ceremony near the girl’s home and was followed by two more feasts. One took place when the girl was seven to nine years old; she then became a *mwai wa nyumba*, a girl confined to her hut for one to six years. After this period, another celebration was scheduled that signified the girl’s ability to marry.⁶⁹

It is somewhat surprising that Ernst Kotz, who was most sympathetic toward traditional cultures, strongly argued against Pare male circumcision. According to him, circumcision was not a mere external ceremony but might imply “falling back into ancestor veneration,” for only the circumcised were allowed to participate in the *mshitu* celebration and were thus able to become full members of traditional Pare society. Pare Christians, though, asked the missionaries to administer circumcision themselves. They argued during a deacons’ and teachers’ conference that children should be circumcised so that they may not be laughed at and in order to enable them to marry. Kotz contended, however, that such a circumcision had nothing in common with the traditional circumcision anyway and that it was therefore meaningless. He even reasoned that remaining uncircumcised would be an advantage for Christian young men because it put a barrier between them and non-Christian girls.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Then it was said, “the feast has swallowed him.” See Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 57 and 60–72. There were some regional differences in the ritual: *mshitu* was more powerful in the north, extending up to six months, while in the south it could take one week only. See Isaria N. Kimambo and C.K. Omari, “The Development of Religious Thought and Centres among the Pare,” in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, ed. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 119–120.

⁶⁹ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 36–52. The custom of confinement existed among other peoples of northern Tanzania as well. On the basis of such traditions, the Berlin Mission experimented with a Christianized version of confinement among the Zaramo at Maneromango. From 1932 to 1940, Anna von Waldow conducted this *wanawali* project in which girls would be secluded for two years in analogy to traditional practice. See Irene Fiedler, *Wandel in der Mädchenerziehung in Tanzania: Der Einfluß von Mission, kolonialer Schulpolitik und nationalem Sozialismus* (Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, 1983), 227–270.

⁷⁰ Ernst Kotz, “Was haben wir dem Schwarzen über die Beibehaltung seiner Volkssitten, insbesondere der Beschneidung, auf Grund der Schrift zu sagen? (I)/(II),” *ABH* 7, no. 5 (1921): 37–40; and *ABH* 7, no. 6 (1921): 47–48 = Kotz, *Sklaven*, 163–168.

This early confrontation is significant in several respects. (1) Both Kotz and the Pare Christians tried to take traditional culture seriously in their own ways. (2) Kotz did not simply lean more toward change. Rather, his attitude was apparently to either fully accept or fully reject a traditional custom; at least in the case of bridewealth, he was persuaded of its validity. (3) In a typical Adventist manner, Kotz demanded that all customs must be “judged by the Bible” and, I would add, by his pastoral concerns.⁷¹ (4) The Pare themselves proposed a compromise that would both satisfy minimal demands of society and honour the remnant character of the faith they adhered to. (5) Kotz claimed that he did not advocate European culture to be imposed on Africans, yet his strictness prevented a solution to the satisfaction of all parties.

Circumstances in Pare somewhat changed in 1922 when the new government announced that those involved in the *ngasu ya mshitu* would be prosecuted, and that persons found guilty would be hanged for murder. This reduced the public importance of the ritual for a short time.⁷² From 1929 onward, however, the tide seemed to turn: initiation ceremonies were practised anew, the traditional twin killing appeared again, and altogether a revival of Traditional Religion occurred.⁷³ It is probably against this background that the Adventist discussion of the issue was revived in the 1930s. The initial missionary view was unequivocal: ceremonies connected to initiation were rejected because it was believed that through them “all manners of evil” were being imparted to the young.⁷⁴

The position of the majority of Pare Christians, however, appears to have been the same as one generation earlier. Thus, in 1932 a compromise

⁷¹ In this respect, Kotz argued similar to other missions in Tanzania—e.g., the Bethel Mission, which officially forbade circumcision in the Tanga and Digoland areas against the Tanzanian Christians’ will. They viewed it as a religious ceremony opposed to biblical Christianity and feared that if this “heathen” element was allowed, other pagan practices would also creep in; see Niesel, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 123–125. Cf. also missionary correspondence on the circumcision question in the file Leipzig Mission—Tagesordnung des 1. Kirchentages, August 1930, MUCA 266.4 A6, 21–25.

⁷² Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 17 July 1922; Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 17 September 1924, SM 27.

⁷³ Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 128. Fleisch also asserts that Traditionalists designed new aspects of religion, such as the building of houses for the spirits. Probably this happened in response to the spread of Christianity and Islam.

⁷⁴ Spencer G. Maxwell, “Pare Annual Meeting,” MW 35, no. 7 (4 April 1930): 2–3.

was negotiated which satisfied the demands of the Pare Adventists. The Pare Advisory Council decided that “only if a child [boy] has the problem that he does not keep quiet [i.e., strongly demands circumcision] he should be taken to hospital to be circumcised.”⁷⁵ If European church leaders aimed at eradicating traditional circumcision among Christians quickly through this decision, it failed, for less than three months later, the same committee found that “many people participate in the *jando* [traditional circumcision], and finally, when they are through, they return to church.” The church leadership strongly rejected this and declared a punishment of at least two years of suspension.⁷⁶

Yet the first 1932 action had opened the door for an alternative practice that could not be closed any more. Five years later, the same question was discussed again, and this time tolerance turned into acceptance. It was argued that although the Bible neither rejects nor commands circumcision, those who want to circumcise their sons for health reasons can do so, only that the act should be performed in hospital, not in the customary and “uncivilized” way.⁷⁷ Thus, the Pare Adventists’ pre-World War I stance had become the official position one generation later. It had changed from a secret practice to a tolerated alternative and finally to an officially endorsed option soon to be regarded as the standard course of action. Although no active Christianization of the rite but a “secularization” took place, Pare Adventists designed hospital circumcision as a continuation of tradition modified under Christian influence.

Surprisingly, no mention is made of female rituals as an issue of church discipline in written sources in all these years.⁷⁸ Was this silence due to the fact that the church was preoccupied with other issues such

⁷⁵ Baraza la Makanisa, 21 March 1932, SM 7. Eighteen Africans participated in this committee. That the majority of church members advocated circumcision is visible from statement in the same committee action that says that circumcision “is not a good thing although the people view it as good.”

⁷⁶ Baraza la Makanisa, 9–10 July 1932, SM 7.

⁷⁷ Baraza la Kiafrika la Kutoa Mashauri, 1 January 1937, SM 7; Baraza ya Makanisa, 12–13 August 1937, SM 7. For “uncivilized” the strong word *kishenzi* is used here, which summarized the rejection of traditional life and customs by those who considered themselves progressive.

⁷⁸ The only occurrence of the issue in the sources—and not in the context of church discipline—is the case of Nakundwa Mdidi: Nakundwa, a Christian girl living with her sister Merle Mdidi, the wife of the Adventist teacher Nikundiwe Mauya, was about to be forced into the initiation rites by her brother Barua Mdidi, which could be prevented by mission and government intervention. See Educational Secretary [Suji]—District Officer Same, 11 October 1932, SM 21.

as male initiation, was it not deemed a major problem, or was female circumcision practised more secretly? It is not easy to tell. The issue was known even to the missionaries before World War I,⁷⁹ yet most interestingly Kotz and others did not make it a matter of contention, different from male circumcision, which he rejected so vehemently. Although it is difficult to draw definite arguments from silence, it is significant that the practice was never made a matter of debate in those early years. At the very least, this indicates that it was not perceived as a topic of major importance by both Pare church members and missionaries.

Only in 1938, after the male circumcision question had been settled to the satisfaction of Pare Christians, was female circumcision taken up and instantly referred to the Tanganyika Field Committee. The Pare Advisory Board considered the matter to be such a “difficult question” that a larger body was needed to discuss it.⁸⁰ Yet submitting the question to the next level of church administration also implied that no African representative would be included in the discussions, and unfortunately, no record is available about whether or how the issue was dealt with.⁸¹ Still, it is clear that the church leaders’ position was rather negative.⁸²

In the same period, Pare society changed considerably. The impact of Christianity on the community as a whole was increasingly felt.⁸³ In the Adventist part of South Pare, traditional customs began to lose their influence in the latter 1940s and the early 1950s, even though female circumcision continued among Christians in this period.⁸⁴ However, it was no more an issue debated by committees in these years of growth when the church was preoccupied with instructing and baptizing a

⁷⁹ Kotz devotes one page to describe the practice but does not include any personal opinion; see Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 36.

⁸⁰ Baraza la Wajumbe wa Upare, 11 September 1938, SM 7.

⁸¹ The only location where TMF minutes have been preserved is among the Suji materials at North-East Tanzania Conference, Same, and 1938 and 1939 are the two years that are missing among them.

⁸² Missionary Andreas Sprogis, the mission superintendent for the whole country in the late 1930s, and Pastor Yohana Makanta are remembered to have taught that the practice was not acceptable for health reasons in the mid-1930s and the 1940s, respectively. See interviews Msangi and Msangi, and Raheli Kinduru, Hedaru, 30 March 2001.

⁸³ Fleisch’s assertion that “the time of heathenism was over” in the 1930s is definitely overstated, but it is surely true that the power of Traditional Religion over people’s lives and its public visibility dramatically decreased during this decade and the following two. See Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 128.

⁸⁴ Interviews Nzota and Elieneza. Pastor Godson Elieneza reports that his sister, who was from a Christian family, was circumcised because his Traditionalist grandmother wanted so.

multitude of converts.⁸⁵ Finally, *mshitu* ended in the 1960s together with the last important rudiments of Traditional Religion such as the use of sacred groves. Male circumcision had become an almost purely hospital-based practice, and female circumcision faded out until the 1970s.⁸⁶ As the remnant developed into a folk church, it was able to change its adherents' practices and to transform society. In this case, it influenced culture as a whole to conform to patterns that were determined at least partly by the legacy of Adventist strictness.

Kuria: Staunch Persistence

The situation among the Kuria was different from that of the Pare right from the outset. The Kuria were a much more conservative people than most others with whom Adventists had begun to interact.⁸⁷ Until the end of the colonial period, they strongly clung to their traditional customs, including polygamy, traditional dances, and circumcision among both sexes. Naturally, their conservatism implied drastic measures against those who did not adhere to these practices. Children of uncircumcised mothers, for instance, would be killed or sent away from Kurialand while the mother herself was to be expelled from the area because she was regarded as a curse to society.⁸⁸

It is understandable, then, that Adventists did not have an easy start. Among the few early converts before World War I, it was precisely the circumcision question that caused "great battles."⁸⁹ Missionary Franz Bornath's feelings were particularly offended by the fact that the last three of the seven weeks after circumcision were a period of promis-

⁸⁵ I suppose it is in this context that Pastor Andrea Abihudi's statement must be understood that female circumcision was not attacked in Pare during his early ministry (i.e., the 1950s). It may not mean that the practice was never actually opposed, but it certainly implies that it had ceased to be an issue with a pervasive impact. See interview A. Abihudi.

⁸⁶ Interviews Elifuraha Fadhili, Mamba-Giti, 19 July 1999, and William Mwanyika and John Yosiah, Mamba-Myamba, 19 July 1999. O'Barr, "An Ethnography of Modernization," 201, reports the same phenomenon about Usangi (North Pare) with the exception of Muslims who reinforced circumcision of both sexes.

⁸⁷ Similar things can be said about the Ikizu and the Zanaki, two groups among whom Adventists had also worked since the time before World War I but never made any significant impact. They are among the dozen ethnic groups in Mara that have a close historical relationship with the Kuria. See Gabriel N. Chacha, *Historia ya Abakuria na Sheria Zao* (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1963), 1.

⁸⁸ North Mara District Book [ca. 1959], section "Medical": "Reply to Medical Questionnaire—Kuria Area of District," TNA (without no.); interview Bina.

⁸⁹ F. Bornath, "Das 'religiöse' Leben der Bakurya (I)" ABH 7, no. 4 (1921): 52.

cuous sexual activity, constituting a duty every one had to accept. Yet these practices were of such enormous influence that he felt unable to fight them.⁹⁰

After World War I, Adventists began to make significant impact on Kuria only in the 1930s. In the 1940s, F.G. Reid, who served at Utimbaru throughout that decade, took up the circumcision issue again. The following reminiscence of a discussion in 1940⁹¹ may illustrate the controversy during that period in which missionary strictness faced church members' advocacy of the custom:

Pastor Reid asked Kuria Adventists, "What do you value in men's and women's circumcision?"

People answered, "It indicates that someone is a grown-up; he can marry or be married."

He said, "In Kisii,⁹² people feel proud to be circumcised. What about you?"

Church members answered: "We feel proud, and we honour our ancestors."...

He replied, "If that is so, why do you mix [different kinds of] worship? You worship God and Baal at the same time."

In the 1940s and 1950s, female circumcision was apparently more of an issue than the male version. Camp meetings were one forum where the harm of female circumcision was regularly taught. Yet the large majority of girls continued to undergo the traditional ritual, and there were but few Adventists who abandoned the practice.⁹³ In spite of its medical hazards, the attractions of circumcision were many. Only a circumcised woman was sure of being married, while the uncircumcised

⁹⁰ He declared resignedly, "For us as missionaries, these customs are very sad, but we are powerless before them... We have to wait until the power of the gospel removes these bad customs." See *ibid.*, 30.

⁹¹ Interview Bina. This reminiscence is, of course, not a transcription of what was spoken word by word, but does reflect the positions held at the time.

⁹² The Kisii of Kenya are closely related to the Kuria; both their language and their culture is very similar.

⁹³ For instance, Pastor Raphael Megera, by then a teacher, married Rahab, the daughter of Thomas Sabai, who had not been circumcised, just like his own sister; see interview Megera. Surprisingly, Megera feels that missionaries were "completely silent" on the matter. This shows that some progressive Tanzanians would have liked them to speak out much more vigorously. Of course, missionaries were not silent, but it is possible that those present at Utimbaru in the 1950s did not stress the issue much. This might be a reason why the discussions broke out so forcefully in the 1960s.

would be despised and considered to be a curse. Besides, many believed that only circumcised women could give birth properly. In general, mothers and girls were even more inclined to support this tradition than men. Thus, some daughters of Christian parents participated in the ceremony even if their fathers opposed it.⁹⁴ This is not surprising given the fact that even young Adventist men often preferred to marry circumcised girls from outside the church.⁹⁵

There was a period around 1950 when those who underwent circumcision were suspended from church, but later on, no suspension was applied any more.⁹⁶ This situation changed to some extent when the first Kuria pastors and church leaders started to oppose female circumcision openly from the early 1960s onwards. In the forefront was Pastor Mispereth Rutolyo, under whose leadership some members who supported the practice were disfellowshipped, as well as Pastors Zephania Bina and Raphael Megera.⁹⁷ In a way, the pre-independence situation, when church leaders—by then the missionaries—were on the one side and church members on the other, continued, only that the leaders were now indigenous pastors. Still, they did not succeed in stopping the custom by applying sanctions because parents would always argue that their children had gone for circumcision by themselves, which was frequently true.⁹⁸

During the same period, the discussion gradually became more heated.⁹⁹ In 1967, Pastor Yakobo Maganga, an Ikizu who worked among the Kuria of the Kiribo district, raised the concern with the

⁹⁴ Interview Mashigan. Mashigan worked as a teacher among the Kuria and Luo at Utimbaru from 1946 to 1952 and later served as a Field and Conference president in his native Sukumaland and in Mara.

⁹⁵ Interview I. Machage.

⁹⁶ Interview Mashigan. The Mennonites, who worked among the Kuria since the 1930s, also disciplined their members for participation in the ceremonies; see Hess, *The Pilgrimage of Faith*, 59.

⁹⁷ Interviews E. Wanjara and Megera. In the mid-1970s, Rutolyo was president of East Nyanza Field, where the Kuria live, and Bina was president of East Nyanza Field from 1969 to 1973.

⁹⁸ Interviews I. Machage and Makorere.

⁹⁹ An anonymous manuscript from those days found in the files of the former East Lake Field (where the Kuria live) declares most vehemently: “Women’s circumcision is Satan’s affair and idol worship, and anyone who conducts it shows how stupid he is. . . . This person is against progress, and he likewise has no right to lead the worship of God’s people.” Finally it even argues, “someone who circumcises his daughter cooperates with murderers.” See “Mwanamke Kuoa Mwingine au Wakristo Kujengea Malaya Nyumbani Kwao; Tohara Haihusiani na Wokovu,” TMs, n.d., Unnamed File with Correspondence and Minutes, 1961–1976, MC.

East Lake Field office. According to Maganga, some of the Christians at Kiribo competed “in becoming fully Kuria” through participation in initiation rituals, and he argued that this “fellowship with pagans” brought “darkness into the church.”¹⁰⁰ This concern led to a meeting of representatives from three Adventist church districts among the Kuria at Nyariso in 1968. Under the leadership of Pastor Petro Marwa, the first Adventist Kuria minister, the purpose of this convention was to discuss circumcision and marriage issues. The decisions concerning circumcision read:

1. Whereas circumcision is an uncivilized taboo practice which defiles spiritual things and inserts barbaric manners and customs into the pure church of Christ, we completely reject female circumcision from today according to *Kanuni za Kanisa* [the Church Manual], p. 263.

And any parent who circumcises his girl or who participates in any plans concerning circumcision will consequently be disfellowshipped from church. And any girl who will hide and is being circumcised without her parents' knowledge will hence be made like a heathen. And every Christian parent shall take strong measures concerning his daughter who will be circumcised without his permission. If not, the church will make a case for him out of it.

2. Our male children should be circumcised in hospital at any time of the year without waiting for the uncivilized practices and sacrifices to the ancestors so as to participate with their circumcision. Further, a parent is not supposed to take any steps to invite people and to make a feast after his child is being circumcised.

3. We ask our Field, East Nyanza . . . to meet with the Area Commissioner of North [Mara] in order to inform all the Vice District Commissioners of Kuria that nobody should circumcise the child of an SDA Christian without the permission of his parents.¹⁰¹

These decisions constituted a full rejection of the traditional custom, yet the committee that had designed them had no real powers to enforce them, for disciplinary policies beyond the stipulations of the *Church Manual* are not made by local Adventist congregations. Thus, the whole action had to be reconsidered on the next level of church administration. When, after almost two years, the Field leaders finally

¹⁰⁰ Yakobo Maganga—Baraza la East Lake Field, 25 September 1967, Correspondence of the Secretary—Worker Files, MC.

¹⁰¹ “Mkutano wa Wajumbe Toka kwa Makanisa ya Kurya, Juni 16/1968—Nyariso,” Correspondence of the Secretary—Worker Files, MC.

discussed the topic, it was deemed so sensitive that they preferred to pass it on to Tanzania Union rather than taking responsibility for making a unilateral decision.¹⁰²

It is improbable that Union leaders understood that the Nyariso meeting had actually been an attempt of local pastors to impose their strict views on a flock that had never done things that way. At all events, the full sway of these local leaders' agenda had been lost on the Union level. Besides, the still missionary-dominated committee probably did not wish to be much involved in such complex matters which arose in a single area. Union leaders in the 1960s and 1970s lived in a world somewhat removed from the village level, and their major concerns were numerical growth and geographical spread, not local discord. The committee action averred that female circumcision "had its origin in superstition and idolatry" and that there was "no medical reason or value" in it. However, the recommendation abstained from deriving a rigid stand from the remnant paradigm. It merely stipulated that "this practice be discouraged among members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and that a program of education be carried on in respect of this problem."¹⁰³

This decision must have come as a disappointment for those who had agitated for the ban of the custom. Moreover, since no support was given to the idea of disfellowshipping those who actually underwent the rite or those who accepted that their children did so, the action implied that in practice things would continue as before. Yet if the national church leadership thought that this had settled the matter, they were wrong. Three and a half years later, the issue was sent to Tanzania Union again. The East Nyanza Field demanded a review of the 1970 decision and declared, "We have for a long time taught against it without success. With all this business they follow all the heathen practices."¹⁰⁴

This time, they were more successful. The Union committee resolved in 1974,

¹⁰² ENF Minutes, 2 April 1970, no. 107, MC. After one and a half years, Maganga had felt compelled to remind them to finally take it up. He argued, "these days, Kuria Christians have gone much further in this matter by dancing as the heathen do." See Yakobo Maganga—East Nyanza Field, 26 December 1969, Correspondence of the Secretary—Worker Files, MC.

¹⁰³ TU Minutes, 22 November 1970, no. 1076, NETC.

¹⁰⁴ ENF Minutes, 4 April 1974, no. 266, MC.

WHEREAS the Christian faith demands leaving of heathen customs,
 WHEREAS the circumcision of both males and females is many times
 connected with witch doctors, rites and curses,
 WHEREAS many times health and child bearing are adversely affected
 in females,
 VOTED: That we strongly recommend that this practice be condemned
 by the work of education and counsel; that only recognized medical per-
 sonnel do circumcision of males; that females not be circumcised.¹⁰⁵

At a first glance, this sounds like renouncing any compromise, an option which an emerging folk church could have chosen. But even though this 1974 action was more strongly worded than the 1970 recommendation, it remained a recommendation and did not make an immediate local impact. Thus, the 1970s are remembered as a decade when female circumcision was carried on with “without any impediment.”¹⁰⁶ These were the years when a veritable Adventist majority church developed in some parts of Kurialand, and the filtering-down process to the average church member took time until the 1980s, when more members than the educated minority turned against the practice. Only with an increasing acceptance of a modern alternative in society at large did the stricter position become plausible to a significant number of Kuria Adventists.

Iraqw: Non-Interference

Among the Iraqw, circumcision was held in high esteem for both sexes.¹⁰⁷ Female circumcision was a very simple procedure done by a few women in the girl’s home without an elaborate ceremony. The Iraqw held that this custom prevented girls from becoming prostitutes, for they reasoned that when the clitoris was removed, sexual desire was also reduced. Non-circumcised girls were regarded as unfit to be married.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ TU Minutes, 23–24 April 1974, no. 638, TU. This committee action also stipulated that the issue was to be sent to the Division for advice regarding discipline in case this counsel was disregarded. Yet no answer ever came back. Apparently the Division did not want to speak a final word on such a strictly local issue.

¹⁰⁶ Interview Lois L. Bhokeye, Dar es Salaam, 30 July 2001.

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed description of Iraqw circumcision, see Yotham J.B. Fissoo, “The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw, with Special Reference to the Lutheran Church in Mbulu,” B.D. thesis, Lutheran Theological College Makumira, 1982, 22–29.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 24, 27–28, Elias Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw,” AMs, 2001.

Lutherans, the first Protestants to start work among the Iraqw in 1938, objected to traditional boys' circumcision and insisted that they be taken to hospital for this operation. They felt that the *qusay* tradition connected to male circumcision included some actions incompatible with their standards of Christianity, such as drinking of alcohol and cursing. Lutherans even excommunicated people who did participate in *qusay*, but Christians ultimately influenced non-Christians to take their children to hospital for the operation. Lutherans objected to female circumcision as unhealthy, yet took no disciplinary action against those who practised it, for the assumed benefits of the procedure prompted almost all Christians to continue cherishing the custom.¹⁰⁹

Adventist work among the Iraqw was unique in several respects: it started rather late, Catholics and Lutherans had come earlier and were therefore established quite well, and Adventist mission stations were run by Pare missionaries right from the beginning, not by Europeans. Seen in this light, it is not very surprising that the Adventist perspective was different from the position of the church leaders among the Pare and Kuria. The Pare missionaries chose not to take any definite stand concerning male and female circumcision for more than a generation after the church's inception in the late 1940s. This was understandable because as latecomers and a minority denomination, Adventists could not afford making conversion to their denomination even harder through strictness in peripheral matters. Furthermore, since the issue was never a major concern in Pare in those post-World War II decades, the Pare missionaries were pragmatic enough not to give it undue prominence where they had been sent. Only in the late 1970s did individuals such as Pastor Eliamani Kilonzo, a long-time worker among the Iraqw with Pare origin, start teaching that female circumcision should be abandoned, thereby correcting what they viewed as an overly lax attitude. In the 1980s, it faded out among most Adventists while male circumcision had become a purely hospital-based practice.¹¹⁰ Thus, in this respect the remnant had become part of the mainstream through changes that occurred in society at large.

An Appraisal: Diversity and Uniformity in the Context of Remnant Ethics

This short investigation of Adventists' dealings with circumcision practices in three societies has shown that in different environments

¹⁰⁹ Fissoo, "The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw," 26–28.

¹¹⁰ Lomay, "Adventism among the Iraqw."

leaders and members of the church could relate to similar problems in divergent ways. In Pare, conflict was experienced from the beginning, and the issue was resolved after approximately one generation of Adventism's presence and under missionary leadership. Among the Kuria, the controversy only climaxed under progressive indigenous leaders who were opposed to the practices cherished by the majority.¹¹¹ Iraqw Adventists, on the other hand, never experienced significant disunity concerning the matter.

Yet the final outcome was similar in all three societies. Experimenting with models of inculturation or declaring the issue an *adiaphoron* would have been out of line with the Adventist tradition of strictness, while a rigid application of church discipline as in the Kikuyu case was commonly shunned because of the obvious negative outcome of such an action in the context of emerging Adventist majority churches. Thus, the church leadership ultimately advocated discarding female circumcision and "modernizing" male circumcision in all cases. This stand became common among the majority of church members as well¹¹² and paralleled the impact of modernity on the particular groups as a whole.¹¹³

This development was also in line with the general course of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in much of Africa. It was canonized in the late 1950s through the section on initiation rites in the Southern

¹¹¹ That the main issue was male initiation in Pare because of its accompanying ceremonies in traditional society and female circumcision among the Kuria is understandable on the basis of the traditional values attached to these respective ceremonies.

¹¹² A significant deviation from this pattern is found, however, among the Kisii, who constitute more than one third of the church membership of Kenyan Adventists and who are considered to be the "Kuria's cousins" historically. Female circumcision has been continued among them without major debate until very recently, and many church leaders have actually been advocating the practice, arguing that it safeguards women's morality. Only in recent years have individuals started to openly criticize the custom and the church's silence on it; see, e.g., Daniel Momanyi Mokaya, *Female Circumcision Among the Abagusii People in Kenya* (N.p.: by the author, 2001) [printed at Africa Herald Publishing House, the Adventist publishing house in Kenya].

¹¹³ This is why the Pare dealt with the conflict earlier. The Kuria and the Iraqw were latecomers in the process of cultural change, and only when the influence of a national culture of modernization had become strong enough did a considerable number of people accept the "modern" model, which would enhance their role as progressive persons. The importance of individuals' roles played in cultural change is emphasized by Klaus Fiedler. He argues that the acceptance or rejection of the missionary Christianization of transition rites among the Chagga did not mainly depend on theological but sociological factors. If it enhanced people's roles in society, it was accepted by them, and it was rejected where it destroyed people's prestige; see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 109–111.

African Division supplement to the denominational *Church Manual*. It stipulated:¹¹⁴

While recognizing that these rites gave some instruction into membership in the tribe and prepared boys and girls for their mature duties and relationship to their elders, yet certain debasing practices connected with tribal initiation make it most undesirable for Christian young people to take any part in these ceremonies.

Where it is deemed necessary on physical grounds for our young men to be circumcised, they should proceed to one of our own doctors for the operation. But in the case of young girls, this act is most undesirable and we register our strong disapproval of this practice.

The instruction given to our youth in the classes and programmes of the Missionary Volunteer Society should prepare our boys and girls to take their place in society and regulate their behaviour to each other.¹¹⁵

The position presented here attempted to be balanced in that it recognized both the values and the dangers of traditional custom, tried to provide some kind of a functional substitute, and did not instantly announce disciplinary action for those who did not comply. After all, it was next to impossible to punish Christian parents for the deeds of their children who were not yet counted as Adventists even if in practice they had to be treated like Christians “in process.” It is somewhat surprising that the division policy came rather late, but this perhaps shows that the issue was not all that burning in many places. Besides, a uniform stand was not easy to achieve in a region that comprised such diverse societies as are found in southern, central, and eastern Africa. The remnant’s ethics was rather strict in theory, yet in Tanzania the outcome of the Adventist encounter with initiation practices in different traditional societies was a compromise between the remnant ideal of tangible holiness and the reality of a growing folk church.

¹¹⁴ In 1948, the General Conference had taken an action that allowed for division supplements due to “problems peculiar to certain areas.” This was first applied to a new *Church Manual* edition in 1951; see “Church Manual,” SDAE, 264, and *Church Manual*, [Washington, D.C.]: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1951, 19–20.

¹¹⁵ See the Southern African Supplement section in the *Seventh-Day Adventist Church Manual*, 1959, 321, quoted from photocopied sections in John Aza Kisaka, “The Adventist Church’s Position and Response to Socio-Cultural Issues in Africa,” D.Min. diss., Andrews University, 1979, 101.

7.3 *Marriage Issues*

Different from the initiation into adulthood symbolized in circumcision, the subsequent stage in the life cycle forced Christians and Adventists to deal with a whole plethora of issues that did not give them the option of a simple ban. Marriage as well as notions and traditions connected with them¹¹⁶ had to be Christianized by finding some compromise between ethnic customs, theological persuasions, and growing Western influences.

This section will focus on two such institutions of significance to Africans: polygamy and bridewealth. Of course, there were also other issues that caused concern for Adventists, such as marriage age,¹¹⁷ traditional taboos related to marriage,¹¹⁸ the freedom of partner choice, or traditional institutions that provided offspring in case regular marriages did not do so.¹¹⁹ The debates that arose around these matters among

¹¹⁶ A good introductory book on marriage in Africa is Benezeri Kitembo, Laurenti Mageza, and Aylward Shorter, eds., *African Christian Marriage*, 2d ed. (Nairobi: Paulines, 1998). It deals with many issues, including church marriage rates, divorce and remarriage, polygamy, care of widows, husband-wife relationship, fatherhood, sexuality, parent-children relations, sex education, mixed marriages, family planning, and marriage and the community. Two other helpful books are: Theological Advisory Group Research Team on Marriage and Family, *A Biblical Approach to Marriage and Family in Africa* (Machakos: TAG, 1994), written from an evangelical point of view, and John S. Mbiti, *Love and Marriage in Africa* (London: Longman, 1973), a very practical work.

¹¹⁷ In the 1920s, Adventist missionaries in Pare clearly opposed marriages at an early age, especially because many girls left school at a very young age in order to be married, yet a government officer advised that there was no law “to prevent a girl being married at any age but a man may not have sexual intercourse with a girl, even if married to her, if the girl is under the age of 12 years.” See Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 6 March 1924, SM 85; [S.G. Maxwell]—District Political Officer, Lushoto, 24 February 1924, SM 27.

¹¹⁸ Among the Pare, for instance, it was a taboo to marry Pare from the plains or the steppe. The basis of the law was that the inhabitants of those areas were, to a large degree, people who had transgressed some traditional taboo and their descendants. Pare Adventists, however, opened the way for such marriages to become acceptable among them in 1927. See Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 98–99; Tangazo la Makanisa Yote ya Upare, [1927], SM 7.

¹¹⁹ The Kuria and related groups had a “woman to woman marriage” in which a female would hire (“marry”) a young girl. The girl would then live with her and establish a pregnancy with some man for the sake of procuring offspring for the lady. This issue was made a subject of administrative concern in 1963 by Adventists, and among church leaders, the assessment of the practice was unequivocal: it was labelled “including prostitutes into membership” and equated with adultery. On the practice in general, see Tobisson, *Family Dynamics among the Kuria*, 167–170, and Peter S. Mnanka, “Ndoa ya Mke Asiye na Mtoto wa Kiume ‘Nyumba Mbhoke’ katika Jamii ya Wakurya,”

Adventists and the positions that the denomination took reveal both continuity and discontinuity with traditional practices.¹²⁰ Yet because of their widespread occurrence, polygamy and bridewealth were much more frequently addressed and therefore provided more opportunity for conflict and compromise than other issues did.

Adventists and Polygamy: The History of a Missiological Dilemma

The practice of polygamy¹²¹ was found in most African societies at the time when Adventists began to operate in Tanzania, and it has been a matter of much theological and missiological discussion.¹²² Christian churches have always faced a double challenge: the question of the theological legitimacy of polygamy and the reflection on appropriate ways of dealing with the phenomenon. Several positions were taken regarding the acceptability of polygamy. They included viewing it as (1) a sin similar to adultery, (2) an unacceptable inferior form of marriage, (3) a practice to be tolerated though not ideal, and (4) an acceptable alternative to monogamy.¹²³

Because of its widespread character, Adventists were forced to respond to the challenge of this marriage pattern, which contradicted what had been the only acceptable practice in most of Western Europe and North America for ages. When one reviews the general history of the denominational attitude on the baptism of polygamous converts, it is most remarkable that its official stand was changed several times during less than thirty years. The topic was brought up at meetings of

Certificate Thesis, Makumira University College, 1997. On the Adventist stand, see TU Minutes, 12 December 1963, no. 294; and ENF Minutes, 3 July 1974, no. 299, and 4–5 April 1976, no. 434, MC.

¹²⁰ Other marriage issues include marriage with non-Adventists and the validity of marriages not contracted in church. Since these issues did not arise from the relationship between Adventism and traditional cultures but were debated in the context of church discipline, they are discussed in 6.2.

¹²¹ “Polygamy” theoretically includes both polyandry and polygyny, but in most cases the word is used for polygyny, the most common practice. In my study, I always use the term this way.

¹²² Among the many titles, see, e.g., the classic of Geoffrey Parrinder, *The Bible and Polygamy: A Study of Hebrew and Christian Teaching* (London: SPCK, 1950); four articles in *Africa Theological Journal*, no. 2 (1969); an influential work advocating accommodation: Eugene Hillman, *Polygamy Reconsidered: African Plural Marriage and the Christian Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1975); a more conservative response: William C. Blum, *Forms of Marriage: Monogamy Reconsidered* (Eldoret: AMECEA Gaba, 1989); and a defence of polygamy: David G. Maillu, *Our Kind of Polygamy* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1988).

¹²³ Adrian Hastings, *Christian Marriage in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1973), 73.

the General Conference four times between 1913 and 1941, and each time resolutions with a different thrust were produced.¹²⁴ This lack of continuity not only reveals that polygamy implied a missiological puzzle which advocates of a stricter and proponents of a more lenient attitude tried to solve in divergent ways. It also exemplified the ongoing friction between traditional culture, Western Christianity represented by Seventh-day Adventism, and different interpretations of the Christian scriptures.

A first Adventist statement on polygamy was produced in 1913.¹²⁵ A semi-informal "Missionary Round Table" meeting during the 1913 General Conference Session revealed that different local modes of handling polygamy existed. Among the sixteen men who discussed the issue, two were associated with Tanzania, and they represented two opposed positions. Arthur Carscallen, the pioneer of Adventist work in Kenya, had worked in close cooperation with his German colleagues at Lake Victoria on the other side of the border. He advocated a lenient stand and described difficult cases that prompted him to view the matter as one to be dealt with through individual missionaries' decisions. In contrast, Ludwig Richard Conradi, the leader of European Adventists who had initiated the work in Tanzania, strongly urged that no polygamist be baptized, believing that there were biblical reasons against this.

So divergent were the views at the Round Table meeting that it was the unanimous feeling that the General Conference should not design any definite ruling on the matter but simply formulate some advice to help missionaries in the field. Consequently, the final recommendation was not a consensus of the participants, which could not be found, but a cautious counsel. It stated that a polygamist should live only with his first wife and support the others, and it ruled out even the baptism of wives.¹²⁶

The strength of the 1913 resolution was also its weakness. As a recommendation without binding force, it did not solve the matter for those who desired a uniform Adventist practice. The African and South

¹²⁴ The following paragraphs mainly follow Clifton R. Maberly, "The Polygamous Marriage Variant: The Policy and Practice of a Church," M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1975, while trying to evaluate the specific impact that representatives of the East African Adventist missions made on the issue.

¹²⁵ Polygamy had been strongly rejected in church magazine articles as a reaction to the Mormon practice in North America in the nineteenth century; see Maberly, "The Polygamous Marriage Variant," 5–9.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13–16 and 37–38.

Asian Divisions subsequently introduced probationary membership for polygamists while others, including the European Division, to which Tanzania belonged, completely barred them from baptism.¹²⁷ Soon these different practices made administrators feel that the matter had to be deliberated again. Therefore, polygamy appeared on an agenda again, once more at a Missionary Round Table during a General Conference Session of 1926. The ten-man discussion group included four who had a direct connection to Tanzania: the former missionary Ernst Kotz, George A. Ellingworth, who was later the Tanganyika Field president, William T. Bartlett, the superintendent of the East Africa Union Mission, and Walter E. Read, the Foreign Mission Secretary for the European Division.

Bartlett advocated a firm stand against polygamy and called it “the stronghold of heathenism.” To him, polygamists were “wicked people who have no strength to stand.” Kotz, on the other hand, admitted he had refused baptism to some polygamists who were “very earnestly seeking after the Lord” only because “we did not want to go against the denomination, and we thought there was an agreement.” Most probably, Conradi had not hidden his persuasion on the matter from the missionaries under his jurisdiction. Still, Kotz felt that refusing baptism to such persons had been one of his saddest experiences in Africa. Yet different from 1913, the desire for a uniform practice prevailed this time,¹²⁸ which led to an official church policy that ruled out any baptism for polygamous men but allowed it for the wives in polygamous marriages.¹²⁹

Only four years later, at the General Conference Autumn Council in 1930, William H. Branson, the African Division president and later General Conference president, was the main promoter of a new and innovative solution for the problem.¹³⁰ Drafted by a three-man committee,

¹²⁷ Ibid., 41; W.H. Branson—B.E. Beddoe and E. Kotz, 7 February 1927, GCA.

¹²⁸ Cf. the parallel in the discussion among Moravians, who had a mission in southern Tanzania. Gustav Warneck, the leading Protestant missiologist in Germany, asked Moravians to refrain from baptizing polygamists in 1909 until other missions had reached the same persuasion. See Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 62.

¹²⁹ Maberly, “The Polygamous Marriage Variant,” 44–45, 53, 68. Quotations cited in this paragraph from Maberly are from “Missionary Round Table, 1926,” Heritage Room, James White Library, Andrews University.

¹³⁰ This solution was suggested against the background of experiences made in the African Division before 1926; see Russell L. Staples, “Evangelism among Resistant Peoples with Deeply Entrenched Polygamy,” *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 2, no. 1 (2006): 4–28.

a new policy allowed that polygamists “upon recommendation of responsible field committees be admitted to baptism and the ordinances of the church” while being classified as “probationary members.”¹³¹ This more liberal regulation was received in very different ways. Apparently missionary leaders in many mission fields, except for some areas in southern Africa, did not view it as appropriate. In Kenya, for instance, the missionary workforce strongly opposed it, while in Tanzania the church leadership introduced the 1930 policy in 1939.¹³²

Interestingly, precisely this move in Tanzania paved the way for another revision of the policy. British missionaries in Kenya complained that a change of direction in the neighbouring country would certainly become known among Kenyan Adventists. They feared that thirty years “without making any concession to polygamists” could thus be invalidated and demanded that the Tanzanian side comply with their mode of handling the issue.¹³³ This conflict finally led to a reversal; the more liberal mode was rejected by the General Conference in 1941 with the argument that the difference between the 1926 and 1930 actions “created confusion, embarrassment, and perplexity.”¹³⁴ The 1926 policy was reaffirmed in principle and made a binding rule for all Adventists.

Only in the 1970s was the problem discussed again by Adventist scholars,¹³⁵ and a leading Adventist missiologist, Russell L. Staples, advocated “cautiously and responsibly admitting some polygamists to

¹³¹ “Polygamous Marriages in Heathen Lands,” General Conference Committee Minutes, 3 November 1930, GCA. Basically the same policy had been drafted in the early 1920s and followed until 1926 in the African Division; see W.H. Branson—B.E. Beddoe and E. Kotz, 7 February 1927, GCA.

¹³² J.I. Robison—E.D. Dick, 16 May 1940, GCA. It appears that the policy was never actually applied in Tanzania.

¹³³ *Ibid.* So strong was the feeling against the 1930 policy that its very validity was questioned. This question was raised on the basis of the fact that the 1930 decision was made by an Autumn Council of the General Conference whereas the 1926 policy had been made by a General Conference “in session,” which included a larger representation from all over the world.

¹³⁴ Maberly, “The Polygamous Marriage Variant,” 82.

¹³⁵ Adventist treatises on polygamy of that period include: Kisaka, “The Adventist Church’s Position”; Jean-Jacques Bouit, “A Christian Consideration of Polygamy,” D.Min. diss., Andrews University, 1981; Russell L. Staples, “The Church and Polygamy in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Working Paper Produced at the Request of the General Conference,” TMs (photocopy), 1981; William G. Johnsson, “Between the Ideal and the Actual,” AR 163 (29 May 1986): 4–5; Ronald A.G. du Preez, *Polygamy in the Bible* (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1993) [originally a D.Min. diss., Andrews University, 1993]. More general and unpublished Adventist literature is found in du Preez, *Polygamy in the Bible*, 37–38 and 345–384.

membership” in a study commissioned by the General Conference.¹³⁶ In spite this proposal, no change of policy was made. The tradition of strictness associated with the Adventist remnant paradigm ultimately prevailed.¹³⁷

Tanzanian Adventist Responses to Polygamy I: Theology and Policies

In Tanzania, matters proceeded quite similar to the general trend in the world church, except that no polygamist was ever officially baptized. Before World War I, the issue was brought up by the old chief of Mamba, Mauya, who desired to become a church member but did not want to leave all his wives except one. They all wanted to become Christians if he would lead in the decision. He asked Ernst Kotz, “Does not the book of the White teachers have any advice concerning this?” but the missionary had to admit that the problem was very complicated.¹³⁸ Correspondence from Kotz and A.C. Enns to the General Conference shows that the issue was a matter of permanent debate; Enns himself advocated accepting polygamous husbands for baptism, arguing that otherwise the church would “force divorce upon members of the church.”¹³⁹

After the war, the situation changed. No advocate of a moderate stance was found any more. M.N. Campbell, the leader of Adventist work in Britain, applauded the fact that the Adventist churches in East Africa had taken “the same rigid stand as those on the west coast.” He held that this attitude did not hinder the growth of the church; rather, he deplored that other denominations “allowed, or at least tolerated, a kind

¹³⁶ Staples, “The Church and Polygamy in Sub-Saharan Africa,” 42. See also Russell L. Staples, “Must Polygamists Divorce?,” *Spectrum* 13, no. 1 (September 1982): 44–53.

¹³⁷ In 2003, the issue was taken up again by R. Staples in a presentation to the denominational Global Mission Issues Committee, and discussion still continues; see Russell L. Staples, “Evangelism among Resistant Peoples with Deeply Entrenched Polygamy,” and Stefan Höschele, “Polygamy among the Tanzanian Maasai and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church: Reflections on a Missiological and Theological Problem,” *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 2, no. 1 (2006): 44–56.

¹³⁸ Kotz, *Sklaven*, 92.

¹³⁹ A.C. Enns—General Conference Committee, 31 December 1913, GCA. He claimed that Conradi had suggested that polygamous husbands should be allowed to become church members, but probably this was more a desire than a reality, for Conradi was among the strongest advocates of rejecting such moves in 1913. Kotz asserted that missionaries had “mentioned this question often in our committees but without results”; see E. Kotz—W.A. Spicer, 28 August 1910, GCA.

of concubinage” for those with several wives.¹⁴⁰ Among the missionaries, Arthur F. Bull took up the issue in the first number of the magazine that he edited, *Maongezi Matamu*. He argued that David’s and Solomon’s polygamous examples do not allow a Christian to follow for the following reasons: (1) They were not Christians, and Judaism is like the moon but Christianity like the sun. (2) Many deeds of David and Solomon were not morally acceptable anyway. (3) God created everything very well, and he only created one man and one woman. (4) “For man it is difficult, but in Christ nothing can overcome us.”¹⁴¹

In spite of the 1939 action to allow probationary membership, which was more or less imposed upon Tanzania,¹⁴² German church leaders likewise objected to the practice,¹⁴³ and a Pare Committee action in 1948 called polygamy “an adulterous condition.”¹⁴⁴ Later, the Trans-Africa Division journal for pastors, *Ministerial Association Exchange*, which also appeared in Swahili, published a series on the topic in which an tolerant attitude towards polygamy was rejected by enunciating what were considered harmful effects of the practice. Moreover, it argued that 1 Timothy 3:2,12 and Titus 1:6, which stipulate that deacons and bishops must be the husbands of one wife, have nothing to do with polygamy but talk about remarriage after the death of the spouse or divorce.¹⁴⁵ Ironically, there is no evidence that Adventists ever refused the elder’s office to a remarried widower, which implies that the theme of these texts was viewed as culturally conditioned while polygamy was not.

Although the occurrence of polygamy in Tanzania certainly decreased to some extent, it did remain an issue that the churches debated.

¹⁴⁰ M.N. Campbell, “East African Missions,” RH 99 (11 May 1922): 6.

¹⁴¹ “Sanduku ya Maswali,” *Maongezi Matamu*, no. 1 (November 1928): 4.

¹⁴² The 1939 decision had been made by the Central European Division Section II leadership, who resided at Washington, D.C. The major force was probably William H. Branson, who was in charge of this Section II and who had introduced probationary membership in Southern Africa earlier. See J.I. Robison—E.D. Dick, 16 May 1940, GCA.

¹⁴³ Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission*, 16–19.

¹⁴⁴ Swahili: “hali ya uzinifu.” Naftali Lushino, a former church member, had made some request that was not mentioned, but the committee refused to discuss it because he had a second wife. See Baraza la Upare Minutes, 21 January 1948, SM 1.

¹⁴⁵ “Polygamy and the Bible,” MAE 5, no. 2 (1961): 19; “Kuoja Wanawake Wengi na Biblia,” MAE 5, no. 5 (1961): 19, SM 71. Unfortunately, the editions of the journal containing the other parts of the series (5, no. 3–4) could not be traced. It is probable that the author of these articles was Spencer G. Maxwell, who had been a missionary in Pare in the 1920s, for he was the editor of the magazine, and no author is mentioned, different from other articles.

Therefore, John Aza Kisaka,¹⁴⁶ the first Tanzanian Adventist to earn a doctorate in the field of theology in 1979, devoted part of his thesis to this topic.¹⁴⁷ His study is momentous; it shows that the issues he discusses were still problems in Tanzania by the late 1970s and that no real unity had been achieved on the question how to deal with them. This even included areas where Adventism had been present since the beginning of the twentieth century, for Kisaka repeatedly refers to his native Pare Mountains.

Kisaka's positions are surprisingly tolerant and constitute a complete departure from both earlier Adventist reasoning and the official denominational position, which was applied in Tanzania just like elsewhere. After conceding that God instituted monogamous marriage as an ideal according to the Bible and that it is set forth as a principle even in the writings of Ellen G. White, the major body of arguments tries to defend the validity of polygamous marriages and suggests accepting polygamists into the church. Kisaka's reasoning on polygamy can be summarized as follows:¹⁴⁸

1. Polygamy does not exist in Africa only. A Western variant is "consecutive polygamy" or "serial polygamy," i.e., the process of divorce and remarriage common in present-day Europe and America.
2. The Bible does not forbid polygamy and actually endorses it for the levirate institution.
3. Problems experienced in polygamous marriages, such as envy, impersonal relationships, or dividing love between different parties, all occur in monogamous marriages as well.¹⁴⁹
4. Polygamy ensures offspring, helps avoid immorality, and is an economic asset.

¹⁴⁶ His career included work among the Maasai as Adventist pioneer missionary, 1963–1964; Principal, Ministerial Course, Ikizu 1972–1973, and Principal, Tanzania Adventist College and Seminary, 1979–1982.

¹⁴⁷ Kisaka, "The Adventist Church's Position." The dissertation has only 94 pages apart from appendices and bibliography. Doctor of Ministry studies and dissertations are generally significantly shorter than Ph.D. and Th.D. dissertations. Therefore, the dissertation does not attempt a full discussion of the three mentioned issues; however, they spell out a position is most interesting in the context of other Tanzanian Adventist views on the matter.

¹⁴⁸ Kisaka, "The Adventist Church's Position," 23–32.

¹⁴⁹ He argues, "the devil is everywhere—both in the polygamous and monogamous homes"; see *ibid.*, 28–29.

5. Although polygamy is not the ideal, there “is no direct order from God that a polygamous husband... ‘shall upon conversion be required to change his status by putting away all his wives save one, before he shall be considered eligible for baptism and church membership’,”¹⁵⁰ as required according to Adventist policy.
6. Polygamous husbands should be baptized into the membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church without holding church office such as that of an elder or a deacon, for “there is no Biblical prohibition or theological hindrance.”¹⁵¹

Kisaka’s position was a minority view that could not easily become a policy in his own country, let alone in the worldwide denomination. Yet it is interesting that Kisaka actually opposed a General Conference policy while writing a dissertation at a General Conference institution. This shows that discussion of the matter was alive, and even if the prevailing opinion concerning the polygamy issue in Tanzania was “according to policy,”¹⁵² there was at least some room for dissent. Thus, the remnant paradigm implied official strictness but did not preclude debate.

Tanzanian Adventist Responses to Polygamy II: Experiences and Effects

The real polygamy drama took place in the setting of local societies and churches. The pragmatic solution to this intricate problem was to baptize polygamous women but not men.¹⁵³ Still, this procedure did not necessarily reduce the problem among Christians nor did it help

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 30–31. Here he quotes part of the 1941 General Conference policy, which is binding up to the present.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁵² Kisaka deplors that in debating polygamy, many Africans who “suffered much from the inconsistencies of changing masters during the colonial era” believe that the issue should not be discussed any more. Furthermore, he believes that many “are confused between the Bible and the culture of those who brought Christianity to Africa”; see *ibid.*, 75. In the context of this study, the Tanzanian Adventists’ reluctance to debate the issue should be interpreted as a sign of strong adherence to what they consider as true Adventism rather than simply regarding the issue as a colonial heritage.

¹⁵³ With this position, Adventists followed a trend in both classical missions and faith missions; see Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 258. Maberly concludes his study on the history of official Adventist positions with the reflection that biblical arguments were hardly ever used during all the decisive meetings. The actions were commonly pragmatic ways of dealing with concerns about people, policies, and church unity, but not the fruit of determined theological reflection; see Maberly, “The Polygamous Marriage Variant,” 92.

those who were thus excluded from institutional Christianity. Rather, it caused several new classes of people to emerge: (1) Male converts-turned-divorcees-by-policy. (2) Female divorcees, frequently baptized but often unhappy. (3) “Unbaptizable” men who sincerely desired full membership like the God-fearers of old who did not manage to abide with all the requirements for full inclusion into the body of believers. (4) Women in polygamous unions who were Christians while their husbands were not. (5) Backsliders (and their wives) who had converted to Christianity but could not understand why they should not live the way Abraham or Jacob had done or who continued valuing this traditional pattern of life.¹⁵⁴ (6) Hypocrites who did not wish to lose membership privileges but secretly upheld intimate relationships with their divorced partners or their clandestinely increased wives.

From the beginning, church members of various ranks in society opted for the dissolution of their polygamous marriages as a solution to the apparent dilemma. At Suji, Reuben Munyuku Shazia had had several wives, but remained with only one around 1912. He then became a teacher and, in 1917, the chief of Suji.¹⁵⁵ Chief Manento of Mamba, who had had five wives, was baptized after divorcing all but one in the late 1930s.¹⁵⁶ Some of the first Iraqw converts, Gara Ami and Yohana Lulu, did the same.¹⁵⁷ Among the Kuria at Bwirege a man called Ruswe made a significant impact on church growth in the area: when he was still a polygamist, he was ordered in a dream to leave

¹⁵⁴ Adrian Hastings comments pointedly, “the effect of missionary dealings with polygamy was often less to deter conversion but to produce a long-term post-baptismal problem: that polygamy re-emerged among Christians.” See Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 321. For a similar observation among the Maasai, see Christel Kiel, *Christen in der Steppe: Die Maaasai-Mission der Nord-Ost-Diözese in der Lutherischen Kirche Tansanias* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1996), 319–320.

¹⁵⁵ Max Pönig, “Unsre Christen im Pare- und Njansa-Felde,” *ABH* 7, no. 1 (1921): 4–5.

¹⁵⁶ Interview Marie Fenner, 4 January 1999; “Aus Briefen,” *AB* 41, no. 18 (15 September 1935): 286. Still, doubts remained whether the divorce was only a public show and if the putting away was real, including the effectual end of all sexual relations demanded by church policy, which was admittedly a demanding rule.

¹⁵⁷ Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw.” For these Iraqw believers, this must have been an action of deep persuasion, for only the rich and those of prestigious status could afford polygamous life in their society. Furthermore, traditional taboos prescribed sexual abstinence during the breastfeeding period that could reach two years, which implies that they were ready to sacrifice a crucial aspect of personal satisfaction. It can be assumed that this taboo was observed even by some of the early Iraqw Adventists.

all his wives except one, and then joined the Adventist Church, which also attracted others to the church.¹⁵⁸

At Majita, there was but little social pressure associated with the practice. According to one aged Jita, polygamy occurred “only for pleasure” or to provide stability to a divorced woman or a widow.¹⁵⁹ In this context, it was not too difficult for men who had plural wives, often two, to leave one in order to join the church. Generally it was the decision of the husband with which wife to stay, and in many cases, they dismissed their older wives. This was not always appreciated by all people, especially the women themselves. A peculiar situation arose at Majita when a certain Cornelius of Kwiramba requested baptism in 1949, and the pastor, Andrea Siti, instructed him to remain with his *first* wife. He initially refused, yet the pastor told him: “I will baptize you, but you will not get eternal life.” Cornelius then changed his mind, left the younger wife, and became a strong church member.¹⁶⁰

The fact that divorces actually happened does not imply that they were easy steps to undertake. There were several post-independence cases that show this: John Kisaka relates that at Chome in Pare, two elderly men desired membership in the Adventist Church but could not be baptized because of their marriage situation. One of them was finally baptized on his deathbed after renouncing all his wives except one.¹⁶¹ Among the Maasai of the Ruvu area near Same, after more than seven years of missionary work, a Maasai with two wives demanded baptism but was accepted only after seven more years when he had finally agreed to divorce one of his wives. He was baptized and received a new name, Isaka. His divorced wife, however, returned after a few weeks and begged to be taken back into his home to avoid a life of prostitution, and he agreed.¹⁶² These examples show that deeply religious

¹⁵⁸ Ruswe had actually been a traditional seer. See interviews Otieno and Megera and Stephen John, “Historia ya Injili Kuingia Bwirege,” term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 2000.

¹⁵⁹ Interview Maradufu.

¹⁶⁰ Interview Z. Lisso. A similar tendency existed among the Kuria, where it was common for husbands to leave a wife alone when she had grown-up children, especially if they were married already. If therefore a man had several wives, he tended to stay with the youngest when he decided to join the Adventist Church. Immanuel Machage, for instance, added wives in 1954 but was rebaptized in 1987 after leaving the older ones; see interview I. Machage.

¹⁶¹ Kisaka, “The Adventist Church’s Position,” 59.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 60.

motives caused converts to accept enormous steps. At the same time, bowing to the policies at times caused almost unbearable hardship.

This is also why some men who sincerely wished to become Christians failed to submit to the church's condition for baptism.¹⁶³ Of course, many such stories were never recorded, because success reports made a much better impression in the missionary era. Still, polygamy was initially a great stumbling block for the church among several groups. Among the Nyakyusa, for instance, almost every successful man had several wives,¹⁶⁴ and no Sukuma chief was ever baptized, since they were all polygamists.¹⁶⁵ Thus, only the most committed individuals of some strata and in some societies agreed to the church's membership condition. After all, peaceful co-existence and cooperation was an alternative option, as in the case of the chief of Majita, who had nine wives in 1963 but happily participated in some church functions.¹⁶⁶ Instead of divorce and baptism, sympathetic church leaders could therefore choose to encourage the husband to remain together with his baptized wives while "weeping with the husbands who sincerely wished to join the church" but could not do so.¹⁶⁷

The most serious challenge was perhaps that some of those who had left the old ways returned to them after having professed the name of Christ. This phenomenon was very widespread in some areas. In Kurialand during the 1950s and 1960s, for instance, some felt that "the church was almost dead" after growth had occurred in the decade before 1950; almost only women remained in church during that period. Some of the earliest Christians had opted to revert to the old ways: Andrea Guragura, Yohana Gati, and Paulo Mwita Magwe. Many men who had been baptized at a young age must have found it difficult to

¹⁶³ Examples include the mentioned chief of Mamba, Mauya, and several old Pare who, after an evangelistic effort conducted by missionary Bull in 1929, confessed that they wanted to follow Christ but did not feel good about "disposing of their surplus wives." See Kotz, *Sklassen*, 92, and A.F. Bull, "Evangelizing in Pare, East Africa," RH 106 (20 June 1929): 17.

¹⁶⁴ Jacques and Jacques, *Africa Called Us*, 168.

¹⁶⁵ Interview Mashigan.

¹⁶⁶ Rudolf Reider, "Wiedersehen in Afrika (II)," AB 62, no. 23 (1 December 1963): 361.

¹⁶⁷ Staples, "The Church and Polygamy in Sub-Saharan Africa," 20–21. For an example of this attitude in southern Tanzania, see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 49–63. Traugott Bachmann, a Moravian missionary, came to view polygamy as acceptable for Christians but had to face strong opposition among his fellow missionaries as well as a leading African Christian.

resist the temptation of gaining status in society by acquiring several wives when they had grown to a respectable age and rank.¹⁶⁸ In many regions, this problem occurred especially in the first generation of converts because the two conflicting value systems and lifestyles both still remained attractive to Christians.¹⁶⁹

Yet as Christianity became the dominant force in society, the importance of polygamy also decreased.¹⁷⁰ Ultimately, the attraction of polygamy was reduced to a minimum for Christians when the Tanzanian 1971 Marriage Act became law. The churches had made a significant impact on it, especially in the complete rejection of polygamy as an option for Christian marriages.¹⁷¹ The law states that in marriages contracted by the government men cannot take a second wife without the first consenting. Moreover, Christian marriages cannot be converted to polygynous marriages as long as the partners are Christians.¹⁷² Evidently, Adventists were part of the Tanzanian Christian mainstream in their struggles with traditional marriage patterns.

One of the ironies of the polygamy issue was the gender aspect. Often the affairs were to be decided by men in spite of the fact that more women were actually involved. On the other hand, it appears that women, who were considered inferior in many traditional societies, were favoured by being admitted to baptism in case their husbands decided to remain with them. Several committee actions carefully noted that the respective female baptismal candidate was married "before she knew the truth."¹⁷³ Of course, this was not easy to prove or disprove in a context where the church had been around for two to three generations. However, it was emphasized early that a Christian woman could not accept marriage with a man who has a wife already.¹⁷⁴ This, again,

¹⁶⁸ Interviews Gesase, J. Machage, Otieno, and Bina.

¹⁶⁹ Interviews Kiboko, Wandiba, Kagize, and Ntiamalumwe.

¹⁷⁰ Another factor that contributed to the decline of the practice in some areas was taxation, for hut tax was levied for every wife's hut. See Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 54.

¹⁷¹ David Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini: A Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion in Tanzania, 1961–1977* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1980), 161–176.

¹⁷² Marja-Liisa Swantz, "Church and the Changing Role of Women in Tanzania," in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 149.

¹⁷³ Central Nyanza Field Minutes, 18 February 1974, no. 432–433, MC; Mara Field Minutes, 8–10 December 1977, no. 56, MC; TU Minutes, 27 September 1965, no. 619, NETC.

¹⁷⁴ Baraza ya Makanisa, 12–13 August 1937, SM 7.

overthrew the logic applied in baptizing women who had entered a polygamous union already before conversion (“she is married to only one husband”). Applying the remnant’s strictness in a consistent way was very difficult indeed.

All in all, the Tanzanian Adventist experience of polygamy was quite diverse. Of course, polygamy had many reasons even in traditional societies, including economic concerns, lack of male children, prestige, social welfare, and individuals’ preferences.¹⁷⁵ It should not come as a surprise, then, that the Adventist penetration into Tanzanian communities led to consequences for polygamous unions that were as different as their rationales. At least three results can be distinguished. (1) Problematic cases such as those of divorced women, unbaptized Christians, and church members who did not manage to live up to the standards of their denomination. (2) The increase of individual freedom that implied choosing between more options than traditional society provided. (3) A diversification of society through competing value systems reflected in the choices regarding marriage patterns.

Even if this diversification was not considered desirable by Adventist leaders, it corresponded to a modernization of societies that Christian churches could not escape and to which they contributed. Moreover, it illustrated the inherent tension in Christian communities that aim at creating a remnant of the faithful few yet have to deal with real people in their cultural setting. In spite of an officially strict stand, different positions regarding polygamy and various responses to policies were present among Tanzanian Adventists from the outset, which shows that they carried with them the option of a folk church which tolerated some diversity in its midst.

Adventists and Mahari: The Triumph of a Traditional Institution

The last traditional institution to be dealt with here is *mahari*. This custom, which is almost universal in sub-Saharan Africa, has often been

¹⁷⁵ Cf. the list of reasons and functions of polygamy provided by Bénézet Bujo, “Polygamy,” in *Dictionary of Missions: Theology, History, Perspectives*, ed. Karl Müller et al. (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1997), 355. In his dissertation, “Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen,” 126–128, Niesel argues that polygamy was rejected by most mission societies in Tanzania in spite of the knowledge that it was mainly an economic issue. This is certainly an over-simplification; a monocausal explanation for such a complicated issue does not cover the whole reality.

called “bridewealth” in English.¹⁷⁶ Among the various anthropological definitions of this phenomenon, some that are commonly accepted describe it as a price to be paid for the right of exclusive sexual access to a woman, for the power to bequeath status and property to the children of the union, or as a compensation for the loss of the girl’s labour contribution.¹⁷⁷ Because it involved extended families and was commonly practised by African Christians in some way, *mahari* was often deemed an important issue by leaders of Christian churches.

As in the case of male circumcision, one way of dealing with *mahari* could have been (1) a Christianizing modification or (2) a modernization, i.e., “qualitative” ways of “improving” the practice. Most Christian denominations including Adventists did not promote this avenue although the money economy often made a swift impact on the nature of the goods that were transferred. Another option would have been (3) a total reversion of a supposedly corrupt situation or (4) a restoration to an assumed ideal, as was common for polygamy and female circumcision. Yet with few exceptions churches pronounced (5) a general toleration or even (6) an official admission of *mahari*. Where they found deficiencies in it, they typically aimed at (7) a quantitative limitation or (8) a reduction of what they considered to be excesses of a valuable or *adiaphoron* custom.

With such efforts of influencing *mahari* rates, the churches’ concern resembled a tendency among government leaders in those areas where *mahari* was traditionally high. Attempts by colonial administrators to restrict the amount of cattle involved in *mahari* among the Sukuma started in 1916,¹⁷⁸ and in the early 1920s, some chiefs and the government

¹⁷⁶ For a helpful analysis in the South African context, see Adam Kuper, *Wives for Cattle: Bridewealth and Marriage in Southern Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).

¹⁷⁷ I mostly use the word *mahari* here because it is the common Swahili term. Although “bridewealth” has been commonly accepted as the most appropriate expression, is a foreign term that can only approximately interpret its meaning. Of course every language group had its own term for the matter, so it could be argued that even *mahari* is an “etic” term. However, the word has been used by many societies since Swahili was first introduced to them, and in contemporary Tanzanian culture, it is well understood while English translations for it actually vary. *Mahari* has also often been translated with “dowry,” which means a phenomenon common in India and in the European past, money or property brought by a bride to her husband at marriage. Other English terms that have been used are dowry, bride-price, earnest, indemnity, and child-wealth. See Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 167–171.

¹⁷⁸ Frans Wijzen and Ralph Tanner, *Seeking a Good Life: Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania, 1945–1995* (Nairobi: Paulines, 2000), 113.

at the lake agreed that *mahari* should not exceed five cows.¹⁷⁹ Later, the government also rejected high *mahari* rates in the Tarime area, and the cattle had to be shown to colonial officials in court before a wedding could take place. Nevertheless, this measure was not very successful, since people commonly presented only some of the cows.¹⁸⁰ Conflicts concerning quantity existed especially among peoples who had specialized in cattle keeping such as the Sukuma, where *mahari* often exceeded twenty cows, and among the Kuria, where even forty to sixty cows had to be paid in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁸¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that Adventist leaders also emphasized that “parents should . . . not set a very high *mahari* amount” and that Kuria church members determined in 1968 that fifteen cows should be the maximum.¹⁸²

In comparison, other societies always used rather modest numbers of cattle or their equivalent. Among the Jita, for instance, *mahari* consisted of two or three cows around 1890. In 1910, it was one hoe, while in the 1930s, many had already shifted their interest to money and demanded twenty shillings.¹⁸³ In pre-World War I Pare, *mahari* was two cows, one ox, and six goats or a slight variation of this pattern.¹⁸⁴ Given these relatively small quantities, it is not surprising that the earliest Adventist voices about *mahari* were rather positive. Ernst Kotz supported the custom with the rationale that it prevented divorce, and he was persuaded that it had no dishonouring or inferior character. His two main concerns were the function of the practice in traditional society and harmony in the church, for he argued that Christians themselves would strongly resist its abolition. Kotz concluded, “as long as the Christian view of

¹⁷⁹ W.T. Bartlett, “Onward in East Africa,” MW 28, no. 10 (1 June 1923): 2.

¹⁸⁰ Barthazar Aloys Rwezaura, *Traditional Family Life and Change in Tanzania: A Study of the Kuria Social System* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1985), 70–76.

¹⁸¹ Interview Makorere.

¹⁸² J. Kuyenga, “Idara ya Vijana: Taarifa ya 1972–1976,” TU Session, 1977, SM 71; “Mkutano wa Wajumbe Toka kwa Makenisa ya Kurya, Juni 16/1968—Nyariso,” Corr. of the Secretary—Worker Files, MC. For a similar stand, e.g., of the Lutherans of Leipzig Mission, see Kirchentag Mamba, August 1930, Leipzig, 18 March 1932, no. 57/4, MUCA 2891 B 20, where “bride gifts” were accepted so that Christians may “not be estranged from their people,” but luxurious “bride gifts” were strongly discouraged.

¹⁸³ Interview Joshua Muganda. Concerning the hoe as *mahari*, see also R. Reider, “Die Wirtschaftsformen der Djita und ihre Beziehungen zu den Nachbarstämmen,” *Koloniale Rundschau* 31 (1940): 214. Sh 20 was the monthly salary of a beginner in the teaching profession; see “Suji Mission Comparative Statement of Tithes and Offerings [1934–1937],” SM 72.

¹⁸⁴ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 86.

marriage has not become common, one can tolerate this custom.”¹⁸⁵ Although Kotz mistook the European marriage concept as “the Christian view,” he was magnanimous enough to concede that other models had their own right.

The silence on the matter in the written sources from the 1920s through most of the 1940s was broken in the 1950s by an official rejection of *mahari* in the Southern African Division supplement to the *Church Manual*, which applied to Tanzania as well. This unprecedented theoretical ban reveals several facts and biases.

1. *A misunderstanding about the nature of mahari*. The practice was regarded as “an old custom that has its origin amongst spirit worshippers and pagans.”¹⁸⁶ This implied that it might have some religious significance, which was not the case.
2. *The Adventist anti-tradition stand*. The historical Adventist rejection of the wedding ring¹⁸⁷ certainly provided a precedent that could easily be extended to other customs related to the marriage complex. Thus, *mahari* was contrasted with Christian love as the true foundation of marriage; it was argued that “Christians who marry with true love do not need any other guarantee for the security of their marriage.”¹⁸⁸
3. *Missionary dominance*. The recommendation was written at a time when all the leadership of the then Southern African Division was still White, which meant that the most important voices, those of African Christians, had not been properly considered.
4. *A danger assumed to be inherent in the custom*. The fear that some may use *mahari* as a “means of making money out of their children”¹⁸⁹ was perceived as a sufficient reason to object to the practice.
5. *An understanding determined by one region*. The term *lobola* used in the English *Church Manual* version was not an uncommon expression¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 93, 97; Kotz, *Sklaven*, 118.

¹⁸⁶ *Kanuni na Kawaida za Kanisa*, 251–252 (quotation is my translation from Swahili). Interestingly, this translation added to the general Southern African Division supplement to the *Church Manual*, which read, “an ancient practice with heathen origin.” See Kisaka, “The Adventist Church’s Position,” 102.

¹⁸⁷ See the first part of 7.4.

¹⁸⁸ Kisaka, “The Adventist Church’s Position,” 103.

¹⁸⁹ *Kanuni na Kawaida za Kanisa*, 252.

¹⁹⁰ C.P. Groves also uses it in *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 4, 1914–1954, 218–220.

and probably reflected some understanding of the phenomenon in the sense in which it was used in South Africa. Yet its choice in a text that was to be used throughout the Division showed that the authors' perspective was so much influenced by their regional context that they hardly attempted to appreciate the diversity within their territory, which extended to East Africa.

6. *An appeal to the progressive element in Adventist identity.* The conclusion of the section on *mahari* counsels "all mature and enlightened Christians that they be advised to refrain from asking 'lobola' for their daughters."¹⁹¹ Adventist leaders believed *mahari* to be a remainder of an uncivilized past that was to be overcome by a progressive remnant.
7. *Some continuity with prevailing habits.* The guideline was a piece of advice, not a law, similar to the female circumcision policy. This ensured that no disciplinary actions could be taken, and in practice, it meant that in this case little change would occur in most regions.

One has to understand the *Church Manual* instructions on the background of the Adventist strictness tradition, but also with regard to the fact that misuse of *mahari* did exist. In spite of the fact that the idea of "selling a daughter" was not the purpose of the traditional institution,¹⁹² a man could claim that his wife was totally subject to him, even in religious matters.¹⁹³ Kisaka also acknowledges that greedy parents at times demanded inappropriately large amounts of cattle or money,¹⁹⁴ which might thwart all hope for the success of marriage plans. In view of such cases, the rejection of *mahari* as the church's position was subsequently referred to during church occasions such as camp meetings and actively promoted by individual church members and pastors in Tanzania.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ *Kanuni na Kawaida za Kanisa*, 252.

¹⁹² Some societies such as the Zulu used to have minimal payments, e.g., a hoe or a basket of maize; see Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 167–168.

¹⁹³ Mueller provides an example of a Christian girl who had been promised to a pagan man. He protested when she was baptized arguing that he had bought her as he had paid some of the cows already; see *Der Dienst der Mission*, 18.

¹⁹⁴ Kisaka, "The Adventist Church's Position," 33–37.

¹⁹⁵ Pastor Msafiri Yohana from Pare, for instance, did not accept *mahari*; see interview Mwanyika and Yosiah. One of the few instances of an African who published his objection to the custom is an article by the South African Adventist leader I.K. Ngqongqo, "Shall We Sell Our Daughters?," SADO 56, no. 7 (15 July 1958): 2–3 [= *Ministry* 27, no. 8 (August 1954): 18–20]. For teachings on *mahari* during camp meetings, see interview Bhokeye.

Still, the official position had little if any impact on the denomination as a whole. Among the Pare, *mahari* was hardly ever an issue, not even when the *Church Manual* had been published,¹⁹⁶ and while the Nyariso meeting of Kuria Adventists in 1968 referred to the *Church Manual*, it then swiftly proceeded to set a maximum amount for *mahari* cattle as if the policy book had ruled a reduction instead of a rejection.¹⁹⁷ A common argument for upholding the custom was that it had to be practised “in order to keep a good relationship with non-believing relatives” who received part of the bridewealth.¹⁹⁸ Besides, few people wanted to risk losing respect and harmony even among Adventist relatives because of such a matter. Nowhere was the strict adherence to the official guideline demanded in Tanzanian Adventist publications and other written sources; the church as a whole seemed to ignore the official stand and to officialize a divergent practice by silence.

It is interesting that Kisaka devotes much attention to the issue in his dissertation. He argues that most African Christians did not pay attention to the advice of the *Church Manual* because it appeared to be un-African. Kisaka even recommends that the *Church Manual* section concerned be rewritten so that the toleration of the *mahari* custom may become policy, for to him it is an almost entirely positive practice based on the Bible and African traditions. He argues that it unites the members of an extended family, stands as a guarantee for good treatment, represents a legal proof that a woman is officially married, and ensures that the wife does not leave her husband for minor reasons.¹⁹⁹ Kisaka’s position appropriately expressed the feeling of the majority of Tanzanian Adventist church members at his time.

It was a logical development, then, that the *Church Manual* stipulation was not only opposed silently and in practice, but that the custom was even officially sanctioned at various places and times. The Pare Council regarded it as the normal procedure in 1950, as did Union Youth Director Jocktan Kuyenga in 1977.²⁰⁰ At Heri, it was a prerequisite to

¹⁹⁶ Interview Mwanyika and Yosiah; B.L. Ellingworth—E.G. Reid, 18 November 1955, SM 46, mentions “dowry” as a normal part of the procedure for church weddings.

¹⁹⁷ “Mkutano wa Wajumbe Toka kwa Makanisa ya Kurya, Juni 16/1968—Nyariso,” Corr. of the Secretary—Worker Files, MC.

¹⁹⁸ Interview Masoya.

¹⁹⁹ Kisaka, “The Adventist Church’s Position,” 33–37, 61, 90–91. Kisaka also asserts that the woman is given part of the *mahari* to support her new life, which, however, is not a regular phenomenon.

²⁰⁰ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 15 February 1950, SM 1; J. Kuyenga, “Idara ya Vijana: Taarifa ya 1972–1976,” TU Session, 1977, SM 71. That a similar view prevailed even

comply with the *mahari* custom before marriage; here, church elders and even the pastor were often involved in ascertaining that all had been done the regular way. In all these cases, it was an emphasis on “following the procedures of engagement” that made leaders to insist on *mahari*.²⁰¹ The same concern regarding orderly avenues of marriage preparation led the Tanzania Union committee to recognize the practice indirectly in 1965. It voted:

1. That our pastors, teachers, and other competent workers give our young people and parents specific instruction on which traditional and customary premarital practices are religiously and morally wrong and which are merely different from Western Christian culture.
2. That we encourage early marriage after the dowry²⁰² has been paid.²⁰³

The Union committee, which was still led by missionaries, had realized that it was not its task to give specific instructions itself, and admitted that some traditional customs were actually permissible, including *mahari*. An important traditional institution had triumphed, and with it the awareness of the relativity of “Western Christian culture” embodied in Adventist tradition. The realization that there was not one standard pattern to be followed by all members of the “Remnant Church” worldwide in all cultural matters was a decisive insight for an emerging folk church.

An Assessment: Traditions and Strictness in the “Remnant Church”

How should the debates over the *mahari*, polygamy, and circumcision issues be assessed? Different from the two other practices, there were several factors that prompted the acceptance of the *mahari* tradition among Tanzanian Adventists. (1) It had been a universal practice, different from polygamy, which was optional for many people. What was almost ubiquitous could hardly be rejected by a church that wanted to proclaim a message for all peoples. (2) It persisted in society in general, although its form changed under the influence of a money economy.

in Kenya is shown in an instance when the East African Union president, E.D. Hanson, praised a worker who sent in tithe from ten *mahari* cattle that he received in 1959; see E.D. Hanson—Workers in the EAU, n.d. [1959], SM 48.

²⁰¹ Interview Takisivya.

²⁰² As in other cases, “dowry” is mistakenly used here for the *mahari* custom.

²⁰³ TU Minutes, 18 January 1965, no. 520 (“Report Sub-Committee Premarital Problems”), NETC.

(3) In contrast to many initiation rituals, no obvious “pagan” or immoral elements were connected to it. Therefore, no strong reasons could be found to reject it.

It is significant that in real life situations, Tanzanian Adventists hardly ever cherished extremely high tension with society of some novel prohibition, different from some *Balokole* revivalists who rejecting *mahari* altogether.²⁰⁴ At the same time, the strictness cause of the remnant was not completely forsaken in this exceptional instance of continuity between the old and the new. Finding some fault to correct among the things of this world was almost a matter of honouring the denomination’s history of rigidity. By pointing out that there were excesses of “bride-price” inflation and by trying to limit them, the church leadership could prove that Adventists were not to be “from this world.” Moreover, a few Africans even decided not to adhere to this custom at all because of their own rationale of strictness and loyalty to what they considered to be God’s organization on earth.

When one compares the *mahari* and polygamy cases, they reveal several crucial features of Tanzanian Adventism. (1) The way in which aspects of traditional culture was dealt with could differ considerably, depending on the issue at stake. Adventists were not simply “anti-tradition” people but attempted to apply strictness in all matters albeit with different results. (2) The tension between official policy and popular practice was at times considerable. *Mahari* was theoretically rejected by the church administration but continued without obstruction. (3) In both the *mahari* and the polygamy cases, there was considerable debate and room for policy amendments. The resulting changes were due to repeated attempts at balancing what was viewed as the demands of biblical Christianity and societal norms, which reflected the theological tension between the law (i.e., the emphasis on holiness) and the gospel (i.e., the gracious acceptance of the fact that there were *adiaphora*) and, connected with these two issues, the theological remnant and folk church ideals.

The *mahari* and polygamy cases may appear to stand at opposite extremes in that the latter was completely banned and the former mostly fully endorsed, with circumcision holding a middle position. Yet the two cases resemble each other in that continuity was not sought at all cost: strictness was applied, policies were made, but open exceptions

²⁰⁴ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 598–599.

(in the case of *mahari*) and more or less hidden ones (in the cases of polygamy and circumcision) had to be tolerated in most periods. Both in remnant and in folk church situations, official Adventism generally maintained its strict identity, but an “Adventism existing in reality” persisted as well.²⁰⁵

7.4 *Contextualizing Remnant Lifestyle in an African Setting*

In addition to the common issues of African traditional culture that Christian churches had to face, Adventists brought with them a number of cultural concerns related to the church’s identity as it had developed in the nineteenth century. When the denomination reached East Africa, it had become an innovative health movement and upheld prohibitions and rules concerning amusement, dress, and adornment. All of these items had to be translated into the Tanzanian context in some way.

Body Beautification and Dress Issues: A Puritan Heritage

The history of Adventist attitudes to adornment and dress manifests a conspicuous rigorism. Following what has been called the “plain tradition,” which can be traced back to the Puritans,²⁰⁶ Seventh-day Adventist leaders and official publications commonly emphasized that all kinds of adornment should be rejected.²⁰⁷ This stand continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in contrast to other denominations such as the Methodists, who started out with similar persuasions but considerably relaxed their position later. Yet even Adventists found it difficult to enforce the total ban of body beautification throughout their history. Discussions about the issue can be traced through all the phases of the denomination’s existence, which reveals that the concern was never settled once and for all.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Here I am using an expression modified from what has become a common German dictum, “socialism existing in reality” (“real existierender Sozialismus”). This ironical term is used to express the idea that socialism is a theory that does not always work very well with real people.

²⁰⁶ See Peter Staples, “Patters of Purification: The New England Puritans,” in *The Quest for Purity: Dynamics of Puritan Movements*, ed. Walter E.A. van Beek (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), 75.

²⁰⁷ The 1932 *Church Manual*, 78, stipulated that in the baptismal examination the candidate be asked, “will you follow the Bible rule of plainness and simplicity, abstaining from the wearing of gold as ornaments and costly array?”

²⁰⁸ Gary Land, “Adventists in Plain Dress,” *Spectrum* 20, no. 2 (1989): 42–48. Widely-

Even until little more than one generation ago, church leaders believed it their duty to make rather detailed prescriptions about items of body decoration. The 1972 Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee voted:

That in the area of personal adornment necklaces, earrings, bracelets, jewelled and other ornamental rings should not be worn. Articles such as ornamental watches, broaches, cufflinks, etc., should be chosen in harmony with the Christian principles of simplicity, modesty and economy.²⁰⁹

Such definite prescriptions were not designed at random but were supposed to reveal the principle of self-denial. It has been argued by critics from within the denomination that specified lists of proscribed adornment items are not in harmony with Christian freedom and strangely contrast with the fact that no such action was ever made concerning things of heavier financial impact, such as houses or cars.²¹⁰ They rightly warn that such actions may lead the church into a direction where the “more important matters of the law” are forgotten while modern “mint, dill and cummin” are tithed.²¹¹ Their concern is certainly justified, even if it has to be acknowledged that church leaders demanded that the attitude of self-denial and modesty was also to be applied “to all areas of life—to our persons, our homes, our churches, and institutions.”²¹² This seriousness can only be understood in the context of the theological reasons that prompted the denomination to specify prohibited items, viz. the church’s eschatology and ecclesiology, which entailed strictness in most matters of every day life.

In a deliberation of the essence of the dress and adornment debate and their impact on the denomination in general as well as in Tanzania, two major aspects should be highlighted. One is the worthy cause of an emphasis on general principles such as “neatness and simplicity”

circulated publications on the topic by prominent conservative Adventist scholars make little allowance for the impact of cultural factors in this matter; see Samuele Bacchiocchi, *Christian Dress and Adornment* (Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1995); and Angel Manuel Rodríguez, *Jewelry in the Bible* (Silver Spring: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1999).

²⁰⁹ “Display and Adornment,” General Conference Committee Minutes, 20 October 1972, no. 1224, GCA.

²¹⁰ Land, “Adventists in Plain Dress,” 47; Madelyn Jones-Haldemann, “Adorning the Temple of God,” *Spectrum* 20, no. 2 (1989): 49.

²¹¹ Matthew 23:23.

²¹² “Display and Adornment,” General Conference Committee Minutes, 20 October 1972, no. 1224, GCA.

combined with a “good taste, and the avoidance of fashions that are detrimental to health.”²¹³ These principles constitute one element in the holistic Adventist approach to Christian life. The other issue is that of a legalism quite divorced from the purposes of Christian *paraklesis*. This tendency could lead Adventists to move even beyond the boundaries of appropriate strictness, but it was not always easy to avoid, even when the denomination grew in Africa.

The first among the items of this complex to be considered in the Tanzanian context is dress. One obvious impact that Adventists, as other branches of Christianity, made on traditional patterns of attire was modernization.²¹⁴ Although there was no policy on such matters, missionaries encouraged people to have special Sabbath clothes²¹⁵ and emphasized tidiness and what they regarded as decent and orderly.²¹⁶ Cleanliness was certainly next to godliness for the missionaries and, soon, for the progressive minority that converted to Christianity. The Adventist movement thus became as much a social reform movement as a religious one.²¹⁷

It is paradoxical that one aspect of this very impact of modernization was denied by a number of missionaries when it resulted in what they perceived as Westernization. The same Germans who promoted the import of European textiles for schoolboys held that European-style clothes “confuse the natives’ heads” because Africans were deemed very prone to vanity.²¹⁸ In the 1920s, Missionary Arthur F. Bull likewise insisted that African teachers wear Muslim-style *kanzu* and *vikoi* instead

²¹³ This principle-oriented argument is used in the article “Dress,” SDAE, 351.

²¹⁴ On dress in Africa in general, see Hildi Hendrickson, ed., *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

²¹⁵ On the Lutheran equivalent, Sunday clothes, see Fleisch, *Lutheran Beginnings*, 88.

²¹⁶ An anonymous German missionary stated his objective of dress reform as *anständig und reinlich* (decent and clean); see “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 15 (7 August 1905): 183–184.

²¹⁷ In this context, it is an interesting detail that some women among the Pare are called “Tidiness” and “Safiness” until the present, the latter being a combination of the Swahili *safi* (clean) and the English suffix “-ness.” These names may imply some theological meaning (purity from sin) similar to the abundance of names that combine the Hebrew *El(i)* ([my] God) with some Pare or Swahili word among the Pare and some other ethnic groups, e.g., Heriel (blessed [is] God), Elienza (God spread), Elihaki (my God [is] justice), and the like. Yet “Tidiness” certainly also express a concern about external purity, a meaning which certainly does not contradict a theological interpretation.

²¹⁸ “Aus Ostafrika,” ZW 11, no. 15 (7 August 1905): 183–184.

of “European” clothes,²¹⁹ and the German Adventist leader Wilhelm Mueller judged that Africans “appear ridiculous” when they “imitate Europeans” in dress matters.²²⁰ Interestingly, they were not alone with their feelings of racial superiority, for the same attitude prevailed among some Leipzig missionaries at Kilimanjaro and Arusha.²²¹

These European Adventists had a very definite view of how “African” Africans had to be. Apparently they could not easily accept that their Tanzanian fellow Adventists became like them in such external matters; equality *coram Deo* and in real life were two different things for them. For Africans, however, European dress was not only a sign of social advancement and equality with Europeans but also the most logical identification with the Christian faith which they had chosen, symbols that expressed the initiation into a new way of life.²²² This is evident in the fact that the missionary polemic did not have any lasting effect. Christian men soon permanently adopted European dress such as trousers, shirts, coats, and suits.²²³

Much more lasting than these occasional controversies between individual missionaries and African Adventists about the proper cultural origin of dress was the ongoing concern that the church had about morality exhibited in garments. The Pare Advisory Board saw the necessity of dealing with this matter several times in the 1930s and 1940s. Especially women and girls were targeted by its decisions. The leaders decreed that they were to wear long clothes and underwear,

²¹⁹ See Elineema, *Historia*, 41. *Kanzu* is the long dress that Muslims men often wear; *vikoi* (singular: *kikoi*) is a white loin-cloth. Elineema also contends that Bull forbade them to wear shoes, ties, coats and trousers. I believe especially the prohibition of shoes is difficult to prove and rather improbable, but the other items are certainly the logical consequence on insisting on the Muslim kind of dress.

²²⁰ Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission*, 26.

²²¹ Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 129–133; Joseph Wilson Parsalaw, *A History of the Lutheran Church, Diocese in the Arusha Region from 1904 to 1958* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1999), 216–221. For more on the same phenomenon, see Altena, *Ein Häuflein Christen*, 177–180, and Reed, *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists*, 143–152 (the chapter XI, “Subsidiary Causes of Conflict: Language and Dress”).

²²² Cf. Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, 69–71. He argues that a whole generation of young men in Hayaland wanted to break completely with their past. As in traditional religion, where some special garment expressed the new state of an initiate, clothes were suitable means of signifying adherence to a new group.

²²³ Regarding pastors’ dress, the Pare Advisory Council declared that there was no guideline except that it should be clean; see Baraza la Wajumbe wa Upare, 11 September 1938, SM 7. Still, suits and ties, the standard among pastors in Europe and America, became the common pastoral apparel in a process that resembled the adoption of general Western clothes.

and banned the traditional pieces of cloth wrapped around the body with the argument that “it is a very big shame.”²²⁴ When clothes became shorter again among the Christians in the late 1940s, drastic measures such as suspension and disfellowshipping were threatened to be taken concerning those who disobeyed.²²⁵ Men were also given some instruction once,²²⁶ yet the gist of the affair appears to have been the common inclination of male leaders of a patriarchal society towards commanding women how to behave.

Of course, there were reasons for concerns about dress. Adventist Christianity had come with definite views on the issue; this is why the elders provided biblical evidence for their decrees: “women [are] to dress modestly” and Adventists are “the light of the world.”²²⁷ Moreover, among the Pare sexual freedom was a common feature of traditional life.²²⁸ Adventist morality introduced a totally new set of values, and the opportune means of ensuring minimum risk seemed setting strict guidelines regarding anything related to the problem.²²⁹

In the 1950s, the situation was rather calm, but the dress issue slowly resurfaced in a new setting in the following decade. In the wake of urbanization, town women started to wear short dresses and trousers. Adventist women, however, were generally instructed to wear *kanga* instead.²³⁰ Even such a limited Tanzanian version of women’s liberation as the adoption of a new type of clothes had to collide with both Adventist and rural Tanzanian conservatism. Clothes appear not to have been a hot issue in the 1960s, but things changed during the 1970s²³¹

²²⁴ Baraza la Makanisa ya Upare Minutes, 19 July 1931, SM 7. One and a half years later, it was specified that their dress should reach not only below the knees but the middle of the lower legs. See Baraza ya Makanisa Minutes, 1 January 1933, SM 7.

²²⁵ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 27 June 1949, SM 1.

²²⁶ Men who wore *vipande* (blankets) had to ensure that they reached the knees; see Baraza ya Makanisa, 1 January 1933, SM 7.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* These quotations are from 1 Timothy 2:9 and Matthew 5:14.

²²⁸ On the conflict between traditional sexual practice among the Pare and Adventist Christian morality, see the sections on church discipline (in 6.2) and the adultery crises in Pare (in 5.1).

²²⁹ Such rules could also imply the protection of those who did not understand the full meaning of their actions. Fashions that combined coloured clothes with Swahili words (probably of the *kanga* type) constituting an “invitation to immoral conduct” or containing insults were rejected in the light of the fact that some women who wore them could not read. See Maxwell, “I Loved Africa,” 138; Baraza ya Makanisa, 1 January 1933, SM 7.

²³⁰ Interview Abrahamu Sando, Dar es Salaam, 24 July 2001. *Kanga* is a large piece of cloth that women wrap around their hips and thus cover all of their legs.

²³¹ Interview Mwambogela.

when a few town churches began to grow to a considerable size and some town Adventists detached themselves from their rural past.

Although some church leaders in the region emphasized that Adventists were to hold “middle of the road” positions,²³² the growing concern about the matter is visible in the following episode. David Dobias, an American missionary who headed East Tanzania Field in the first half of the 1970s, had prepared a manuscript that commented on this sensitive issue. He interpreted Deuteronomy 22:5, a verse that commands women not to wear men’s clothes, as unrelated to the question whether women were permitted to wear trousers. However, a young pastor, Herry Mhando, felt he had to warn Dobias that it was not wise to publish his somewhat lenient views. Mhando cautioned Dobias that this could create great commotion, for some of the Tanzania Union leaders had visited “nearly all of our churches in Tanzania, earnestly instructing...our sisters in the church to stop wearing trousers.”²³³

This opinion was quite common in the 1970s. It may sound somewhat odd, but Jocktan Kuyenga, youth director in the 1960s and 1970s of what is now Mara Conference and of Tanzania Union, respectively, states that main teaching emphases in his ministry were “proper marriage, dress issues and adornment.”²³⁴ As a youth director, he worked with those most susceptible to change in these matters, and he was not an exception with his concern.

Strict convictions continued in much of Tanzania even into the decades beyond. It is a typical statement that at Heri Adventist women never wear “short, tight, or transparent clothes”²³⁵ whatsoever until today. At first sight, this may appear astonishing in view of the fact that men and women used to live almost or completely without any dress in many areas, as among the Luo or Nyakyusa.²³⁶ The Adventist position must be understood, however, in the context of the fact that

²³² Division President Mills, for instance, emphasized that Adventists were not “to conform to the extreme contemporary fashions” but, at the same time, not to exhibit an “anachronism” and thus avoid both “extremes of liberalism and fanaticism.” See Merle L. Mills, “How Do You Dress?,” TADO 67, no. 8 (15 August 1969): 12.

²³³ Herry Mhando—David Dobias, 9 February 1976, ETC.

²³⁴ Interview Kuyenga. One might have expected “youth evangelism,” “lifting up Christ,” or “keeping Adventist youth in the church.” His statement shows that Adventist rigorism continued undiminished among some leaders and members.

²³⁵ Interviews Ntiamalumwe and Uso.

²³⁶ Nyakyusa women’s traditional clothing, *lyabi*, was a small piece of cloth which covered only the genital organs; see interview Mwambogela and Jacques, *Africa Called Us*, 78.

this tradition had been rejected by the “civilized” and Christianized majority of Tanzanians by the 1960s. Besides, a feeling has remained until the present in most rural areas and many towns that women who wear mini-skirts or trousers are “prostitutes” or “loose women.”²³⁷ Adventists certainly did not want their girls and women to be classified like this.

Moreover, the church’s strictness was not merely the fad of an Americanizing denomination as one could assume. Quite the opposite is true, for the same preoccupation with externals such as clothes was a notable feature of other Christian movements²³⁸ and the Tanzanian public at the time.²³⁹ The mainland’s single and powerful party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), emphasized “discipline” concerning dress matters, and Tanzanian Socialism was to establish “respect” in society, not “looseness.”²⁴⁰ TANU’s attempt at forging a Tanzanian morality was an integral aspect of the nation’s search of identity. This identity was not only opposed to “tribal” consciousness,²⁴¹ but also had to define the nation in its relationship to the world at large. In this process, new fashions from Europe or America presented an opportunity of asserting emerging Tanzanian values in opposition to phenomena recently imported from outside the continent.

Thus, the TANU youth organized a campaign called “Operation Vijana”²⁴² in the mid-1960s in which they advocated abolishing tight

²³⁷ This is a feeling that has been communicated to me many times by Tanzanians during my stay in Tanzania and is particularly true in some rural areas. I once witnessed myself that a lady wearing a very short mini-skirt on a local market was chased through the market by a crowd because of her attire until she escaped into a minibus.

²³⁸ “Born-Again” Christians in the Lutheran context, for instance, also rejected “dressing up” as well as Western hair styles; see Anneth Nyagawa Munga, *Uamsho: A Theological Study of the Proclamation of the Revival Movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1998), 110.

²³⁹ On the debate about “national culture,” the dress question, and government attitudes on amusement in Tanzania, see Andrew Michael Ivaska, “Negotiating ‘Culture’ in a Cosmopolitan Capital: Urban Style and the Tanzanian State in Colonial and Postcolonial Dar es Salaam,” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2003; on the dress question, see *ibid.*, 209–252.

²⁴⁰ Interview Eliasaph Lima, Musoma, 20 December 2000. “Looseness” is one translation of *uhuni*, a very strong term that may imply every disorderly and unwelcome act such as destructive behaviour or prostitution. Lima was an Adventist politician, spent his working life as a party member in various functions and was mayor of Musoma town.

²⁴¹ The ethnic identity of Tanzanian citizens was downplayed by the nation’s leadership in many ways, including promoting Swahili as a national language and the word *ndugu* (brother, relative) for every citizen.

²⁴² The Swahili word *vijana* means “young people.”

women's clothes and other "non-indigenous" practices.²⁴³ It seems to have escaped their attention that most of the clothes they wore themselves as well as many other elements of post-independence material culture could also have been labelled "non-indigenous." Still, such views reflected a common feeling among the population.²⁴⁴ While official TANU activities in this regard ceased in the early 1970s, Adventists, like some fellow evangelical Christians,²⁴⁵ continued upholding their strict stand on dress matters.

How much Adventists had in common with the spirit of the age is visible in TANU's opposition to traditional Tanzanian fashions. The new Tanzanian elite did not only reject everything that seemed contrary to national identity; the party line was also influenced by a concept of "progress" that was critical of traditional concepts of beauty. Lip plugs, the removal of healthy teeth, ear lobe cutting, smearing *olkaria* on the body, piercing the mouth, and making incisions on the body were all judged "antiquated" and "abominable."²⁴⁶ The TANU argued,

we Tanzanians love our customs very much, and it is the responsibility of the government to preserve those customs that have a good reasons... But an even bigger responsibility of the government is to lift up the life condition of all tribes of Tanzania... to reach a condition that is worthy of this century.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ O'Barr, "An Ethnography of Modernization," 143. On the same line lies TANU's polemic against mini-skirts and other "Western" items such as lip-sticks; see Tanganyika African National Union, *Unyonge wa Mwafrika* (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1971), 57. The title of this popular little storybook is chosen in a very provocative way: it means "the African's lowliness." The purpose of this biting formulation was to discourage the very idea implied and to dissuade Tanzanians from indulging in "Western" and capitalist practices and to be proud of what were believed to be modern African and African socialist features.

²⁴⁴ When inhabitants of North Pare were asked in the late 1960s whether it was permissible for women to wear foreign clothes such as the *taiti*, 88.6% answered women should not do so. The Swahili word *taiti*, which was used only during that period, originated from the English word "tight" and designated any rather close-fitting Western-style women's clothes as opposed to the common *kanga*. See O'Barr, "An Ethnography of Modernization," 126.

²⁴⁵ For a discussion of the rejection of certain types of dress, some hair styles, jewelry, make-up, and the like, among revivalist Christians in the Arusha area, see Amy Stambach, "Evangelism and Consumer Culture in Northern Tanzania," *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2000): 171–179.

²⁴⁶ The last word is *ozyo* in Swahili, meaning something detestable, completely unacceptable, disorderly. *Olcaria* is the Maasai word for red ochre, which Maasai used to smear on their bodies; see TANU, *Unyonge wa Mwafrika*, 55–56; Tanganyika African National Union, *Ujinga wa Mwafrika* (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1971), 32–33. The latter title is as provocative as the former, meaning "The African's stupidity."

²⁴⁷ Tanganyika African National Union, *Ujinga wa Mwafrika*, 33.

Similar things could have been written by Adventists. Like the Christians of other denominations who dominated TANU, Adventists had opposed practices such as ear lobe cutting among the Pare and Luo, the sharpening and breaking of teeth among the Pare, as well as the Luo practice of pulling out the six lower front teeth decades back.²⁴⁸ In this matter, Christian resistance to traditional concepts of beauty had prepared the way for the sanctioning of new standards nation-wide.

The official Tanzanian Adventist line also agreed with what TANU advocated regarding some types of hair styles. Both rejected the practice of changing the nature of female hair to make it look straight “like Europeans’ hair.” An intriguing aspect of TANU’s position was the reason given. The party declared, “Your colour is beautiful, your face is beautiful, your hair is beautiful, why do you not feel proud to be an African?”²⁴⁹ This appeal sounds like a secularized version of a common Tanzanian Adventist theological argument concerning adornment and hair issues, emphasizing that it is wrong for a person to desire changing the way God has created him or, mostly, her.²⁵⁰ That this argument could also be used to deny the necessity of clothes as such and, ultimately, of all tools in the realm of beauty and technology was usually not considered. Still, it certainly served its purpose of limiting the perennial female quest for more attractiveness, which was regarded as vanity by Adventists.

The main hair issue, *kusuka nywele* (hair plaiting), a common practice among African women, was a somewhat peculiar Adventist concern. Derived from two verses in the New Testament,²⁵¹ it distinguished Tanzanian Adventists both from most of their fellow Tanzanians²⁵² and, in later periods, from Adventists in many other African countries.

²⁴⁸ Interviews Kinduru and Otieno; Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 209; and Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 76.

²⁴⁹ Tanganyika African National Union, *Unyonge wa Mwafrika*, 56–57; interview Lukwaro.

²⁵⁰ In discussions on the matter during my time in Tanzania I heard this argument several times. The fact that a similar argument was used by Chagga teachers in the early 1920s in the context of circumcision—that it was wrong to strive for improving God’s creation by changing the way God created man—implies that the concern was not one of an extremist group of people but a real religious issue. See Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 79.

²⁵¹ 1 Peter 3:3 and 1 Timothy 2:9.

²⁵² One example among non-Adventist groups that I have encountered in the literature is that of Lutheran Christians in pre-World War I Usambara; see Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 231.

Among the missionaries, different positions were found. When Spencer Maxwell arrived in Pare in 1922, he banned hair plaiting, while the pre-war Germans had apparently not attacked it. In the 1930s, Andreas Sprogis again taught the Pare that the Bible does not reject it.²⁵³ In the 1940s, the practice came strongly under attack again: when a deacon would see that a woman had plaited her hair, even when covered by a piece of cloth, she would be taken out of Suji church in 1940.²⁵⁴ The Tanganyika Mission Field Committee outlawed the practice in 1944 together with the wearing of rings and beaded belts.²⁵⁵ Likewise, Kenneth Webster admonished his fellow workers in Pare in the same period, “Let us not become tired to teach this matter. Those who accept to cling to righteousness will accept to leave this thing [hair plaiting].”²⁵⁶

Five years later, the Pare Advisory Council with its mostly African delegates decided to abolish the practices of plaiting hair and adorning the head with horn or iron objects “because the Bible says ‘it is not good for Christians to adorn themselves’.” The consequences of disobedience were a warning, suspension from church for nine months, and eventually even being dropped from membership.²⁵⁷ Interestingly, the same measure of discipline was thus to be applied to a hair style culprit as to an adulterer. At Lake Victoria, a few individuals were actually disfellowshipped, which was an exception to the rule. In some places, regulations were extended to banning even long hair among women in the 1940s and 1950s,²⁵⁸ presumably in order to prevent them from braiding secretly.

If African leaders had not been much vocal on the matter before,²⁵⁹ the Tanzanians’ takeover of leadership positions in 1960 revealed the

²⁵³ Elineema, *Historia*, 46.

²⁵⁴ Interview Elineema.

²⁵⁵ TMF Minutes, 16–18 February 1944, no. A 62, SM 5.

²⁵⁶ K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 18 November 1946, SM 12.

²⁵⁷ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 27 June 1949, SM 1. It should be added, though, that the 1951 edition of the *Church Manual*, 224–226, did not include dress, hair, and adornment issues among reasons for church discipline.

²⁵⁸ Interview Z. Lisso. The ban of long hair existed in Uganda, where subsequently a much more liberal practice than in Tanzania developed. I heard of similar rules imposed by local elders and church pastors in Tanzania during my own stay in the country.

²⁵⁹ In individual cases it is very clear that Tanzanians themselves were strict on the matter, as in the case of evangelist A. Kileng’a, who worked in the Moshi area and repeatedly wrote to missionary F.B. Wells in order to get advice what to do with members who plait their hair. Adriano Kileng’a—Bwana Mmisheni, 18 August 1947, SM 39; A. Kileng’a—F.B. Wells, 1 May 1948, SM 38.

radical views among many of them. At Heri Hospital, for instance, plaiting hair was not viewed as a problem in the 1940s and 1950s while under missionary administration. Yet under Tanzanian pastoral leadership, the custom was abandoned and is today “completely forbidden.”²⁶⁰ The founder of the Adventist Church in Morogoro, Yohana Lukwaro, labelled *kusuka nywele* and any new fashions “pagan things” and reports that they were addressed and vehemently rejected by Tanzanian pastors in the 1960s. Women with plaited hair could not be baptized in that decade, and only those among church members who continued adhering to this code were accepted into church choirs.²⁶¹

In the mid-1970s, Herry Mhando noticed that some Union leaders promoted doing away with plaiting. He also observed that opinions differed markedly; he declared, “a few ministers and members believe that it is sin to plait hair. Some say it is not. Some are neutral.”²⁶² Mhando’s observation is illuminating in several respects. (1) Top leaders tended to be conservative. (2) For some pastors, lifestyle issues were not merely matters of personal choice but issues related to soteriological categories. (3) These two groups appeared to be more outspoken than those who were more lenient. Apparently the lenient and neutral groups did not have any important representative, and open and controversial discussion on the matter was hardly possible.²⁶³ In this light, it is not surprising that a local committee decided in 1982 that “every church should teach its members the Seventh-day Adventist policies about plaiting hair.”²⁶⁴ That such policies did not exist²⁶⁵ did not seem to bother anybody, but the very assumption that there were such guidelines reveals how much church leaders believed in the importance of their strict stand.

Few were those who rejected this rigidity. They were mostly educated lay members and a few pastors who had been trained by more liberal

²⁶⁰ Interviews Ntiamalumwe, Uso, and Takisivya. The same applies to the practice of straightening hair.

²⁶¹ Interviews Lukwaro and Kuyenga.

²⁶² Herry Mhando—David Dobias, 9 February 1976, ETC.

²⁶³ Mhando’s concern was that any disunity on this matter might be taken as an opportunity by the SDA Reform Movement to extract members from the church. On the Reform Movement, see 9.2.

²⁶⁴ “Mkutano wa Mtaa Uliokaa Gonjanza, 14–3–82,” SM 50. This committee was a Suji district meeting that took place next to the headquarters of the then North East Tanzania Field.

²⁶⁵ There has never been any official policy of the world church on hair styles, and the policies from the 1940s when Tanzania Union did not yet exist were not applicable any more.

teachers.²⁶⁶ The arguments against the practice were simple and forceful: (1) biblical texts were quoted as evidence, (2) it was argued that many hair styles constituted an invitation to immoral conduct, and (3) some associated the practice with Traditional Religion.²⁶⁷ Of course the supposed immoral meaning depended on the environment and hardly applied to already married women, and traditional ceremonies had been forgotten by many in the post-independence era. Yet this did not mean that Adventists would easily loosen the screw of strictness. Moreover, people's feelings could not be altered easily. When some ministers' spouses started to make use of hair fashions, the perception among conservative church members was that now "Satan injects his things even into pastor's wives."²⁶⁸ Seen in this light, it was perhaps a welcome excuse to ascribe such developments to the impact of outside forces. When Earl E. Cleveland, an African American evangelist, conducted an extended evangelistic series in Dar es Salaam in 1963, he baptized women who had her hair plaited. It was attributed to his influence that other church members subsequently started to do likewise.²⁶⁹

Compared with hair issues, general adornment was a rather easy thing to deal with. The rejection of jewellery and wedding rings²⁷⁰ did not have to be discussed, for it was part of the Adventist package transported into Tanzania.²⁷¹ Already before World War I, missionary Wilhelm Kölling urged Daniel Mwenda's wife, one of the later

²⁶⁶ Among the older men, only K.B. Elineema, E. Lima, and A.C. Bwenda openly rejected the common ban of hair plaiting. Elineema, a former pastor, studied history and worked with the University of Dar es Salaam, and Lima and Bwenda were politicians. Jocktan Kuyenga asserts that some Bugema graduates in the 1960s came back with a liberal view on the issue. See interviews Elineema, Lima, Kuyenga, and Bwenda.

²⁶⁷ See, e.g., the description of female initiation in Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 42; interview Lukwaro.

²⁶⁸ Interview Lukwaro.

²⁶⁹ Interviews E. Wanjara, Okeyo.

²⁷⁰ A collection of Ellen G. White's comments on jewellery is found in Rodríguez, *Jewelry in the Bible*, 118–122. The wearing of wedding rings was rejected by Ellen G. White and most American Adventist throughout history, see *ibid.*, 12–16. On the other hand, most Europeans took a more accommodating position on the wedding ring. It is interesting to note that Tanzanians adopted the stricter position in this case, originally because of the prevailing economic situation and later probably because of the American missionary influence and the fact that the *Church Manual* allows for compromise only in those countries where "wearing the wedding ring is considered imperative"; see *Church Manual*, 1951 edition, 202.

²⁷¹ It should be noted that the rejection of adornment was not limited to Adventists. Other Protestant missions and denominations at times also had this feature—e.g., the Basel missionaries in the early twentieth century; see Erwin Steinborn, *Die Kirchenzucht in der Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), 93–96.

missionaries to Sukumaland, to “take off all trinkets” such as coral necklaces to show that she had become a serious Christian. His appeal was successful, and she reported later that she had “given up all that is of this world.”²⁷² When Spencer Maxwell reached Pare, he insisted that Christians take off all adornment and beads,²⁷³ and at Mbeya, all body decoration such as earrings, rings, necklaces were unthinkable for Adventists.²⁷⁴ Around Heri Hospital, the only conflict of Adventism with traditional culture that Africans felt to be significant concerned the wearing of beads, bracelets, earrings, and small bells. Yet since abandoning them was a condition for the prized membership among the progressive group of Christians, there was little choice.²⁷⁵ The Adventist impact on seemingly peripheral items could be quite effective.

This history of conflict over externals among Tanzanian Adventists has been interpreted in very divergent ways by the people concerned. On the one side are those who affirm the conservative point of view. They feel that “spirituality has decreased” in towns where people are less strict on such matters. Accordingly, this tendency is believed to indicate how worldly the church has become.²⁷⁶ On the other extreme are women who felt oppressed by attacks from “uneducated pastors” on various hair fashions and kinds of dress. They claim that serious sins such as adultery were at times quietly tolerated while petty issues of outward styles were unnecessarily inflated.²⁷⁷

Both of these opinions certainly contain some truth. In addition, the controversy reveals several important dimensions of Tanzanian Adventism:

1. What is most striking is that there was apparently hardly any rupture between missionary prohibitions and later leaders’ attitudes. Actually, if there is discontinuity, it could be found in the fact that Tanzanian

²⁷² W. Kölling, “‘Washenzi,’” ABH 2, no. 3 (1916): 37.

²⁷³ Elineema, *Historia*, 46. When Elineema asserts here that he was the first missionary to teach so, he errs, for at least Kölling had insisted on removing jewellery as shown above.

²⁷⁴ Interview Monica Mwakalonge.

²⁷⁵ Interviews Kagize and Maguru. They relate that Adventists were initially ridiculed that their women looked as if they were attending a funeral. Yet subsequently these accessories became less common even among the non-Adventists.

²⁷⁶ Interviews Mrs Sumbia, Arusha, 14 May 2000, and [Mrs] Kiondo.

²⁷⁷ Interview Nakunda Mhina, Arusha, 17 May 2000.

leaders at times emphasized these external matters even more than the foreigners had done.²⁷⁸

2. A second kind of continuity is that with national culture. Adventists did not exist in a vacuum, and where the government and society in general were strict on such seemingly private concerns, it was easy for the church to be as rigid or even more than society in general.
3. The strictness derived from the remnant paradigm was an attractive principle to operate with because it implied respectability.
4. The common Adventist hermeneutical literalism made many Tanzanian leaders to insist on a direct application of verses of scripture that many other interpreters viewed as more contextually conditioned.
5. What complicated the issue somewhat because it cut across the denomination's membership was that rural and urban communities drifted apart as the decades passed, and urban styles tended to adopt meanings different from their rural interpretations.²⁷⁹
6. Tanzanians were ultimately exposed to the rest of the world, including Adventists abroad, and learnt that a variety of views was accepted beyond their national borders.²⁸⁰ The fact that the international Seventh-day Adventist Church was a greatly diversified crowd meant that some church traditions that had been thought of as defining marks of God's remnant were reconsidered by part of the Adventist membership.

Music and Weddings: Christian Joy vs. "Secular" Amusement

As the decoration of the body, the beautification of life as a whole provided opportunity for a good deal of discussion and for friction among Tanzanian Adventists. The Adventist background of strictness in matters of amusement²⁸¹ and the related issue of music directly influenced

²⁷⁸ This is also the impression K.B. Elineema has; see interview Elineema.

²⁷⁹ In the Kenyan context, J.E. McDermond, in his article "Modesty: The Pauline Tradition and Change in East Africa," *Africa Theological Journal* 22, no. 3 (1993): 195, 198, observes a tension between "up country" (rural) and urban values: more rural Kenyans than urbanites rejected jewellery and plaiting hair.

²⁸⁰ Interview Okeyo.

²⁸¹ Like the denomination's attitudes on adornment, Adventist views on amusement were inherited from their Puritan forebears. On the Puritans views of recreation, see, e.g., Staples, "Patters of Purification," 75, and Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The Puritans as They Really Were* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 189–191. A comprehensive list of recreational game activities and church guidelines regarding them is provided in "Recreation and Amusement," SDAE, 1053–1057.

Tanzanian realities. Similar to most of the other early Christians in Tanzania,²⁸² Adventists typically chose to reject dancing completely.²⁸³ Another option was to look for alternatives, as did Helene Ohme, who introduced various games at the Majita girls' school before World War I so that her students "be kept from attending the heathen dances, which . . . are accompanied by many immoral practices."²⁸⁴

Similar approaches were used for other ways of recreation. Card playing, for instance, was forbidden with the remark that it is "entirely against the principles of the Denomination throughout the World Field."²⁸⁵ Football was allowed in principle, but football tournaments between different schools were prohibited because it was believed that they created permanent enmity between the teams.²⁸⁶ Lotteries were called "Satan's work" and were accordingly advised against in 1950; it was argued that people who succeed in getting money "usually have selfishness and coveting" while the tenth commandment says, "Thou shalt not covet." Thus, playing lottery was considered as breaking the commandments of God.²⁸⁷ Regarding theatres, cinemas "and similar

²⁸² Wolfgang Kornder, *Die Entwicklung der Kirchenmusik in den ehemals deutschen Missionsgebieten Tansanias* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1990), 32–39. There were exceptions to the rule of (mostly missionary-initiated) rejection of dances: Gutmann attempted to integrate traditional Chagga dances into the life of the Lutheran churches at Kilimanjaro. Even Adventists experimented with dancing in neighbouring Kenya under the leadership of Gilbert A. Lewis. It was meant as a means of evangelism; therefore, no non-Adventists were to be involved. See Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 39–40; Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 116–117.

²⁸³ The Adventist position at Ikizu is related by Sebastiani Muraza Marwa, *Mtemi Makongoro wa Ikizu: Historia ya Mtemi Makongoro na Kabila Lake la Waikizu Mwaka 1894 Hadi 1958* (Peramiho: Benedictine Publications Ndanda, 1988), 51. It is significant that Adventists, the first Christian mission among the Ikizu, are mentioned only here in this little book. Marwa reports that chief Makongoro, who was a Muslim, "fought with the leaders of the SDA denomination of Ikizu because this religion denied the nationals the freedom even to do the traditional dances or to do other customary celebrations."

²⁸⁴ B. Ohme—W.A. Spicer, 23 April 1914, GCA.

²⁸⁵ TMF Minutes (Combined European and African Committees), 3–4 February 1943, no. 316, SM 5.

²⁸⁶ Baraza ya Pare, 10 March 1944, SM 7. A few years earlier, tournaments had been taking place; see L. Mbonea Shange, "South Pare: Mashindano ya Michezo," *Mambo Leo* 16, no. 12 (December 1938): 191. The same issue was affirmed again much later by Tanzania Union; TU Minutes, 6 April 1971, no. 1229. For more on football, mainly as a functional substitute for traditional dances being enthusiastically encouraged by many British missionaries, see Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 459–460.

²⁸⁷ TMF Minutes, 30 June–1 July 1950, no. E. 806, SM 6; M.B. Musgrave—Wakanisa Wote Pare, Usambaa na Mbulu, 19 March 1951. That these considerations made sense became visible in the case of Pastor Tumaini Abrahamu, who played lottery in the 1960s, won Sh 20,000, several years' salaries by then, and subsequently backslid; see interview Sumbia.

places of worldly amusement,” it was held that the only safe course was to refrain entirely from attending because of their exaltation of “evil thoughts” and “standards of conduct that are utterly at variance” with those of Christians.²⁸⁸

The issue of music²⁸⁹ is most interesting because of the peculiar way in which the church handled the use of instruments. For almost two generations, musical instruments such as cornets and flutes had been habitually used at various places, even in worship. Drums also appear to have been commonly accepted devices until World War II.²⁹⁰ The 1940s, however, brought significant changes: the Pare Advisory Board denied permission of the use of drums for public evangelism in 1943.²⁹¹ This position was adopted by the church leadership of the whole country in the following year; in addition, they extended the prohibition to all kinds of church meetings and marriage feasts.²⁹² Nonetheless, the use of drums did continue in the Adventist periphery. Among the Iraqw, Adventists used drums in worship until around 1980, but then they were prohibited by the conference leadership with the argument that this practice was “worldly.” Still, members continued to use them for some time, arguing that these very things had been brought by the Pare missionaries who had initiated Adventism in their area.²⁹³

The post-independence years were a period when almost all musical instruments were strongly rejected among most Tanzanian Adventists.²⁹⁴ It was believed that church music had to be rather quiet and very different from “worldly” music. All resemblance with “secular” musical

²⁸⁸ “Attendance at Theatres and Cinema,” 1951, SM 80.

²⁸⁹ On the official Adventist attitude on music, see the *Church Manual*, 1951 edition, 207, which stipulates that anything “of the nature of jazz, swing, any language expressing foolish or trivial sentiments, will be shunned by persons of true culture.”

²⁹⁰ E. Räßler and M. Räßler, “Busegwe bei Schirati, Deutsch-Ostafrika,” ZW 17, no. 2 (16 January 1911): 26–27; “Missionarsbriefe,” AB 44, no. 24 (15 December 1938): 378; and Wilhelm Mueller, “Ein Missionsjubiläum in Afrika,” AB 52, no. 19 (1 February 1953): 300.

²⁹¹ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 14–17 March 1943, SM 7.

²⁹² TMF Minutes, 16–18 February 1944, no. A 53, SM 5. The same action even banned whistles and banners.

²⁹³ Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw.”

²⁹⁴ When Loitopuaki Ole Lebabu became an Adventist in the early 1980s, he was surprised to hear that many rejected the use of musical instruments; conversation with Pastor L. Ole Lebabu, Ngongongare, 10 March 2002. In fact, North-East Tanzania Conference had decided in 1977: “in order to upkeep good order in using musical instruments like trumpets, flutes, drums, guitars, and small bells . . . singers should not use them until they get a teacher who has knowledge how to use them and the Field should be given notice”; see NETF Minutes, 2 May 1977, NETC. Thus, the possibility of using instruments was not completely excluded but much restricted.

types was therefore avoided.²⁹⁵ A case in point is the story of Arfaxad Yunus, a guitarist from Lake Victoria, who was converted to Adventism in the 1960s. Upon joining the baptism class, he surrendered his guitar “similar to sorcerers...who at the time of their conversion either burn or hand over to the church bones, teeth, stones, sticks, and roots.”²⁹⁶ For Yunus, “magical power certainly inhabited his guitar.”²⁹⁷ Interestingly, missionary Günter Schmidl tried to persuade the church members that the guitar could also be used for church purposes, but to no avail.²⁹⁸ This case shows that one would in vain attribute strictness to missionaries only; rather, depending on the issue, African Adventist leaders and church members could be as rigid or even more determined in their rejection of certain practices. Only in the 1980s did the increasing popularity of a few choirs that used instruments reverse the denomination’s radical stand.²⁹⁹ Together with the ban of drums among those few communities that had still used them, this change indicated that the church found itself in a process of being streamlined into international Adventism.³⁰⁰

A testing case for the Tanzanian Adventist attitude to amusements were wedding celebrations. Since such feasts were sanctioned by the church in general, a simple rejection was no option. Under missionary leadership, the ceremony was hardly an issue of contention. In the absence of very wealthy individuals, church weddings were conducted in a rather simple way in the 1940s and 1950s. In the common village

²⁹⁵ Interview A. Abihudi.

²⁹⁶ Günter Schmidl, “Arfaxad Yunus,” AB 67, no. 11 (1 June 1968): 211. A similar case is reported by Timothy Samuel, “A Blind Musician Won,” TADO 64, no. 3 (15 March 1966): 9. A blind musician called Kingani near Ikizu was converted and upon conversion “handed the instrument that he had used to the local elder to be destroyed.”

²⁹⁷ Schmidl, “Arfaxad Yunus,” 211.

²⁹⁸ Günter Schmidl to the author, 5 June 2002.

²⁹⁹ A major exception to the common ban of musical instruments had been Sukumaland, where Muungano Choir from Nassa near Mwanza had recorded music with guitars as early as the 1970s.

³⁰⁰ In other countries, drums were mostly rejected while many musical instruments were accepted. It is interesting to compare the Tanzanian development with the Adventist situation in part of Nigeria, where drumming was a much more controversial issue until the present. While church leaders banned all drumming in churches in the 1960s and 1970s, in 1980, drums were allowed for social occasions, such as Harvest Thanksgiving, but not for Divine Service. After the use of drums had become uncontrollable in the eyes of some leaders, it was banned again in 1986. See Kuranga, “Seventh-Day Adventism in Western Nigeria,” 205–209.

setting, the community would eat *ugali*, rice and meat, and that was the end of it.³⁰¹ Weddings were solemn events celebrated with respect and honour, considered to be “sermons by themselves” by many Adventists.³⁰² Modern, sophisticated elements were not known yet. Still, there were aspects of beautification, for trumpet band and choirs did their best to make the day special.³⁰³

It was after independence, when Adventist individuals rose to status and wealth, that questions concerning the manner of conducting weddings arose. With the demise of traditional ceremonies, which had been conducted after church weddings, new patterns developed in the general culture. Some aspects made their way into Adventist church wedding ceremonies as well, such as more elaborate marching, an ever-increasing party of marchers, and what was considered “secular” music. Soon some church leaders viewed sumptuous wedding parties as inappropriate for Adventist Christians.³⁰⁴ It is in this light that Tanzania Union found it necessary in 1972 to instruct all church leaders to emphasize the sacredness of the marriage institution “and to conduct wedding services in a dignified and attractive manner.”³⁰⁵ Likewise, leaders at Suji decided in 1982 “that during wedding celebrations all songs should be Christian, and that worldly things not be injected into a Christian wedding.”³⁰⁶

Yet in practice this stance on songs could hardly be upheld beyond the walls of the church building, for the occasion was too exciting to exclude the spontaneous dancing and chorus singing that naturally flows out of celebrants, especially the women. Still, continuity with the Adventist tradition of solemnity and reverence in weddings was secured. Adventist weddings were viewed as being quite different from

³⁰¹ Interview Z. Lisso. *Ugali* is stiff porridge, mostly made from maize.

³⁰² Interview N. Abihudi. It is most instructive to participate in a Tanzanian wedding. It fits the description that Weman gives: the “gracious, slowly advancing dance by the bridal pair;” “calm and discreet,” “the most solemn moment in their lives”; see Henry Weman, *African Music and the Church in Africa* (Uppsala: Svenska Inst. För Missionsforskning, 1960), 195–196.

³⁰³ Interview Tumaini E.K. Mbwambo, Dar es Salaam, 5 August 2001.

³⁰⁴ Already in the 1932 *Church Manual*, 173, it was emphasized that one principle in the wedding ceremony was to be “simplicity.” Interestingly, similar views were held by missionaries of the Basel Mission several generations earlier; see Erwin Steinborn, *Die Kirchenzucht in der Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Mission* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), 93.

³⁰⁵ TU Minutes, 2–4 May 1972, no. 184, TU.

³⁰⁶ “Mkutano wa Mtaa Uliokaa Gonjanza, 14–3–82,” SM 50.

those conducted by members of other denominations; alcohol and any kind of disorder were prohibited, and this way of conducting weddings even attracted individuals to join the denomination.³⁰⁷ The emphasis on “respectable” ceremonies shows that Adventist weddings, far from being foreign impositions, actually exemplified a central value of Tanzanian identity: *heshima* (respect, honour).³⁰⁸

One issue connected to weddings, though, proved to be a matter of controversy through much of Adventist history in Tanzania: *vigelegele*, a high-pitched sound made by women to express intense joy mainly at weddings, but also during other joyful periods of life.³⁰⁹ In some regions, the practice did not cause any conflict. Among the Sukuma, for instance, *vigelegele* sounds have always existed in wedding ceremonies and have never been opposed, only that the sounds were to be made outside the church. Likewise, among the Nyakyusa where weddings are also occasions of much enthusiasm, *vigelegele* were heard until the 1980s even while the couple was marching in during weddings.

Yet at Majita, the practice was never allowed because it was deemed related to paganism, and in Pare, *vigelegele* were only accepted until the 1940s.³¹⁰ In 1948, however, the Pare Advisory Board asserted,

Vigelegele are an expression of a worldly character; they do not praise God. The people of the world usually use them when they are joyful during their rituals,³¹¹ i.e., *ngasu ya mshitu* and the women festival, in which Christians do not participate at all. Therefore, instead of *vigelegele*, it would be better that Christians sing with voices that carry words to praise God.³¹²

The designers of this ruling knew, though, that it could not be strictly and immediately enforced, for they added that all church leaders should “teach the badness of this matter, although we do not state that this

³⁰⁷ Interview Bwenda.

³⁰⁸ The word *heshima* has repeatedly been used regarding wedding ceremonies in interviews; it is a value that both traditional societies and contemporary Tanzanian national culture vigorously upholds.

³⁰⁹ There is no English word that correctly translates *vigelegele* although at times the word “ululation” has been used. A more appropriate translation is “trill of triumph.” In Swahili, *vigelegele* is a plural form and therefore goes together with a plural verb even in my English text. Traditionally, the sound was also made at circumcision ceremonies or after birth; see Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 42.

³¹⁰ Interviews Mashigan, Monica Mwakalonge, [Mrs] Z. Lisso, and [Mrs] N. Abihudi.

³¹¹ Swahili: *ngoma*. This word is mostly translated with “dance(s)” but includes the whole occasion connected with a dance and therefore often expresses a traditional ceremony or ritual that includes dance.

³¹² Baraza la Upare Minutes, 21 January 1948, SM 1.

matter is a real sin.”³¹³ By refraining from insisting on disciplinary actions, the conservative Adventist leadership implicitly recognized the natural boundaries which existed for their strictness.

Still, the recommendation also exemplifies the Adventist struggle against supposedly secular or “pagan” elements. In this case, this battle was only partially successful: two years later, the same board felt compelled to repeat the action and to include a ban on “dirty dances” during wedding celebrations.³¹⁴ Yet the very necessity to reemphasize the matter shows that this expression of joyfulness, even if branded as “worldly,” could not be simply extinguished by means of a church decree. The same was evident in later decades; in town churches *vigelegele* were common in the 1970s although some leaders continued to fight them,³¹⁵ and altogether, the tendency was that *vigelegele* were more accepted in towns than in those villages dominated by Adventists.³¹⁶ In a mixed-culture urban environment, people were freer to ascribe a harmless meaning to what had carried unacceptable overtones for some in certain rural settings.³¹⁷

Altogether, the Tanzanian Adventist attitude to amusement and expressions of joyfulness shows three major trends: (1) A basic continuity with the Puritan-Adventist tradition of strictness, visible in the rejection of a host of “worldly” practices of entertainment. (2) A significant attempt at inculturating Christian weddings by stressing *heshima*. (3) A mellowing of strictness to fit real life situations in some cases. Where Adventist rigidity came into conflict with an important traditional way of expressing joy, *vigelegele*, the latter persisted or reappeared in new settings. Suppressing *vigelegele* and some degree of spontaneous dancing at weddings would also have meant an oppression of women, for these were some of the few instances when women were free to express themselves wholeheartedly. But this was surely not the intent of the church’s concern. The fact that the practice survived and today blossoms implies that even in the context of the “Remnant Church,” the people themselves decided about the way in which strictness was to be applied.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 15 February 1950, SM 1.

³¹⁵ Interview Alphonse Kimbawala, Dar es Salaam, 25 July 2001. Kimbawala explains that the practice continued “because people had not been taught enough yet.”

³¹⁶ Interview Bhokeye.

³¹⁷ One interviewee, Mrs Nakunda Mhina, who advocated *vigelegele*, stated that there should be a difference between a wedding and a funeral after all; see interview Mhina.

Food and Drinks: The Adventist Health Concern

Seventh-day Adventists were Christian pioneers of preventive medicine and like to present themselves as “health reformers,”³¹⁸ so much so that they have been called “the only Christian church to make health a condition of holiness.”³¹⁹ This trend existed from the very beginning of the denomination’s existence. In the early period, Adventists banned tobacco and meat of the animals designated as unclean in Leviticus 11, which was soon followed by a strong advocacy of vegetarianism.³²⁰ Before the end of the nineteenth century, the denomination engaged in publishing health literature³²¹ and brought forth celebrity John Harvey Kellogg with his influential Battle Creek Sanitarium³²² and, subsequently, many other medical institutions.³²³

What reached twentieth century Tanzanian Adventists was therefore a twofold heritage: (1) a medical ministry similar to that of many other denominations, and (2) the avoidance of certain foods, drinks, and substances, especially alcohol, tobacco, coffee, tea, and meat viewed as unclean. The latter was certainly the most distinctive aspect of the health segment in the denomination’s identity that was transferred to Africa.

³¹⁸ For an interesting attempt at interpreting the Adventist health concern as a major dimension of its identity and as a model of social change in general, see Malcolm Bull, “Secularization and Medicalization,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 41, no. 2 (June 1990): 245–261.

³¹⁹ Anne-Marie Topalov, “Religion et Santé: Le Cas de la Diététique des Adventistes du 7e Jour,” *Social Compass* 34, no. 4 (1987): 514.

³²⁰ Ellen G. White was in the forefront of this trend. On her role in relation to health issues among Seventh-day Adventists, see Ronald Numbers, *Prophets of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

³²¹ “Health Journals,” SDAE, 511–512; Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 104–117. See also Walton and Jensen-Nelson, *Historical Sketches of the Medical Work of Seventh-Day Adventists*, and Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*. Ellen White published two books dealing with health issues during her lifetime: *Christian Temperance* in 1890 and *The Ministry of Healing* in 1905. Posthumously, the following compilations from her writings were published: *Counsels on Health* (1923), *Medical Ministry* (1932), and *Counsels on Diet and Foods* (1938).

³²² Richard W. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, [1970]). Kellogg’s brother Will Keith became famous for his cornflakes empire although John Harvey had invented them; see “Kellogg, Will Keith,” SDAE, 650–651.

³²³ In the twentieth century, the church expanded its activities by establishing a full-fledged medical college, decades before training its ministers in a comparable way, and organized a worldwide medical mission programme; see Robinson, *The Story of Our Health Message*, and Schaefer, *Legacy*. On Adventist medical missionary activities in Tanzania, see the section on Heri in 5.4.

The Adventist stand on alcohol and tobacco had been uncompromising since the inception of the denomination's existence. It was canonized in a radical form when the first *Church Manual* was published in 1932. Not only was the use of alcohol prohibited; even the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages were considered to be as serious as violations of the Ten Commandments and thus became matters of church discipline.³²⁴ Therefore, church members had to refrain from any contribution to the process of liquor production.

In the Tanzanian context, it was mainly one episode that reflected the struggle between this ideal and the reality among church members. Adventists in Pare sold sugar cane syrup to manufacturers of local beer in the 1940s. When the church leadership took up the issue, the action was very clear: Pare Christians were advised to abide by the General Conference policies and not to continue supplying sugar cane for the purpose of beer preparation.³²⁵ Certainly Adventist leaders felt that they were on the strong side with this decision since the government had already forbidden *pombe* (local beer) in the 1920s because of its potency.³²⁶

Immediately after the decision, the question arose whether this prohibition applied to sugar cane syrup only or even to sugar cane in general.³²⁷ The answer from the Field president, F.H. Thomas, was that he did not see any difference between the two. Interestingly, when comparing the issue to that of chickens sold to a diviner, Thomas did not see a problem because "here it probably does not do anyone harm whereas beer does."³²⁸ The argument was thus not a direct biblical command but a concern about the evil of alcohol. Missionary Kenneth Webster swiftly translated this into threatening Pare Adventists that even selling sugar cane as such was a reason to disfellowship a member. Nevertheless, things continued as before.³²⁹

³²⁴ "Church Discipline," SDAE, 261.

³²⁵ The Tanganyika Mission Field committee declared, "We want the beer making to die out"; see TMF Minutes, 5–9 February 1945, no. A 31, SM 5. In this they differed from their Lutheran neighbours, who noticed the beer problem but did not take any committee action on the matter; see Hans Fuchs, "Bericht über die Visitation der Stationen Vudee, Mbagu und Gonja," 1933, File Missionsrat: Briefe, Protokolle an das Kollegium in Leipzig, 1928–1933, Leipzig Mission Archives.

³²⁶ Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 12 October 1923, SM 27.

³²⁷ K.G. Webster—F.H. Thomas, 27 February 1945, SM 15.

³²⁸ F.H. Thomas—K.G. Webster, 14 March 1945, SM 15.

³²⁹ K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 24 May 1945, SM 12; Baraza la Upare Minutes,

In the same year, it became clear that Adventists of Vugwama were not ready to accept the “new rule.” Paulo Kilonzo, the leading Adventist minister in Pare, declared that they all knew that the “mission law” only prohibited the *use* of alcoholic beverages and their actual *sale*. According to him, even elders and evangelists did not “understand” (i.e., accept) the church’s stand on sugar cane syrup and sugar cane selling yet. Thus, he submitted to the consideration of a new missionary, F. Brock Wells, that the rule was a stumbling block for many since sugar cane was one of the few ways of getting a little bit of income. Besides, he affirmed that many other kinds of food produced alcohol as well.³³⁰

Kilonzo’s letter is of great importance in this process of friction. As the oldest and most respected Pare pastor, he acted as a mediator with loyalties on two sides, the missionary-dominated church administration and the ordinary folks. It is not entirely clear whether he personally held a kind of middle position, but his willingness to pass on people’s views unveils his critical role in negotiating a compromise between official and popular Adventist positions. After his letter, the issue is not found any more in the records in that period. Those advocating strictness apparently decided to withdraw.³³¹ Thus, the sugar cane issue slowly ebbed away and was finally forgotten when Adventists had converted a vast majority of the population in their part of Pare in the 1970s.

The sugar cane syrup case was different from tobacco cultivation, which has generally been rejected by Adventists.³³² Even in Tanzania, Adventists flatly refused to grow tobacco when the government instructed all people in the Tabora area to do so in the 1960s and

23 February 1947, SM 1. It should not be left unmentioned, however, that Webster tried to look for alternatives, such as producing brown sugar out of the sugar cane instead of using it for beer production. Yet soon afterwards he left Pare without having accomplished these plans. See K.G. Webster—Tanganyika Planting Co., 9 September 1947, SM 14.

³³⁰ He mentioned honey, sorghum, millet, certain kinds of bananas, and grapes; see P. Kilonzo—F.B. Wells, n.d. [ca. November 1947], SM 16.

³³¹ Only once did the matter resurface in the official records almost twenty years later, but no action was taken. See “Departmental Report,” NETF, 1966, SM 71.

³³² Interestingly, early versions of the *Church Manual* did not stipulate so; in the 1951 edition, for instance, the “use, manufacture, or sale of alcoholic beverages” was listed among the reasons for church discipline, but for tobacco, only its use was mentioned. Still, tobacco growing has always been viewed as incompatible with Adventist membership. In later versions of the *Church Manual*, therefore, even the manufacture and sale of tobacco is included among reasons for church discipline; see *Seventh-Day Adventist Church Manual*, rev. ed. (N.p.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2001), 185.

1970s.³³³ Of course, consumption of tobacco was also unthinkable for members of the denomination as this Adventist youth song from the late 1960s shows:

Soldiers of Jesus, have open eyes; Satan has prepared weapons.
Satan's knowledge is bad and lies in the darkness and in beer.
Christians, leave evil things, the Lord has come very near.
Satan sells cigarettes and beer, Satan sells theft and adultery.³³⁴

As in the case of alcohol, the issue associated with coffee, which Adventists were encouraged to avoid for health reasons,³³⁵ was not chiefly its use but the contribution to the production of a substance deemed unacceptable. The stand regarding the cultivation of coffee was never as strong as the question of cultivating tobacco since the health implications of coffee are not very significant. Thus, Adventists never made an issue out of it in many regions of Tanzania where coffee grows as in the Mbeya, Tarime, and Arusha areas.³³⁶ In Pare some German and British missionaries did not even reject the consumption of coffee and tea. Thus, drinking coffee was not an unusual habit in the 1940s and 1950s among Pare Adventists as well.³³⁷ Naturally, cultivation flourished also to some extent.³³⁸

Yet the 1950s were a period of change in Pare; missionaries from America threatened to remove members from the church books if they planted coffee even if they never actually did so.³³⁹ Missionary Brian

³³³ Interview E. Wanjara.

³³⁴ In Swahili, the song says:

Askari wa Yesu muwe macho; Shetani ametengeneza silaha.
Maarifa ya Shetani mabaya yamo gizani na kwenye pombe.
Wakristo yaacheni mabaya, Bwana amekaribia sana.

Shetani anauza sigara na pombe, Shetani anauza wizi na uzinzi.

See S. Mange, *Historia ya Kanisa South Nyanza Conference* (N.p., [2003]), 18. The punctuation has been added by myself in the Swahili version.

³³⁵ "Diet," SDAE, 342.

³³⁶ Interviews Mwakalonge, Bina, and Ololep M. Noah, Arusha, 16 May 2000.

³³⁷ Interviews Elieneza, Kiboko, and Fadhili. Pastor Godson Elieneza, for instance, the later North East Tanzania Field president, relates that he wanted to plant coffee but then read in Ellen White's books that it was not good to do so and thus decided to abandon his plans. However, he drank much tea and coffee until the early 1950s, which made him very sick one time until he discontinued their use.

³³⁸ Lameck Daudi, for instance, an Adventist teacher, had 300 coffee trees in 1948 on land that was taken over by the mission; see "Land Form," 5 August 1948, SM 42. Coffee had been brought to Pare by Lutheran missionaries; in or before 1903, the first plantations had been initiated at Shigatini; see Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 63.

³³⁹ Others, like his relative Elifadhli Lushino, did not want to leave drinking tea and

Ellingworth tried to arrange for pyrethrum production to replace coffee “in the light of Sister White’s strictures about it,” but this plan did not work out for climatic reasons. At the same time, he saw the desperate need of a cash crop among the Christians and did not want to prohibit the cultivation of coffee.³⁴⁰ Ultimately, most Adventist Pare stopped drinking coffee but a good number continued growing it.³⁴¹

The strongest conflicts occurred at Heri Hospital. Almost everyone cultivated coffee in the earlier years of the church at Heri, for this was the only economically attractive crop. The government assisted coffee farmers in various ways, and the church leadership did not comment on the issue. In the early 1960s, however, Jackson Ruhuha and Yansoni Mirambi, then workers at Heri Hospital, accepted the teaching of Dr W. Birkenstock, the director of the facility, that coffee should not be cultivated by Adventists, and uprooted their coffee plants. However, others asked: “Pastors, where were you all this time? And now you say [cultivating] coffee is bad!” This brought such a degree of commotion into the church that a good number of members considered leaving the church. In the end, missionaries decided not to talk about the coffee question any more.³⁴² The course of events at Heri and in Pare reflects the general tendency in the 1960s and 1970s. Tanzanian leaders in the 1960s did not care much about the issue of planting coffee,³⁴³ but many did teach about the presumed hazards of drinking it,³⁴⁴ and only some individuals took an extreme stand.

Meat consumption was a somewhat more complicated matter. It related to three distinct issues: the question of unclean meat, that of indirect blood consumption through eating animals that had died or had not been slaughtered by spilling the blood, and the issue of vegetarianism. Throughout the denomination’s existence, the “unclean

coffee; he argued “I do not want these religious things of America.” See interview Elieneza.

³⁴⁰ B.L. Ellingworth—E.G. Reid, 25 November 1955, SM 46.

³⁴¹ Interviews Kiboko and Fadhili.

³⁴² In subsequent years, the government passed a law that forbade uprooting coffee, but when Pastor Anyitike Mwaipopo made it an issue again in the 1980s, its price had gone down already, and a few people just left their coffee unattended so that it was spoiled all by itself. Yet the majority did not advocate such a strict stand. See interviews Ntiamalumwe, Maguru, and Kagize.

³⁴³ Except M. Rutolyo, who taught at Mbozi that coffee growing was evil and suggested that those who grow coffee should be disfellowshipped. However, the Union leaders refused because in Pare and at Heri coffee was also grown. See interview E. Wanjara.

³⁴⁴ Interview Elieneza.

meat” teaching of the church has been the most well-defined among the three: members are not to consume meat of animals that are declared unclean in Leviticus 11.³⁴⁵ Whether the reason for this regulation is a health concern or the biblical command is debated until the present.³⁴⁶ What is significant for this study, however, is how this teaching was received in the Tanzanian context.

Even in the early years of Adventist presence in Tanzania, it was known that they did not eat certain types of meat.³⁴⁷ This stance could become an important obstacle where Adventism was otherwise well received. At Lake Victoria, for instance, the Adventist adoption of the Old Testament ban of fish without scales constituted a major stumbling block to Jita fishermen. Among the Iraqw, the use of pork likewise constituted a hindrance in the conversion process.³⁴⁸ For many ethnic groups, however, the Adventist health message was no problem, for meat was not used very often. For some, such as the Nyakyusa and later the Maasai, pork and some other types of meat that Adventists considered unclean were also traditional taboos.³⁴⁹ Altogether, the issue does not seem to have caused much conflict;³⁵⁰ rather, it might have been understood by African Christians as a parallel to traditional food taboos.³⁵¹

A second issue was the missionary ban of *nyamafu* (i.e., meat of animals that had died). It is somewhat surprising that this teaching gained so much influence in Tanzania, for it has no basis in official

³⁴⁵ Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 108.

³⁴⁶ The official position is that the unclean meat issue is “primarily a question of health,” “not a matter of religious taboos”; see *Seventh-Day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, 624. Others, however, have argued that the laws in Leviticus are binding even for Christians; cf. Gerhard F. Hasel, “Clean and Unclean Meats in Leviticus 11: Still Relevant?,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 2 (1991): 91–125.

³⁴⁷ The Lutheran magazine *Ufalme wa Mungu* explicitly mentioned Adventists and rejected their stand of not eating some kind of meat and fish. See “Je! Injili ingine [sic] iko?,” *Ufalme wa Mungu*, no. 4 (June 1927): 2.

³⁴⁸ Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw”; interview Maradufu. Nevertheless, among those Jita who had committed themselves to Adventist Christianity were clever individuals who would still catch and sell such fish to non-Adventists.

³⁴⁹ Oliver Jacques to the author, 2 May 2002.

³⁵⁰ Only on one animal, the duck, divergent views have been persisting among Tanzanian Adventists: because its toes are connected with skin, some counted it as unclean, while others regarded it as clean as it was a bird whose consumption was not expressly forbidden (cf. Leviticus 11:3, 13–19). See interviews Mwakalonge and Z. Lisso.

³⁵¹ This can also be deduced from parallels in various Zionist churches in South Africa; see Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 217. Cf. the traditional prohibition for women to eat chicken among the Jita; see interview Z. Lisso.

Seventh-day Adventist documents but was directly derived from Acts 15:20 by its advocates.³⁵² At least since the 1940s, such meat was commonly forbidden among Tanzanian Adventists.³⁵³ Among cattle-keeping people, this ban inevitably caused conflicts. Many Kuria were not ready to throw away meat of a cow that had died.³⁵⁴ Likewise, the Iraqw *tsixit* taboo, which prohibited shedding blood, meant that they would not slaughter animals the way Muslims or Jews (and, undoubtedly, Tanzanian Adventists) did it. Rather, they would strangle cows or break the neck of chickens. This made it difficult for Iraqw to accept the opposite “Adventist taboo.”³⁵⁵

While the unclean meat and *nyamaifu* questions were more of a problem in recruiting new members, vegetarianism constituted a matter of discord inside the church. It appears, however, that total abstinence from meat was never taught by German and British missionaries, for no single record before 1950 refers to the question, and European Adventists on the whole, in contrast to Americans, never emphasized vegetarianism. Thus, meat was freely served at church events and in church schools until the 1960s.³⁵⁶ Hindrances for vegetarian teachings also existed. F.K. Wangai, an early Kenyan advocate of a meat-free diet, pointed out in the Division’s ministerial magazine that a great obstacle for the Adventist health reform was that most Africans believed meat was healthy.³⁵⁷

Only in the 1970s did the cause of vegetarianism gain some strength among Tanzanian Adventists. A few individuals, including a small number of pastors, even came to assert that eating meat is sin, but this was never accepted by the majority of members. Most members as well as pastors continued eating meat, and a few leaders openly

³⁵² See also Deuteronomy 14:21. Elineema, *Historia*, 58, claims that German missionaries did not oppose eating meat of strangled animals and of meat or fish that is unclean according to Leviticus 11. The stand on meat of strangled animals is conceivable, for it has never been an issue in Germany. However, the statement concerning unclean meat is highly improbable, and Elineema provides no reference for this contention.

³⁵³ Interviews Megera, Z. Lisso, and Mashigan.

³⁵⁴ Interview I. Machage.

³⁵⁵ Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw.”

³⁵⁶ Interview Makorere; Suji Middle School Board Minutes, 27 February 1962, SM 50; “Suji Boys Ration,” [1948–1949], SM 83.

³⁵⁷ F.K. Wangai, “Kwa Nini Kula Nyama?,” MAE 6, no. 3 (1962): 12–13 [“Why Eat Flesh Foods?” in the English Version]. This is confirmed by views common among the Kuria, who held that there was no alternative that could replace meat. See interview J. Machage.

opposed vegetarian teachings.³⁵⁸ The whole issue never gained much prominence because, as one keen observer commented, most Tanzanians “are vegetarians most of the time not because of choice but because they cannot afford meat.”³⁵⁹ When there were weddings or other feasts, probably more than 90% of Tanzanian Adventists ceased to be vegetarians for that particular day, a practical, non-ideological solution of a problem imported from Western countries.³⁶⁰ Since vegetarianism was not a defining mark of remnant identity but a side-effect of its general health concern, its impact remained very limited in Tanzania.

An Evaluation: Signs of Identity—Diversity at the Periphery

The subjects that have been discussed, dress and adornment, amusement, and food and drinks, can be interpreted in quite divergent ways. Some might feel that they are merely externals, “superficial symbols”³⁶¹ which do not necessarily reflect much of a Christian’s true attitude. Adventists, however, have commonly emphasized the correspondence of outward behavioural characteristics and the internal condition of a believer. Therefore, the items discussed were of great significance to Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventists as well. Their importance is evident in that they were so much debated, while others such as traditional dances were never an issue—they were simply inadmissible.

One might wonder why such seemingly peripheral matters dominated the discussion. This was a logical consequence of the denomination’s strictness: where the Seventh-day Adventist Church had made clear and final pronouncements, Tanzanian Adventists did not have much

³⁵⁸ Interviews Mhina and A. Abihudi. The Tanzania Union Session felt the need to vote in 1982, “That there be proper instructions in regard to flesh-eating, including suitable local meat substitutes; and that meat abstinence should begin with our leaders who understand the Spirit of Prophecy well, rather than the present situation in which it begins with the poorly informed lay members.” See TU Minutes, 5 March 1982, no. 31, ETC.

³⁵⁹ Interview Kuyenga.

³⁶⁰ In Europe and North America, Adventists officially continue promoting vegetarianism because the high meat consumption rates constitute a much more significant public health issue. The ethical aspect of vegetarianism was only a minor issue in the Adventist tradition of vegetarianism.

³⁶¹ I have borrowed this expression from Gary Land, who used it for items that made Adventists in the Western world react negatively in the 1960s and 1970s, such as various dress styles, rock music, and beards and long hair for men; see Gary Land, “Coping with Change, 1961–1980,” in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 210.

room for further discussion. Rather, they emphasized positions that had been inherited from the denomination's past, as is visible in the dress, amusement, and unclean meat questions. Yet in issues to which universal Adventist policies had not yet extended or where Adventist traditions were ambiguous, Tanzanians had the opportunity to carve out their own position. This process had a double implication: the strong continuity of a general Adventist identity and the development of unique Tanzanian features. Such peculiar Tanzanian Adventist standards developed in the *vigelegele* case, the hair style controversies, the temporary rejection of musical instruments, the toleration of coffee cultivation, and the *nyamafu* issue.

The taboo phenomenon, which was so common in traditional societies, may also be used as an explanatory model. It cannot be refuted that some of the Adventist standards must have been perceived by a good number of Tanzanians as another set of taboos to be adhered to.³⁶² Still, a one-dimensional explanation of all the rejected items would lack insight into the ethical-theological and rational basis of the Adventist interaction with culture. Adventists did have practical reasons for their prohibitions as has been shown for details in the dress, amusement, and alcohol issues. Moreover, the denomination's concern was generally genuinely theological: its concept of a sanctification that was understood in tangible terms implied the attempt to reject sin in all of its forms. That some minds would extend this fear of sin to items such as meat eating in general and coffee growing is perhaps an unavoidable consequence. The very Christians who evaded the Scylla of nominalism could easily fall prey of the Charybdis of fanaticism.

A key aspect of interpretation, which relates to the ecclesiological tension in Adventism, is the issue of unity and diversity. In an attempt to apply the remnant model to the Tanzanian context, Adventist leaders often endeavoured to ensure unity by creating a uniformity that would reach beyond what was prescribed by the denomination at large. This uniformity could not always be upheld in practice for several reasons: the diverse characters of humans, independent thinkers, the sinful human heart, the changing nature of Tanzanian national culture, modifications inside Adventism, and the accommodation of double standards.³⁶³ Some

³⁶² This is particularly visible in the duck issue: it was easier to operate with taboo-like arguments based on some scriptural reference than to use health as a principle and to declare the animal to be *adiaphoron*.

³⁶³ In the post-independence era, at times one standard was set for those who wanted

degree of diversity could not be impeded in a remnant community and even less so in an emerging folk church.

7.5 *An Interpretation: Adventist Strictness in the Context of Cultural Change*

After this account of the Adventist interaction with particular cultural items, the last section of this chapter presents an interpretation of four major aspects of this interaction: (1) values that defined Adventism's conflicts with culture, (2) the impact of the movement's progressive character, (3) the attractiveness of Adventist strictness, and (4) the identity of the denomination between traditional and modern forces.

The Remnant and Cultural Conflict: The Anatomy of Adventist Strictness

Various criteria are used in existing categorizations that seek to explain the types of interaction between the Church and culture in a non-Christian environment. They (1) focus on different approaches that the church has taken toward the culture of the environment as a whole,³⁶⁴ (2) deal with the contextualization process of single elements,³⁶⁵ (3) investigate the types of a "conservative" (culture-conserving) approach,³⁶⁶

to assume a church office and another one for nominal church members. In 1973, for instance, it was voted that choir members had to be members "in good and regular standing." This implies that there was also another group of church members whom the church did not want to disfellowship, but who were not eligible even for the most basic function in church—singing in front of others. See TU Minutes, 17–19 April 1973, no. 372 (Church Choirs—Standards), TU.

³⁶⁴ Aylward Shorter distinguishes the following approaches: (1) "ratify traditional beliefs and practices of the people," (2) letting traditional religion die, (3) adaptation, (4) taking over the whole society forcibly, (5) imitating well-established traditional practice, and (6) positive tolerance. See Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 70–73.

³⁶⁵ Hiebert lists the following ways of dealing with elements of traditional culture: (1) keeping, (2) rejection, (3) modification, (4) substituting, (5) adding foreign elements, and (6) new creations; see Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 187–189.

³⁶⁶ Kaplan finds the following options: (1) toleration (theoretical rejection but silent toleration in practice), (2) translation (of terms like "Holy Spirit" or Christ into African concepts), (3) assimilation (e.g., of worship forms), (4) Christianization (e.g., initiation rites: Christian *jando*), (5) acculturation (preserving and restoring traditional life, e.g. Gutmann's course of action among the Chagga), and (6) incorporation (African elements becoming essential aspects of Christianity). See Steven Kaplan, "The Africanization of Missionary Christianity: History and Typology," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 16, no. 3 (October 1986): 166–186.

or (4) classify ways in which the term “Africanization” has been used.³⁶⁷ However, no typology exists yet that constitutes a comprehensive attempt at classifying dimensions of Christian *conflict* with culture in the African context.

Yet the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania, like the denomination’s activities in other countries,³⁶⁸ provides an excellent example of a Christian body that tended to be culture-critical in many respects.³⁶⁹ The various cultural issues that emerged in the history of Tanzanian Adventism provide so much material that a comprehensive categorization of dimensions of Christian conflict with culture can be derived from them. The guiding criterion in the typology that is suggested here is the group in which a particular value is located.³⁷⁰ Since individuals belong to different groups with conflicting values, it is the way they configure their composite identity that determines the emphasis given to each single category.

Before a discussion of each category with Tanzanian Adventist examples, the following summary gives an overview:

³⁶⁷ A model that is critical of attempts of inculturation is Droogers’s classification of attempts of the Africanization of Christianity. He distinguishes approaches of (1) generalization, (2) a reconstruction of what is believed to have been the past, (3) an idealization of traditional society, (4) “artificial Africanization” (from “above”), and (5) a spontaneous Africanization, which always takes place in the life of the people. Droogers praises the latter as the real inculturation of the Christian faith. See André Droogers, “The Africanization of Christianity: An Anthropologist’s View,” *Missiology* 5, no. 4 (October 1977): 443–456.

³⁶⁸ A list of cultural practices that Adventists rejected in Papua New Guinea is provided by Owen McIntyre, “Seventh-Day Adventist Approaches to Contextualization of Theology,” *Mission Studies* 16, no. 2 (1999): 130. It includes dancing, the giving of fine mats, the eating of pork, non-fish seafood, and raw fish, public announcements of church offerings, tattooing, the giving of pigs, the belief in ghosts and curses, the drinking of kava, tea, and coffee, weddings on Sabbath, and playing cards and rugby.

³⁶⁹ In the following overview, only some detailed references are made. In many sections, the cited examples have been discussed at length elsewhere in my study.

³⁷⁰ With this criterion, the classification is more or less sociological and may seem to be lacking theological aspects at first sight. However, I have decided to design the model this way because theological reasoning is often shaped by groups for their particular purposes and can actually change. Moreover, a sociological pattern does not necessarily contradict the theological process connected with it. The last two categories (9 and 10) may not seem to fit into the criterion of groups at first glance but actually constitute the smallest groups conceivable that can direct a church—a small group of church leaders who either agree on a specific interpretation of holy writings or who decree with their own authority what should be followed by the faithful.

1. Humanity
2. Christianity
Affirm what is most basic to Christians
3. Progress
4. Imported Christianity
Affirm Western (“modern”) attitudes
5. Universal Denominational Identity
6. Local Denominational Identity
Affirm denominational positions
7. National Values
8. Local or Ethnic Values
Affirm elements of indigenous culture
9. Peculiar Interpretations
10. Personal Preferences
Affirm items promoted by individual leaders

1. *Humanity*: Rejection of what is considered inhuman

The major items in this category were rejected by all Christian denominations. They concern any kind of killing and cruelty such as the Pare practice of killing lepers,³⁷¹ slavery, cannibalism, and violence.³⁷² In the Tanzanian Adventist context, the most outstanding phenomenon that the denomination encountered was infanticide, which frequently occurred among the Pare as well as the Jita, the Kuria, and the Iraqw.³⁷³ The Pare listed “eight improper ways of being born” that made a child a *mwana mwivi* (bad child) to be killed according to tradition.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 216, reports that a leper was killed by calling eight *vatani*—a kind of priests—who would fell a tree and let it fall upon him.

³⁷² One example: wife-beating was common among the Kuria, even among church members especially before independence, but today it has almost ceased among Adventists. See interviews J. Machage and Mashigan.

³⁷³ An early birth was considered “bad” and left to die at Majita in 1934; see Lydia Reider, “Ärztliche Mission auf Majita (Ostafrika),” AB 40, no. 6 (15 March 1934): 84–86. Among the Kuria, twins were considered a misfortune to succeeding births and had to be drowned, and babies born to uncircumcised mothers were deemed a curse and could also be killed; North Mara District Book [ca. 1959], section “Medical”: “Reply to Medical Questionnaire—Kuria Area of District,” TNA (without no.). Among the Iraqw, children born with teeth or coming out with legs first could be thrown away or given to non-Iraqw communities. See Ramadhani Hemedi, “Mapokeo ya Historia ya Wairaqw,” TMs (photocopy), Endagikot, 1955, 34.

³⁷⁴ A.F. Bull, “Jesus Saves,” MW 32, no. 20 (23 September 1927): 1.

Moreover, until today the Pare remember their “six evil traditions,”³⁷⁵ which entailed infanticide: (1) birth procedure irregularities,³⁷⁶ (2) twins, (3) children who were deformed, even if they had a harelip or a sixth toe, (4) teeth coming out in an unusual way,³⁷⁷ (5) birth with the feet coming out first.³⁷⁸ (6) Moreover, when a girl was found pregnant who had not gone through initiation, she was chased away and had to live in the wilderness and often died there with her baby.³⁷⁹

2. *Christianity*: Rejection of what is considered incompatible with religious principles

Three main subcategories exist here:

- a. Practices and attitudes directly related to Traditional Religion:³⁸⁰ ancestor veneration or worship,³⁸¹ sorcery and practices related to fear of sorcery and witchcraft,³⁸² spirit possession, some practices of indig-

³⁷⁵ Interview A. Abihudi.

³⁷⁶ If a child touched the ground during birth, if it was touched by the placenta, or if the placenta came out first or together with the child, the baby had to be killed instantly; this was often done by holding the head into water until it died.

³⁷⁷ First the lower middle teeth were supposed to come out, and only in the next lunar month the upper ones. If only one tooth or four came out, or the upper ones came too early, the child had to be killed.

³⁷⁸ Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 24–25; 29; 32–33. See also Martin Kosmala, “*Ein Felsen tötet Kinder*” (*Die unheimliche Macht des Heidentums in Pare*) (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission Erlangen, 1961).

³⁷⁹ Interview A. Abihudi.

³⁸⁰ It is a characteristic fact that no significant study of Traditional Religions in Tanzania has ever been done by any Seventh-day Adventist, and where elements of Traditional Religions were recorded, they served more or less as a dark background for the light of Christianity; see, e.g., Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 153–206. Even in general, Adventists have had little interest in Traditional Religion; no Adventist missionary has ever produced a major monograph in this field. An exception is the rather short book of Kofi Owusu-Mensa, *Saturday God and Adventism in Ghana* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1993), of which the first half (pages 1–54) deals with Onyamee Kwaame, the Akan Saturday God, who is of special interest to Adventists because of the parallel to the denomination’s sabbatarianism.

³⁸¹ In Asu, the word “devil” has been translated with the word *nkoma*, which originally means “ancestral spirit” or “ancestor.” Dannholz, a Lutheran missionary, evaluates this as a fitting translation, for ancestors in traditional Pare religion demanded people to do many acts of destruction. See Jakob Dannholz, *Im Banne des Geisterglaubens* (Leipzig: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1916), 16.

³⁸² See TU Minutes, 17 January 1965, no. 462 (“Witchcraft”), TU. The term “sorcery” includes what others might call “magic” or “witchcraft.” The latter, however, is a debated term; Parrinder has suggested not to use it for magical practices. He has shown that it is a distinct concept in many African societies and serves as an explanatory pattern for many negative events. It is not viewed as activities; rather, it is considered

- enous healing involving divination or magic; idols, gods, and venerated objects or animals,³⁸³ some traditional sacrifices, and some *ngoma* (dances or feasts) with elements interpreted as demonization.
- b. Taboos: Food taboos,³⁸⁴ other taboos,³⁸⁵ and various superstitions and related ceremonies.³⁸⁶
 - c. Various sexual practices: fornication, adultery, homosexuality, prostitution, some *ngoma* with elements of sexual immorality, and traditional festivals with sexually provoking elements.³⁸⁷

Tanzanian Adventists were very decided in rejecting all of these practices and concepts and felt that other denominations at times portrayed a *laissez-faire* attitude that gave way to elements that contradict the spirit of Christianity, such as ancestor veneration or the continuity of sorcery and fear of witchcraft.³⁸⁸

as some inherent substance or the nature of some humans. See Geoffrey Parrinder, *Witchcraft: European and African* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963).

³⁸³ At Majita, a teacher reported that every clan venerated a certain snake. When he became a Christian, he decided to kill all the snakes. In spite of his parents' fear that the whole family would die, he continued to live, and many started to disbelieve the snake traditions. See Luise Drangmeister, "Aus dem alten Deutsch-Ostafrika," AB 40, no. 6 (15 March 1934): 86.

³⁸⁴ E.g., the traditional prohibition for Jita women to eat chicken and a delicious fish called *kambaremamba*. Adventists rejected such taboos that were deemed oppressive, for they meant that these attractive kinds of food would be reserved for men only. See interview Z. Lisso.

³⁸⁵ An example is the *metimane* taboo among the Iraqw. Before Christianity entered among them, the fear of death was very great. This was visible especially in the *metimane* taboo, which consisted in not visiting a family that had experienced the loss of a member for a period of around one whole year (in some areas, six months, in others, even up to three years). Even the family itself was not supposed to visit others, for they were believed to carry bad luck with them. The other side is, however, that many Iraqw who did not like this taboo joined Christian churches in the 1950s until the 1970s, and the taboo almost disappeared after 1980 except in the east where Traditionalists had their stronghold. See Lomay, "Adventism among the Iraqw"; Fissoo, "The Impact of the Christian Religion on the Wairaqw," 29–37.

³⁸⁶ Such a ceremony was *litongo* among the Jita; red soil mixed with cow tallow was applied to the face of a bride. The bride was to sit on a goat skin for four days. This was believed to ensure that all the evil spirits were chased away, and no child would die during infancy. However, little children of Adventists hardly died without performing the ceremony, which was a powerful attraction for women to become Adventist Christians. See interview Z. Lisso.

³⁸⁷ See the discussion on circumcision and initiation rituals above (7.2), as well as Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 79, and Kotz, *Sklaven*, 94.

³⁸⁸ I have repeatedly heard Tanzanian Adventist criticisms of what they view as syncretistic admission of elements of ancestor veneration among Christians of the larger denominations, for instance among the Luo and Chagga. See, e.g., interviews Godson and Okeyo. The prevalence of such elements among the Chagga is criticized

3. *Progress*: Rejection of traditional elements of culture viewed as outdated

An array of different items can be listed here: traditional dress viz. the absence or perceived insufficiency of dress, traditional education, and female circumcision, which were all rejected by Tanzanian Adventists. Even witchcraft beliefs could be classified into this category, for some rejected them not only because of their religious connotation but because of their “backwardness.”³⁸⁹

4. *Imported Christianity*: Rejection of what is incompatible with a foreign type of Christianity

Two major examples are polygamy³⁹⁰ and enthusiastic worship forms,³⁹¹ which were both rejected by official Adventism in Tanzania.

5. *Universal Denominational Identity*: Rejection of elements incompatible with Adventism in general

Items that were rejected by Tanzanian Adventists in this category are mainly part of the traditional Adventist lifestyle mentioned above: the use of unclean meat, alcohol, tobacco, coffee, various kinds of amusement, jewellery, and activities considered to be work on Sabbath. In another issue, political involvement, an earlier rejection of the denomination as a whole gave way to a more lenient stance in general and in Tanzania.³⁹²

even by evangelical Christians of other denominations; see Heinrich Balz, *Weggenossen am Fluss und am Berg: Von Kimbanguisten und Lutheranern in Afrika* (Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2005), 298–299. For a parallel issue in South Africa, see “Geister- und Ahnenglaube als Versuchung für die Christen,” in *Christen Afrikas auf dem Wege zur Freiheit*, ed. Johannes Althausen (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1971), 103–112.

³⁸⁹ Even TANU branded such beliefs as backward and superstitious; see Tanganyika African National Union, *Ujunga wa Mwafrika*, 15–18 and 51–55.

³⁹⁰ See discussion above, 7.3.

³⁹¹ Enthusiastic worship continued in some corners of the country where firm control was not exerted by national leaders, as well as in singular outbreaks of religious fervour such as the 1950 Pare Repentance Movement; see 9.2. Another issue in this category from the other side of the continent is the Nigerian debate on shoe removal for worship, which was also rejected by Nigerian Adventist leaders in spite of the fact that some churches wanted to do so. See Kuranga, “Seventh-Day Adventism in Western Nigeria,” 235–240.

³⁹² For more on Adventists and politics, see 8.1 and 8.2.

6. *Local Denominational Identity*: Rejection of elements incompatible with ecclesiastical concerns in a certain region

These were mainly attitudes that attempted to apply Adventist principles in context, such as the adoption of the avoidance of wedding rings and the absence of Christmas celebrations. The hair plaiting issue could be listed here as well, for it had become such a strong local denominational tradition that altering the practice seemed to contradict the very church's identity in Tanzania.

7. *National Values*: Rejection of what is considered un-African

Here matters can be found where a Westernized attitude finally failed and ecclesiastical support actually strengthened a traditional practice, such as in the *mahari* issue. Others are specifically Tanzanian issues such as women's dress, the insistence upon male leadership,³⁹³ and the stress on respectability in weddings.

8. *Local or Ethnic Values*: Rejection of what does not fit in with ethnic customs or local practices

In this category, one can find cases in which an overly rigid implementation of denominational traditions conflicted with local customs and where the latter prevailed, such as the vegetarianism issue and non-combatancy (i.e., the non-involvement in the military).³⁹⁴ Even the Adventist circumcision controversies can be listed here, for male circumcision was frequently sanctioned by Christianized societies in modified forms. Related is the general issue of local or ethnic identity in some areas of Tanzania, e.g., South Pare and parts of Majita. As a people's place of origin and their primary community and religious identity were traditionally one, the tendency was for the church to become a realization of local values as it grew.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ See the discussion in 6.3.

³⁹⁴ Military service has been advised against by the official church, but especially Kuria Adventists (like many other Kuria) continued to join the army, and others were converted while serving in the armed forces. See the last part of 8.3.

³⁹⁵ See the section on the development of Adventist folk churches, 10.1.

9. *Peculiar Interpretations*: Rejection of what is perceived as unscriptural³⁹⁶ These are positions which did not develop into local or national denominational principles but were still held by a significant number of people on the basis of their religious views. In the Tanzanian Adventist context, the rejection of women's hair plaiting may belong to this category. One could also add the common rejection of crosses on and in Tanzanian Adventist churches³⁹⁷ and minority positions held by the Adventist Reform Movement³⁹⁸ and those Adventists who reasoned in similar ways. With their peculiar interpretation of the Bible and Ellen G. White's writings, they came to insist upon such aspects of faith as vegetarianism, the complete rejection of military service, and the necessity of a kneeling position during prayer in worship.

10. *Personal Preferences*: Rejection of what individual leaders declared as unacceptable

Only few items can be listed here which were commonly rather short-lived, such as the rejection of musical instruments and the insistence upon women's having short hair. In the absence of a tangible scriptural, denominational, or customary basis, these positions were most difficult to maintain yet made an impact at certain periods.

It is visible from this overview that Adventist strictness had many reasons and, of course, had many more manifestations, some of them overlapping. Many results of this strictness reveal a remnant attitude, yet it was not simply a rigidity that affirmed the type of Christianity that arrived from outside. Rather, Adventist strictness implied a value-focused attitude, which also sanctioned elements that were central to

³⁹⁶ What is deemed correct or wrong not only in exegesis but in applying Scripture to specific contemporary contexts is often related to the peculiar agenda or taste of an individual or a specific group. This category is therefore closely related to the next, yet the difference is an emphasis on some tradition (usually scripture) as the basis for this stand, different from the following paragraph, where individual authority is the sole reason for a particular rule.

³⁹⁷ Greyson Zephaniah Mtango, "A Comparison between the Lutheran Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Church with Special Reference to Doctrinal Issues: A Case Study of South Pare (Same District)," M.Th. thesis, Makumira University College, 1999, 35, observes that some Adventists view crosses as "images" that are incompatible with the Decalogue. In my discussions with Adventists in Tanzania, I also heard this opinion frequently. It is interesting, though, to note that the Majita church built in 1910 had a cross on top.

³⁹⁸ For a fuller discussion of the Adventist Reform Movement, see the last part of 9.2.

the people who received Christianity if they were deemed compatible with denominational and general Christian values.

It is obvious that friction occurred in this process. This friction should not only be viewed as a conflict between interest groups; rather, it was often part of a natural process that helped forge a truly Tanzanian Adventist identity. In this process of inculturation, which has been called the “narrow passage between syncretism and failure to interpret in local or contemporary terms,”³⁹⁹ Adventists often preferred to avoid what they considered syncretic. The price they paid was being considered as somewhat foreign at times; yet this foreignness also had its attractions. Nevertheless, Tanzanian Adventist strictness comprised aspects of both Westernization and of continuity with traditional life. This twofold continuity is discussed in the following two sections.

The Progressive Remnant: Adventist Western Identity and its African Domestication

One important factor that needs to be considered in interpreting the Adventist impact on traditional societies is that the latter often had a tendency towards a uniformity that allowed alternatives only at their fringe. Although Adventism was a rather closed system in which only few elements were negotiable, the very fact that it provided the opportunity of choice was therefore attractive to many who joined the new faith. Moreover, it should be considered that some segments of traditional culture were equally or more strict and inflexible. There was often little tolerance of divergent individuals' opinions regarding central aspects of traditional identity such as ancestor veneration or initiation rituals. In such monopolized and thus at times oppressive situations, the mere Adventist presence made it possible at least for progressive individuals to choose an option that appealed to them more.⁴⁰⁰

In addition, the progressive element in Adventist identity provided an attraction of its own. John Iliffe's observation that Christianity was accepted by Tanzanians “chiefly for what was new and different about it”

³⁹⁹ Monica Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society: A Study of Social Change in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 128.

⁴⁰⁰ This has been observed in a similar situation in Papua New Guinea where Jebens found that the Adventist rejection of tradition exerted its peculiar appeal to individuals who wanted to be different; see Holger Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven: Contesting Mainline and Fundamentalist Christianity in Papua New Guinea* (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 215.

is foundational for this line of thought.⁴⁰¹ If there is truth in this claim, it surely applies to Adventists even more, for they always stressed the universal more than the local. Protestants in general might have upheld their “emphasis on the vernacular”⁴⁰² in that churches largely tended to be organized on an ethnic basis. Yet Adventism always accented its identity as a worldwide movement, reflected in a global organizational structure and in rather uniform beliefs and lifestyle.

In many places, the progressive Adventist identity was clearly appreciated by people. Around Heri Hospital, where Adventists taught people hygiene, wearing (Western) clothes instead of skins, and building brick houses, Adventism was considered the “religion of development.”⁴⁰³ In the Mbeya area, the church is remembered to have fought the laziness common among males,⁴⁰⁴ and among the Pare, the church leadership repeatedly stressed the need of building “commodious and respectable” mansions that are “worthy of being called houses of people who walk in the light.”⁴⁰⁵ Tanzanian Adventism aimed at producing a remnant of people prepared for heaven, but it also brought forth persons who took their fate in this world into their own hands.

In doing so, it resembled Adventism in other “developing” countries where it influenced people to create new communities with a markedly more progressive profile than society around. In Peru, for instance, where an Adventist folk church had developed as early as 1919, an outside observer judged that Adventists “are transforming the spirit of the Indian, bringing him into civic life, making him aware of his rights

⁴⁰¹ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 220. In a similar vein, Monica Wilson stressed that “to many Africans it is the universality of Christianity that is so important and local diversities in ritual may endanger it.” See Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society*, 129.

⁴⁰² F.B. Welbourn, “The Impact of Christianity on East Africa,” in *History of East Africa*, vol. III, ed. D.A. Low and A. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 417.

⁴⁰³ The feeling was that “progress has come here to this Manyovu area because of Heri Hospital.” See interview Kagize. Reminiscences about the first missionary at Heri, William Sparrow, almost sound like Livingstone’s dictum “commerce and Christianity.” According to early Adventists in the area, Sparrow “taught the natives how to burn bricks, to plant trees and to worship the true God.” See interviews Maguru and Solomon Bisanda, Heri Hospital, 2 and 5 December 2001.

⁴⁰⁴ Enos Mwakalindile, “History of Adventist Mission in Mbeya and Sumbawanga Regions, 1938–1982,” term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 2001, 2.

⁴⁰⁵ Young men were not allowed to propose marriage until they had constructed such a house. It was even specified that houses of Christians should have at least two rooms, a veranda, and a kitchen as minimum requirements. See Pare Church Council, 15 July 1930, SM 7; Maagizo ya Baraza, 6–7 April 1931, SM 7; and Baraza ya Makanisa, 8 January 1934, SM 7.

and obligations, separating him from the vices of coca and alcohol, removing superstition, curing illnesses, showing the best way toward human dignity.⁴⁰⁶ Similar assessments of the Adventist impact may be found regarding the Pacific⁴⁰⁷ and some parts of Africa.⁴⁰⁸

Christian education was the powerful influence that instilled new values to the young. In school, Western clothing and precautions of hygiene were routine. Traditional customs of some peoples did not allow men doing kitchen duties, but young people at Ikizu had to learn them all during studies at Busegwe.⁴⁰⁹ European teachers stated that they plan to keep students “as much in touch with their own home life as possible and not to Europeanize them.” Yet the objectives of Adventist schools, to lead students “out of the narrowness of their perspective” and to “to direct them to the way to more orderliness and cleanliness in their own environment”⁴¹⁰ implied a degree of Westernization that could not be avoided and was definitely appreciated by the students.

Apart from the modernizing influence of Christianity in general, Adventism at times became an even more modern alternative to what the denomination’s adherents perceived as brands of Christianity which left people Traditionalists in heart while accepting them as nominal church members. Among the Fipa, for instance, where Catholics are the vast majority,⁴¹¹ Adventists felt that there was hardly any difference

⁴⁰⁶ This enthusiastic assessment came from Luis E. Valcárcel, a nationalist writer, in 1927; quoted by Samuel Escobar, “Mission from the Margins to the Margins: Two Case Studies from Latin America,” *Missiology* 26, no. 1 (1998): 93. A similar appraisal is found in Ted C. Lewellen, “Deviant Religion and Cultural Evolution: The Aymara Case,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 18, no. 3 (1979): 243–251. Lewellen emphasizes that the religious element of Adventism, the ideas that it brought about God and man, worked with “tremendous power” (p. 251).

⁴⁰⁷ Dennis Steley, “The Adventist Package Deal: New Lives for Old,” in *In and Out of the World: Seventh-Day Adventists in New Zealand*, ed. Peter H. Ballis (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1985), 152–171. Steley cites several non-Adventist observers who were amazed how “Western,” progressive, and hard-working local Adventists are.

⁴⁰⁸ For an account of the extraordinary impact of progressive Seventh-day Adventists on politics and rural development in neighbouring Zambia, see Mac Dixon-Fyle, “The Seventh-Day Adventists (S.D.A.) in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia,” *African Social Research* 26 (December 1978): 453–467. Dixon-Fyle argues that Adventists were so successful in farming and community affairs because of their strict moral code and their individualism.

⁴⁰⁹ Okeyo, “God’s Hand,” 3.

⁴¹⁰ Spencer G. Maxwell, “More News from Tanganyika,” *MW* 25, no. 21 (16 November 1921): 2; Drangmeister, *Als Lehrerin im afrikanischen Busch*, 7.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Kathleen R. Smythe, “The Creation of a Catholic Fipa Society: Conversion in Nkansi District, Ufipa,” in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 129–149. Smythe states on

between Catholics and non-Christians.⁴¹² In a similar vein, Adventists of the Kigoma region felt that Anglicans and Catholics “did not bring any changes” among the Ha and “left people the way they are.”⁴¹³ It became a common assumption among Adventists that some attempts at inculturation among Catholics, Lutherans, and Anglicans were little more than a cover concealing the fact that many of the members in these churches clung to questionable traditional customs and were actually not converted.⁴¹⁴ In this respect, Adventism came to resemble the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in Africa, which at times presented themselves as “ultimate embodiments of modernity.”⁴¹⁵

The fact that the Seventh-day Adventist Church was often perceived as possessing a “made in America” character⁴¹⁶ did not necessarily hinder its acceptance but made the denomination an option for those who wanted to follow its ideals of “civilization.”⁴¹⁷ In any event, “American” traits could develop dynamics of their own, even if this came in unprecedented ways.⁴¹⁸ As in other African countries, a pluralistic

p. 139 that among the Fipa belief in witchcraft is strong; actually, the region is believed to be a hotbed of sorcery and witchcraft until the present.

⁴¹² According to Adventist observers, the difference between Catholics and Traditionalists was merely that the first attended church either regularly or once in a while. However, they both drank *pombe*, and polygamy, traditional dances, and magic were practised by both groups. See Mwakalindile, “History of Adventist Mission in Mbeya and Sumbawanga Regions,” 2.

⁴¹³ Interviews Maguru and Bisanda. Again, the parallel with research in Papua New Guinea is striking; Jebens observes that “Adventists almost equal Catholics with tradition by considering them not as Christians but as adherents of traditional religion”; see Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven*, 176.

⁴¹⁴ I have heard this opinion expressed several times when discussing with church leaders and students during my stay in Tanzania.

⁴¹⁵ Birgit Meyer, “Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 459.

⁴¹⁶ Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1021.

⁴¹⁷ Missionary Oliver Jacques feels that Adventists were not considered more Western than other denominations, only more disciplined and more “civilized” and “cleaner” than others. Yet precisely these attributes did have a connotation of “Western” identity. See Oliver Jacques to the author, 2 May 2002.

⁴¹⁸ The Adventist dialectic of “American” and “indigenous” is well described by Andrew Walls, who argues: “Even markedly local features can be transmitted to another culture and take on a life of their own there. A historian of religion might judge Adventism to be unmistakably a product of the conditions of nineteenth-century America; but it was Adventist teaching that led African communities in Malawi to seek to realize the kingdom of God. Adventist teaching has also given a new form to religious movements in Melanesia; and the special form of Adventism associated with the Jehovah’s Witnesses has been potent in millennial movements such as Kitawala in East and Central Africa.” This statement is on Adventist-type groups in general, not

religious situation with a strong Christian presence supplied the fuel for the ultimate growth of American-origin denominations even if they disregarded or rejected some external aspects of traditional culture, as did Seventh-day Adventists.⁴¹⁹

It appears that a key factor in the success of such movements was indeed the striking of a “satisfactory balance between the universality of a world religion and the peculiarities of a national culture,”⁴²⁰ which Adventists did achieve at least in some areas of Tanzania. The “expansion of horizon” that the twentieth century brought to traditional African societies was well embodied by Adventism for its adherents.⁴²¹ Where Africans chose Adventism, they were, as Christians in general, “not just passive victims of Westernization,”⁴²² but voluntary and often conscious agents of change who embraced what constituted an attractive lifestyle for them.⁴²³

A crucial issue in the inculturation debate and in considering these dynamics of Tanzanian Adventism is, “What is African?” Only if this question is satisfactorily answered can the “Western” and African aspects of Tanzanian Adventist identity be understood. It has been correctly noted that the word “African” can easily be misused, for the continent contains more than eight hundred different ethnic groups which cannot

on Seventh-day Adventists, but it is applicable to the typical SDA situation as well. See Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996), 236.

⁴¹⁹ Similar dynamics existed in Papua New Guinea; see Sasha Josephides, “Seventh-Day Adventism and the Boroi Image of the Past,” in *Sepik Heritage*, ed. Nancy Lutkehaus et al. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1990), 58–66. Many New Guineans of Boroi argued, “In the past the Boroi were stupid and ignorant. To join the Seventh-Day Adventist church is to be smart and progressive.” See *ibid.*, 62.

⁴²⁰ J.D.Y. Peel, “The Christianization of African Society: Some Possible Models,” in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 448. In the same context, Peel cites the example of the Christ Apostolic Church, which was among the most dynamic and successful denominations in meeting the religious needs of urban Nigerians. He argues that this movement was relatively indifferent to “superficial tokens” such as traditional names, dress, or styles of architecture yet apparently provided a mix that was particularly attractive to its adherents.

⁴²¹ This is also how Jebens argues about Adventist Christianity in rural Papua New Guinea: that it served as an agency of overcoming traditional particularism; see Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven*, 89.

⁴²² Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 19.

⁴²³ This is also emphasized regarding Adventism in the Caribbean by Massé, *Les Adventistes du Septième Jour aux Antilles Françaises*, 31–35. He argues that Adventist doctrines and practices are able give a meaning to modernization, that Adventism is an instrument used for facilitating an adaptation to the new society, and that the Adventist ideology is better adapted to the new society than Catholicism.

simply be regarded as a single block.⁴²⁴ The idea that there are some cultural traits of “Africanness” beyond the geographical factor has been an assumption of a number of researchers working with what has been called the “hypothesis of unity approach.”⁴²⁵ Yet one certainly has to acknowledge that the diversity is enormous compared to items of similarity. In view of this fact, it has been remarked that part of the background of the intense debate on inculturation is generated by the “highly problematic character” of the attempt to construct something that provides “a basis of continental or national unity.”⁴²⁶ In spite of the similarities in many African societies, “African culture” does not exist any more than one uniform European culture.

Three proposals may serve as a way out of the impasse regarding the definition of “African” in the context of the inculturation debate.⁴²⁷

(1) André Droogers argues that “spontaneous Africanization”⁴²⁸ occurs in the life of all African Christians and should be preferred to artificial attempts at making certain items indigenous. This implies that Africanness can only be defined by the people themselves, even if it leads to results that are surprising for theorists. (2) In a similar vein, Klaus Fiedler argues, “African is what is relevant for Africans,” of whatever origin a value or practice may be.⁴²⁹ The progressive Christian Chagga, for instance, who opposed Bruno Gutmann’s attempt to uphold traits of traditional culture were certainly not less African than Gutmann, the European, and the other Chagga,⁴³⁰ only that they defined their Africanness in other terms. (3) Finally, Gregory Maddox uses the term, “domestication of Christianity.” This process is described as “getting

⁴²⁴ Cf. Lugano W.T. Sankey’s critique of John Mbiti’s writings on the African concept of time in his article “Readers’ Comments: African Concept of Time,” *Africa Theological Journal* 2 (1969): 94.

⁴²⁵ Aylward Shorter, *African Culture, an Overview*, 27.

⁴²⁶ Peel, “The Christianization of African Society,” 448.

⁴²⁷ One may criticize the fact that these three proposals were all made by non-Africans, but they are derived from empirical and historical data, which may remedy this imperfection.

⁴²⁸ André Droogers, “The Africanization of Christianity: An Anthropologist’s View,” *Missiology* 5, no. 4 (October 1977): 452–454. Droogers’s observation resembles that of Shorter, who speaks about “unprogrammed inculturation”; see Aylward Shorter, “Folk Christianity and Functional Christology,” *African Ecclesial Review* 24, no. 3 (1982): 134. Recently this argument was repeated by Birgit Meyer, “Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 455.

⁴²⁹ Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 165.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 45–48.

beyond the interpretations brought by missionaries to interpretations developed within particular African contexts,” a process that takes place naturally. Therefore, attempts at separating the “Westernized African” from the “real African” do not make sense according to Maddox because religious and cultural change has been a reality, and all Africans are really African.⁴³¹

Maddox’s insight is paramount for understanding Tanzanian Adventists. Although Adventists seemingly incorporated some more visible “Western” aspects into their religious system, it would be wrong to argue that they were somewhat un-African. Rather, they designed a particular subculture of the diverse African reality in which some traditional elements were incorporated and others were rejected. After all, as has been rightly observed, “imported Christianity and ‘traditional culture’” did “not so much constitute separate ‘worlds’ as poles on a continuum between which individual Africans slid rather than jumped.”⁴³² What may be considered “Westernization” was in reality a kind of domestication, a process of voluntary appropriation that successfully merged aspects of different cultures in an eclectic yet deliberate manner.

Adventists regarded themselves as truly African in this sense, a fact that found explicit expression in the post-independence era. The leading Tanzanian Adventist evangelist of the 1960s, Fares Muganda, conducted evangelistic series entitled “Africa in the Bible” and wrote a tract series in 1972 with the same title. The latter traced Africa through the Bible and appealed to educated Africans to accept Christianity.⁴³³ Yohana Lusingu, the first African president of Tanzania Union in the early 1980s and the first Tanzanian Adventist to publish a book through church channels in 1972, also points at the relationship between the past and Christianity in the African context in this book, which is entitled “Our Heritage.”⁴³⁴ Surprisingly, he turns around the idea that traditional culture is the African’s heritage. In a typically Adventist

⁴³¹ Gregory H. Maddox, “The Church and Cigogo: Father Stephen Mlundi and Christianity in Central Tanzania,” in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 152. The term “domestication” is also used by Lamin Sanneh, “The Domestication of Islam and Christianity in African Societies,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 11, no. 1 (1980): 1–12, but the article mainly deals with Islam.

⁴³² Norman Etherington, “Recent Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 2 (1996): 206.

⁴³³ File Africa in the Bible, AHPH.

⁴³⁴ Yohana Lusingu, *Urithi Wetu* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1972).

manner, he argues that Traditional Religion and old customs produced fear and suspicion while the gospel frees from sickness and anxiety. In contrast, Lusingu presents biblical Christianity as the inheritance from the African pioneers of the Christian faith. In the context of a changing society, where many customs and rituals that used to be important in the past were no longer relevant and often not even understood any more,⁴³⁵ Adventists believed themselves to be the true heirs of the continent while stressing that the Christian faith is the need of all modern Africans.

The Strict Remnant: Spontaneous Contextualization and the Attraction of Adventism

If one defines culture as a complex whole, the totality of human activities, feeling, thinking, and believing, which consists of different layers that are all integrated but distinct, it becomes obvious that elements of both continuity and discontinuity existed between traditional and Christianized African cultures. Many histories of African Christianity, including this study, focus on one part of the encounter between traditional culture and Christianity, on particular practices and the way they were dealt with in situations where some discontinuity was inevitable. At first sight, these customs may seem to be merely external matters, just like the Adventist lifestyle issues that were discussed in this chapter. Still, they became matters of contention because of the value attached to them by different groups of people. Thus, the core issues were not rituals and practices in themselves, but the importance attributed to them and, ultimately, the underlying worldview and central values. This section focuses on such a value and asks how it contributed to the success of Tanzanian Adventism.

Because of the obvious changes of customs and religious affiliations, it would be easy to disregard in a historical study aspects of continuity between the old culture and Christian patterns.⁴³⁶ However, the fact

⁴³⁵ Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society*, 72.

⁴³⁶ This is different in systematic studies, such as the study of African Christian ethics or African Christian theology. They obviously often seek to highlight similarities between African tradition and African Christianity. On African Christian ethics, see e.g., Bénézet Bujo, *Foundations of an African Ethic: Against the Universal Claims of Western Morality* (New York: Crossroad, 2001). Among the many works on African Theology, see, e.g., John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969); John S. Pobee, *Towards an African Theology* (Nashville: Parthenon, 1979); Charles Nyamiti, *African Theology: Its Nature, Problems and Methods* (Kampala: Gaba, 1971); Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Introducing African Women's Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001);

that Christianity made such a tremendous numerical impact on Africa in the twentieth century (different from, say, that on Muslim countries and on India) shows that there was significant continuity between the two religions and their attached cultures.⁴³⁷ In some respects, Christianity was a consummation of dimensions which were present before its arrival. Such elements linking central aspects of the old life and the newly developed African Christian culture were worldview, values, societal structure, and leadership styles and roles.⁴³⁸ In spite of constant conflict over traditional practices, Adventism was able to maintain much of the old as far as these dimensions are concerned.⁴³⁹ In this regard, Adventists resembled many Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations in Africa, which often demanded a “complete break” with the past, thereby offering a “modern” identity while in fact offering members a discourse and rituals that helped them to oscillate between modern and traditional identities.⁴⁴⁰

It was the perpetuation of central values combined with some new components that made this kind of Christianity such a fascination for people. Western values were not necessarily accepted by Tanzanian

and Detlef Kapteina, *Afrikanische evangelikale Theologie: Plädoyer für das ganze Evangelium im Kontext Afrikas* (Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 2001).

⁴³⁷ Bainbridge argues that for any new or foreign religion (which he calls a “cult,” i.e., a religion that does not constitute a variation of the old but a novel thing either invented or imported) to succeed, it must be in significant cultural continuity with elements of tradition, whether with some religious concept or other central elements of culture. See William S. Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 410–411.

⁴³⁸ The continuity between the Adventist worldview and traditional concepts of spirits, evil powers, and the like, is stressed by Massé, *Les Adventistes du Septième Jour aux Antilles Françaises*, 37–40.

⁴³⁹ In other regions of the world, this continuity between Adventism and traditional culture has repeatedly been observed. For instance, Ströbele-Gregor, *Dialektik der Gege-naufklärung*, 150–160, stresses that traditional culture and Adventism share a strong “Messianism,” a leaning toward the Old Testament view of God, and an emphasis on prophecy and ritual. Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven*, 115 and 177–178, observes in Papua New Guinea that Adventism, like Traditional Religion, closely connects the sacred and the secular, emphasizes dietary laws as purity laws, and strongly insists on the separation between in-group and out-group, which resembles traditional concepts of ethnicity. Thus, Jebens comes to the conclusion that Adventism corresponds to tradition even more than Catholics; a similar assessment regarding Adventism in Papua New Guinea is presented by Owen McIntyre, “Seventh-Day Adventist Approaches to Contextualization of Theology,” *Mission Studies* 16, no. 2 (1999): 129–130.

⁴⁴⁰ Birgit Meyer, “‘Make a Complete Break with the Past’: Memory and Postcolonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse,” in *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*, ed. Richard P. Werbner (London: Zed Books, 1998), 182–208; Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

Adventists as a packet; theirs was an eclectic religion of choosing what would fit in the range of options they had. In addition to the thrill of novelty and other attractions it provided, Christianity was chosen by many because they perceived it as corresponding to crucial concerns that they had; to them, it was superior in existential matters. It may be somewhat overstated that Christianity fulfilled “some *traditional* criterion better than the ethnic religion,”⁴⁴¹ but it is certainly true that there were tensions in traditional society for which the Church could provide more powerful solutions. Examples include possession phenomena in women,⁴⁴² taboos that people were happy to be relieved from, the oppression of women, and various inhuman practices. All these facilitated conversion to Christianity in some way.

As far as continuity between Traditional Religion and Adventism is concerned, one outstanding aspect was strictness. Strictness was not only an import; a considerable degree of strictness was also inherent in many traditional cultures through their taboos and at times rigid customs. Moreover, there was generally also a direct connection between religion and some type of morality.⁴⁴³ Sin might be defined as the breaking of a taboo or the violation of group norms rather than the breach of a principle as in Christian ethics, yet the similarity was that a concept of offence existed as an inherent aspect of traditional culture. Given this the presence of such a “hamartiological” thinking even in Traditional Religions, it was only natural that Christian converts often condemned certain customs even more vigorously than the missionaries. By doing so, they unconsciously tried to conserve tradition (i.e., the value of strictness) by breaking with it.⁴⁴⁴

Adventists were outstanding representatives of this process. The strictness that was derived from their remnant paradigm gave them

⁴⁴¹ Peel, “The Christianization of African Society,” 447; emphasis mine.

⁴⁴² Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 221.

⁴⁴³ Edmund Ilogu, for instance, observes the “rigidity of the moral demands” in traditional Ibo culture; see Ilogu, *Christianity and Ibo Culture*, 158. On the connection between strictness and morality, see Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society*, 98.

⁴⁴⁴ Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 70; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 227. Among Adventists of Papua New Guinea, similar dynamics have been observed by Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven*, 237. Sundkler also notes the connection of the legalism in the *Balokole* Movement and the rejection of European aspects of culture; see Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, 197, and A.F. Walls, “African Christianity in the History of Religions,” *Studies in World Christianity* 2, no. 2 (1996): 190, who argues in a similar vein that “radical Christians” such as Pentecostals and independent churches, when they oppose traditional practice, “do so in traditional terms,” i.e., by demonstrating more effective power.

the opportunity to embody a crucial value of traditional society. Thus, they revealed attitudes similar to the *Balokole* who, in castigating their generation to be too tolerant of traditional customs, displayed “a huge protest against one form of Africanization of Christianity and yet... can rightly be seen as itself a major wave of Africanization.”⁴⁴⁵ Strictness was frequently understood to be the very essence of Adventist identity; thus, when urban Adventists tried to relax lifestyle standards, the feeling arose among others that “people are getting lost because we say, ‘we are going with the time’, and thus we allow cheap religion.”⁴⁴⁶

In this context, it is necessary to discuss the issue of legalism, a phenomenon that was a logical outcome of the strictness of Tanzanian Adventism. C.P. Groves’s view of African Christian legalism as an “old outlook on life and the world under a new name”⁴⁴⁷ was meant to characterize the imperfection of many a convert. Yet his observation also confirms the continuity of Christianity with tradition, not with particular customs but with attitudes inherited from society before the advent of the Church.

While legalism is certainly problematic from a theological point of view,⁴⁴⁸ one should beware of unduly simplifying the reasons for this phenomenon. The challenge that the church encountered was the need for a genuine Christian morality as opposed to both traditional taboos and the danger of antinomianism caused by the Christian rejection of tradition. If Christian freedom had been emphasized too much, Christianity could easily have been misunderstood to be a system in which “anything goes.” Besides, African Christianity had to portray some similarity to traditional African societies in this regard in order to be acceptable at all.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, the Adventist proscription of “worldly pleasures” did not only serve as a way to suppress behaviour deemed unsafe for a Christian but also gave the denomination the aura of

⁴⁴⁵ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 599.

⁴⁴⁶ Interview Sumbia.

⁴⁴⁷ C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 4, 1914–1954, 211.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. the common soteriological legalism in popular Christianity in other regions of the world such as the Pacific; see Theodor Ahrens, *Völkischchristentum und Volksreligion im Pazifik: Wiederentdeckung des Mythos für den christlichen Glauben* (Frankfurt: Lembeck, 1977), 52–53.

⁴⁴⁹ Andrew Kyomo, “Pastoral Ministry in Tanzania Today,” observes that elders in both traditional society and the church serve as “maintainers of morality,” which shows the importance of strictness in both settings.

respectability and seriousness.⁴⁵⁰ This was an attraction first for individuals who desired alternative ways of acquiring such characteristics and finally for local societies at large. Strictness could provide the glue of society, both the old and the new, although this implied the danger of making Christianity merely a religion of good behaviour.

Seen in this light, it is not only a coincidence that Seventh-day Adventists resembled African Instituted Churches in several respects. Many of the elements mentioned as typical for them by Harold W. Turner⁴⁵¹ are parallels to Adventist doctrine and practice. As the Sabbath celebration and seasonal festivals,⁴⁵² items such as the insistence upon baptism by immersion, healing and health, revelatory messages through prophets, and numerous prohibitions were a setup that provided continuity with major concerns of traditional society, its ritualistic type of religion, and its strictness. In spite of the fact that the demands of mission Christianity at times strained the local believer in his attempt to domesticate his faith, spontaneous contextualization did take place on the Adventist popular level in a way that led to results which resembled African-initiated denominations.

Of course, Adventist strictness, in spite of its attractions, had divergent effects depending on the type of society it encountered. (1) Among Muslims and the most traditional ethnic groups, such as the Zanaki and Ikizu, it prevented any significant success because the conflicts over traditional practices did not lead to any attractive compromises. (2) Among other conservative communities, such as the Kuria and the Sukuma, growth proceeded rather slowly until Adventism became a reputable alternative. (3) Where more progressive people lived such as in Pare and Majita, the denomination's strictness slowed down the conversion rate initially compared to other denominations but could not ultimately hinder its enormous impact. (4) Altogether, Adventist folk churches remained relatively small as compared to their neighbours. (5) Yet strictness also enhanced steady growth in the post-independence era by providing a clear-cut identity which was strong enough to enable the remnant to retain its attractive central characteristics while growing into a folk church.

⁴⁵⁰ The same observation has been made about Seventh-day Adventism in Bolivia by Ströbele-Gregor, *Dialektik der Gegenauflärung*, 175.

⁴⁵¹ H.W. Turner, "A Typology for African Religious Movements," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 1, no. 1 (1967): 1-34.

⁴⁵² See 6.1.

The Remnant and Change: Adventism between Traditional and Modern Cultures

This last section seeks to summarize the position of Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church regarding cultural change. In the complex relationship between traditional and “modern” cultural influences, it is important to understand the nature of customs that existed before the advent of Christianity. Adrian Hastings observes that traditional culture did not necessarily constitute a barrier to evangelization; customs were often “intrinsicly far more flexible” than some accounts of African traditional culture might suggest.⁴⁵³ In the same vein, Aylward Shorter criticizes the view that “tribes” were “homogeneous, self-sufficient and static social units.” This opinion was held by romantic idealists and was at times promoted by political strategists and researchers for their particular purposes,⁴⁵⁴ but did not correspond to a reality that was much more diverse and adaptable.⁴⁵⁵ It is more realistic to conceptualize traditional societies as semi-dynamic entities that could open up for outside influences if its members decided to do so. Christianity came into this environment and was used by the people for what they thought they would benefit from. At the same time, the new religion changed them in ways that they did not fully anticipate.

Edmund Ilogu is certainly right that both traditional and Western Christian cultures alone were inadequate to deal with the challenges of life in colonial and postcolonial society, the former because of the comprehensiveness of change, and the latter because of being “divorced from the culture of the people.” It is also correct to conclude, as he did, that the church needed to engage in “proper indigenization.”⁴⁵⁶ However, the assumption that there is a single “proper” indigenization is certainly flawed. Since even in traditional society a variety of people’s

⁴⁵³ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 323.

⁴⁵⁴ Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 14; Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 12–27.

⁴⁵⁵ A short survey of a few “tribes” in northern Tanzania shows this clearly. The “Pare,” for instance, are a group of what were formerly Asu and Gweno societies who have different languages but were classified as “Pare” under British rule. The Chagga have several sub-units that speak quite different languages. The Arusha and the Maasai speak the same language but have often been classified as two distinct groups because of their different economic activities but in spite of the fact that marriages have always been common between Arusha and Maasai. The Meru have several clans that claim Maasai and Sambaa ancestry.

⁴⁵⁶ Ilogu, *Christianity and Ibo Culture*, 229–230.

views and commitments existed, the interaction of cultures necessarily produces a diverse landscape with varying mixtures of continuity and discontinuity.

This leads to the question which role the church played in cultural change, i.e., in the evolution from traditional to modern African societies. In order to classify different attitudes of emerging African churches to the cultural change that was going on around them, one may employ the following categorization that deals with both “traditional” and “modern” culture and Christianity between the two.⁴⁵⁷ The three main options are (1) favouring modern culture, (2) favouring traditional culture, and (3) favouring none of them. In each of these three categories, there is a strict version (a) and a more lenient version (b).

1. *Favouring “Western”/“Modern” Culture*

a. *Destruction of Traditional Culture: The Church as a Hammer*⁴⁵⁸

The attempt to destroy tradition physically or by ridicule, or by branding it “satanic,” “barbaric,” or “savage,” has been one phenomenon in the history of Christianity in Africa. Adventists in Africa have sometimes been viewed as representatives of such a one-sided approach,⁴⁵⁹ and some Adventist individuals in Tanzania certainly held it in theory,⁴⁶⁰ but the denomination as a whole hardly advocated it as an overarching principle.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁷ It differs from other typologies in that they often juxtapose Christianity and either culture in general or traditional religion but do not relate them to the process of cultural *change*. H. Richard Niebuhr’s model of the relationship between the church and culture in his *Christ and Culture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1952) has not lost anything of its persuasive force. Yet it does not deal with culture *change*. Shorter distinguishes a number of different types of missionary impact on traditional society but presents no framework for the whole; see his *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 70–73.

⁴⁵⁸ In addition to the general descriptions of the various approaches to culture change, I have given them concrete and graphic labels (“hammer,” “bridge,” etc.) because these images illustrate the positions more vividly.

⁴⁵⁹ Kuranga, “Seventh-Day Adventism in Western Nigeria,” 201. Even in the Pacific, Adventists use a rhetoric that implies that the past was evil or satanic; see Josephides, “Seventh-Day Adventism and the Boroi Image of the Past,” 58–66.

⁴⁶⁰ Mrs Chambiri, wife of a former Adventist District Commissioner, asserted, “as Kuria people, our [traditional] religion is to worship the devil; when someone is sick, he has to consult the diviner”; see interview Bhoke W. Chambiri, Tarime, 10 December 2000. Another example is an incident at Mwagala in 1937 when several people came with their “idols” and had them burnt at the mission; see H. Kotz, “Die Mission in Mwagala,” AB 43, no. 18 (15 September 1937): 283–284.

⁴⁶¹ Steley, “The Adventist Package Deal,” 158, also emphasizes this for the Pacific

b. *Desertion of Traditional Culture: The Church as a Bridge*⁴⁶²

Christians often did not directly fight the old but considered it “outdated,” “uncivilized,” or “deficient,” and therefore tried to be a medium of transition through which people could accept the new. Among Adventists, this has been one common understanding of the church’s position in cultural change, as evident in its adoption of the school approach with its modernizing influence and its fight against female circumcision and polygamy.⁴⁶³

2. *Favouring Traditional Culture*

a. *Protection of Traditional Culture: The Church as a Shield*⁴⁶⁴

A good example for this position is Bruno Gutmann’s attempt to protect and revive traditional institutions while rejecting modern influences. This position was opposed by Adventists in Tanzania in theory and mostly in practice as well.⁴⁶⁵

b. *Mitigation of Modern Culture: The Church as a Cushion*

African Christians, including Adventists, as well as sometimes missionaries, often found themselves citizens of two worlds: traditional

context. He writes, “iconoclasm as a physical action was not encouraged... The usual procedure was for idols and shrines to be left to decay quietly and without fuss.” The reasons that he finds for this course of action, the Adventist tradition of religious liberty and the necessity of respecting older people’s sensitivities, are certainly correct.

⁴⁶² “Bridge” and “buffer” (similar to “cushion” in this model below) are mentioned by Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa*, 235. It should also be noted that the “bridge” pattern allowed people to travel back as well; desertion did not mean destruction and was at times only temporary.

⁴⁶³ To some extent, this view corresponds to Richebächer’s “soteriological-functional” type of the relationship between African Traditional Religion and Christianity. Richebächer distinguishes five theological views of the relationship of African Traditional Religion and Christianity: (1) conservative-catalytic, (2) salvation historical-complementary, (3) metaphysical-abstract, (4) eschatological-revising, and (5) soteriological-functional. See Wilhelm Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie: Christliche Theologie in Ostafrika vor dem Hintergrund religiöser Syntheseprozesse* (Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2002), 208–210.

⁴⁶⁴ This view resembles Richebächer’s “conservative-catalytic” type of the relationship between African Traditional Religion and Christianity. See Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie*, 208.

⁴⁶⁵ On Gutmann, see the discussion in 7.1. Only in some aspects did traditional values become a factor in Adventists’ attempts of upholding certain traits of culture, but they never aimed at preserving the whole as a system and would not use “African-ness” as an argument for practices and values to be upheld.

life with its values on the one side and the colonial realities with the changes they brought on the other. Being representatives of a new way of life and yet members of the old world, they had the unique ability to buffer the impact of societal changes and to adapt them carefully according to their own needs. Modernity was not necessarily rejected, but incorporated into the framework of tradition, even in the practice of the new religion. Those innovations perceived as threats to valuable aspects of traditional life were thus resisted. Although this position did not correspond to an overarching principle in Adventism, it was applied in individual cases and probably represented the average Tanzanian church member's attitude more than the missionaries' position.⁴⁶⁶

3. *Favouring none of the Two Cultures*

a. *Rejection of both Cultures: The Church as a Fortress*

The persuasion that all human culture is depraved led some Christian groups to muse that Christianity must constitute a culture of its own, dissociated from the realities of "the world," i.e., both the traditional world of custom and the modern world of secular and Western influences.⁴⁶⁷ Their answer was an attempt at creating of a third way of their own.⁴⁶⁸ In reality, this was hardly ever possible, for the church always lived embedded within one or several cultures. Still, this idealistic position was common among Adventists.⁴⁶⁹ It is best visible in the

⁴⁶⁶ However, one example from among Europeans is Conradi's satisfaction expressed about the fact that the railway did not come very close to Adventist missions in Pare because he feared that Africans would be "fast adopting the bad and some of the good of modern civilization"; L.R. Conradi—Mission Board Takoma Park, 25 October 1908; Conradi, L.R., "In German East Africa," RH 86 (11 March 1909): 11–12. Even Kotz expressed concern about what he called "crazily pulsating city life" and "unhealthy culture and hypocritical civilization" of Europe compared with the rural lifestyle of Africa at his time; see Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*, 75.

⁴⁶⁷ Kotz, for instance, held that the publication of the New Testament was central in fulfilling "the cultural task of mission," which he defined negatively as not primarily the transfer of technology but proclaiming God who frees from superstitions and fear; see E. Kotz, "Die Kulturaufgabe der Mission," *Herold der Wahrheit—Erntedanknummer* 43 (1926): 70. Wieland also argues for this position by asserting that Christianity is a culture of its own that needs neither Europeanization nor Africanization; see Robert J. Wieland, "Shall we Africanize the Teachings of Christ?," TMs (photocopy), n.d., 13, AHPH.

⁴⁶⁸ This position closely corresponds to Niebuhr's "Christ against culture" type; see Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 45–82.

⁴⁶⁹ W. Mueller, for instance, argues that Christianity extracts persons from their former bonds but gives them new ties with the Christian community, different from

Tanzanian context in the fact that many individual elements of different cultural origin were rejected on basis of different group values that all show one basic theme: strictness.

b. *Amalgamation of Traditional with Modern Culture: The Church as a Melting Pot*⁴⁷⁰

The final option was to accept both old and new. This attitude prevailed among those who mainly enjoyed Christianity for its extra-religious benefits and among those who sincerely strove to reconcile the good of both tradition and modernity in an eclectic manner. Tanzanian Adventists rarely advocated this course of action in theory. Still, at times they practised it on the basis of a “church as fortress” theory, for the theoretical rejection of all culture left a vacuum that had to be filled with elements that were taken from both the traditional and the modern context.

It is discernible from this categorization that Adventists in Tanzania operated with four types of persuasions regarding the church’s role in cultural change. The “fortress” ideal was the most typical Adventist approach and was derived from the denomination’s tendency towards rigidity. On the other hand, the more lenient “bridge,” “cushion,” and “melting pot” positions were certainly as prominent among different segments of the church, especially because the rejection of both traditional and modern cultures had to be translated into some more down-to-earth approach in the every day reality. These pragmatic attitudes were forged by ordinary church members and therefore tended to be moderate; this, however, did not exclude a more radical stance among minorities in the church, especially the church leaders.

modern economy, which may completely isolate the individual. See Wilhelm Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 21. In his study of Adventists on Guadeloupe and Martinique, *Les Adventistes du Septième Jour aux Antilles Françaises*, Raymond Massé comes to the conclusion that Adventism is a culture in itself. He argues, “All social, cultural, economic, and even moral aspects of the life of the individual are redefined by way of the dogmas of the movement. All traits and elements that constituted the culture of the Martiniquan are reinterpreted and replaced by the norms of Adventist behaviour and thought.” Massé describes this “Adventist culture” as “biblical” (which means, based on a literal interpretation of the Bible), universal, elitist, and all-encompassing. According to Massé, conversion to Adventism implies, for adherents, belonging to “a culture perceived as superior.” See *ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁷⁰ In some respects, this category corresponds to dimensions of the salvation historical-complementary, metaphysical-abstract (synthetical), and eschatological-revising types of the relationship between African Traditional Religion and Christianity in Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie*, 208.

Official advocacy of strictness sought to isolate Adventists from what was considered evil in all cultures, yet this idealistic stand resulted in some more reconciling attitudes in popular Adventism. Thus, the roles that Tanzanian Adventism played in cultural change were diverse yet centred around an overall medium tension with society that resulted from a combination of the remnant and folk church aspects which were both inherent in its identity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TANZANIAN ADVENTISTS AND PUBLIC MATTERS

In the previous chapter, the analysis of the development of Tanzanian Adventist attitudes to various cultural phenomena has shown a limited diversity of positions in the denomination that went hand in hand with the desire of clearly distinguishing the church's identity from "the world." Similar dynamics are discernible in the history of the denomination's handling of public matters.¹ This chapter discusses major instances and developments in the relationship of Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventists with the government in the colonial context (8.1) and after independence (8.2). Furthermore, it investigates conflicts with society regarding Sabbath-keeping, which was the major point of friction with the public sphere (8.3).

The Adventist movement in North America had passed through different stages in its relation to government and political issues in the nineteenth century. Jonathan Butler describes the pre-sabbatarian Millerite Adventists of the 1840s as "apolitical apocalyptic" and Seventh-day Adventists until the 1870s as "political apocalyptic," i.e., showing concern about public issues such as the Civil War and slavery mainly because of the Adventist eschatological teachings. For the period from the 1880s onwards, he labels them "political prophetic," meaning active involvement in a few political matters which were of immediate concern to the denomination, such as religious liberty and prohibition.²

¹ On Adventist relations to the American government, see Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), and the earlier work by Eric Syme, *A History of SDA Church-State Relations in the United States* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1973). On Adventists and governments in general, see Ronald Lawson, "Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 2 (1996): 279–311.

² Jonathan Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 174. Morgan, in his book *Adventism and the American Republic*, entitles the first two chapters "1844–1861: Remnant versus Republic," and "1861–1886: Activist Remnant." In spite of the difference of years (which is certainly debatable), both view the development as one from political quietism to involvement in areas of Adventist concern.

Thus, Seventh-day Adventists entered the twentieth century with a relationship to the state and society that differed considerably from the stance that had prevailed among them in the first generation. Even in the twentieth century, change continued, but it was confined to particular issues such as the grants-in-aid question and military service rather than the church's position towards the public domain as a whole. The inherited concern about such public matters which affected the denomination coupled with distance from the governments had become a well-established tradition. Crucial elements of this legacy were the American emphasis on the separation of state and church³ and the Adventist suspicion that governments might turn out to be persecuting "dragons" which impose anti-sabbatarian laws.⁴ Yet Adventists had never embraced an anti-government theology or a complete rejection of all association with the state. A notable instance making this visible was the acceptance of a land grant of what was to become Solusi Mission in Zimbabwe, the first major Adventist establishment in colonial Africa. Some voices had rejected this as a breach of the separation principle, but Ellen White responded that it was God who moved men to help the advancement of his cause, and that withdrawing from the project was not advisable.⁵

This meant that Adventists arrived in Tanzania with a well-defined paradigm of the church-state complex and related items. It had been forged mainly in America where conditions prevailed that differed significantly from the East African situation. Yet first experiences with other colonial governments in Africa hinted at a possibility of closer alignment. The Tanzanian venture implied a further development; as in the Solusi case, cooperation with the government was the very basis for entering the country. Educational work, far from being a strictly religious activity, became the main occupation of most churches, and government support might turn out to be essential for the very running of such programmes. While Adventists were not immune to the colonial spirit of the age,⁶ like other missions they more or less unintentionally

³ "Church and State," SDAE, 256–259; Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 106–123.

⁴ See, e.g., the illustrations in Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 77–80, where the USA is portrayed as the "two-horned beast" of Revelation 13, and *ibid.*, 86–89, for Adventist ideas about governments.

⁵ Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 225.

⁶ A statement in this regard by one of the most famous Adventist missionaries, W.H. Anderson, is certainly enlightening. Although not connected with the Tanzanian venture,

produced leaders of the new Africa with whom the emerging churches commonly sought to remain on good terms. Thus, the overall framework pointed to the possibility of somewhat closer Adventist government relations in Africa than elsewhere.⁷

8.1 *Between Separation and Support: Adventism in a Colonial Context*

Missionary Cooperation with Colonial Administrations

In the period of German colonial administration and during the first two decades of British rule, the general picture of the relationship between Seventh-day Adventist leaders and the government was one of relatively harmonious cooperation. Especially in the pre-World War I period, Conradi's diplomatic abilities and his striving for recognition in German society made the Tanzanian Adventist missions develop into a test case for an unwritten though clearly visible policy of alignment with the government.⁸

It might be debatable whether this course of action had negative results or not; at any rate, it was criticized by Conradi's successor in the European Division presidency after the war, Lewis H. Christian. In the context of reflection on the Tanzanian venture, he argued,

Experience teaches that the less foreign missions are linked up with colonial projects of our own or other governments the better. Missions are not to be national enterprises but spiritual.⁹

he worked in several southern African countries and exhibited a typical attitude by exulting in the fact that "Mr Cecil Rhodes once told me that he found missionaries to be much better for keeping the natives quiet than soldiers, and certainly a good deal cheaper." See W.H. Anderson, *On the Trail of Livingstone* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1919), 173.

⁷ Since this account focuses on the period until 1980, more recent developments in the relationship between African Christianity and the public sphere, on which an abundance of literature has been produced, are not being dealt with here. For a perceptive introduction to this subject, see Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst, 1998).

⁸ See 2.3.

⁹ Lewis H. Christian, *Pioneers and Builders of the Advent Cause in Europe* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1937), 118. The fact that this statement relates to Tanzania is derived from its context, where Christian criticizes that some Adventist leaders gave the existence of colonies as "a reason why the advent cause should also have missions in Africa." His book and even the chapter on "European Missions overseas" completely ignores L.R. Conradi, who was the most eminent "pioneer and builder of the Advent cause in Europe." Christian differed with Conradi on several issues, including German nationalism, and therefore his criticism was especially directed at him.

Christian certainly intended to articulate the ideal the church had attempted to follow in the United States, one seeking as much separation from the state as possible. His statement shows, though, that in the context of European nationalism until World War II leaders in the European Adventist Church differed considerably concerning the acceptable degree of cooperation with the governments in the denomination's missionary operations.

At the same time, Christian's ideal of keeping aloof from colonial administrations as much as possible proved to be impractical. The 1920s and 1930s turned out to resemble the antebellum conditions. First the reluctance among British officials to readmit Seventh-day Adventists, inspired by the war scenario, had to be overcome by pledges of complete loyalty.¹⁰ After initial reservations of some government administrators,¹¹ the climate steadily improved. This can be deduced from several details: the Adventist demonstration of willingness to cooperate beyond the minimum level,¹² the absence of conflicts with the government in the second half of the 1920s and the 1930s, and personal friendships between mission and government leaders.¹³ Church members were instructed to respond faithfully to all government orders,¹⁴ and mission leaders back home followed the same line by assuring the government, "We expect our missionaries to teach the natives in any colony to be loyal subjects of the Government in the colony."¹⁵

¹⁰ See the introductory part of chapter 5.

¹¹ In 1924, the Mwanza District report stated that Adventist personnel at Bupandagila, Busegwe, Ikizu, and Majita displayed the "same lack of qualifications" as Africa Inland Mission workers, who were assessed as "Americans who have not received that standard of education and who do not display the sense of leadership, force of character and discipline so necessary for any lasting sound work amongst native races." Although the educational standard of missionaries was certainly deficient in those days, British and Anglican feelings of superiority to Americans and Adventists (the latter even if of British origin) may also have contributed to such statements. See Annual Report on Mwanza District for the Year 1924, TNA, 1733/13/86, 17.

¹² W. Cuthbert, for instance, who was in charge of Adventist work at Lake Victoria, solicited suggestions from the colonial administration for "increasing our usefulness in this territory"; see W. Cuthbert—Senior Commissioner, Mwanza, 24 December 1923, TNA 215/10/2, no. 60.

¹³ The file TNA 19/17/4B (Suji Mission School—Seventh Day Adventist, 1934–1949) contains, among the official correspondence, private greetings, details about mutual visits, and the like, of Same District Officer Barclay Leechman and Sidney Beardsell of Suji Mission.

¹⁴ Baraza la Makanisa ya Upare Minutes, 19 July 1931, SM 7.

¹⁵ W.E. Read—Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 7 December 1927. The context of this statement was the discussion about the possible re-entry of German missionaries.

Important opportunities for collaboration were issues of civil law that concerned Adventists. Missionaries repeatedly used their connections to appeal to the colonial administration where their interests coincided with those of the authorities. Whether it was the freedom for uninitiated Christian youth to choose their own marriage partners and to marry without the consent of their non-Christian parents,¹⁶ or resisting forced marriages,¹⁷ or fighting forbidden traditional practices such as the Pare *ngasu* ceremony, which was connected with infanticide,¹⁸ the government and the church stood side by side. The same was true in issues such as the ban of local beer¹⁹ or the opening of Adventist work in areas where people were reluctant to receive Christianity and educational facilities.²⁰

Most notable, however, was the area of finance. From the mid-1920s onward, Adventists regularly sought and obtained permission to conduct their “Harvest Ingathering” programme.²¹ This was a campaign of collecting money from the general public to support those lines of Adventist missions that served people of all backgrounds, i.e., the welfare, medical, and educational aspects. Each year substantial amounts were collected by both African and European workers, mainly from the Indian and European communities:²² the sums collected typically ranged between 1% and 5% of the total mission budget. Thus, it amounted to about one-half of all offerings and around one quarter of all tithes received in the mid-1940s.²³

¹⁶ “Organization of E. Tanganyika Native Church Council,” 18–21 April 1929, SM 4; Acting Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam—Secretary, East Tanganyika Mission of SDA, 29 June 1929, SM 51.

¹⁷ [S.G. Maxwell]—District Political Officer, Lushoto, 24 February 1924, SM 27; Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 6 March 1924, SM 85.

¹⁸ Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 17 July 1922, SM 27.

¹⁹ Administrative Officer in Charge, Usambara District—S.G. Maxwell, 12 October 1923, SM 27.

²⁰ An example is Utimbaru; see Turnbull—Administrative Officer in-charge, Musoma, 16 March 1925, and Administrative Officer in-charge Musoma—Senior Commissioner Mwanza, 3 February 1926; TNA 215/10/2, no. 104, 124.

²¹ Spencer G. Maxwell, “Harvest Ingathering in Pare,” MW 31, no. 17 (27 August 1926): 3–4; A.F. Bull, “The Message Enters the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba,” AS 2, no. 2 (February 1930): 6. For the history of this programme, see “Ingathering,” SDAE, 583–584.

²² Adventist leaders even readily produced a scriptural basis for this activity; they quoted Isaiah 60:5, a verse that says, “to you the riches of the nations will come.” See W.E. Read, “Harvest Ingathering in Our Missions,” MW 30, no. 20 (2 October 1925): 2.

²³ An example: the 1946 budget was Sh 245,000 of which two-thirds were appropriations, i.e., monies from overseas. For the following year, Sh 25,000 were projected

Even more noteworthy than the annual collection permit were direct payments made by the British colonial government to the denomination for the running of educational institutions. These “grants-in-aid,” which almost all Christian missions used for the support of their schools, were received by Adventists in Pare from 1929 and at Lake Victoria from the mid-1930s onward. In each case, the government paid considerable amounts for headmasters and general schools operations.²⁴ The East African Union had initially been hesitant regarding the system; its leaders had agreed to accept medical grants but advised to “proceed with caution” in the realm of education and to seek counsel from the Division first.²⁵ Yet both missionaries and administrators soon ignored this scepticism and stressed the importance of government aid for the church and its relation to the authorities.²⁶ Thus, receiving state aid for educational matters became common practice until the 1940s.²⁷ By grasping this opportunity, Adventists proceeded one step beyond the heritage of distance from governments with which they had arrived. Yet it was not the last step away from a strict remnant paradigm. The immediate pre-World War II years would bring forth even more problematic cases of the relationship between Adventists and politics.

as tithes, Sh 16,210 as offerings, and about Sh 6,500 as Harvest Ingathering results. See “Tanganyika Mission Field—1946 Budget” and “African Tithes and Offerings Goals—1947,” TMF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946.

²⁴ See TNA 19/17/4B, no. 75, much of TNA 301/EDA/856 (Seventh Day Adventists—Girls School—Ikizu, 1930–1957), and A.F. Bull, “East Tanganyika Mission,” AS 1, no. 4 (October 1929): 4. At Suji, £ 900 were received in 1929, £ 300 for Bull, £ 200 for Winifred Clifford, the girls school headmistress, and the rest for general operations. This was considerable and covered almost all of the salaries for the two Europeans. Grants were still received in 1939; five primary schools were supported by the government then. See W. Fenner—R. Reinhard, 28 February 1939, SM 35.

²⁵ EAU Minutes, February 1928, SM 4.

²⁶ Arthur F. Bull emphasized that a worker with a degree was necessary in order to maintain the grants, and superintendent G.A. Ellingworth noted their crucial role during the financial shortage of 1934. In 1932, the fact that the Tanganyika Mission Field was receiving government grants and was “rapidly growing in favour with the Government” was even used by the Northern European Division as an argument against a takeover by the Central European Division. See A.F. Bull—Brother Pedersen [NED], 14 March 1929, SM 27; G.A. Ellingworth—Members of the Tanganyika Mission Committee, 30 April 1934, SM 21; and “Statement Concerning Mission Stations in Tanganyika” [from NED], [1932], 6, File Central Europe, GCA.

²⁷ In the 1940s, new opinions generated renewed discussion about the practice. On the controversy over grants in the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s, see the last part of this section below.

German Missionaries and National Socialism

The 1930s were a period of considerable tension among the missionary leadership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tanzania. There were several reasons for this situation. (1) The Central European Division's vehement attempts at regaining Tanzania as its mission field and its ultimate success stirred up mixed feelings among the church's missionary work force in Tanzania. (2) George A. Ellingworth, the British superintendent who had been called to Tanzania and to this leadership office just the year before the German takeover of the mission field in 1934, continued his service until 1937. This setup inevitably caused some tension between him and the majority of German missionaries who replaced the outgoing Britons in these years. (3) The financial situation, which had been under strain from the very beginning of German administration, increased the measure of stress. (4) A most striking detail was the nationalism coupled with National Socialist connections of some German missionaries. This led to apprehension among both government leaders and church administrators up to the General Conference level.

Naturally though unfortunately, German missionaries in Tanzania were affected by the trends among Seventh-day Adventists under National Socialism.²⁸ There are various strands that can be observed in the Adventist experience in the "Third Reich." A crucial event happened very early. The Gestapo banned the church in November 1933, and although this ban lasted for only eleven days, it shocked the church leaders and made them extremely careful in their dealings with the Nazi state. It appears that an unwritten policy was to avoid any controversy. This course of action was supposed to ensure that the German Adventist church, which was certainly tiny compared to an all-powerful government, could survive.²⁹ Another observation is that

²⁸ Most notable among the works on this period are Johannes Hartlapp, "Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," Thesis, Predigerseminar Friedensau, 1979, and Johannes Hartlapp, "Die Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus vor dem Hintergrund der geschichtlichen Entwicklung von 1875 bis 1945," Dr. theol. diss., Halle-Wittenberg, 2007. Other significant publications on the topic are Roland Blaich, "Religion under National Socialism: The Case of the German Adventist Church," *Central European History* 26 (1993): 255–280; and *Der Adventglaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 23, *Der Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde* (Seeheim: Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis, 1985).

²⁹ In this context, it must be remembered that apart from Adventism in the USA, Germans constituted the second largest section of the worldwide Adventist movement

individual Adventists resisted the Nazi tyranny in one way or another, but rarely with significant results.³⁰ A third and very painful aspect indeed is that Adventists at times supported elements of Nazi propaganda, ideology, and actions to an extent that clearly went beyond what one could consider a necessary minimum of cooperation to ensure the denomination's existence.³¹ Thus, an uneasy mixture of fear, resistance, support, nationalism, and racial thinking subsisted in this politically powerless church organization.

In such a complex situation, it is not surprising to see some degree of diversity of actions and attitudes even among Adventist missionaries in Tanzania. The very return of the Tanganyika Mission Field to a German administration had been an issue of nationalism, and once this was realized in 1934, Adventist missionaries expressed their hope that Tanganyika would become a German colony again.³² This would have restored something of the national honour they felt had been taken away by other European nations in World War I. In the latter part of the decade, it became common among German Adventists, like other Germans,³³ to call Tanganyika Territory "German East Africa" again.³⁴

with their 35,000 members in the late 1930s. On the government ban, see Hartlapp, "Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," 14–22.

³⁰ Hartlapp, "Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," 65–68. A famous example of an Adventist who opposed the Nazi influence in wartime France and saved more than eight hundred persons' lives, mostly Jews, is Jean Henri Weidner; see Herbert Ford, *Flee the Captor* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1966). For more Adventists who saved Jews, see Daniel Heinz, "Judenretter im Holocaust: Zu wenig 'Gerechte' unter den Adventisten?," *Adventecho* 102 (November 2003): 12–14.

³¹ See, e.g., Roland Blaich, "Divided Loyalties: American and German Seventh-Day Adventists and the Second World War," *Spectrum* 30, no. 1 (2002): 37–51; Roland Blaich, "Health Reform and Race Hygiene: Adventists and the Biomedical Vision of the Third Reich," *Church History* 65 (1996): 425–440; and Daniel Heinz, "Schmerzliche Erinnerungen: Adventisten und Juden im Dritten Reich," *Adventecho* 100, no. 5 (May 2001): 12–14. Heinz reports that Jews were disfellowshipped from some churches, and at times any help was denied to them. Furthermore, anti-Semitic elements in Adventist publications were alarming at times.

³² This was part of the reason why German Adventists were so eager to get this mission field back under their supervision; this is openly expressed by Mueller, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, 40.

³³ On the growing demand in Germany to reclaim former colonies, especially what had been German East Africa, see Jolanda Ballhaus, "The Colonial Aims and Preparations of the Hitler Regime, 1933–1939," in *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War*, ed. Helmut Stoecker (London: Hurst, 1986), 337–378. Ballhaus describes how colonial aspirations became stronger especially from 1935 to 1937 and that actual preparations for a takeover of these territories were made in the same period.

³⁴ See "Unser ärztliches Werk in Deutsch-Ostafrika," AB 43, no. 24 (15 December

The nationalist-colonial framework of thinking that was widespread among German Protestant missionary leaders of the period³⁵ also made itself felt among Adventists. Missionary Rudolf Reider, for instance, openly displayed this kind of reasoning in 1940 in the *Koloniale Rundschau*, a German journal devoted to colonial matters. He wrote about the Jita and concluded that they were “a rather hard-working, versatile, and developable people that will completely fill its place in the framework of our great German colonial construction.”³⁶ This statement was certainly more than just an opportunistic step towards Reider’s academic success.³⁷ Rather, it shows that while Reider was devoted to his Jita friends, he was also a nationalist, but one naïve enough to believe that Africans and Adventists could find a place or even play a role in the very Nazi state which not only planned a “final solution” for Jews but also ultimately denied minor religious groups such as his the right to exist.³⁸

Of course, Reider’s article also shows that Adventists continued to promote the validity of missionary activities in the context of an adverse ideological and political framework. While some positions advanced by Adventists tried to merge Christianity and nationalism, for instance by declaring that missionaries work “out there...for God and fatherland,”³⁹ the Adventist missionary leader Wilhelm Mueller rejected

1937): 375 [a partial translation of G.A. Ellingworth, “Mission Work in Tanganyika,” RH 114 (11 March 1937): 10–12], and Rudolf Reider, “Aufbauarbeit im Südhochland von Deutsch-Ostafrika,” AB 46, no. 16 (15 August 1940): 123; cf. also H.F. Schubert, “Das Tanganjikagebiet (Deutsch-Ostafrika),” AB 39, no. 6 (15 March 1933): 81–82.

³⁵ Werner Ustorf, “‘Survival of the Fittest’: German Protestant Missions, Nazism and Neocolonialism, 1933–1945,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 1 (1998): 93–115.

³⁶ R. Reider, “Die Wirtschaftsformen der Djita und ihre Beziehungen zu den Nachbarstämmen,” *Koloniale Rundschau* 31 (1940): 221. In German, this line runs, “ein recht fleißiges, vielseitiges und entwicklungsfähiges Volk, das unter einer geschickten Anleitung im Rahmen unseres großen deutschen kolonialen Aufbaues seinen Platz voll ausfüllen wird.”

³⁷ Reider was in the process of earning a doctorate in African languages at Berlin at that time.

³⁸ Hartlapp, “Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten,” 79–81.

³⁹ Hermann Walter, “Der Arzt als Bannerträger deutscher Kultur,” AB 44, no. 6 (15 March 1938): 84. This reprint from *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, no. 12, 1937, was, of course, not an Adventist article but the fact that it was included into an Adventist magazine means that it expressed sentiments that Adventists could subscribe to or, at least, did not oppose and that could serve as clarifying the Adventist position for the Nazi government.

the racial theories of National Socialism. He argued in 1935 that the assumed inferiority of some peoples should not lead to abandon missionary activity, for “true Christianity is found independent of people [*Volk*] and race.”⁴⁰ In 1940, he devoted a whole booklet to an apology of missions,⁴¹ which was an irony of history when one considers that almost all German missionaries in Tanzania and elsewhere had just been interned or repatriated.

Some Adventist missionaries, like their colleagues in other German missions,⁴² showed sympathy for National Socialism, which was as obvious as their general nationalism. Instances of “Heil Hitler” and “Mit deutschem Grube” greetings in missionary correspondence⁴³ may be counted as concessions to the Germans whom they addressed. Yet Wilfred Fenner’s description of some Indian traders as “worse than Jews”⁴⁴ and some Suji missionary’s praise for the *Führer* for his achievements⁴⁵ reflect the kind of thinking that was possible among Adventist missionaries to Tanzania in those days.⁴⁶

What brought forth a most serious conflict in the denomination and with the British colonial government was the more or less direct Nazi involvement of two German Adventist missionaries, Rudolf Reider and Rudolph Helbig. As early as the spring of 1939, information about their connections with National Socialist bodies and activities had “aroused the attention of the British officials in their communities,” which was communicated to the General Conference and caused considerable alarm.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Wilhelm Mueller, “Afrika und die Mission,” AB 41, no. 24 (15 December 1935): 372.

⁴¹ Wilhelm Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission* (Hamburg: Vollmer & Bentlin, 1940).

⁴² See, e.g., Gustav Bernander, *Lutheran Wartime Assistance to Tanzanian Churches* (Lund: Gleerup, 1968), 15–20. Gustav Bernander notes the “fatal influence” of National Socialism among missionaries although he graciously grants that “many missionaries felt themselves compelled, against their convictions, to join one or other of the many Nazi organizations which existed in Tanganyika at that time.” Still, there were also missionaries who were “convinced Nazis,” like a certain Pastor Depersdorf at Dar es Salaam who had a “Hitlerian shrine” in the mission house with a portrait of Hitler surrounded by quotations from Hitler’s book *Mein Kampf*. See *ibid.*, 18–19.

⁴³ W. Fenner—C. Boysen, 11 November 1938, SM 9, and various Ludwig letters in SM 34. The latter greetings means “with German greetings.”

⁴⁴ W. Fenner—R. Reider, 6 June 1939, SM 35.

⁴⁵ [?]⁴⁵—Herr Salzmann, 3 October 1938, SM 34.

⁴⁶ For similar attitudes among Moravian missionaries in Southern Tanzania, see Fiedler, *Christianity and African Culture*, 154–156.

⁴⁷ Rudy, H.L.—W.H. Anderson, 27 March 1939, File Central Europe, Section II, GCA. The General Conference then wrote a letter to the Tanganyika government that explained the denominational position on political involvement that had been voted

Helbig was the regional treasurer of the *Winterhilfswerk*,⁴⁸ a party-sponsored welfare association with which Adventists openly cooperated in Germany. Reider had at one point planned to work for the German government and had close contacts with party officials,⁴⁹ apparently to the extent of actual party membership. The fact that they operated on non-German territory and that they were missionaries meant that they certainly should have refrained from such activities which could cast doubt on their religious objectives. Helbig's movements were under government investigation, and regarding Reider, General Conference leaders consented that he be dismissed after Field president Sprogis and others had sent reports.⁵⁰

It is revealing that the leader of the Central European Division Section II at the General Conference, H.L. Rudy, who was in charge of mission fields, thought about the case very differently from German leaders. Rudy felt the two were "drunken with their national socialism" and promptly planned to dismiss Reider.⁵¹ In contrast, Adolf Minck, the president of the Central European Division Section I, i.e., Germany and some neighbouring countries, tried to portray the Reider affair as entirely unproblematic.⁵² This was understandable against the background that some pastors and even leading administrators in the German Seventh-day Adventist Church belonged to the NSdAP or associated groups, partly with the reasoning that the party and other organizations had become government entities and that their membership in them could help advance God's cause.⁵³ The German-American difference of perspectives continued after Reider's dismissal and his subsequent internment and repatriation. Reider was employed in Germany as if nothing had happened.⁵⁴

in 1937, which specified that workers and missionaries in particular are not to involve in political matters or speak anything that could be understood as a lack of loyalty to governments. See "Letter to Tanganyika Officials," General Conference Minutes, 10 April 1939, GCA.

⁴⁸ Telephone interview Marie Fenner, 4 January 1999; Marie Fenner to the author, 11 January 1998.

⁴⁹ A. Minck—E.D. Dick, 3 July 1939, File Central Europe, Section II, GCA.

⁵⁰ E.D. Dick—H.L. Rudy, 22 May 1939, and H.L. Rudy—A. Sprogis, 6 July 1939 and 1 September 1939, File Central Europe, Section II, GCA.

⁵¹ H.L. Rudy—W.H. Anderson, 14 July 1939, File Central Europe, Section II, GCA.

⁵² A. Minck—E.D. Dick, 3 July 1939, File Central Europe, Section II, GCA.

⁵³ Roland Blaich, "Religion under National Socialism: The Case of the German Adventist Church," *Central European History* 26 (1993): 267, 272–274.

⁵⁴ Interview Fenner. After one year in Germany, Reider was even given termination

Tanzania had become the scene of very different, even contradictory Adventist approaches to political connections. This may not have made a lasting impact on the denomination's history in the country,⁵⁵ yet it meant that some Seventh-day Adventists had involved themselves in the "things of the world" to an unprecedented extent. Even without a folk church theology, the Nazi folk ideology left its traces, and the denominational remnant theology was compromised to a degree that put into question, at least regarding some church leaders, its very validity.

*Adventists and the Mbiru Protest*⁵⁶

While there was turmoil among the church leadership before World War II, a major clash involving Adventist laity and the government happened at the end of the war: the *Mbiru* controversy in Pare. *Mbiru*⁵⁷ was a conflict between the colonial administration and Pare chiefs on one side and the people of the then Pare District on the other and is a well-documented chapter of history.⁵⁸ It constituted an important step of the Tanzanian people towards independence in that it was the largest protest movement in the generation before the establishment of the Tanzanian nation.⁵⁹

benefits of 3,000 M in early 1941, apparently because he was pursuing doctoral studies at Berlin. Helbig was apparently not dismissed; in November 1939, a regular permanent return was voted for him, which indicated that he would continue working for the denomination at home. He left the pastoral ministry the year after his return, chose to practice alternative medicine, and it seems he ultimately left the church. See Minutes of the Advent-Missionsgesellschaft, 29 January 1940, 2 July 1940, and 3 January 1941, Box Advent-Missionsgesellschaft Sitzungsberichte, AAE; and General Conference Committee Minutes, 9 November 1939, GCA.

⁵⁵ Only Thomas Lisso used the fact as an argument in the 1960s to defend his decision to become a politician; see 8.2.

⁵⁶ Part of the text in this section has been used in Stefan Höschele, "Paulo Kajiru Mashambo," *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, online: www.dacb.org; accessed 1 February 2006.

⁵⁷ When the historical controversy is referred to, I capitalize the word; when the tax is meant, it is written without capitalization.

⁵⁸ Isaria N. Kimambo devotes one full chapter to the events in his book *Penetration and Protest*, 95–117 ("*Mbiru*: Popular Protest Against an Oppressive Colonial System, 1944–1947"), which is a revised version of his earlier *Mbiru: Popular Protest in Colonial Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971) [21 pp.]. With E.A. Lukwaro, he also wrote a short book about the leader of the *Mbiru* protest, *A Peasant and Political Leader in Upare: Paulo Mashambo* (Dar es Salaam: Historical Association of Tanzania, 1987) [40 pp.]. A dissertation on the events is Nancy Ruth Dorsey, "Pare Women and the Mbiru Tax Protest in Tanzania, 1943–1947: A Study of Women, Politics, and Development," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1994. Iliffe gives an outline of the events in *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 494–496.

⁵⁹ After the *Maji-Maji* wars in southern Tanzania from 1905 to 1907, no other

The issue was simple though delicate: the government tried to introduce a new, graduated tax system which would replace the older flat tax. Pare had been chosen as an area of experimentation because it was assumed that its inhabitants were not only relatively progressive but that they were also eager to receive more funds into their native treasury through the very taxes they paid. The chiefs swiftly implemented the new plan in 1943 without properly consulting the people, and in 1943 and 1944, the people grudgingly paid the new taxes. Below the surface, however, dissatisfaction grew over the methods of assessing amounts to be paid and the persons involved in doing so, as well as regarding the whole graduated tax system. Informal committees were formed to organize opposition. Appeals to the District Commissioner in late 1944 failed, and the government seemed satisfied that all was fine until the end of the year.

Open confrontation started on 4 January 1945 when chief Sekimang'a of Mamba arrested forty-four men who refused to pay the *mbiru* tax and sent them to the district headquarters at Same. Three hundred other men started marching to Same, and on the way, they issued the Pare war cry, *lukunga*, which was meant to mobilize others to head to Same as well. By 6 January, several thousand men had assembled there in order to demonstrate their rejection of *mbiru* at the District Commissioner's office.⁶⁰ Subsequently, the crowd asked the government administrators to hear them every single working day for two months. Thousands of men stayed in temporary camps while women from all over Pare brought food. A most surprising aspect was that all activities remained non-violent in spite of the fact that the government had deployed soldiers to threaten the crowd. Delegations were sent to Dar es Salaam, a petition was dispatched to King George, and two different law firms were hired to present the case to the highest government levels. Although none of these actions had any tangible results, the general resistance to the tax throughout 1945 and until the latter half of 1946 led a new Provincial Commissioner to conclude that the graduated tax should be repealed.

While Isaria Kimambo and Ruth Dorsey focus on the political, economic, and gender sides of *Mbiru* in their interpretations, this study

widespread revolt or conflict involving thousands of persons happened any more. In the following two paragraphs, my account of events follows Kimambo's various publications on *Mbiru*.

⁶⁰ Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 95, cites different estimates from 2,000 to 12,000 and suggests that the truth might lie somewhere in the middle.

intends to highlight the religious aspect and the impact of Adventists. First of all, it is interesting that the spark causing this political and economic conflict to explode came from Mamba. One could argue that this was mere chance and that *Mbiru* could have originated anywhere else, but the fact that both the chief who arrested the men and the leader of the non-violent demonstration were Adventists from this area must be taken into account. Furthermore, it should be noted that the area was of great importance to Seventh-day Adventists. It was at Mamba where the biggest group of Pare church members was located at that time; likewise at Mamba the largest and most beautiful church of Adventist Pare had been dedicated just ten years earlier, and the powerful chief Sekimang'a had been baptized just shortly before the war. Yet the area was somewhat removed from the centre of Adventist activities, Suji, where the church's intelligentsia was assembled. With swelling numbers, a prestigious symbol of the church's presence, the local government leader being a member, and geographical distance to the church leaders, Mamba embodied an emerging Adventist folk church which naturally implied greater differentiation in the denomination than missionary leaders might have desired.

This differentiation was most visible in the two leading individuals who represented the two sides, Daudi Sekimang'a, a main promoter of the new tax, and Paulo Kajiru Mashambo, the leader of the *Mbiru* protest and the spokesman and organizer of the huge crowd. Sekimang'a had been the one who had suggested to call the new tax *mbiru* and thus to connect it with a tradition that he thought would make it plausible for the people. Before actual tax collections were made, he had visited other chiefdoms and announced that the people of Mamba had accepted *mbiru*, which of course was a mere fabrication. When the crowd had assembled at Same, he tried to disperse it by telling people that they had to attend birth control campaigns; after several weeks, Sekimang'a tried to persuade Mashambo to tell people to fight locusts in their villages, but to no avail. Finally, Sekimang'a asked the government to deport Mashambo, which, however, did not happen.⁶¹

Mashambo, popularly also called Paulo Mbiru after the 1945 events,⁶²

⁶¹ Kimambo and Lukwaro, *A Peasant and Political Leader*, 26–30. Eight persons who had used violent means to prevent people from paying *mbiru* were deported to other regions of Tanzania from April to June 1945. They were allowed to return in 1947; see Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 110, 115.

⁶² Interview Aron Msangi and Naomba Msangi, Suji, 18 July 1999.

had been an Adventist teacher since 1913 and had retired in 1942.⁶³ As a member of the denomination's Pare Council in 1943, he was a well-respected leader among Pare Adventists. Mashambo had been one of the early believers, was baptized in 1913, and continued serving as a local leader in church and community affairs after his retirement.⁶⁴ His outstanding leadership style was a central aspect of the *Mbiru* happenings, for he managed to keep the crowd of thousands of men together and made sure that only non-violent means were being used. For this purpose, Mashambo combined traditional and Christian elements. He explained,

Actually what I was trying to do was to maintain peace... Whenever I sounded my horn... everybody sat down and I talked to them. I told them to pray every morning, love one another, maintaining [*sic*] peace and return anything they found not belonging to them.⁶⁵

He served as the interpreter for government officials, which gave him the opportunity to change the message at times so that people would not obey the government officers' instructions, especially when they told the crowd to leave. A great challenge was proper sanitation; Mashambo dealt with it by personally supervising the digging of latrines. Another major task was to organize a programme to keep people busy in this slow process of negotiating with the government. For this purpose, singing, prayers, and speeches were arranged.⁶⁶ People from different religious backgrounds would preach, and Adventist literature evangelists used the opportunity to sell many books.⁶⁷ In several respects, the *Mbiru* protest manifested itself like an extended Adventist camp meeting, and Mashambo knew the logistics of such conventions.

⁶³ Agenda [Baraza ya Upare], [23–26 March] 1942, SM 7. This is contrary to what is stated in Kimambo and Lukwaro, *A Peasant and Political Leader*, 21, where it is maintained that he retired in 1933. It would be improbable, however, that the committee notes of 1942 should be mistaken; furthermore, it was practically impossible for an Adventist worker to retire after only twenty years of service except if he had started working for the church in his forties, which was not so in Mashambo's case.

⁶⁴ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 14–17 March 1943, SM 7; Kimambo and Lukwaro, *A Peasant and Political Leader*, 15. In 1952 some elders wrote a letter to the mission leadership complaining about certain conditions in the schools in Pare. Paulo Mashambo was the first who signed the letter, and because of his stigma that he had been "the cause of trouble" before, his retirement allowance was then withheld for some time until notice from the Field leaders; see M.B. Musgrave—E.G. Reid, 7 October 1952, SM 43.

⁶⁵ From a conversation of Kimambo with Mashambo, quoted in Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 101.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶⁷ Interview Msangi and Msangi.

The distinctly religious elements of *Mbiru* cannot be overlooked. The District Commissioner, T.E. Pringle, admonished the people, “render to God and render to Caesar.” Yet for the Pare, religion, economics, and politics were not isolated entities. Therefore, Mashambo argued, “The people of Israel were troubled for a long time but God heard their cries,” and encouraged the crowd, “do not be afraid: The victory is God’s.”⁶⁸ Most important, Mashambo’s motivation for his non-violent stand was his Christian ethics.⁶⁹ He proved this in 1946 when some Pare wanted to murder the chiefs, which he strongly objected, arguing that killing is “not God’s way.”⁷⁰

Whereas Mashambo, the majority of Adventist laity,⁷¹ and some prominent Adventist church employees, including Elirehema Mnyonge and Nikundiwe Mauya, were actively involved in the *Mbiru* protest,⁷² the reaction to the events by the missionary church leaders was decidedly negative. Not only did they resent open confrontations of this kind, as visible in reactions to the frequent teachers’ and students’ protests in Adventist schools during the same decade.⁷³ They also deplored the fact that some members and local church leaders had spent the Sabbath at Same.⁷⁴ More general concerns were theological and revealed Adventism’s apocalyptic identity. In the context of an order for all church employees not to participate in the happenings at Same, missionary Kenneth Webster declared:

⁶⁸ Dorsey, “Pare Women and the Mbiru Tax Protest,” 175; interview Msangi and Msangi.

⁶⁹ Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 102.

⁷⁰ Kimambo and Lukwaro, *A Peasant and Political Leader*, 34.

⁷¹ Interview Godson.

⁷² Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 109, mentions Mnyonge and Mauya among the 24 “ringleaders” of the protest although he misspells Elirehema Nyongi and Nikimdiwa Mkuya. The misspelled names, however, do not exist among the Pare. Mnyonge was a teacher of shoemaking at Suji, and Mauya was a teacher at that time and in 1954 was ordained as a pastor. Three others “ringleaders” from Mamba and Chome might also have been Adventists.

⁷³ These protests differed in intensity and arose at different occasions. In 1943, for instance, teachers complained about the many classes to teach, housing conditions, and salaries. In November 1945, fourteen Adventist teachers in Pare wrote a letter to the Director of Education at Dar es Salaam demanding higher wages, which infuriated the local missionary and the Tanganyika Mission Field leadership and prompted them to dismiss them all; individual applications for reemployment were granted. See interview Abduel Tuvako, Kihurio, 20 July 1999; [12 Suji Teachers]—Baraza la SDA katika Upare, [December 1943], SM 12; see K.G. Webster—F.H. Thomas, 20 November 1945, and F.H. Thomas—K.G. Webster, 7 December 1945, SM 15; TMF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946, no. A. 48, SM 5; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 31 January, 1946, SM 1.

⁷⁴ K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 3 October 1945, SM 12.

It is not our work to rush forward in these legal matters; we also see increasing confusion in the world before the Lord Jesus comes; therefore, let us focus our thoughts on the work, not on the difficulties that exist in the world.⁷⁵

It is interesting that Webster's letter to workers does not contain an outright interdiction for non-workers to join the protests. This, however, was the bottom line of an order by Tanganyika Mission Field superintendent F.H. Thomas, who demanded that all members "refrain and withdraw" from participation. The reasons he mentioned were the following: (1) the church policy of avoiding participation in political affairs (which did not exist in reality),⁷⁶ (2) the duty as citizens and Christians to cooperate with the government "as the Bible instructs us to do," (3) the relationship with the government, which may become strained if Adventists participate, and (4) the danger that this may adversely affect requests for opening new missionary work.⁷⁷ Whether the last two reasons were genuine or not or were the result of unnecessarily strong fearfulness is not clear. It is alarming, however, that Thomas argued with a non-existing policy. So strong was the superintendent's aversion toward what he considered to be "politics" that he threatened that Mashambo's retirement allowance was going to be affected if he did not withdraw from the protest movement.

This letter is significant in that it shows how one-sidedly the White leaders of an African church viewed a matter that was more complex than they would acknowledge. One aspect that they overlooked was that the struggle involved Adventists on two sides with their legitimate concerns. Thus, the issue was not so much a "political" issue, for party politics did not exist yet; rather, it was an attempt to restore justice.⁷⁸ A second aspect was the problem of the group showing loyalty to the colonial administration. Sekimang'a, the Adventist government representative, was certainly not more righteous by virtue of his office;

⁷⁵ In the Swahili original, he wrote: "Si kazi yetu kutangulia katika mashauri haya, pia tunaona machafuko zaidi duniani kabla Bwana Yesu hajatokea [*sic*, should be: hajarudi], kwa hiyo na tukaze mawazo yetu kazini si katika matata yaliyoko duniani." See K. Webster—Watenda Kazi, 26 January 1945, SM 12.

⁷⁶ Only church *employees* were prohibited to involve in politics; see "Letter to Tanganyika Officials," General Conference Minutes, 10 April 1939, GCA.

⁷⁷ F.H. Thomas—To Our Christians and Workers in the Pare Field, 9 February 1945, SM 15.

⁷⁸ Kimambo emphasizes that the Pare believed that they were wrongfully mistreated and that the Chief Secretary in Dar es Salaam or finally King George would sympathetically look into their matter. See Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 96, 111–113.

rather, he used compulsion, lies, and a show of power to achieve his goals. It was actually because of the people's Christian virtues of patience and forgiveness that no lasting hostility against him remained. A third aspect that church leaders probably could not know was that Mashambo's role was more complex than merely that of a leader in a revolt against the government. Rather, by converting a potentially violent clash into a non-violent "war of words"⁷⁹ he actually helped the government. Mashambo embodied the maintenance of peace in a situation that could have easily run out of control, for other Pare disagreed with him and would have preferred to pursue a more aggressive course of action.⁸⁰

Mashambo's political consciousness is unique among African Adventists of the colonial epoch; it is paralleled only by a group of Adventists in Zambia who formed the nucleus of the earliest Zambian nationalist movement in 1937.⁸¹ In spite of the inherited apolitical stand of the denomination, it had trained its adherents to think for themselves, to rely on principles derived from Bible, and to pursue worthy goals actively. Mashambo was motivated by Adventist Christian principles, but he interpreted them in a different way than missionary leaders. His "spirit of defiance hidden in his demand for loyalty to the colonial government"⁸² was, at the same time, a spirit of Christian loyalty to the government hidden in popular defiance. With this twofold spirit, he represented the heritage of the ambiguous Adventist position towards the state even if this came in an unprecedented way for his ecclesiastical superiors.

The Grants-in-Aid Controversy

On the surface, the Adventist involvement in the *Mbiru* protest strangely contrasted with an issue that arose in the same period: grants-in-aid. In the case of *Mbiru*, the Adventist ideal of loyalty to the government, personified in the missionary leaders, clashed with popular demand for

⁷⁹ Dorsey, "Pare Women and the Mbiru Tax Protest," 134.

⁸⁰ Kimambo and Lukwaro, *A Peasant and Political Leader*, 34; Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 116.

⁸¹ Four of the five founders of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress (NRAC) were Adventists; this NRAC preceded the later NRAC that was founded in 1948. See Mac Dixon-Fyle, "The Seventh-Day Adventists (S.D.A.) in the Protest Politics of the Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia," *African Social Research* 26 (December 1978): 453–467, especially 459–463.

⁸² Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 103.

justice, led by Mashambo whose critical distance to the government developed on the basis of his Adventist Christian identity as well. The grants issue seemed to turn matters around: the Adventist leaders wanted to keep aloof from the government by rejecting its financial support, while the majority of church members desired that grants-in-aid be received.

Even before World War I, missionary operations had profited from governmental support, mainly in the context of the “Emperor Donation.”⁸³ Regular state subsidies for operating schools had subsequently been received from the late 1920s until the early 1940s. During this period, missionary church leaders in Tanzania had become more critical of this system and finally withdrew from it in 1945.⁸⁴ This development in East Africa was paralleled by international Adventist concern about the state aid question. Regarding Adventist schools in the United States, the General Conference decided in 1949:

to refrain from accepting gifts of money, land, buildings, or equipment from government; or grants from public tax money for the salaries of teachers; or the maintenance, operation, or support of the services which the schools supply.⁸⁵

The argument for the North American context was twofold: (1) that government funds should not be used to teach religious doctrines which many taxpayers do not believe in, and (2) that often government control followed subsidy, which Adventists wanted to avoid.⁸⁶ In Africa, the latter argument was also a central issue, but there were two other major problems. One was the burden of detailed government regulations, mostly about quality teaching, that Adventist schools often could not fulfil.⁸⁷ This meant that an independent school system gave Adventists the possibility to operate with their own, often lower, standards. The

⁸³ See 2.3.

⁸⁴ Elineema, *Historia*, 58.

⁸⁵ “Church and State,” SDAE, 258.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 257. The Harvest Ingathering campaigns were different because the freewill gifts collected in these annual collections did not imply any specific conditions or consequences except that the money was to be used for the purpose that was advertised.

⁸⁷ The superintendent of the denomination in Tanzania, F.H. Thomas, argued in 1944, “let’s get away from the Grant rather than have [*sic*] to be pushed out which leaves a bad feeling and a bad name for the mission and not a very pleasant situation for the man-on-the-spot. It is obviously impossible for us to run our Educational work to please the Government, we have different aims.” See F.H. Thomas—K.G. Webster, 25 April 1944, SM 15.

other fact was that with rising government salaries for teachers after World War II, a young teacher training college graduate earned more than the church was able to pay experienced pastors, which would have created a cleavage between the two groups.⁸⁸ The conditions of the pre-war period, when a mission superintendent could argue for receiving grants because “we are allowed a free hand in our religious training and exercises,”⁸⁹ had changed.

The withdrawal from the grants-in-aid system, an unusual step that only few missionary organizations took,⁹⁰ solved some problems but created many others and left certain things as they were. Most alarming for teachers was the salary question, for the church paid a maximum of Sh 42.50 after twenty years of service while the government gave a minimum of Sh 43 for beginners. Thus, some Adventist teachers barely earned half of the basic salary that they would have received in public employment.⁹¹ Naturally, many teachers resorted to looking for jobs with the government.⁹² However, this was resented by church administrators to the extent that they accused them of having “positioned themselves on the side of Mammon,” that “Satan has deceived” them, and the like.⁹³

The 1950s were to become an even more difficult period. The rejection of grants became a policy in the whole Southern African Division in 1956.⁹⁴ This move led to considerable commotion especially in Kenya,⁹⁵

⁸⁸ “Kenya,” SDAE, 658.

⁸⁹ G.A. Ellingworth—Members of the Tanganyika Mission Committee, 30 April 1934, SM 21.

⁹⁰ In Kenya, for instance, Quakers also rejected grants-in-aid; see John Lonsdale with Stanley Booth-Clibborn and Andrew Hake, “The Emerging Pattern of Church and State Co-operation in Kenya,” in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 268.

⁹¹ TMF Minutes, 8–9 October 1944, no. 209, SM 5; F.B. Wells—H.M. Sparrow, 13 August 1948, SM 17. However, this did not include various privileges and fee reductions for the children of church employees, which significantly altered this comparison for some individuals.

⁹² See, e.g., F.G. Reid—Pr & Mrs F.B. Wells, 5 May 1949, SM 14. In 1958, a group of nine teachers from Pare sent in an ultimatum and announced that they would quit if salaries were not raised to considerably higher levels; see G.S. Glass—B.L. Ellingworth, 31 October 1958, File 4468, GCA.

⁹³ H.E. Kotz—Muze Shogholo, 9 February 1950, File 4468, GCA. Very similarly, B.L. Ellingworth—John White Kitua, 30 April 1956, SM 46, and A.L. Davy—Jackson Ndiege, 15 January 1961, File Field Institute and Instructions, MC.

⁹⁴ E.D. Hanson, “Report of the East African Union Mission,” SADO 54, no. 2 (15 February 1956): 30.

⁹⁵ “Kenya,” SDAE, 658.

but church leaders asserted that the action had been taken “in order to retain our denominational identity and maintain a high standard of Christian training.”⁹⁶ Yet financial difficulties became increasingly acute. In Pare, Sh 13,000 was needed for school operations in 1956, but Sh 2,000 was all that could be collected. Only after a pastor stood up and offered a full month’s salary, all workers imitated his example, which added another Sh 8,000.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, such dramatic incidents could not conceal the fact that the Adventist educational system in Tanzania was in its most severe crisis since the introduction of school fees in 1929. A significant number of schools had to be closed, and others subsisted on the verge of illegality because no qualified teachers could be found.⁹⁸ The rejection of grants did ensure the freedom to pattern Adventists’ educational activities according to their peculiar remnant identity. Yet the idealistic dream which leaders had cherished, that Adventist schools “will become model schools in every sense,”⁹⁹ had turned into a nightmare.

This crisis called for reflection. An unanticipated turn was that church leaders decided to redefine Adventist educational objectives in the light of the decision to withdraw from grants. In 1958, the East African Union determined that Adventist schools in Tanzania were operated “primarily, though not exclusively, for the children of our adherents.”¹⁰⁰ This was certainly a new philosophy of education, quite different from the earlier Adventist practice of mission schools which combined teaching non-Christian youth the three R’s with the fourth R, religion, in order to serve as a medium of evangelism among non-Adventists.

Although school inspections demanded by the authorities were expressly welcome by the church leaders,¹⁰¹ even the relation with the

⁹⁶ R.S. Watts, “Adventist Schools Free of Government Grants,” SADO 56, no. 1 (15 January 1958): 1.

⁹⁷ B. Ellingworth—Abihudi Anderea, 21 July 1957, File 4468, GCA; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 9 January 1957, SM 1.

⁹⁸ The file SM 46 reports about several closures in the years from 1954 to 1959. For a problematic case of an existing school, see B. Ellingworth—A. Anderea [*sic*], 21 July 1957, File 4468, GCA.

⁹⁹ R.S. Watts, “Adventist Schools Free of Government Grants,” SADO 56, no. 1 (15 January 1958): 1.

¹⁰⁰ EAU Minutes, 9 October 1958, no. 956, containing Robert L. Osmunson, Educational Secretary, EAU—E.T.L. Spratt, Assistant Director of Education (African), Tanganyika, 5 October 1958, EAU.

¹⁰¹ E.T.L. Spratt for Ag. Director of Education—Educational Secretary, East African Union Mission of Seventh-Day Adventist, 3 February 1959, TNA 301/EDA/1067/I, no. 1. In 1948, for instance, missionary F.B. Wells requested the government to inspect

government was severely strained by what a colonial administrator called the Adventists' "adamant" stand concerning grants.¹⁰² Between 1955 and 1959, government officials repeatedly criticized the Adventist policy and threatened to close denominationally owned schools.¹⁰³ Nothing came of these warnings, but they show how little the Adventist stance was understood by the public and how much Adventist leaders were ready to fight for a principle that few found attractive.

The situation worsened further when the government announced in 1959 that primary education was to be free, which meant that Adventists were supposed to provide free education as well. Without the acceptance of grants, this was obviously a budgetary impossibility. Conrad Hyde, the first president of the then Tanganyika Union, could merely assert that in refusing grants even under these circumstances they were "doing as the Lord gives us wisdom."¹⁰⁴ The East African Union suggested a new system, a "rebate of tax funds" for Adventists,¹⁰⁵ and Hyde himself insisted that school fees be paid and advocated tax refunds or exemptions. Still, he did not appear to be fearful, for the role Adventist schools played in parts of the lake area meant the power to negotiate with the government from a position of strength. Thus, he threatened that Adventists may completely withdraw from primary education if no satisfactory arrangement was made.¹⁰⁶

The authorities went the second mile with Adventists, and the arrangement that was made in 1960 evidently did satisfy Adventist leaders. Instead of the debated grants, the Native Authorities distributed money to the parents concerned who then turned it over to the mission, and thus "no religious principles were offended."¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, this solution was only acceptable for part of the parties involved. In August the same year, the majority of Adventist teachers in the country went on strike to demonstrate that *they* were *not* yet satisfied. However, a

Suji in spite of the fact that it did not receive grants; see F.B. Wells—Provincial Education Officer, 18 August 1948, SM 40.

¹⁰² Provincial Education Officer, Mwanza—Director of Education, Dar es Salaam, 11 April 1957, TNA 301/EDA/856, no. 145.

¹⁰³ B. Ellingworth—F.G. Reid, 24 October 1955, SM 46; E.D. Hanson, "East African Union," SADO 57, no. 1–3 (January–March 1959): 43.

¹⁰⁴ C.T.J. Hyde—G.S. Glass, 20 November 1959, SM 48.

¹⁰⁵ EAU Minutes, 1 December 1959, no. 324–325, EAU.

¹⁰⁶ C.T.J. Hyde—Provincial Commissioner East Lake Province, 16 October 1959, TNA 436/E38, no. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Lake Province Annual Report, 1960, education section, TNA 967/821/3, 59–60.

strike was a most serious act to missionary leaders, one that did not fit into their concept of the church as a missionary organization.¹⁰⁸ Hyde explained to the authorities:

All our workers with the Mission work at a sacrificial wages whether Africans or Europeans and we are sorry that our teachers have lost their vision of sacrificial service for their fellowmen.¹⁰⁹

Several months later the Union leaders invited the Division administrators, who interviewed the teachers one by one. Everybody was asked, “Where do you stand?,” finally the Lord’s Supper was celebrated as a sign of reconciliation, but grants-in-aid were not accepted.¹¹⁰ Hyde still regarded withdrawing from primary education as an option, but government leaders were now fed up with the dragging process and the denominational leaders’ rigidity. Colonial administrators threatened that any sudden move would “have very serious political repercussions which would certainly not redound to the advantage of the Seventh Day Adventists.”¹¹¹

Then came 1961, which would be remembered as the year of *uhuru* (independence). The spirit of the struggle for political freedom is clearly discernible in the recurrent complaints of teachers and parents who continued appealing to various levels of the government to intervene in what they considered to be a case of oppression.¹¹² A major protest addressed to the Ministry of Education involved parents’ signatures from sixty different schools, both from Pare and the Lake Victoria region. Evidently, the issues of the 1960 strike were still unresolved. Many who had served “sacrificially” for a long time did not wish to

¹⁰⁸ Another outstanding strike by Adventist teachers in Malawi is described in Matemba, *Matandani: The Second Adventist Mission in Malawi*, 81–88. This strike, which happened in 1953, was prompted by the strong emphasis on missionary work by students that teachers had to supervise, which they resented because of the additional burden this placed on their work.

¹⁰⁹ C.T.J. Hyde—District Commissioner North Mara, 29 August 1960, TNA 544/M6/3.

¹¹⁰ Interview Timothy Samuel Odiembo, Morogoro, 9 August 2001.

¹¹¹ E.T.L. Spratt for Permanent Secretary—President of the Seventh Day Adventists, 14 December 1960, TNA 301/EDA/1067/I, no. 45.

¹¹² It was argued that grants-in-aid were rejected by church leaders not because of religious reasons but because leaders benefited from this condition by not being inspected, by using teachers without proper standards, and because of “making African children’s education remain low” (Swahili: “kudumisha chini elimu ya watoto wa kiafrika”), i.e., because of oppressive attitudes; see Wazazi na Walimu—Waziri wa Elimu, n.d. [1961], TNA 301/EDA/1067/I, unnumbered.

continue living with hardships in a context when political liberation gave people great hopes.

The chain of arguments in a petition sent to the Ministry by parents and teachers succinctly summarizes their position about grants-in-aid: (1) Grants are the right of a tax-payer. (2) They reduce the parents' expenses. (3) They ensure that teachers get appropriate salaries. (4) Thus, children get a chance of education like others. (5) Grants are actually received by Adventists in medical matters. (6) Schools had to be closed in the past years because of the tense situation.¹¹³ Elisha A. Okeyo, who had been a leading brain in the 1960 strike and in writing the petition, pressed Union president Hyde in September 1961 to consider whether the Bible clearly said accepting government grants-in-aid was sin; if not, he argued, they should be accepted.¹¹⁴

Probably less because of the arguments presented but in view of a nation facing independence, years of almost fruitless conflict, the financial crisis, the exodus of gifted teachers, and a united front of parents and teachers, the Adventist establishment had to give in by October 1961. In order to avert the option of turning over Adventist schools to the government, the Union committee recommended "with the greatest reluctance" to accept government aid. Even so, Union leaders wanted to safeguard their educational system and philosophy by demanding that teachers should be employed and dismissed by school boards administered by Adventists themselves. Furthermore, they requested the Ministry of Education to approve specific standards for teachers in Adventist schools, including church membership, the abstinence from tobacco and alcohol, moral conduct, tithe, and Sabbath keeping. Moreover, individual local churches were to decide whether their schools should accept grants. With this move, Adventist schools in Tanzania went along the same line as in neighbouring countries.¹¹⁵

The implementation of this decision was delayed through much of 1962, apparently because of lacking Division approval, which caused

¹¹³ Ibid. The whole file TNA 301/EDA/1067/I is filled with letters that resemble the one quoted. See also L. Uze Kajiru, Chairman wa Wazazi Wakanisa wa SDA—Minister of Education, 4 September 196, File Field Institute and Instructions, MC; Parliamentary Secretary—Chairman, Parents Committee of the Seventh Day Adventist Council [*sic*], 14 November 1961, SM 50.

¹¹⁴ A. [*sic*] Okeyo—President, Tanganyika Union, 3 September 1961, File Field Institute and Instructions, MC. It should be noted that Okeyo served as headmaster of Ikizu in the 1970s and Tanzania Union secretary in the 1980s.

¹¹⁵ TU Minutes, 31 October 1961, no. 468, and 23 December 1961, no. 547, NETC; "Kenya," SDAE, 658.

another wave of protests and appeals to government ministers by parents and teachers.¹¹⁶ Government officials' antipathy climaxed as well, as expressed in a government school inspector's report on Ikizu:

It is very doubtful indeed whether the particular outlook and doctrines of the Mission make it a suitable agency to be involved in education at all at this time. . . . It might be in the best interests of all concerned, if the Mission were to pull out of the Lake Region altogether before it is too late, or at least to confine its activities to the pastoral field only.¹¹⁷

Certainly this judgement was partly inspired by the fact that the still British inspector was part of a dying system that had tried to transfer to Africa the British philosophy of schooling, which mainly emphasized academics as opposed to "the particular outlook" of Adventists.¹¹⁸ Yet the hardships and limitations created by the Adventist refusal of grants were many, and it is an irony that a White agent of a former colonial government had to tell Christian missionary leaders that they were not fair to Africans in salary and housing questions.¹¹⁹

When grants finally became a reality again in 1963, the storm was over in most regions. Altogether, of seventy-six Adventist schools with 8,289 students in the whole country, thirty-six remained unaided by 1966, mostly because they were "bush schools," which did not qualify

¹¹⁶ Teachers met the Minister of Education, Oscar Kambona, at Musoma, and Kambona told church leaders that they oppressed their teachers; see interview Okeyo. Parents wrote to Bhoke Munanka complaining that the Adventist position was racist and that they cannot understand how this should be an issue that has to do with their religion; see Christopher N. Magita—Bhoke Munanka, 14 July 1962. See also TU Minutes, 27 May 1962, no. 639, NETC.

¹¹⁷ "Notes on a Visit to the Seventh Day Adventist Secondary School, T.T.C., and Primary School, Ikizu, on 11 April, 1962," included in Lothar Benno Ganz to the author, 15 April 2003.

¹¹⁸ In this context, the report had complained about the Adventist "policy of extracting the maximum amount of manual work" from students. This was certainly an exaggeration, for the Adventist practice of combining study with manual work was similar to the heavy emphasis on self-reliance that Julius Nyerere initiated only few years later, which made manual work an essential part of education throughout the country. See *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* Apart from the obvious salary issue, the report mentioned a "disquieting contrast between the standard of living of the expatriates and the conditions under which the African staff, teacher-trainees and pupils are expected to live." This was evidently true, although one has to view the issue in the context of a rather one-sided policy that expatriates' houses were to be built by General Conference monies while Tanzanians' houses were constructed by local funds. That this meant that there was a high degree of self-support of the African part of the Tanzanian Adventist church is obvious; still, this arrangement at times hindered infrastructural development.

for government support.¹²⁰ Only four years later, the church did not operate any primary schools any more. Nationalization put education into the hands of the government, and the grant struggle, which had taken almost two decades, came to an end.

In evaluating these years of controversy, one must consider the various groups involved. On the surface, it may seem that the conflict was between Europeans (who commonly rejected grants) and Africans (who often demanded them). However, this would put too much emphasis on the role of missionaries, as important as it was. Besides, grants were commonly accepted by missionary church leaders until the 1940s, and some African leaders actually deplored the grant system or at least did not demand grants.¹²¹ Therefore, what clashed were leaders on the one side and, on the other side, common members and other employees, especially the crowd of teachers. Between these two sides, the disagreement was over the question whether an issue of limited religious importance should be approached in a pragmatic or in a strictly principled way and whether it really had any religious significance or not. As in the *Mbiru* controversy, different groups answered these questions in divergent ways, both basing their ideas on their common Adventist Christian identity. The fact that church leaders emphasized distance from the government in the grant issue while many church members did the same in the *Mbiru* protest shows that the denomination in Tanzania as a whole steered a course between a critical attitude to the state and loyalty, between principles and pragmatism, between a remnant and a folk church identity.

8.2 *Loyal Non-Involvement: Adventists and the Tanzanian Government*

The Issue of Political Involvement

The grants-in-aid controversy had been carried over from the colonial system into an independent nation and soon lost importance. In contrast, the second major public issue facing Adventists around mid-century, the question of political involvement, emerged when independence had not yet been achieved but developed into a major issue after *uhuru*. What

¹²⁰ P.G. Werner, "President's Report," Second Quadrennial Constituency Meeting, Tanzania Union, 1967, 6.

¹²¹ E.g., T.R. Lisso, the Education Director of Tanzania Union in the mid-1960s; see T.R. Lisso, "Educational Report," Tanzania Union Session, 1967, SM 71.

connected the two was that church leaders affirmed an emphatically negative view in relation to both.¹²² As in the case of grants, international Adventist norms had an important impact on the denomination in Tanzania regarding political activities.

Paralleling the politicization of the country in the 1950s,¹²³ the Adventist concern over members' political involvement slowly grew through the same period¹²⁴ and first culminated in the three pre-independence years. Most interesting in this process are the roles that different church leaders played in the encounter with Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the movement that led mainland Tanzania to independence. The missionaries generally limited themselves to giving general pronouncements;¹²⁵ they taught political abstinence almost universally¹²⁶ but were never extremely outspoken on the issue and thus followed a general trend among the Christian churches in Tanzania.¹²⁷ Apart from diplomatic considerations, they must have been more concerned with aspects of church operations such as indigenous church leadership, evangelism, and, of course, the grants-in-aid issue.

¹²² Morgan, *Adventists and the American Republic*, 54–55.

¹²³ The TANU membership grew from about 150,000 to 1,000,000 in the 1957–1959 period; see Jürgen Herzog, *Geschichte Tansanias vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1986), 258. On the general politicization and the success of TANU, see also Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 503–576.

¹²⁴ In 1951, Tanzanian Adventist church leaders adopted a statement by the Southern African Division that advised all workers not to enter any association that might bring them into conflict with the principles of the church. The reason stated was that “Seventh-day Adventists have always believed and taught that they have been called by God to be a peculiar people living in the world and yet not of the world”; see TMF Minutes, 17–21 January 1951, E.18, SM 6. In 1956, a pamphlet, “Our Relationship to Government and Politics,” was issued, apparently by the East African Union; see B.L. Ellingworth—P. Stevenson, 29 July 1956, SM 48.

¹²⁵ In 1960, a subcommittee of the EAU for “setting forth the attitude of Seventh-day Adventists to politics” was formed in 1960 that consisted of three Whites; see EAU Minutes, 26 September 1960, no. 297, EAU. In later years, A.L. Davy and P.G. Werner wrote articles that admonished members to be careful and to “keep away from any appearance of being mixed up in politics.” See A.L. Davy, “Yesu Angeweza Kurudi Upesi Jinsi Gani?,” MAE 6, no. 3 (1962): 5–7 [English: “How Soon Could Jesus Come?”], and P.G. Werner, “Meeting Dangerous Situations in These Last Days,” MAE 10, no. 3 (1966): 17–20, SM 71.

¹²⁶ One exception was Brian Ellingworth, who held the view that only church employees were to abstain from politics; see B.L. Ellingworth—P. Stevenson, 29 July 1956, SM 48.

¹²⁷ Only a minority of Christians openly opposed the politicization of the country in the 1950s; see David Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini: A Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion in Tanzania, 1961–1977* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1980), 108–110.

The real battle against the enthusiasm for political action was fought by African pastors, notably at Lake Victoria.¹²⁸ The most outspoken among the African opponents of politics were Mispereth Rutolyo, Elizaphan Wanjara, and Simeon Dea Otieno. In 1958, their firmness created serious conflict at Majita, where the three were working and where TANU had made a considerable impact. The three pastors warned members not to join the party and preached that church employees and church elders were entirely forbidden to do so. Party members, however, announced that the three would ultimately be seized, and that “their heads will be hung at the baobab tree at the mission.” Fortunately, Julius Nyerere, the later president, came to Majita that year, and when he was informed about the controversy, he questioned the pastors. They explained their persuasion that religious and political leaders should not be the same persons. Nyerere was wise enough to support this idea and to warn people not to mistreat their pastors lest they be cursed, “for these are men of God.” To the pastors, however, he said, “Do not prevent people from taking party cards, and let the people also convert Dea and Wanjara.”¹²⁹

Otieno, though, continued to preach against participation in politics. He resented in particular that TANU often recruited members on Sabbath and that some Adventists attended political rallies on those days. When he openly spoke against this practice shortly after independence, he was reported to the district and regional levels. Government leaders visited and interviewed him, but Otieno answered with reference to Joel 3:10, a text that talks about the eschatological war of Yahweh, that another *uhuru* will come sooner than they expected. People feared that he might be killed for his defiance of government programmes, but when no action was taken against him, they said, “You are a sorcerer.”¹³⁰

As uncompromising as some Tanzanian Adventist pastors were in their anti-political persuasions derived from the denominational remnant identity, ordinary members and other church employees represented a variety of positions. Certainly it is true that altogether Adventists were less involved in political affairs than adherents of other religious groups; this reluctance corresponded to a general tendency not to engage much

¹²⁸ In Pare, members’ political interest was not very strong, which coincided with the fact that the movement towards independence did not make a very strong impact upon Pare; see interview Odiembo.

¹²⁹ Interviews E. Wanjara, Kuyenga.

¹³⁰ Interview Otieno.

in public affairs of any kind.¹³¹ Yet *uhuru* was welcomed by many church members who were tired of the injustice imposed by Europeans.¹³² This anticipation was dimmed, though, by popular assumptions that the party was linked to the Pope, whom most Adventists considered to be the apocalyptic Antichrist, and by speculations that becoming a TANU member might imply accepting the “mark of the beast” of Revelation 13.¹³³ Some Adventists feared that their church was going to experience trouble after independence,¹³⁴ linking the political changes in Africa with the denomination’s anticipation of the end-time persecution of God’s Remnant Church.

In spite of such fears, a good number of Adventists became TANU members even in the years before independence. As other Christians, they were impressed with Nyerere’s emphasis upon a peaceful struggle for independence in which no blood was to be shed. Some even considered him to be a Tanzanian Moses leading the people out of European slavery. Furthermore, Adventists liked the fact that all party members called one another *ndugu* (brother), an appellation that was also common among Adventists.¹³⁵ Because of their political commitment, Adventist TANU members were not eligible for church leadership offices, but some party members continued serving as deacons, since this was not considered as a major office. At times Adventist pastors, who were often among the most educated persons in a district, were asked to become members of parliament, but they mostly declined because of their commitment to the church.¹³⁶

The Seventh-day Adventist Church did not produce many political leaders in the first generation after independence,¹³⁷ which contrasted with the fact that in some areas such as parts of Mara the majority of

¹³¹ In Pare, for instance, Adventists’ contributions to the regional newspaper, *Habari za Upare*, were minimal compared to the Lutheran or Muslim input; see *Habari za Upare*, passim.

¹³² Several interviewees mentioned that Adventists clearly felt injustices of colonialism such as of the prohibition to pass through European parts of towns or the fact that Africans could be slapped by Europeans without any legal consequences; see interviews Siwanja and Kiboko.

¹³³ Interviews T.E.K. Mbwambo, Dar es Salaam, 5 August 2001, and Godson.

¹³⁴ Interview Kagize.

¹³⁵ Interview Eliasaph Lima, Musoma, 20 December 2000.

¹³⁶ Interviews Mashigan and Kuyenga. These two pastors were among those who were asked to be candidates in elections.

¹³⁷ In 2003, there were 12 Adventists among the 292 members of parliament.

government employees were Adventists because of their education.¹³⁸ Evidently, it was difficult to live the Adventist faith while serving as a politician.¹³⁹ Eliasaph Lima, for instance, asserts that being a TANU member did not constitute a problem as an Adventist, but as a leader he frequently encountered situations that made it difficult to abide by all Adventist standards, especially in the Sabbath issue.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, individuals such as Adam Bwenda from the Heri area did not see a problem in serving as a member of parliament. He only accepted the assignment because people urged him to do so, and on the Sabbath he never attended meetings connected to his work.¹⁴¹

The most outstanding case of an Adventist politician was Paulo Bomani. Bomani, one of the pioneers of TANU, had been the chairman of TANU's predecessor organization, Tanganyika African Association, in 1952.¹⁴² Up to 1957, he was TANU's mouthpiece in the Legislative Council of Tanganyika.¹⁴³ Since his father, Lazaro Bomani, was one of the church's earliest converts in Sukumaland and had worked as an Adventist teacher since 1912, Paulo Bomani had been educated in Adventist schools.¹⁴⁴ When the young Bomani had finished teacher training at Ikizu in 1944, his father wanted him to proceed to the government school at Tabora. But Hans Kotz, the superintendent of the Adventist work in Tanzania, felt the young man had an obligation to serve the church and wrote to the secondary school at Tabora that Paulo was not to be received there, which barred him from getting further education

¹³⁸ Interview Makorere.

¹³⁹ Among those who left the church or "backslid," i.e., lived a life quite different from expected Adventist practices, are Werema Chambiri, who was District Commissioner of North Mara in the 1960s, Nimrod Lugoe, who was ambassador and later Mara Regional Commissioner, and Eliasaph Lima, who served in various capacities until he became mayor of Musoma in the early 1990s. See interviews Lima, Makorere, and Lugoe.

¹⁴⁰ Interview Lima.

¹⁴¹ Interview Bwenda. Bwenda was a member of parliament from 1965 to 1970 and from 1975 to 1980 for the Kasulu area which includes Heri Hospital.

¹⁴² On the Tanganyika African Association, see A.J. Temu, "The Rise and Triumph of Nationalism," in *A History of Tanzania*, ed. Isaria N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 189–213.

¹⁴³ "Bomani, Paul (1925–)," in *Historical Dictionary of Tanzania*, ed. Laura S. Kurtz (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1978), 24. On Bomani's other pre-independence political activities, see Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 465, 487, 504–505, 514, and 559–561.

¹⁴⁴ *SDA Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973*, 10. Lazaro Bomani had even been among the first three Africans in the Tanganyika Field Committee in 1940; see TMF Minutes, 12–21 February 1940, SM 5.

at that time. This created such a conflict between the family and the church that Paulo's father left his church employment.¹⁴⁵

Ironically, Kotz's uncompromising action may have contributed to Bomani's determination and later involvement as an organizer against unjust structures in the cotton marketing system in Sukumaland, which was his major step towards a career in politics. Paulo Bomani later headed several government ministries.¹⁴⁶ He and his brother Mark, who became Attorney General of Tanzania,¹⁴⁷ remained nominal church members but hardly attended church for most of the time. Yet Bomani continued assisting the church and contributing to church projects in various ways: by donations, intervening in Sabbath problems, and inaugurating church facilities.¹⁴⁸ Altogether, Bomani and his family never lost touch with his Seventh-day Adventist origins and continued claiming allegiance to the denomination although in practice he had a distance to the church for many years.¹⁴⁹

While Bomani was the most well-known Adventist politician, Thomas R. Lisso's political career created the biggest stir in the church. Lisso, whose father had been a leading Adventist teacher and preacher in the 1930s but had then left the church,¹⁵⁰ was among the African Adventist elite of the years around independence. As a director of the Home Missionary, Education, and Public Relations departments of Tanzania Union through most of the 1960s, he travelled widely and had good contacts with government leaders. Lisso held a Bachelor of Arts degree, an education which exceeded even that of some government ministers.

¹⁴⁵ G. Andrew Maguire, *Toward Uhuru in Tanzania: The Politics of Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 84–85; interview Elineema.

¹⁴⁶ He was, among other capacities, Minister of Agriculture and Cooperative Development, Minister of Finance, of Economic Affairs, and of Commerce; Ambassador to the USA, a Director of the IMF, and a Vice Chairman of the African Development Bank. Cf. figure 21 (p. 620).

¹⁴⁷ "Bomani, Mark (1932–)," in *Historical Dictionary of Tanzania*, ed. Laura S. Kurtz (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1978), 24.

¹⁴⁸ Godson Elieneza, "Mwanza Effort Report: The Gospel Message Lights in Mwanza," *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 2 (April 1958): 2–3, SM 47; Paulo Bomani—Rudi H. Henning, 9 January 1969, ETC; and interview Paulo Bomani, Dar es Salaam, 1 January 2001.

¹⁴⁹ Three of his children were baptized in 1966; see Lloyd Logan, "All Things Work Together for Good," *News Notes: Tanzania Union* 2, no. 1 (November 1966): 9–10, SM 55. Paulo Bomani himself was rebaptized at a large evangelistic campaign at Dar es Salaam in 2000.

¹⁵⁰ Ibrahim Lisso had joined the *Tanganyika Sabato* church; on this church, see the first part of 9.2.

Therefore, he was among the most educated Tanzanians at his time, and when the opportunity arose for him to contest for a parliamentary seat in 1970, he tried and succeeded.

Lisso had apparently hoped to remain on good terms with the church and even to continue with his work as the church's translator, but in August 1971, Tanzania Union decided that he was no more a regular paid worker since he received a salary from the government.¹⁵¹ Lisso felt treated in an unjust way; he asserted that the parliamentary allowances were not a salary and complained that "it seems that I have committed the unpardonable sin to join the parliament." Referring to missionaries "who were once members of the Nazi Party some years ago and they are still in the work," he tried to appeal against the decision, but to no avail.¹⁵²

He served as a member of parliament for one term, until 1975, and then went into business. Because of his decision to engage in work other than the pastoral ministry to which he had been ordained, many church leaders considered him to be "fallen" or "a very bad person."¹⁵³ In the early 1980s, Lisso requested to be employed in the church again. In spite of reservations, he was finally given the post of the Voice of Prophecy Bible Correspondence School director. His ministerial credentials, though, were withdrawn to indicate that he was not to be regarded a pastor any more.¹⁵⁴ Thus, an episode had come to an end that reflected the church's double stand of strictness and grace, of unbending rules for leaders of the "Remnant Church" and some degree of accommodation for common church folks.

Adventist Public Relations in the Ujamaa Period

The Adventist tradition of political abstinence was strong in spite of the fact that it lacked a clearly defined general policy. Yet this absence of an official position had a definite advantage: it allowed for considerable flexibility. At any rate, the complete rejection of political activities was not a practical expression of church-state relations for the denomination vis-à-vis the government of a young nation that emphasized

¹⁵¹ TU Minutes, 6 April 1971, no. 1219, and 19 August 1971, no. 1286, ETC.

¹⁵² T.R. Lisso—President and TU Committee, 26 October 1971, Unnamed File with Presidential Correspondence, 1969–1978, MC. Lisso referred to Rudolf Reider who had worked at Lisso's native Majita. Of course, the major issue with Lisso was not obtaining a salary but the political involvement of a church worker.

¹⁵³ Interview Odiembo.

¹⁵⁴ TU Minutes, TU Session March 1982, no. 17, TU.

African identity, nationhood, and a particular brand of politics that was to be called Ujamaa or African socialism.¹⁵⁵ A radical anti-politics stance might have even been interpreted as hostility towards Tanzanian nationalism, an image that the denomination certainly wanted to avoid, especially in an environment where churches played an increasingly important role in public life. At the same time, Adventists wanted to uphold their heritage of a neat separation from government affairs. This double concern led to a cautious intermediate position that resembled the loyal non-involvement course steered by Adventists worldwide. One might feel that loyalty and non-involvement were somewhat contradictory; however, they both represented the medium tension with society which Adventists sought. Moreover, they had a causal connection: *because* of Adventists' separateness, they had to ensure that their peaceful existence was not threatened,¹⁵⁶ which meant that loyalty had to be actively displayed.

This was done in a variety of ways: significant contributions to national celebrations and to national orphanages,¹⁵⁷ a project that President Nyerere personally promoted; visits with Nyerere at his rural home at Butiama, which was located only a few kilometres away from the church's headquarters at Busegwe,¹⁵⁸ days of prayer and fasting for the nation,¹⁵⁹ and the display of the national flag at denominational offices on national holidays.¹⁶⁰ Most important were, of course, the denomination's medical activities. Here government and church concerns

¹⁵⁵ On *ujamaa*, see, e.g., Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968); on the Church and *ujamaa*, see Peter S. Kijanga, *Ujamaa and the Role of the Church in Tanzania* (Arusha: Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, 1978).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. 1 Timothy 2:1–2 (“I urge... that requests, prayers, intercession and thanksgiving be made for everyone—for kings and all those in authority, that we may live peaceful and quiet lives in all godliness and holiness.”) These verses certainly come very close to the typical Adventist position on politics and governments.

¹⁵⁷ In 1977, the church contributed Sh 1,000 to the Mara celebrations of the Arusha Declaration. This was no small amount but was certainly justified by the fact that the church's headquarters were in Mara and in the very home area of president Nyerere. See TU Minutes, 4 January 1977, no. 1287, TU. On contributions to national orphanages, see TU Minutes, 5 January 1971, no. 1154; 4 January 1977, no. 1288; 4–6 October 1977, no. 167, TU.

¹⁵⁸ Interview Otieno.

¹⁵⁹ C.T.J. Hyde, President—Field Presidents, Musoma, 20 November 1962, File Ministerial Exchange 1963–1974, MC; Elisha A. Okeyo, “Somo la Siku ya Kuomba Taifa la Tanzania,” TMs, n.d., MC.

¹⁶⁰ A Union committee action in 1974 read, “To strongly recommend to all Fields and Institutions to purchase a national flag and to display them on national holidays.” See TU Minutes, 19–24 November 1974, no. 725, TU.

coincided and cooperation was easier than in the atmosphere of conflict that had developed around the question of educational grants-in-aid. Adventists knew how to please the government through their activities at Heri Hospital, the various denominational dispensaries, and American Adventist doctors serving the government.¹⁶¹ The latter made a notable impact on the nation through the Mother and Child Health programme, a nation-wide project implemented by Loma Linda University, an Adventist institution in the United States. This educational health programme laid the foundation for a countrywide grassroots health network which brought a breakthrough in child health care in Tanzania.¹⁶²

A peculiar tool used for implementing the church's course of positive relations with the state were periodic statements of loyalty sent to the government, mostly at the occasion of Tanzania Union constituency meetings, a tradition inherited from colonial times.¹⁶³ Adventists conveyed messages such as wishes of God's blessings for the government, the assertion that Adventists "desire to be loyal and law-abiding citizens" and the denomination's "appreciation for the peace and order that exist in our country." At the same time, such messages never failed to include thanks for religious liberty.¹⁶⁴

In later years, a change of formulations occurred. Apparently, it was felt by Tanzanian Adventist leaders that a general declaration of allegiance to the government was not enough. In 1977, the customary greetings to Tanzania's president included congratulations on his elec-

¹⁶¹ In the mid-1970s, for instance, Norman Peckham, an American Adventist doctor, served at KCMC (Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre), which was then in government hands; Loma Linda University supported the project. See "Tanzania Union Reorganisation," AMDI 7, no. 3-4 (March-April 1977): 3-4.

¹⁶² The programme was sponsored by the US Agency for International Development, which had selected Loma Linda University because of the quality work at its School of Public Health. Richard Hart started it in 1973, and Harvey Heidinger expanded the programme in the latter part of the 1970s. 18 MCH training schools were built, and in the training programmes one year of studies was followed by six months of practical experience. By 1977, 600 persons had been trained, and until 1980, it was planned to train a total of 2,500. See Harvey Heidinger, "New Health Horizons in Tanzania," AMDI 7, no. 11-12 (November-December 1977): 3-5.

¹⁶³ See, e.g., TMF Minutes, 17-21 January 1951, no. E 22 (Statement of Loyalty to the Governor of Tanganyika Territory), SM 6. The Loyal Addresses had a British background; this tradition was rooted in the concept of the Established Church, but they were also continued by churches in African countries where no Established Church existed. See, e.g., Fulata Lusungu Moyo, "Church and Politics: The Case of Livingstonia Synod," in *Church, Law and Political Transition in Malawi, 1992-94*, ed. Matembo S. Nzunda and Kenneth R. Ross (Gweru: Mambo, 1995), 126-127.

¹⁶⁴ TU Minutes, 8 January 1963, no. 21, ETC; see also TU Minutes, 18 January 1967, no. 19, ETC.

tion as the first chairman of *Chama cha Mapinduzi*, the country's only political party,¹⁶⁵ and on the "success in all that has taken place during the years of the Arusha Declaration." Furthermore, delegates assured the government of their "loyalty and obedience to the Chama [party] and the Government as is plainly taught in the Holy Scriptures."¹⁶⁶ The climax of this development was the 1982 message to Nyerere, who was by then known and addressed as the "Father of the Nation." The 1982 statement repeated the latter two items of 1977 and added the assurance of prayers for the president, his family and parliament, as well as the wish, "May God continue to bless you as you lead our nation toward its goal—a complete socialism and self-reliance."

On the surface, the 1977 and 1982 messages are puzzling, for they clearly depart from earlier statements. Certainly loyalty and especially obedience to a *party* was *not* what the Holy Scriptures plainly teach, and subscribing to the goal of "complete socialism" appears to be a thoroughly political statement. This could be construed to mean that Adventists were on the way of leaving the path of non-involvement. Yet attributing too much weight to the wording of the messages may be misleading. They should rather be understood as a late outcome of a 1963 action on "Public Relations with Government and Religious Leaders," which stipulated that government officials should be informed about "the patriotic spirit of Adventists as enjoined by the Bible but their non-involvement in party politics."¹⁶⁷ A "patriotic spirit" in postcolonial Tanzania apparently meant that the greetings sent to the president were to contain more and more positive statements, especially as the Adventist hierarchy continued to be indigenized, and that they had to be framed according to what government leaders wanted to hear themselves. Moreover, both Catholics and other Protestants engaged in pro-Ujamaa rhetoric so extensively¹⁶⁸ that Adventists could not completely remain behind.

Whether one views this course of action as hypocrisy¹⁶⁹ or as a more or less sanctified pragmatism is a matter of perspective. Functionally, the habitual loyalty messages were used by Adventists to convey their

¹⁶⁵ *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), which means "Revolutionary Party," combined the previous TANU and ASP (Afro-Shirazi Party) of the mainland and Zanzibar, respectively.

¹⁶⁶ TU Minutes, 20 February 1977, TU.

¹⁶⁷ TU Minutes, 8 January 1963, no. 32, ETC.

¹⁶⁸ Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 127–128.

¹⁶⁹ Especially given the fact that the conflicts with Thomas Lisso had arisen over the issue of political involvement.

general attitude in rather innocent words, as visible in the “father of the nation” formula and the rhetorical assurance of prayers for Nyerere’s family. This minimal investment enabled them to continue thinking and doing what pleased them; after all, by 1982, the Tanzanian version of socialism, Ujamaa, had already failed.¹⁷⁰ Adventists actually preserved the non-involvement line by token statements; certainly the party was almost identical with the government, and acknowledging this theoretically meant the ability to practically dissociate from political life.

Symbols of loyalty were most important because of the obvious benefits that the church could derive from a friendly relationship with the government. A major issue was that of Sabbath keeping for Adventist students, soldiers, and government employees,¹⁷¹ in which positive connections with government leaders could make a decisive impact. Furthermore, Adventists were frequently in need of permits for conducting public evangelistic meetings. These were not easy to secure at times because of individual administrators who disliked the denomination, but appeals to some government or party authority were often successful. This was the case, for instance, in 1974 at Masasi, an Anglican stronghold. Joshua Kajula, a young pastor, was denied permission by the Area Commissioner but was helped by the TANU district chairman. After this breakthrough, five hundred persons attended the Adventist meetings in the second week.¹⁷²

In the context of the religious liberty implied in the Tanzanian constitution,¹⁷³ Adventists used their good relations with the government even when their activities met seemingly insurmountable hindrances. Such a case arose in the Sumbawanga area in 1970. In this predominantly

¹⁷⁰ On the problematic aspects of the *Ujamaa* economy in Tanzania, see, e.g., Jannik Boesen, *Ujamaa: Socialism from Above* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1977); Göran Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (London: Heinemann, 1980); and Frieder Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of a Changing Relationship, 1961–1994* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 193–203.

¹⁷¹ See below, 8.3.

¹⁷² J.K. Kajula—David Dobias, 27 October 1974, ETC. Kajula became the Union president in 2005. For a similar story, see Cynthia Dobias—[Brian] Ellingworth, 3 May 1971, ETC. Inviting local government leaders for opening their meetings became both a common and a successful strategy of Adventist evangelists even in other areas; see interviews Masumbuko and Mashigan.

¹⁷³ Freedom of religion was not mentioned in the Tanzanian constitution of those years, but Westerlund correctly argues that it was implied in the terms “freedom of conscience, freedom of expression and freedom of association” in the constitution preamble; see David Westerlund, “Freedom of Religion under Socialist Rule in Tanzania, 1961–1977,” *Journal of Church and State* 24 (1982): 91.

Catholic region, Adventists had begun an evangelistic thrust that had led to a small nucleus of believers. They had built a simple village church at Msanzi, but villagers who did not like the new denomination destroyed the building one night. Adventists called the District Commissioner, Mr Mgoda, and he explained to the villagers that the government allowed all citizens to adhere to any recognized religion, and that the Seventh-day Adventist Church was a denomination as accepted in the country as the Catholic Church. Subsequently, the conflicts ceased. Adventist loyalty to the government evidently paid.¹⁷⁴

At least initially and during the nationalization wave, the socialist course of the government was a matter of some concern for Adventist leaders, as it was for other Christian denominations.¹⁷⁵ Some church leaders believed Ujamaa would inevitably lead to communism, that religious persuasions might be repressed, and that women and children might be pooled.¹⁷⁶ Nyerere, though, argued with Biblical texts such as Acts 2 and 4, and it was impossible to discuss government policies publicly anyway,¹⁷⁷ so that reservations had to be hidden to a large extent.

Opinions regarding the most dramatic programme of Ujamaa, the villagization phase in the mid-1970s,¹⁷⁸ were also divided. A few Adventists were persuaded that it was “the plan of the devil.” In this view, the Adventist tradition of suspicion of town life¹⁷⁹ and a popular application of the Tower of Babel story of Genesis 11 (“people should not aggregate in one place”) blended with anger about a government

¹⁷⁴ Interview Claudio Masoya, Sumbawanga, 3 September 2000. Today, there are hundreds of members in the particular area and more than five thousand members in the Sumbawanga region.

¹⁷⁵ Jan P. van Bergen, *Development and Religion in Tanzania: Sociological Soundings on Christian Participation in Rural Transformation* (Madras: The Christian Literature Society; Leiden: Interuniversity Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research, 1981), 235–237; Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 111–116.

¹⁷⁶ Interview Lima.

¹⁷⁷ Speaking about one’s personal opinion on political matters different from the government course could have grave consequences in those days; see Hartmut Beck, “Hochkonjunktur und Krise der Mission in Tansania,” *Evangelische Missionszeitschrift* 23 (1966): 248, and interview Mashigan.

¹⁷⁸ On the *ujamaa* villagization programme, see Michaela von Freyhold, *Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania* (London: Heinemann, 1979); and Leander Schneider, “Developmentalism and its Failings: Why Rural Development Went Wrong in 1960s and 1970s Tanzania,” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2003. Nation-wide villagization began in 1973 and continued until 1977.

¹⁷⁹ See, e.g., “Rural Living,” SDAE, 1099–1100, and Ellen G. White, *Country Living: An Aid to Moral and Social Security*, Compilation from the writings of Ellen G. White (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1946).

scheme that destroyed well-established local identities.¹⁸⁰ In some areas, such as Sukumaland, where people had traditionally spread across wide areas, the new villages did not function anyway but caused considerably suffering for the people and trouble for the church.¹⁸¹ Still, Tanzania Union president Derek Beardsell viewed the villagization programme as providential. According to him, God “used the government to put the people of the country into villages so that we may reach them without problems.”¹⁸² Ultimately, Ujamaa villages helped Adventists, like Pentecostals,¹⁸³ to experience significant expansion in several areas such as Kurialand and especially the Heri region.¹⁸⁴ In the absence of religious monopolies in a newly created environment, an already reasonable degree of acceptance of Adventists and church members who played prominent roles in the new communities because of their education helped spread the denomination’s teachings.

It may be illuminating to compare Adventism’s relation to the Tanzanian government with other churches’ positions. Adventists were always aware of the possibility of persecution or a government ban. In February 1965, Jehovah’s Witnesses had been outlawed only to be readmitted the following day,¹⁸⁵ which was certainly not an accident but an intended warning for this religious group that theoretically rejected any human government.¹⁸⁶ What could happen to the Witnesses, so

¹⁸⁰ Interview Kuyenga.

¹⁸¹ Places of worship had to be constructed at new places, and when people moved back to their former homesteads after some years, dilapidated churches often needed to be built again. See interview Mashigan.

¹⁸² D.C. Beardsell, “Ujumbe toka President—Tanzania Union,” *Mbele Daima* (December 1976): 1, ETC.

¹⁸³ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, 188.

¹⁸⁴ Interviews Makorere, Ntiamalumwe, Bisanda, Kagize, and Bwenda.

¹⁸⁵ “Tanzania Quickly Rescinds Ban on Jehovah’s Witnesses,” *New York Times*, 15 February 1964, cited in Lloyd W. Swantz, “Church, Mission and State Relations in Pre- and Post-independent Tanzania, 1955–1964,” research paper, Syracuse University, 1965, 28, available at University of Dar es Salaam library. In neighbouring Malawi, the government declared the Witnesses’ faith illegal in 1967, which produced several waves of severe persecution; see Klaus Fiedler, “Power at the Receiving End: The Jehovah’s Witnesses’ Experience in One Party Malawi,” in *God, People and Power in Malawi: Democratization in Theological Perspective*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross (Zomba: Kachere, 1996), 149–176.

¹⁸⁶ It is noteworthy, though, that Jehovah’s Witnesses were generally faithful citizens who paid their taxes and obeyed the government in all matters except forced political involvement and military service. For a sympathetic description of Witnesses’ activities in part of East Africa that praises them for their “very rigorous ethic of personal integrity” and a “standard of behaviour quite uncommon in African countries,” see Bryan Wilson, “Jehovah’s Witnesses in Kenya,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 5, no. 2 (1974): 128–149 [quotes on pp. 148 and 149].

believed Adventists, could happen to them too, but they were ready to do all to avoid this danger.

On the other side were the larger denominations such as the Anglicans and Lutherans. Some of their leaders, who represented these churches in the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), strongly supported the Ujamaa programme, so much so that Frieder Ludwig argues in his treatise on the period that the CCT became “more and more similar to a government department.”¹⁸⁷ In a similar vein, David Westerlund observes that the ruling single party tended to decrease the sphere of independence of religious groups by a double technique. On the one hand, it was emphasized that religion and politics should not be mixed. On the other hand, party leaders frequently told religious leaders and believers what *they* should do or how *they* should interpret their religion, especially regarding their part in the struggle for socialist development. Religious leaders, however, were not to tell the political leaders what they should do or how they should interpret Ujamaa. That would have been “mixing religion and politics.”¹⁸⁸

In principle, Adventists agreed to the slogan, “don’t mix religion and politics,” but they applied it in their own way. For them, the primacy of religion over politics was clearly established, and by keeping a critical distance from the state, they could ensure the independence that they wanted for their religious operations. In their minds, the government was to provide peace for the preaching of the gospel, which explains why they advocated being loyal to it. It was a necessity to bow to Caesar so that God may do His work through him. B. Mafwimbo, a Central Nyanza Field departmental director in the 1970s, expressed it this way:

We thank our Tanzania [*sic*] for its good leadership, that the country has peace, so that the message may penetrate here and there in every village, and this is our request to the chairman of CCM, the Honourable J.K. Nyerere with all others who are under this government. May God continue to give them wisdom and understanding; may Tanzania continue being in the forefront of progress on the side of government and on the side of the message of religion.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, 190; see also 81–92.

¹⁸⁸ Westerlund, “Freedom of Religion under Socialist Rule in Tanzania, 1961–1977,” 87, 90, 102. Similarly Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 57–63.

¹⁸⁹ This statement, which was included in a Field department report, is a much more authentic affirmation than the messages of loyalty above because it was not to be sent to the government and therefore expressed the real feelings of church leaders. The awkward English results from the rather clumsy Swahili original. It says,

While the Tanzanian government tried to instrumentalize religious bodies for its Ujamaa ideology, Adventists believed that the government was an instrument of God in fulfilling the gospel commission. That this view was one-sided and somewhat naïve did not seem to bother Adventists much. The denomination's political concept, as its general ethics, emphasized being "not from this world" and was therefore limited to issues of church concern, i.e., mainly the issue of religious liberty.¹⁹⁰ As members of what they regarded the eschatological remnant, Adventists did not view themselves as a prophetic voice for society but as a call to live in the proper distance to earthly rulers while waiting for the heavenly kingdom to come.

Dealing with Frictions: Labour Unions, Nationalization, and the Mgambo Issue

In spite of attempts to uphold a good coexistence with the Tanzanian government, the denomination's relations with the state was put under strain due to three major issues during the 1960s and 1970s: the labour union question,¹⁹¹ the government's nationalization policies, and the *mgambo*¹⁹² problem. Each of these issues had its distinctive context that led to different results. Nevertheless, they all illustrate that Tanzanian Adventists, in spite of being loyal to the authorities as far as possible, scrupulously pursued a course of distance in some matters. Thus, a middle position between alignment and rejection of state power was consciously steered.

Regarding membership in labour unions, the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church had inherited a tradition of objection from their

Tunaishukuru Tanzania yetu kwa uongozi wake bora nchi kuwa na amani ili ujumbe upate kupenya huko na huko katika kila kijiji na ndilo ombi letu kwa mwenyekiti wa CCM Muheshimiwa J.K. Nyerere pamoja na wote waliopo chini ya utawala huu. Mungu azidi kuwapa hekima na busara Tanzania izidi kuwa katika msitari wa mbele katika maendeleo upande wa utawala na upande wa ujumbe wa dini.

See "Central Nyanza Field—Taarifu ya Uwakili na Huduma ya Wakanisa kwenye Session ya Muungano wa Field Mbili Ikizu, 9–10.5.1977," File Field Session Mara, 1977–, MC.

¹⁹⁰ This was visible mainly in Adventists' struggles about Sabbath keeping; see 8.3. On Adventist social and political ethics in general, see Zdravko Plantak, *The Silent Church: Human Rights and Adventist Social Ethics* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

¹⁹¹ The term "labour union" is often used interchangeably with "trade union" or simply "union," which is also visible in the sources used for this chapter. I therefore use both terms as well.

¹⁹² *Mgambo* is a Swahili word that had come to mean a government-sponsored militia (originally: the act of calling people together).

American forebears. In its nineteenth and early twentieth century form, this stand was meant as a safeguard for the individual's moral liberty as opposed to the group pressures common in labour unions, and as an expression of rejecting the violence frequently used by American unions in that period.¹⁹³ The historical Adventist stand was sanctioned by Ellen White¹⁹⁴ and ultimately led to an official statement by the General Conference Committee in 1940. This declaration expressed sympathy for the unions' attempt to improve working conditions but defined the denomination's disapproval of union membership for Adventists as a "conscientious conviction" of a religious nature.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, church leaders emphasized the spiritual dangers of union membership, yet it never constituted grounds for disciplinary action.¹⁹⁶

Ironically, what had begun as a means of shielding church members from outside pressure was translated into an instrument of suppressing church employees' demands in the Tanzanian context. The years around World War II were a first period of tension. Salaries remained behind the rising cost of living, and workers at Suji went on strike for higher wages, possibly inspired by Lutheran teachers, who organized themselves in a similar manner in other parts of Pare, and by strikes in various parts of the country in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁹⁷ However, this first confrontation did not result in an improved working relation. Missionary Webster crushed the strike with "divide and rule" tactics.¹⁹⁸

Two years later, around the time of *Mbiru*, Field superintendent F.H. Thomas informed workers in Pare that the church leadership did "not approve of workers combining their requests and signing them to

¹⁹³ Robert C. Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 1984), 90–93. See also Carlos A. Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-Day Adventists: The Formative Years, 1879–1903," *Adventist Heritage* 4, no. 2 (1977): 11–19, Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 146–151, and Marvin Leroy Moore, "An Investigation of the Seventh-Day Adventist Attitude to Organized Labor in the United States, 1900–1960," M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1961.

¹⁹⁴ Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages from the Writings of Ellen G. White*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1958), 141–146.

¹⁹⁵ Kistler, *Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States*, 110–111; on the overall development in this period, see 49–71.

¹⁹⁶ Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 512–517. A parallel to the Adventist distance towards labour unions is found among the Nazarenes; see Purkiser, *Called unto Holiness*, vol. 2, 73.

¹⁹⁷ Dorsey, "Pare Women and the Mbiru Tax Protest," 117; John Iliffe, "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907–45)," in *A History of Tanzania*, ed. Isaria N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 149–151.

¹⁹⁸ Webster raised salaries for those who had not participated and threatened strikers to dismiss them or to accept punishment; see K.G. Webster—H. Robson, 29 November 1943, SM 15.

be presented in groups.”¹⁹⁹ Evidently, complaints had continued after the unsuccessful strike, but any semblance of a workers’ union made requests ineffective. In 1947, when the Wapare Union had just been formed, the Pare Committee voted that workers were not to join this association.²⁰⁰ The same kind of treatment for church workers continued in the 1960s, especially in the context of the grants-in-aid controversy. In 1961, teachers strove for organizing themselves into some kind of workers’ association. However, on the basis of the idea that employment in the Seventh-day Adventist Church must be self-sacrificing, the church leadership declared,

we look with complete disfavour upon [a] Workers’ Union or Association or pressure group whose purpose is ‘collective bargaining’ or bringing coercion on the church organisation.²⁰¹

In 1963, when the trend had shifted towards joining existing labour unions, which became increasingly popular,²⁰² a similar action was taken. Membership in labour unions, it was maintained, “indicates an attitude at variance with the true spirit of Christian service.” New employees were to sign statements that their employer was different from “the commercial, money-making businesses of the world” and that they recognized the “missionary basis of this employment.”²⁰³

This situation changed again the following year, in 1964, when the government dissolved all existing trade unions and formed a single association for all workers called National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA).²⁰⁴ Under these premises, the meaning of the union had changed; it was no longer an entity fighting with employers but part of the unifying structure of a socialist society and, therefore, similar to a mere professional association. This, however, was a turn of events

¹⁹⁹ F.H. Thomas—To Our Christians and Workers in the Pare Field, 9 February 1945, SM 15.

²⁰⁰ Baraza la Upare Minutes, 23 February 1947, SM 1. This time, mission director Webster soon added that any desire of a worker to join some association must be presented to himself for approval; see K. Webster—Watendakazi Wote, 3 March 1947, SM 12.

²⁰¹ TU Minutes, 31 October 1961, no. 469, NETC.

²⁰² In 1955, there were less than 3,000 union members in the country; in 1960, there were more than 95,000; see Jürgen Herzog, *Geschichte Tansanias*, 258.

²⁰³ TU Minutes, 11 January 1963, no. 47, ETC. It should be added that the action explicitly allowed membership in purely professional associations.

²⁰⁴ *Africa South of the Sahara, 1982–1983* (London: Europa, 1982), 1072. In 1979, an all-Tanzanian union, JUWATA (Workers’ Union, Tanzania—Jumuiya ya Wafanyakazi Tanzania) was formed which included Zanzibar as well; see *ibid.*

that some Adventist administrators either did not fully comprehend or simply did not want to believe. At any rate, they continued with their anti-membership course.²⁰⁵

In this context, the most serious problems developed at Heri Hospital. Dr J.A. Birkenstock, the medical director, announced in 1964 that no worker was allowed join this newly formed government trade union, arguing that this was incompatible with the Adventist faith. Moreover, all workers who did join were going to be fired. Soon the government forced him to leave the country, while the hospital Business Manager, Shemu Kiselo, a Kenyan, who had advocated that the workers join NUTA, was sent back to Kenya by the denomination. Church leaders then threatened to dismiss all workers who refused to return NUTA cards.²⁰⁶ Still, this was not the end, for the Southern African Division was informed of the developments at Heri. Division leaders instructed the Tanzania Union administration to ask the government to exempt the hospital workers from membership but advised not to resist in case this was not granted since NUTA was not a trade union but a government organization.²⁰⁷

When this solution had been found, Union president F.G. Thomas, who understood the issues,²⁰⁸ made a exemplary statement that is worth quoting at full length. It shows the Adventist tendency of pragmatism in spite of all insistence upon principles and is typical for the general Adventist stand towards government and its organizations in that it reveals the dialectics of Christian faith and life in the real world that the denomination constructed. He warned:

Under no circumstances must we do or say anything that will give the impression that we are against them, for this is a quasi government organization and opposition to it will be interpreted as opposition to the government—a thing that we must avoid.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ One reason for this determination may be that in 1963 there had been real conflicts with workers at Ikizu over labour union membership. With such fresh memories, it was probably not easy for some leaders to retreat from their strong stand. See R.D. Marx—E. Kivunge, 23 May 1963, SM 50; TU Minutes, 20 June 1963, no. 203, ETC.

²⁰⁶ Interviews Magogwa and Kagize.

²⁰⁷ TU Minutes, 17 January 1965, no. 478, ETC.

²⁰⁸ Thomas hoped that the Mennonites, who shared Adventist anti-labour union persuasions, were going to take the matter to the Christian Council of Tanzania, which might reduce the tension in the matter. See F.G. Thomas—Field Officers etc., 23 June 1965, SM 50.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

The same approach as towards NUTA was also taken in regard to an organization called Tanzania Unified Teaching Service; it was also ultimately classified by church leaders as a government organization rather than a labour union. Yet like in 1961 in the grant question, the denomination insisted that Adventist teachers adhere to more conditions than non-Adventist teachers so that central denominational positions might not be compromised. Refraining from immorality, abstaining from tobacco and alcohol, and observing the Sabbath were all to remain conditions for Adventist teachers.²¹⁰ Thus, a compromise had been worked out that provided both continuity with the Adventist tradition and a feasible working arrangement in an environment radically different from the nineteenth century American origins of the denomination.²¹¹

Compared with the labour union controversy, the frictions around nationalization and *mgambo* were less protracted but more intense. Many Adventist leaders were left in bewilderment in view of the nationalization of educational and economic entities,²¹² for it touched the very core of the denomination's pre-independence missionary strategy and robbed the church of an aspect of its identity that it liked to display in public.²¹³ In a way, nationalization was the logical climax of a development in which the churches had become more and more dependent on state aid for their educational programmes. Still, it came as a surprise and as a major blow to church leaders of all denominations.²¹⁴ For Adventists, it was most paradoxical that all church primary schools were to be handed over to the government after the many debates and conflicts over salaries, grants-in-aid, and labour unions. Nationalization

²¹⁰ TU Minutes, 17 January 1965, no. 477, ETC.

²¹¹ In the year 2003, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia published a statement which, probably for the first time in Adventist history, officially took a rather positive stand toward unions. In it, the positive function and role that trade unions have in negotiations is acknowledged, and the right of members to join or not to join is stated; see "Australia: Church Approves New Statement on Labor Unions," *Adventist News Network Bulletin*, 1 July 2003, <http://news.adventist.org/data/2003/06/1057082506/index.html.en> (accessed 1 December 2005).

²¹² Interview Odiembo. Missionary Brian Ellingworth even feared that nationalization, especially in the economic sector, may halt the work of the church because of economic problems and because Harvest Ingathering funds and with them the medical work of the church may be affected; see [B. Ellingworth]—Charles and Betty [family name?], 6 July 1971, and B. and Ferne Ellingworth—D. and Mrs Dobias, 3 June 1971, ETC.

²¹³ American Adventists could proudly state in the 1960s that the "Adventist school system is the largest Protestant school system abroad and the second largest in the United States"; see "Schools, SDA," SDAE, 1154.

²¹⁴ Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 120–122.

meant that only about two hundred of the formerly nearly ten thousand students in Adventist schools in the 1960s remained. All of them were at Ikizu, the only school that stayed under the denomination's administration. It is therefore no exaggeration when Jocktan Kuyenga resignedly evaluated the 1969 events by stating, "Adventist education got a deadly wound in Tanzania."²¹⁵

At the same time, there were areas where the loss of schools was a relief rather than a shock. Many Adventist schools had been handed over to local governments already before the great nationalization wave of 1969 because the constituencies had wished so.²¹⁶ This had often reduced heavy financial commitments, especially when government grants were not yet received. In Pare, for instance, the situation was more than unsatisfactory during the 1960s because the government did not support all church schools. When the government took over five schools in 1967–1968, church leaders expressed satisfaction and even stated their hope that the other schools in the Field were also going to be nationalized "to reduce this very great burden."²¹⁷

The process of nationalizing Adventist schools culminated in 1972. It appeared that the government wanted to take over Ikizu, the only remaining Adventist school in the country. The church's leadership had initially thought that such an action could be averted by renaming as "Ikizu Seminary" what were in reality two institutions, a secondary school and a training school for pastors, in order for the whole school to be classified as a ministerial training institution. Furthermore, the fact that Ikizu, different from many primary schools, had not been grant-aided gave Adventists the assurance that it could remain under denominational administration.²¹⁸ Yet some time in 1970 and 1971, the government seemingly took definite steps towards nationalization.²¹⁹ In 1972, when it appeared that a takeover by the government was almost inevitable, a delegation of four Tanzanian pastors was sent to the

²¹⁵ J. Kuyenga, "Elimu," Report at TU Session, 1977, 1, SM 71. The "deadly wound" motif is a well-known metaphor in the Adventist context since it stems from Revelation 13:3.

²¹⁶ Interview Yohana Lusingu, Suji, 18 July 1999.

²¹⁷ "Taarifa ya Elimu," [NETF], 1969, SM 71.

²¹⁸ Even Roman Catholics were able to keep their seminaries, and Lutherans their theological training institutions.

²¹⁹ It was heard that a member of parliament of Musoma had collected data about Ikizu and had taken them to Dar es Salaam; see interview Odiembo; B. and F. Ellingworth—G. and K. Cheatham, 3 August 1971, ETC.

Ministry of Education, and the Minister, Simon Chiwanga, decided to desist from this plan.²²⁰ How did this happen? Apparently, government leaders had changed their mind even before. They did not want Ikizu any more by 1972 because of the huge financial burden caused by the many schools that had been nationalized in the years before.²²¹ Thus, an episode of fear, friction, and confusion ended quite peacefully.

The *mgambo* issue also had its centre at Ikizu²²² although similar problems arose elsewhere as well.²²³ In 1971, *mgambo*, a government-sponsored militia, was introduced at schools around Lake Victoria as a preventive measure against a possible aggression by Idi Amin of Uganda, who appeared to threaten Tanzanian national security. A large number of Ikizu students had joined the TANU Youth League, and when nationalist sentiments were channelled into plans for youth militia training in early 1971, open controversy broke out between students and teachers. Several of the teachers were missionaries, and the majority of these non-Tanzanians as well as the Tanzanian headmaster, Elisha Luyeho, vigorously opposed the *mgambo* exercises at Ikizu as well as the socialist teaching that accompanied them.²²⁴ In contrast, most Tanzanian teachers pronounced their views in a much more cautious way.

In this case, a delegation was also sent, first to government leaders at Dar es Salaam, and then to the Musoma Area Commissioner “to explain our beliefs on military training and competition sports” and

²²⁰ The delegation consisted of Simeon D. Otieno, Mispereth Rutolyo, Raphael Megera, and Thomas Lisso; see interviews Lusingu and Otieno. Chiwanga, an Anglican priest, became more widely known in the Christian world when he became Bishop of Mpwapwa in 1991.

²²¹ Okeyo, “God’s Hand,” 12. Okeyo even asserts that the idea to hand over the school to the government came from L.C. Robinson, the Tanzania Union president, who thought by giving up Ikizu the church might be granted a plot near Arusha for ministerial training. Whether this is correct is hard to verify; what is certain, though, is that after Ikizu remained in Adventist hands, land near Arusha was indeed acquired from the government in 1974.

²²² The following account is based on the interviews with Kiboko (who was a teacher at Ikizu at that time) and Okeyo, as well as on “Ikizu Shule ya Sekondari—Taarifa ya Maendeleo, 1972–1977,” File Tanzania Union Session 1977, MC, and Okeyo, “God’s Hand,” 12.

²²³ Problems with *mgambo* also occurred around Heri in 1970. Since the Adventist hospital is situated only a few kilometres away from the Burundian border where armed conflicts arose that year, government paramilitary forces were alerted at Heri Hospital, and even church members participated in spite of some members’ opposition; see interview Magogwa.

²²⁴ A parallel is recorded in Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania*, 140: R. Walsh, the chaplain of the University of Dar es Salaam in the same period, also considered military training in schools as worrying.

to elucidate why the “political and cultural program” connected with *mgambo* was contrary to Adventist principles.²²⁵ These measures were of no avail, and the situation was aggravated when rumours were heard that Luyeho was going to be detained.²²⁶ He immediately fled to Kenya,²²⁷ and under his successor, E. Tuvako, the *mgambo* activities were tolerated. Nevertheless, tensions persisted, for students, in their enthusiasm to “protect the country,” constructed a gate outside the school property, searched teachers in one instance, abused both missionaries and nationals who did not join the party, and carried guns on the campus.

This situation lasted until the end of 1972. Meanwhile, Elisha Okeyo, who had not been present during the beginning of the controversy, had taken over the headmaster’s position. Okeyo succeeded in mediating to some extent, but the decisive breakthrough happened when *mgambo* recruiters came to Ikizu in 1973. Since the training had been rather taxing, only three young men wanted to participate in the militia activities that year. The young people’s nationalism faded in view of the price they had to pay for it even if they had felt the excitement of challenging their teachers with the help of the government. The conflict was over.

The *mgambo* incident is not only significant in that it reveals the tension between Adventism and the government; it also shows the diversity of opinions that had developed inside the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church. In this context, an interesting detail is a letter of complaint that Tanzanian teachers at Ikizu sent to the Tanzania Union committee and the Afro-Mideast Division at the height of the *mgambo* conflict.²²⁸ The conflict actually helped them to express their ideas more boldly as they presented their main concern: the indigenization of Union leadership. They argued,

²²⁵ In both cases, the delegation consisted of Raphael Megera and Thomas Lisso. See TU Minutes, 6 April 1971, no. 1228, TU; TU Minutes, 23 July 1971, no. 1273, ETC.

²²⁶ Elisha Okeyo states that he later found out that the detention idea had been invented by students, for government officials not only denied that such plans had ever existed but seemed to be surprised that such rumours had been there.

²²⁷ Luyeho then taught at Kamagambo, the major Adventist school at that time, and ultimately moved to the USA.

²²⁸ The letter was signed by A.D. Kiboko, L.K. Ikanda, E.M. Tuvako, A. Dea, J.A. Kisaka, S. Boi, J. Dea, and L.N. Mwamukonda. Half of this group became important church leaders in later years: Mwamukonda became Union president in 1990, Kisaka and Dea were Union departmental directors, and Kiboko became a long-time lecturer of theology at Tanzania Adventist College.

Because of the political trends in Tanzania, the white missionaries... are regarded as vestigial elements of colonialism or rather imperialism... When African delegations visit government officials on the white leaders' behalf, the poor Africans are regarded as agents of a white boss.²²⁹

To them the issue was not so much *mgambo* vs. Adventism but African Adventist leadership vs. missionary leadership. Certainly, Tanzanians tended to be more lenient in a situation that, given an overwhelmingly powerful state, might affect them permanently. Missionaries, on the other hand, being now in the role of the church's conscience rather than directly answerable to the Tanzanian government, emphasized the denomination's tradition more than its application in a modern African nation. This strict stand did not only produce suspicions that some of them were CIA agents but also alienated them from the very people they wanted to serve, even if they were sincere in their convictions. Yet the letter writers failed to recognize that no entirely clear dividing lines existed between missionaries and Tanzanians. The fact that individuals such as Luyeho and Okeyo steered courses different from their Tanzanian colleagues because of either persuasion or the position they held shows that Tanzanian Adventists themselves disagreed on important issues.

As in the labour union and nationalization issues, the frictions with the government and inside the church around *mgambo* reveal much about the flexibility of Tanzanian Adventism as well as its non-negotiable elements. In the labour union question, initial Adventist intransigence ceded to a more accommodating stand under changed circumstances. In the Ikizu affair, the church insisted upon a minimum of self-determination concerning their seminary, and in the *mgambo* conflict, precipitating developments caused a situation that totally contradicted the leadership's position but soon opened the way for a meaningful compromise. Although each story had its own dynamics, they all constituted bargaining processes in which Adventist traditions and achievements of secondary importance were pragmatically interpreted by the leaders of a movement which combined remnant and folk church elements.

²²⁹ Teachers of Ikizu Seminary—TU Committee, 20 September 1971, Unnamed File with Presidential Correspondence, 1969–1978, MC. A copy of this letter was sent to each Tanzania Union delegate to the Afro-Mideast Division Session at the time and the Division president.

8.3 *Testing Cases: Keeping God's Commandments in the Secular World*

Some components of the Adventist heritage such as the rejection of involvement in the military and in labour unions were debatable, but others indisputably belonged to the core of the denomination's identity because Adventists considered them to be commandments straight from God. Evidently, such a central issue was Sabbath keeping.²³⁰ As in other countries,²³¹ the particular day kept holy by Adventists and the way they observed it—by complete rest from work for the whole period from Friday sunset to Saturday sunset—caused considerable conflict with society. This became manifest mainly among three groups of church members: (1) those seeking employment in a non-Adventist environment, often in government offices, (2) Adventist students in government schools, and (3) soldiers.

The controversies regarding Sabbath keeping had several causes. (1) In some contexts, the right of individuals to celebrate a holy day was not recognized at all. (2) In other environments, people were opposed to the idea of a peculiar arrangement for a small group of Christians who claimed to honour the right day that differed from that of other churches. (3) At times, decision-makers questioned the necessity of an Adventist insistence on abstaining from work for a whole day while other Christians were satisfied with attending a short worship service on Sunday morning and could then return to work if so needed. (4) In specific contexts such as the military, authorities might hold that some civil liberties did not apply.

So much did Sabbath observance constitute a hurdle in Adventist government relations that it could have thwarted the re-entry of missionaries to all of East Africa after World War I. When the denomination's European representatives were still barred from Tanzania, the church had to negotiate with the British government about a new beginning of operations in Kenya first, which would constitute the basis for requesting readmission to Tanzania as well. Yet the governor of Kenya, Edward Northey, demanded as a condition for readmission that Adventists should "cease entirely from teaching natives that there should be no

²³⁰ On the Adventist manner of Sabbath keeping, see 6.1.

²³¹ On Adventist legal struggles in relation to Sabbath problems in the USA, see Edwin S. Gaustad, *Proclaim Liberty throughout All the Land: A History of Church and State in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 120.

work on Saturdays.”²³² Apparently, he interpreted the Sabbath teaching of Adventism as encouraging Africans to be lazy.

The British Adventist Union president, M.N. Campbell, replied by affirming they held the Ten Commandments to be valid and that they believed that the literal Sabbath had to be observed. At the same time, he asserted that Adventists were “unreservedly committed to the principle of requiring six days labour” from all persons who were working for them.²³³ The British government finally readmitted Adventist missions on the condition that “natives in any district where work on a Saturday is customary must not be discouraged from working on that day.”²³⁴ The argument in Campbell’s response that was accepted as agreeable²³⁵ is most enlightening. He stated, “I am sure that His Majesty’s Ministers of State would not ask us to acknowledge any other authority in religious matters than the sacred Scriptures.”²³⁶ By doing so, he reaffirmed the Adventist position on Sabbath keeping but did not openly reject the condition given and thus kept the door of diplomacy open. The Adventist mix of loyalty to the government and firmness in matters of central importance for denominational identity worked out.

Adventist Professionals Facing the World of Employment

Apart from this early instance of conflict with the government, the Sabbath question did not frequently become an issue during the first generation of Adventists in Tanzania. Obviously, the small number of the church’s adherents, the few permanent employment opportunities outside the church, and the fact that a good number of church members who had acquired some education were absorbed into church service meant that the occasions for conflicts over work on Sabbath were rare. Even if taking up work with a European was a way of earning valuable cash in the first decades of the century, missionary Max Kunze warned

²³² E. Northey—Under Secretary of State, 10 January 1920, TNA 11333/I, no. 7–8.

²³³ M.N. Campbell—Under Secretary of State, 23 February 1920; M.N. Campbell—Colonial Office, 4 March 1920, TNA 11333/I, no. 10–13.

²³⁴ H.J. Read, Downing Street—M.N. Campbell, 11 March 1920, TNA 11333/I, no. 14.

²³⁵ H.J. Read—M.N. Campbell, 7 April 1920, TNA 11333/I, no. 15, 17. Adventists were ultimately allowed to resume missionary operations under the condition that “their teaching... does not cause trouble and unrest among the natives.”

²³⁶ M.N. Campbell—Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 15 March 1920, TNA 11333/I, no. 16.

that it was impossible for an African Adventist to accept this profitable kind of employment as most Whites did not believe that Africans had any rights.²³⁷ This might tell more about the kind of Europeans who lived in Tanzania at that period than about the possibility of working for them, for some Adventists actually tried this avenue. Petro Risase observed that some gave in concerning the Sabbath question but others did not, which relativizes Kunze's claim and shows that some early Tanzanian Adventists had considerable religious stamina while others were more pragmatic.²³⁸

Given this fact, M.N. Campbell's assertion in 1922 that the Sabbath may become an issue one day but still required "no special sacrifice" for Africans²³⁹ must be qualified. Certainly this was true to some extent wherever African Adventists continued living a rural life. With a changing economy, however, and in the context of a colonial government that did not recognize Africans' religious persuasions much, things steadily changed. In 1927 there was a report that near Majita a Tanzanian Adventist was beaten by a European government official because of refusing to work on Sabbath.²⁴⁰ By 1930, European plantations had become such an attraction for Pare Adventists that the Pare Church Council decided that all church members seeking employment should make provision for Sabbath privileges before being employed.²⁴¹ Apparently, controversies regarding work on Sabbath had already become significant issues.

By mid-century, serious Sabbath problems began to erupt.²⁴² In 1951–52, there were an Adventist council court clerk and two agricultural instructors serving the government and the Native Authority in the Musoma district who refused to work on Saturdays but indicated their willingness to work on Sundays. The Provincial Commissioner

²³⁷ Max Kunze, "Erntedankfest in Afrika," ZW 18, no. 13 (1 July 1912): 261–263.

²³⁸ Undated *Mbirikizi* article by Petro Risase, quoted in Kotz, *Skolaven*, 147.

²³⁹ M.N. Campbell, "East African Missions," RH 99 (11 May 1922): 6.

²⁴⁰ "Conversions in Africa," MW 32, no. 3 (11 February 1927): 2. According to this report, the church member declared, "You can beat me as much as you like, Sir, but I cannot disobey my God."

²⁴¹ Pare Church Council, 15 July 1930, SM 7.

²⁴² This paragraph draws from TNA 21746 (Permission to be absent from Duty to attend Religious Ceremonies on days other than Gazetted Holidays, 1933 [in fact, 1933–1952]), no. 9–25, especially Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province—Member for Local Government, Dar es Salaam, 17 August 1951 and 16 January 1952; and R.H. Robertson—Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, 28 January 1952, no. 9, 24, 25, and the comment sheets attached.

considered dismissal; he argued that other Christians had to work on Sundays “if the pressure of work demands.” Yet he was informed by other government administrators that Adventists “just won’t work on Saturdays.” This made it impossible to work with the compromise common in the case of other denominations—worship attendance and subsequent return to work. The last piece of correspondence recommended that the persons involved be warned “and if, for religious reasons, they are unwilling to work on Saturdays they should be asked to resign.” Furthermore, it was suggested that all prospective Adventist employees should be informed beforehand that Saturday was a working day.²⁴³

On the surface, it seems that this was a severe blow for Adventists. However, one should not neglect reading between the lines. The Provincial Commissioner noted that it should be avoided to take an action that could “be interpreted as saying that a man might be dismissed from government service because of his religious beliefs,”²⁴⁴ especially in view of the fact that Adventists were found in other parts of the country as well. Thus, the Musoma district case was no simple defeat for the denomination. Rather, it must be viewed in the context of the public discourse on religious liberty and the observance of various religious holidays in the years before.

In the latter part of the 1940s, attempts had been made by representatives of the Christian Council of Tanganyika to lobby for better provisions of religious freedom, and it had become common for government employees to be allowed attending church on Sundays even on days with emergency duty.²⁴⁵ Muslims in government service were also granted some opportunities for celebrating their religious festivals.²⁴⁶ Thus, it would have been unjust for the colonial administration to dismiss the Adventist demands as completely unreasonable. On the other hand, Muslims did not get an extra hour off for Friday prayers

²⁴³ Another suggestion, that Adventists work overtime during five days of the week to finish all the hours, was considered but did not emerge as the final solution.

²⁴⁴ Comment sheet attached to TNA 21746, no. 9.

²⁴⁵ On CCT activities in the realm of religious liberty and its promotion of greater emphasis on Sunday observance in the public sector, see TNA 37616 (Sunday Observance, 1948 [in fact 1941–1948]), especially an article by C.D. Maling, Secretary of the Christian Council of Tanganyika, newspaper cutting from Tanganyika Standard, 29 May 1948, and Canon R.M. Gibbons, Tanganyika Legislative Council—Surrige, 6 June 1948, no. 18, 19.

²⁴⁶ See TNA 21746, no. 1–8, which are various Muslim requests for being granted special permission for attending religious ceremonies in the 1930s and 1940s.

in neighbouring Kenya, which apparently influenced the Tanzanian mode of dealing with the faithful of this religion as well.²⁴⁷ It was only logical that Adventists with their rigid stand about Sabbath observance faced serious difficulties in this colonial context where religious liberty was not a consistently applied principle.

The church's leadership was not ignorant of these problems. When the Sabbath crisis in the Musoma district had just begun, both the African Advisory Council and the Tanganyika Mission Field counselled "that church members seeking employment with the government and elsewhere respectfully ask for a free Sabbath before being employed."²⁴⁸ Certainly not all members followed this instruction, for it would have meant that hardly anybody could find work with the government, which was the most important employer at that time. During the rest of the decade, then, Adventists employees remained in the uneasy situation of depending on local arrangements and favours of superiors, which sometimes worked out and in other cases did not.²⁴⁹

This was also the period when the church leadership began trying to influence the government with the aim of ensuring Adventist Sabbath privileges.²⁵⁰ A major occasion for doing so arose in 1960, when the constitution of the independent Tanganyika was prepared. Adventists requested the government to include a clause on religious liberty in the constitution, which, however, did not result in any alteration.²⁵¹ After independence, conflicts with the state continued locally when the government, the party or the TANU Youth League called for meetings on Saturdays. Most Adventists did not attend on principle.²⁵² In some areas

²⁴⁷ The Secretariat, Nairobi—Administrator, East Africa High Commission, 11 November 1949, TNA 21746, no. 5.

²⁴⁸ TMF Minutes, 23 June 1951, no. E. 113, SM 6. This minute by the European committee referred to a recommendation from the African Advisory Council, but the minutes of this council have all been lost.

²⁴⁹ See, e.g., K.K. John—B. Ellingworth, 22 March 1956; and [?—Director, Suji Mission and School, 5 June 1960, SM 48; B.L. Ellingworth—F.G. Reid, 15 November 1955, SM 46.

²⁵⁰ One opportunity to do so was a case of compulsory community work in 1958. Adventists were fined if they did not participate in this community work, which the leadership wanted to avert. See EAU Minutes, 1 May 1958, no. 855, and 4 May 1958, no. 928, EAU.

²⁵¹ *The Constitution of Tanganyika* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, [1961]), 1; TU Minutes, 28 December 1960, no. 167, NETC. The nation's Christian Council did the same; see Swantz, "Church, Mission and State Relations in Pre- and Postindependent Tanzania, 1955–1964," 25–26.

²⁵² Interviews Megeera and Bomani. In a similar case during the early 1990s, the Suji chairman of the government party CCM changed the solidarity walk (*Matembezi*

of strong Adventist presence such as Heri, government leaders learned that such meetings were very successful when conducted on other days and thus accepted such a course of action as a compromise.²⁵³

In the context of a diversifying society, the conditions and manners of Adventist Sabbath keeping became very diverse in the post-independence period. Some Adventists such as George Mwasumbi and Alinanine Mwambogela took a firm stand; they rejected prestigious government employment for fear that it would oblige them to break their commitment to the seventh day.²⁵⁴ Among those in government positions, a number of individuals were granted a free Saturday,²⁵⁵ while others were given opportunity to attend worship only,²⁵⁶ which forced them to choose between their religious convictions and their job. Very often, however, not even worship attendance was granted by the various employers. This problem was recognized early by the Union leaders who admonished members to uphold standards of Sabbath observance, particularly “rural members seeking employment in cities and towns.”²⁵⁷ This often remained a mere ideal, which is evident in letters from the Dar es Salaam pastor in the late 1960s, K. Bariki Elineema, which are filled with lament about the many members who work on Sabbath. Elineema sadly declared that many had “discarded the truth” after coming to the city.²⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the official position of Adventists on the matter never changed. Zephania Bina, the president of East Nyanza Field in the early 1970s, was asked by the government to explain in 1973 why some Adventists actually worked on Sabbath and what the stand of the church was. He answered: (1) Adventists keep the day for twenty-four hours. (2) Going to church is only part of the Sabbath and often takes place

ya Mshikamano) to Sunday locally, he got in trouble with his party superiors, but he was bold enough to do so because he knew on Sabbath nobody would have participated. See interview Lusingu.

²⁵³ Interviews Maguru and Ntiamalumwe.

²⁵⁴ They had been offered to serve as District and Regional Educational Officer, respectively; see interview Mwambogela.

²⁵⁵ B[ender], C.M., “Henry John,” *News Notes: Tanzania Union* 2, no. 1 (November 1966): 13–14. Henry John was a convert at the 1966 Mwanza evangelistic effort who was ready to leave his work with the government as a higher clerical officer in the Mwanza police force. He wrote to the Ministry concerned asking to be given a free Sabbath, and the request was granted.

²⁵⁶ Interview Lusingu.

²⁵⁷ TU Minutes, 11 December 1963, no. 289, ETC.

²⁵⁸ K.B. Elineema—Rudi H. Henning, 17 November 1968, 23 March 1969, 31 March 1969, and 11 July 1969, ETC.

in the afternoon as well. (3) The Sabbath begins on Friday evening. (4) The government has granted students the freedom to attend worship. (5) Members are ready to work on Sunday. (6) Unfaithful members who do not go to church are called apostates by the church.²⁵⁹ Because Sabbath keeping was such a central element in the identity of the “Remnant Church,” the denomination’s leadership was not ready to make any compromise. Members of the emerging Adventist folk church, however, developed a larger variety of ways to live in the real world while appreciating parts of their ecclesiastical heritage.

Adventist Students Facing the Public School System

Students faced similar existential difficulties, which, however, often led to a more accommodating stand by the authorities concerned. In the pre-independence period, problems in this realm had been rare because most students attended Seventh-day Adventist schools only, and when they were sent to other institutions, often to those that belonged to some other denomination, arrangements could generally be made beforehand.²⁶⁰ In the 1950s a few conflicts arose, for example when a group of five students at Moshi Trade School faced some Sabbath difficulties. The government also tried to compel Ikizu students several times to write examinations on Sabbath, but in each instance the problems were solved to the satisfaction of the parties involved.²⁶¹

Serious friction occurred in the 1960s because by then an increasing number of students had begun attending non-Adventist schools. Moreover, many formerly Adventist schools had been handed over to the local government during that decade, and ultimately all primary schools would be nationalized. Where non-Adventist teachers were employed in schools with a majority of Adventists parents, the potential for disharmony was great at times. In Majita, for instance, there was a silent agreement at most places that Adventists did not have to attend school on Sabbath, but one non-Adventist head teacher forced

²⁵⁹ Z. Bina—Mkurugenzi wa Maendeleo, Wilaya ya Musoma, 30 January 1973, File Waliofukuzwa Kazi MKC, MC.

²⁶⁰ Supt. of Education, Old Moshi Central School—Mr Beardsell, 12 April 1934, SM 21; Mary Archbold—Mr Ellingworth, 19 December 1955, SM 48.

²⁶¹ See B. Ellingworth—G.S. Glass, 14 August 1959; G.S. Glass—B. Ellingworth, 25 August 1959, SM 47; Stephen Salehe etc.—Mission Director Suji, 23 November 1959, SM 46; and G.J.E. Coetzee, “Ikizu Training School: The School,” SADO 54, no. 4 (15 April 1956): 6.

children to be present and beat those who did not do so in 1968–69. Jocktan Kuyenga, who was then the Youth Director of the Field, took the issue to the Regional Commissioner, and the teacher concerned was ultimately removed. Similar conflicts also occurred at Heri and in the Tarime area.²⁶²

The most frustrating experiences were probably those of Adventists who strove for higher education but were denied access to this government service because of their religious principles. An early example is told by Adzere Kiboko, who arrived at Mpwapwa Teacher Training College in 1962 only to find that stern Britons still sat in the principal's, registrar's and chaplain's offices. They would not discuss religious persuasions with a young African, and on his first Saturday afternoon at the college, he was handed a letter of expulsion because he had not attended classes in the morning.²⁶³ There were also Adventist victories in such controversies, but they often depended on personal relations and chance.²⁶⁴

Experiences of friction regarding the Sabbath continued throughout the 1970s as well.²⁶⁵ A striking example is a group of thirty Adventist students at Kilosa Secondary School, a government institution newly established in 1977, whose headmaster threatened to expel all those who did not bow to his command that they must attend school activities on Saturdays. Eight students had to leave a few weeks later, and half a year passed until the issue finally reached the Ministry of Education. The Director of Secondary Education then decided that they should return to the same school and that their religious convictions were to be accommodated.²⁶⁶

What were the reasons for such continued conflicts? Apart from the obvious difficulty for non-Adventists to understand the degree of seri-

²⁶² Interviews Kuyenga and Nūamalumwe; Fanuel M. Robin—District Education Officer, Tarime, n.d., File Education—Primary SDA Schools, 1966–1971, MC.

²⁶³ Interview Kiboko.

²⁶⁴ A positive outcome resulted in a similar experience of Elisha Okeyo at Dar es Salaam Teacher Training College. He was the first African student to attend this formerly “Whites only” college; see Okeyo, “God’s Hand,” 8–9.

²⁶⁵ The problems Adventist students encountered especially in secondary schools are outlined in Fritz O. Martinsen, “A Brief Report on Retreats for SDA Students in Public Secondary Schools Held in Bukoba, Tabora and Dodoma During October 1975,” 1975, ETC.

²⁶⁶ See G.H. Mbwana—Asheri Kusekwa, 19 January 1977; Ashery [*sic*] Kusekwa—President wa Field, Morogoro SDA, 15 January 1977 and 8 March 1977; G.H. Mbwana—Elder Beardsell, 8 May 1977; and Baraka G. Muganda—Wazazi Wapendwa na Vijana wa Secondary Kilosa, 2 August 1977, all at ETC.

ousness that the adherents of this church invested into the observance of the seventh day, a major issue was the missing concept of religious liberty in Tanzanian public discourse. The fact that freedom of religion was only implied in the preamble of the country's constitution, not an expressly stated citizen's right, was inherited from the British officials who drafted Tanganyika's constitution of 1961; yet this deficiency was not made up for until 1984.²⁶⁷

A main reason for the seemingly never-ending frictions was that the Tanzanian government, in spite of all signs of sympathy, never made an official pronouncement that would give Adventists the right to enjoy full freedom to keep the Sabbath in educational situations. Already before independence, the denomination had requested this privilege.²⁶⁸ In 1959, the government announced, probably with reference to the Moshi Trade School incident, that Seventh-day Adventist pupils' "special wishes" had appeared once or twice lately, and the Director of Education did not want to give a directive but asked for a "local arrangement" to be made in each case, trusting that sympathetic consideration would be given.²⁶⁹ This 1959 circular was certainly a progress as compared to the legal vacuum that existed before. Still, it left the full authority to school administrators, as was visible in the Kiboko case of 1962. Adventist students did not yet have any right but depended on the mercy of individuals.

In 1963 followed a government instruction to school administrators that could be regarded as a breakthrough although in practice its impact was only gradually different from the 1959 circular. The Ministry of National Education noted Adventist students' "rigid refusal to do any work including study and games on Saturdays" and recognized that "it is a fundamental principle of this sect that its followers should refrain from labour of any kind on Saturdays." Therefore it was stipulated,

²⁶⁷ The new constitution of 1977 still had no provision for religious liberty. Only in 1984 was a section on the freedom of religion added to the constitution; see *Katiba ya Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania ya Mwaka 1977* at <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/images/katibamuungano.pdf>, 19 (accessed 1 December 2005).

²⁶⁸ EAU Minutes, 9 October 1958, no. 956, EAU (contains the letter Robert L. Osmunson, Educational Secretary, East African Union Mission—E.T.L. Spratt, Assistant Director of Education [African], Tanganyika, 5 October 1958). Osmunson had argued, "We . . . consider it reasonable that Seventh-day Adventist students in Government schools be given Sabbath privileges, with the understanding that they are willing to attend classes or perform secular duties on any other day of the week."

²⁶⁹ Ministry of Education and Labour, Department of Education—Circular to Provincial and District Education Officers and Principals of Higher Learning Institutions, 28 October 1959, TNA 301/EDA/1067/I, no. 13.

as far as it is possible they should be given the most sympathetic consideration... Adventist pupils... should be excused from studies and duties on the strict understanding that on their own initiative they make amends by “catching up” on Sundays.²⁷⁰

This directive made Adventists rejoice and gave them the courage to persist in ensuing cases.²⁷¹ The church leadership followed up the pronouncement by officially admonishing the faithful to “maintain a firm stand in respect to faithful Sabbath observance” and by encouraging parents of pupils concerned to “assert their right to have their children observe the Sabbath.”²⁷² Yet as visible in the 1977 case at Kilosa, the 1963 circular still lacked the force of legislation. It demanded that serious difficulties be referred to the Ministry of Education, but as a “should” rule rather than a constitutionally guaranteed right, it could be circumvented by those who chose *not* to give “the most sympathetic consideration.” In a nation that lacked the history, the independent institutions and the consciousness of a constitutional state, anything less than a government law did not have the force to prevent people from trying to suppress religious minorities.

Only in 1978 did another decisive move happen. Mishael Muze, an Adventist teacher and mathematician who worked at the University of Dar es Salaam at that time, was appointed Commissioner of Education, a chief professional advisor to the government who was second in rank to the Minister of Education. With the Adventist Sabbath problems in mind but without mentioning them, Muze recommended to the Ministry of Education that a five-day week might help teachers to have quality time for preparations, arguing that a sixth day of structured work was rather unnecessary. The Ministry and the parliament accepted, and it became a law that no periods should be taught on Saturdays any more in primary and secondary schools.²⁷³ The battle had been fought the

²⁷⁰ J. Cameroon, Ministry of National Education—All Headmasters/Headmistresses of Secondary and Trade Schools and all Principals, Technical College Dar es Salaam, 10 June 1963, ETC.

²⁷¹ T.R. Lisso, “Educational Report,” Tanzania Union Session, 1967, SM 71. A case that happened shortly after was that of Luke Abayo, a student at a technical college, who had to sit for Cambridge O-Level exams on Sabbath and refused. After a long discussion with the principal, a telegram was sent to the Examining Board, and the examination dates were changed for him. See *News Notes—Tanzania Union*, April 1965, File Ministerial Exchange 1963–1974, MC.

²⁷² TU Minutes, 11 December 1963, no. 288, ETC.

²⁷³ Mishael S. Muze to the author, 5 August 2001; see also Mishael S. Muze, “The Journey Must Go On,” *Dialogue* 7, no. 2 (1995): 32–33, which is mainly on the story of Muze’s life but mentions the Sabbath issue.

Tanzanian way, without addressing the issues directly. This outcome was significant, only that the general thinking on the matter had not changed as is visible in later cases of Sabbath examinations at the university level, when Adventist students were again expelled.²⁷⁴ Thus, victory was accompanied by defeat; the Adventists' rigid stand implied that conflicts would not end in an environment where full religious freedom in educational situations had no legal basis.

Adventist Men Facing Military Service

Military service was a troublesome issue for Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventists for several reasons.²⁷⁵ (1) Sabbath keeping was difficult in a context where many rules of civil life had been removed. (2) Some Adventist draftees insisted on upholding the Adventist tradition of non-combatant service even in a context where no provision was made for such options. (3) The diversity of persuasions among Adventist soldiers did not make it easy for superiors to understand what was the official Adventist practice and what were individuals' fads.

World Wars I and II had constituted formidable challenges to the worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church in that the countries with the then largest membership, Germany and the USA, fought each other. The church had inherited a non-combatant tradition from its nineteenth century American forebears,²⁷⁶ but when World War I came, many had forgotten that this position had been a matter of serious debate in the 1860s when it was forged. John H. Waggoner and James White, two of the leading Adventists, advocated a somewhat lenient stance,²⁷⁷ whereas

²⁷⁴ This happened repeatedly. One example: in the late 1980s, two students at Sokoine University of Agriculture at Morogoro, Geoffrey Simon and Lucas Nzungu, were dismissed from studies because they refused to do examinations on Sabbath. They were given jobs as teachers at Parane and Ikizu Secondary Schools by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, but the church leadership did not intervene in another way, apparently because church leaders did not want to strain relations with the government. See interview Kuyenga; I also personally know the two persons.

²⁷⁵ On Adventists and military service in general, see Ronald Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventists and the Issue of Military Service," *Review of Religious Research* 37, no. 3 (March 1996): 193–218.

²⁷⁶ A "non-combatant" means a person drafted into war service who is allowed not to bear arms; instead, he performs medical or administrative tasks. Different from a pacifist, he does not completely reject war but insist on non-participation or types of service that do not involve the possibility of direct killing. The article, "Noncombatancy," SDAE, 871–872, outlines this Adventist tradition as well as its twentieth century application in the United States.

²⁷⁷ White argued that in "the case of drafting, the government assumes the responsibility of the violation of the law of God, and it would be madness to resist." See

other Adventists called Waggoner and White murderers and Sabbath violators. It took Ellen White's intervention to appease them.²⁷⁸ Finally, the denomination adopted a non-combatant position, which stipulated opposition to volunteering for war but support for governments in any other way. In his study on Adventist views on military service, Johannes Hartlapp conclusively analyses that nineteenth century Adventists had looked for and found a "pragmatic solution of common consensus" because of their eschatological orientation that excluded a merely dogmatic stand.²⁷⁹

In the beginning of the twentieth century, most nations outside North America did not give any room for the non-combatant persuasions that Adventists brought with them. Thus, the Adventist tradition conflicted with the new environments, and the challenge was to find a new solution that would uphold the non-combatant stance as well as the heritage of pragmatism. A workable compromise would have certainly been a silent acceptance of military draft with the understanding that this was only to be a temporary accommodation. Yet some German Adventist leaders such as Conradi went further and openly advocated the acceptability of military service.²⁸⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that even concerning the military involvement of missionaries to Tanzania he commended that they "knew to fulfil their duty for their fatherland faithfully."²⁸¹ What Hartlapp classifies as Conradi's "excessively prag-

James White, "The Nation," RH 20 (12 August 1862): 84; see also John H. Waggoner, "Our Duty and the Nation," RH 29 (23 September 1862): 132–133.

²⁷⁸ Ellen White defended James White's article that it was "to turn away the suspicions excited against Sabbathkeepers"; she insisted on "reason and sound judgment." The final, however, statement was: "I was shown that God's people... cannot engage in this perplexing war, for it is opposed to every principle of their faith." See Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1 (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948), 356, 357, 361 (originally written in 1862); see also the explanations in the appendix of the same book, 716–717.

²⁷⁹ Johannes Hartlapp, "Military Service: A Comparative Study between the New Testament Teaching and the Attitude of German Adventists," M.A. thesis, Newbold College, 1994, 42–44.

²⁸⁰ Conradi's stand was even expressed in the German Adventist missionary magazine *Der Advent-Bote in der Heidenwelt*, which focused on Adventist activities in Tanzania. In the very beginning of the war, he declared, "The noble and the lowly compete in putting their lives on the altar of the fatherland in order to protect it in holy self-defence against the interventions of the enemy." See "Die Mission und der jetzige Weltkrieg," ABH 1, no. 2 (1914): 26–27. Unfortunately, no author is stated, but it is most likely that L.R. Conradi wrote this editorial, for he was the editor of the magazine.

²⁸¹ Conradi, *Freud und Leid*, 10; similarly, K. Kaltenhäuser writes in *ibid.*, 45, that O. Wallath died "the death of a hero for his earthly fatherland."

matic²⁸² position was the consequence of a German nationalism that clearly exceeded the minimal loyalty due to any government.²⁸³

The events and attitudes in Germany had a threefold impact on Tanzania: (1) they served as a general background to the later discussion in Tanzania, (2) they had a direct impact on the side of German missionaries in World War I, and (3) they had effects on the denomination's course during World War II, which, in turn, had some bearing on Tanzania. The next war and the Adventist responses to it resembled the previous war in some respects, but in American Adventists' positions a gradual shift towards nationalism had occurred. Instead of the Adventist abstinence from direct war involvement, the need for supporting the government was now stressed, a concept that came to be called "conscientious cooperation."²⁸⁴ Thus, although American Adventists theoretically upheld the non-combatancy principle in World War II, both American and German Adventists revealed passionate patriotism in their war involvement.²⁸⁵

In Tanzania, the impact of this war was felt most acutely at Ikizu Secondary School. Several students were drafted in 1942²⁸⁶ in spite of consistent attempts to avert this situation.²⁸⁷ What is interesting is how

²⁸² Hartlapp, "Military Service," 102.

²⁸³ Conradi's position was only one side; there were Adventist views on the other extreme as well. World War I became a serious crisis because German Adventists were deeply divided over the issue of military involvement, to the point of a schism which produced the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement, which completely rejected military service.

²⁸⁴ This term was promoted instead of the more common "conscientious objector" by Carlyle B. Haynes, who worked for the General Conference War Service Commission in both wars; see Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 442. On the development of Adventists and military service in the USA until World War II, see Roger G. Davis, "Conscientious Cooperators: The Seventh-Day Adventists and Military Service, 1860–1945," Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1970.

²⁸⁵ Roland Blaich, "Divided Loyalties: American and German Seventh-Day Adventists and the Second World War," *Spectrum* 30, no. 1 (2002): 37–51.

²⁸⁶ They included Elizaphan Wanjara, Raphael Megera, Kahindi Chambiri, Erasto Meri, Eliasaph Mfungo, Daudi Kaboja, and Felias Chacha; see interview E. Wanjara. Wanjara was subsequently released from military service because he was from Ukerewe while the government only drafted people of the then Mara District.

²⁸⁷ Because Adventists at Ikizu had initially refused to release their young people, the District Commissioner revenged in a painful way: by blocking food rations that should have been allocated to the school. Finally, the school had to submit. See interviews Bomani and Mashigan. Interestingly, the Mennonites, who also traditionally reject military service, were given the opportunity to explain themselves individually to their respective chief, who would then assign an "alternate service" to them or send them to the military; see Hess, *The Pilgrimage of Faith*, 41.

the somewhat relaxed stand on military involvement in the United States translated into the Tanzanian context. When the soldiers came back from war, the Tanzania Mission Field Committee voted, “Members who broke the Sabbath while in the army should enter the baptismal class and be re-baptized into the Church when considered for re-entry.”²⁸⁸ The fact that killing and war activities were not mentioned in this action is significant. Although silence should not be over-interpreted, the absence of a clear condemnation of military service as such or a stipulation about church discipline regarding military involvement is striking. Evidently, the Sabbath was regarded as the major issue during the war because it was the central symbol for the Adventist remnant identity.

The 1960s and 1970s brought about a new situation in that Adventists now had to face an independent nation that drafted people even in times of peace. As in a 1951 statement to the colonial government,²⁸⁹ it was voted in 1960 and in 1963 to inform the government about the church’s non-combatant persuasions and to request that a provision be made for young Adventists in this regard.²⁹⁰ Constituting preventative measures, these actions came at a time when the country did not have a legal framework for military service yet. When the National Service Act was introduced in 1964, however, no arrangement for non-combatants was included. The law demanded that all those desiring post-secondary education join the *Jeshi la Kujenga Taiifa*, a paramilitary organization that was deployed for development projects but also gave some basic military training to young people.²⁹¹

The church actions that followed the implementation of this law reveal some degree of helplessness. It was decided that the youth departments on the Field and Union levels were to deal with National Service issues, and a subcommittee on National Service was appointed;

²⁸⁸ TMF Minutes, 3–7 February 1947, no. E 320, SM 5.

²⁸⁹ TMF Minutes, 17–21 January 1951, no. E 22, SM 6.

²⁹⁰ TU Minutes, 28 December 1960, no. 168, NETC; TU Minutes, 8 January 1963, no. 32, ETC.

²⁹¹ *Jeshi la Kujenga Taiifa* means “nation-building army” but is commonly rendered in English as “National Service.” National Service was commonly done at training camps far away from draftees’ homes, a system that was designed to create a sense of nationhood in a young nation that consisted of more than a hundred people groups with different cultural backgrounds. See C.K. Omari, “The Management of Tribal and Religious Diversity,” in *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, ed. Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari (London: James Currey, 1995), 28.

however, it failed to present a report.²⁹² Politicians with an Adventist background tried to intervene as well. Paulo Bomani informed President Nyerere about the Adventists' problems and that they desired some kind of alternative service, but Nyerere did not accept this idea.²⁹³ Later, during the *mgambo* issue in 1971, a statement was sent to all churches that specified "Adventist beliefs concerning bearing of arms and Sabbath observance in the army."²⁹⁴ Finally, Tanzania General Field even suggested active prevention of problems rather than reacting once difficulties had occurred by sending declarations to congregations. This plan aimed at arranging a "military cadet training camp" with First Aid and medical instruction to open the way for alternative service in the medical line.²⁹⁵

Yet this action was never implemented. The main reason is most likely that the Adventist world church decided at its Annual Council meeting in 1972 that military service was to be regarded a matter of individual conscience. This was an obvious break with the denomination's non-combatant tradition.²⁹⁶ Yet there was a rationale for this innovation: in the USA, church members had taken very diverse positions by the late 1960s in the context of the antiwar movement, ranging from pacifism to active military involvement. Even administrators were divided on the issue, and the pragmatic thing to do was to accommodate all opinions.²⁹⁷ Since the issue seemingly did not touch the core of remnant identity, such a concession was deemed acceptable.

In such a new environment, Tanzanians were relieved on the one hand; the situation of countries without non-combatant options was

²⁹² TU Minutes, 13 September 1966, no. 835; 27 March 1967, no. 149; 3 December 1967, no. 325, ETC. The only action that was finally taken was to send a delegation to the second vice president's office and to pay an informal visit to Nyerere in the Musoma area when he visited his home.

²⁹³ When Bomani was Minister of Finance, he ordered that Adventist young people in the military be allowed at least to worship, which was then usually implemented locally. T.E.K. Mbwambo, the TANU Youth League leader in Dar es Salaam in the late 1960s who came from an Adventist family, faced Prime Minister Rashid Kawawa and requested that Adventist young men be given the permission to rest on Sabbath in the army. Mbwambo states that Kawawa wrote a letter stating that all Adventists be given this Sabbath rest. However, that letters of semi-official nature did not have binding force is obvious. See interviews Mbwambo and Bomani.

²⁹⁴ TU Minutes, 9 May 1971, no. 1256, ETC. Unfortunately, no copy of this important statement could be traced.

²⁹⁵ TGF Minutes, 26 April 1971, no. 417, ETC.

²⁹⁶ Only in 1954, the General Conference had voted a statement on non-combatancy that had confirmed the nineteenth century stand.

²⁹⁷ On these developments, see Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers?," 203–204.

now removed from a church policy vacuum. On the other hand, the real issues continued to exist; the Christian attitude to killing and self-defence and the Adventist concern for Sabbath observance in the army both constituted substantial challenges. The fact that the vast majority of Tanzanian Adventists were not pacifists and condoned self-defence on an individual level is obvious. This was visible in such decisions as that of Central Nyanza Field to buy an office gun to defend church property against thieves²⁹⁸ or the vivid memory of missionary Richard Munzig among Sukuma Adventists who revere him until today for having fought on their side against the Maasai during World War I.²⁹⁹ On the other hand, the denomination never openly supported the government's military programmes by sending a chaplain to care for soldiers, as did Lutherans in Tanzania from the late 1960s onward and as was common among American Adventists since the 1970s.³⁰⁰ Yet church members did join the professional army, *Jeshi la Wananchi Tanzania* ("Tanzanian People's Defence Force"), in increasing numbers.³⁰¹ It is obvious that many of them had to make compromises in their Sabbath keeping.

On the other side of the spectrum were those National Service draftees who objected to bearing arms, to doing duty on Sabbath, or to both, and who depended on the mercy of their commanders to receive the preferential treatment of a free Sabbath. As in the context of education, they could not appeal to constitutionally guaranteed rights but had to use informal ways to be granted individual privileges. Some succeeded while others had to suffer considerable hardship including imprisonment. The church simply had no way to intervene; thus, young people were told "to be patient," to endure hardships in spite of the predicament they faced.³⁰² "Being patient" was an important Tanzanian value; by dealing with the issue without the use of legal struggle but by seeking private arrangements wherever possible, Tanzanian Adventists Africanized the church's way of dealing with the military problem. The large spectrum of positions between career soldiers who compromised Sab-

²⁹⁸ Central Nyanza Field Minutes, 21 January 1973, no. 345, MC.

²⁹⁹ *SDA Church—South Nyanza Field: Jubilee 1912–1973*, 10.

³⁰⁰ "News and Views," *Africa Theological Journal* 2 (1969): 103; Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers?," 205.

³⁰¹ Many of these soldiers were from a Kuria background. Adventists had many members among them, and the Kuria used to be a rather warlike people.

³⁰² Interviews Kiboko, Kimbawala, Lima, Lusingu, and Moses.

bath principles and draftees who fought lonely fights of faith indicates once more that the folk church and remnant dimensions were both present in Adventist church-state relations in Tanzania.

8.4 *An Assessment: Between Two Worlds*

This chapter has revealed different outcomes of the two basic Adventist tendencies in their relation with governments: tension and cooperation. One might interpret this diversity as an outcome of the somewhat casuistic approach of Adventists towards ethical questions. Yet I suggest that it is more appropriate to look for common elements in the various cases. As a key for understanding, the question of tension with society can be utilized, which, according to Stark and Bainbridge, defines the degree of sect (remnant) or church (folk church) identity.³⁰³

Despite the ups and downs in the relationship of Tanzanian Adventists with the state, it is significant, first of all, that they, unlike groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses,³⁰⁴ always avoided high tension with the government since they did not want to be considered to be an obscure sectarian body. On the other hand, the denomination never fully identified with the government in power, different from those churches that cooperated with the colonial rulers to a large extent and those religious leaders that wholeheartedly supported Ujamaa. Adventists clearly avoided extremes, a position that they derived from the Biblical "in the world" and "not from the world."³⁰⁵

In this framework, closeness to governments was one option that Adventists in Tanzania chose in several issues: (1) constructive cooperation with the British during much of their colonial administration, (2) the acceptance of grants-in-aid in the 1930s and early 1940s and again in the 1960s, (3) the call for non-participation in *Mbiru* by the denomination's leadership, (4) the nationalism among German missionaries

³⁰³ Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, 23.

³⁰⁴ Jehovah's Witnesses usually maintained a much more distanced relation to governments since they viewed them as being "under the rule of Satan" for a long time; see M. James Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 138. For a comparison of Jehovah's Witnesses and Adventists in their relation to governments, see Ronald Lawson, "Sect-State Relations: Accounting for the Differing Trajectories of Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses," *Sociology of Religion* 56, no. 4 (1995): 351–377.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Jesus' words in John 17:15–18.

during their first and second periods in Tanzania, (5) individual Adventist politicians, (6) the military service that many members did, and (7) the church's efforts in public relations during the Ujamaa period.

On the opposite side were issues in which Adventists insisted on distance from the state: (1) the firm stand in the Sabbath question when missionary re-entry was at stake after World War I and in many later contexts, (2) Paulo Mashambo's role and Adventist grassroots involvement in the *Mbiru* protest, (3) the rejection of grants-in-aid in the 1940s and 1950s, (4) the official stand on the issue of political involvement, (5) the nationalization of Ikizu, (6) and (7) the rejection of labour union and *mgambo* involvement, and (8) the preservation of non-combatant principles by some members.

When considering the many items on both sides, it may appear as if the denomination did not always act in a consistent way. This is certainly true, especially in the case of the grants issue, the military question, and those conflicts where the church was overpowered by the force of circumstances or had to come to a new understanding of realities, as was the case with *mgambo* and labour unions. Yet there was one matter in which Adventists, at least those who wanted to remain true to the official stand of the church, were hardly ready to make compromises: Sabbath keeping. Other issues were fields of negotiation and experimentation where loyalty to the government and non-involvement in public affairs had to be balanced in some way. Conversely, Sabbath observance became a testing case for Tanzanian Adventists' adherence to their faith.

As citizens of the two worlds³⁰⁶ of religion and the public, Tanzanian Adventists lived in what Stark and Bainbridge call a "medium tension" to society.³⁰⁷ The seemingly inconsistent³⁰⁸ and at times bewildering

³⁰⁶ This formulation comes from the title of the book by Roger L. Dudley and Edwin I. Hernandez, *Citizens of Two Worlds: Religion and Politics among American Seventh-Day Adventists* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1992).

³⁰⁷ See William Sims Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 409–411, and Rodney Stark, "How Religions Succeed: A Theoretical Model," in *The Future of New Religious Movements*, ed. David G. Bromley and Phillip E. Hammond (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), 11–29. Bainbridge and Stark argue that one crucial factor that is necessary for religious movements to grow is that some tension with society must exist. Where tension is too strong, a movement will be rejected, and where tension is too low, few will feel the necessity to change religious affiliation.

³⁰⁸ Zdravko Plantak, in *The Silent Church*, 208, criticizes this inconsistency in the way Adventists have dealt with the whole complex of social ethics, and that overarching

actions of both church members and leaders centred around a concern for doing justice to both worlds without going too far into the direction of the public realm. The Adventist existence between two principles led to a back-and-forth movement around a middle course because the church had to reassess its traditions and positions in the light of changing society. Thus, the various changes in the denomination's grants-in-aid policy, its modifications of policies in the military question, and the different tides in the relation to the government should be understood to be expressions of a constant pursuit of maintaining a reasonable equilibrium of loyalty to the God-given authority of the state and non-involvement in the evil domain of "the god of this age."³⁰⁹

Ronald Lawson, a sociologist who has given considerable attention to Adventism, observes that the general Adventist position towards governments has shown a relaxation of tension through history.³¹⁰ Lawson supports his assertion with the changing Adventist attitudes towards military service and state aid. Yet this overall trend is not reflected in Tanzania, for the history of the denomination in Tanzania reveals a good deal of struggle about the military and state aid issues with a variety of positions throughout history, not a gradual alignment with the government.³¹¹ Lawson also affirms that African Adventism does not fully fit into the picture since it started with the premise of a relatively close alignment with the state, different from the context of Adventism in Europe and America.³¹² Thus, Tanzanian Seventh-day

principles were not always visible in the denomination's stand. However, one should not forget that pragmatic and principled approaches both have their right in the process of the inculturation of the Christian faith. It appears that the principle that was consistently applied was a stand on the middle ground between the positions inherited from early Adventists and the reality that the church encountered.

³⁰⁹ 2 Corinthians 4:4.

³¹⁰ Lawson asserts that Adventists as a whole "have shown considerable willingness to compromise their positions whenever external threats or opportunities to gain acceptance have made this auspicious." See Lawson, "Sect-State Relations," 375. Lawson's view that Adventism on a whole is, sociologically speaking, not an "established sect" like the Jehovah's Witnesses but can be described as a "denominationalizing sect" is certainly valid; see *ibid.* In a similar vein, see Ronald Lawson, "Seventh-Day Adventists and the U.S. Courts: Road Signs Along the Route of a Denominationalizing Sect," *Journal of Church & State* 40, no. 3 (1998): 553–588.

³¹¹ This contrasts to the situation in America, where grants-in-aid were accepted in the USA only from the 1950s, which implied a one-way direction towards closer cooperation with the state. See Lawson, "Sect-State Relations," 360.

³¹² Ronald Lawson, "Mission Churches and Church-Sect Theory: Seventh-Day Adventists in Africa," in *Religion in a Changing World: Comparative Studies in Sociology*, ed. Madeleine Cousineau (Westport: Praeger, 1998), 119–128.

Adventism, initially an imported religious movement that had no strong tensions with the colonial government, lacked a “sect” status right from the outset.

On the other hand, Adventists were never fully involved in the colonial complex, nor did they become a major church in much of the country, which caused it to continue in its identity as a minor church with some “sect” characteristics. Thus, Adventism was positioned on a “middle ground.”³¹³ In the twentieth century, even the worldwide denomination was never strongly sectarian nor was it very much similar to larger ecclesiastical bodies; rather, it was poised in an intermediate situation. Likewise, Adventist-state tensions have “rarely been very high,”³¹⁴ but the cooperation with the state was limited by the denomination’s theological reservations. The denomination in Tanzania thus exemplified an Adventism that was typical for the twentieth century in that it sought to maintain the delicate balance between the church’s remnant identity and the realities of a church that is part of society.

³¹³ I have borrowed this expression from Peter H. Ballis, “Conscience and Compromise: New Zealand Adventists and Military Service during World War I,” in *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific, 1885–1918*, ed. Arthur J. Ferch (Wahroonga: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1986), 49. In an interesting parallel to Tanzania, Ballis says, “The Seventh-day Adventist solution to this conflict of loyalties was to seek some *middle ground* from which to offer limited compromise to the state’s demands” (italics in the original).

³¹⁴ Lawson, “Onward Christian Soldiers,” 210. Lawson maintains, though, that general tension between Adventism and society was initially high. This, I believe, is true for the earliest period of Seventh-day Adventist existence, say, the 1840s and early 1850s, but when the church formally organized in the 1860s, some of this high tension was reduced. By the beginning of the twentieth century, tension with society had clearly arrived at a middle position.

CHAPTER NINE

POPULAR THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENTIATIONS

9.1 *Adventist Theology in an African Context*

Between the Christian Faith, Denominational Distinctives, and Popular Religion

The previous two chapters tried to evaluate two major aspects of Tanzanian Adventists' relation to their environment. This chapter focuses on distinctly religious issues again; thus, it closes the circle begun with the sixth chapter, which also dealt with dynamics inside the church. Two related areas will be discussed here: (1) theological themes that stood out in Tanzanian Adventism and thus constituted the background of the issues discussed in the previous chapters, and (2) the diversification of faith in the sphere surrounding the denomination, which resulted in several religious alternatives to established Adventism.

In order to understand the theological emphases of Tanzanian Adventism, one must bear in mind the development of Seventh-day Adventist theology as a whole. It passed through several phases which all had some impact on the identities that emerged inside Adventism. The initial generation of sabbatarian Adventists was occupied with shaping and reinforcing distinctive teachings, such as the denomination's elaborate eschatology, the Sabbath, the unconscious state of the dead, the church's peculiar remnant ecclesiology, and its acceptance of Ellen White as a prophetic voice.¹ George Knight, the leading denominational historian, succinctly summarizes this first phase with the question, "What is Adventist in Adventism?"²

What followed in the second phase from the mid-1880s onward was, in a way, an antithesis, for the next generation saw intense debates

¹ On the development of Seventh-day Adventist doctrine in general, see George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-Day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000); and Rolf Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2000). On the nineteenth century, see *ibid.*, 145–156, and on distinctive Adventist beliefs 65–109.

² Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 55–89.

about “what is Christian in Adventism.”³ After having settled on their peculiarities, discussions on issues such as justification, the trinity, and the nature of Christ took place, which steered the denomination’s course back into the waters of orthodox Christianity even if Adventists maintained their distinctive additions.

A third phase began after the death of Ellen G. White and lasted until after World War II. In this period, the church participated in the American controversy between “modernists” and “fundamentalists”⁴ and clearly positioned itself on the latter side.⁵ At the same time, its separatist tradition and its distinctive doctrines made it impossible for Adventists to be part of the fundamentalist mainstream. Furthermore, given the absence of the founders of the denomination and of its prophet,⁶ it was almost automatic that the Adventists of this phase constructed a unique Adventist orthodoxy. It consisted of a synthesis of the previous two phases with a conservative outlook on most new challenges facing the movement. This period saw the denomination’s establishment in most major countries outside the Western world, and since Adventist missions were strictly denominational endeavours, Adventist orthodoxy came to shape this church in most parts of the world.

New developments in North American, European and Australian Adventism were brought about by the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. What Knight calls “Adventism in theological tension”⁷ was a period of diversification of theological tendencies. It partly resulted from the three emphases of the past, which all gained strength in a growing and more differentiated constituency. Apart from Adventist particularism, a focus on central aspects of the Christian faith, and a conservative mainstream Adventism that sought to reconcile the two, a fourth strand of Adventist theology developed in this phase. It stood in opposition to the previously fundamentalist persuasions of the majority of church leaders and was a theologically open Adventism which attempted to

³ Ibid., 90–127.

⁴ On American Protestant Fundamentalism, see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁵ Knight titles the 1919–1950 period “What is fundamentalist in Adventism?”; see Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 128–159.

⁶ On the dynamics in the church after the death of Ellen White, see Paul McGraw, “Without a Living Prophet,” *Ministry* 73, no. 12 (December 2000): 11–15.

⁷ Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 160–197.

interpret the denomination's traditions in the light of the contemporary world.⁸ Until recently, this tendency was confined mainly to the academic community. Because of the small number of academically trained individuals in other continents until the 1980s, it did not have much influence beyond the Western world.⁹ The other three, though, were able to grow on any soil.

It is natural that the Adventists who stepped on Tanzanian ground brought with them their American and European heritage. One important question that had to be asked by the heralds of Adventism in Africa was how to balance the different tendencies inherent in their church. In the Tanzanian context, one can observe that both the denominational distinctives and general Christian doctrine were given considerable weight from the very beginning. While distinctive teachings were part of the believers' instruction even before World War I,¹⁰ there was typically a delicate balance between these two kinds of teachings, as is visible in the doctrinal classes taught in the Suji teachers' training course in the 1930s¹¹ and the catechism used in the instruction of new believers in the 1940s.¹² The church in Tanzania was thus officially strongly in continuity with the world church in those early decades. Three major bridges which ensured this connection were (1) the missionary monopoly of publishing projects, (2) the Sabbath School, which involved the same discussion topics all over the world, and (3) the camp meetings, which

⁸ A major publication of this group of Adventists is the magazine *Spectrum*, published since 1967 by the Association of Adventist Forums, an organization not affiliated with the denomination though devoted to a critical discussion of issues surrounding the history and present situation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

⁹ Regarding Latin America, this observations is made by Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, vol. 1 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1992), iii.

¹⁰ The first Adventist quasi-doctrinal work published in Tanzania, Missionare der S.T.A. Mission Süd Pare, *Masomo ya Kitabu cha Muungu* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1914), had a strong leaning towards Adventist distinctive teachings. Of its 31 sections, all but 8 are about specifically Adventist concerns; several deal with prophetic interpretation, and three are about the three angels' messages of Revelation 14. The book was a translation with very minor changes of *Bibellesungen über die gegenwärtige Wahrheit* (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1919).

¹¹ See "Syllabus ya Biblia kwa Seminari 1: Elima ya Kitabu cha Mungu, Sehemu A," SM 76.

¹² See *Mafundisho ya Kanisa la Seventh-day Adventist*, Sehemu ya Kwanza—Darasa la Wasikilizaji (Gendia: The Advent Press, 1944). Among the 40 lessons in the hearers' catechism, seven were about topics of special Adventist interest: the law, the Sabbath, the creation of man, and the state of the dead.

were filled with the same mix of general Christian and specifically Adventist concerns as the church's publications.¹³

In this light, it is interesting to observe that the denominational hymnal, *Nyimbo za Kristo* ("songs of Christ"),¹⁴ displayed but little distinctive Adventist content. Among the 220 songs, only 8 are about the Sabbath and none is dedicated to other Adventist peculiar doctrines except some songs with general eschatological content, which are largely borrowed from non-Adventist authors. Almost all are of nineteenth century American origin,¹⁵ and altogether the hymnal is very similar to other evangelical collections of the period.¹⁶ Seen in this context, it is not surprising that in some areas where no local version of *Nyimbo za Kristo* existed,¹⁷ Adventists used hymnals of other Christian groups as well.¹⁸ This phenomenon and the absence of a strong Adventist bent

¹³ On the Sabbath School, which existed in Tanzania from the very beginning of the denomination's history, and on camp meetings, see 6.1.

¹⁴ *Nyimbo za Kristo* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, 1961). An earlier version, *Nyimbo za Kristo* (Kisumu: Advent Press, n.d. [early 1940s]), contained 111 of the songs; the later edition with its 220 songs is in use up to the present. The title was possibly chosen in imitation of the Lutheran *Nyimbo za Kikristo* (Mombasa: Mission Press, 1927), which was republished in many subsequent editions, but may also be an attempt to render the idea in the title of the American Adventist *Christ in Song Hymnal* (Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1899).

¹⁵ No attempts have ever been made to include tunes or texts of African origin into *Nyimbo za Kristo* or to create a new hymnal. This could simply be interpreted as the absence of qualified Adventist composers both among African Adventists or the lack of Adventist interest in church music. Yet Tanzanian Adventists did develop their own tradition of choir songs, which, however, flourished only in the 1980s. This choir tradition was added to the *Nyimbo za Kristo* without touching its European-origin content. It might be appropriate to infer that the conservation of the church hymnal in its inherited form was an element of traditionalism among Tanzanian Adventists, who did not wish to change their peculiar heritage in this realm. Adding something new was easier than amending the old.

¹⁶ On the development of church music in Tanzania and the various hymnals in use in the Lutheran Protestant churches of Tanzania, see Wolfgang Kornder, *Die Entwicklung der Kirchenmusik in den ehemals deutschen Missionsgebieten Tansanias* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1990).

¹⁷ In Pare, the pre-World War I tradition of a vernacular hymnal was continued in the 1930s. This version was combined with the songs in *Nyimbo za Kristo* in 1967 in *Nyimbo za Mtasu*, Rev. and enl. ed. (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1967) [409 songs]; see also the 4th ed. (1935) with 181 songs. Among the Luo, the last edition of an Adventist hymnal with 325 songs which included the whole of *Nyimbo za Kristo* is *Wende Nyasaye*, Rev. and enl. ed. (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1969).

¹⁸ Among the Sukuma, the Adventist hymnal *Mimbo a Basukuma* ([Gendia: Advent Press, 1924]) was a one-time project; later, Adventists used an Africa Inland Church hymnal in Sukuma, *Mimbo ga Kungongolela Mulungu: Kisukuma Hymnal of Africa Inland Church*, 3d ed. (Mwanza: Inland Publishers, 1961). Even in Majita, a Mennonite hymnal was used by Adventists alongside the Adventist hymnal that existed only in Swahili,

in *Nyimbo za Kristo* may be interpreted as a pragmatic action. Yet on the theological level it indicates that at least during devotional occasions, Adventists could be simple Christians who did not need to emphasize that they were different from others doctrinally.¹⁹

This is particularly remarkable when compared with the opposite trend that became evident from the 1950s onward. In an increasingly urban environment where competition with other denominations became stronger, Adventist evangelism typically focused on the denomination's distinctives. This is discernible in all standard tools of propagating the Adventist faith. Outstanding among them were the Voice of Prophecy Bible study lessons, two correspondence courses which brought many to the church since the 1950s. In the first of these two series of twenty lessons each, more than half of the lessons dealt with specifically Adventist themes; in the advanced course, almost all were of particular Adventist concern.²⁰ A similar approach was taken in the catechetical book in use since the 1960s, *Mafundisho ya Biblia*,²¹ and in the lay evangelism manual, *Biblia Yasema*, which was developed in the mid-1960s and has not lost its popularity ever since.²²

Given the different theological emphases in evangelism and worship, it is certainly correct to conclude that Tanzanian Adventists sought to maintain an intermediate position. This position allowed them to stress any of the two theological aspects of their double identity depending on the occasion. In some instances such as evangelism, they emphasized being a movement with a peculiar message and set boundaries between themselves and other Christians. In other respects, especially

for Adventists never published a Jita hymnal. The full title is *Jinyimbo ejo Kumukusya Nyamuanga: Aamwi na Jijaburi Ejindi na Jingobo ja mu Bujekanyo na ja mu Baragi* (Musoma: Musoma Press, 1955) ["Songs of Praise to God," 1st ed. 1941].

¹⁹ The fact that *Nyimbo za Kristo* is originally a missionary product does not mean that it represents a foreign element in Tanzania. It is used until the present, and no audible voices ever demanded more Adventist content in this hymnal, which implies that Tanzanian Adventists strongly identified with the collection.

²⁰ *Sauti ya Unabii: Skuli ya Biblia kwa Posta* (Morogoro: Sauti ya Unabii, n.d.); *Sauti ya Unabii: Skuli ya Biblia kwa Posta, Daraja ya Pili* [second level] (Nairobi: Sauti ya Unabii, n.d.) Themes in the advanced series were prophecy, the sanctuary, the judgment, the seal of God, the seven plagues, Armageddon, the millennium, hell, from Eden to eternity, laws in the Bible, Sunday in the New Testament, the history of the Sabbath, the history of Adventism, the Spirit of Prophecy, difficult texts, and eternity.

²¹ *Mafundisho ya Biblia* (N.p.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, n.d.). This book is used until the present.

²² *Biblia Yasema* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, n.d.) This booklet contains twenty-five Bible lessons consisting mainly of biblical texts and is used until today. More than half of them focus on particular Adventist themes.

regarding the life inside the church, Adventists operated very much like other Christian denominations.

What has been described so far is, however, only one side of the picture: the segment of publications that were produced by the church leadership, i.e., an expression of the denomination's official theology. As central as this is for understanding Tanzanian Adventism, the absence of explicit friction between Tanzanian and international Adventism makes further discussion of such an exported theological system pointless. Likewise, Tanzanian Adventists have hardly produced any academic theology²³ that could be discussed against the background of the denomination's official tenets of faith or that could compare with the theologies of other evangelical scholars in Africa²⁴ and those of the larger Christian academic community.²⁵ Therefore, what follows in this chapter focuses on Tanzanian Adventist popular theology. This kind of theological thinking is found in personal pronouncements, semi-official statements, diverse kinds of publications, administrative decisions, correspondence, interviews, songs, and the like.

Although the focus on the "popular" is helpful in view of the absence of academic theology, the term is not unproblematic. The discussion on "popular religion" has suffered from a lack of commonly accepted criteria for what can be called "popular,"²⁶ so much so that some have

²³ The only substantial academic theological treatises by Tanzanian Adventists until the year 2000 are the doctoral dissertations by John Aza Kisaka, "The Adventist Church's Position and Response to Socio-Cultural Issues in Africa," D.Min. diss., Andrews University, 1979, and Lameck Miyayo, "Ted Peters's Proleptic Theory of the Creation of Humankind in God's Image: A Critical Evaluation," Ph.D. diss., Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Manila, 1998.

²⁴ On African evangelical theology see the *African Journal of Evangelical Theology* (formerly *East African Journal of Evangelical Theology*) and Detlef Kapteina, *Afrikanische evangelikale Theologie: Plädoyer für das ganze Evangelium im Kontext Afrikas* (Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 2001). Kapteina observes that the focus and strengths of African evangelical theologians are the connection of theology and mission, attempts at contextualization, a holistic understanding of the gospel, a hermeneutic that does not divorce theology from the church, and a christocentric emphasis. At the same time, he perceives weaknesses in the realms of pneumatology, ecclesiology, and eschatology. Interestingly, Tanzanian Adventist popular theology in Tanzania emphasized two of these latter areas: eschatology and ecclesiology.

²⁵ For a recent attempt to bring together African Adventist academics, however, see *Journal of Adventist Thought in Africa* (published irregularly since 1995). The articles published here are of a quality similar to *Africa Theological Journal*.

²⁶ On the multiplicity of definitions see the following articles: Segundo Galilea, "Popular Christian Religiosity," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 11, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 440–442, and Charles H. Long, "Popular Religion," in *ibid.*, 442–452. Galilea lists the following characteristics of popular Christianity: (1)

suggested to discard the term altogether.²⁷ It has been argued that virtually everything can be labelled “popular” because every activity is part of the people among whom it is done. In this light, one might want to dismiss the term “popular religion” as tautological and view the distinction between official and popular theologies as artificial. Yet if “popular” has a tangible opposite such as “official,” a category is introduced that compels to be reflected. That some tension between established and unestablished, authorized and unauthorized, or prescribed and unprescribed elements exists in every religious movement is evident; the growing body of literature on the topic shows the need for clarification.²⁸

Moreover, it has been repeatedly asserted that in Africa all religion is popular.²⁹ Far from being a truism, the thrust of this statement is that African religiosity, even in its Christian form, tends to be less given to theoretical and reflective exercises than its European counterpart. This often led to significant tension over genuinely religious issues between African Christians and the (“official”) type of religion exported to them by foreigners. It is not surprising, therefore, that several new Christian denominations emerged in the environment of Tanzanian Adventism;

a tendency toward autonomy, (2) an emphasis on devotions and symbols, (3) a strong sense of God’s presence in every day life, (4) the collective nature of this type of religion, (5) commuting experiences such as pilgrimages, (6) an emphasis on life and death, (7) the use of images of Jesus, and (8) the religious value of the weak. Long notes the following divergent definitions of popular religion in general: (1) religion of folk and peasant culture (folk religion), (2) religion of the laity, (3) pervasive beliefs and rituals and values of society (civil religion), (4) esoteric beliefs and practices usually located in the lower strata of society, (5) the religion of a subclass or minority group, (6) the religion of the unsophisticated masses, or (7) an ideology of religion created for political purposes.

²⁷ Pieter H. Vrijhof, introduction to *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*, ed. Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 2. Vrijhof also suggests to use “common” (p. 2) or “non-official” (p. 688) religion.

²⁸ See, for instance, Jakob Baumgartner, ed., *Wiederentdeckung der Volksreligiosität* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1979); Michael Göpfert, Christian Modehn, and Karl Rahner, eds., *Volksreligion: Religion des Volkes* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979); Norbert Greinacher, ed., *Popular Religion* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1986); and Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest, eds., *Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Studies in Inculturation* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1999). In relation to Tanzania, see F.J.S. Wijzen, *There is only One God: A Social-Scientific and Theological Study of Popular Religion and Evangelization in Sukumaland, Northwest Tanzania* (Kampen: Kok, 1993).

²⁹ Mercy Amba Oduyoye, “Liberative Ritual and African Religion,” in *Popular Religion, Liberation and Contextual Theology*, ed. Jacques Van Nieuwenhove and Berma Klein Goldewijk (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1991), 70; P.H. Vrijhof, “Conclusion,” in *Official and Popular Religion*, ed. Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 678.

they embody people's reaction to the Adventist system in variance with aspects of the official teachings of the church.

At the same time, they also point to the existence of similar concerns, albeit more hidden, among the many who chose to associate closely with the church organization. If this is so, the popular aspects of Tanzanian Adventism should be given special consideration, and the seemingly small tension between "popular" and "official" among Adventists must be investigated in this light.³⁰ Moreover, the discussion of popular aspects in Tanzanian Adventism is particularly important in this study because it is related to the guiding theme of Adventism as remnant and folk church. How the remnant and folk church poles of Adventist identity related to popular interpretations is consequently a crucial concern.

This chapter, therefore, deals with religious and theological differentiation in the midst of the triangle formed by the Christian faith, Adventist denominational peculiarities and African interpretations of their synthesis. In the following three sections, three areas of theological concern will be discussed: eschatology, the Sabbath, and ecclesiology. They were the areas where Tanzanian Adventist theological identity, like Adventist theology at large, was most marked.³¹ It is probably more than a coincidence that these three theological areas correspond to the three elements of the denominational name, Seventh-day (Sabbath) Adventist (eschatology) Church (ecclesiology).

"Ujumbe wa Marejeo":³² Eschatological Views in Context

The quantity of statements that express an apocalyptic mood among Adventists in Tanzania is enormous throughout history. This theological emphasis of Adventists at large had been inherited from the Millerite Movement with its end-time speculations and prophetic calculations

³⁰ Jebens, in his study of Adventists and Catholics in Papua New Guinea, finds a much stronger "congruence of the official and unofficial view," i.e., "the positions held by representatives of church leadership and 'simple' church members" among Adventists; see his *Pathways to Heaven*, 122.

³¹ As a matter of fact, the sources contain most material about these specific areas apart from areas of the most general Christian teachings such as God, Christ, creation, and redemption, in which areas no significant developments happened. Distinctive Adventist doctrines that had little practical application in the Tanzanian, such as the sanctuary teaching, are almost absent in the sources.

³² Swahili for "the message of [Jesus'] return," a term commonly used by Tanzanian Adventists for their message to the world; see, for instance, *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, section "Utangulizi" (before page numbering begins).

culminating in the year 1844. Seventh-day Adventist leaders had subsequently accepted this heritage as a basis of their own existence and included this initial phase of Adventism in their concept of salvation history.³³ It is against this background that the continued eschatological interest of Seventh-day Adventists can be appreciated. It did not only serve as an anticipation of the expected Parousia but also functioned as an element of continuity with the denomination's origin.³⁴

Missionaries naturally contributed significantly to the implantation of an end-time perspective among Tanzanians. Before World War I, Wilhelm Kölling was certain that the "Lord would like to come soon" and pressed that "a great work should still be done" before it was too late.³⁵ Bruno Ohme, the superintendent at Lake Victoria, even mused, "The Latter Rain³⁶ is falling; may many in this country receive it, too."³⁷ Among the earliest Tanzanian Adventists, such persuasions were echoed by Ezekiel Kibwana, who wrote to missionary Pönig that "it will be only a few years until you will receive your reward from the Lord."³⁸

In spite of strong convictions, missionary leaders did not fail to see the immensity of the challenge that remained. While the British superintendent of the work in East Africa, William T. Bartlett, believed it was their task to "finish the work in this generation,"³⁹ Walter E. Read

³³ The Millerite Movement was equalled with the first and second angels of Revelation 14 whereas the Seventh-day Adventist Church was believed to be the third angel of the same chapter. On the connection between Millerism and Seventh-day Adventism, see White, *The Great Controversy*, especially chapters 28–42 (pp. 479–678). For a scholarly account of the Millerite Movement and the emergence of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in its aftermath, see George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise: Pacific Press, 1993), especially 304–308 (on the Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of prophecy as fulfilled in the Millerite Movement).

³⁴ For a discussion on the enduring importance of eschatological thinking in Seventh-day Adventist theology, see Rolf J. Pöhler, "Der Adventismus als Endzeitbewegung gestern und heute: Endzeiterwartung im Adventismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart—Kontinuität oder Veränderung?," *Freikirchenforschung* 11 (2001): 120–141.

³⁵ Willy Kölling, "Eine Vierteljahrensversammlung," *ZW* 15, no. 5 (1 March 1909): 90–91.

³⁶ The "latter rain" is, according to traditional Adventist eschatology, one of the last events in the history of the world, which enables Christ's followers to proclaim the gospel with power; see, e.g., Francis McLellan Wilcox, *The Early and Latter Rain: A Heart-to-Heart Discussion of a Vital and All-Important Experience for the Church as a Whole and for Each Individual Member* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1938).

³⁷ B. Ohme, "Friedenstal-Kihurio-Friedenstal," *ZW* 15, no. 11 (7 June 1909): 191–192.

³⁸ "Negerbriefe," *ABH* 7, no. 2 (1921): 14.

³⁹ W.T. Bartlett, "A Victory in Tanganyika," *MW* 29, no. 14 (11 July 1924): 2. With

reasoned in 1924 in relation to the missionary task in Africa, “With this great work unfinished, how can Jesus come soon?” Yet he could assert in a bold turn of thoughts, “I know in my heart that the coming of Jesus is near at hand.”⁴⁰ As in Ohme’s thinking, it was a miraculous outpouring of end-time power that was to accelerate the accomplishment of the task. Read declared:

When God has all His missionaries placed in His service just where He wants them to be, and His people in the places where they should be, then all God needs to do is to send the latter rain, and the work will be finished in might and power and be finished quickly.⁴¹

The immediacy of the end of the world was undisputed, at least in public, and the common “signs of the times”⁴² were put forth as arguments for the truth of these apocalyptic beliefs: problems in the world, war, and the success of gospel proclamation.⁴³ Yet there were two inconsistencies in the apocalyptic-missionary pattern of argumentation which, however, did not seem to bother Adventists much. One was that the missionary advances cited were not Adventist advances, but the fruit of the efforts of the same Protestants that many Adventists considered to be “fallen churches.” Another twist was that incompatible types of logic were used to connect the near end of world history with the need for missionary activity. While many believed that the Lord’s coming depended on the successful accomplishment of his commission which still awaited ultimate completion,⁴⁴ others were persuaded that the end was so impending that they had to snatch away perishing souls from the grasp of the evil one.⁴⁵

this concept, Bartlett echoed the motto of the Protestant Student Volunteer Missionary Movement one generation earlier, which, however, was not meant in an apocalyptic sense. On this movement, see, e.g., John R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation* (London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 1900).

⁴⁰ W.E. Read, “The Mission Task of the European Division,” MW 29, no. 17–18 (15 September 1924): 21.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² The “signs of the times,” an expression derived from Matthew 16:3, are common Adventist phraseology. A major denominational magazine in the USA also bears this title.

⁴³ E.B. Phillips, “Ishara Kubwa la Maregeo [*sic*] ya Bwana Yesu,” *Maongezi Matamu*, no. 1 (November 1928): 2; [W. Fenner]—Watendakazi Wote, 5 May 1939, SM 12; statements by A. Sprogis reported by Adolf Minck, “Ich sende euch . . . gehet hin!,” AB 44, no. 12 (15 June 1938): 179; and TMF Minutes, 3–6 February 1942, no. 130, SM 5.

⁴⁴ E.B. Phillips’s article, for instance, concludes: “Let us be zealous to help the Lord in His work . . . so that the Saviour may come soon.” See Phillips, “Ishara Kubwa,” 2; cf. also the other quotations throughout this section.

⁴⁵ In 1928, missionary leaders of the European Division called for increased efforts

Which kind of reasoning was more stimulating is not easy to decide. Yet encouraging church members to participate in the process of “finishing the work of God”⁴⁶ obviously not only made them feel being participants in the eschatological scenario but also gave them the assurance that they contributed to the actual advancement of the kingdom of God. In this sense, Kingsley Minifie, the director of Majita Mission, stated at the height of World War II:

It is our conviction that the time is at hand for spirit-filled workers to go forth and complete the remaining work. It is planned that native evangelistic groups shall go out in every direction to proclaim the warning message, and invite the people to prepare for Christ’s soon coming.⁴⁷

After outlining plans and measures to involve people in the preaching of the Adventist message, Minifie revealed his conviction that the final events of history might be connected to the very activities that he was involved in at Majita. He called out:

Let us pray that what the church has begun may soon swell into the “loud cry,”⁴⁸ and then amid the refreshing of the “latter rain” the work shall be finished and the people of God prepared to enter the kingdom.⁴⁹

Minifie might have taken the end-time enthusiasm further than others, but one cannot consider apocalyptic thinking to have been the fad of Adventist missionaries as opposed to the general church folks in their countries of origin. This is evident when considering the dozens of books dealing with such topics that were produced by the church during that period.⁵⁰ Moreover, the denomination’s eschatological

in opening new missionary posts arguing that the world faced the immediate “close of probation.” See “Resolutions and Expressions from the Foreign Missions Council,” RED 14, no. 2 (1928): 22.

⁴⁶ A committee action with this heading is recorded in Baraza la Makanisa ya Upare Minutes, 19 July 1931, SM 7

⁴⁷ Kingsley H. Minifie, “Evangelism in Majita District,” SADO 40, no. 10 (1 June 1942): 1.

⁴⁸ In the context of traditional Adventist eschatological views, the “Loud Cry” is expected to be a period of fast missionary expansion shortly before the end of history; see Ellen G. White, *Early Writings of Ellen G. White* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1945, 1st ed. 1882), 277–279 (the chapter “The Loud Cry”).

⁴⁹ Minifie, “Evangelism in Majita District,” 2.

⁵⁰ Among the more well-known of these books are William A. Spicer, *Our Day in the Light of Prophecy* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1917); and William A. Spicer, *Beacon Lights of Prophecy* (Takoma Park: Review and Herald, 1935). Other Adventist publication titles of the period include terms and phraseology such as “Armageddon,” “The Battle of the Century,” “Christ is Coming,” “The Coming Conflict,” “The Coming Crisis,” “The Dawn of a New Day,” “The End of the Age,” “Facing the Crisis,” “History’s

emphasis was considered central even for its African members. Most books published in Swahili until the end of World War II dealt with the theological topos of the last things.⁵¹ Evidently, this literature did not remain without influence on the thinking of church members.

Yet there were certainly fluctuations in the immediacy of expectation. Hardly any statement comparable to the ones cited above can be found from the latter part of the 1940s and through much of the 1950s. This temporary ebb was probably caused by two factors: (1) the fact that the war years, which had been so much loaded with apocalyptic feelings, had ended, and (2) the fast membership growth in the same period. This growth apparently shifted the church leaders' preoccupation from eschatologically motivated theologizing and speculation to church operations. Yet the type of views held did not change much. It only took another period of political tension such as the years around independence to reawaken the eschatological mood. After the relative silence of about a decade, a flood of materials connected with the soon awaited end of history was produced by Adventists in East Africa during the years between 1957 and 1963. Again it was the very church leadership that pressed such matters. J.D. Harcombe, Tanzania Mission Field president, affirmed in 1958,

We know Jesus is coming very soon and we must work for the Lord now in warning all the people everywhere in Tanganyika... Let us work for souls so that it will hasten the coming of Jesus... Soon the day will be spent and the night will come and it will then be too late to work.⁵²

In the following year, the East African Union leadership decided to publish two end-time booklets in various vernacular languages for

Crowded Climax," "Last-Day Tokens," "The Last Warning Message," "The Meaning of Our Times," "Power and Prophecy: Who Shall Rule the World?," "So Little Time," "Time's Last Hour," and "What is Coming?"

⁵¹ The earliest among these was *Baada ya Kufa ni Nini?* (Gendia: Advent Press, n.d. [ca. 1930]) [= "What is (happening) after dying?"]; with a similar thrust: *Baraza Kuu la Hukumu: Sharti Uwepo Wewe* (Gendia: Advent Press, n.d. [before 1939]) ["The great judgment council: You must be there, too"]. The Adventist interest in the books of Daniel and Revelation is reflected in W.T. Bartlett, *Maelezo ya Unabii wa Danieli* (Kisumu: Advent Press, 1939) [= "Explanations of the Prophecy of Daniel"]; and W.T. Bartlett, *Danieli na Ufunuo* (Gendia: Advent Press, n.d. [ca. 1944]) [= "Daniel and Revelation"]. Another early book about "signs of the times" and Adventist apocalyptic eschatology is W.T. Bartlett, *Ufalme Ujao* (Kendu Bay: Advent Press, 1945) [= The coming kingdom].

⁵² *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 3 (August 1958): 2, SM 47 (emphasis in the original). The last sentence in the quotation is an almost verbatim rendering of words in the song, "Work, for the night is coming," a song that is very popular among Tanzanian Adventists (Swahili: "Fanyeni kazi zenu," *Nyimbo za Kristo*, no. 59).

mass distribution: an extract from Ellen White's *Great Controversy*⁵³ and a booklet entitled "The Final Crisis and Deliverance."⁵⁴ A veritable proliferation of books on eschatological topics added to their effect; six such publications were first issued in the 1957–1960 period.⁵⁵

This renewed apocalyptic climate was not simply another expatriates' mood but resounded among newly elected Tanzanian leaders in the Field administrations and among African church members.⁵⁶ The driving force in end-time matters, though, still seems to have been the White leadership who dominated the Union and the Division during that early post-independence period. In 1963, Tanzania Union discussed the agenda item, "Preparing the Church for the Last Day Crisis," on the basis of a Division action taken under the leadership of Robert H. Pierson, the later General Conference president. The committee action that followed reverberated the Division leaders' call for increased spirituality and a focus on prophecy and end-time themes in view of the "deep conviction of the nearness of the end." It emphasized "the need for the church...to be prepared in life and character to stand through the crises of the last days and to emerge triumphant and ready to meet her Lord."⁵⁷

⁵³ The publication consisted of chapters 38 and 39 ("The Final Warning" and "The Time of Trouble"), which describe the very end of earth's history, a time expected to bring trouble upon Sabbath keepers by other Christians who use the power of governments to bring persecution upon them. See White, *The Great Controversy*, 603–635.

⁵⁴ EAU Minutes, 21 May 1959, no. 144, 145, EAU. The booklet consisted of quotations from various writings of Ellen G. White compiled by R.L. Odom, an official of the Ellen G. White Estate, the General Conference entity that continued publishing her writings.

⁵⁵ W.T. Bartlett, *Tuna Kesi* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, [1957]); *Mwisho wa Dunia—Je, ni lini?* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, n.d. [ca. 1959]); Robert J. Wieland, *Danieli na Siku Zetu: Maelezo ya Kitabu cha Danieli, Fungu kwa Fungu na Maana Yake kwa Dunia Nzima katika Siku Zetu* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, [1959]); Robert J. Wieland, *Ufunuo wa Mambo Yajayo* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, n.d. [ca. 1960]); and Robert J. Wieland, *Wakati Ujao Je? Siku Ziyazo Zitakuwa Salama?* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, [1958]). An earlier book is Jesse Stevens and W.T. Bartlett, *Kuja kwa Kristo Lini* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, n.d.) [before 1952]. For translations of the titles, see the bibliography.

⁵⁶ In the North East Tanzania Field, for instance, a 1963 action included the following words: "The daily fulfilment of prophecy indicates that we are now living in the most solemn time of history, because of the nearness of the end of our probation and the coming of our Lord, making the completion of our task most urgent." See NETF Minutes, 31 January–4 February 1962, no. 125, SM 3. At Ikizu, students performed a drama that showed the apocalyptic "time of persecution" when Adventists would have to flee to the mountains; see "Ikizu MV Rally," SADO 55, no. 3 (15 March 1957): 10.

⁵⁷ TU Minutes, 8 January 1963, no. 41, ETC.

Yet this time church leaders moved beyond the idea of hastening Jesus' coming, stimulated by what they considered "the daily fulfilment of prophecy," which indicated "that we are now living in the most solemn time of history" and near "the end of our probation."⁵⁸ They began considering practicalities such as the study of "how small groups can function although isolated" in a persecution situation and the production of a "survival kit." That these plans reached the Field level reveals the stir in church leaders' emotions during the period.⁵⁹ It is not very surprising, though, that no follow-up was made in subsequent years. Far-reaching preparations for the eschatological "time of trouble" requiring even financial input were not viewed as a necessity by a majority in local denominational committees. It was easier to vote for an eccentric plan derived from the apocalyptic remnant paradigm than to pursue it in real life.

After another slight recession of interest in the last things among church leaders, at least on the surface, the 1970s gave renewed vigour to such persuasions. By now African leaders were as much in the forefront of end-time reasoning as their colleagues from overseas. When Arusha Adventist Seminary was opened in 1975, the Principal, Ezra Mpyisi, announced the goal of the institution: that "young ministers... will go from the consecrated classroom into all the world with God's message to earth's last generation and thus hasten the coming of Jesus."⁶⁰ Similarly, Gabriel H. Mbwana, Tanzania General Field president from 1975 onward, admonished the faithful to be "ready for the latter rain."⁶¹

Moreover, there were African-European co-productions, such as the Tanzania Union motto in the first half of the 1970s, *Ee Mungu tupe roho tumalize kazi* ("Oh God, give us your Spirit that we may finish the task").⁶² How popular this motto became is visible, among other uses,⁶³ in a song designed especially for literature evangelists,⁶⁴ who considered themselves to be the vanguard of God's eschatological workforce. It said:

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ NETF Minutes, 17 February 1963, no. 205, SM 3.

⁶⁰ "Arusha Adventist Seminary Bulletin," 1975, 3, ETC.

⁶¹ G.H. Mbwana, "Mvua ya Mwisho" [= "the last rain"], TMs, n.d., ETC.

⁶² L.C. Robinson, "Tanzania Union of Seventh-Day Adventist Churches: President's Report," Afro-Mideast Division Council, 1971, 3, ETC.

⁶³ The youth department also modified the motto to "*Tujiunge Pamoja Tuimalize Kazi*" ("Let us join together and finish the work"). See D.C. Beardsell, "Ujumbe toka President—Tanzania Union," *Mbele Daima*, December 1976, 1, ETC.

⁶⁴ The song was composed under the leadership of Zakayo Kusekwa, who raised and directed an army of up to more than eight hundred literature evangelists in the 1970s and early 1980s. On the literature evangelism programme, see 10.2.

Give us Your Spirit that we May Finish the Work

1. We are tired [of being] in the world, we need to go to heaven; the Lord wants us to finish the work.

Chorus:

One thousand days of harvest⁶⁵—give us your Spirit that we may finish the work. Let us distribute books—give us your Spirit that we may finish the work. The Literature Department—give us your Spirit that we may finish the work. Hii, hii, hii, hii—give us your Spirit that we may finish the work. Oh Father we ask you—give us your Spirit that we may finish the work.

2. Go into the world and preach the good news, to every creature the command of Jesus.

3. Let us spread books now; from house to house we are needed to hasten the coming of the Lord.⁶⁶

The church officials' enthusiasm for apocalyptic language in the 1970s was paralleled by an unprecedented degree of desire for eternity among the common church members. This is discernible in the earliest songs taped by church choirs such as *Muungano* and *Kagunga* in this decade.⁶⁷ In analysing the texts of these songs, their difference from the songs in

⁶⁵ These "1000 Days of Harvest" were a Tanzania-wide evangelistic programme in the early 1980s.

⁶⁶ East Tanzania Field, *Semina ya Uinjilisti wa Vitabu* (Morogoro: East Tanzania Field, 1984), 9, ETC. The Swahili original says:

Tupe Roho Tumulize Kazi

1. Tumechoka duniani, twahitaji kwenda mbinguni, Bwana ahitaji tumalize kazi.

Chorus:

Siku elfu za mavuno—Tupe roho tumalize kazi.

Tupeleke vitabu—Tupe roho tumalize kazi.

Idara ya Vitabu—Tupe roho tumalize kazi.

Hii, hii, hii, hii—Tupe roho tumalize kazi.

Ee Baba twakuomba—Tupe roho tumalize kazi.

2. Enendeni ulimwenguni, mkahubiri habari njema, kwa kila kiumbe agizo la Yesu.

3. Tusambazeni vitabu sasa, nyumba kwa nyumba twahitajiwa, tukaharakishe kuja kwake Bwana.

⁶⁷ These two choirs were both from the Mwanza area and were among the very first Adventist choirs in the country that recorded their songs. The earliest tapes that could be found are: *Maisha Yangu Mafupi* ["My life is short"], *Wimbo wa Musa* ["The song of Moses"], *Mahangaiko No. 1* ["Trouble no. 1"], and *Vita vya Ukombozi* ["The war of redemption"] (Magu: Muungano S.D.A. Choir Nassa/Muungano Christian Choir, n.d. [1970s]), audio cassettes; and *Mvua ya Masika* ["The latter rain"] (Sengerema: Sengerema (Kagunga) S.D.A. Choir, n.d. [early 1980s]), audio cassette. The songs were mostly written in the 1970s and some already in the 1960s. Cf. the perceptive treatment of Christian Music in an African context, see Ezra Chitando, *Singing Culture: A Study of Gospel Music in Zimbabwe* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2002).

the denominational hymnal, *Nyimbo za Kristo* is remarkable. The sheer mass of references to Adventist end-time teachings and the apocalyptic parts of scripture clearly marks Adventist eschatology as the central theme.⁶⁸ Even many song titles reveal an end-time orientation,⁶⁹ and almost every single song text contains such expressions as Armageddon, Babylon, signs of the times, peace on earth (or rather its absence), the song of Moses, the seven plagues, the Antichrist, or the Latter Rain.⁷⁰ This prevalence of motifs related to the coming world is less astounding when one takes into account a similar orientation in songs popular among Christians of mainline denominations,⁷¹ yet in songs made by Adventists, apocalyptic language was even more explicit. One of these songs, “The Spirit of God Bids Farewell,” may serve as an example of popularized Adventist beliefs about the last days of history and the yearning for another world to come. It said:⁷²

⁶⁸ The same observation was made in a later period about songs composed by Adventists in neighbouring Zambia; see Anthony Simpson, “Memory and Becoming Chosen Other: Fundamentalist Elite-Making in a Zambian Catholic Mission School,” in *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*, ed. Richard P. Werbner (London: Zed Books, 1998), 214.

⁶⁹ The first *Muungano* tape, *Maisha Yangu Mafupi*, for instance, contains songs entitled “My Life Is Short,” “Folks, It Is the Day [of the coming of the Lord],” “What Is Death, Folks?,” “In Front [of us], There Is a River,” “All Creatures Wait,” “Messengers, Organize Yourselves,” “A Pregnant Woman” (a metaphor for the earth, which, according to the song, has been pregnant for 6,000 years, which are now coming to an end), and “The Spirit of God Bids Farewell.”

⁷⁰ “Armageddon” appears in Revelation 16:16 and “Babylon” several times in Revelation 18, the “signs of the times” are a reference to Matthew 16:3 but in Adventist usage refer to a parallel in Matthew 24:3 (“signs of the end”), the “song of Moses” refers to Revelation 15:3, the “seven plagues” to Revelation 16, “Antichrist” to the epistles of John (but indirectly to Revelation 13), and “Latter Rain” to Joel 2:23 and several other prophetic writings in the Old Testament.

⁷¹ See, for instance, Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood, “‘One Day We Will Sing in God’s Home’: Hymns and Songs Sung in the Anglican Church in North-East Congo (DRC),” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, nos. 1–2 (2004): 145–180. For an insightful discussion of the importance of hymns for popular theology, see Brian C. 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* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1990).

⁷² “Roho wa Mungu Anaaga,” *Maisha Yangu Mafupi*, Side B, no. 7. The Swahili original says:

1. Roho wa Mungu anaaga dunia kwa machozi mengi
 akihudumia wale walioshindwa kumpokea na kumwamini Yesu Mwana wa Mungu.

Chorus: Nasi tutashinda kwa damu ya Mwanakondoo na kwa neno la ushuhuda wetu. (x2)

Na hata tutakubali kupoteza maisha yetu. (x2)

1. The Spirit of God bids farewell to the world with many tears as He serves those who failed to receive and believe in Jesus, the Son of God.

Chorus: And we will overcome by the blood of the Lamb and by our witness. And we shall even agree to lose our lives.

2. The Spirit of God, as he bids farewell, makes his chosen people perfect, to get the seal of the Living One, to stand [firm] in temptations.

3. The beast that you saw [and that] is not here will make war with the saints.

There will be no buying and selling except if you have the mark of the beast.⁷³

One theme in *Muungano's* songs deserving special attention is the expected end of “woman earth’s pregnancy,”⁷⁴ i.e., the culmination of history, which was believed to last only 6,000 years. This persuasion is rooted in Ellen G. White’s writings; she specifies that Satan was given 6,000 years to work evil on earth.⁷⁵ The importance attached to this statement in Tanzania becomes clear through two references to it by important church leaders in the 1960s and 1970s. Simeon Dea Otieno, at that time president of the East Nyanza Field, asked local church leaders in 1966, “have you come to understand that this world has come very close to complete its age of 6,000 years, which is like six days of the week for God?”⁷⁶ In a similar vein, Josiah Mwakalinga, the Sabbath

2. Roho wa Mungu ikiwa anaaga anawakamilisha wateule kupata muhuri wa aliye hai na kusimama kwenye majaribu.

3. Mnyama uliyemwona hayupo atafanya vita na watakatifu.

Hakuna kununua wala kuuza mpaka uwe na alama ya mnyama.

⁷³ Apart from various other references to the books of Daniel and Revelation, important motifs of Adventist eschatology that are woven into this song are the “seal of God” (Revelation 7:2), which is usually identified with the Sabbath, and the “mark of the beast” (cf. Revelation 13:16), which is traditionally interpreted by Adventists as Sunday keeping.

⁷⁴ This is the meaning of the title, “Mama mwenye Mimba” in *Maisha Yangu Mafupi*.

⁷⁵ The three instances where she mentions the 6,000 years are the following: “For six thousand years, Satan’s work of rebellion has ‘made the earth to tremble.’... For six thousand years his prison house has received God’s people, and he would have held them captive forever.” “For six thousand years he has wrought his will, filling the earth with woe and causing grief throughout the universe.” See White, *The Great Controversy*, 659, 673.

⁷⁶ S.D. Otieno—Waongozi wa Mitaa, Walimu, Wazee wa Makanisa na Makundi, 4 May 1966, File Field Institute and Instructions, MC. In this popular view, one day

School and Youth director for Tanzania General Field, wrote in 1972 that only twenty-eight years were left up to the year 2000, which he expected to mark the end of history.⁷⁷ His reference to Ellen White's writings and the fact that this was published in the Field newsletter show that such ideas were not bizarre aberrations. Rather, they were a part of serious eschatological interest, on a line that, albeit never sanctioned by church committees, had been discussed among Adventists since the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

Three assumptions accompanied the Adventist 6000-year theory: (1) that Ellen White's statements were to be taken literal, (2) that they described the actual length of the history of the world, not only a period connected to satanic activities in it, and (3) that the year 2000 really meant the end of it.⁷⁹ As the year actually approached, excitement continued to grow so that by the 1990s even non-Adventists became aware of the fact that many Adventists expected the year 2000 to bring about major apocalyptic events.⁸⁰ Only the passing of the year reduced the apocalyptic tension.⁸¹ Nevertheless, there were

of the week is counted equal to an expected 1,000 years of world history with reference to 2 Peter 3:8.

⁷⁷ J.A. Mwakalinga, "Je Dunia Yetu Bado Miaka Mingapi Kufikia Miaka 2000?," *Mbele Daima*, undated edition of mid-1972, 2, ETC.

⁷⁸ In spite of its live interest in prophecy and developments of world history, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has always rejected attempts at calculating the expected end of the world. Individuals, however, have continued to hold the validity of the "6000-year theory" until very recently. For an outstanding example, see G. Edward Reid, *Even at the Door* (N.p.: by the author, 1994). Reid was the Stewardship director of the North American Division at the time of writing, and surprisingly the denomination's leading publishing house, Review and Herald, participated in the distribution of this book. Some important early Adventists had strongly argued for the 6000-year theory, including John N. Andrews, and a series of articles devoted to the subject appeared in the denomination's magazine *Review and Herald* in 1883; see Reid, *Even at the Door*, 109–114.

⁷⁹ Chronological issues such as Jesus' birth year were often not properly considered in this discussion; furthermore, other Ellen White statements that spoke about "four thousand years" being the period between the creation of the world and Jesus' ministry on earth (see, e.g., White, *The Great Controversy*, 328, 546) were taken as chronological statements as well.

⁸⁰ In his thesis on Adventists and Lutherans, Greyson Zephaniah Mtango mentions that some Tanzanian Adventists "have even predicted that in the year 2000, all those who do not accept the Sabbath will receive the mark [of the beast]." See Mtango, "A Comparison," 100.

⁸¹ Although the year 2000 connected to the 6000-year theory is beyond the actual scope of this study, I felt that this issue should be included because of its long history and because the year 2000 had to pass for these speculations to fade. For the sake of fairness, it has to be stated that the expectations concerning the year 2000 were quite

other potent aspects of popular Adventist eschatology that continued to flourish, such as “leaving the cities” before the expected second coming of Jesus⁸² and the presumed threat of an American or global “Sunday Law” that would force Adventists to honour the “day of the beast.”⁸³ Being rather immune to arguments derived from calendars accounts for the occasional resurgence of such speculations,⁸⁴ and some groups of Adventists in many African countries as well as other nations of the non-Western world continue to eagerly absorb theories which detail “last day events.”⁸⁵

At this point, a hermeneutical question must be raised. Given the abundance of statements that affirmed that the coming world was at hand, one cannot but wonder whether they were all expressions of a sincere conviction or more of a rhetoric device. Were they perhaps used because it had become a tradition to make such references frequently

diverse, and at no place did Tanzanian Adventists actually make serious preparations for events believed to take place in discernible groups. However, in neighbouring Kenya, a revivalist group that separated from Adventism, *Ime 1^o Omwana* (“In the Son of God”), predicted the end of the world for 1 January 1997 and made a significant impact in Kisii. See Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 227–246.

⁸² This was taught, among others, by Pastor Anderson Fue in the Sumbawanga; see interview Ahidi Elisante, Sumbawanga, 30–31 August 2000. This tradition also comes from statements made by Ellen G. White; they were collected in the compilation, *Country Living: An Aid to Moral and Social Security* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1946).

⁸³ This is how the song “Neno lake Mungu karibu Kufungwa” (“God’s word is soon being closed”) names Sunday. The song was part of the collection used by literature evangelists in the mentioned 1984 meeting; see “East Tanzania Field, Semina ya Uinjilisti wa Vitabu,” 12.

⁸⁴ For an analysis of the diverse eschatological positions advocated by contemporary Adventists, see Ronald Lawson, “The Persistence of Urgent Apocalypticism within a Denominationalizing Sect: The Apocalyptic Fringes of Seventh-Day Adventism,” in *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, ed. Thomas Robbins (New York: Routledge, 1997), 207–228. The “Sunday Law” issue was very much alive during my years in Tanzania (1997–2003) but circulated through Tanzanian churches as early as the 1960s, when the Second Vatican Council was understood by some Adventists to be Rome’s attempt to unite all Christian churches under its wings by calling them “separated brethren”; see interview Mwambogela. That Sunday Law speculations are part of international discussions among Adventist end-time prophecy devotees is visible in Jebens’s discussion of the issue in the context of Papua New Guinea (see Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven*, 138).

⁸⁵ Africans of countries such as Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, and Botswana all confirmed to me that the matter was much discussed in their respective countries. A book on the topic that was widely spread is Jan Marcussen, *National Sunday Law* (Homosassa Springs: Amazing Truth, 1983). See also <http://www.sundaylaw.net> (accessed 1 December 2005), a website which promotes these popular Adventist ideas about the “Sunday Law,” and Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 34–43, for the historical background.

or even for some other reason? Certainly one must differentiate carefully, for the apparent unanimity may disguise that seemingly similar statements belonged to a variety of contexts and carried divergent connotations which all made sense in their own way.

While *Muungano*'s lyrics was undoubtedly meant as a testimony of the singers' faith and hope, there were other cases in which strongest apocalyptic language was used to express shock about conditions in the world or as a motivating tool. One example combining these two elements is a 1980 circular of N. Lameck Mwamukonda, who was then the director of the Union's Lay Activities department and in the 1990s served as Union president. He asserted, "we are living on the verge of the closing events in this world history," and added, "those who are in Africa cannot misread the writing on the wall that [the time] in which to finish the work is but very short."⁸⁶ Certainly this referred to the war between Uganda and Tanzania, which had just ended. Then, in a sudden turn, Mwamukonda explained to fellow workers whom he addressed, "while the angels are holding the winds of strife, the T.U. Committee has given you the opportunity to join hands with the rest of the world in the ingathering campaign."⁸⁷ The end was desired, but before it actually came, there was much to do, including collecting money, and the very nearness imagined was an excellent instrument for stimulating the faithful to serve in an even more dedicated manner. Besides, by being active, one could prove one's worthiness to the coming Lord.

One reason for the incessant reminder of the things to come might have been that at least secretly some members had become somewhat weary of this very orientation. The seventy-five-year jubilee of the denomination in Tanzania in 1978 was certainly not only a cause for jubilation but also for reflection on why the world whose doom had been proclaimed for all these years had continued to rotate up to this very time.⁸⁸ Those in charge of North-East Tanzania Conference decided that such deliberations were not to lead to doubts about the urgency of the Advent message. They countered scepticism by averring,

⁸⁶ N. Lameck Mwamukonda—Z. Bina, 23 April 1980, ETC.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Cf. the title of a brochure in the early 1960s, *Kwa Nimi Tungali Dumiani?* ["Why are we still in the world?"] (N.p., n.d.), SM 50. This brochure argued with Ellen White statements and Bible texts that Christ's righteousness is needed as a source of finishing the work of God.

We live during the time of the last events of the history of the world. Prophecy is fulfilling rapidly, the time of grace is quickly over; we do not have time [left], we have no span of time to lose . . . May there be no one who says in his heart or in his work: 'My Lord delays to come.' Let the message of Christ's fast return be seriously proclaimed. Let us persuade men and women everywhere to repent and to flee the coming wrath.⁸⁹

Tanzanian Adventists cherished their inherited apocalypticism, yet this theological orientation forced them to construct a subtle dialectic of waiting *and* working. The strong hope about the soonness of Jesus' second coming was tacitly reconciled with the understanding that we live in a "not yet" period for an indefinite time. This truth, however, was not supposed to be openly expressed; that would have been breaking a taboo. Seen in this light, some references to eschatological events might have been mainly motivated by compliance with tradition, i.e., the continuation of speaking patterns devoid of practical outcome, essentially made to show adherence to the Adventist heritage.⁹⁰ Thus, a theological remnant identity could be perpetuated together with its eschatological corollaries while implicitly recognizing that the real world, including the Adventist folk churches in them, was an intermediate condition of unknown duration.

The recurrent reappearance of apocalyptic language in periods of crisis also points to the fact that it served as an emotional outlet. It can be argued, therefore, that it played a therapeutic role where other remedies were unavailable. Still, critics could also counter that Adventist apocalypticism brought about destructive results, for it has been observed that African Christianity, like other religious systems, did not only liberate people from many burdens of traditional life but could also "engender additional fears."⁹¹ In the case of Adventism, worries about the things to come leading to fear of certain types of behaviour were certainly part of the exchange of the traditional religious system with the new. Yet anticipation of the heavenly reward was often clearly

⁸⁹ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 40.

⁹⁰ The "survival kit" action may be counted as an example of such apocalyptic rhetoric without actual consequences.

⁹¹ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 337. Hastings argues that such additional fears might arise when Christians believed only half, which is applicable to those who lack assurance of salvation because of a limited understanding of God's grace, and thus even to Adventists who espouse soteriological legalism combined with popular apocalypticism.

more powerful than the accompanying fears;⁹² the fact that adherents of this denomination accepted the deal shows that liberating elements noticeably outweighed those constricting the individual. Adventist apocalypticism could certainly appear either naïve or terrifying to outsiders, but to those who believed to be part of the eschatological remnant it gave additional assurance of salvation and the motivation to behave responsibly.

An important aspect of the Adventist manner of dealing with fear was a detail of the denomination's eschatology that certainly made a strong difference in the life of the individual Adventist: the teaching on the state of the dead.⁹³ Different from many Christian denominations and many Africans,⁹⁴ Seventh-day Adventists hold that death means complete unconsciousness.⁹⁵ Therefore, they are convinced that communication with the dead is impossible. In this way, a central issue of African religiosity was being dealt with in a rather abrupt yet effective way by Tanzanian Adventists.⁹⁶ Appearances of ancestors,⁹⁷ which

⁹² The observation that Adventist apocalypticism is intrinsically linked to fears has also been made in Papua New Guinea, where Holger Jebens criticized that Adventists, according to his analysis, essentially shift the object of fear from witchcraft to missing heaven because of the threatening end-time events; see Jebens, *Pathways to Heaven*, 244. This procedure of shifting may be true even for Tanzanian Adventists. Yet Jebens's conclusion that Adventism ultimately increases the amount of fear in individuals is hard to substantiate in the absence of quantifying devices. It is also quite improbable, for it would be astonishing if a large number of people preferred a system that enslaves them rather than providing them with benefits.

⁹³ An Adventist classic on this teaching is LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1966).

⁹⁴ Monica Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society: A Study of Social Change in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 41, observes that even many educated Africans hold that the dead are alive in some way.

⁹⁵ Several *Muongano* songs from the 1970s refer to this doctrinal stand, e.g., "Kifo nini Jamani," *Maisha Yangu Mafupi*, where they sing, "What is death, folks? My friends, I am asking [you]. Death is a sleep, where there is no problem, . . . there is no thinking nor repenting. My friend, fear the Lord before that day when your fellow humans will surround you and prepare a special bed for you on which you will sleep until the last day." An Adventist publication on the issue in Swahili is *Je, Wafu Wanaweza Kuzungumza Nasi na Kututembelea?* ["Are the dead able to talk to us and to visit us?"] (Nairobi: Sauti ya Unabii, [1960s]).

⁹⁶ A very close parallel is reported by Steley, "The Adventist Package Deal," 166. He argues that in the Pacific, Adventists eradicated ancestor worship through their teachings, and "destroying the very heart of that [traditional] system meant the whole society was ready for rebuilding."

⁹⁷ The importance of ancestors in African worldviews has been reflected in some attempts to construct theologies around this theme; see, e.g., Charles Nyamiti, *Christ as Our Ancestor: Christology from an African Perspective* (Gweru: Mambo, 1984). Likewise, Bénézet

are so important to adherents of many Traditional Religions, were declared to belong to the realm of evil,⁹⁸ which eradicated a principal source of fear because this realm was viewed as powerless in the life of a Christian. In a manner similar to Pentecostals, Adventists therefore dealt with traditional anxieties in a manner that was attractive to many,⁹⁹ but unlike them, they used arguments rather than ritual to do away with them in a clean sweep. This “enlightenment method,” which produced a radical break with tradition, made it easy for Adventists to devote their energy to things deemed more important than the dead, a feature of the denomination that certainly had its attractions.

Non-theological patterns of explanation may not be able to account for one key ingredient of Adventist apocalypticism: the Christian hope, which is derived from the scriptures of the New Testament. In spite of aberrations and exaggerations, eschatological convictions gave meaning to Tanzanian Adventists both in their day-to-day lives and during times of crisis. Their otherworldly orientation equipped them with the determination to endure and hold on to faith in Christ, the coming Saviour, who had promised, “I am coming soon” and “I am making everything new.”¹⁰⁰ It was this hope that ensured that the remnant paradigm remained in place as part of the emerging Adventist folk church.

Bujo calls a “theology of ancestors” the “starting point for a new Christology” and a new ecclesiology; see his *African Theology in its Social Context* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1992), 69–105. It is noteworthy, however, that this academic theologizing does not correspond to the “real life” Christologies in East Africa; see Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie*, 307–340 and 345–351. Apparently African Christians, at least Protestants, do not feel the need to incorporate ancestors into their Christian faith, which parallels the Adventist way of dealing with the issue. For an insightful discussion of ancestors as a crucial aspect of traditional African religious identity and a problem of African Theology, see *ibid.*, 106–124 and 277–292.

⁹⁸ An Adventist discussion of this issue appears in Robert J. Wieland, *Maendeleo ya Afrika* [“The development of Africa”] (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, [1967]), 75–80, where the author declares that fallen angels pretend to be ancestors. For a parallel from Madagascar, see Eva Keller, “Towards Complete Clarity: Bible Study among Seventh-Day Adventists in Madagascar,” *Ethnos* 69, no. 1 (March 2004): 99–100.

⁹⁹ Wijsen and Tanner observe that the “common spiritual anxieties” of the Sukuma are those of being possessed by an ancestor or an alien spirit or fears of witchcraft, and that Pentecostal churches “reduce these worries by the public laying on of hands”; see Frans Wijsen and Ralph Tanner, *Seeking a Good Life: Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania, 1945–1995* (Nairobi: Paulines, 2000), 26–27.

¹⁰⁰ Revelation 22:20; 21:5.

“*Amri za Mungu*”.¹⁰¹ *The Sabbath, the Law, and Salvation*

The intensity of end-time persuasions among Tanzanian Adventists manifested itself in a proportional degree of seriousness about their other distinctive teachings, of which the most outstanding was the Sabbath. As much as Sunday observance was believed to be an eschatological sign of apostate Christianity, i.e., the “mark of the beast,”¹⁰² the conscientious keeping of the Sabbath was commonly believed to be necessary for salvation during the last days of world history.¹⁰³ In this tradition, Tanzanian Adventists regarded it as their task to alert humanity that “soon the world will meet the law-giver in relation to his law that was broken.”¹⁰⁴ Although the first sabbatarian Adventists who would form the nucleus of the Seventh-day Adventist Church had not discovered the Sabbath through independent Bible study but had been challenged by Seventh Day Baptists to recognize its validity,¹⁰⁵ the peculiar connection of the Sabbath with eschatology was an original creation by the denomination’s pioneers.¹⁰⁶ On the basis of this boosted importance of the day of rest, Adventist literature on the topic tended to be strongly assertive and apologetic.¹⁰⁷

Since the 1970s, some Adventist theologians tried to shift the focus away from eschatological connections of the Sabbath to its theological

¹⁰¹ “The Commandments of God,” a term commonly used for the Ten Commandments, especially in the context of the popular Tanzanian Adventist concept that keeping the commandments is necessary for salvation.

¹⁰² Cf. Revelation 13:17. In the Tanzanian context, this persuasion has been noted by Kornelio Mkiramweni, “Worship among Seventh-Day Adventists,” B.D. thesis, Makumira University College, 1998, 20.

¹⁰³ For a Tanzanian Adventist pronouncement on this, see TU Minutes, 13–17 December 1973, no. 550, TU, where it was argued, “the Sabbath of the Lord is to be the significant sign identifying God’s church of the remnant and . . . it is to be the institution around which the final challenge to God’s authority will be centered.” On the mode of Tanzanian Adventists’ Sabbath-keeping and their struggles with Sabbath observation in society at large, see 6.1 and 8.3.

¹⁰⁴ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 40.

¹⁰⁵ On the history of Sabbath keeping among Puritans in Britain, see Bryan Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-Day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge: Clarke, 1981), 138–158. On Seventh Day Baptists, see Don A. Sanford, *A Choosing People: The History of Seventh Day Baptists* (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), and on the way in which Adventists inherited the Sabbath from Seventh Day Baptists, see Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 58–60.

¹⁰⁶ On the eschatological significance given to the Sabbath, see Ellen White, *The Great Controversy*, 582–612; for the development of this Adventist tenet of Sabbath theology, see Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 308–312.

¹⁰⁷ See, e.g., M.L. Andreasen, *The Sabbath: Which Day and Why?* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1942).

content and the experiential significance of this day.¹⁰⁸ In Tanzania, however, the earlier approach continued unchanged, as is visible in the related publications.¹⁰⁹ Understandably, these were meant to attract more followers to the church, not to explore new dimensions of this cherished doctrine. Academically trained theologians active in writing who could have participated in a debate of new directions in Adventist Sabbath theology were absent in East Africa until very recently.¹¹⁰

Adventist evangelists in Tanzania often focused on proving the Sabbath to be the “day of worship,”¹¹¹ sometimes with spectacular methods such as offering a car for a Bible text that confirmed the change of Sabbath to Sunday. It was therefore obvious that non-Adventists would often come to view them as preoccupied with this one teaching. And so they were at times. The most effective method of advertising Seventh-day Adventism was emphasizing the religious extra it provided, which was sometimes done at the cost of modifying central Protestant tenets such as justification by grace. It was easier to preach straightforwardly that in order to go to heaven one had to keep the Sabbath than to differentiate that salvation was by grace alone and that Sabbath keeping was a consequence of salvation.¹¹²

In this light, it is easy to understand that Christians of other Protestant denominations viewed the Seventh-day Adventist Church as “a

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., Niels-Erik Andreasen, *Rest and Redemption: A Study of the Biblical Sabbath* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1978); and Samuele Bacchiocchi, *Divine Rest for Human Restlessness: A Theological Study of the Good News of the Sabbath for Today* (Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1986). More literature is found in Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching*, 68–69.

¹⁰⁹ See W. Duncan Eva, *Sabato ya Kiveli: Ijumaa, Jumamosi au Jumapili?* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, [1956]); the title means, “The true Sabbath: Friday, Saturday, or Sunday?” This book has been reproduced up to the present and is still being sold by literature evangelists. Another early publication is *Pumziko la Halali* (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, n.d. [before 1960]). Later books include Carlyle B. Haynes, *Toka Sabato Kivenda Jumapili* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald Publishing House, 1999) [translation of a book first published in 1928, *From Sabbath to Sunday*], and Russell Holt, *Purukushani ya Jumamosi na Jumapili: Biblia Inasemaje Kuhusu Siku Hizi Mbili?* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, 1991) [translation of *The Saturday-Sunday Shuffle*].

¹¹⁰ Only in 1980 was an Adventist university with theological training on the Bachelor level opened in Kenya, the University of Eastern Africa, Baraton.

¹¹¹ That the Sabbath is the *siku ya ibada*, the correct “day of worship,” is one of the most important assertions among Tanzanian Adventists. This emphasis in itself is an adaptation of the Biblical testimony to the action-oriented African spirituality, for the Bible defines the Sabbath as a day of rest, not a “day of worship.”

¹¹² This is what two veteran pastors argued: Adzere Kiboko, who served as a Bible teacher at Tanzania Adventist College for more than twenty years, and Jocktan Kuyenga, who headed South West Tanzania Field and various Union departments. See interviews Kiboko and Kuyenga.

church of the law,” one that cared only about the Ten Commandments and the Sabbath.¹¹³ In fact, antagonism existed on both sides: some Adventists labelled Lutherans “law-breakers”; in exchange, the latter often considered Adventists to be legalists and non-evangelicals.¹¹⁴ Up to the present, various Tanzanian Christians even rank them as Jews and, connecting Adventists with distasteful anti-Jewish polemic, the “murderers of Jesus.”¹¹⁵

In recent studies focusing on Adventist worship and teachings in Tanzania, two Tanzanian Lutheran pastors explore their Adventist fellow Christians’ use of the law and arrive at results that differ from such vulgar assertions. Kornelio Mkiramweni comes to the conclusion that Adventists are actually Christians who do believe, at least in theory, that “salvation is never earned” but is “a gift from God,” and that good works are “the result of salvation and not a means of salvation.”¹¹⁶ Yet he also quotes a statement by an Adventist pastor, Aston Mmamba, which reveals the relatively great importance attached to the law among Adventists: “we are saved by grace and kept by works.”¹¹⁷ Greyson Mtango contrasts, “the centre of the Lutheran theology is the GOSPEL and the central theological emphasis of the SDA church is prophecy and the keeping of God’s Law.”¹¹⁸ He maintains that Adventists “are proud of being among those few who keep the Commandments of God and the faith of Jesus,” but although “they also insist on salvation by grace of God, this is not with a big ONLY . . . the fulfilling of the Law to the SDAs is a sign which shows that one is saved.”¹¹⁹

These theses by Mkiramweni and Mtango are, of course, rather recent work and cannot account for the fine details of the views held in the generations before. Yet they constitute important reflections on the major distinction between the popularized Lutheran and Adventist

¹¹³ Interviews Joyce Kirangi, Arusha, 14 May 2000, and Lukwaro.

¹¹⁴ Mtango, “A Comparison,” 31.

¹¹⁵ In the 1940s, some Mennonites in Majita taught that Adventists were Jews and thus are the ones who killed Jesus; see interview Kuyenga. At Mbeya, other Christians also labelled the denomination as “judaistic,” “people of the Old Covenant,” and “killers of Jesus” in the 1960s; see interviews Josephson, Elisante, and Siwanja; similarly Anglicans in the Kigoma area; see interview Maguru. For a parallel in Nigeria, see Agboola, *The Seventh-Day Adventists in Yorubaland*, 46.

¹¹⁶ Mkiramweni, “Worship among Seventh-Day Adventists,” [1998], 21, 22.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹¹⁸ Mtango, “A Comparison,” [1999], 105. Emphasis in the original.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105 and 49. Emphasis in the original.

faiths as they took root in Tanzania and the way they were perceived by outsiders. While Adventists extol grace in theory, they also construct a two-step model of salvation with an emphasis on obedience and fulfilling the law which resembles the Roman Catholic view on works on the surface. Although a clear return to the centrality of grace in salvation had been made in Adventist theology in 1888, popular Tanzanian Adventism typically focused on keeping the commandments. By distinguishing from the divine foundation of salvation a human element of equal importance (“kept by works”), Adventists advocated a theology that was much more Jacobine than Pauline and certainly had to clash with concepts held by Tanzanian Lutherans.¹²⁰

The Adventist bias toward the law and works had important consequences. As far as Tanzania is concerned, the unique salvific role of grace was undoubtedly preached and taught.¹²¹ Yet its centrality was easily overshadowed by the emphasis given to the keeping of the Sabbath and the Ten Commandments,¹²² which was often considered a condition of or a contribution to salvation if not the essential element in it.¹²³ When asked about the teachings that were given prominence in the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church during earlier periods, people often answered, “the Ten Commandments, the Sabbath, and Jesus,” “the commandments, the second coming of Christ, and the signs of his coming,” and the like.¹²⁴ In overemphasizing its distinctives,

¹²⁰ Tanzanian Adventists like quoting the epistle of James and passages such as Matthew 5:17–19, which are similar to the thrust of James. They criticize what they perceive as a common popular Lutheran assertion that the law has no function in the life of the believer and thus insist on a principle corresponding to the *tertius usus legis* found in the Lutheran tradition (see *Formula of Concord*, VI).

¹²¹ Two examples: the hearers’ class catechism, *Mafundisho ya Kanisa la Seventh-day Adventist*, Sehemu ya Kwanza—Darasa la Wasikilizaji (Gendia: The Advent Press, 1944), contained several chapters (nos. 11, 15, 18, and 19) dealing with salvation, forgiveness, and new birth, and a sermon outline by E. Semugeshi from the 1960s, “Mwanadamu ni Kuishi kwa Neema si kwa haki,” n.d., SM 50, asserts that salvation comes by grace through faith alone, not by works.

¹²² It is interesting to observe that no specific topic was assigned to the role of grace in salvation in the Bible teaching at Suji in the mid-1930s; see “Syllabus ya Biblia kwa Seminari 2: Masomo ya Kitabu cha Mungu” and “Syllabus ya Biblia kwa Seminari 1: Elima ya Kitabu cha Mungu, Sehemu A,” Teaching Syllabi, 1930s, SM 76. Even the choice of topics for camp meetings reveal this tendency; see, for instance, Upare District Committee, 29 June–1 July 1943, SM 7.

¹²³ Mjema, “The Switching of Christians,” 16, quotes the pioneer Adventist of the Bombo area, David Maivaji, who said, “only those who observe the Sabbath day of Yahweh [i.e., Saturday] will enter into His kingdom.”

¹²⁴ Interviews Kuga and Odiembo. Most other interviewees who made statements on

the remnant was in the danger of losing its very evangelical foundation.¹²⁵

Thus, it is not surprising that Adzere Kiboko, a long-time theology instructor at Tanzania Adventist College, maintains that Protestant soteriology was only taught from the 1970s onward among Tanzanian Adventists. He declares, “in the old days, there was no teaching about salvation by faith—it was salvation by works.”¹²⁶ This is certainly somewhat overstated,¹²⁷ but Kiboko’s assertion shows that on the whole the Adventist inclination to soteriological legalism¹²⁸ found fertile ground in Tanzania.¹²⁹ The heart of Protestant theology, God’s justification of sinners who trust in his grace, was, until very recently, regarded by some Tanzanian Adventists as of little importance, as potentially dangerous, or as complicating the denomination’s evangelism, which focused on the Sabbath.¹³⁰

teachings that were emphasized answered similarly; see, e.g., interviews Mhina (lifestyle, loving Jesus and the commandments), Amos Garimoshi, Ntendo, 1 September 2000 (Sabbath, tithe, and Jesus’ second coming), and Megera (prophecies, salvation through Christ, the Sabbath, and tithe and offerings).

¹²⁵ Although my own experience lies beyond the scope of this study, the following experience might be viewed as characteristic. In 1999, I was assigned to baptize a group of more than 50 candidates at Suji in Pare. They had been prepared for the great event and were deemed ready. When examining them and after preaching on Galatians for several days during a camp meeting, I asked them to explain how one gets salvation. Even after addressing several individuals, no one answered, until an old man, who had applied for rebaptism after having been disciplined for some fault, answered, “We get salvation by keeping the commandments.”

¹²⁶ Interview Kiboko. His view is confirmed by the interviews with Odiembo and A. Abihudi.

¹²⁷ Another important Adventist leader, Harun K. Mashigan, argues that “righteousness by faith” was not given prominence before the 1950s. Only then Tanzanian pastors were regularly trained at Bugema College in significant numbers, where this concept was planted into their minds. See interview Mashigan.

¹²⁸ For reflections on the Adventist tendency towards legalism, see Russell L. Staples, “Adventism,” in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, ed. Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 64. An Adventist work with an ironic title that deals with the legalism complex is George Knight, *The Pharisee’s Guide to Perfect Holiness* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 1992).

¹²⁹ Adventists are by no means an exception even among Protestants. H. Balz points out that among the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon, it was also commonplace to hold that the law was strengthened by Jesus; Paul’s teaching on justification through faith alone was commonly not accepted or left in the background as “hard to understand.” See Heinrich Balz, *Where the Faith Has to Live: Studies in Bakossi Society and Religion*, Part 1: *The Living, the Dead and God* (Berlin: Reimer, 1995), 797–798.

¹³⁰ This is how Kiboko explains the preponderance of works in popular Tanzanian Adventist thinking. He reasons that because of the desire to convert people, Adventist evangelism focused on the denomination’s distinctives. This was done to such an extent that even inside the church Adventists came to stress the commandments more than the common ground that they shared with other Protestants.

In spite of this predicament, it should be appreciated that Sabbath keeping constituted an attempt to value salvation beyond “cheap grace” and served as a safeguard against antinomian opinions on the other end of the theological spectrum. Thus, in a context where folk churches around seemed to relativize the demands of Christian life, the Sabbath could symbolize the remnant’s seriousness in the response towards God’s gift of salvation.

“*Kanisa la Masalio*”:¹³¹ *The Impact of Remnant Ecclesiology on Adventist Ecumenical Relations in Tanzania*

The keeping of the Ten Commandments and the denomination’s eschatology, which included a teaching on prophetic ministry in the end-time, were intrinsically connected with the unique Adventist ecclesiology. This concept of the church linked the saints who observe the “commandments of Jesus” (Rev. 14:12) with the remnant who possessed the “spirit of prophecy.”¹³² This ecclesiology did not imply a soteriological exclusivism, for Adventists always held that children of God are found in all Christian traditions as well as outside Christianity—an implicit and at times even explicit *ecclesia invisibilis* concept. Still, it provided a strong identity and led to the common view that Seventh-day Adventism is God’s true church, the visible representation of his end-time dealings in the world. This twofold nature of the denomination’s thinking about the Christian Church is best summarized in the 1926 statement made by the General Conference regarding the relationship with other Christian organizations. Its first section stated,

We recognize those agencies that lift up Christ before men as a part of the divine plan for evangelization of the world, and we hold in high esteem Christian men and women in other communions who are engaged in winning souls to Christ.

However, this did not mean any relativization of the Adventist self-understanding, for the statement ended as follows:

¹³¹ This is the term used in Swahili for “Remnant Church,” as used, for instance, in *Biblia Yasema* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, n.d.), 103 (“*kanisa la kweli la masalio la Mungu*”—“God’s true Remnant Church”). In *Roho ya Unabii* (Gendia: Advent Press, [1920s or early 30s]), 1, 12, the rather awkward expression *kanisa lililosalia* (“the church that [has] remained”) was used.

¹³² Rev. 12:17 and 19:10; cf. the more detailed line of reasoning in footnote 9 of chapter 2 and the first part of 2.1.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is unable to confine its mission to restricted geographical areas because of its understanding of the gospel commission's mandate... In the origin and rise of the Seventh-day Adventist people, the burden was laid upon us to emphasize the gospel of Christ's second coming as an imminent event, calling for the proclamation of Biblical truths in the setting of the special message of preparation as described in Bible prophecy, particularly in Revelation 14:6–14.¹³³

The inherited Adventist ecclesiological view was also transported to East Africa, where it was taught early in the denominational literature¹³⁴ although apparently it was not particularly stressed.¹³⁵ Likewise, Ellen White's prophetic identity, which was so crucial to the traditional equation of Seventh-day Adventism with the "Remnant Church," did not constitute an important ingredient of Adventist catechesis in those early decades,¹³⁶ and none of her books was available until the end of World War II.¹³⁷ Only the 1950s and 1960s brought something like an Ellen White boom.¹³⁸ Parallel to this trend, more emphasis was laid upon the ecclesiastical peculiarity of Seventh-day Adventism from the latter 1950s onward,¹³⁹ which is understandable, for the denomination's

¹³³ *General Conference Working Policy* [1999], 494–495. This policy presents the 1926 statement with minor language revisions; thus, the statement is part of denominational policies until today.

¹³⁴ See the small book *Roho ya Unabii* published in the 1920s or 1930s. The title of this book which focuses on the ministry of Ellen G. White means "the spirit of prophecy." The subtitle says, "a bit of information about the gift of prophecy and its use in the work of God, and its appearance in the Remnant Church." On pages 14–16, the connection of Revelation 12:17 is made with Revelation 19:10 and the Seventh-day Adventist Church as the "Remnant Church". The same connection is made in *Missionare der S.T.A. Mission Süd Pare, Masomo ya Kitabu cha Muungu*, 82.

¹³⁵ The Suji teaching syllabi from the 1930s, for instance, do not contain a special topic referring to the remnant; see *Teaching Syllabi*, 1930s, SM 76. The small book *Roho ya Unabii* mentioned in the previous footnote appears not to have circulated for a long time, for its existence was not known to retired Tanzanian leaders.

¹³⁶ It was only in the late 1950s that the Southern African Division requested that material on the Spirit of Prophecy be inserted in the baptismal manual; see EAU Minutes, 20 February 1959, no. 26, EAU.

¹³⁷ This is an interesting parallel to Faith Missions; in spite of their roots in the Holiness Movement, they usually did not translate holiness literature into African languages. See Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 247.

¹³⁸ H.K. Mashigan, a long-time Field president in the South Nyanza and Mara Fields, asserts that Ellen White's ministry as a sign of the "Remnant Church" was only taught from the 1960s onward. This is, of course, contradicted by the book *Roho ya Unabii*, but what his statement implies is that there must have been a period in the 1930s, 1940s and part of the 1950s when this teaching was not emphasized. See interview Mashigan.

¹³⁹ See below in this section.

major opponent before that period was Traditional Religion, not other brands of Christianity.

A natural effect of the remnant concept was that Adventists accepted only limited ecumenical cooperation. This is evident in the debates over comity agreements before World War I and the atmosphere of tension with neighbouring churches wherever Adventists worked in Tanzania in the first two generations.¹⁴⁰ Nonetheless, these conflicts must not be exaggerated, for quarrels even between Catholics and Protestants were a common phenomenon of the era. Furthermore, although Adventists did aim at converting other Christians to their denomination, they did not view Protestants as outright enemies, which is a parallel to the decreased emphasis laid upon the remnant concept in the early decades in Tanzania. Spencer Maxwell captured the emotions of the time in 1932 when he asserted, "Roman Catholicism, Mohammedanism, and heathenism are the great forces with which your missionaries are seeking to do battle in Africa."¹⁴¹ Protestants were conspicuously absent in his list. Moreover, Adventists felt to be in continuity with, and part of, the Protestant missionary movement. In a manner similar to Conradi in earlier decades, Wilhelm Mueller, then the secretary of the Central European Division to which Tanzania belonged, applied statements about Protestant mission¹⁴² by Gustav Warneck, the father of German missiology, to Adventists without hesitation.¹⁴³

Nonetheless, it was almost impossible to achieve complete harmony with other Protestant bodies. The very fact that Adventists did not restrict their proclamation to non-Christians but appealed to adherents of other denominations and actually baptized them meant that whole-hearted friendship with leaders of such organizations was not easy. This is visible in a letter from Mueller to missionaries in 1935. Grieved by what he considered to be a rather negative portrayal of Adventists in the book *Das Buch der deutschen Weltmission*,¹⁴⁴ he commented,

¹⁴⁰ See the last part of 3.2, 4.1, and chapter 5.

¹⁴¹ Spencer G. Maxwell, "The Papacy in Mission Lands," MW 37, no. 19 (7 October 1932): 3.

¹⁴² In German: "evangelische Mission." It is significant that Adventists considered themselves as "evangelisch"; that they were Protestants was not debatable, but to use "evangelisch" was to describe a desired proximity to Lutherans and Reformed Christians who formed the mainstream of German Protestant Christianity.

¹⁴³ Wilhelm Mueller, *Der Dienst der Mission* (Hamburg: Vollmer & Bentlin, 1940), 10–11. On Warneck, see Werner Raupp, "Warneck, Gustav," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 13 (Herzberg: Bautz, 1998), cols. 359–371.

¹⁴⁴ In reality, Adventists were treated in a rather positive way: Julius Richter himself

Of course we have done quite something to work for enlightenment in this regard, but with the characteristics of our message, which is directed to all peoples in all regions without exception, it will remain like this—that labouring completely without frictions will probably never be achieved. . . . Even if others may not behave in a Christian way towards us and if they label us confusers of their work, apostates, and false teachers, let us incessantly focus on what is good and simply proclaim Christ’s message in our time.¹⁴⁵

Regardless of Adventists’ attempt to get recognition from other ecclesiastical bodies, the remnant concept with its associated mission theology was a major reason why friendly interdenominational relations were viewed as a Trojan horse among many Adventists. Might not Adventists have to surrender to ecumenical definitions of political correctness if they engaged in such activities? Thus, the first half of the twentieth century saw the denomination only at the periphery of major Protestant meetings.¹⁴⁶ When the ecumenical movement was formalized in 1948 in the organization of the World Council of Churches, Adventists chose not to join, similar to certain other evangelical denominations.¹⁴⁷ They have never become a member since, although observer status has been upheld¹⁴⁸ and various dialogues have been going on with ecumenical

noted, “the German branch of this group tries less than their American comrades to break into the areas of work of other churches. . . in German East Africa they have two promising areas of work”; see J. Richter, “Zweihundert Jahre deutscher Missionsgeschichte,” in *Das Große Buch der deutschen Weltmission*, ed. Julius Richter (Gotha: Klotz, 1935), 15. Richter even includes Adventists among the “free churches”; see *ibid.*, 14–15. Only Johannes Warneck states that Adventists constitute a cause of conflict in Indonesia; see “Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft,” in *ibid.*, 194.

¹⁴⁵ W. Mueller—Central European Division Missionaries, 31 December 1935, SM 33.

¹⁴⁶ Adventists were present with six delegates at Edinburgh in 1910 and with three at Le Zoute in 1926; see Keith A. Francis, “Ecumenism or Distinctiveness? Seventh-Day Adventist Attitudes to the World Missionary Conference of 1910,” in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 477–487; and Edwin William Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa* (London: International Missionary Council, 1926), 181. At the 1928 and 1938 meetings of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem and Tambaram, Adventists were not present.

¹⁴⁷ On the relation of Evangelicals to the Ecumenical Movement, see George Vandervelde, “Evangelical Ecumenical Concerns,” in *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, ed. Nicholas Lossky et al. (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002), 437–440, and Paul Merritt Bassett, “Evangelicals,” in *ibid.*, 443–445.

¹⁴⁸ The most important person involved in Adventist inter-church relations was Bert B. Beach, who represented the denomination as an observer at ecumenical gatherings for decades and continues to do so up to the present. See his books *Ecumenism: Boon or Bane?* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1974); and *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1968).

and other denominational bodies.¹⁴⁹ Yet because all other churches were viewed with some degree of apprehension, even the theological affinity with the Evangelical Movement did not produce a significant extent of cooperation.¹⁵⁰

In Tanzania, official inter-church relations on the national level began in 1934, when the Missionary Council of Tanganyika was established. Interestingly, Adventists were among the few denominations that founded this organization,¹⁵¹ as they had been in parallel cases in neighbouring Kenya and Zambia.¹⁵² Yet the major players in the Council were Lutherans and Anglicans. No Adventist was elected into the Standing Committee nor did any issue discussed by the Council originate from among Adventists, and in the following years they appear not to have participated regularly if at all.¹⁵³ When the Missionary Council was

¹⁴⁹ One dialogue is reported in *So Much in Common: Documents of Interest in the Conversations between the World Council of Churches and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1973). A more recent dialogue took place between Adventists and Lutherans, leading to the publication of *Lutherans and Adventists in Conversation: Report and Papers Presented 1994–1998* (Silver Spring: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists; Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 2000).

¹⁵⁰ A dialogue which was highly significant for the clarification of the Adventist position towards the evangelical movement took place in 1955–1956; see Paul Ernest McGraw, “Born in Zion? The Margins of Fundamentalism and the Definition of Seventh-Day Adventism (Walter Martin, Donald Gray Barnhouse),” Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 2004. This dialogue led to the publication of Walter Martin’s sympathetic book *The Truth about Seventh-Day Adventism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960); and *Seventh-Day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Explanation of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-Day Adventist Belief*, Prepared by a Representative Group of Seventh-day Adventist Leaders, Bible Teachers, and Editors (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1957). Altogether, the Adventist attitude towards Evangelicals is hardly different from the denomination’s view of more “ecumenical” churches.

¹⁵¹ “Constitution of the Missionary Council of Tanganyika Territory,” TNA 21247/I, no. 12. Only Lutherans, Anglicans and Moravians participated when the Council was founded; a representative of the Africa Inland Mission had been invited but was not present.

¹⁵² In Kenya, a Missionary Council was organized in 1924 with Adventists among them; see F.B. Welbourn, “The Impact of Christianity on East Africa,” in *History of East Africa*, vol. 3, ed. D.A. Low and A. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 399. In Zambia, the missionary conference included Adventists as well as Catholics in addition to many Protestant bodies in the early 1920s; see Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, vol. 4, 1914–1954, 133.

¹⁵³ Secretary, Tanganyika Missionary Council—Chief Secretary, Government House, 19 March 1935; Agenda of the Tanganyika Missionary Council Meeting to be held at Dar es Salaam, July 9th–11th, 1936, TNA 21247/I, no. 11, 17; in TNA 21247/II (Tanganyika Missionary Council, 1946–1952), no Seventh-day Adventist representative is mentioned any more. In denominational sources, the only reference to ecumenical activities in this period is the appointment of G.A. Ellingworth to represent the denomination in the Council; see TMF Minutes, 6–10 February 1933, SM 5.

reorganized into the Christian Council of Tanganyika (CCT) in 1948, Adventists were not found on the member list any more.¹⁵⁴

This development is not surprising. The Missionary Council had aimed at cooperation in matters of educational policy, the study and protection of African languages and cultures, and the provision of literature as well as representing common interests to the government. Its major goal, “to promote harmonious relations and understanding between the Missions,”¹⁵⁵ was not exactly a chief concern among Adventists, but the other ends certainly justified membership. Soon, however, ideas about a virtual church union arose. The well-known missionary Karl Roehl¹⁵⁶ suggested that Christians moving from one place to another in Tanzania should be received by other denominations and that the Missionary Council might facilitate this plan.¹⁵⁷ What was a practical idea to ecumenists must have alarmed those who considered themselves to be the “Remnant Church.”

Then the CCT constituted itself with aims similar to those of the Missionary Council¹⁵⁸ but made Sunday observance an issue at its first meeting.¹⁵⁹ Adventists obviously felt that this issue was quite contrary to their persuasions, and probably they feared that the invoked “co-operation among all Christians” was a step forward to a union that was more far-reaching than the “harmonious relations between the Missions” that had been the goal so far. In spite of various important other lines of work that the Council engaged in and that Adventists must also have

¹⁵⁴ Constitution of the Christian Council of Tanganyika, TNA 21247/II, no. 31 A. For more on this Council, see Ben Mlewa, “Ökumenische Zusammenarbeit: Der Christenrat von Tanzania (CCT),” in *Gemeinsam auf eigenen Wegen: Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Tanzania nach hundert Jahren*, ed. Joel Ngeiyamu and Johannes Triebel, Erlangen, Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1994, 153–160.

¹⁵⁵ Constitution of the Missionary Council of Tanganyika Territory, TNA 21247/I, no. 12.

¹⁵⁶ Roehl was a specialist on Swahili; he translated the Bible into a Swahili that was largely purged from its Arabic content; see *Biblia: Ndio Maandiko Matakatifu Yote ya Agano la Kale nayo ya Agano Jipya katika Msemo wa Kiswahili* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1937). On Roehl’s life, see Ernst Dammann, “Roehl, Karl,” in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 8 (Herzberg: Bautz, 1995), cols. 508–509.

¹⁵⁷ [K. Roehl], “Umoja wa Wakristo wa East Africa,” *Ufalme wa Mungu* 8, no. 1 (January 1934): 4–6.

¹⁵⁸ The aim stated in the constitution was “fostering co-operation and mutual consultation among all Christians in the Territory”; see Constitution of the Christian Council of Tanganyika, TNA 21247/II, no. 31 A.

¹⁵⁹ Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the Christian Council of Tanganyika, 13 May 1948, TNA 21247/II, no. 22.

been interested in,¹⁶⁰ they did not appear in this reorganized Council. This was a logical consequence of their ecclesiological and apocalyptic persuasions, as was their continued suspicion of ecumenical developments in general.¹⁶¹

Having officially withdrawn from ecumenical circles in Tanzania, a period of renewed prominence given to the remnant motif followed from the late 1950s onward. Adventists entered Tanzanian towns and frequently converted adherents of other Christian groups. This also implied a new reflection on Adventist identity, and a significant emphasis on the remnant concept can be observed in those years.¹⁶² In the 1960s, new believers were instructed with a catechism that stressed the church's doctrines on the "Remnant Church" and the "Spirit of Prophecy" more than previously,¹⁶³ and the same tendency is visible in the most popular materials used for evangelistic activities, the book *Biblia Yasema*¹⁶⁴ and the lessons of the "Voice of Prophecy" correspondence courses.¹⁶⁵

Not surprisingly, tensions with other Christians became all the more obvious in this period. Adventists frequently and publicly challenged other churches to prove the truth of their teachings in order to persuade non-Adventist Christians to change their denominational

¹⁶⁰ E.g., work for lepers, periodicals, Christian literature, medical cooperation, text books for religious instruction for primary schools, the marriage ordinance issue, education, and the evangelization of Indians; see *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ See the article by Conrad T.J. Hyde, who had been Tanzania Union president from 1960–62, "Ecumenism Comes to Africa," RH 144 (19 March 1964): 10–12. On p. 12 he writes, referring to ecumenism, "The enemy of souls and of the remnant church is craftily working out his own designs."

¹⁶² See, e.g., three reports of evangelistic efforts in 1958, which each contained the phrase that people decided to "join the Remnant Church": Fares Muganda, "Musoma Effort Report: The Musoma Diamond Talkies' Evangelistic Campaign," *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 2 (April 1958): 1–2, SM 47; Godson Elienzeza, "Mwanza Effort Report: The Gospel Message Lights in Mwanza," *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 2 (April 1958): 2–3, SM 47; and J.D. Harcombe, "Mwanza Hears the Message," SADO 56, no. 9 (15 September 1958): 10.

¹⁶³ *Mafundisho ya Biblia* (N.p.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, n.d. [1960s]); see also EAU Minutes, 20 February 1959, no. 26, EAU.

¹⁶⁴ *Biblia Yasema* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, [1960s]). Two chapters relate to ecclesiology: "I can join the people of God" (chapter 31) and "I can be part of the true church of God" (chapter 32).

¹⁶⁵ *Sauti ya Unabii: Skuli ya Biblia kwa Posta* (Morogoro: Sauti ya Unabii, n.d.); *Sauti ya Unabii: Skuli ya Biblia kwa Posta*, Daraja ya Pili [second level] (Nairobi: Sauti ya Unabii, n.d.). In the second part, lesson no. 15 is about the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and no. 16 about the "gift of prophecy in the Church of God." In the first part, lesson no. 20 is entitled, "The children of God look for the Church of God."

adherence. Although the success of this method varied, the hostilities that resulted from such confrontations were significant. Understandably, the perspectives on this process varied considerably. Adventists insisted on preaching “the truth”¹⁶⁶ and invoked the religious liberty guaranteed by the government.¹⁶⁷ Representatives of other churches, however, viewed them as intruders, tried to influence government leaders to revoke permits for evangelistic meetings,¹⁶⁸ called them “false prophets,” branded Adventism a deception, or emphasized that they had “their own religion.”¹⁶⁹ Certainly in most cases Adventists converted adherents of other denominations, not vice versa,¹⁷⁰ and this became a matter of growing concern to those who lost members.¹⁷¹ A typical example of such conflicts occurred in 1977 when Gabriel H. Mbwana preached at Bukoba. From there he reported,

If there is a place in Tanzania where Satan has placed his chair, it is in this city, my brethren. Since this is the town of the Cardinal in Africa, and the leader of the Lutherans in the whole world, people really cling to [their] religion.¹⁷² We have met strongest objection. In spite of this, we are surprised how the hand of God does wonders to fish His people out of the darkness to come into the light.¹⁷³

With such a dichotomizing thinking, one might suppose that all inter-denominational cooperation was henceforth doomed. Yet Adventist

¹⁶⁶ In so doing, they resembled Pentecostals, who frequently worked in areas where other Protestants had been established already, for they also had an additional message that they considered the “full gospel”; see Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 118–119.

¹⁶⁷ Cyril M. Bender, “The Singing Church,” TADO 65, no. 10 (15 October 1967): 4.

¹⁶⁸ Such an episode happened at Njombe; see R.A. Tenga, “The Light at Njombe,” TADO 63, no. 7 (15 July 1965): 8.

¹⁶⁹ Interview Kiondo; William Mutani, “Chimala Effort Mbeya Region,” 1981, ETC.

¹⁷⁰ Cases of Adventists converting to other denominations happened especially in the pre-independence period, when adherence to a neighbouring mission might imply higher wages as an employee, fewer restrictions, or a new beginning after church discipline. See, for instance, cases reported in [Muze Shogholo]—A. Sprogis, June 1936, SM 33; and H.C. Alden—Pastor in Charge, Suji, 19 October 1947; SM 37.

¹⁷¹ Two theses that were written against this background are Charles Rabson Mjema, “The Switching of Christians from Lutheran Denomination to Other Denominations with Special Reference to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, Pare Diocese, Eastern District (ELCT/PD),” B.D. thesis, Makumira Lutheran Theological College, 1996, and Kornelio Mkiramweni, “Worship among Seventh-Day Adventists,” B.D. thesis, Makumira University College, 1998. They both mention that dozens of Lutherans became Adventists in their respective areas of research (Hedaru and Bombo).

¹⁷² The Swahili original says, “kuna kushika dini hasa,” which literally means, “there is really holding fast onto religion.”

¹⁷³ G.H. Mbwana—Z. Bina, T. Ilomo, A. Andrew, 29 October 1977, ETC. Despite this conflict, eighty persons desired baptism in this instance.

evangelism among other Christians, their ecclesiology and their absence among the members of the CCT did not mean that they rejected every kind of association with non-Adventist bodies. Even if they abhorred the slightest tendency toward church union, they did not mind seeking an ally in the CCT in specific concerns such as logistics, medical work, and education.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, on the personal level, ecclesiology did not necessarily separate. Individual missionaries had friendships with missionaries of other denominations,¹⁷⁵ and friends among non-Adventist Christians were only natural for common church members.¹⁷⁶ At times, the denomination contributed monies to specific projects of the Christian Council,¹⁷⁷ and in the medical field, cooperation was remarkably unproblematic.¹⁷⁸ Thus developed a gradual rapprochement, and in 1965, Adventists obtained consultative membership in the Council.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, close cooperation, at least with other Protestants,¹⁸⁰ was inevitable, so to speak, in one central religious matter: the translation or revision of Bible parts. Because of Adventists' earlier contributions

¹⁷⁴ Rudi H. Henning—J.A. Kisaka, 24 February 1970 (trumpets imported from Germany being handled by the CCT), EAU Minutes, 27 November 1959, no. 311, EAU (a vote to strive “for a closer relationship with the CCT in respect of SDA medical work”); and B.L. Ellingworth—G.S. Glass, 29 May [1958], File 4468, GCA; EAU Minutes, 1 September 1958, no. 955, EAU (educational matters).

¹⁷⁵ Oliver Jacques to the author, 2 May 2002; F.B. Wells—H.C. Alden, 4 November 1947, SM 37.

¹⁷⁶ In this context, a statement by Paulo Kilonzo, one of the first two ordained Adventist pastors, is interesting. He said, “At the beginning we used to look at the Lutherans as enemies, but we soon discovered that this was foolish.” From an interview in 1966 quoted in Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest*, 63.

¹⁷⁷ In 1968, for instance, 1,000 Shillings were contributed to alleviate suffering in Biafra (Nigeria) through the CCT; see TU Minutes, 2 October 1968, no. 495, ETC. When Tanzania still belonged to the East African Union, regular contributions were made to the Christian Council of Kenya; see EAU Minutes, 15 December 1958, no. 1079, EAU.

¹⁷⁸ In 1977, for instance, Adventists conducted a five-day health seminar sponsored by the Dar es Salaam Council of Christian Churches and convened in the Catholic Centre; see “Hitting the Headlines in Dar,” AMDI 7, nos. 9–10 (September–October 1977): 5.

¹⁷⁹ TU Minutes, 27 September 1965, no. 622, ETC.

¹⁸⁰ Roman Catholicism continued to be viewed as the embodiment of the “Antichrist.” However, there were a few exceptional instances when Roman Catholics opened their church buildings for Adventist evangelistic meetings in the Mara region, which is all the more surprising because this contributed to some Catholics' joining the Adventist Church; see S.D. Otieno, “Preaching Truth in Roman Catholic Church Building,” AMDI 5, no. 9 (September 1975): 6; and Z. Bina, “The Catholics Help Again,” AMDI 2, no. 1 (January 1972): 12. On the development of Adventist views of Catholicism, see Reinder Bruinsma, *Seventh-Day Adventist Attitudes toward Roman Catholicism, 1844–1965* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1994).

to New Testament translation and because of their significant presence in some areas, it was logical that they should contribute to this cause. In Pare, a revision committee worked on the New Testament from the mid-1940s,¹⁸¹ and around the same period, Adventists were invited to participate in translations into the Ikizu and Kuria languages and in the proofreading of a revised Swahili version.¹⁸² It was also usual for Adventist national bodies to be members of respective Bible Societies.¹⁸³ As in the realms of education and medical work, remnant ecclesiology was not to hinder progress towards common Christian goals in such a fundamental concern.

Yet there was one irony in attempts at creating more proximity: they also revealed the very distance that remained between Adventists' views of proper interdenominational relations and the others' opinions. It should not surprise, therefore, that a large pastors' conference of the CCT in 1970 which five Adventist pastors attended brought these controversies to the light in an embarrassing way. One Lutheran pastor pointed to Adventists in public and asked, "What are we going to do with these sheep thieves?" Another Lutheran answered, "Sheep are looking for a place where there is food."¹⁸⁴ This answer was more sympathetic than one might expect, but it also implied that religious competition was hardly avoidable,¹⁸⁵ and that it was not limited to the

¹⁸¹ Apparently, this project took place in two periods of which the first was not very successful, for it took a decade to take up the work again. See Baraza la Upare Minutes, 31 October 1946–1 November 1946 [not 1947 as falsely written], SM 1; "Mkutano wa Wajumbe wa Tafisiri, South-North Pare," Mtii, 30 April 1956, SM 46, and "Kutafisiri Na Kuchapa Agana Jipya ya Chasu," Usangi, 28 November 1955, SM 46. In the 1950s, a completely new translation was envisioned. The idea was that a type of Asu was to be created that would fit in all areas—South, Central and North Pare. Although a translation was made, it seems it had a bias towards the North this time while Kotz's pre-World War I translation had been more acceptable in the south. The New Testament published in the 1950s ultimately failed to win the support of many because of its bias. See interview A. Abihudi (he participated in the translation process).

¹⁸² TMF Minutes, 5–6 June 1945, no. E. 72; 14–15 August 1945, no. E. 118; and 16–20 February 1948, no. E. 469, SM 5.

¹⁸³ Yohana Lusingu—Field Presidents, Field Departmental Directors, Tanzania Union, 26 February 1981, ETC. Before they existed, contributions were regularly made to the British and Foreign Bible Society; see EAU Minutes, 3 December 1959, no. 369, EAU.

¹⁸⁴ Interview Elieneza. Elieneza was one of the pastors who participated. Cf. also TU Minutes, 29 April 1970, no. 962, ETC.

¹⁸⁵ In his thesis, Charles Rabson Mjema lists four major reasons for denominational switching in the Pare Diocese which all partly relate to conversion to Adventism: (1) baptism, (2) dissatisfaction with "spiritual food," poor leadership, and immoral conduct among Lutherans, (3) teachings of other denominations (speaking in tongues, baptism of

Adventist-Lutheran controversy. Rather, ecumenical-minded Protestant denominations faced similar challenges from Catholics, Pentecostals, and African Instituted Churches in many areas.¹⁸⁶

The ecumenical relations of Tanzanian Adventists reflected both their identity as a Christian denomination and their strong remnant persuasions. Through the decades though with varying emphasis, they continued to uphold their particularistic ecclesiology in theory as well as in evangelistic practice and thus did not eschew controversy with other ecclesiastical bodies. Yet they avoided occasions of extreme friction except in a few cases and generally preferred a low profile. Thus, interdenominational relations existed and could be defined as “good neighbourhood with other churches”¹⁸⁷ but never gained prominence. This intermediate position allowed for both acceptance in the public as a respectable Christian denomination and maintaining the heritage that the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the embodiment of the remnant, was the bearer of God’s end-time message to the world.

9.2 *Indigenous Religious Movements in the Environment*

African Instituted Churches at Lake Victoria

As all religious movements, Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventism did not only compete with other existing groups but also contained seeds of theological disagreement. These germinated in periods and at places that provided the fertile environment needed for the formation of new movements. Only few and insignificant splinter groups had developed from the denomination before it reached Tanzania,¹⁸⁸ but during the

the Holy Spirit, keeping the Sabbath), and (4) interdenominational marriages. It would be unrealistic to assume that with such divergent issues denominational competition could be avoided at all. See Mjema, “The Switching of Christians,” 21–37.

¹⁸⁶ In a history of Moravians in Tanzania, the author laments the controversies with Pentecostals and Catholics but does not mention Adventists although they were present in the same area. See Angetile Y. Musomba, *Historia Fupi ya Kanisa la Moravian Kusini Tanzania, 1891–1976* (Ileje: Halmashauri Kuu ya Kanisa la Moravian, 1990), 135–137. Cf. also Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 118–119.

¹⁸⁷ Swahili: “ujirani mwema na makanisa mengine.” Interestingly, this term was used by G.H. Mbwana, the same evangelist who had thought of Bukoba as “Satan’s chair.” See G.H. Mbwana, “Uinjilisti,” TMs, [1981], File Elimu—Kanisa, MC.

¹⁸⁸ On various groups that trace their origin to Adventism, see Lowell Tarling, *The Edges of Seventh-Day Adventism: A Study of Separatist Groups Emerging from the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (1844–1980)* (Barragga Bay: Galilee, 1981).

twentieth century, several organizations emerged from Seventh-day Adventism and developed into international bodies. Each of them stressed a particular point of traditional Adventism and developed it further. The Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement¹⁸⁹ insisted on a far-reaching ethical and ritual rigorism, the Davidians¹⁹⁰ specialized in apocalyptic speculation, and perfectionist groups¹⁹¹ were preoccupied with the Methodist heritage of sanctification and with the Adventist “righteousness by faith” debate.

Thus, these three major lines of religious innovation which arose from Seventh-day Adventism all had one thing in common: they radicalized aspects of their mother church. Apart from making religion more exclusive, however, three other directions were possible in innovative movements: (1) easing some requirements for membership, (2) adding some new elements altogether, and (3) subtracting some specifically Adventist teaching. The first direction can be observed in several African Instituted Churches¹⁹² in the Mara region that developed with important connections to Seventh-day Adventism. The second is visible to some extent in the enthusiastic element of the Pare Repentance Movement, which will be discussed in the following section. The third direction was taken by various small “apostasy” movements in Europe and America¹⁹³ but did not have any noticeable impact on Tanzania.

¹⁸⁹ See below in this section.

¹⁹⁰ Schwarz, *Light Bearers*, 455–456. The Davidian movement today has several independent branches. One of them, the Branch Davidians around David Koresh, was involved in the tragedy at Waco, Texas, in 1993, when 74 persons died during a fire while being attacked by government forces. Among the many publications on the events at Waco, see James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, *Why Waco? Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

¹⁹¹ An outstanding example are the followers of Robert Brinsmead in the 1950s and 1960s; see Geoffrey J. Paxton, *The Shaking of Adventism* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 96–103. Ironically, Brinsmead changed his views in the 1970s and became a protagonist of justification of faith alone, and contributed to large numbers of Adventists leaving the denomination.

¹⁹² I use this term that is commonly accepted today rather than the older term, “African Independent Churches” or other, more biased expressions. See, e.g., Rufus Okikiolaolu Olubiyi Ositelu, *African Instituted Churches: Diversities, Growth, Gifts, Spirituality and Ecumenical Understanding of African Initiated Churches* (Münster: Lit, 2002); Mazambara, Phillip Denhe, *The Self-Understanding of African Instituted Churches: A Study Based on the Church of Apostles Founded by John of Marange in Zimbabwe* (Aachen: Mainz, 1999).

¹⁹³ Notable among these are the followers of several prominent former Adventist leaders, although none of them set up a new denomination: Albion Fox Ballenger, who reinterpreted the Adventist sanctuary doctrine; Dudley M. Canright, an influential

It is not surprising that African Instituted Churches developed on the Adventist foundation. The Seventh-day Adventist Church had several characteristics that contributed to the need of African religious innovation: European domination in the leadership of an African church, foreign religious patterns, a message that was not made as relevant as it could potentially be, and strictness in matters that caused considerable conflict with traditional culture. Furthermore, as a rather established church, Adventism easily developed some degree of lethargy that could be interpreted as a lack of spirit.

A good number of cases of African Adventists who founded new religious movements are known. They include Peter Nyambo of Malawi, who, after missionary service in Kenya and periods in England and South Africa founded the Ethiopian Universal Church in his native country in 1943.¹⁹⁴ Other groups are the *Ana a Mulungu* (“Children of God”), founded by Wilfred Gudu, a Malawian teacher who initiated a religious community that rejected the colonial government and mission Christianity,¹⁹⁵ and the African Church of Israel that broke off from the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Zambia in 1948 “to help polygamists to enter heaven.”¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, there were groups that seem only loosely related to Adventists but that received some important impetus from founders who had absorbed some motifs of Adventist theology, such as the Kitawala Movement stirred by Elliot Kamwana in 1908 in Central Africa.¹⁹⁷ In view of such different if unintended offspring, it is probably not an over-interpretation that Seventh-day Adventism produced a significant religious ferment. It inspired a variety of people

minister who renounced the Sabbath and fought Adventism for many years, and Ludwig Richard Conradi, the pioneer of Adventism in Central Europe, who also disagreed with the Adventist sanctuary teaching and rejected the prophethood of Ellen White; see Schwarz, *Light Beavers*, 448–450 and 464–476.

¹⁹⁴ Matemba, *Matandani*, 64–66. Here Matemba also cites several other examples of African Instituted Churches founded by former Adventists in Malawi.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph C. Chakanza, *Voices of Preachers in Protest. The Ministry of Two Malawian Prophets: Elliot Kamwana and Wilfred Gudu* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 1998), 63–85.

¹⁹⁶ Quoted in Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, 118.

¹⁹⁷ Kamwana was a former Adventist who had become an adherent of Charles T. Russell’s teachings through Joseph Booth’s mediation. In the Kitawala movement, about 10,000 persons were baptized by Kamwana in 1908–1909. See Chakanza, *Voices of Preachers in Protest*, 1998, 12–57; Hans-Jürgen Greschat, *Kitawala: Ursprung, Ausbreitung und Religion der Watch-Tower-Bewegung in Zentralafrika* (Marburg: Elwert, 1967). Kamwana’s Adventist phase should not be underestimated, for it was among Adventists that he first internalized apocalypticism.

to experiment with alternative forms of faith because of its character as a movement that united aspects of more common mission churches and various sectarian traits.

In Tanzania, where few African Instituted Churches existed compared with neighbouring Kenya, the area in the south-east of Lake Victoria proved particularly fertile for the development of indigenous religious movements related to Seventh-day Adventism, especially among the Luo. In this context, enterprising Africans of other ethnic background were possibly inspired to start churches of their own.¹⁹⁸ One such innovative person was Yohana Mininga, the Sukuma *mwanangwa* (subchief) of Mwamanyili near Mwanza. In 1920, he received Musa Siboa, a Christian from Uganda, who belonged to the *Abamalaki* movement in Uganda. The *Abamalaki*, who officially called themselves “Society of the One Almighty God,” were Sabbath keepers who rejected the use of medicine, the use of pork, the celebration of Christmas, and who accepted polygamy. Between 1914 and the early 1920s, they grew from small beginnings to 90,000 members in Uganda.¹⁹⁹

Miniga²⁰⁰ had come from an Africa Inland Church background,²⁰¹ but he soon differed with his former church over issues such as military service, swearing, the Sabbath, and polygamy. Furthermore, Siboa taught faith healing and rejected the use of hospitals and medicine, which led to reports on his activities to the Provincial Commissioner. He was then deported after he had reached out to the Kigoma area and

¹⁹⁸ In Kenya, a host of African Instituted Churches developed among the Luo, some of them sabbatarians. On such movements among the Luo of Tanzania, see Perrin Jassy, Marie-France, *Basic Community in the African Churches* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1973). A small movement started by Samwel Bugal, a former Seventh-day Adventist, in 1974 in Sukumaland is “The Witnesses of Christ”; see Frans Wijzen, “Popular Christianity in East Africa: Inculturation or Syncretism?,” *Exchange* 29, no. 1 (2000): 41.

¹⁹⁹ F.B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches* (London: SCM, 1961), 31–53. The leaders of the *Abamalaki* were Joswa Kate Mugema and Malaki Musajjakawa, who were deported by the colonial authorities in 1929. Since the 1930s, the movement did not grow any more.

²⁰⁰ His full name is Yohana Simion Kapongo Mininga.

²⁰¹ Terence Ranger traces the disagreements between Mininga and the Africa Inland Mission (he calls its missionaries “the American Baptists”) to the period before Siboa’s arrival. Siboa is called Saboka by Ranger, but I have maintained the name as it is spelled in *Tanganyika Sabato* sources. That Siboa was an Indian and was deported to India as reported by these sources is, however, unlikely; Ranger mentions that he was a Ganda. On the early years of this movement, see T.O. Ranger, *The African Churches of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972), 22–24.

to Mara.²⁰² Yet this was not the end of the movement,²⁰³ for Mininga continued to direct a small band of faithful who multiplied and became known as *Dini ya Babali* (polygamist religion). One strategy of growth was immediate baptism upon confession, which meant that unlike in mission churches, no lengthy period of instruction would bother those desiring to be Christians.

An important period of growth occurred after the death of Yohana Mininga in 1967, when his son Petro Mayala Mininga took over leadership. Petro Mayala had access to clothes from the Red Cross, and the distribution of such rare commodities attracted many to join what was then known as the *Tanganyika Sabato* Church. In the mid-1990s, the church had spread to the Magu, Musoma, Bunda, Ukerewe, Kwimba, Biharamulo, and Kibondo areas and reached about five thousand members. Nine hundred members were counted alone in Majita, the Adventist stronghold.²⁰⁴

What is most interesting from the perspective of this study is the process of adaptation to Seventh-day Adventism that *Tanganyika Sabato* underwent. Their *Church Manual*²⁰⁵ and the denomination's *Constitution*,²⁰⁶ both revised in the 1990s, stipulate the following church practices and principles: adult baptism by immersion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper three times a year together with a foot washing ceremony, the rejection of plaited hair during worship hours, worship on Sabbath, the rejection of travel on Sabbath, Sabbath School,²⁰⁷ a small group setup during Sabbath School, Sabbath School Offerings, Thanksgiving Offerings, Tithe, Harvest Offerings, separation from the world, Wednesday

²⁰² *Kanuni za Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato*, ([Mwamanyili: Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato, 1997]); James Masunga, "Tanganyika Sabato," AMs, 2003; interview Lucas Kulebela and Petro Mayagi, Bwasi, 26 December 2000.

²⁰³ Ralph A. Austen, *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 143, says that the movement ceased to exist in the 1930s, which is evidently incorrect.

²⁰⁴ James Masunga, "Tanganyika Sabato," AMs, 2003; *Katiba ya Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato*, ([Mwamanyili: Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato, 1995]); interviews Kulebela and Mayagi, and Samweli Kulwa, Mwamanyili, 28 August 2001. A prominent member of this denomination was chief Wanzage Nyerere, the brother of the former president; see interview Okeyo.

²⁰⁵ *Kanuni za Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato*. *Kanuni za Kanisa* is the expression Adventists also use.

²⁰⁶ *Katiba ya Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato*.

²⁰⁷ Sabbath School is called *Shule Sabato* in this church, which is slightly incorrect grammatically. Adventists call it *Shule ya Sabato*.

prayer meeting, detailed guidelines for weddings and funerals, children's dedication, the celebration of camp meetings, and the rejection of cigarettes, of dancing, and of "traditions and customs."

One cannot fail to notice in this list the almost complete identity with crucial Adventist practices. The key to understanding the development of so many items of similarity is that this movement, which arose without Adventist influence, was confronted with ever-growing Adventist competition from the mid-1920s in the very area of Mwamanyili.²⁰⁸ This could have resulted in the failure of any of the two groups, but both continued to expand, presumably because *Tanganyika Sabato* was flexible enough to adapt to many Adventist features in order to appear as decent as Seventh-day Adventism. At the same time, maintaining a few differences in important questions, the most important being the acceptance of polygamy²⁰⁹ and, in some areas, the absence of food taboos,²¹⁰ made the denomination an attractive alternative to those who viewed Adventism as too rigid. In a way, the two denominations benefited from each other: by their combined zeal they created a climate in which turning to Christianity was most plausible, and the many who converted were left with the choice whether they preferred a more "modern" or a slightly more "African" style of faith.

Another small denomination was founded in the region in 1940 by Lazaro Buchafu of Ukerewe, who took up an Adventist theme in the name he gave to it: Last Church.²¹¹ This movement made an immediate impact both on Ukerewe and on Majita, where Catholics and Adventists had their respective missions. Different from Adventists, this church kept Sunday holy, and its lenient stand on polygamy and food questions, alcohol, and tobacco, made it an attraction for many who resented the rigidity of Adventism. Even some respected Adventists

²⁰⁸ On the beginnings and growth of Adventism in Mwamanyili, see the account on Sukumaland in 5.2.

²⁰⁹ Polygamy was allowed but "keeping wives well" was emphasized with reference to Exodus 21:10; see *Kanuni za Kanisa la Tanganyika Sabato*.

²¹⁰ At the headquarters at Mwamanyili, Petro Doto, a teacher belonging to *Tanganyika Sabato* stated that they do not eat pork and animals who died a natural death (*nyamafu*), but at other places such as Bwasi, members stated that they eat all types of food; see interviews Kulebela and Mayagi, and Petro Masatu Doto, Mwamanyili, 28 August 2001; Masunga, "Tanganyika Sabato."

²¹¹ It is improbable that there was any connection of Buchafu's Last Church with the "Last Church of God and His Christ" founded by Jordan Msumbwa, a Malawian, in 1925 in the south of Tanzania. On Msumbwa and his church, see Ranger, *The African Churches of Tanzania*, 20–22.

joined, including Ibrahim Lisso, who had been an outstanding Adventist teacher in the 1930s.

The movement expanded considerably until the early 1950s, when around eight hundred members could be found on the Majita peninsula. People who joined this movement opposed the many Adventist rules and declared, “we are going back to our traditions.”²¹² In 1955, however, Buchafu died; the movement declined significantly, and many joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Today the movement has spread from Ukerewe and Majita to other areas of Mara Region as well as Geita, Mwanza, and Mbeya, and it owns a training school in Geita. The church continues to emphasize Jesus’ soon coming and conducts annual camp meetings which resemble those of Seventh-day Adventists.²¹³

Among the Luo, the influence of Adventists was felt more on the Kenyan side than in Tanzania.²¹⁴ Yet the artificial political border did not hinder religious innovation. Marie-France Perrin Jassy argues that Seventh-day Adventist influence made itself felt in an apocalyptic trend and in prohibitions against dancing, tobacco, alcohol, and certain types of food in numerous African Instituted Churches among the Luo.²¹⁵ Furthermore, with their emphasis on the Old Testament Adventists constitute a parallel to important religious communities that have arisen among the Luo, notably the *Nomiya* and the *Roho* movements, which keep the Sabbath.²¹⁶ One group of particular interest in the 1960s and 1970s was a small denomination called *Fweny Mar Lam* (“Foundation of Prayer”) by Perrin Jassy. This church combined Adventist and Pentecostal elements such as the Sabbath, the ban of alcohol and tobacco, and emphasis on prayer for the sick.²¹⁷ *Fweny Mar Lam* was locally successful in the mid-1960s but seems to have disappeared later.²¹⁸

²¹² They used the Jita word *omwandu*, which means “heritage”; see telephone interview Jocktan Kuyenga, 19 April 2003.

²¹³ *Ibid.*; telephone interview Elizaphan Wanjara, 8 April 2003; James Masunga, “The Last Church,” AMs, 2003.

²¹⁴ On Adventism among the Luo, see Gershom N. Amayo, “A History of the Adventist Christian Education in Kenya,” Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 1973, and Okeyo, *Adventism in Kenya*.

²¹⁵ Perrin Jassy, *Basic Community in the African Churches*, 98–99, 105.

²¹⁶ Another small denomination among the Luo worshipping on Sabbath is the Israel Church; see Perrin Jassy, *Basic Community in the African Churches*, 120–121; on sabbatarianism among the *Nomiya* and *Roho* churches, see *ibid.*, 170.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 90, 123–127, 198, and 203.

²¹⁸ With their 80 members in 1965, it could compete with *Nomiya*, which in 1970

How can these movements be interpreted? First it should be noted that they were rather small and few in number, which was typical of Tanzania and different from neighbouring Kenya, where such movements were much more successful. In relation to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, there are several dimensions that should be highlighted. One is that the Adventist influence in the region was so considerable that several movements identified with elements that were typically Adventist. Still, the Adventist impact was somewhat diffuse in that other denominations permeated the same areas, and some ethnic groups were receptive to the Adventist brand of Christianity whereas others were not. This opened the way for various African Instituted Churches as significant alternatives to Adventism because they accommodated aspects of traditional life which did not have room in the remnant profile of official Adventism. Yet they unwittingly may have helped to ultimately increase the impact of Adventism by adding to the total attraction of Christianity in the region.

The Pare Repentance Movement in 1950

The most dramatic short-term religious movement sparked by Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventists did not remain in people's memory with a specific name, presumably because of its short-lived nature. On the basis of the location where it occurred and because of its central feature, I propose to call it the Pare Repentance Movement. I shall first describe the events before proceeding to interpretative reflections.

From mid-April to mid-May 1950, Elineema Mngumi of Kirangare, a village at the periphery of missionary influence but one containing a significant Adventist presence, continually urged local church members to confess their sins. Elineema professed that God told him what he must do and say, and when someone acknowledged his wrongs, God showed him if any other sins had still remained hidden. A number of church members who had been living in adultery came forward, some of them were dropped from membership, and others were suspended, depending on the case. Elineema then declared that he wished to accompany the church workers during the month that was designated for evangelistic preaching, for God had told him that he must spend

had 200 members and two *Roho* denominations, which had 300 and 150 members, respectively; see *ibid.*, 97. Among the Luo I interviewed, none was aware of the existence of this church while the *Roho* and *Nomiya* groups were well-known.

all his time preaching and teaching his word. Three other men had dreams and were told in them to write down messages and to send them to specific people.²¹⁹

Because of the unusual nature of Elineema's activities and his supposed divine call, Paulo Kilonzo, the oldest and most influential pastor among the Pare Adventists, observed the happenings at Kirangare with Yohana Makanta, a fellow pastor who was in charge of the area. They noted the remarkable fact that people confessed their sins in public and yet found that things were done "in proper order." The pastors even praised the positive impact that these happenings evidently had on the general public. They reported:

There were many heathens who just came out of their own, and when the call came, they came forward, took their ear rings and nose rings off and handed them over, and joined the baptismal class.²²⁰

Kilonzo declared that these dynamics were so remarkable that he and Makanta had never seen similar things in their whole life. Upon questioning Elineema, they came to the conclusion that it was God's Spirit who was working through the man. Thus, even a first report on the events written by missionary Gert van Niekerk was rather positive.²²¹ Although he did not show great enthusiasm regarding the events, van Niekerk trusted the Pare pastors' opinion, and like H. Robson, the Tanganyika Mission Field secretary-treasurer, he must have felt, "We cannot be too careful while at the same time we have no desire to check any movement which is definitely resulting in good."²²²

During the next two weeks there followed a tremendous expansion of the practices witnessed at Kirangare.²²³ The excitement experienced there spread to adjacent places, and a band of prophets formed rapidly; initially they were fifty and came from Kirangare, Mamba, and Vugwama. While Elineema had initiated the movement, it appears that the prophets soon took over control. They chose a leader, Azaliwa

²¹⁹ G.L. van Niekerk—H. Robson, 9 May 1950, File 4468, GCA.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² H. Robson—G.L. van Niekerk, 15 May 1950, File 4468, GCA.

²²³ It is noteworthy that the information of the following account is taken from the interview with Godson Elieneza, Hedaru, 13 June 2002. Elieneza was president of North East Tanzania Field in the 1980s; in 1950, he experienced the Pare Repentance Movement as a young teacher at Vugwama, one of the centres of the movement. He was neither involved in the movement nor did he oppose it; thus, his perspective can be counted as fairly balanced.

Mashanjara, and moved around in groups, compelling people to confess their sins and threatening those who did not do so. Especially the young appear to have been susceptible to the awakening. Godson Elieneza, who was head teacher at Vugwama primary school, found himself left with 6 out of 161 students; many of the others had been seized by the movement and had joined the ranks of the prophets. How much the movement became popular is also visible in the fact that large crowds assembled at the Vugwama football ground on two consecutive Sabbaths, and that “armies” of prophets were sent to Hedaru and Moshi as well as to Suji.

One key element of this religious stir was a firm belief that the world must soon end. Elineema proclaimed that Jesus’ return was very near, prophets sang, “the door of mercy is being shut,” and students filled whole exercise books with dreams containing messages that moral preparation for Jesus’ second coming was necessary. Some people left their work and devoted their whole time to preaching. Sermons about Revelation 14 went hand in hand with dreams that predicted Jesus’ soon advent.²²⁴

Extraordinary happenings were being seen by people:²²⁵ one teacher, Ndimangwa Aroni, was told that he had committed adultery, which he denied, and then he was thrown to the ground. Samuel Sekerende was told to confess, and his stomach swelled like a football; when he confessed, it went back. A certain Makasa preached to a Traditionalist, and while doing so, a girl was thrown up to the ceiling of a house and back, lying like dead. When one of the prophets touched her, she stood up again. An old lady whose back was badly bent was commanded by a young girl to stand straight, and she did. At the same time, a few individuals such as Elieneza were not receptive to the prevailing prophetic spirit; he was urged to participate and was prayed for twice, but did not receive the enthusiasm that others displayed. Furthermore, he noticed that some elements of the movement were rather subjective, as in the case of some prophets who saw three angels flying in the air while he did not see them.²²⁶

²²⁴ Revelation 14 is a chapter of central importance to Seventh-day Adventists because it is interpreted to be fulfilled in the end-time message that Adventists preach.

²²⁵ I have noted only those accounts of exceptional events that Godson Elieneza witnessed himself. Other stories reported by people who were not present have not been included here.

²²⁶ This visionary experience relates to Revelation 14:6.

In view of the excitement that went beyond what fit into the mainstream of Seventh-day Adventism, it is understandable that van Niekerk's initially neutral or near-positive position changed only about one week after his report of 8 May. The fact that this happened so quickly was due to the tremendous spread of the prophets' influence during these few days.²²⁷ Van Niekerk tried to halt the movement during the second half of May, but the activities reached Suji rather late, and it was not easy for him to achieve anything at the other places where things had developed further.²²⁸

The upheaval that developed from the repentance activities must have been considerable, for van Niekerk described that there was a "general beating on the go" at Mamba. Thence he decided to involve the District Commissioner, who sent some police to the place only to find that things had calmed down. At this point, about a week before the end of May, his main concern was how to keep people quiet and stop the movement, but first van Niekerk had to face Elineema and "forty of his prophets." The missionary's reaction was rather determined: he chased the crowd away with a stick but subsequently engaged their leader in a three-hour talk.²²⁹ In doing so, he had apparently decided to literally follow the second part of Robson's advice, "If it is of God we must not fight against it. If it be of men or the devil we must fight against it for all we are worth."²³⁰

The confrontation at Suji was not yet the end of the movement, but it coincided with its decline. After one month of a heated atmosphere, early June saw both a workers' and a general church members' meeting in which the Tanganyika Mission Field president, F.G. Reid, tactfully taught about the signs of prophethood. He emphasized that God uses order in his actions and aimed at cooling down the movement but avoided rebuke.²³¹ Two weeks later, missionary Maurice B. Musgrave,

²²⁷ The letter Stefano Kajiru—G.L. van Niekerk, 23 May 1950, SM 41, must have been occasioned by an inquiry by van Niekerk some days earlier, and the answers it contained show that van Niekerk had already taken a negative stand.

²²⁸ From the absence of any further reference to the Pare pastors, one can infer that they quietly withdrew from the conflict and preferred to wait for further development. The fact that they were so much positive about Elineema in the beginning may have led to such a stand. Perhaps they also understood instinctively that they were not to take a too definite stand in a movement that inculturated aspects of Adventism in an unprecedented and spontaneous way.

²²⁹ G.L. von Niekerk—C.T. Bannister, 28 May 1950, SM 17.

²³⁰ H. Robson—G.L. van Niekerk, 15 May 1950, File 4468, GCA.

²³¹ G.L. van Niekerk—Yohana Makanta, 2 June 1950, SM 41; interview Elienzea.

who had arrived after the May turmoil, concluded that the “‘prophet’ trouble” had disappeared.²³² Church life continued as if nothing had happened, and the revivalists remained ordinary church members. After another month, Musgrave advised the pastor at Mamba, Yohana Makanta, in whose territory the waves had gone most high, no more to talk about what happened when “that spirit” broke out.²³³ For decent missionary Christianity, the movement had been odd, even embarrassing, and was supposed to be forgotten.

How should the Pare Repentance Movement be evaluated? First of all, it was more than a mere episode. The happenings reveal an intensity of religious experience²³⁴ that cannot be dismissed as insignificant despite its rather short-lived nature. The failure of Elineema and the prophets to come up with a permanent organization may be attributed to the preponderance of enthusiasm and the fact that the Seventh-day Adventist Church was so well-established in the area that an alternative might have been difficult to initiate. Yet the commotion they caused among the Adventists of South Pare as well as the non-Christians shows that the movement was more than a few individuals’ fads.

The parallels of the 1950 happenings to similar movements in East Africa which occurred during the same period, notably the East African Revival and an awakening among Adventists in Kisii, are noteworthy. The Revival, or *Balokole* (“saved ones”) Movement, spread from Anglicans in Rwanda, where it had started in the early 1930s, to Uganda and various Protestant denominations in Kenya and Tanzania. It made a strong impact especially in Uganda and among the Haya of north-west Tanzania in the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s.²³⁵ In spite of the Revival’s wide reach and the similarities to Pare in aspects such as confession, enthusiasm, and strictness, the people involved in the 1950

²³² M.B. Musgrave—H. Robson, 20 June 1950, SM 18.

²³³ M.B. Musgrave—Yohana Makanta, 18 July 1950, SM 41.

²³⁴ This has led some participants and observers to credit the events to either divine or satanic influence: Elienzeza believes that God worked first in the movement, for many came to the Christian faith during this period and remained in the faith, but that Satan came in later. Kuga states she believes demons controlled everything, while Mrs Nazihirwa Abihudi recognizes the divine power in the movement; see interviews Elienzeza, Kuga, and N. Abihudi.

²³⁵ On the East African Revival, see Catherine Ellen Robins, “Tukutendereza: A Study of Social Change and Sectarian Withdrawal in the Balokole Revival of Uganda,” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975, and Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, 113–135, the latter on the *Balokole*’s impact on the Bukoba region with interesting observations of an eyewitness.

events did not trace their activities to any other source but Elineema's call and their own prophetic dreams and visions. Therefore, a direct connection cannot be established. South Pare was too far away from the hotbed of the *Balokole* revival, and Adventists as a religious community were rather secluded, which made it difficult for them to borrow from other denominations.²³⁶

The resemblance to the *Abanyamoika* revival among Kisii Adventists between 1948 and 1952 is undoubtedly of even greater significance.²³⁷ Nyaundi supposes that this revival was an Adventist version of the *Balokole* Movement, for the latter had entered Kenya a few years earlier, although he does not provide definite evidence.²³⁸ The *Abanyamoika* loved to rebuke sin, the most common theme being witchcraft, which was believed to be very widespread among the Gusii.²³⁹ This is an interesting parallel to dynamics of the movement in Pare, where much rebuke was aimed at adultery, which was held to be an almost universal vice among them. Furthermore, like the prophets of Pare the *Abanyamoika* also believed that the end of the world was very near.²⁴⁰ Another interesting parallel to the situation in Pare was that the Kisii revival also happened at a time of tremendous church growth.²⁴¹

It cannot be proven that the happenings at Kisii had any influence on Pare.²⁴² Still, one similarity to the 1950 events illuminate the importance that Seventh-day Adventist doctrine had for both movements:

²³⁶ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 364, states that the revival "influenced almost every Protestant church" in the 1940s and 1950s; Adventists, however, being on the periphery of Protestantism, were among the few who felt little influence of the revival if any.

²³⁷ *Abanyamoika* is a Kisii word that means "those of the spirit." The whole chapter, "Spiritual Revival," in Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 147–165, deals with this revival.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 148–151. In the case of Kisii, a *Balokole* influence is more probable than in the Pare Repentance Movement, for Kisii was not far from Uganda, and the fact that Adventists were the only major denomination among the Kisii might have prevented feelings that this kind of revivalism was derived from other churches and, therefore, "un-Adventist."

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 163.

²⁴¹ Between 1947 and 1950, the number of Adventists in Kisii almost tripled from 1,700 to 5,000; see *ibid.*, 47, 153.

²⁴² Certainly there was some limited communication between the different Adventists mission stations even as far as Africans are concerned, for some Pare Adventists sent their children to Middle Schools in Kenya. Nonetheless, this connection alone cannot justify to consider the 1950 events as having been induced from outside. Rather, the knowledge about what was going on might have led to a greater openness for revival phenomena even if the eruption of the movement was triggered from internal dynamics.

the prominence of apocalypticism as compared to the characteristics of the *Balokole* Movement. This focus did not come about by chance; rather, it was the logical effect of a generation of preoccupation with end-time speculation and the heavy eschatological leanings of Adventist publications of that period.²⁴³ This may, in part, explain why the movement faded rather quickly: it was difficult to sustain a strong sense of apocalyptic urgency without setting specific dates for the second coming of Jesus. Doing so, however, would have certainly led to an organizational split, for Adventists reject date setting, and Elineema apparently did not desire such a move.²⁴⁴

The apocalyptic preaching was certainly more than rhetoric, yet the enthusiastic nature of the movement hints at the possibility that it implied a purpose other than preparing people for an actual farewell to planet earth. It is more probable that the end-time preaching was essentially an Adventist version of inducing people to repent. One hint in this direction is the original purpose of Elineema's activities at Kirangare. Another detail that points to repentance as the central element is an analysis of missionary Harry Robson. Although Robson was not in Pare when he heard about what was going on, he immediately linked the activities to the confessions of adultery that had taken place among Pare Adventists in 1927, 1934, and 1940.²⁴⁵ This connection is important, for once again a key issue was adultery,²⁴⁶ and one could regard the 1950 events as another wave of repentance from what the Pare considered their "major sin," only that it had been delayed a bit by other events such as World War II and *Mbiru*.

Interestingly, the way of clearing wrongs was significantly different in 1950. In earlier cases, stern missionaries had presided over the individual punishment of offenders. Now the problem of sin, guilt, and shame was being dealt with in a more communitarian and indigenous way: with a revivalistic "group therapy" and prophetic treatment for whole

²⁴³ See the discussion of eschatological views in 9.1. Hardly any Adventist book was published in the years between World War I and 1950 that did not centre on eschatological teachings.

²⁴⁴ At the height of the movement, Stefan Kajiru reported that Elineema said, "do not curse, for this missionary did not believe that I, Elineema, am a prophet. Therefore do not curse the church of God." I interpret this as meaning, "the missionary has rejected the movement, but we must remain loyal to the church organization"; see Stefano Kajiru—G.L. van Niekerk, 23 May 1950, SM 41.

²⁴⁵ H. Robson—G.L. van Niekerk, 15 May 1950, File 4468, GCA. On the 1927, 1934, and 1940 events, see 5.1.

²⁴⁶ Interview Elienzeza.

villages. That people who refused to confess sins were being beaten²⁴⁷ should not be viewed as an outbreak of rowdiness but as a coherent part of the prophets' work, which they described as "revealing sin."²⁴⁸ This end could be brought about by a variety of means, including physical chastisement. As divinely inspired servants, they maintained that they were not guilty of producing confusion among the people, for their only aim was that people may "vomit their dirt" or "puke their sin,"²⁴⁹ a striking parallel to the *Balokole* Movement and the *amaNazaretha* of South Africa, who described confession and exorcism with similar terms.²⁵⁰ Altogether, the activities and phraseology developed around repentance may imply that the 1950 movement operated similar to witchcraft eradication procedures and therefore can be understood to be an African religious answer to the problem at hand.²⁵¹

The movement was obviously a genuine expression of African religiosity, for it emerged from among the least sophisticated Adventists. At the same time, however, it combined traditional, general Christian, and characteristic Adventist elements—enthusiasm, repentance, and apocalypticism—into a creative if short-lived pattern of religious experience. This makes the movement an outstanding example of the creativity of Africans who chose to remain within the boundaries of mission Christianity.

Probably the Pare Repentance Movement also served as a religious outlet for stress produced by a whole array of tensions that existed for Pare Adventists: (1) the gap between the African church members' relative powerlessness in the church and missionary control,²⁵² (2) the decay

²⁴⁷ Interview Kuga and A. Abihudi. The Mamba beatings that van Niekerk reported most probably refer to the same event.

²⁴⁸ Stefano Kajiru—G.L. van Niekerk, 23 May 1950, SM 41.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ G.C. Oosthuizen, "Isaiah Shembe and the Zulu World View," in *Our Approach to the Independent Church Movement in South Africa: Lectures of the First Missiological Course of the Missiological Institute at the Lutheran Theological College, Mapumulo* (Mapumulo: Missiological Institute, Lutheran Theological College, 1965), 141; Sundkler, *Bava Bukoba*, 119. Among the Haya, revivalists emphasized that guilt had to be "thrown up" by cleansing and confession.

²⁵¹ Whereas "witchcraft" was frequently viewed as the major problem in an environment with a strong impact of African Traditional Religions, adultery apparently took over this role of the major problem among the Pare Adventists. The ritual cleansing corresponds to witchcraft eradication movements; cf. Boston Soko and Gerhard Kubik, *Nchimi Chikanga: The Battle Against Witchcraft in Malawi* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 2002).

²⁵² Cf. the similarity of Elineema with Paulo Mashambo, the leader of the *Mbiru* protest (see 8.1). Both were locally respected elders but did not have the power to make a decisive impact on church affairs in a regular way, and both came from the

of Traditional Religion and the impact of Western patterns of life, (3) the desire for religious liberation from sin, guilt, and shame, and the strict moral requirements of Adventist Christianity, (4) the “prophetic” identity of Adventism as opposed to the apparent lack of prophets in their midst,²⁵³ (5) the Adventist apocalyptic rhetoric and the apparent failure to derive significant conclusions from eschatological thought, (6) the divergence of the religious core of church identity and the church as an institution with its organizational, civilizational, and economic aspects, and (7) the Adventist remnant concept and the realities of a growing African folk church.²⁵⁴

Similar to the *Balokole* revival, the Pare Repentance Movement can be viewed as a wave in the spontaneous inculturation of the Christian faith.²⁵⁵ It was the instinctive application of traditional categories to a faith which was appreciated but needed some refurbishing because it had not provided important mechanisms of repentance needed by a growing African Adventist community. Its almost accidental strategy worked, which is not only visible in the mass mobilization it caused but also in the fact that the majority of church members seem to have willingly accepted the validity of such a ritual cleansing of evil as an alternative to the official procedure of repeated catechesis and rebaptism. Even missionary Musgrave unwittingly sanctioned this course by determining two months after the events that no one who had confessed guilt during the upheaval was to be judged for these sins by the church.²⁵⁶ Although he certainly did not advocate laxity, this decision resulted in the granting of absolution. The movement had achieved its major goal.

The Tanzanian Seventh-Day Adventist Reform Movement

The Adventist Reform Movement was a relative latecomer to Tanzania. Adventist splinter groups of foreign origin had attempted to exert some

periphery of missionary control but from areas where Adventists had made the most significant numerical impact—Mamba and Vugwama.

²⁵³ Other individuals who declared themselves prophets arose at various places during different periods of Adventism in Tanzania, but none created such a stir as Elineema. Among them was Daniel Makika Ruhaga, one of the second group to be baptized at Heri in 1948, who claimed to be a prophet in 1954. He later married a second and a third wife and left the church. See interviews Maguru, Ntiamalumwe, and Kagize.

²⁵⁴ Pare Adventists counted 1,500, twice the number of 1940, and were in a phase of strong continuous growth which was not adversely affected by the 1950 events.

²⁵⁵ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 599.

²⁵⁶ M.B. Musgrave—Yohana Makanta, 18 July 1950, SM 41.

influence on East Africa in the 1940s and 1960s,²⁵⁷ but without success in Tanzania. The “Reformers,” as they have been called by Seventh-day Adventists,²⁵⁸ arose in Germany during World War I as a protest against the leading Adventists who took a lenient stand in the military question and who condoned the compromising of Sabbath keeping rules in the context of war.²⁵⁹ The movement involved significant numbers in the beginning. It has been estimated that one-fourth or one-third of all German Adventists were on the Reform side during the war,²⁶⁰ and when the movement began to organize in 1919, more than one thousand were still left.²⁶¹ Although Reformers split over leadership issues in 1951, the resulting two bodies, the “International Missionary Society” and the “Seventh-day Adventist Church—Reform Movement” basically hold the same teachings and both consider themselves to be the true representatives of the Adventist “Reformation.”²⁶² On the

²⁵⁷ In 1949, mission leaders were alarmed that some African workers had received “subversive literature”; see TMF Minutes, 7–10 February 1949, no. 556, SM 6. Robert Brinsmead, who in the 1950s and 1960s promoted a perfectionist theology, visited Africa in 1965 and won some followers in Kenya, but apparently he did not visit Tanzania; see F.G. Thomas—Field Presidents etc., 3 May 1965, SM 50; Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 228.

²⁵⁸ Alternative terms for the movement used by Reformers themselves have been “the Reform,” “the Reformation,” “the Reform Movement,” and “the Reformation Movement.”

²⁵⁹ On the military issue, see the last part of 8.3. Two significant works on the Reform Movement were published during the last decade. One is a dissertation by the Lutheran pastor Herrmann Ruttmann, *Die adventistische Reformationsbewegung, 1914–2001: Die Internationale Missionsgesellschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten Reformationsbewegung in Deutschland* (Köln: Teiresias, 2002) [Dr. phil. diss., Marburg, 2002]. Another helpful though one-sided account is Alfons Balbach, *The History of the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement* (Roanoke: Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement, 1999). An important older and critical publication is Helmut H. Kramer, *The Seventh-Day Adventist Reform Movement (German Reform)* (Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1988). Kramer, a former American Union president in the movement, who was born into the movement but later joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church, provides many valuable first-hand insights. An earlier apologetic publication is Lewis Harrison Christian, *The Aftermath of Fanaticism; or, a Counterfeit Reformation* (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, [1957]).

²⁶⁰ Johannes Hartlapp, “Die Blütezeit der Adventmission in Deutschland 1889–1933,” in *Die Adventisten und Hamburg*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer, Lothar E. Träder, and George R. Knight (Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), 80. This estimation may also imply mere sympathies with the movement given the smaller numbers of persons who organized a new denomination later.

²⁶¹ Ruttmann, *Die adventistische Reformationsbewegung*, 75. Formal organization took place in the first half of the 1920s; see *ibid.*, 94–100.

²⁶² The official full names of the first group is “International Missionary Society—Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement” (see <http://www.imssdarm-bg.org>, accessed 1 December 2005); the other group calls itself “Seventh-day Adventist Church—Reform Movement” (see <http://www.sdarmgc.org>, accessed 1 December 2005). The latter has

African continent, Reformers had made some impact as early as the 1940s in South Africa,²⁶³ and signs of their existence were found in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria in the 1960s.²⁶⁴ Today, Reformers are also found in several other African countries.²⁶⁵

In Tanzania, activities began around 1972.²⁶⁶ Several individuals of Magomeni SDA Church, the then only Adventist congregation in Dar es Salaam, enrolled in the two-year *Reformation Study Course*, which had been mailed to them by the American Union of the International Missionary Society. In 1974, a group of fifty interested persons had emerged. Revival meetings and overnight sessions were being held, and the group regularly conducted intensive studies, especially about the writings of Ellen G. White. Having been persuaded of the truths of the “reformation message,” the group asked the American Union for a missionary to visit them, and Simon Schmidt, a leader among the German Reformers, came to Dar es Salaam for one week in October 1974. The task that remained for him was to set up an organization by facilitating the election of leaders and thus helping the new Reformers sever their membership bonds to the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Many among the twenty-three persons who formed the nucleus of the Tanzanian Reform Movement had held important positions at Magomeni such as church elder, church secretary, or home missionary leader, and most of them were persons of a certain degree of education. The leaders of the group were Edson Golugwa and Parmenas Shirima, who had finished the study course already, and worship was first held in believers’ houses, then in a government school.

David Dobias, the Tanzania General Field president, soon arranged for a full-day meeting of the group with ten pastors as well as Union

also been called the “Nicolici group” because of its founder’s name; see Ruttmann, *Die adventistische Reformationsbewegung*, 127–149. In the following account, only the “International Missionary Society” is referred to, for only this group is active in Tanzania.

²⁶³ The SDA Reform Movement was mentioned in Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, 2d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 367. This book was published originally in 1945.

²⁶⁴ Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 208; Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, 162, 169.

²⁶⁵ Reformers of both organizations are also found on all other continents where there are significant numbers of Seventh-day Adventists; see Balbach, *The History of the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement*, passim.

²⁶⁶ The following account is from an interview with Bright Dickson Fue, Matthew Malata, and Parmenas Shirima, Dar es Salaam, 11 December 2000. These three were the leaders of the movement in Tanzania at the time of interviewing. The main details of their account have been confirmed in several other interviews.

and Division representatives, but in this attempt at reconciliation no agreement was reached. Subsequently, the movement spread to various areas in the south of the country.²⁶⁷ This was done by visitation and volunteer missionaries, for until 1980, this new denomination had no full-time employees. A major tool for the propagation of the new teachings was the *Reformation Study Course*, which had been translated into Swahili.²⁶⁸

While advances were made in the rural areas, the pioneers in the capital, who constituted the movement's brain because of their education and because of their longer exposure to Reform teachings, experienced severe strain. One Sabbath in May 1976, the believers in Dar es Salaam were arrested by the police at their three places of worship, Ilala, Magomeni, and Kurasini, and some of them spent one week in prison.²⁶⁹ Yet the police failed to produce any official accusation that whole year, and the case was ultimately discarded. In the following years, Reformers underwent harassment in several villages to which the movement had spread, for they did not vote and participate in *mgambo* activities. Worse than that, their rejection of coffee growing made them to appear as opposing the very development that the government promoted. It should not surprise that during the war with Uganda in 1978–1979, some Reformers were imprisoned and beaten because they rejected military service.

A good number of persons left the movement during the late 1970s, but the 1980s saw further expansion, this time beyond the Tanzanian south.²⁷⁰ The largest concentration of members was in Kyela, Dar es Salaam, and Pare in the mid-1980s, and the approximate total

²⁶⁷ Reformers opened groups in rural Rukwa and Mbamba Bay in 1975 and spread to the Kyela area and Nachingwea in 1977, to Tukuyu in 1978, and to Mbeya and Sangu in 1980.

²⁶⁸ Swahili: *Masomo ya Matengenezo*. The *Reformation Study Course* (N.p.: International Missionary Society, 1972) contains twenty lessons. Another book that the Reformers used was International Missionary Society, *Bible Study Handbook* (Denver: Religious Liberty Publishing Association, 1980), and a correspondence course, "Know Your Bible," published by the American Union of the International Missionary Society, Denver. For more details on these publications see <http://www.sda1914.org> (accessed 1 December 2005). A Tanzanian publication is *Historia ya Waadventista* (Dar es Salaam: n.p., [1976]).

²⁶⁹ Those who arrested the worshippers stated they had been ordered to do so by police commander Godson Lazaro, and the Reformers came to believe that this plot had been instigated by Seventh-day Adventists.

²⁷⁰ Tabora and Singida were reached in 1982, Mamba and Kisiwani in Pare in 1984, and Chunya and Mbingu in the south in the same year.

membership had risen to five hundred.²⁷¹ Andrew Mangwe became the first church employee in 1980 and was ordained in 1983. In the 1980s, Reformers sought registration with the government, and in 1990 this desire became a reality.

As can be imagined, the leaders of the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church were strongly opposed to the Reform Movement from its very beginning. Even former sympathizers such as the young pastor Herry Mhando, who was stationed at Dar es Salaam, turned away from the group once it was organized.²⁷² Over were the days when Tanzanian Adventism enjoyed overwhelming theological unity in its midst. Mhando warned Field president Dobias that if he was not going to help, “our people shall all be swept away.” In early 1976, he lamented, “the so called ‘Reformers’ are confusing the minds of our people all over the country” and labelled them “our enemies.”²⁷³ Dobias then prepared a manuscript²⁷⁴ that sought to disclose errors in what another church leader called “the Reform-movement rash.”²⁷⁵ At some places such as Sumbawanga, pastors were sent to new districts with the special task of counteracting the Reform Movement,²⁷⁶ and in a few locations such as Mbulu and Mbingu, Adventists could exult in seeing Reformers return to the fold.²⁷⁷ In others, however, surprise victories could be celebrated by the adherents of the reform message. At Maji ya Chai near Arusha, for instance, a whole congregation of about twenty turned to the “new light” in 1984 in a one-week undertaking by Nazihirwa Abihudi, an Adventist pastor’s wife, who had also been one of the most successful literature evangelists but had later joined the Reformers’ ranks.²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ In the 1990s, this number grew to around 800. The interviewees Fue, Malata, and Shirima did not seem inclined to state the number of adherents during the time of interviewing; thus, it might be assumed that membership has stagnated since then. Seen in the context of the world membership of the International Missionary Society (about 17,000 in 1993), Tanzanians constitute an important part of this movement; see Ruttman, *Die adventistische Reformationsbewegung*, 168, 170.

²⁷² Herry Mhando—David Dobias, 24 July 1975, ETC; interviews E. Wanjara and Moses.

²⁷³ Herry Mhando—David Dobias, 9 February 1976, ETC.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. Another manuscript of the period informed church members about Ellen White’s injunction that the Seventh-day Adventist Church was not supposed to be called “Babylon” as the Reformers did; see “Ni Kanisa la S.D.A. Ndilo Linaloitwa Babeli?,” TMs, n.d., ETC.

²⁷⁵ Fritz O. Martinsen—David Dobias, 18 August 1975, ETC.

²⁷⁶ Interview Elisante. The pastor who was sent to Sumbawanga was Anderson Fue.

²⁷⁷ Lomay, “Adventism among the Iraqw”; interview E. Wanjara.

²⁷⁸ Interview N. Abihudi.

In order to attract converts, Reformers needed to establish significant differences with the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This they did in several areas; the following are key characteristics:²⁷⁹ (1) Vegetarianism is not optional, and the majority of Reformers even reject the consumption of other animal products such as milk and eggs. (2) Sabbath keeping precludes any travel and cooking. (3) As an application of the prohibition of murder,²⁸⁰ the complete refusal of entering the military is considered to be “part of the Three Angels’ Messages.”²⁸¹ (4) Complete abstinence from politics and voting is deemed necessary. (5) Strict dress rules are applied. (6) No fellowship with other churches is tolerated, even in matters of choirs singing for others.²⁸² (7) Prayer should always be performed by bowing down if possible.²⁸³ (8) The “Spirit of Prophecy” (Ellen White’s writings) is quoted frequently “because many do not understand the Bible.” (9) The “true church” is that which is strict enough, for Seventh-day Adventists “do not reach the standard.”²⁸⁴

This list is enlightening. Both the four items relating to lifestyle and ethical questions (vegetarianism, military service, politics, and dress reform) and the five that are essentially religious (Sabbath keeping, ecumenism, prayer, Spirit of Prophecy, and the true church) reveal a significantly greater strictness than Seventh-day Adventists usually apply. The Reformers’ concern, therefore, was a rigid implementation of even more rules than those followed by Adventists. Although they

²⁷⁹ The following list of differences was given orally in the interview with Fue, Malata, and Shirima.

²⁸⁰ Greyson Mtango mentions that one Reformer, Samwel Benjamin, declared that members of his movement do not kill any animal, not even snakes. However, this seems to be an individual interpretation, for this injunction could not be substantiated among other Reformers. See Mtango, “A Comparison,” 32.

²⁸¹ A reference to Revelation 14:6–12, a text that Seventh-day Adventists usually interpret as a reference to themselves.

²⁸² Here a reference was made to Revelation 18 (“Come out of Babylon”) and Ezekiel 12.

²⁸³ It appears to me that this is a particular African contribution to the Reform Movement. The exalted position that this teaching assumes among Tanzanian Reformers is not reflected among Reformers in Europe and expresses the African type of spirituality which is also visible in some Tanzanian Reformers’ insistence to offer prayer while kneeling even when taking a glass of water.

²⁸⁴ This increased strictness is also the major characteristic of the international Reform Movement; from its history one might add the complete rejection of tea and coffee and the feasts of the traditional Christian calendar, and a strong reservation against television and antibiotics as well as other pharmaceuticals. See Ruttmann, *Die adventistische Reformationsbewegung*, 17, 232–234, and 243. Even vaccinations were rejected in earlier periods, but this changed later in view of government laws and the obvious benefits resulting from the practice.

would probably subscribe to such doctrinal summaries as the Adventist quasi-creedal twenty-eight fundamental beliefs, they sought to establish an all-encompassing system of conduct and faith that did not leave as much room for individuals to adapt to “the world.”

In assessing the dynamics behind Tanzanian Reform Adventism, several factors must be taken into consideration.

1. *The particular period when the movement began and spread.* After seventy years in the country, Adventists had grown to a respectable size at least in some of their traditional home areas. The battle with Traditional Religion had been won, and a tendency of “business as usual” had arisen in the fields where Adventism had been present for a long time. Folk churches comprised many second and third generation members who lacked the supposed commitment of their forefathers. In this context, it was an attractive idea to establish a new Remnant Church. Yet according to the Adventist tradition of separation, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia* was not enough. Rather, a clean new community had to be set up outside the church which appeared to have lost its uniqueness.
2. *The fact that the movement was imported.* It can be argued that it might have never arisen had it not been for the fact that its teachings were advertised from outside and, later on, organizational unity was created with an international movement. One might speculate that an indigenous movement with similar tenets could have arisen in the absence of the Reform Movement, but whether its impetus would have been strong enough to channel energies into a permanent national organization is questionable.²⁸⁵ Thus, the external support, which consisted of ideology, encouragement and community, but hardly any financial input, made a significant difference.
3. *The fact that Tanzania had been rather removed from Adventism in other countries.* Missionary control of church affairs had been so strong before 1960 that it was almost impossible for this particular imported movement to take root in the Tanzanian soil. In the 1970s, things had changed: interaction between Tanzanian Adventists and the

²⁸⁵ The experience with the Pare Repentance Movement shows that isolated awakenings, whatever their strength, may easily be abortive, although it has to be conceded that the 1950 events happened at a period quite different from the 1970s. Besides, similar movements might have started earlier and could have been aligned with the Reform Movement later, but precisely this did not happen.

rest of the Adventist world was no more limited to a few foreigners, and whatever would happen in American or European Adventism could also have some impact on Tanzania. This access to the world at large was also possible because many members were much more educated than just twenty years earlier. Thus, a considerable number of town members knew sufficient English to study the *Reformation Study Course* in this language which was rather foreign to the majority of Tanzanians. Seen in this light, it is not surprising that many of the founders of the Tanzanian Reform Movement were relatively well-trained individuals who held important positions in the Dar es Salaam church.

4. *The development of Tanzania as a nation with its society at large.* As towns burgeoned after independence, rural cultures became less dominant in these new centres of influence. By entering city life from the late 1950s onward, Adventists in Tanzania had to face radically new challenges to their faith, which made the church as a whole more diverse. Towns, particularly Dar es Salaam, from where the Reform Movement was sparked, were pluriform societies. Secular entertainment and fashions, employers and a government that did not always tolerate Adventist Sabbath keeping, and other denominations modified the Adventist lifestyle which had been established in the rural home bases.²⁸⁶ Yet this very development led to the feeling in quite a number of church members that a cherished heritage was threatened and that some kind of a “reformation” had to be effected. Using strictness as a defence mechanism of the rural mind, they dealt with the challenges of a diversified society in a consistent yet simplistic way: by rejecting as worldly many things that were neither condoned nor condemned by Seventh-day Adventists.²⁸⁷
5. *The number of different types of Adventist members in the 1970s.* It is a matter of statistics that a church increases in people of every kind when it

²⁸⁶ Aylward Shorter refers to this tension when he says that “village standards are often maintained in African towns because . . . the people are returning regularly to the villages.” See Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 19.

²⁸⁷ An example is the extremely consequent but quite impractical application of Sabbath rest advocated by some Reformers in Dar es Salaam: in rejecting the use of public transportation on Sabbath, they upheld continuity with Adventist practice in many rural areas. Yet mainstream Adventists would argue that one had to reach the place of worship or of evangelism in some way, and not all locations were accessible on foot. This information is from a conversation with pastor Joel Yoyo who was a pastor in Dar es Salaam in the latter part of the 1970s.

grows, even if the percentage of each grouping such as traditionalists and progressives should remain the same. Since it is necessary for any movement to be run by a group of people that is strongly committed and large enough, it would have been difficult for the zealots of earlier generations to form a separate organization. The 1970s, however, were favourable for the beginning of the Reform Movement in that the potential of members needed to spark it was available.²⁸⁸

6. *The potential of Adventist ecclesiology.* The Reform Movement was a consequent but extreme implementation of the exclusivist interpretation of the remnant paradigm. A vital segment of the church wanted to affirm this style of Christian community against the folk church which had grown in the villages and against the theologically “mainstream” Adventism in towns. One main target of Reformer criticism was, of course, the church leadership with some of its compromising moves: it was probably more than just a coincidence that the *mgambo* conflict was settled by making concessions to the government in 1971, just a few years prior to the emergence of the movement. Here was something like a Tanzanian replication of the events in German Adventist during World War I which would ultimately justify separation. Thus, the Reform Movement was a protest against an ever-diversifying church in which some groups could not be controlled any more. Indeed years of public evangelism with an ever-shortening way to baptism²⁸⁹ had led to swelling total numbers of nominal Adventists. It is an irony of history that the Reform Movement criticized one effect of numerical growth on the church as a whole while it was another effect of the same growth process.

The central feature of Reform Adventism, then, was a stricter application of many elements that were part of the Seventh-day Adventist heritage but which members in the “big church”²⁹⁰ commonly held in balance between the ideal of an end-time remnant and the necessities of real life. Still, the attraction of this strictness must be appreciated, for in a way, the Reformers’ stand was a logical consequence of some

²⁸⁸ The absence of a minimum of individuals who could serve as long-term leaders might have been one of the reasons for the Pare Repentance Movement not to take root, apart from the fact that it was so limited to one locality that it was not easy to exercise appeal to people of other areas, especially in this earlier period.

²⁸⁹ See 10.2.

²⁹⁰ This is how Reformers usually call the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

positions held by Adventists in their history. Reformers only completed what they thought was still missing “to be perfect” and “to go to heaven”—and to heaven they wanted to go.²⁹¹ At the same time, their positions were expressions of protest against the reality of a Seventh-day Adventism that had decided to stand on the middle ground between strictness and accommodation.

It might seem as if the European origin of the Adventist Reform Movement has not been sufficiently reflected yet, but there are definite reasons for an emphasis on the internal dynamics in the interpretation of this history. Certainly the Reform message came to Tanzania as an import from overseas, different from the various African-initiated churches in Mara and the Pare Repentance Movement. Yet this did not mean that it was a foreign imposition. Rather, it was actively sought for by Tanzanians and therefore represented their very orientation and aspirations. Had this not been so, the movement would not have been launched and could not have taken root. In spite of the importance of an international framework in shaping the nature of this protest movement, to assume that some outside force was ultimately responsible for Tanzanians’ decisions would deny the rationality of their choice.²⁹² Although the *wanamatengezo*²⁹³ were unwanted children, they were not foundlings smuggled into the otherwise happy family but offspring bearing strong resemblance to their mother.

Besides, the Tanzanian Reformers’ emergence should not be merely interpreted as an offshoot movement that broke away from its mother body and then went its own ways. Rather, the continued attempts to convert Adventists to their fold imply that the movement remained part of Adventism in its own way and kept attracting those who opted for radical protest or unbending rigidity. Moreover, this continued relation, in spite of appearing parasitic, was in reality a two-way street. While

²⁹¹ In the interview with Fue, Malata, and Shirima, they stated, “we need to be perfect” and “if you want to go to heaven, you have to follow all the principles.” In the interview with pastor Adzere Kiboko who served in Dar es Salaam in 1976–77, he remarked about the Reformers, “Africans want to go to heaven.” According to him, the concern about assurance of obtaining eternal life was a driving force in people’s decision to join the movement.

²⁹² The theory that rational choice is a crucial aspect of religious decisions is emphasized by Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

²⁹³ “Reforms” or “Reformation” is *matengezo* in Swahili; the prefix *wana-* means (children of =) “people of.” A semi-English term that is also used in Swahili is *warifoma* or *wareformer*—“Reformers.”

individuals were extracted from the Adventist community, the very existence of an ultra-strict alternative made the Tanzanian Adventist mainstream define itself somewhat more consciously by rejecting ultra-conservatism. For the large majority of Tanzanians who remained Seventh-day Adventists, the denominational identity was to be held in paradox: they did not wish to divorce the marriage of the remnant with the folk church any more.

9.3 *An Evaluation: Adventist Faith in a Popular Garb*

In evaluating the substance of this chapter, it is most meaningful to put the findings into an interpretative framework that seeks to elucidate what “popular religion” is, for both a large part of the theological views and the movements that have been portrayed are related in that they constitute popular aspects of religion. A particularly useful model for the tension between official and popular is that of Peter Staples. It distinguishes “centre” and “periphery,” declaring any centre as “official” and assigning the “popular” sphere to the respective periphery. Staples emphasizes that different spheres are only one side of the model; the other side is that the popular *sphere* can contain both official and popular *styles*, which means that the majority of the people can choose either to imitate the centre or to stay in tension with it.²⁹⁴ This model is persuading because it uses a single category for the definition of “popular” and “official” instead of the many, at times conflicting, definitions which prevail in the writings of others and lack identifiable common criteria. Staples’s concept implies various relationships between the official and the popular in different setups, leaving room for the explanation of contexts of religious stability and of manifold dynamics of change in which new “centres” are set up.

The encounter between Christianity and Traditional Religion can thus be viewed as the erection of different centres. Adventists had first given rise to a second centre beside the traditional religious identity, which generated creative tension. By initiating religious movements which differed from missionary, “official,” or traditional Seventh-day Adventism, Tanzanians then established more centres and their respec-

²⁹⁴ Peter Staples, “Official and Popular Religion in an Ecumenical Perspective,” in *Official and Popular Religion*, ed. Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 272.

tive peripheries by turning aspects of popular religion into newly defined official religiosities. The African Instituted Churches at Lake Victoria dealt with the tensions between missionary Adventism and a relatively strong indigenous identity by creating new options in the middle, creating centres which had two peripheries: Traditionalists and missionary Christianity. By so doing, they tried to design folk churches that were more “progressive” than Traditionalists and, at the same time, defined Adventism as a “foreign remnant.” The Pare Repentance Movement responded to the tension between official Adventist identity and the popular Christianity of the Pare through a short-lived experimentation with a more fully indigenized type of Adventism, the attempt of a unique synthesis of the remnant and folk church poles. The Reformers, in a way, went the opposite way: they sought to solve the conflict between a strict type of Adventism and a folk church reality by inventing an even “more official” type, a centre that sought to redefine the existing Seventh-day Adventist Church as part of a huge periphery.

The centre-periphery model is also helpful in challenging the common assumption that the controversies erupting during the Christianization of peoples were mainly those between “traditional” and “Western” elements in the church. Rather, African Christians creatively used both imported Christianity and new religious initiatives and their various potentials for founding new centres and peripheries in which peculiar mixtures of these elements struggled for the attention of prospective followers. The fact that movements used categories such as “according to our custom,” “modern,” or “biblical” did not mean that it was held that group characteristics must be fully traditional, Western, or derived from scriptural example. Rather, it shows that innovative and eclectic leaders knew how to appeal to various facets of people’s composite identities in a competitive religious economy.²⁹⁵

Popular ingredients were available inside the Tanzanian Adventist Church as well, which accounts for the popularity of the denomination in several regions. Whoever accepted the Adventist minimum requirements of official doctrine and practice entered a domain in which peculiar African concerns were being dealt with in an attractive manner. The official barrier to membership might have been high initially,

²⁹⁵ For a theory of religious economies, see Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

but what appeared to be strict missionary rules could turn out to be a religious system that was more African than its missionary founders had intended and thus resembled other African Christian denominations in an unexpected way.²⁹⁶ A plethora of symbolic actions such as the weekly Sabbath, the camp meeting, baptism, foot washing, and the Lord's Supper, and other holistic elements such as the emphasis on health were only one layer of Adventism's appeal. On the theological level, the three tenets discussed in this chapter were of immense importance in combining the official and the popular, i.e., central Adventist doctrine and typical African concerns:²⁹⁷

1. *The soteriological and ethical focus on the Ten Commandments, the Sabbath, and other rules* provided continuity with traditional religious thinking, which stressed inherited taboos.
2. *The remnant theology* constituted an equivalent to traditional identities, which were defined by local groups rather than by larger entities such as a nation. In defining Adventism as different from the world in general and other Christian denominations in particular, the church became a "religious tribe." As such, it provided security in a framework that corresponded to local consciousness and emerging ethnic feelings which easily connected with religious identity. Such traditional identities were questioned by the modern realities of widening economical and political contexts, but this only reinforced the importance of the role which a close-knit religious group could play.
3. *Adventist eschatology and apocalypticism* served as a functional substitute for the emphasis traditionally put on the dead.²⁹⁸ Moreover, by fill-

²⁹⁶ Richebächer argues that many African churches strongly represent an "eschatological-revising" model of relations between traditional religion and Christianity, which appreciates both the value and the relativity of traditional religion. This is true even for Adventism although if traditions were taken over rather unconsciously. See Richebächer, *Religionswechsel und Christologie*, 293.

²⁹⁷ It is interesting to note that Aylward Shorter—admittedly only a "marginal African" as he calls himself—suggests the following themes to be of particular importance to African theology: (1) the integration of the "sacred" and the "profane," (2) symbolism, (3) fecundity, (4) man-in-community, (5) friendship in the community, and (6) the relationship between the living and the dead. All of these are addressed to some extent by major aspects of Adventism: (1) Adventist holism, (2) the symbols mentioned in this paragraph, (3) the blessings promised for Sabbath keeping and Christian life, (4) moral rigidity and Adventist taboos, (5) the Adventist remnant teaching, and (6) eschatology. See Aylward Shorter, *African Christian Theology* (London: Chapman, 1975), 33–38.

²⁹⁸ An interesting observation among Adventists in Madagascar is that their concept of eschatology is well in tune with African thinking about the continuity between the

ing a gap in Traditional Religion through its future-orientation, it powerfully addressed needs which had never been met before. Moreover, the significance attached to the ancestors in many Traditional Religions may have been shifted in Adventism to an emphasis on the “Adventist ancestors,” which implied a conservatism that sought to honour those who initiated the Adventist “tribe” by strict adherence to its rules, beliefs, group thinking, and even its end-time concept.

Evidently, it was not very difficult for Adventism to combine official and popular elements. While certain requirements for church membership were immovable and thus made Adventist identity to be a strong centre, this same core opened up a periphery in which popular interpretations of the Christian faith had ample space. Only where foreign elements of the denomination prevailed such as in the first two generations at Lake Victoria did the tension between the centre and the periphery lead to organizational differentiation. The fact that Reformers formed in the 1970s as a protest against what they assessed as a diluted Adventist identity shows that Adventism allowed a variety of popular interpretations of faith to stand alongside each other as long as they related to the Adventist common ground as their centre in some way. In this sense, the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church had revealed its identity of a popular church that might hold a strict remnant ideal in theory but chose not to fully correspond to it in practice.

world of the living and the world of the dead. See Eva Keller, “Towards Complete Clarity: Bible Study among Seventh-Day Adventists in Madagascar,” *Ethnos* 69, no. 1 (March 2004): 105. I would add that the major difference is that in this continuity the dead and the unseen are defined in a new, liberating way.

CHAPTER TEN

MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES

The first major part of this study focused on the beginnings of Tanzanian Adventism and its growth and geographical spread up to 1960 (chapters 2 to 5) and the second part on key themes in its history (chapters 6 to 9). This final chapter has a double purpose: (1) to extend the lines of the first chapters by outlining and analysing the Adventist growth and spread until the present,¹ and (2) to highlight the two principal features of the guiding theme of this study, Tanzanian Adventism as a folk church and as a remnant, the latter with an emphasis on the developments after independence.²

10.1 *The Development of Adventist Folk Churches*

The emergence of Adventist folk churches in several regions of Tanzania—mainly among the Pare, the Jita, the Sukuma, the Luo, the Kuria, and the Ha—must be analysed carefully, for it constitutes a rather unexpected process in view of the apocalyptic persuasions of a large part of Adventists. Four major aspects of this phenomenon will be discussed: (1) missionary attitudes to the factors that influenced the emergence of folk churches, (2) different phases of growth, (3) societal dynamics that contributed to their development, and (4) the characteristics of Adventist folk churches in Tanzania.

The Impact of Missionary Attitudes

A foundational element in the process leading to Tanzanian Adventist folk churches was the pragmatism of some missionary leaders.³ Many

¹ The main focus of this thesis is the period until around 1980, yet some developments after 1980 elucidate important aspects of the church's identity and will therefore be considered here as well.

² In spite of the abundance of documents available from this period, this chapter can only delineate the most important lines and exemplary developments. Not only would a more detailed account necessitate a study of its own; an accumulation of more details would also make this chapter lose its focus.

³ Robin Theobald, "From Rural Populism to Practical Christianity: The Modernisation

of them came to East Africa without an official mission strategy, which was a consequence of the lack of a well-defined missionary goal except that of “preparing people for Jesus’ second coming.” Therefore, different kinds of missionary thinking could exist, which resulted in a positive view of folk Christianization among some. Before World War I, government restrictions of mission spheres made a concentration on particular geographical areas particularly plausible.⁴ In the subsequent decades, however, only few explicit statements were made in this regard,⁵ which shows that such thoughts did not belong to a clearly defined programme. Still, the fact that a positive inclination to the folk church concept existed among part of the Adventist leadership shows that they had the dream of a significant long-term impact of their mission among the peoples they served.

On the whole, however, Adventists remained rather tentative about the theological folk church concept if not openly inimical towards it. Different from leading Lutheran colleagues who viewed the Christianization of peoples as organic entities as a theological imperative,⁶ most Adventist mission leaders did not agree with such a goal in principle. Conrad Hyde, for instance, the Tanzania Union president at the time of independence, expressed how much he abhorred the consequences of folk Christianization when he stated, “nominal Christianity has nothing more solid than . . . animism and ancestral worship.”⁷ W. Duncan Eva, then secretary of the Southern African Division, felt the same danger

of the Seventh-Day Adventist Movement,” *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 60, no. 1 (1985): 114, asserts that pragmatism “has become one of the movement’s most distinctive features.”

⁴ See 3.1 and 4.1.

⁵ Marie Bremer, for instance, wrote in 1937, “It is the hope to educate the whole tribe to a more healthy kind of life through good mothers who have learnt order and cleanliness as young girls.” Later she wrote in reflecting on her experience, “We do not want to extract them from their tribal community and thus from their cultural context but to educate them to be exemplary women of their tribe, to be women who penetrate the whole clan with their godly nature.” In 1950, Hans Kotz compared missionary work with sweet potato plants which spread their shoots “until the whole ground becomes one mass of plants.” See M. Bremer, “Missionarsbrief aus Ostafrika,” *AB* 43, no. 18 (15 September 1937): 281; Marie Fenner [née Bremer], “Freud und Leid im Missionsdienst (IV),” *AB* 53, no. 2 (15 January 1954): 30; and H.E. Kotz, “Come Over and Help Us,” *RH* 127 (5 January 1950): 17.

⁶ This view was most pronounced in the writings of Bruno Gutmann; see the discussion in 7.1. For a discussion about the context of German missiological thinking on the folk church, see Johannes Hoekendijk, *Kirche und Volk in der deutschen Missionswissenschaft* (München: Kaiser, 1967).

⁷ Conrad T.J. Hyde, “Ecumenism Comes to Africa,” *RH* 144 (19 March 1964): 12.

and enunciated in 1962, "It is not difficult in most places even today to bring large numbers of converts to a superficial acceptance of our message." Because of this attractiveness of Adventism, he cautioned that large numbers of converts might lead to "lowered standards" and admonished leaders to counteract such tendencies.⁸

Yet Both Hyde and Eva also defended the concentration on areas where people were especially responsive;⁹ apparently they believed that Adventist majority churches might be exempted from the slackening commitment that often accompanies swelling numbers of church members. Nonetheless, Eva's very warning reveals the situation that prevailed in southern and eastern African Adventism in the 1960s:¹⁰ the denomination had already become more popular than it was intended to be. Of course, this trend could not be reversed; rather, it continued in most areas where Adventism had become the major Christian denomination.¹¹

⁸ W. Duncan Eva, "Secretary's Report," Southern African Division, 1962, 7, SM 71. In conjunction with his warning, Eva quoted Ellen G. White, "It is the virtue, intelligence, and piety of the people composing our churches, not their numbers, that should be a source of joy and thankfulness." See Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 5 (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948), 32.

⁹ Eva, the then East African Union president, noted that frequently many members were present in one area while other areas remained untouched. He reasoned, "Such a situation is not strange to this message, nor should it be thought to be wrong to have a strongly developed work in some areas where the providence of God has opened the way." He even readily quoted Ellen G. White who had argued that "special efforts should be made at the present time where most good will result." Tanzania Union president C.T.J. Hyde argued with strategy: "It is of great advantage to do consolidated work in between our settled churches. The new parts of the country can be taken as and when we can see the means to follow-up." See W.D. Eva, "Report of the East African Union Mission," SADO 49, no. 11 (15 June 1951): 25; the Ellen White quotation comes from her *Testimonies for the Church*, vol. 1 (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948), 147; C.T.J. Hyde—G.S. Glass, 8 April 1960, SM 49.

¹⁰ The Southern African Division comprised the countries stretching from South Africa to Kenya.

¹¹ An impressive instance of the same tension between Adventist popularity and the denomination's rejection of mass movements toward membership is the Kasai story of the 1970s. In 1972, around 75,000 adults and their children belonging to 205 congregations of 11 different denominational backgrounds in the Kasai region of the Democratic Republic of Congo asked to be accepted into Adventism as groups due to government pressure on small religious groups to align with larger denominations. They all observed the Sabbath already, and many resembled Adventists in several respects, e.g., in the practice of adult baptism and healthful living. Adventists, however, did not accept whole groups but insisted on careful individual baptismal instruction. By 1975, 5,700 persons had been baptized and 12,000 more were under instruction. See "One Hundred Thousand to Join Adventists," AMDI 2, no. 10 (October 1972): 7; "Was ist aus dem Kasai-Projekt geworden?," *Adventecho* 75, no. 15 (1 August 1976): 13; F. Duane

The “standards” issue which Eva was concerned about related to a noteworthy element in the development of folk churches: the phenomenon of “backsliders,” former members who wished to join the church again through rebaptism.¹² In the 1930s and 1940s, one could already observe a constant circulation of individuals who had been expelled from the church, mostly because of adultery, and subsequently desired church membership again.¹³ In the 1950s, the same trend continued and even intensified.¹⁴ Probably there was no alternative: if the church wanted to continue existing, it had to accept the crowds of returning sinners, even if some came repeatedly.¹⁵ Certainly this mechanism resembled a game at times; since there was always a way back, it was rather easy for half-hearted members to relax their commitment.¹⁶ Thus, Adventism attracted an increasing number of persons but did not have the power to change their lives as fully as leaders intended.

Evidently, Eva and his fellow leaders would have preferred to control the devotion and moral steadfastness of church members in a more detailed manner. Yet in an environment where belonging to a church was almost a necessity for those who wished to be respected in society and where the Seventh-day Adventist Church was almost the only serious option, it was a utopian idea that the denomination could produce a band of almost spotless saints. It is not surprising that the various activities suggested in the 1960s and 1970s to remedy the

McKey, “History and Analysis of the Relationship between the Seventh-Day Adventist Church and Several Independent Churches in the Kasai Province of Zaire, 1972 to 1985 (Congo),” D.Min. diss., Andrews University, 1989.

¹² Seventh-day Adventists often rebaptize former members who have left the church or who have been dropped from membership; see *Church Manual*, 1951 edition, 68.

¹³ See, e.g., *Tanganyika Reporter* 2, no. 9 (September 1942), SM 75. In the 1942 camp meetings at Lake Victoria, 270 persons were baptized, 119 of them “backsliders.” At Majita alone, 46 former members joined the church again in 1949; see H.M. Sparrow, “Camp Meetings in Tanganyika,” RH 126 (27 October 1949): 1.

¹⁴ In 1956–57, apostasies equalled 50% of baptisms in the whole East African Union; see E.D. Hanson, “East African Union,” SADO 57, no. 1–3 (January–March 1959): 41. See also the committee action “Reducing Apostasies,” EAU Minutes, 15 December 1958, no. 1107, EAU.

¹⁵ In Pare, where waves of disfellowshipping for adultery occurred in 1927 and 1934, the following years brought back most of these former members in both cases; see the respective years in the quarterly “Statistical Report of the Suji Mission,” SM 72 and 5.1.

¹⁶ It is emblematic for this situation that missionary Harry Robson felt it was hard to decide whether he was supposed to be happy or discouraged when revival meetings at Kihurio and Suji in 1945 brought back many “fallen people.” The majority of those had been disfellowshipped for committing adultery. See H. Robson—K.G. Webster, 10 August 1945, SM 15.

“backslider” situation¹⁷ did not change the direction that the church took. Furthermore, the denomination was so much preoccupied with public evangelism during this very period¹⁸ that in practice its leaders disregarded the loss of members and the tendency of former members to use the rebaptism road to circumvent certain church regulations. “Apostasies” were deplored in theory,¹⁹ but the evangelistic fervour was so great that more evangelism and shorter periods of instruction were prescribed in a situation where joining the Adventist Church became increasingly easy anyway. In 1963, the standard instructional period of two years for baptismal candidates was officially reduced to one year, and in 1967 even this was relativized for “certain urban areas” where a shorter preparation was deemed sufficient.²⁰

During the 1970s, converts at evangelistic meetings were baptized right away ever more frequently.²¹ Numerical goals for baptisms became central aspects of church operations in the late 1970s,²² and in the course of the 1980s and 1990s, instantaneous baptisms became the rule rather than the exception at ever larger preaching “campaigns.”

¹⁷ A 1967 action, for instance, recommended that every baptismal class member should own a Bible and a catechism, that church boards approve baptismal candidates, and that Bible class teachers be carefully selected. Other proposals included a “guardianship” plan in which individuals cared for new converts personally, revival meetings, smaller churches, care in disfellowshipping members, and follow-up of disfellowshipped members. None of these ideas were made binding for anyone, however. See TU Minutes, 19 January 1967, no. 26, ETC.

¹⁸ See below, 10.2. As early as 1959, the Southern African Division leaders admitted the “tremendous and growing problem of shepherding the flock, especially in certain missions where accessions to the message have been almost overwhelming.” Nevertheless, they felt “led of God to re-emphasize the pre-eminent place of evangelism in the programme of the Advent message.” See “Resolutions,” SADO 57, no. 1 (January–March 1959): 11.

¹⁹ TU Minutes, 8 January 1963, no. 31 (“Curbing and Reduction in Apostasies”): 18, ETC.

²⁰ TU Minutes, 12 December 1963, no. 302, and 22 January 1967, no. 44 (“Curbing Apostasies”), ETC.

²¹ There seems to have been some reservation about the acceleration of baptism, as is visible in a letter of David Dobias, the president of Tanzania General Field. Dobias had defended the position that quick baptism was justified; he argued that even people whose baptism was deferred did not necessarily know Adventist doctrine well; see [David Dobias]—Yohana Lusingu, 18 September 1972. At times there were “mixed solutions” in the 1970s, as in the case of evangelistic meetings at Iringa in 1979, where fifty-one were baptized while one hundred were taking more studies; see “News Notes,” AR 156 (July 1979 supplement): 20.

²² TU Minutes, 20 February 1977, no. 4, TU. This committee action stipulates the aim of doubling membership between 1977 and 1980. This aim did not become reality, but goal devices influenced much evangelistic activity in the 1980s.

This tendency resulted in a fairly relaxed initiation into membership; evangelistic fervour overcame some aspects of the Adventist rigidity that had been a mark of the denomination in Tanzania for such a long time.²³ By intensifying its conversionist component, the remnant enabled a folk church to mature.

Phases of Development

Several distinct phases can be differentiated in the history of Tanzanian Adventist folk churches. After the initial phase of the immediate pre- and post-World War I years with their ups and downs, a stable nucleus of believers formed around the four major missions in a second phase that extended from the 1930s to the early 1940s. By 1945 Pare had about eight hundred members, and Majita, Utimbaru, and Sukumaland had more than six hundred each. These were rather few compared to other Protestant missions in Tanzania, which had already produced much larger memberships as early as the 1920s and 1930s.²⁴ Still, these numbers constituted a sufficient base for further increase.²⁵

The third phase stretched from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s. The expansion of membership was extraordinary compared to the periods before and after both in actual numbers and in rates of growth. Different from the 1930s and early 1940s with their sporadic ups and downs at all missions,²⁶ this phase portrayed a rather straight upward trend in which the total of Adventists in the country more than tripled from 2,931 in 1944 to 9,837 in 1954. This phase is of utmost importance to the development of Adventism in all the four areas that would form the first administrative fields after independence. Adventist numbers

²³ On strictness in the Tanzanian Adventist context, see chapter 7.

²⁴ Among the 150,000 Chagga in 1933, more than 40,000 were either Lutheran or Catholic; see Richter, *Tanganyika and Its Future*, 84. Among the Nyakyusa, 16% were Christians in the mid-1930s, and from 1910 to 1938, the number of Moravians grew from 1,000 to 19,000; see Monica Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 197; Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 576.

²⁵ The numbers at Ikizu, where local membership remained insignificant, and Busegwe, where a mere one hundred persons were Adventists in 1945, differed noticeably from those around the other mission stations and did not suffice as a foundation for a folk church in those areas.

²⁶ In Pare, membership decreased from about 400 to 348 in 1934, from 722 to 712 in 1940 and from 736 to 728 in 1942; at Majita, the tremendous growth from 172 to 1,010 members between 1933 and 1939 was followed by decline to less than 600 in 1944; at Utimbaru, 1940 brought a drop from 422 to 343 members, and even at Ntusu and Mwangala, drops in numbers occurred in 1940 and 1944.

did not yet surpass those of Traditionalists in most villages of the areas concerned. Still, Traditional Religion lost much ground.²⁷ Thus, Adventists came to feel that the battle had been won in crucial locations such as Majita-Bwasi or parts of the Pare Mountains. At Vugwama, for instance, where people had been rather resistant in the 1920s, Adventists rejoiced in 1953 at the church's fifty-year jubilee that "now the district has been converted, and there are no heathen left to preach to!"²⁸

This statement was certainly an exaggeration; nevertheless, it reveals the strength that local believers had gained before independence came. This strength could not only be measured in total numbers or the percentage of the population. The simple fact that a considerable number of sizeable local congregations were present in a certain area made Adventist Christianity such a local power that it became difficult for non-Christians to withdraw from its influence. An almost irresistible pull of existing churches characterized the fourth phase that extended into the 1970s; most pockets of Traditionalism were reached on the Majita peninsula and in Pare during those years.²⁹ Among the Sukuma, Luo, and Kuria, where Traditional Religions were stronger and where Adventism had somewhat lagged behind the developments of Pare and Majita,³⁰ these were the years when substantial growth continued and folk churches first became a reality.³¹ Whereas churches had still formed "enclaves" or "island communities" until the 1950s, Christianity

²⁷ In the "East African Population Census 1948: African Population of Same District," SM 42, the number of inhabitants for areas with a strong Adventist impact was as follows: Suji: 1,109, Mamba: 9,542, Hedaru: 8,642, and Chome (with a strong Lutheran impact): 6,857. With an estimated 6,000 Adventists (including children) in the mid-1950s, this denomination was the majority already in some areas.

²⁸ Spencer G. Maxwell, "Visiting Pare, East Africa, after Twenty-Five Years," RH 130 (11 June 1953): 15.

²⁹ In 1965, for instance, Adventists numbered 1294 at Mamba, 1193 at Vugwama, 885 at Suji, and 463 at Chome. With children added, this meant that about one third of the population in the Adventist part of South Pare was Adventist. In 1980, the membership in the North East Tanzania Field had doubled, and most members of this region were still located in the Pare Mountains. See NETF Minutes, 21 February 1965, no. 105, NETC.

³⁰ In 1959, for instance, there were fifteen organized churches each connected to Majita and Suji Missions, thirteen belonged to Utimbaru (some were composed of Kuria and others of Luo) and nine were located around Ntusu (among the Sukuma). See "Statistical Report—Tanganyika Mission, 15 October 1959," SM 43.

³¹ For instance, in some villages such as Bisarwi around Utimbaru where the Adventist mission among the Kuria had been located, 80% of the population were Adventists around 1980. See interview I. Machage.

increasingly adopted the role of a “publicly recognised ideology.”³² The same is true for the area around Heri where beginnings had been made rather late.³³

The 1980s and early 1990s brought another wave of fast numerical growth; in the end of the century, the church had 250,000 members. An interesting aspect of the development in these years is that single years brought sudden additions of thousands to the church while little increase happened during others. A major explanation for this is the concentration on public evangelism in these years, which produced new members in waves. Since the pool of Traditionalists became very small among the Pare and Jita, Adventists increasingly targeted Christians of other denominations, often from the same ethnic backgrounds as Adventists, and succeeded in converting significant numbers among them. Where large numbers of non-Christians or Christians without a strong denominational tradition were found, such as among the Sukuma and the Ha, Adventists continued to multiply strongly.³⁴ With this tendency, they repeated what had happened among the Pare and Jita in earlier decades.³⁵

Dynamics of Growth

Having surveyed the phases in the growth of Tanzanian Adventism, a central issue that has to be investigated is the dynamics which caused folk churches to arise. The tendency of African societies to produce

³² Malcolm Ruel writes this on the Kuria; see his *Belief, Ritual and the Securing of Life: Reflexive Essays on a Bantu Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 193–194. A characteristic aspect of this public importance that he mentions is that Christian prayers replaced traditional symbols in public meetings.

³³ In 1971, there were more than 1,000 members around Heri; see L.C. Robinson, “Tanzania Union of Seventh-Day Adventist Churches: President’s Report,” Afro-Mid-east Division Council, 1971, ETC.

³⁴ South Nyanza Conference emerged as the area with most Adventists in the beginning of the twenty-first century; it comprises the Mwanza and Shinyanga Regions, which are dominated by the Sukuma. In 2006, it had more than 100,000 members.

³⁵ This is most interesting in relation to the observations by Frans Wijsen and Ralph Tanner. They found that no massive movement to Christianity took place among the Sukuma since the 1950s, and that the Catholic Church converted only between 5 and 8% of the people around their oldest mission stations, Bukumbi and Buhingo; see their book *Seeking a Good Life: Religion and Society in Usukuma, Tanzania, 1945–1995* (Nairobi: Paulines, 2000), 13, 16. The Adventist development seems to be diverge; different from denominations that triggered fast movements to Christianity in some areas, Adventism tends to produce churches that grow slowly but ultimately have numerical results similar to other churches.

folk churches has been observed by several authors.³⁶ For Seventh-day Adventists, however, who frequently regarded themselves as a movement of the few elect rather than a church of the people, this development came in a rather unexpected way. That they were predisposed for this process, though, is visible in the existence of Adventist folk churches in adjacent African countries such as Malawi,³⁷ Kenya,³⁸ and Zambia,³⁹ and similar phenomena in the Pacific, the Caribbean, and some areas of South America.⁴⁰ Of course, one might argue that such developments were not even peculiar to African or non-Western Adventism given the tendency of Adventists in Western countries to form clusters around major institutions which resemble ethnic communities in some respects.⁴¹ Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart convincingly reason that

³⁶ See, e.g., Peel, "The Christianization of African Society," in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Fasholé-Luke et al. (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 443–455; Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 248; Hartmut Beck, "Hochkonjunktur und Krise der Mission in Tansania," *Evangelische Missionszeitschrift* 23 (1966): 244; and Heinrich Balz, *Where the Faith Has to Live: Studies in Bakossi Society and Religion*, Part 1: The Living, the Dead and God, 2 vols. (Berlin: Reimer, 1995), 795.

³⁷ See Yonah Matemba, *Matandani: The Second Adventist Mission in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere, 2004), 107–111 (the section, "Adventist Churches in Neno: Weathering 'Folk Churches'?").

³⁸ See Nyaundi, *Seventh-day Adventism in Gusii*, 211–214, and Nyaundi, *Religion and Social Change*, 189–193. Census results showed in 1981 that more than one million persons in Kenya that were not in the church records classified as Adventists; see Bekele Heye, "Report of the Division President," AR 158 (January 1981 supplement): 26. This is partly due to the fact that the Kisii and Luo among whom Adventists were very strong had an extraordinary high rate of fertility, which resulted in a large number of Adventist children who were not counted in the church's records. Another reason, however, is the church's popularity even among those who did not qualify for formal membership.

³⁹ On Adventists in Zambia, see, Reinhard Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa: A Social Geographical Study of the Impact of their Activities in Zambia* (Berlin: Reimer, 1989), 70. The map found there shows that Adventists are concentrated in a few districts of Zambia while other districts are almost untouched by the denomination.

⁴⁰ On the Pacific, see Dennis Steley, "Unfinished: The Seventh-Day Adventist Mission in the South Pacific, Excluding Papua New Guinea, 1886–1986," Ph.D. diss., University of Auckland, 1990. On the Caribbean Islands, see Massé, *Les Adventistes du Septième Jour aux Antilles Françaises*, and Gerloff, *A Plea for British Black Theologies*, 288–295 and 323–326. In Peru, Adventism has become the dominating religious force in some regions at Lake Titicaca; see Robert G. Wearner, "An Adventist People Movement in Peru: F.A. Stahl's Contribution," M.Th. thesis, Andrews University, 1972; and Samuel Escobar, "Mission from the Margins to the Margins: Two Case Studies from Latin America," *Missiology* 26, no. 1 (1998): 87–95.

⁴¹ Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-Day Adventism and the American Dream* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 91. At least in the United States, the observation of Bull and Lockhart it is true that "Adventism is an alternative social system that meets the needs of its members from the cradle to the grave." See *ibid.*, 96.

because of rejecting the kingdoms of this world, Adventists often built their own and ultimately by doing so became similar to the world at large while maintaining some peculiarities that allowed them to insist on their distinctiveness.⁴² Thus, conversion to Adventism had a manifest and a latent function:⁴³ aiming at creating new religious identities, Adventists also created new social units.

Yet different from Europe and America, where local roots were less important, Tanzanian Adventism was peculiar in its relation to region and ethnicity, for Tanzanians' identities were determined mainly by local ties and ethnic origin in much of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ Especially in the post-independence environment, when ethnicity was downplayed in public,⁴⁵ local identities remained hidden yet powerful forces, even in ecclesiastical contexts.⁴⁶ It was the tangible local context toward which

⁴² Ibid., ix–x and 268.

⁴³ These terms were used by Johanna Eggert in her book *Missionsschule und sozialer Wandel in Ostafrika: Der Beitrag der deutschen evangelischen Missionsgesellschaften zur Entwicklung des Schulwesens in Tanganyika, 1891–1939* (Bielefeld: Bertelsmann, 1970), 275. She concludes her study on the mission school by pointing out that while their manifest purpose was converting people to another religion, they also functioned as a means of stabilization of new political and economic structures.

⁴⁴ Aylward Shorter calls ethnic identity an “ideology of unity,” created by custom or language that really existed in spite of the fact that “tribes” were never static; see Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 15. On ethnicity in Tanzania in general, see Beate Aschenbrenner-Wellmann, *Ethnizität in Tanzania: Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der Ethnizität im Rahmen des gesellschaftlichen Wandels* (München: Anacon, 1991), especially 139. She observes a tendency towards regionalism that both relativizes and re-establishes “tribalist” tendencies. For an investigation of African identity in the context of Christian mission in the South of Tanzania, see Israel-Peter Mwakyolile, “Afrikanische Identität in der christlichen Kirche: Missionarische Begegnung zweier religiös und kulturell unterschiedlich geprägter Volksgruppen (Deutsche und Nyakyusa) zwischen 1891 und 1916,” Dr. theol. diss., Augustana-Hochschule Neuendettelsau, 1995. For a voice that declares ethnicity to be a phenomenon created by colonialism and neo-colonialism, see Antoine Lema, *Africa Divided: The Creation of “Ethnic Groups”* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993).

⁴⁵ In 1964, all organizations whose membership was limited to particular ethnic groups or races were banned by the government; see Hartmut Beck, “Hochkonjunktur und Krise der Mission in Tansania,” *Evangelische Missionszeitschrift* 23 (1966): 251. That ethnicity emerged as an element of policy from the 1980s onward has been recognized by analysts of Tanzanian politics; see C.K. Omari, “The Management of Tribal and Religious Diversity,” in *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, ed. Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari (London: James Currey, 1995), 23–31. This does not mean, however, that ethnic identity was less important in the years before, only that it was not highlighted in the public realm.

⁴⁶ Per Hassing, “Ecclesiastical Tension in Tanzania,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5, no. 1 (1981): 25–27. For a recent conflict that exemplifies the importance of ethnicity inside Tanzanian ecclesiastical bodies, see C.K. Omari, “The Making of an Independent Church: The Case of the African Missionary Evangelical Church among

individuals naturally felt more responsibility than the whole of Tanzania, a nation which sought to unify more than 120 language groups.⁴⁷ Thus, as the Adventist faith became the dominant religious force in sections of South Pare and of Majita, Kuria, and Luoland, the denomination began to be considered by non-Adventists to be “the religion of the Pare” or “the Mara people’s faith.” Adventism came to mean a religious system intrinsically linked to languages that its adherents spoke and to the Adventist-ethnic culture composite that had emerged among them.⁴⁸ As a religious movement, Adventism focused on the soon coming of Jesus and a set of peculiar beliefs, but as a social institution, the denomination stabilized small-scale societies by offering a lifestyle that provided continuity with traditional identities.

One major reason for the local nature of the shift of religious adherence was the notion of what it meant to be an acceptable member of a particular local society. Religion was a public issue in most African societies; therefore it was a matter of prestige to belong to the right religious group.⁴⁹ Although churches started as voluntary associations,⁵⁰

the Meru of Tanzania,” in *East African Expressions of Christianity*, ed. Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo (London: James Currey, 1999), 196–212.

⁴⁷ Tensions among Tanzanian Adventists of different regional or ethnic origin at times surfaced in the decades after independence but usually remained rather hidden. Feelings of such a nature surfaced in issues such as scholarship matters; see “Orodha ya Watoto wa Wafanyakazi na Wafanyakazi Waliopata Bursary na Wale Waliojitegemea, 1977–1981,” SM 81, a list of scholarships that indicates the “tribal” origin of those who received assistance.

⁴⁸ One example that shows the connection of ethnic identity and religion is the Pare hymnal, *Nyimbo za Mtaso* (Kendu Bay: Africa Herald, 1967). This collection, which contained both the songs from earlier editions and those found in the Swahili hymnal, *Nyimbo za Kristo*, continues to be used even today in the homes and at special occasions like camp meetings in the villages. The fact that it was published at a time when many Pare congregations began to use Swahili in worship does not mean that it was a mere remainder of the past; rather, it was one of the means that affirmed ethnic identity linked to religious affiliation in a changing society.

⁴⁹ In the Adventist part of Majita, for instance, turning an Adventist around mid-century meant becoming a respected person, because “many were drunkards and witches while Adventists were exemplary members of society.” Adventists’ literacy increased their honour in society because the illiterate feared those who were could read and write. See interview Z. Lisso. Sundkler makes a similar observation about Bukoba; according to him, it was “shameful” for a person not to be able to read already in the 1940s; see Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba*, 118.

⁵⁰ In 1959, Monica Wilson still held that Christianity had destroyed “tribal” organization among the Nyakyusa, arguing that a voluntary organization such as the church changed the whole setup of society that was formerly based on families; see her *Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 57. However, these voluntary organizations turned out to be semi-voluntary in later years as some

modified traditional social structures were recreated in them as they became major points of reference in the life of increasing numbers of people, i.e., the framework of a new society with a “virtual monopoly in practice of one faith.”⁵¹ What Iliffe calls “social pressure on surviving followers of indigenous religions”⁵² was not induced from outside but caused by internal dynamics of small-scale societies that strove for homogeneity. It was only logical that churches of diverse origin were used by the people to replicate the traditional system in which pluralism existed only to a limited degree.⁵³ Whether High Church, Low Church, Catholic, Protestant, folk church or “sect,” in Africa, they all became the local “establishment.”⁵⁴

After two generations of Adventist impact around the missions in Pare, Majita, and to some extent at Bupandagila, the church with its institutions and leaders had become the hub in the wheel of a new society and the dominant factor in the transition to life in the modern world. Becoming Adventist meant joining the chief forces in the community, those who would determine the future of the village and the region.⁵⁵ The alternative was to remain a “pagan,” something few would choose consciously in the post-independence era,⁵⁶ for adherence to Traditional Religion was soon no more considered as “having a religion.” *Dini*—a respectable religion⁵⁷—was and is, for the large

brand of the Christian faith became the new “traditional religion” of people based upon family and regional dynamics.

⁵¹ Peel, “The Christianization of African Society,” 450–451.

⁵² Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 543.

⁵³ Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 79.

⁵⁴ Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 248.

⁵⁵ In the case of Pare, this meant following the example of the chiefs; interestingly, the allegiance to Christianity was a general trend among the chiefs in the region. As the three chiefs in the Adventist part of South Pare (Sekimang’a of Mamba, Shazia of Suji, and Mtindi of Hedaru), a significant number of their neighbouring chiefs among the Chagga, Meru, and Pare chose Christianity as well; see Sundkler, *A History of the Church in Africa*, 866. This was different from many other areas where chiefs remained Traditionalists for various reasons including a strong tendency toward polygamy.

⁵⁶ An interesting observation in this context is found in the study of William McAlston O’Barr, “An Ethnography of Modernization: Pare Traditionality and the Impact of Recent Changes,” Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1970, 167. O’Barr notes that among his 159 interviewees in Usangi (North Pare), not one single person stated that he was a follower of Traditional Religion—all claimed adherence to either Christianity or Islam. While it might be true that only few adherents of Traditional Religion were left in the 1960s, the survey also shows that it was not chic to claim the status of a Traditionalist even where formal adherence to Islam or Christianity was not a reality.

⁵⁷ This is how the Swahili *dini* (usually translated simply as: “religion”) is correctly

majority of Tanzanians, only Islam and Christianity. While the influence of the former did not reach the interior of Adventist territories, the latter inevitably meant Seventh-day Adventist Christianity in some areas. Thus, choosing Adventism as their new identity was the most plausible thing to do for a large number of people where Adventist folk churches are found today, as it was for the children of those who had become Adventist Christians already.⁵⁸ Doing so no longer fundamentally opposed the traditional identity but had in fact replaced it. Becoming Adventist was a natural process in the striving for increased prestige, even if it meant enduring some rigid rules and going through a lengthy process of instruction.⁵⁹ Perhaps the major difference with folk churches of some other denominations was that by maintaining certain elements of rigidity, Tanzanian Adventism faced slower expansion and developed into a unique type of a folk church. This type will be portrayed in the following section.

Characteristics of Adventist Folk Churches

An important question that must be asked in this section is how the customary Adventist strictness related to the extraordinary numerical growth experienced in Tanzania. Did the rapid expansion of membership lead to a slackening in the church's identifying marks and to a weakening of dedication to Christian tenets among its members, as one might expect?

interpreted by Hartmut Beck, "Hochkonjunktur und Krise der Mission in Tansania," *Evangelische Missionszeitschrift* 23 (1966): 247. Even today one can hear people saying about adherents of Traditional Religions: "Hawana dini kabisa." ("They have no religion at all.")

⁵⁸ In the context of religiosity as a public issue and prestige as an important aspect of religious adherence, Adventists' children had but little choice. Although baptism was hardly ever administered below the age of 10, it often resembled an initiation ritual to society more than a conscious decision for a specific faith. In the post-independence period when many children were sent to secondary school at age 13 or 14, it became normal for parents to ensure that baptism took place before so that the young person may feel the obligation to adhere to this incorporation into the religion of his parents, i.e., Adventism. See interview Elly Mramba, Ngongongare, 25 October 2001.

⁵⁹ Fiedler notes that in faith missions a prolonged instructional period before baptism was to ensure commitment but in practice made baptism a reward for those who had submitted to all the conditions of a social initiation rite. This might also be said about initiation into Adventism; Christianity could be learned, which was also visible in the fact that "readers" and "Christians" became synonymous in many languages. See Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, 340–341.

Most helpful for conceptualizing this discussion is literature on religious nominality among Christians⁶⁰ and the sociology of religious commitment. In the latter field, the groundbreaking study by Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock⁶¹ is foundational in that it systematically explores how religiosity can be measured. It defines five areas of religious commitment: belief, practice, knowledge, experience, and consequences.⁶² Two major findings of Stark and Glock are (1) that there is no significant statistical correlation between these five areas and (2) that belief (i.e., orthodoxy) is the best simple measure among Protestants because it corresponds statistically to overall commitment. By way of contrast, among Catholics, ritual was the best measure in their study. Therefore, the study implies that religious devotion can be expressed in different ways as much as religion itself is multi-dimensional and may have diverse shapes depending on traditions and individual factors.⁶³ Yet if belief and possibly ritual remain central, the other elements should not be overestimated in an analysis of a potential nominality among believers.

The discussion about nominality has focused much on definitions that seek to identify characteristics of a nominal Christian.⁶⁴ It has

⁶⁰ “Nominality” and “nominalism” are terms with identical meanings that denote association with a religion without the commitment expected to accompany this adherence. Thus, it uses the terms as antonyms of “religious commitment.” Major works on nominality are Eddie Gibbs, *In Name Only: Tackling the Problem of Nominal Christianity* (Turnbridge Wells: Monarch, 1993); and Heather Wraight, ed., *They Call Themselves Christian: Papers on Nominality Given at the International Lausanne Consultation on Nominalism, December 1998* (London: Christian Research; Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1999). Edward Rommen, *Namenschristentum: Theologisch-soziologische Erwägungen* (Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1985), focuses on Germany.

⁶¹ Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 14–15. “Belief” is measured by adherence to both orthodox Christian doctrine and the particular tenets of a denomination. “Practice” is measured by participation in Christian rituals, financial support, and personal devotional acts. “Experience” is measured by the degree of feeling saved or feeling the presence of God in every day life. “Knowledge” concerns details of the scriptures as well as basic texts such as the Ten Commandments. “Consequences” have to do with a morally exemplary life. In *The Future of Religion*, 49–60, Stark and Bainbridge suggest another set of measurements for religiosity focusing on the tension with society: difference from society, measured regarding beliefs, norms, and behaviour; antagonism against society, measured with the categories of particularism, conversion, and defence, and separation from society, measured with social encapsulation and social distance to others. Yet I have chosen the categories designed by Stark and Glock because these categories focus on the issue of religious commitment rather than the broader issue of tension with society, because they are fewer, and because historical data can be relatively easily attributed to them.

⁶³ Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 179–181.

⁶⁴ Gibbs, for instance, defines, “The descriptive term ‘nominal Christian’ refers to

not gone beyond the work of Stark and Glock except that evangelical scholars who dominate this debate have a propensity towards classifying individuals as “nominal” rather swiftly. For the context of Tanzanian Adventists, this implies that one should avoid reading nominality into single aspects of religion and that the model used by Stark and Glock is sufficient for an analysis. The following paragraphs will therefore highlight developments regarding (1) the central marks of commitment (belief and possibly ritual),⁶⁵ (2) other measurable aspects of religiosity as defined by Stark and Glock, and (3) specifically Adventist features.⁶⁶

Belief and Knowledge: Judging from the strong emphasis on crucial Adventist tenets of faith and the lack of theological controversy and differentiation throughout history,⁶⁷ it is safe to declare that much continuity has existed in the “belief” category. Only from the 1960s was the instructional period of neophytes progressively reduced; therefore, one may want to assume that with a shrinking body of religious knowledge among the believers, beliefs also tended to become less specific. Even another prebaptismal step of the religious socialization process, the baptismal examination, points towards a slightly reduced emphasis on religious knowledge derived from the desire to include large numbers in the Adventist fold. While it was common up to the 1960s and, in some regions, the 1970s, to seriously test the converts’ knowledge before they were admitted to baptism, this practice has almost disappeared today.⁶⁸

all those who, for whatever reason, want to be known as Christians, even though they may have lost contact with the church, have serious doubts concerning beliefs basic to Christianity, be living lifestyles which are incompatible with the values of the kingdom of God, or be failing to maintain an ongoing relationship with the Lord due to neglect of the means of grace which He has provided for our spiritual sustenance.” See Gibbs, *In Name Only*, 15; for similar definitions, see *ibid.*, 21, and Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, *The Thailand Report on Christian Witness to Nominal Christians Among Protestants* (Wheaton: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1980), 5.

⁶⁵ In the Tanzanian Adventist context, the observation among Catholics made by Stark and Glock may apply as well because ritual plays such an important role in African Christianity.

⁶⁶ Although the discussion in the following paragraphs lacks the exactness of sociological method, which would rely on statistics and surveys, a broad outline of developments may help to identify issues that point toward nominality or commitment. It is certainly difficult to compare different generations, but because of the historical nature of this study, at least some comparison will be made on the basis of verifiable data.

⁶⁷ See the discussion of Tanzanian Adventists’ beliefs in 9.1. A major exception to the lack of controversy is the SDA Reform Movement; however, because of its relatively small size, it should not be over-interpreted.

⁶⁸ In earlier generations, significant numbers of people had to repeat baptismal examinations, but this is hardly heard of any more. The discussion in this paragraph has arisen from several conversations about this question during my stay in Tanzania.

Yet the Sabbath School system in which Adventist fundamental beliefs are continually taught is to be considered as a remedy to this situation. Furthermore, even though Adventists have traditionally laid emphasis on Bible knowledge, the distinction between detail knowledge and the strength of faith must be maintained. According to Stark and Glock, knowledge is the poorest measure of religious commitment if it can be used as a criterion at all.⁶⁹ Since every member is expected to assent to all Adventist standard doctrines, the possible differences among members in the belief category are not tremendous. Theological variety continues being shunned, which supports the assertion that no significant change has taken place in the realm of belief.

Ritual: Ritual as a dimension of religiosity should be given proper attention due to the common focus on activity in African spiritualities and the importance of this aspect even in East African Adventism. Tanzanian Adventists were certainly outstanding regarding this feature. Camp meetings, for instance, reveal the intensity of Adventists' religious experience up to the present. Regarding participation in Sabbath activities, the same can be stated in general. In analysing weaknesses in this realm, one should not forget that complaints about members who did not attend services have always been there, even in the pre-World War II period.⁷⁰ Therefore, contemporary observations of this nature cannot be taken as evidence of a decreasing intensity of spirituality.

Admittedly, in towns the picture often developed in another way than in rural areas. Village communities ensure that individuals adhere to the communal code of conduct, while town churches have to meet a more individualistic clientele. A particular challenge in Tanzanian town churches was always the scarcity of space, but only in the 1980s and 1990s did it cause major problems due to the membership explosion in urban areas.⁷¹ Even more challenging was the question of the integration of new members into the body of believers, and the lack of preparation for such processes led to rising numbers of nominal

⁶⁹ Stark and Glock declare that apart from being the poorest measure of religious commitment, knowledge is least related to other criteria. It seems to be a measure of the sophistication of individuals in general rather than their dedication to a particular religious cause; see Stark and Glock, *American Piety*, 182.

⁷⁰ See "Organization of E. Tanganyika Native Church Council," 18–21 April 1929, SM 4; Baraza ya Makanisa, 8 January 1934, SM 7; and Baraza la Upare Minutes, 26 May 1947, SM 1.

⁷¹ In these decades, mass baptisms after large evangelistic thrusts repeatedly led to the daunting question where to seat the masses of people who had joined the church.

Adventists in this recent period.⁷² Yet at least until the early 1980s, the ritual dimension certainly did entail the strength of religious identity for a majority of Tanzanian Adventists.

Experience and Consequences: A particularly interesting question is how Tanzanian Adventists applied their faith to every day life, which corresponds to the “experience” and “consequences” categories used by Stark and Glock. It can certainly be argued that Adventism in Tanzania was strong enough to eradicate major tenets of traditional belief and practices among its adherents. Different from major denominations in which practices related to the dead, charms, and the like still determine part of the religious identity of Christians,⁷³ Adventists typically reject such items. Because of the Adventist persuasions about the impossibility of communicating with the dead, the most important bridge to African Traditional Religions was absent among them. They entirely relegated ancestor appearances, spirits, and magical power to the realm of evil,⁷⁴ which testifies to the strength of Tanzanian Adventism to avert many syncretisms which are so typical of folk religions.

One aspect of Adventists’ life that must be given special prominence in the assessment of nominality among Tanzanian Adventists is the adultery issue. It is somewhat surprising how constant the scale of moral lapses was among Adventist communities even after decades of Adventist impact.⁷⁵ Yet the very constancy of this phenomenon⁷⁶

⁷² It is well possible, though, that Adventist church attendance remained more favourable on an overall scale than those of many other denominations. Shorter estimated in 1986 that only 12% of the population in Nairobi attended church (with 73% of the population being Christians) while in the rural areas it was 40%. While in Tanzania the situation may not be as dramatic, the tendency is most probably the same. Compared with such a dramatic drop of church attendance, Adventists probably fare relatively well. See Aylward Shorter, *The Church in the African City* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991), 73.

⁷³ For a discussion of traditional religious practices among African Christians from the perspective of a missionary which resembles the common Adventist view, see Peter Beyerhaus, “Unüberwundenes Heidentum als innere Bedrohung der afrikanischen Kirche,” *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* 21 (1964): 114–131. Beyerhaus argues in the context of South Africa that “essentially, African tribal religion continues to live among the Christian churches without any breach,” and he singles out as the most important problems the issue of ancestor veneration, the fear of sorcery, and the consultation of traditional doctors; see *ibid.*, 118.

⁷⁴ In my conversations in Tanzania, it has been impressing to hear how much Adventists feel freed by refraining from traditional practices related to ancestors and spirits. From what I am told, only very insignificant numbers of Adventists consult traditional healers or engage in practices related to the dead.

⁷⁵ Even today, the Pare, including Adventists, are considered rather immoral regarding sexual relations. Pastors working among the Pare often complain about this problem.

⁷⁶ Cf. the happenings in 1927, 1934, 1940, and 1950; see 5.1 and 9.2.

implies that one cannot speak of a relaxation of morality inside the church but must admit that in this respect the difference between the ideal and the actual was always there.⁷⁷ Adventism did not have any mechanism to deal with periodic sins in a way different from those committed by people before they first joined the Christian flock, which meant that sexual offences had to be tolerated as long as individuals came back repentantly.⁷⁸ This reveals that Adventism was never fully on the remnant pole; rather, the folk church option was inherent in its identity from the very outset.

Among specifically *Adventist issues*, Sabbath keeping in the secular world and military service were major items that also fit into the “consequences” category. Chapter 8 has shown that these were struggles that led to divergent positions and actions, which, however, all aimed at upholding maximum freedom of religious practice for Adventists. They illustrate a middle ground between sectarian persuasions and adaptations to reality, yet one would look in vain for a definite development towards a more accommodated stand. Rather, some Adventists had always succumbed to the pressures of life, and no exaggerated strictness was applied even in the earlier periods. That hardly any instance of church discipline in such matters happened in this context⁷⁹ means

⁷⁷ An interesting parallel is a study from Zambia that showed that Adventists were significantly less strict than Jehovah’s Witnesses. Few Adventists were able to live up to the theoretical standards, especially in relation to adultery. Adventists resembled the general population in this regard while Jehovah’s Witnesses were more successful in “restructuring people’s behaviour.” See Karla O. Poewe, “Religion, Matriline and Change: Jehovah’s Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists in Luapula, Zambia,” *American Ethnologist* 5, no. 2 (1978): 301–321, especially 309, 310, and 314. Part of this difference might be explained by the very existence of a stricter alternative to Adventism. Since Jehovah’s Witnesses were extremely rigid, Adventists “took things easy” in comparison because they appealed to a different segment of society than the Witnesses.

⁷⁸ See the section on church discipline, 6.2. Unlike polygamy, which permanently barred a man from membership and thus usually created significant distance, sexual lapses were one-time affairs that could be remedied more easily. It should be added, though, that exclusion from membership did not have to mean enmity between the church and polygamists; as late as 1963, the chief of Majita who had nine wives participated in church functions; see Rudolf Reider, “Wiedersehen in Afrika (II),” AB 62, no. 23 (1 December 1963): 361. Moreover, from the 1980s onward a slight relaxation of the way of dealing with Adventists who turned polygamists appears to have taken place. While they had to return to baptismal class until the 1970s, they were later often allowed to remain in Sabbath School without rebaptism; see interview Masumbuko. On polygamy and the Adventist stand toward it in general, see 7.3.

⁷⁹ The only case in the accessible sources was Raphael Megera who “almost” had to submit to rebaptism after serving as a non-combatant in World War II. See interview Megera.

that moderation and strictness were held in balance throughout the history of Tanzanian Adventism.

A peculiar Adventist issue that might be used as an argument for describing many Tanzanian Adventists as nominal is the tithing practice.⁸⁰ In the first two generations, this principle was applied rather rigidly at least before baptism: until the 1950s, baptism class members had cards with their tithes recorded on them,⁸¹ but after independence this system was not upheld any more.⁸² Yet reminding the faithful about their duty to return tithe was an essential part of church operations throughout Tanzanian Adventist history, which shows that it was never easy to enforce.⁸³ By mid-century, encouraging members to lay aside an amount equal to a second tithe from which to give offerings became an additional tool used in the attempt to increase the church's meagre income.⁸⁴

In spite of impressive instances of sacrificial giving,⁸⁵ total tithe returns and offerings have always remained rather low in actual figures. Annual tithe fluctuated between an average of six to nine US \$ per member in the 1990s,⁸⁶ and only when the membership base was sufficiently large around 1990 was self-support achieved.⁸⁷ Yet in order to compare this

⁸⁰ On the overall picture of financial flow inside the Seventh-day Adventist Church, see Malcolm Bull, "The Economic Structure of Seventh-Day Adventism," *Social Compass* 39 (1992): 103–110. Bull emphasizes the large scale of the Adventist economy on the basis of the tithe system.

⁸¹ See, e.g., H.M. Sparrow—Mission Directors, 16 October 1941, SM 31.

⁸² Already in 1959, the Southern African Division had stressed the necessity of tithe promotion and frequent preaching on the subject, presumably because the 1950s with their tremendous membership growth made it hard to keep track of every member's financial commitment. See "Tithe Paying Promotion," SADO 57, no. 1 (January–March 1959): 23.

⁸³ Among the many sources dealing with tithe promotion and teaching, see, e.g., Baraza la Wajumbe wa Upare, 11 September 1938, SM 7; TMF Minutes, 14–19 January 1946, no. A. 42 ("Tithe Pamphlets"), SM 5; and Afro-Mideast Division, Department of Stewardship and Church Development, "Uwakili wa Kikristo: Sehemu ya Kwanza," TMs, n.d. [1970s], ETC [= "Christian Stewardship: First Part"].

⁸⁴ "Council Session," SADO 54, no. 4 (15 February 1956): 42; TU Minutes, 20 June 1963, no. 194, ETC. Many Tanzanian Adventist pastors today teach that a "second tithe" should be used for supporting the various lines of church work. This teaching is not part of the official doctrines of the Seventh-day Adventist Church but seems well established in Tanzania.

⁸⁵ Teachers of Pare and Majita often sacrificed a full month's salary or two in the early decades; see R.H. Matthews, "Work Among the Majita" [*sic*], AS 2, no. 4 (April 1930): 11; A.F. Bull, "Progress in Pare, East Africa," MW 31, no. 7 (9 April 1926): 5.

⁸⁶ See the *Annual Statistical Reports* for the respective years.

⁸⁷ Self-support varied widely in the 1960s, between 35 and 82% in the established Fields in 1962–1965, with an average above 60%. The Union, however, was only 20%

tithe return with what Adventists gave to the church in other countries, one must also relate actual figures to family income, and if this is done, one cannot find a significant difference; rather, comparable levels of giving existed among Adventists in many countries.⁸⁸ That only 10% to 30% of church members correspond to the denomination's ideal in most regions of the world indicates that this aspect of Adventism is an overall exception to its general strictness. Since returning tithe is not a condition for maintaining church membership,⁸⁹ it is a sign of commitment that has always been easy to escape.

Tanzanian Adventism was a folk church of a rather peculiar kind. Lacking the theological persuasions of the necessity of converting entire groups, Adventists nevertheless generally exulted in large numbers of people joining their flock. Some warning voices were raised in the missionary era but ultimately vanished, superseded by the quest for ever more numerical expansion. Although no sudden "mass movements" took place,⁹⁰ the denomination gradually became so influential in several areas that religious alternatives remained almost negligible. This growth of importance and of numbers was mainly determined by the dynamics of African societies and succeeded wherever Adventist rigidity or the presence of potent competitors did not impede the denomination's success from the beginning.

self-supporting, and Tanzania General Field between 27 to 36%. Between 1977 and 1980, the level of self-support rose from a span between 53% (TGF) and 79% (NETF) to an average above 80% in all Fields. Educational and other institutions were still significantly subsidized by foreign assistance, but the general tendency was towards full self-reliance. See "Secretary-Treasurer's Report," TU, 1967, SM 71; "Treasurer's Financial Report," 1982, SM 81.

⁸⁸ In the United States, for instance, where the per capita GNP is about sixty times that of Tanzanians: 40,100 US \$ compared to 700 US \$ per person; see *The World Factbook* (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, 2005), <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook> (accessed 1 December 2005). Tithe returns per Adventist were about 700 US \$ in the late 1990s, which is about sixty times the Tanzanian per capita tithe return. If one looks at average income per person, which might be less than 300 US \$ in Tanzania, the relation to US incomes which are about one hundred times bigger also makes Tanzanian Adventists' tithe the approximate equivalent of American Adventists' giving.

⁸⁹ *Church Manual*, 1951 edition, 229–230.

⁹⁰ The one exception that can be cited is the growth at Majita and Ukerewe from approximately 270 to more than 800 between 1934 and 1936. This swift expansion, however, was not without its price, for during the next ten years, ups and downs led to an overall stagnation that could only be overcome from 1945 onwards. Even the Majita case resembled others on an overall scale because in other areas growth was slower but more steady. Furthermore, among the tens of thousands of inhabitants of Majita and Ukerewe, the 800 Adventists were still a tiny minority.

The Adventists' strictness slowed down the process of growth, but it also ensured strong stability in the church's identity. This implied the ability to continue attracting ever more converts through a medium tension with society, which challenged non-Adventists to join while being in basic continuity with the culture of the environment.⁹¹ This implied that no significant slackening occurred in major aspects of religious belief and practice among the majority of church members, even when Adventist conversionism made decisions for baptism easier in the 1960s and 1970s.⁹² Even in earlier periods, low commitment was sometimes tolerated in specific issues. Only from the 1980s onward was a distinct class of nominal Adventists produced, largely as a result of quick baptisms and lacking integration into huge urban churches. All things considered, where modifications of the church's stance occurred or where rigidity was not applied, this was commonly due to an ambiguity that the Adventist movement in Tanzania contained right from the beginning: the position between its remnant ideal and its folk church potential.

10.2 *The Emergence of New Remnants*

Developing a Diaspora in Towns

J.D.Y. Peel distinguishes two major phases of Christian history in modern Africa: (1) the ethnic or language area phase, and (2) the further development of Christianity in more heterogeneous arenas such as modern nations, cities, and multi-ethnic contexts.⁹³ Like most other denominations, Seventh-day Adventists, whose earliest attempts

⁹¹ This is how Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements*, 409–411, explains the ability of movements like Adventism to continue growing for long periods of time. A study that confirms this regarding Adventism in general is Ronald Lawson, "Die Muster, Quellen und Auswirkungen schnellen Gemeinde-Wachstums innerhalb der internationalen Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten: Auf der Grundlage von Starks Revidiertem Allgemeinden Modell," *Der Adventglaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 44 (2002): 69–125.

⁹² An interesting parallel is found in a study by Hance Mwakabana, who found that Lutherans in Iringa maintained a relatively high degree of religious commitment. Apart from the urban focus of this study, the difference is that commitment was defined in a relatively more specific way among Adventists. See Hance Mwakabana, *The Life and Work of the Lutheran Church in Urban Tanzania: With Special Reference to Iringa* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society for Missiology and Ecumenics; Finnish Missionary Society, 1982), 54–137, especially 136–137.

⁹³ Peel, "The Christianization of African Society," 445.

to establish themselves in towns had failed in the 1930s and 1940s,⁹⁴ entered the second phase in the 1950s.

Many church leaders' opinion about urban life had been decidedly negative until mid-century due to the belief that vice abounded in such places.⁹⁵ Yet the growth of the nation's towns in the post-World War II years and especially after independence meant that ever larger numbers of persons left their rural homes and settled in an economically more promising urban environment.⁹⁶ This made it imperative for Adventist leaders to view towns as opportunities rather than problems. Such a shift of attitude was especially necessary in the case of the Pare, who were considered "great wanderers" by the district administrators of the 1950s and whose education made them to be "eagerly sought after by commercial firms as clerks, storekeepers, etc."⁹⁷ Similar dynamics occurred among the Jita, who faced the pressure of rural population density as much as the Pare. Many of them took along their religious identity as they moved to urban areas.

A typical example for the development of town Adventism is Arusha. Before independence it was less significant than its neighbour, Moshi, but Arusha, an administrative post from which a large region was governed, became the target of Adventist missionary plans already from 1945 to 1947. However, these ideas did not result in a permanent project at that early period.⁹⁸ Only in 1954 did the first believers meet for worship at changing places, and literature evangelists Elibariki Misheto and Twa-zihirwa Rajabu pioneered actual outreach in the late 1950s. An event

⁹⁴ Adventist literature evangelists tried to make converts in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro in 1930–1932, and various methods of outreach were tried in Moshi from the mid-1930s to the late 1940s; see 5.3.

⁹⁵ In the 1930s and 1940s, Adventist leaders in Pare and at Lake Victoria commonly held that going to town was going into the world of sin; see interviews Elineema and Megera. Apparently many non-Adventist church leaders shared this perspective; see Shorter, *The Church in the African City*, 62–64.

⁹⁶ On the move to towns in Tanzania, see Richard H. Sabot, *Economic Development and Urban Migration: Tanzania, 1900–1971* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979).

⁹⁷ Annual Report, Pare District, 1953, TNA 19/6/1/II, 25. It was estimated that twenty or twenty-five percent of the adult male population was away from the district at a given time; see *ibid.*

⁹⁸ District Commissioner, Arusha—Director, Suji Mission, 26 July 1945, SM 17; "Estimate of Costs for Starting Evangelistic Work in Two New Areas," [1945], SM 85; Baraza la Upare Minutes, 31 October–1 November 1946 and 20 January 1947, SM 1. Apparently, the total setup was not promising in those years, and the opening of Adventist work among the Iraqw during the same period (see 5.4) most likely shifted the attention to a region that seemed more auspicious.

leading to greater publicity was the evangelistic series in 1967 held by Cyril Bender, an evangelist from South Africa: fifty-two were baptized, among them five who were actually at home in the Arusha area.⁹⁹ A beautiful church building was bought from South African Reformed Christians who left the country in the same year.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, the number of church members continued growing slowly, reaching 192 in 1979.¹⁰¹

About 80% of all church members were Pare in those years, many of them self-employed in carpentry and shoe-making businesses, which gave them the opportunity to keep the Sabbath.¹⁰² Their predominance in the church was, of course, noticed by non-Adventists, who considered the denomination to be intrinsically connected with Pare identity and spoke of Adventists as the “church of the *makande* eaters.”¹⁰³ In the 1980s and 1990s, numerical growth was tremendous: by the end of the century, the membership of the then five churches and their various sub-groups had reached about four thousand.¹⁰⁴ This clearly marked the Arusha congregations as being of central importance to the church in the region, similar to other towns of the country, which became the hub of church activities from about the mid-1980s.

The ethnic composition of these members in Arusha became more and more diverse, yet the overall picture remained one of a very large

⁹⁹ One was a Maasai (Mathew Njake) and four were Arusha (Nairuko Lotanyaki and her son Lazaro Mollé, and Nasinyari Meishaa and her daughter Priscilla).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. figure 22 (p. 621). The church building deal was made by Phillip Werner, then the Tanzania Union president, with Cornelius van Rooyen, a friend to the Werner family since their internment time from 1941–47 at Oldeani. Van Rooyen, a staunch Protestant, wanted to prevent the church being sold to Catholics who had offered more money than the Adventists. See Luise Werner to the author, 24 April 2000; Cyril M. Bender, “The Singing Church,” TADO 65, no. 10 (15 October 1967): 5; TU Minutes, 15 May 1966, no. 810, ETC; *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 25.

¹⁰¹ Interview Elisante Mkiramweni, Arusha, 15 May 2000.

¹⁰² Interview Mhina.

¹⁰³ Interview Godwin Lekundayo, Arusha, 11 June 2002. *Makande* is a kind of stew made of maize and beans that is common among the Pare but that non-Pare often dislike. *Makande* became a mark of Adventist identity because many Pare prepared this type of food on Friday since they did not cook on Saturday. *Makande* could simply be heated for Saturday lunch, different from the common *ugali* (stiff maize porridge), which cannot easily be warmed up.

¹⁰⁴ In 1988, members were 964; in 1992: 2165; and in 1998: 3852. See interview with Elisante Mkiramweni, the pastor in charge of the district in the year 2000, in connection with the Arusha District membership records. Major congregations which were organized until 1998 in addition to the original Burka church were Kijenge in 1992, Unga Limited in 1996, and Mjini Kati in 1998.

Pare proportion and the presence of a few other major groups, mainly from Lake Victoria, with indigenous people largely being absent.¹⁰⁵ The same can be said about other Adventist town churches in the north-eastern part of the country in Tanga and Moshi, only that faster growth happened in the earlier years.¹⁰⁶ Actually, there the Pare majority was even more distinct¹⁰⁷ due to the fact that these towns were situated closer to the Pare Mountains and remained less diversified economically whence they did not attract as many people from all over the country. In Musoma and Mwanza, the towns at Lake Victoria, and Shinyanga, all located near the second major Adventist rural base, the membership expansion was even faster¹⁰⁸ and displayed the same characteristics of a diaspora church that resulted mainly from the influx of ever more members from villages where Adventists dominated.

Different from the relative similarity of these town churches in the neighbourhood of the rural Adventist establishment in the north and north-east, Tanzania General Field, which comprised the rest of the country, produced several distinct categories of Adventist town churches: (1) *Predominantly indigenous*: The churches at Mbeya and Kigoma were fed mainly by the denomination's converts around the second genera-

¹⁰⁵ Rugera Wanjara estimates that 90% of all members of Kijenge, one of the major congregations in Arusha in 1998, came from Mara Region and Pare. Arusha, Meru, and Chagga, who are the largest groups of inhabitants in the town, were very few in all Adventist town churches. Kijenge was a special case in that it became the congregation that many people from Lake Victoria chose. Other churches such as Burka and Mjini Kati were largely Pare. See Rugera Wanjara, "The History of a Newly Planted Church: Kijenge—Arusha," term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 1998, 8, 10.

¹⁰⁶ At Tanga, membership was already 28 in 1958 and grew to 384 until 1978, similar to Moshi, where 383 members were counted in the same year while Arusha had approximately half that number; see J.D. Harcombe, "A Trip Through Tanganyika," SADO 56, no. 2 (15 February 1958): 8, and "Statistical Report," 1978, SM 50.

¹⁰⁷ In 1978, the Moshi church had only four sub-groups at Londrosi, Marangu, Rongai, and Kawayi, and even these were largely composed of non-indigenous people. The Rombo and Hai districts were practically untouched, and only few Chagga were found in the church. See *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 21–22. A list of names of Tanga church members and Bible Class members from about 1959 reveals that two-thirds of the thirty-three persons were Pare; a few others were from the Mbulu area, and others were people from the south of Tanzania and Lake Victoria. No single indigenous person was found in the list; see "SDA Tanga Mjini," [ca. 1959], SM 47. Even in 2000, Adventists who were of Bondei, Zigua, and Digo origin numbered less than one hundred among the more than two thousand members.

¹⁰⁸ In 1963, the Musoma church was the first Adventist urban church building to be dedicated. By 1966, its seating capacity of 240 was already insufficient, and the Kirumba church of Mwanza was also almost full; see A.E. Cook, "'Bring Wood—Build the House,'" TADO 65, no. 3 (15 March 1967): 4.

tion mission stations in the south¹⁰⁹ and at Heri.¹¹⁰ (2) *Mixed*: Iringa and Dodoma,¹¹¹ Tabora, Bukoba, and Sumbawanga,¹¹² developed churches that consisted of both indigenous people and diaspora Adventists, mainly from Pare and Lake Victoria. The more time progressed, the more the indigenous part gained ground in some of them. (3) *Dwarf colonies*: Others remained tiny congregations of migrant Adventists. This was the case in Lindi and Mtwara,¹¹³ Songea, and Singida,¹¹⁴ which are all small and remote towns. (4) *Diaspora churches*: Morogoro¹¹⁵ and Dar es Salaam.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ On the beginnings of Adventism in southern Tanzania, see 5.4. At Mbeya, a company was started in town only in 1969 after an evangelistic series had been held by Fares Muganda, the Union evangelist. This developed into a full-blown church quickly, and in 1970, the church was officially organized. In the 1970s, two other companies, Isanga and Ruanda, were started that became churches in 1978 and 1986, respectively. By 2000, there were 15 churches in Mbeya town. See Eliot Kiswaga, "Historia ya Kanisa Katika Mji wa Mbeya Tangu Mwaka 1938–2000," term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 2000.

¹¹⁰ On the beginnings of Adventism at Heri, located some 70 kilometres from Kigoma, see 5.4. The Heri hospital staff was actively involved in public evangelism at Kigoma; see P.G. Werner, "President's Report," TU, 1967, 6, SM 71, and Mbenea Reuben, "Kigoma Effort," *Newsletter: Adventist Seminary of Health Evangelism* 11, no. 2 (September 1974): 6, SM 50.

¹¹¹ In Iringa, about 80% of the members are from the indigenous people such as the Kinga, Hehe, and Bena. This success might be explained by the diversity of denominations and of ethnic groups in the region, which meant that new ecclesiastic groups were less exotic than in other regions with religious monopolies. The more than 6,000 member in the Iringa region are concentrated in Iringa town and other small towns such as Njombe, Mafinga, and Makambako. Conversely, the majority of Adventists in Dodoma is still non-Gogo; see interview Joshua Kulwa, Morogoro, 2 December 2000, and "Membership SWTF, 2003," TMs.

¹¹² In 2003, the membership in the Sumbawanga region was more than 5,000, with a good part living in the little town. The indigenous Fipa were still in the minority in the town, but since the beginnings with one small church in 1977, their number has always increased. See "Membership SWTF, 2003," TMs, and interviews Elphod Chobaliko, Sumbawanga, 30–31 August 2000, and Elisante.

¹¹³ Adventist activities at Lindi and Mtwara began in 1964 but remained rather unsuccessful throughout the decades; see R.H.E. Henning, "A Pioneer Witness," TADO 62, no. 11 (15 November 1964): 5.

¹¹⁴ At Singida, literature evangelists converted thirty persons in the 1960s, but subsequently work proceeded slowly. This town was always at the periphery of interest because of its relative isolation, and only in the late 1970s were the first conversions of indigenous Nyaturu, Nyiramba and Datooga reported. In 2002, the church counted about four hundred members, but only fifty of them were natives of the area, and no churches existed outside the town. See *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 33; P.G. Werner, "President's Report," Constituency Meeting of the Tanzania Union, 1967, 5, MC; interview John Muganda, Ngongongare, 15 May 2002.

¹¹⁵ At Morogoro, Adventist churches are predominantly Pare, Jita, Sukuma, Kuria, and Luo. Only about 10 among the 2,000 members in town are Luguru, for the number of Luguru who live in Morogoro town is not very high. Others are found in village churches around the town. See interview J. Kulwa.

¹¹⁶ In Dar es Salaam, many churches are composed of people from various regions,

The Adventist communities in the last category presented a rather typical picture of Tanzanian Adventism as a whole. The church membership here may be likened to a stew¹¹⁷ prepared mainly from all those groups in whose home areas the denomination was well-established, with additional ingredients of people from areas reached since the 1940s, while most other ethnic groups only served as seasoning. The “host tribes,” however, were almost absent because they were mostly adherents of Islam and partly of other Christian denominations. Adventism had become a national church by the end of the century in the sense of geographical spread at least in urban centres, but ironically this also meant that their vision of reaching “every tribe, language, and people” had not become a reality. Rather, urban Adventism was mostly a church of migrants who had carried along their religion with their ethnicity.

Apart from producing diaspora communities, migration had one other major consequence for the church: transfer losses. Throughout the post-independence period, statistics show that up to 50% of those who moved from their rural homes took their membership letters along but never joined an Adventist church where they went.¹¹⁸ Adherence to Adventism had been intrinsically connected with the area of origin for some people. In urban contexts, where village culture was relativized to some extent, religion also lost some of its significance for them. As people moved geographically, especially to towns where population fluctuated significantly,¹¹⁹ they also became aware of the variety of the

but some have an ethnic tendency today. An outstanding example is Ukonga. Many soldiers and policemen who are connected to the large Ukonga prison worship in this church. Since many persons in this profession are of Kuria origin, Ukonga SDA Church is predominantly Kuria. Others congregations have a Pare majority, such as the large Manzese SDA Church, and Mwenge SDA Church is dominated by people from Mara Region. The earliest congregation, Magomeni SDA Church, has become the rallying point for the educated and those who are influential in society.

¹¹⁷ I have borrowed this expression from Shorter, *The Church in the African City*, 26. He argues that African cities should not be considered melting-pots, as is commonly done, but a “stew” in which the various ingredients retain their identities.

¹¹⁸ In transfers of 1961, for instance, 900 persons were voted out but only 405 were voted in. The greatest losses in that year occurred in the East Lake Field (561 out, 335 in) and the Mara-Ukerewe Field (204 out, 11 in). See C.T.J. Hyde—All Field Presidents, District Leaders in Tanganyika General, Ministers in Towns, 14 May 1962, SM 50. From 1972 to 1976, 4153 members were transferred out but only 1948 were received; see “Secretary’s Report,” Tanzania Union Session, Moshi, February 18–22, 1977, File Tanzania Union Session, February 18–22, Held Moshi 1977, MC.

¹¹⁹ In the early 1970s, it was estimated that one quarter of the population had been there for only one year in Mwanza, and the majority had only been present for a few years. In Dar es Salaam, about 20% of the population changed every year. See Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian Church*, 36.

religious economy. Thousands were thus lost to the denomination. At the same time, this process helped to readjust the Adventist self-definition to a position between a rural folk church unconsciously defined by ethnicity and an urban remnant of the committed.

A notable aspect of urban Adventist church life was the preponderance of public evangelism. "Campaigns"¹²⁰ or "evangelistic efforts," as they are called, had been a regular and significant aspect of Adventist operations since the 1930s.¹²¹ Yet urban evangelism obviously did not assume a major role in Tanzania until the late 1950s, when small Adventist nuclei had formed in some towns.¹²² That this line of activities became increasingly important in the 1960s had several reasons: (1) the nationalization of schools, which freed energies and forced the denominational leadership to engage in other lines of activity, (2) the increasingly distinct urban context, which demanded church programmes that fit into this environment, (3) the relatively large numbers of new members yielded by public evangelism, and (4) a renewed emphasis on the Adventist message as a warning to be given to as many people as possible before the impending end of earth's history.¹²³ With this background, it is not surprising that the first generation of Adventist

¹²⁰ In Swahili, the word *mashambulio* was used in the 1960s and 1970s. *Mashambulio* is a translation of "campaign" (the plural signifies that it is a series). In the 1980s, however, the use of the word was discouraged because of its connotation of aggression, and since then, *mahubiri* ("preaching [series]") has been used. See "Lay Activities Department Report," TU, 1967, 5, SM 71; David Dobias—Ndugu Zangu Katika Kristo, 10 April 1974, ETC; and G.H. Mbwana, "Uinjilisti," TMs, [1981], File Elimu—Kanisa, MC.

¹²¹ On evangelism in those early years, see, e.g., R.H. Matthews, "Work Among the Majita" [*sic*], AS 2, no. 4 (April 1930): 10; TMF Minutes, 26–30 August 1935, SM 5; Baraza ya Makanisa, 8 March 1937, SM 7; Places Where Efforts Were Made, [1939], SM 59; and Tanganyika Mission of Seventh-day Adventists. Report of Evangelistic Efforts Held During 1943, SM 5.

¹²² In 1958, two evangelistic campaigns were conducted in towns, Musoma and Mwanza, while 52 small efforts were run in rural areas; see J.D. Harcombe, "Evangelism in Tanganyika," SADO 55, no. 4 (15 April 1957): 11; RH 135 (11 December 1958): 19–20. The first city campaign in East Africa was held in Kampala in 1948; see *East African Mission News*, no. 23 (December 1948): 3, SM 22. For parallels from West Africa, where city evangelism also assumed a greater role in the 1960s, see Kuranga, "Seventh-Day Adventism in Western Nigeria," 272.

¹²³ The latter two reasons were mentioned in W.D. Eva, "Report of the East African Union Mission," SADO 49, no. 11 (15 June 1951): 39. In a similar vein, the Tanzania Union leadership emphasized in 1964, "the servant of the Lord has told us repeatedly that we should move into the cities and preach the last warning message"; see TU Minutes, 11 June 1964, no. 402, ETC. L.C. Robinson, the Tanzania Union president in the early 1970s, cited "the unwarned millions" as a reason for engaging in vigorous public evangelism; see L.C. Robinson, "Tanzania Union of Seventh-Day Adventist Churches: President's Report," Afro-Mideast Division Council, 1971, 2, ETC.

ministers who received regular training in the 1950s and 1960s were not prepared for careers as pastors but as evangelists, generally with the understanding that they were to serve in the burgeoning towns.¹²⁴

Adventist evangelistic campaigns in Tanzania, like their counterparts in North America,¹²⁵ followed a general pattern but varied to some extent according to the preferences of the evangelist and the fashions of the period.¹²⁶ The common denominator was to begin with general Christian teachings and an emphasis on the Bible, and then gradually to include popularly presented Adventist views. In this phase, evangelists might introduce striking prophetic topics such as the denominational interpretation of Daniel 2 (“Which nation will overrule the whole world?”).¹²⁷ Finally, they would move towards teachings that were to lead people to join the “Remnant Church.” Because of the emphasis on common Christian ground and the use of attractive modern media, initial attendance was already amazingly high in the 1960s, from hundreds in smaller towns to three thousand in Dar es Salaam.¹²⁸ An aspect that varied was the length of the series: while earlier evangelists often preferred the traditional Adventist three-month setup, the 1970s saw

¹²⁴ The evangelists’ course at Bugema which Tanzanians attended in the 1950s and 1960s emphasized personal evangelism in the first year and public evangelism in the second year. See “Report of the Bugema Missionary College,” [1951], 3–5, SM 80.

¹²⁵ On Adventist evangelistic preaching in North America, see Howard B. Weeks, “A Historical Study of Public Evangelism in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, 1900–1966,” Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1966. Weeks does not speak about areas outside North America but emphasizes the variety of evangelistic styles developed since World War I.

¹²⁶ Distinctive elements were varieties of gifts such as Bibles or books, the combination of health teaching with evangelistic preaching, the use or large tents, and techniques such as involving listeners in “Bible marking” in order to make a stronger impression on their minds. See D. Dobias, “Medical and Public Evangelism in Tanzania,” TADO 67, no. 10 (15 October 1969): 9; P.G. Werner, “President’s Report,” Constituency Meeting of Tanzania Union, Ikizu, 16–20 January 1967, 1967, 3, MC; and C.M. Bender, “Bible-Marking Campaign,” TADO 63, no. 6 (15 June 1965): 9. See also figure 23 (p. 621).

¹²⁷ Fares Muganda, “Musoma Effort Report: The Musoma Diamond Talkies’ Evangelistic Campaign,” *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 2 (April 1958): 1–2, SM 47.

¹²⁸ Lloyd Logan, “All Things Work Together for Good,” *News Notes: Tanzania Union* 2, no. 1 (November 1966): 9–10, SM 55, reports 1,000 listeners at the opening night at Mwanza; Fares Muganda, “Musoma Effort Report: The Musoma Diamond Talkies’ Evangelistic Campaign,” *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 2 (April 1958): 1–2, SM 47, reports 700; P.G. Werner, “Tanzania Union,” TADO 64, no. 12 (15 December 1966): 3, reports 1,000 in Arusha. On the Earl E. Cleveland campaign in Dar es Salaam, see “I Saw... The Editor on Safari through Tanganyika and East Africa,” SADO 61, no. 9 (15 September 1963): 3–4.

a change to a three-week programme, which allowed reaping results more quickly.¹²⁹

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, one can observe a continuous increase of importance of public evangelism in the overall programme of the denomination in Tanzania. In the 1980s and 1990s, finally, it became the central evangelistic activity. This development was mainly the result of rising lay involvement in urban evangelistic programmes. While larger efforts were normally run by Union and Field offices before the 1970s,¹³⁰ church members were subsequently encouraged to plan their own evangelistic endeavours, which they did at a growing scale.¹³¹ At the same time, Tanzania Union increased its commitment to this method by establishing a full-time evangelistic team of six persons under the leadership of Gabriel H. Mbwana.¹³² A climax was the year 1981, which was designated as a “year of 1,000 campaigns.” Although the goal was not reached, the 594 public evangelistic programmes that were held show the vital part which this type of activity played.¹³³ The 1980s and 1990s were also the years in which ever larger baptisms took place as a result of public evangelism, at times with more than one thousand converts.¹³⁴ In this process, a Tanzanian preacher, Herry

¹²⁹ For a similar process in North America, see Keld J. Reynolds, “The Church under Stress, 1931–1960,” in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 192.

¹³⁰ Until the 1970s many town campaigns were financed by the Union; see EAU Minutes, 1 May 1958, no. 862–863, EAU. Even in the 1970s, evangelistic preaching was assigned a significant share of the Union budget. See, e.g., TU Minutes, 16 December 1971, no. 80, TU, where it is indicated that about 7% of the total annual operations was used for such purposes.

¹³¹ TU Minutes, 13–17 December 1973, no. 550, TU. The following three items from the 1970s are guidelines for evangelistic campaigns conducted by lay members: J.K. Kajula, “Effort ya Washiriki (Mahubiri ya Injili),” TMs, 1979, ETC; “Muhitasari wa Mafundisho ya Mahubiri ya Injili—Effort kwa Waleyi,” TMs, n.d., ETC; and “Mahubiri ya Hadhara,” TMs, n.d., ETC.

¹³² Besides, the Union demanded that two months per year be reserved for evangelistic ventures in all churches. In the 1960s, only one full-time evangelist, Fares Muganda, had served the country. See D.C. Beardsell, “Forward by His Spirit: The Tanzania Union President’s Report to Afro-Mideast Division Council, November 3–8, 1980,” 5, ETC; and TU Minutes, 13 December 1971, no. 22, TU.

¹³³ “Taarifa ya Huduma,” 1982, SM 81. That year every existing church or company (subgroup) was encouraged to conduct two evangelistic efforts on their own expenses. See N.L. Mwamukonda—H.K. Mashigani and others, 2 February 1981, ETC.

¹³⁴ In the late 1980s and early 1990s, campaigns by Zakayo Kusekwa, the then Tanzania Union Publishing Department director, resulted in the baptism of more than 1,000 persons at Tarime and Shinyanga. Evangelistic efforts by Herry Mhando led to baptisms of more than 1,000 persons at Bariadi, Bunda, and Mwanza in the same period.

Mhando, became one of the leading evangelists of the Seventh-day Adventist Church worldwide.¹³⁵

While church building activities at times lagged behind the constant expansion of the membership, this did not deter church leaders from planning ever more evangelistic activities. When Adventist congregations decided to build a new place of worship, these structures were typically built in a rather functional way, which corresponded to the Adventist intermediate position between a missionary remnant and an established church. As Conrad Hyde, the former Union president, put it regarding the first church building at Dar es Salaam, Magomeni:

A cathedral would not have been representative of a church which expects the soon return of Jesus, nor would a small, poorly appointed hall have given the correct impression of a world-wide, fast-growing church.¹³⁶

Evangelistic efforts contributed significantly to the Adventist numerical growth in the post-independence period. Yet they did not merely convey the denomination's message to the urban world; rather, they served a variety of purposes which often remained hidden behind swelling baptismal numbers:

1. An eased return of former members, who might comprise one to two fifths of those involved in mass baptisms.¹³⁷
2. A hastened initiation of Adventist youth to church membership; they often made up a third or more of the numbers attained in public evangelism.
3. Simplifying conversion to Adventism for anyone who might wish to experiment with a new type of faith. In this kind of admission to

¹³⁵ Nkosiyo Zvandasara, *Herry Mhando: The Man and His Methods of Evangelism and Church Growth* (Berrien Springs: Lesley, 2001). Apart from conducting evangelistic meetings in Tanzania, Mhando preached in many other African countries. At Nairobi, for instance, he attracted crowds of probably more than 100,000 at the final evangelistic meeting in a six-week series in 1999. In Tanzania, tens of thousands attended in Dar es Salaam in 1998. The baptismal figures of his many campaigns exceeded 3,000 several times.

¹³⁶ Conrad T.J. Hyde, "Dar-es-Salaam Church Dedicated," TADO 62, no. 3 (15 March 1964): 1. See also figure 24 (p. 622).

¹³⁷ Interview Lekundayo. Charles Mjema, "Personal Experience," term paper, Tanzania Adventist College, 2001, estimates that baptisms connected with public evangelism in Dar es Salaam in the 1990s involved 40% of former Seventh-day Adventists. For an early observation about "backsliders" coming back in evangelistic campaigns, see Godson Elienzeza, "Mwanza Effort Report: The Gospel Message Lights in Mwanza," *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 2 (April 1958): 2-3, SM 47.

membership, hardly any requirement was made, which resulted in swelling numbers of nominal Adventists.

4. In a culture where belonging to groups was paramount, evangelistic efforts constituted rituals that effectively dramatized the change of adherence for the many who had known Adventism before but who waited for an opportunity to make a new beginning in their lives.¹³⁸
5. Being limited to a particular period of a few weeks, evangelistic campaigns allowed city folks to concentrate their attention on other matters once the event was over.
6. Campaigns functioned as a more complex supplement to the unpretentious and relatively short camp meetings during which people were not involved in as many types of activities. While camp meetings were the religious peak experience in rural areas, campaigns assumed a more important role in urban contexts since a variety of professionals, creative minds, and affluent persons could contribute to the success of such programmes.
7. Public evangelism provided the unity that urban churches needed, a unity that was tangible in a spirituality of activity that helped overcome some of the tensions that existed in multi-ethnic congregations.

Seen in the light of these many aspects, evangelistic campaigns often served the existing urban churches as much as or even more than the people they intended to reach with Adventist teachings. Conducted with the rationale of “preaching the message,” they also served as occasions for the ritualization of Adventism and provided a mechanism for the simplification of conversion. Thus, they represented a thorough synthesis of the remnant and folk church aspects of Tanzanian Adventism.

¹³⁸ Evangelistic campaigns usually constituted mainly a device of “making people decide” (in Swahili, Adventists use the expression *kukatisha shawi* for this process of leading people to a decision for baptism) and not of instructing people in the Adventist teachings, although preaching is often doctrinal. This is visible in that 70 to 90% of the new members of North East Tanzania Field in the early 1980s came from its Sabbath School membership. Even in 1981 with its strong emphasis on public evangelism, only about half of the 1,785 converts in the field were baptized during efforts, and in other years, this figure was only one fourth. See G. Elieneza, “Taarifa ya Mwenyekiti wa Kanda ya Kaskazini Mashariki ya Tanzania,” Tanzania Union Constituency Meeting, 1982, 4–5, SM 81.

Spreading into Traditionally Christian Areas

The successes and visibility of public evangelism tempted Adventists to assume that they would make a considerable impact all over the nation. Yet the reality was that until the early 1980s the denomination remained rather insignificant or even unknown among half of the population or more, i.e., those who lived in the villages and small towns of regions where Adventism was not yet well-established. This did not mean, however, that the church's evangelistic strategists were at a loss to handle this situation. Rather, they designed several devices intended to meet the challenges of such areas. As in Europe and North America, these devices targeted mainly those who were already Christians and who had a certain minimum of schooling which enabled them to reach the level of sophistication needed for the acceptance of the denomination's doctrines. The Adventist remnant paradigm worked best in an environment where Christianization had prepared the ground, a context that resembled nineteenth century America where Adventism had arisen.

The major method of propagating Adventism in Christian areas where the "three angels' messages" were yet unknown was literature evangelism. As in the spread of the denomination in Europe and North America,¹³⁹ the church's publications helped disseminate Adventist thought steadily and in a less confrontational way than public preaching. First experiments with colporteur work were made in the 1920s and early 1930s¹⁴⁰ in conjunction with the establishment of the first regular Adventist press in East Africa located at Gendia in Kenya.¹⁴¹ Little was

¹³⁹ Literature evangelism began in 1878 and became a regular part of church operations in the 1880s. Since then, colporteurs opened Adventist work in many countries and towns. See "Literature Evangelist," SDAE, 705–707; "Publishing Department," SDAE, 1037–1039; and "Publishing Work," SDAE, 1040–1043. It should be noted here that different names have been used for Adventist book sellers: "literature evangelists," "colporteurs" or, sometimes, "canvassers." On Adventist literature evangelism in general, see also Russell C. Thomas, *Adventure Unlimited* (Boise: Pacific Press, 1988).

¹⁴⁰ On the use of literature evangelism in reaching out to the surroundings of Southern Pare and the Muslim coast, see 5.1 and 5.3. In 1929, 12 colporteurs were counted in Pare, but this number decreased to 1 in 1932 and fluctuated between 0 and 4 until 1938. At Lake Victoria, only in 1930 were two canvassers reported. This was mainly the outcome of scarcity of literature; in 1933, the Field committee discovered that *Mambo Makuu* and *Baada ya Kufu ni Nini* had been sold almost everywhere. Besides, there were certainly still relatively few readers at the time. See TMF Minutes, 23 March 1933, SM 5; Statistical Reports of the Suji Mission, SM 72; and Spencer G. Maxwell, "West Tanganyika Mission," RH 107 (27 February 1930): 17.

¹⁴¹ On the development of the Adventist Press at Gendia that printed materials for the whole of eastern Africa, see "East African Publishing House," SDAE, 354–355.

done in this line during the 1940s,¹⁴² but the 1950s saw a resumption of activities under the leadership of Tanzanians, first Paulo Kilonzo and then Fares Muganda.¹⁴³ Since rather few items of literature were available on the general market in the pre-independence decade, it was an auspicious time for selling books written in Swahili,¹⁴⁴ although conversions through literature were hardly ever heard of—even where sales were good.¹⁴⁵

A significant move was the 1956 plan of sending literature evangelists to various “unentered” areas in order to establish an Adventist presence there.¹⁴⁶ This was the beginning of a new era. Canvassers played the role of pioneers who toiled in a given region until a group of believers had formed which was large enough to justify sending a pastoral worker.¹⁴⁷ Such individuals were almost self-supporting and thus constituted the most inexpensive way of starting Adventist evangelism in new areas. So successful was this experiment that Rudi Henning, the Union Publishing Director from 1963 to 1967, made the promotion of this model one

This press was first established in 1914, but only in the 1920s did permanent work begin. On the development of Adventist presses in general, see “Publishing Houses,” SDAE, 1039–1040.

¹⁴² In the second half of the 1930s, apparently only one book was sold in addition to tracts or magazines; see SM 53 (Colporteurs’ Reports, 1930s). Attempts to revive literature evangelism in 1944 did not succeed very well in spite of well-formulated plans by the Field committee and a training institute; see F.H. Thomas—K.G. Webster, 14 September 1944, SM 15; TMF Minutes, 9 September 1944, no. E 187–E 199, SM 5; and “Report of the Publishing Department,” 1951, 1–2, SM 80.

¹⁴³ “Masharti kwa Watembezi wa Vitabu,” [1950], SM 22; “Enlargement of the Colporteur Evangelism Programme,” 1951, SM 80. In 1953, 18 Swahili colporteur books were already available; see A.M. Webster, “East African Publishing House,” TMs, 1953, File Africa Herald Publishing House History, AHPH.

¹⁴⁴ Swahili books that had been published up to 1937 by Christian agencies were 308, the highest number in Africa for a single language; see *The Life of the Church: International Missionary Council Meeting at Tambaram, Madras*, vol. 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 360. However, many of these books were not widely circulated as they were usually sold to the adherents of particular missions, and many other books were written in vernaculars and therefore served only a limited number of people.

¹⁴⁵ Interview Lukwaro.

¹⁴⁶ Under the leadership of Fares Muganda, literature evangelists were sent to Dar es Salaam (Elibariki Misheto and Elikunda Mgeni), Zanzibar (Jackson Mburaya), Morogoro (Yohana Lukwaro), Iringa (Ayubu Mnkande), Mpwapwa and Dodoma (John Lyambwa), Singida (Fadhili Maghinde and Eliamani Irigo) and others to Arusha, Moshi, Mwanza, and Bukoba. See Fares Masokomya, “The Wings of the Three Angels’ Messages,” SADO 55, no. 1 (15 January 1957): 10; and *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 35.

¹⁴⁷ P.G. Werner, “President’s Report,” Tanzania Union Constituency Meeting, Ikizu, 1967, 5, MC.

of his main concerns. He called these pioneers “missionary literature evangelists”¹⁴⁸ and thus increased the prestige of the book sellers whose work had previously lacked a well-respected status.

At the same time, a regular programme of employed full-time col-porteurs was designed. This scheme enabled workers to rely on the organization when they went through economic ups and downs. In turn, the church benefited from large sales by some individuals and honoured them through incentives specified in a well-defined point system.¹⁴⁹ So much was this type of activity attractive to church members that the number of literature evangelists rose from 27 in 1959 to 131 in 1972 and to 660 full-time and 227 part-time literature evangelists in 1984. One in sixty-six Tanzanian Adventists was therefore engaged in religious book trade at the peak of this development.¹⁵⁰ This growing army of sales representatives made Adventist books to be among the most widespread literature in Tanzania.¹⁵¹ A major influence in this

¹⁴⁸ By, 1967, Henning was able to report that the Sumbawanga, Kahama, Singida, Nzega, Maasai, Njombe, Songea, Dodoma, Kilosa, Iringa, Nachingwea, and Mtwara areas had all been reached by Adventists through literature evangelists for the first time between 1963 and 1965. See R.H. Henning, “Publishing Progress, 1962–1965,” Publishing Department Report, Tanzania Union Session, 1967, File Education—Primary SDA Schools, 1966–1971, MC; Rudi Henning to the author, 28 June 1998 and 26 November 1998; and Rudi Henning, “Mit der letzten Botschaft in die unbetretenen Gebiete Tanganjikas,” AB 65, no. 5 (1 March 1966): 90–91, 94.

¹⁴⁹ Literature Evangelists worked in three distinct categories according to experience, hours, and success. See Publishing Department of Tanzania Union of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, *Manual, Policies, Guide for Publishing Department*, Musoma: Tanzania Union, 1970, SM 50; TU Minutes, 11 December 1963, no. 283, and 3 March 1964, no. 360, ETC.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. figure 25 (p. 622). “Statistical Report—Tanganyika Mission, 15 October 1959,” SM 43; “Taarifur ya Uinjilisti wa Vitabu 1972–1976,” File Tanzania Union Session 1977, 4, MC; Yohana Lusingu, “Report from Tanzania Union,” *Eastern Africa Division Outlook* 1 (November–December 1984): 10. The crucial period of expansion took place from 1972 to 1976, when the number of canvassers rose from 131 to 300; see Z. Kusekwa, “Taarifur ya Uinjilisti wa Vitabu 1972–1976,” TU Session, 1977, SM 71.

¹⁵¹ Already in the 1950s and 1960s, most of the more than 30 Swahili titles available sold 2,000 to 5,000 copies per year and more in East Africa. The most outstanding titles were *Magonjwa Huletwa na Nini* [= “By what are diseases brought?”], which had sold more than 60,000 times by 1968, *Furaha katika Ndoa* [= “Joy in marriage”] and *Wakati Ujao* [= “The coming time”] with more than 57,000 each, *Kuchagua Mchumba* [= “Choosing a partner”] with more than 79,000, and *Watumwa Wangali Hai* [= “Slaves are still alive”] with more than 41,000. In 1984, *Afya na Raha*, *Kuchagua Mchumba*, *Njia Salama*, *Siri ya Ushindaji*, and *Tuna Kesi* sold over 10,000 copies per year. See “Sales Report of Subscription Books Published by Africa Herald Publishing House (Sept. 30, 1968)”; “Subscription Books Published by Africa Herald Publishing House: Publishing House Survey,” [1968]; and “Information on Publishing Houses,” 1984, Files Africa Herald Publishing House History and Africa Herald Publishing House—Book Sales, AHPH.

phase of expansion was the enthusiastic leadership of Zakayo Kusekwa, the director of the Union's publishing department in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁵² Given the expanding sales activities, it became clear in 1976 that Tanzania had to have its own Adventist publishing house, Tanzania Adventist Press.¹⁵³

In interpreting the literature evangelism phenomenon, several aspects must be noted:

1. Adventist literature was produced for Christian readers with a certain degree of education. Therefore its appeal became stronger as the Christianization and average level of schooling of the population progressed in the 1960s and 1970s.
2. That publications were designed for the general public is visible in the typical mix of products, some dealing with Christian living and health,¹⁵⁴ others with prophecy and Adventist doctrine.¹⁵⁵ This made Adventist books the ideal "silent messengers"¹⁵⁶ in environments where public evangelism would have created enmity, was impossible, or lacked a congregational base.
3. The literature evangelism programme implied significant economic security for those who were ready to engage in hard work. Thus, it

¹⁵² Under Kusekwa's leadership, a host of newsletters appeared that promoted the literature evangelism cause. Some among them had the appealing names *Angaza* [= "Shine"] (Morogoro: Idara ya Uchapaji, 1976); *Mjumbe wa Nuru* [= "Messenger of Light"], Mwanza, 1972; *Sauti ya Wapanda Mlima* [= "The voice of the mountain climbers"] (Busegwe, Arusha: Tanzania Union Publishing Department, 1976–1987); and *Stimulus: Monthly Bulletin for Field Publishing Dep. Secretaries* (Arusha: Publishing Department, Tanzania Union, 1976–1987). Copies of many of these newsletters are available at ETC.

¹⁵³ On the beginnings of Tanzania Adventist Press, see Tanzania Adventist Press Minutes, 26 January 1976, Tanzania Adventist Press ("Sub-Committee to Study Morogoro VOP Press").

¹⁵⁴ See, e.g., *Magonjwa Huletwa na Nini?* ["Where do diseases come from?"] (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, [1958]); *Majibu kwa Mashaka Yako* ["Answers for your doubts"] (Kendu Bay: East African Publishing House, 1960); and various books by Ellen White such as *Afya na Raha* ["Health and comfort"], *Furaha Katika Ndoa* ["Happiness in marriage"], and *Kuchagua Mchumba* ["Choosing a partner"]. In accordance with this emphasis on health and family issues, the Adventist publishing organization was called "Home, Health and Education Service, Tanzania" in the country; see TU Minutes, 6 April 1971, no. 1217, TU.

¹⁵⁵ See the publications on eschatology and on the Sabbath mentioned in 09.1, as well as Ellen G. White, *Vita Kuu Baina ya Kristo na Shetani* (Gendia: Advent Press, 1954) [translation of *Story of Redemption*].

¹⁵⁶ In Swahili, this expression (*wajumbe wa kinyua*) is commonly used among literature evangelists to describe the way Adventist books work.

provided an occupational alternative to new converts who lost their employment for some reason¹⁵⁷ as well as for anyone who wished to work for the church but was not able to gain employment that demanded more formal training.

4. Selling books meant a significant income for the denomination since it mainly depended on the contributions of its African members. Literature evangelism therefore constituted a notable source of church finance in the 1970s and 1980s both through sales income and the tithe and offerings of literature evangelists.
5. Literature evangelists considered themselves playing “a major part in the finishing of God’s work”; it was their persuasion that they “contribute in a large measure to the loud cry of the third angel.”¹⁵⁸ The selling of the church’s books was neither a mere job nor a denominational department like others. Rather, it was believed and taught that this department had been revealed by God to be a special means of “preparing people to meet with God.”¹⁵⁹ Regarding their daily work as a piece in the apocalyptic mosaic was certainly a powerful motivation for colporteurs and made canvassing an outstanding popular application of remnant theology.

The Adventist interest in the use of printed media to proclaim the denomination’s message was visible in other lines as well, especially in the production of magazines. After short experimentations with a Swahili paper called *Maongezi Matamu* in the late 1920s,¹⁶⁰ the idea was

¹⁵⁷ See, e.g., R.A. Tenga, “The Light at Njombe,” TADO 63, no. 7 (15 July 1965): 8. In a few cases, pastors of other churches who joined the Adventist church were absorbed into this programme when they did not have the qualifications to enter the Adventist ministry; see Rudi Henning, “Tanganyika Colporteur Pioneers,” TADO 62, no. 5 (15 May 1964): 4; and R.A. Tenga, “A New Faith Found,” TADO 62, no. 8 (15 August 1964): 8.

¹⁵⁸ This is a reference to Revelation 18:4, which is considered a prophecy relating to the last events of history. See “Enlargement of the Colporteur Evangelism Programme,” 1951, SM 80. Similarly, the Tanzania Union leadership stated in its minutes in 1977 that literature evangelism is “the main channel for spreading the message of Christ’s Second Coming”; see TU Minutes, 21 February 1977, no. 13, TU.

¹⁵⁹ Z. Kusekwa, “Taarifu ya Uinjilisti wa Vitabu 1972–1976,” TU Session, 1977, SM 71.

¹⁶⁰ *Maongezi Matamu* means “sweet talks.” It was first published by A.F. Bull in November 1928, starting with 3,000 copies. 10,000 were planned for the third number which, however, appears to have been the last. See A.F. Bull, “East Tanganyika Mission,” AS 1, no. 4 (October 1929): 4; F.H. Thomas—A. Bull, 3 June 1927, SM 8. Why this tremendously successful project was discontinued, especially after plans had been laid to publish the magazine in Luo and Luganda as well, is hard to explain. One

revived in the early 1950s, when the magazine *Sikiliza* (“Listen”) was published for the whole of East Africa. Similar to the church’s books, *Sikiliza* aimed mainly at those with a Christian background. It addressed questions of history, health, family, morality, spirituality, and doctrine. With a circulation of more than 20,000 in the 1950s and up to 180,000 in the 1970s,¹⁶¹ *Sikiliza* became one of the few popular and widespread Christian magazines at that time.¹⁶² Similar to *Sikiliza*, Adventist radio work mainly functioned as a door-opener, but this line was pursued in a rather sporadic manner and gained prominence in Tanzania only in the late 1990s.¹⁶³

The “Voice of Prophecy” Bible correspondence courses¹⁶⁴ were another major tool of spreading Adventist persuasions among Christians in those areas where the church was not yet strong. However, they had a much stronger impact than radio work and *Sikiliza*. These courses systematically led the student from general Christian beliefs to the specific Adventist doctrines, with the aim of guiding him to a commitment to Seventh-day Adventism. From small beginnings in the 1950s and 1960s,¹⁶⁵ a dramatic increase of activities occurred in the following decade. Enrolment reached more than 18,000 per year and resulted in an average of two hundred baptisms annually in the early 1970s.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, the variety of courses increased.¹⁶⁷ While

may only suspect that Bull, who transferred to Kenya, did not have the opportunity to continue this project. Only one copy of the magazine was found at the Tanzania National Archives; see TNA 12759 (“Maongezi Matamu”).

¹⁶¹ D.C. Swan, “Publish Glad Tidings,” AMDI 5, no. 6–8 (June–August 1975): 20. Union president Hanson proudly called *Sikiliza* “the best African papers in East Africa”; see E.D. Hanson, “Report on the East African Union,” SADO 52, no. 2 (1 February 1954): 5. However, during 1957–1961 and 1966–1970 *Sikiliza* was not issued. Its publication ceased in the late 1970s.

¹⁶² Catholics at Peramiho also had two magazines in colour before independence, running 18,000 copies; see Sundkler, *A History of the Church in Africa*, 877.

¹⁶³ In 1967, for instance, 68 Adventist programmes were broadcast on the Voice of Tanzania; see TU Minutes, 1 December 1967, no. 312, ETC. Yet in other years apparently no efforts were made to use the radio medium.

¹⁶⁴ *Sauti ya Unabii: Skuli ya Biblia kwa Posta* (Nairobi: Sauti ya Unabii, n.d.). There were two levels, the second focusing on peculiar Adventist themes.

¹⁶⁵ In 1964, some 2,000 students had already enrolled in the course; see F.G. Thomas—Field Officers and Workers, 16 March 1964, File Ministerial Exchange 1963–1974, MC.

¹⁶⁶ TU Minutes, 21 February 1977, no. 13, TU. A major leap took place in 1971 when newspaper advertisements helped double applications from about 5,000 to 10,000 in three months; see “Growing to Finish the Work,” AMDI 1, no. 10 (October 1971): 7.

¹⁶⁷ Both *Maisha Bora*, a health course, and *New Life*, an English Bible study series, were introduced in the 1970s.

the actual number of converts was rather low compared to the many who began the course, the influence on the thousands who finished it without becoming Adventists should not be underestimated. Some might respond to Adventist public evangelism later while others would become sympathizers of a faith that was no longer strange to them but remained socially unacceptable in the environment where it met them.

Literature evangelism and Bible correspondence courses, together with small evangelistic campaigns, were the most effective attempts at reaching out to areas beyond towns and the Adventist strongholds in the post-independence era. Yet in line with the various official departments that exist in the Seventh-day Adventist Church internationally,¹⁶⁸ a host of other activities also developed in the framework of the Adventist missionary vision. The church leadership expanded educational institutions¹⁶⁹ and medical services¹⁷⁰ and initiated agricultural experiments,¹⁷¹ which all partly aimed at reaching out to non-Adventists. At the same

¹⁶⁸ On the various departments, which include education, family ministries, health and temperance, public affairs and religious liberty, publishing, Sabbath School and personal ministries, stewardship, trust services, women's ministries, and youth, see *General Conference Working Policy* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, [1999]). All these departments are represented at the various levels of church organization: Conference/Field, Union, Division, and General Conference.

¹⁶⁹ After the nationalization of primary schools, only Ikizu Secondary School remained under the management of the denomination in the early 1970s. In 1975, the government allowed Adventists to open a Secondary School at Parane near Mamba in the Pare Mountains, and other secondary schools were opened at Bupandagila, Ndembela (near Mbeya), Nyabihore (near Tarime), Bwasi, Nyasincha (near Tarime), and Zoissa (in the Dodoma region) in the 1980s. See "Taarifa ya Shule ya Secundari ya Parane," Tanzania Union Constituency Meeting, 1977, 1–2 and Okeyo, "God's Hand," 14.

¹⁷⁰ In addition to the activities connected with Heri Hospital and a number of dispensaries in various parts of the country, mostly in towns, seminars to help people stop smoking were conducted a few times in towns; see TU Minutes, 30 September 1968, no. 433, ETC; "Hitting the Headlines in Dar," AMDI 7, no. 9–10 (September–October 1977): 5. However, medical services made little impact on rural areas except the Heri environment.

¹⁷¹ The major attempt to establish the agricultural line as part of the Adventist missionary programme took place at Kibidula Farm in the Iringa region. On this 4,700-acre farm which was donated to the church in 1964, Adventists tried to establish various programmes for years but never quite succeeded, a contributing factor being the poor soil quality at the site. See D.C. Beardsell, "Forward by His Spirit," Tanzania Union President's Report to Afro-Mideast Division Council, November 3–8, 1980, ETC. Two other short-lived attempts at agricultural instruction were made in Pare in 1973 and at Utimbaru-Kibumaye, the former headquarter of the East Nyanza Field, from 1972–1975; see "Giti-Mamba. Seventh-Day Adventist Shule ya Kilimo: Bulletin 1973," SM 50; Central Nyanza Field Minutes, 14 January 1972, no. 263, MC; and TU Minutes, 22–27 November 1977, no. 206, TU.

time, they evidently served the purpose of strengthening the bonds of those who belonged to the church already.

Other methods of outreach involved the average church member more directly, such as personal evangelism,¹⁷² the evangelistic dimension in the Sabbath School,¹⁷³ the youth department,¹⁷⁴ and university and secondary students' associations.¹⁷⁵ Besides, Tanzania Union president Derek Beardsell dreamed of even more diversification of Adventist outreach including ventures in the fields of "public health, preventive medicine, agricultural expertise training, village evangelism, community services, welfare work, [and] health food preparation." He believed that through a wide range of "innovative forms of gospel preaching"¹⁷⁶ all the corners of the country could be reached with the Adventist message. While his plans were certainly creative, he was also overly optimistic. These lines of activity contained a mix of purposes:

¹⁷² Aspects of the promotion of personal evangelism include the following: annual events where a "Layman of the Year" was honoured, an individual who brought the largest number of people to baptism; a "Territorial Assignment Plan" in which non-Adventist families were located and targeted with the Adventist message; and the *Biblia Yasema* manual which outlined simple Bible studies that church members could teach with a little basic training; see A.H. Brandt, "Goals and Aims," AMDI 1, no. 8 (August 1971): 3; TU Minutes, 19–24 November 1974, no. 744, TU; and *Biblia Yasema* (Morogoro: Tanzania Adventist Press, n.d.).

¹⁷³ Calvin Smith, who was in charge of the Sabbath School department of Tanzania Union from 1967 to 1970 and later became the director of the same department at the General Conference, observed in the late 1960s that "Tanzania needed change from a pastor-centered to a lay-centered work." He designed the *Biblia Yasema* course and initiated a model of small Sabbath School groups that served as a base for personal evangelism and as a group for spiritual growth, similar to the small group models that the church growth movement emphasized in the following decades. Cf. Calvin Smith, *Church Growth Through Sabbath School Action Units: A Guide to Sabbath School Revitalization* (Silver Spring: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 3.

¹⁷⁴ On the various youth activities, which included evangelism, youth congresses, evangelism, and pathfinder clubs, see, e.g., G. Schmidl, "Missionary Volunteers Department—Tanzania Union: Quadrennial Report, 1962–1965," 1967; G.H. Mbwana, "Taarifa ya President T.G.F.," TU Session, 1977, SM 71; and Dave Dobias, "Grand Youth Congress in Tanzania," AMDI 5, no. 9 (September 1975): 8–9.

¹⁷⁵ Fritz Martinsen, "East African University Student Retreat," AMDI 5, no. 10 (October 1975): 20; Association of University Seventh-day Adventists of East Africa: Second Annual Retreat, Ilboru Secondary School, Arusha, Tanzania, 1976, SM 50; Baraka Muganda, "ASSA 'Retreat to Advance' at Dar es Salaam," AMDI 7, no. 9–10 (September–October 1977): 10–11; and "ASSA: Adventist Secondary Student Association, Tanzania General Field. Katiba," n.d., ETC. Baraka Muganda, who organized much of the Adventist youth and student work in Tanzania, is at present the Youth Department director at the General Conference.

¹⁷⁶ D.C. Beardsell, "Forward by His Spirit," Tanzania Union President's Report to Afro-Mideast Division Council, November 3–8, 1980, ETC.

creating opportunities for presenting the gospel, serving those in need, and maintaining the present membership. Yet they did not necessarily make a major impact on new regions.

Still, plans continued to be laid to establish an Adventist presence at least in every district of the nation “so that we may finish the task which Jesus has given us to do.”¹⁷⁷ The rationale behind was to establish at least “a witness” to the inhabitants of every geographical area.¹⁷⁸ Parallel to Adventist growth in the larger towns that served as regional capitals, this often meant the attempt to raise congregations at the headquarters of government districts. While this plan succeeded through a combination of factors such as literature and public evangelism, other evangelistic activities, and migration, most rural areas where the mass of the population lived were hardly reached before the 1980s. Only then did the denomination begin to make inroads in villages in some areas. These were specific cases of populations comparatively open to types of Christianity other than those they had inherited, such as in the Sumbawanga, Iringa, Mwanza, and Kigoma regions.¹⁷⁹ People in other areas, even some of those adjacent to regions with an Adventist dominance¹⁸⁰ or even where Adventist institutions were present and that were therefore targeted rather early,¹⁸¹ remained rather hostile to Adventism. In some areas, conversion to Adventism was apparently

¹⁷⁷ J.D. Harcombe, “What is Happening in Tanganyika,” SADO 55, no. 10 (15 October) 1957, 10. With a similar thrust, “President’s Report,” TU Session, 1977, 1, SM 71.

¹⁷⁸ TU Minutes, 19 November 1970, no. 1058, ETC; TU Minutes, 13–17 December 1973, no. 583, TU. Of a total of 70 districts, 27 had an Adventist presence in 1970, while 58 were counted as entered in 1975. See L.C. Robinson, “Garnering for the Kingdom in Tanzania,” AMDI 5, no. 6–8 (June–August 1975): 6.

¹⁷⁹ Examples include the Kaparamsenga area near Kigoma, Kahama in the Mwanza region, several areas of Sumbawanga region, and many areas of Iringa region. See Chacha Sando—Kiongozi wa Huduma ya Wakanisa TGF, 20 December 1977, ETC; “West Lake Field,” TU Session, 1967, 3, SM 71; and Mwakalindile, “History of Adventist Mission in Mbeya and Sumbawanga Regions,” 5.

¹⁸⁰ In 1979, the Mara Field leaders observed, “The evangelistic work is still great in this Mara Region; there are some tribes that have yet to receive the Gospel message . . . the Ikoma, Nata, Isenye, Simbiti, and the Tatoga”; see *SDA Church 1909–1979, Mara Field*, 16.

¹⁸¹ Among the Meru, for instance, Adventists were present through their theological training school, Tanzania Adventist College, since 1974, but no single full-fledged Adventist Meru congregation was initiated until the year 2000. This is especially striking when compared to the fact that hundreds of Pentecostal congregations emerged among the Meru in the same period. The first Meru Adventist was baptized in 1963, and a few others followed in the 1970s; see interviews Ndelekwa Ikamba Kitomari, Tengeru, 28 November 2000, and John Nasari, Ngongongare, 26 November 2000.

eased by the Christian background that people had, but in others, the very denominational allegiances that had become part of their popular cultures made it more difficult for Adventism to attract adherents.

Thus, the impact of Adventist proclamation on rural areas remained very limited outside the few fields that can be counted as the denomination's establishment. The Tanzania General Field president, Zephania Bina, somewhat discouragedly observed in the early 1980s that Adventist village churches existed only in five areas of the vast territory under his leadership.¹⁸² His analysis was certainly correct:

The Tanzanians who live in this field are more than 10 million (10,000,000). What are 8,610 members for those inhabitants? Apart from that, they are those who came from these mother fields. In many parts of this field, our church is known as an alien small church that has just started.¹⁸³

The methods that Adventists used to proclaim their apocalyptic message might be modern and their zeal impressive. Still, the successes they celebrated in some corners of Tanzania could not conceal the fact that in most parts of Tanzania they remained a religious movement which was viewed with scepticism, a band of strangers and a statistical remnant.

Reaching out to Muslims and Traditionalists

If it was difficult for Adventists to overcome cultural and religious barriers to Christians of other denominations and regions, the gap between Adventist Christianity and Islam was almost insurmountable. After the abortive attempts at making an impact on the Muslim coast and Zanzibar in 1929–1932, concern for Muslims was almost absent from the agenda of leaders of Tanzanian Adventists until mid-century.¹⁸⁴ Only after one generation of concentrating on growing folk churches did the late 1950s and 1960s bring a revival of interest in Islam in the

¹⁸² Tanzania General Field comprised the whole southern half of the country; the areas with village churches that Bina mentioned were Mpwapwa, Dodoma, Morogoro, Bagamoyo, and Kibaha; see Z. Bina—Wachungaji, *Wazee wa Mkanisa, Washiriki wote, Morogoro*, 25 January 1983.

¹⁸³ Z. Bina, "Taarifa ya President—T.G.F.," Tanzania Union Constituency Meeting, 1982, 2, ETC.

¹⁸⁴ In contrast, missionary leaders in Kenya established Changamwe Mission near Mombasa in 1934 with a pioneering contribution by Petro Risase from Pare. At Changamwe a girls' and a boys' boarding school were established as well as a clinic; see [S.G. Maxwell], "SDA Missions in East Africa: British East Africa," n.d., 11, File SDAE Article, EAU.

Southern African Division. Muslims-turned-Adventists from various countries lectured about their former religion,¹⁸⁵ a conference on Islam and missionary work among Muslims was held in 1961,¹⁸⁶ and literature was published on related topics.¹⁸⁷ Yet in Tanzania these activities made little if any impact on the local churches, for they were almost exclusively conducted by foreigners and those from the higher levels of church administration.

On the grassroots level, interactions with Muslim communities took place once in a while at the boundaries of the church's missionary work,¹⁸⁸ as did solitary conversions of Muslims to Adventism at the coast.¹⁸⁹ Altogether, they remained insignificant to the total thrust of denominational activity. Under these circumstances, the church obviously remained a strange element in regions where Muslims dominated.¹⁹⁰ Similar to recurring but fruitless dreams about work for Indians in East Africa,¹⁹¹ the vision of permanently preaching the gospel on

¹⁸⁵ A certain Pastor A.M. Akbar lectured in Tanzania; see TU Minutes, 23 May 1962, no. 616, NETC; and an Indonesian, Rifai Burhanu'ddin, lectured in other areas in the Division; see Reading Committee Meeting, Afro-Mideast Division, 16 November 1972, Untitled file in the Editor's Office, AHPH.

¹⁸⁶ "Islamic Conference Report," TMs, 1961, SM 55. At this conference at Nairobi, all ten participants were Europeans or Americans. This meeting and various other activities connected with Islam were organized by Spencer G. Maxwell, who had been a missionary to Tanzania in the 1920s; see EAU Minutes, 1 January 1961, no. 752, EAU.

¹⁸⁷ S.G. M[axwell], "The Religion and Teachings of Islam," TMs, n.d. [1960s], SM 71. This manuscript contains interesting articles on the Sabbath in the Koran as well as general materials about Islam. Articles about Islam were regularly published in the Division's ministerial magazine, *Ministerial Association Exchange*, e.g., W.H.M. McGhee, "Afya Zetu na Kiasi Zinavyokaribia Mwislamu" [Original: "Our Health and Temperance Approach to the Muslim"], MAE 6, no. 4 (1962): 17–23; Rifai Burhanu'ddin, "Nilimpata Kristo Katika Kurani" [= "I Got Christ in the Koran"], MAE 5, no. 6 (1961): 10–13, SM 71.

¹⁸⁸ E.g., around South Pare where Muslims lived; see Petro Kidesi—Mwl. Yonaha L[usingu], 28 October 1947, SM 16; Reuben Shazia—Bwana Mchungaji, SDA Mission Suji, and Bwana Abdalah Mhemed, Mashine Dukani, 5 March 1947, SM 16.

¹⁸⁹ At Tanga, for instance, a few Muslims turned Adventists in the 1960s and 1970s; see [Y. Lusingu]—C.T.J. Hyde, 30 May 1962, SM 50; *Uhui wa Kanisa*, no. 3 (January 1971): 10, SM 50.

¹⁹⁰ By 1974, 15 of the 33 districts that the church leadership had targeted in the quinquennium before, had remained without Adventist presence, most of them being predominantly Muslim communities. See S.D. Otieno, "Taarifa ya Kumaliza Kazi ya Maendeleo ya Kuingia Katika Wilaya Zilizobaki—1973–1974," 2–3, Loose Items, MC.

¹⁹¹ The East African Union voted in 1959 to invest in Gujarati Bibles and felt "giving study to the possibility of securing a full time worker" for Asians in East Africa was necessary. However, as in a Tanzania Union action to "give study" to hire an

Zanzibar remained in the preparatory stage until the mid-1980s. Several attempts to establish an Adventist presence there had been made since the 1950s,¹⁹² but a small congregation did not come into existence until the late 1980s. Even then, it was composed almost exclusively of persons with an Adventist or Christian background.¹⁹³ The Christian remnant paradigm worked quite well; Adventists constituted a minority among a minority, but for Islam, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, as other Christian denominations, represented a cult, a faith too far removed from their concerns. Adventism on Zanzibar, as in other Islamic regions, remained tiny and did not succeed in overcoming the social and theological distance between adherents of two world religions.¹⁹⁴

A comparable challenge for Adventist missionary work and the denomination's missiology were those areas where African Traditional Religions had remained dominant until after independence. Similar to Muslim communities, they constituted an invitation for Adventists to engage afresh in missionary activity that aimed beyond the Christian remnant pattern. The Trans-Africa Division president, Robert H. Pierson, expressed this challenge in 1966 with a poem that exhibits the Adventist missionary pathos of the period:

Indian evangelists, this plan did not have any tangible result; see EAU Minutes, 20 February 1959, no. 20, EAU; TU Minutes, 8 January 1969, no. 540, ETC. Indian converts to Adventism have always remained very few in Tanzania. Two individuals are mentioned in [Y. Lusingu]—C.T.J. Hyde, 25 April 1962, SM 50; and “Taarifa ya Sauti ya Unabii—Huduma za Wakanisa,” 3, File Tanzania Union Session 1977, MC. In neighbouring Kenya, some more attempts at evangelizing Indians have been made; see Haren A. Sthalekar, “Development, Implementation, and Evaluation of an Evangelistic Approach for Gujarati Hindu Indians in Kenya,” D.Min. diss., Andrews University, 1984.

¹⁹² TU Minutes, 15 December 1963, no. 320; 4 December 1967, no. 348; 27 June 1974, no. 663; 23 November 1982, no. 245, ETC and TU; [G.H.] Mbwana, “Safari ya Unguja (Zanzibar),” [ca. 1976].

¹⁹³ Yohana Lukwaro, a literature evangelist, worked on Zanzibar from 1985 to 1989. When he began, no Adventist lived on the island, but he led ten persons to baptism; however, they were all non-Zanzibaris. Lukwaro also found a plot when some leaders in the Zanzibar government asked the denomination to build a small clinic after they had been treated at the Adventist dispensary in Dodoma. See interview Lukwaro, and “Zanzibar Update,” *Eastern Africa Division Outlook* 6, no. 4 (September–December 1989): 3.

¹⁹⁴ On Adventist approaches to Muslims in general, see Stefan Höschele, *From the End of the World to the Ends of the Earth: The Development of Adventist Missiology* (Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 2004), 35–37.

Unentered yet, that blessed land with mansions bright and fair.
 Its streets of gold, its gates of pearl are waiting for us there.
 Before the crown must come the cross—a glorious acclamation—
 Before Christ comes His Word must go to every tribe and nation.

What shall we do for Zanzibar, and Tristan's rocky islands?
 God's truth must fly from southern veld to Kenya's cooling highlands.
 The Congo's vast unentered fields must hear the Advent story
 Ovambo, and the brave Masai must know the King of glory.¹⁹⁵

There were several such regions where neither Christianity nor Islam had made a major impact. Some peoples have largely continued resisting Christian attempts of evangelization until the present, such as the Tindiga, a small group of hunter-gatherers,¹⁹⁶ and the Datooga, nomadic Nilotes,¹⁹⁷ both located near Lake Eyasi in the north of the country. Adventists made efforts to reach them with their message in the 1970s and 1990s. Among the Tindiga this did not have any tangible outcome,¹⁹⁸ but among the Datooga, a first congregation formed in the year 2001.¹⁹⁹

The most prominent Traditionalist group in Tanzania during the post-independence era were the Maasai.²⁰⁰ Since missionary ventures among them went along with relatively much publicity, they will serve as an example for projects among Traditionalists in that period. Because of their relatively large number²⁰¹ and proximity to early Adventist

¹⁹⁵ Robert H. Pierson, "Unentered Yet," TADO 64, no. 6 (15 June 1966): 3.

¹⁹⁶ On the Tindiga, see Ludwig Kohl-Larsen, *Wildbeuter in Ostafrika: Die Tindiga, ein Jäger- und Sammlervolk*, Berlin: Reimer, 1958; and Martin Porr, *Hadzapi, Hadza, Hatza, Hadzabe, Wahadzabe, Wakindiga, WaTindiga, Tindiga, Kindiga, Hadzapi?: Eine Wildbeuter-Kultur in Ostafrika* (Tübingen: Mo-Vince-Verlag, 1997). Estimations of the number of Tindiga vary between a few hundred and 5,000.

¹⁹⁷ On the major subgroup of the Datooga, see George J. Klima, *The Barabaig: East African Cattle Herders* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

¹⁹⁸ M.E. Lind, "An Odyssey into Tanzania," AMDI 2, no. 11 (November 1972): 4–5; L.C. Robinson, "Tanzania Union," AMDI 3, no. 12 (December 1973): 11; "Entering New Area in Tanzania: The First Contact with the Watindigas [*sic*]," AMDI 4, no. 12 (December 1974): 5–6.

¹⁹⁹ This congregation arose through the service of a young Datooga woman, Mariam Samo. She is among the most educated women among the 200,000 Datooga since she studied theology.

²⁰⁰ They are not the largest Traditionalist community; the Sukuma with their several million adherents of Traditional Religion are by far the most numerous representatives of the old way of life in Tanzania. However, the Maasai resisted Christianity as a whole for a much longer time and are well-known because of their involvement in the tourism business.

²⁰¹ There are more than 500,000 Maasai in Tanzania today as well as 500,000 more in Kenya. The Maasai are therefore the largest Nilotic people in Tanzania.

missions, church leaders felt the need to take the gospel to them from the very outset.²⁰² However, first regular attempts at reaching out to the Maasai were made only in 1937–1939 on the initiative of Pare Adventists and missionary Wilhelm Ludwig. Two Maasai joined the hearers' class temporarily, medical services and visitation helped break down prejudice, but no baptism resulted from these beginnings.²⁰³ In neighbouring Kenya, the first instances of Maasai becoming Adventists were reported in 1936 and 1948;²⁰⁴ regular outreach to them by Kisii Adventists took place in the 1950s, but on the Tanzanian side there were but sporadic attempts during the same period.²⁰⁵

Only in 1964 did work for the Maasai become a concern that brought forth stable and official activities originating from the congregations among the Pare. Under the leadership of John Aza Kisaka, then the director of the North East Tanzania Field youth department, twenty young men were sent to Maasai communities at five different locations.²⁰⁶ During the following years, lay evangelists were permanently stationed at Mbuyuni, Mnazi, and Terite.²⁰⁷ In spite of the initial enthusiasm, these were years of sacrifice, and it took six years until the first group of three women could be baptized.²⁰⁸ In 1970, the church established regular medical services to Terite and Mbuyuni, which, however, were terminated in 1974 for lack of funds.²⁰⁹

²⁰² They are mentioned in two early articles as living in the area around the second Adventist mission station in the country; see [E. Kotz.] "Der Islam in Afrika," ZW 11, no. 19 (1 October 1906): 329; and "Kihuiro" [*sic*], ZW 13, no. 9 (4 May 1907): 165.

²⁰³ W. Ludwig—A. Sprogis, 23 August 1937, SM 33; *Central European Division Section II Bulletin* 1, no. 8 (Nov. 1938): 10, SM 10; W. Ludwig, "Aus dem Leben eines Missionars," HW 56, no. 7 (1939): 107–108.

²⁰⁴ In 1936, Daniel Batura was baptized, and in 1948, three more individuals joined Adventism; see Nyaundi, *Seventh-Day Adventism in Gusii*, 219; C.J. Hyde, "The Mission Fields of Kisii: The Masai Tribe," SADO 46, no. 6 (1 April 1948): 2–3.

²⁰⁵ D. [Harcombe]—B.L. Ellingworth, 21 October 1956, SM 46; Yohana Lusingu, "Home Missionary Report," *Habari za Mission* 2, no. 4 (October 1958): 4–5, SM 47.

²⁰⁶ K.N. Elisa, "Missionary Youth," TADO 62, no. 11 (15 November 1964): 4; NETF Minutes, 6 July 1964, no. 25, NETC.

²⁰⁷ "Baraza la Injili Masaini," Suji, 3 April 1966, SM 50. The persons stationed in the different areas varied; they included John Nyari at Mnazi, Mkazeni Petro and Stefano Juma at Mbuyuni and Terite, John Mndima at Terite, and Elinihaki Stefano at Ngaruka; see NETF Minutes, 12 May 1966, no. 15; 10 January 1968, no. 114; and 21 September 1969, no. 77, NETC.

²⁰⁸ On the first baptism, see J.A. Kisaka, "The Historic Masai Baptism: An Event of Great Significance," TADO 68, no. 6 (15 June 1970): 5–6. The women were called Esther, Lea, and Upendo.

²⁰⁹ TU Minutes, 5 April 1971, no. 1203, ETC; NETF Minutes, 5 November 1970, no. 192; 23 March 1972, no. 45; 25–28 January 1974, no. 182/77/74; and 11 September 1974, no. 256/108/74, NETC.

From 1975 onward, reports on the Maasai work are fewer in the church publications. What is outstanding in this period are the recurring financial appeals related to the Maasai project made by Field leaders to Tanzania Union.²¹⁰ Apparently the zeal had cooled down after ten years in view of the continuous financial demands of the project, the few baptisms, and the obvious cultural and communication difficulties. Other conversions followed, but growth was slower than expectations had been. In 1982, the total number of Maasai Adventists had increased to 126, many of them at places that had not been targeted by the evangelists of the official missionary programme.²¹¹

The 1980s and 1990s presented another picture again. The Maasai areas near Pare which had been targeted initially did not produce stable Adventist congregations. Yet Mathayo Njake, the first Maasai pastor in the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church, established a significant Adventist community at Kwedihalawe near Mombo. Njake had been the first Maasai to join the denomination at evangelistic meetings in Arusha in 1967. After ministerial training at Ikizu in 1972–1973, he served as a lay evangelist from 1974 onward and as a district pastor at Hedaru from 1976 to 1984. While working at Hedaru, he engaged in evangelism among his people in the adjacent steppe and was supported by Ron Spear, a former missionary to Tanzania who had also built a dispensary for the Maasai in the area.²¹²

In 1984, Njake was moved to Mombo, closer to Kwedihalawe, with the explicit purpose of working more efficiently among the Maasai. This he did, and stable growth continued until the Maasai membership in the area reached six hundred in the year 2000.²¹³ At the same time, small congregations sprung up at about ten other places in the vast Maasai region. Some developed in connection with neighbouring town

²¹⁰ NETF Minutes, 2 May 1977 (“Mahitaji muhimu kwa kazi ya Masaini,” unnumbered); 26 September 1977, no. 44; 6 March 1978, no. 124; and 8 January 1979, no. 175, NETC.

²¹¹ G. Elienzeza, “Taarifa ya Mwenyekiti wa Kanda ya Kaskazini Mashariki ya Tanzania” [NETF President Report], Tanzania Union Constituency Meeting, 1982, SM 81.

²¹² Spear raised support for a Land Rover for Njake and supported his travel among the Maasai; see “Taarifa ya Huduma ya Wakanisa na Sauti ya Unabii,” 1972 TU Session, 2, Loose Items, MC.

²¹³ *SDA Church: 75 Years in North East Tanzania*, 31–32; Yohana Lusingu, “Masai Project on Wheels,” *Eastern Africa Division Outlook* 2, no. 4 (July–August 1985): 11; and interview Lekundayo. By way of comparison, Maasai Adventists in Kenya reached a number of about 4,000 in the year 2000.

churches that sponsored activities in the rural areas around,²¹⁴ others through individuals' efforts, and again others in the little towns amidst the Maasai through migration of Adventists from other areas.²¹⁵

On an overall scale, Adventists remained a tiny minority among the Tanzanian Maasai as much as the Maasai remained a very minor group among Tanzanian Adventists. In the light of this situation, Njake's success can be called tremendous, especially when compared to the meagre accomplishments of the 1960s and 1970s. In spite of the dedication of the Pare missionaries in that period, hardly any effect remained of all their work. This disparity was caused by several factors:

1. Obviously, the impact that Pare missionaries were able to make was limited by their lack of knowledge of the Maa language, different from Njake, who was a Maasai himself.
2. The cultural, social, and religious barriers and misunderstandings between Pare Adventists and Maasai Traditionalists were many and difficult to overcome.²¹⁶ The Pare generally continued fearing the Maasai while despising them for their "backwardness," and the Maasai also often despised the Pare.
3. That the Field and Union leadership did not properly sustain the project when it had existed for a mere ten years and had not yet produced stable congregations meant that sooner or later the small groups of believers would disintegrate.²¹⁷
4. The 1960s and 1970s were not as auspicious for Christian mission among the Maasai as the 1980s and 1990s because the Maasai had not been much exposed to the larger world yet. Thus, Njake's ministry coincided with a major phase of change among the Maasai.

²¹⁴ Around Arusha, where many Maasai live, serious attempts to reach out to them started only in the late 1980s when evangelistic meetings were held at Kisongo, Olasiti, and Makuyuni; see interview Isaac Kirangi, Arusha, 18 May 2000.

²¹⁵ Several churches formed around Arusha town, one near Tanga, one near Morogoro, and some in the steppe.

²¹⁶ A striking example is that early Pare missionaries thought the Maasai worship ancestors (a practice that is foreign to the Maasai) and the sky; see J.A. Kisaka, "The Masai of Tanzania," TADO 66, no. 11 (15 November 1965): 4.

²¹⁷ It should be noted that Lutherans used their advantage of considerable input from outside sources to enhance their work among the Maasai, see, e.g., Christel Kiel, *Christians in Máasailand: The History of Mission among the Máasai in the ELCT-North Eastern Diocese* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1997). Conversely, among Adventists, the missionary work among the Maasai depended mainly on the national church.

5. The European and Pare missionaries apparently did not focus on religious and cultural issues in their work among the Maasai but on items of secondary importance: medical services, cleanliness, and gifts of clothes and food.²¹⁸ As important as these were in establishing initial contact, they did not necessarily challenge Maasai to consider Christianity as an option. It seems that the central missiological question, the inculturation of the Christian message, was hardly ever posed by the Pare missionaries.
6. As a Maasai elder, Njake became the model of a new Maasai generation, a man admired for his connection to the outside world and loved for granting people little favours such as free rides on his Land Rover and assistance with simple drugs.
7. Njake had a virtual monopoly of interpreting the Adventist faith to the people of Kwedihalawe. In doing so, he avoided conflicts with his flock through his wisdom of focusing on essentials.
8. He generally adapted peculiar aspects of Adventism in a suitable way. Surprisingly, he was strict in the rejection of adornment and thus appeared to be trustworthy to his non-Maasai Adventist pastoral colleagues.²¹⁹ Yet he did not lay emphasis on items that constituted more serious stumbling blocks among the Maasai such as traditional Tanzanian Adventist rejection of the choking of animals to death²²⁰ and of female circumcision.²²¹ Under his leadership, some elements of Adventism came to integrate well with traditional Maasai life, such as the annual camp meeting that transformed to a Maasai *osirua* (feast) which enjoyed considerable popularity in the region.

²¹⁸ Loveness Kisaka, “‘Dorkasi...Alikuwa Amejaa Matendo Mema,’” *Uhai wa Kanisa*, no. 3 (January 1971): 11, SM 50; *News Notes—Tanzania Union*, April 1965, File Ministerial Exchange 1963–1974, MC.

²¹⁹ On the adornment issue, see 7.4. Pare Adventists were usually strict in the rejection of adornment for believers, even among the Maasai. An example for this attitude is found in “MV and Education Report,” [NETF], [1969], 2, SM 71, where it is reported that an old Maasai who was in the baptismal class attended camp meeting “dressing just as we do, all the jewellery removed.”

²²⁰ This practice is mentioned as a problem in the context of evangelism among the Maasai by J.A. Kisaka, “The Masai of Tanzania,” TADO 66, no. 11 (15 November 1965): 4.

²²¹ It is interesting to note that this question apparently did not cause much friction among Maasai Adventists at all. Even in Arusha town where a few Adventist Maasai were members, female circumcision was not a controversial issue. Ololep Noah, one of the early Maasai Adventists in Arusha, maintains that this practice was usually abandoned by Maasai Adventists; see interview Ololep Meshuko Noah, Arusha, 16 May 2000. On Adventist attitudes to female circumcision in earlier periods, see 7.2.

9. Njake silently tolerated polygamy among his members against the policy of the worldwide denomination.²²² This was a rather risky thing to do, for it could have resulted in his expulsion from the pastoral ministry. Yet he instinctively knew that this move was of central importance. The Pare evangelists had produced temporary churches of women²²³ which remained without much influence on the decision-makers in society, i.e., the elders.²²⁴ Njake, in contrast, was able to attract a large body of respectable males to Adventist Christianity, which led to a stronger influence on the non-Christian population. In doing so, he paralleled the trend among the Lutherans who worked among the Maasai and whose tremendous growth was enhanced by this lenient stand.²²⁵

The overall growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church among the Maasai of Tanzania may be considered a miniature version of the major forms of the denomination's development in the country at large. As in the overall picture of Tanzanian Adventism, four outcomes of operations among the Maasai can be differentiated: (1) As an analogy to the areas where Islam dominates and to a few other regions, Adventism was almost completely rejected by some Maasai communities as a *foreign cult*. (2) Similar to urban Adventist churches, migrants made some congregations in the Maasai area to be of a mixed or predominantly *diaspora type*. (3) As in other areas where other denominations arrived earlier or had come to dominate, Adventists usually remained a tiny community, a *numerical remnant*, in areas of a similar nature among the Maasai. (4) In the Kwedihalawe area, a *small Adventist folk church* developed in which central tenets of the Adventist faith and typical aspect of Maasai culture were synthesized by the people and their local leader.

²²² On Adventism and polygamy, see 7.3.

²²³ Most of the first ten catechumens were women; see J.A. Kisaka, "The Masai of Tanzania," TADO 66, no. 11 (15 November 1965): 4. This trend continues until the present.

²²⁴ Stark and Bainbridge argue that overrecruitment of females may indicate that a movement is not successful as it enjoys a low status, for in most societies, women have a lower rank than men. See Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, 416.

²²⁵ On the growth of the Lutheran Church among the Maasai, see Kiel, *Christen in der Steppe*; Leonard A. Mtaita, *The Wandering Shepherds and the Good Shepherd: Contextualization as the Way of Doing Mission with the Maasai in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania—Pare Diocese* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1998); and Joseph Wilson Parsalaw, *A History of the Lutheran Church, Diocese in the Arusha Region from 1904 to 1958* (Erlangen: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 1999). On the polygamy issue, see especially Mtaita, *The Wandering Shepherds*, 211–230.

The second half of the twentieth century was a period when Adventist folk churches attempted to give birth to new Adventist remnants all over the country. In some areas, notably those with a Christian background, this is what actually developed. In others, however, especially in the large towns, diasporas often came into existence which were mainly fed by migration from the areas of Adventist dominance. The combination of apocalyptic persuasions and the denomination's remnant ecclesiology made it rather difficult for Adventists to make serious attempts at reaching those outside the Christian sphere such as the Muslims and the adherents of African Traditional Religions. Yet where the attempt succeeded as it did in one Maasai community, a folk church was once more the result. Like the emergence of Adventist folk churches in other areas of the country, this shows that the remnant and folk church paradigms could co-exist in the same denomination. They were aspects of a complementary relationship that characterized Tanzanian Adventism as much as Christianity as a whole.

CONCLUSION

Seventh-day Adventism in Tanzania experienced several phases in its history which were characterized by different patterns of growth and a gradual spread to most regions of the country. Its adherents held a variety of positions on issues they inherited from their forebears and problems that they encountered on their way. This study has shown that these phases and positions can be understood as dynamics resulting from two major dimensions in this denomination's identity which have been called "remnant" and "folk church."

Patterns associated with the remnant dimension were visible in several aspects of the denomination's history. The historical background of Seventh-day Adventism in the Millerite Movement with its apocalyptic outlook and the traditional Adventist ecclesiology made a minority movement with sectarian characteristics the plausible identity for its members. As one might expect, many of the remnant characteristics of American and European Seventh-day Adventism were exported to Tanzania, notably in the realms of theology, ethics, and mission. As far as theology is concerned, three typical fields of Adventist concern were prominent in the history of Tanzanian Adventists: eschatology, the Sabbath, and ecclesiology. By emphasizing Adventist distinctiveness, these three themes served as markers of the uniqueness of the "Remnant Church." The account of the denomination's strictness in ethical and lifestyle matters in Tanzania indicates similar dynamics of peculiarism. Furthermore, continuous attempts at expansion and the opening of church activities in new areas demonstrate the missionary dimension of a remnant that aimed at proclaiming the "last warning message" to the world.

At the same time, folk church characteristics developed alongside the traditional Adventist ecclesiological concept. From the outset, Adventist missionaries laid far-reaching plans which implied the ultimate aim of establishing dominant churches. This aim was also reflected in the missionary methods that they chose and in the acceptance of comity agreements with other denominations. Since a folk church identity was not rooted in Adventist theological persuasions, it was no longer advocated by many church leaders in the post-World War I period and did not play a role in official strategizing any more. Still, Adventist

majorities developed through dynamics inherent in African societies; two to three generations were sufficient for such churches to grow in several areas. That Adventists did not actively rule out this possibility was enough for the phenomenon to arise.

How did the remnant and folk church patterns relate? Several tendencies can be observed. One is *differentiation*: depending on the society that Adventism met and the actual missionary approach that was chosen, some of the attempts at planting the denomination in new areas failed while others had permanent results. Muslims hardly responded to Adventist evangelism, and among Traditionalists and Christians the outcome varied considerably. Thus, Adventism remained an insignificant cult, i.e., a foreign religion, in some regions and developed into a numerical and cultural remnant in others. Yet in a few areas where little competition with other Christians existed, the denomination grew into a folk church.

In some respects, the interaction of remnant and folk church dimensions could also result in a *merger*. Already in Europe, from where the first generations of missionaries had come, these two patterns had not been strictly exclusive options. This first generation of Adventist missionaries came to Africa from the environment of a slightly contextualized Adventism, which consisted of a blend of the Adventist remnant identity and the denomination's emphasis on its continuity with Protestant Christianity. This twofold character had provided a double impetus for German Adventists to engage in missionary work among non-Christians in Tanzania, the major German colony. A combination of remnant and folk church elements also took place in the Africanization of Adventist church life. In the Sabbath celebration and the camp meeting, central Adventist concerns merged with African needs. In evangelism, catechesis, and church discipline, an adaptation to Tanzanian conditions took effect while traditional Adventist rigidity was upheld in crucial matters. The emerging roles of women and African leaders show a similar balance, in this case between inherited Adventist patterns and indigenous interests in the distribution of power in the church.

In the sphere of theology, where Adventist distinctives played a major role, popularizations of Adventist thinking took place which also reflect the merger of remnant and folk church aspects, as does the influence of Adventist theology on religious change outside the denomination. That central aspects of general Protestant teaching were upheld among

Tanzanian Adventists made it acceptable as a “church like others” among Africans. Yet within the boundaries of the Seventh-day Adventist organization, the church’s emphasis on eschatology and the Sabbath made it easy for apocalypticism and some degree of legalism to flourish, which provided a persistent potential for renewing the remnant dimension in a denominationalizing body. Renewal was also a mechanism outside the official Adventist realm, where popular movements provided religious alternatives. African Instituted Churches at Lake Victoria were more inculturated and profited from a perceived lack of folk church features in Adventism. The SDA Reform Movement took the opposite direction; it was stricter and benefited from a supposed lack of remnant characteristics in the growing crowds of Tanzanian Adventists. These popularizations show how remnant and folk church dimension could partly fuse, but they also reveal that tensions remained inside the denomination, which would lead to differentiations both inside Adventism and in its surroundings.

While church life and theology as the inside of Tanzanian Adventism displayed a merger of remnant and folk church characteristics, the denomination’s relationship with its environment indicated a *middle ground* between distance and nearness. At first sight, the many conflicts that Adventism produced in its dealings with cultural practices may be interpreted as a high tension which implies a strong remnant orientation. Yet the analysis of the denomination’s dealing with traditional initiation practices, polygamy, and *mahari* has brought to light a significant cleavage between theory and practice. All these three traditional African customs were officially rejected for most of the time. Yet in reality they were often tolerated, even if the degree and the manner of tolerance varied greatly. The debates about lifestyle issues at the periphery of the denomination’s ethical demands on its members likewise implied the concern for strictness derived from the remnant paradigm. Nevertheless, strictness was not only an Adventist concern; it also served as an element of continuity with tradition in the context of a seemingly Westernizing denomination. At the same time, the ultimate triumph of lenient positions in some matters shows the folk church dimension inherent in Adventism.

A middle position was also visible in the political realm, where both tensions and co-operation with the government were common. Both types of relationships could result from either of the denomination’s faces, the remnant identity and the folk church reality, depending

on the issue at stake. Often the leaders of the “Remnant Church” wished to maintain its traditional distance to the authorities, but in some instances, they tried to please them in order to be guaranteed the religious freedom so needed by a minority group. Sometimes an emerging Adventist folk church was ready to compromise, yet in other cases Adventist communities engaged in more or less open confrontation with the state. Thus, by and large Tanzanian Adventists occupied a middle ground between accommodation to government demands and a radical stand. This “medium tension” with society could slightly increase and decrease, depending on whether issues were perceived to be of vital concern to church identity or not.

Although the thematic parts in this study have shown some combination of remnant and folk church elements, the *differences* should not be overlooked. Little open conflict was experienced in the realm of church life. Church life naturally tended to represent more of a remnant orientation and therefore generally produced little tangible tension with the Adventist ideal. Tanzanians who joined Adventism made the movement theirs by modifying it but hardly created serious frictions inside this well-defined body. The realm of culture appears to be an antithesis: the tension between Adventists and the small-scale societies in which the denomination grew was rather high in most cases and for a considerable period. In the relationship with local cultures, the remnant paradigm produced strong frictions because the full force of the Adventist impact and foreignness was felt in this encounter.

At the same time, the very growth of the church would change the impact of the remnant and folk church dimension in both church life and the realm of culture. The more Adventism became well-established, the less its church life would correspond to its remnant ideals; its identity, therefore, changed from the inside to some extent. The theological remnant self-image was retained by constructing a careful if unconscious dialectic of several rigid ethical and doctrinal positions on the one hand and pragmatism at the periphery of Adventist traditions on the other. Moreover, the more Adventism became influential in a given area, the less conflict with the environment would be felt. Thus, the overall trend can be described as a *tendency towards an equilibrium*.

This tendency of a remnant centre and folk church elements in the periphery is also visible in the Tanzanian Adventist relationship with the authorities. From the outset, it was neither hostile nor close in principle. Different from the Adventist attitude in cultural matters, it started from an intermediate position. This position implied a creative

tension that produced a variety of political attitudes in different phases of history. Tanzanian Adventist theology likewise found itself in a middle position; it was poised between the Adventist and the Protestant poles, which both faced African theological concerns. This produced another creative tension that resulted in popular versions of Adventist theology and influenced a number of religious movements in the Adventist environment. The Adventist equilibrium always carried with it the *potential for differentiation*.

Naturally, these dynamics of differentiation, merger, and the middle ground position were steered by Africans who reorganized the Adventist heritage according to their needs. Their role in spreading the Adventist message was obviously crucial, but the way in which they appropriated Adventism and made it relevant for their context, hidden as this was at times behind missionary operations, must be duly emphasized as well. In rejecting or welcoming Adventist Christianity, Africans were the main decision makers in the expansion of Adventism, and in reconciling the concerns of the emerging church with their own, they were the main agents of change. In the construction of a Tanzanian Adventist identity, they used options of both continuity and change in order to develop a religious movement that would fit their needs. In this process of *spontaneous contextualization*, traditional Adventist elements often represented the remnant pole and African concerns the folk church pole. Still, some remnant elements such as strictness and strong group boundaries corresponded to African tradition as well.

Since this study has dealt with Adventism as it developed in the nation of Tanzania and was written from the perspective of church history, a number of issues that deserve closer scrutiny have been outside the centre of attention. They have to be investigated in their own right. Two of them concern Adventism at large, and two deal with general phenomena in church history. (1) The history of Adventism in other African nations and in regions of the world which resemble Africa in some respects may reveal interesting parallels, especially regarding the nature of Adventist folk churches.¹ (2) The themes explored in chapters 6 to 9, Adventism and culture, the denomination's relation to governments,

¹ A short attempt in this line is Nehemiah M. Nyaundi, "Kenyan Seventh-Day Adventism in the Light of the Church-Sect Theory," *Africa Journal of Theology* 19, no. 2 (1990): 112–123.

its church life, and its theology, have hardly been investigated in the non-Western context.² (3) The failure of Christian mission, especially of bodies that represent a “strict type,” warrants further analysis. (4) A comprehensive typology of folk churches is needed to elucidate the different dynamics that have led to their emergence and the way they relate to the societies to which they belong.

The history of the Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventist Church is intriguing in that it exemplifies the intrinsic double character of Adventism. In Tanzania, “remnant” assumed a threefold meaning: (1) it was the dominating theological concept of this denomination with regard to church identity, (2) it was reflected in some of the sociological structures with which it operated, and (3) it could be substantiated empirically in several phases and regions where it existed. The folk church dimension appeared with a different accent: (1) it became an empirical phenomenon in some regions, (2) the denomination’s ambition to grow numerically produced a body that included some traits of the sociological folk church model, (3) yet this growth was not reflected theologically in the framework of a folk church ecclesiology. Thus, the Adventist remnant ecclesiology was upheld in theory but a folk church reality developed alongside it and determined a significant part of church operations even if Adventist theological thinking did not mirror this change.

In the light of the denomination’s double identity, one might wish to label Tanzanian Adventism with terms that describe the integration of folk church and remnant characteristics—“folk sect”³ or “folk church sect.”⁴ Yet using both of the two terms, “remnant” *and* “folk church,”

² Ronald Lawson plans to publish a major sociological study of world-wide Adventism that will deal with some of these issues, particularly the denomination’s relationship with governments. George Knight is working on a book with the working title “Becoming Peculiar: Studies in the Development of Seventh-Day Adventist Lifestyle,” which will be the first such history to be written; see George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2001), 10.

³ In the 1970s, Adventists were often considered a “folk sect” in much of the Caribbean by other Christians due to their doctrinal distinctives combined with a relatively large number of adherents; see Gerloff, *A Plea for British Black Theologies*, 292.

⁴ Johannes Hoekendijk uses this term (“volkskerkelijke Sekte” in the German translation of his book written originally in Dutch) in a different way, yet it expresses part of the Adventist development as well. Hoekendijk uses it to criticize the *Volkskirche* model in missiology which, according to him, reduces the universal nature of the church to a tribal association; see his *Kirche und Volk in der deutschen Missionswissenschaft* (München: Kaiser, 1967), 275.

in their own right is preferable because they imply a continuum of diverse identities in their midst.⁵ Tanzanian Adventist churches did not pass through a one-way street that led from a remnant to a folk church picture. Such a development might have been anticipated, but contrary to common assumptions, it is not inevitable.⁶ Rather, the denomination represented seemingly contradictory tendencies⁷ and, at times, back-and-forth movements,⁸ which related to the different aspects of its identity: strictness and lenience, their increase in some areas and decrease in others, tension with society in some regions and tension inside the church in others, similarity to and disassociation from other Protestants, and sophistication and simplification. With such dynamics, there was space for quite some diversity inside Tanzanian Seventh-day Adventism. Therefore, depending on the perspective, this movement may be viewed as a sectarian body, a church like others, a social reform movement, an ideology imposed from outside, a product of a peculiar syncretism, an essentially African movement, a parallel to the “new churches” which

⁵ A study that examines the identity of Adventist youth in the Western sphere comes to a similar conclusion. It observes that they take an intermediate position “between fundamentalism and postmodernity”; see Thomas R. Steininger, *Konfession und Sozialisation: Adventistische Identität zwischen Fundamentalismus und Postmoderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

⁶ Since the publication of H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), it has become a commonplace theory that sects become denominations and, finally, established, traditional churches, see *ibid.*, 22. Yet this assumption has never been substantiated as a universally valid model. Stark and Bainbridge, in *The Future of Religion*, 166, concur that this is true for some sects but not for all. Furthermore, they emphasize that the majority of sects may never become churches. They assert that initial tension is the decisive factor in the development of sects; Jehovah’s Witnesses, for instance, have very high or extreme tension with the environment and will usually not abandon it. Likewise, the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement will probably never become an (established) church because its initial tension was extremely high. See also *ibid.*, 137, where Stark and Bainbridge report that only 4% of the 409 groups that they examined substantially reduced their tension with the environment. A modest reduction was found for 10%, and close to 2% increased in tension.

⁷ In discussing Adventism in Germany, Daniel Heinz found a similar dichotomy, which he summarizes with the expressions “exclusivism” and “contextualization”; see Daniel Heinz, “Exklusivität und Kontextualisierung: Geschichte und Selbstverständnis der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Deutschland,” *Freikirchenforschung* 10 (2001): 31–50.

⁸ For a similar phenomenon among English Quakers, see Elizabeth Isichei, “From Sect to Denomination in English Quakerism,” *British Journal of Sociology* 15, no. 3 (1964): 207–222. According to Isichei, Quakers alternated between sectarian and denominational (i.e., church-like) orientations because of external circumstances; she therefore contends that a development into a denomination is not automatic.

are so successful in present-day Africa,⁹ an intellectualist version of African Christianity, or an end-time movement. All of these interpretations are correct to some extent, and this diversity contributed to the denomination's adaptation to some different societies,¹⁰ even if there were some boundaries that could not be negotiated.

The *Adventist ambiguity*¹¹ is ultimately derived from the twofold identity of the Christian Church. That the ideal and the actual always appear mixed in Christian communities was not unknown even to early Seventh-day Adventists, who expressed this observation with the contrasting Philadelphia and Laodicea concepts, both of which have been applied to their denomination.¹² Any religious movement is positioned between its vision and a real life situation. Rather than ignoring the dangers of either ecclesiastical idealism or pragmatism, the mandates that the two modes of church existence typify must both be taken seriously: the catholicity that folk churches aim at and the holiness that Christian remnants wish to realize.

A "medium tension" with the world around may fulfil these two roles most fittingly. This is apparently what Tanzanian Adventists, as some other Christian groups, try to do: persisting in maintaining equilibrium between the two paradigms. Changing as their history has been, a consistent factor in their identity has been the presence of

⁹ Paul Gifford, "Some Recent Developments in African Christianity," *African Affairs* 93, no. 373 (October 1994): 513–534.

¹⁰ This point is emphasized by Bryan R. Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 102–103. Wilson calls Adventists "an unusual sect in that they combine several distinctive features that are not normally associated," and argues that the "diversity of elements in Seventh Day Adventist teaching" such as missionary work, practical training, and health has "facilitated the movement's adaptation to changing social conditions."

¹¹ That Adventism is ambiguous is also argued by Bull and Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary*, ix. In a similar vein, R. Theobald argues that Adventists combine the mainstream of Protestant orthodoxy with a side stream; he calls this Adventism's "curious dualism." See Robin Theobald, "From Rural Populism to Practical Christianity: The Modernisation of the Seventh-Day Adventist Movement," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 60, no. 1 (1985): 119, 125. Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-Day Adventists and Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 13, likewise maintains that Adventism is "extremely difficult to categorize" with the terms sect, church, and denomination.

¹² The "Laodicea" passage of Revelation 3:14–22 was first applied to sabbatarian Adventists by Ellen White in the mid-1850s; see her *Spiritual Gifts*, vol. 2 (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1860), 214–215, 222–223. The "Laodicea" concept served as a way of criticizing the perceived slackening in spirituality while Philadelphia (Revelation 3:7–13) became an Adventist term to express an equivalent to the theological tradition of the *ecclesia invisibilis*.

both. From a theological point of view, one may want to note in this context that the name of the denomination includes references to both the memorial of creation and the eschatological hope. This is certainly not accidental. The fact that the Adventist identity is thus linked to the existing world as well as to the world to come is the theological foundation for a merger of some elements relating to the remnant paradigm and others belonging to folk churches.¹³

This double orientation corresponds to two essential aspects of Christianity: the faith in God the Creator to whom all nations belong and in God the coming Saviour who will make all things new. It should not come as a surprise that such a twofold confession and its theological consequences can even be derived from the very words in Revelation 14:6–7 which Seventh-day Adventists chose to apply to themselves from the beginning:

Then I saw another angel flying in mid-air, and he had the eternal gospel to proclaim to those who live on the earth—to every nation, tribe, language and people.

He said in a loud voice, Fear God and give him glory, because the hour of his judgement has come. Worship him who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and the springs of water.

¹³ In a similar vein, Douglas Morgan argues, “Adventism’s theology of history is a key factor in keeping the church poised between the categories of sect and denomination, reflecting characteristics of both.” See his *Adventism and the American Republic*, 210.

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Review and Herald (RH = (*Second*) (*Advent*) *Review* and (*Sabbath*) *Herald*), 1850–1977. [International SDA Magazine.]
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Lost Periodicals

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⁴ The copies that were found in SM 71 are volumes 5, no. 2 to 10, no. 5 in English with many issues missing in between. Ten numbers in volumes 5 and 6 are available Swahili as well.

⁵ A few articles were republished in Kotz, *Sklaven*, 146.

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2 Documents in Archives and Church Offices⁶*Personal Archives of the Author*⁷

Letters

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⁶ Tanzania has been under several different church administrative units with headquarters in Europe, America and Africa. Organizations that have not preserved any archival items related to Tanzania according to information that they provided by e-mail are the British Union, the Trans-European (formerly: Northern European) Division, and the successor organizations to the Southern African Division (the South African Union and the Southern Africa-India Ocean Division).

Some church offices did not yield any documents. Unfortunately, almost all documents from the pre-independence era related to the Lake Victoria area are lost. Some must have survived until the 1960s, for Ralph A. Austen, *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 140, footnote 55, refers to "SDA files" at Busegwe, where the Tanzania Union headquarters were located. Many documents were presumably destroyed when the Union headquarters were moved to Arusha in 1978, and others in the early 1990s according to Mrs Natogola Kuga, a Tanzania Union office secretary.

Archival documents are also non-existent at *South-West Tanzania Field* of Seventh-day Adventists, which was founded only in 1982 as the then West Tanzania Field. Its headquarters are located at Mbeya, at a site that had been a mission station since 1938. The mission correspondence is lost, as I found out personally at the site. Even at Masoko, the second major Adventist establishment in the area, nothing was found according to a letter from Magulilo Mwakalonge to the author, 30 November 2001. Likewise, *Heri Hospital*, which was a mission since 1946, and the *West Tanzania Field* offices in nearby Kigoma have no records are available from the pre-1990 period. All archival documents were burnt in 1997 according to an oral communication from Rugera Wanjara, Heri Hospital Chaplain, 27 January 2002. *South Nyanza Conference*, Mwanza, holds a few documents in a store. Most of the correspondence of the 1960s and 1970s seems to have been destroyed, probably during the 1993 move from Bupandagila to Mwanza. No item dating before 1965 has been found.

⁷ Items in my possession are referred to in the text without further details of location.

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 Ganz, Lothar Benno, to the author, 15 April 2003. [Missionary to Tanzania 1962–1967]
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 Jacques, Oliver, to the author, 2 May 2002. [Missionary to Tanzania in the 1940s]
 Mishael S. Muze, to the author, 5 August 2001 and 17 March 2004. [Muze was a high-ranking Adventist government official in the 1970s]
 Schmidl, Günter, to the author, 5 June 2002. [Missionary in Tanzania in the 1960s]
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Other Documents

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*East African Union*⁹

- Minutes of East African Union Mission, 1958–1960.
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*East Tanzania Conference*¹⁰

- Brochures, Courses, Leaflets, Manuscripts
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- Arusha Adventist Seminary Bulletin*. Arusha: Arusha Adventist Seminary, 1975.

⁸ At the Africa Herald Publishing House, founded in 1913, correspondence and minutes that were found date back as far as 1950. Items from the time before are lost. However, copies of books from earlier periods of Adventist publishing in East Africa have also been kept at this publishing house. They date back to the 1920s and are listed in the end of section I.

⁹ Tanzania was part of the East African Union (EAU) with headquarters at Nairobi from 1928 to 1933 and from 1942 to 1960. After a move of the headquarters to the current location in Nairobi, most records were destroyed. Thus, no pre-1961 correspondence is available, almost all minutes from the same period are lost, and no other items related to Tanzania are left.

¹⁰ Since materials were not systematically arranged, no names for files are given. Many items from the predecessor of East Tanzania Conference (ETC), Tanganyika/Tanzania General Field (TGF), were found in a store. TGF was organized in 1960 and consisted of the whole southern half of the country. Headquarters were moved from Busegwe near Lake Victoria to Morogoro in 1967, and TGF was divided into West and East Tanzania Fields in 1982. Thus, most relevant document found here are from the 1967–1982 period.

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Correspondence, Minutes and Reports
 Correspondence, 1969–1982.
 Minutes of Tanzania General Field, 1967–1976.
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 Reports from Field and Union Session, 1971–1982.

*General Conference Archives*¹¹

- Correspondence—General Conference President
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—African Division.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—Central Europe.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—Central Europe, Section II.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—European Division.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—Comity.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—Conradi, L.R.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—E. Kotz.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—German Letters.
 Correspondence—General Conference Secretariat—Northern European Division.
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 File East Africa.
 File 4468: Correspondence and Documents from Tanganyika Mission. [Mostly 1940s–1950s].
 Minutes—Central European Division.
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 Briefwechsel L.R. Conradi—H.F. Schubert, 1916–1921.
 Deutsche Ostafrika-Mission.
 Europäische Division—Protokolle, Korrespondenz.

¹¹ All correspondence quoted as GCA is from the Secretariat except where additional information is added.

¹² The *Historical Archives of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe, Friedensau (AAE)*, was founded in 1980. Its predecessor, the archives of the Adventist Church in Europe located at the Hamburg SDA publishing house, the *Advent-Verlag*, which had been

*Leipzig Mission Archives*¹³

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 2891 B 11 Mbaga 1904–1925.
 2891 B 18 Language Conference Chasu 1909.
 2891 B 20 Shigatini 1913–1933.
 2891 B 22 Wudee 1906–1915.
 A1 Leipzig Mission—Publications (Bibliography)—Publications printed in Tanzania.
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 Elimu—Kanisa. [Minutes and documents, mostly from the 1980s and 1990s].
 Field Institute and Instructions. [Correspondence, 1961–1964, literature evangelism. newsletters, 1961–1970; and workers’ meeting reports, 1974–1976].
 Field Session Mara, 1977–. [Reports presented at sessions, 1969, 1972, 1977, 1982].
 Ministerial Exchange 1963–1974. [Mainly correspondence with Union presidents].
 Minutes of the Majita-Ukerewe/Central Nyanza Field, 1969–1982.
 Minutes of the East Lake Field/East Nyanza Field, 1961–1974.
 Mkutano Mkuu wa Tano wa Kanisa la Waadventista wa Sabato Tanzania, 1982.
 “Mwanamke Kuoa Mwingine au Wakristo Kujengea Malaya Nyumbani Kwao; Tohara Haihusiani na Wokovu.” TMs, n.d. [1960s or 1970s].
 Okeyo, Elisha A. “Somo la Siku ya Kuombea Taifa la Tanzania.” TMs, n.d.
 Publishing Department.
 Reports from Field and Union Session, 1960–1982.
 Stewardship T. Union.
 Tanzania Union Session. [Mainly 1973 correspondence]

founded in 1937, burnt in July 1943 in the ravages of World War II. Thus, precious materials that concern Tanzanian Adventism have been lost or are available only partially, like minutes of the pre-World War I and the inter-war periods. Unfortunately, some boxes or part of their contents mentioned in earlier literature which contain materials related to the beginnings of Tanzanian Adventism cannot be traced any more. The lost boxes mentioned in Baldur Pfeiffer, “The Coming of the Mission to East Africa,” in *Seventh-day Adventist Contributions to East Africa, 1903–1983*, ed. Baldur Pfeiffer (Frankfurt: Lang, 1985), 36–39, are: U 1–1, W 7–2, and W 7–3.

¹³ The Leipzig Mission Archives and the Makumira University College Archives (MUCOA) hold collections of files with correspondence and other items from Leipzig missionaries, some of them in Pare. These are of interest for this study because they were immediate neighbours to Adventists.

- Tanzania Union Session, February 18–22, Held Moshi 1977.
 TASC Minutes, 1977–.
 Unnamed Files. [Correspondence and minutes, 1961–1976; 1969–1978; correspondence with Union Treasury; 1971–1978; correspondence mainly with R. Megera; 1973–1988].
 Waliofukuzwa Kazi MKC. [Mainly correspondence with the government, 1964–1975. The title is misleading, for it means “Those who have been dismissed at MKC” (Mara-Kagera Conference)].

North-East Tanzania Conference

Same Materials

- NETF Minutes, Book I: 13 February 1964–20 September 1972, joined with TU Minutes, 28 December 1960–3 March 1964.
 NETF Minutes, Book II: 1972–1976; Book III: 1977–1981.
 Suji Materials¹⁴
 SM 1: Baraza la Upare Minutes, 1946–1957.
 SM 2: Minutes of Tanganyika Mission of Seventh-day Adventists Constituency Meeting, 1958.
 SM 3: NETF Minutes, 1960–1971; 1976–1981.
 SM 4: South Pare/East Tanganyika Mission Field Minutes, 1923–1932.
 SM 5: Tanganyika Mission Field Committee, 1933–1948.
 SM 6: Tanganyika Mission Field Committee, 1949–1954.
 SM 7: Upare Committee Minutes, 1927–1949.
 SM 8: Business Correspondence, 1926–1930.
 SM 9: Business Correspondence, 1932–1939.
 SM 10: Business Letters, 1940.
 SM 11: Circular Letters to Teachers, 1938–1949.
 SM 12: Circular Letters to Workers, 1938–1951.
 SM 13: Correspondence A-N, 1942–1946.
 SM 14: Correspondence N-U, 1947–1949.
 SM 15: Correspondence O-X, 1942–1946.
 SM 16: Correspondence inside Upare and Government, 1946–1948.
 SM 17: Correspondence SDA and Government, 1942–1950.
 SM 18: Correspondence with Church Entities, 1947–1951.
 SM 19: Correspondence with Government—Education, 1955–1960.
 SM 20: Correspondence with Teachers, 1953 (I–III).
 SM 21: District Office and Other Correspondence, 1929–1937.
 SM 22: East African Union Circular Letters, 1943–1950.
 SM 23: East African Union Correspondence, 1954.
 SM 24: Government Correspondence, 1937–1939.
 SM 25: Government Correspondence, 1942–1947.
 SM 26: Justin Salimu, 1957–1958.
 SM 27: Maxwell and Bull Letters, 1921–1930.
 SM 28: Native Court Correspondence, 1937–1940.
 SM 29: Non-SDA Correspondence, 1935–1939.
 SM 30: SDA Correspondence, 1953.

¹⁴ Cited in references as SM 1, SM 2, etc., without indication of their location, which is North-East Tanzania Conference (NETC). Since I had to rearrange most of these documents, I also named many of the files that had been unnamed or without adequate description. The numbering is not part of the original file system but has been used here to simplify references.

- SM 31: Tanganyika Mission—Circular Letters, 1941–1946.
 SM 32: Utimbaru Mission, 1953–1954.
 SM 33: Various Correspondence, 1934–1937.
 SM 34: Various Correspondence, 1937–1939.
 SM 35: Various Correspondence, 1937–1940.
 SM 36: Various Correspondence, 1941–1942.
 SM 37: Various Correspondence, 1947–1949.
 SM 38: Various Correspondence, 1947–1950.
 SM 39: Various Correspondence, 1947–1952.
 SM 40: Various Correspondence, 1948–1951.
 SM 41: Various Correspondence, 1950–1951 (I–II).
 SM 42: Various Correspondence, 1951–1954.
 SM 43: Various Correspondence, 1952–1957.
 SM 44: Various Correspondence, 1953–1957.
 SM 45: Various Correspondence, 1954–1958.
 SM 46: Various Correspondence, 1954–1959 (I–IV).
 SM 47: Various Correspondence, 1954–1960 (I–II).
 SM 48: Various Correspondence, 1955–1958 (I–II).
 SM 49: Various Correspondence, 1960.
 SM 50: Various Correspondence and Other Items, 1960s and 1970s (I–V).
 SM 51: Various Correspondence mostly about land, 1926–1948.
 SM 52: Village Schools, 1952–1953.
 SM 53: Colporteurs' Reports, 1930s.
 SM 54: Desire of Ages Sections—Kipare.
 SM 55: Diverse Reports and Booklets.
 SM 56: Education—Government Circulars and Reports, 1954–1958.
 SM 57: Education Reports, 1938–1954; 1955–1957.
 SM 58: Education and Medical Reports, 1942–1948.
 SM 59: Evangelistic, Church, and School Reports, 1938–1945; Jeshi la Yesu, 1939–1940.
 SM 60: Inter-Union Literature Evangelist Institute, Ikizu, 1966.
 SM 61: Mafundisho ya Waongozi wa Shule ya Sabato.
 SM 62: Ministerial Association Exchange.
 SM 63: Monthly Reports, 1942–1943; 1948.
 SM 64: Pamphlets, Notices and Circulars—Government, 1934–1946.
 SM 65: Preaching Programmes Suji, 1942–1946.
 SM 66: Quarterly M.V. Reports, 1942–1954.
 SM 67: Quarterly Statistical Reports, 1938–1954.
 SM 68: Register of Pupils, 1930–1939.
 SM 69: Safari Reports of Pastor Yohana Makanta, 1946–1947.
 SM 70: School Inspection Reports, 1939–1946.
 SM 71: Session Reports, 1962–1977.
 SM 72: Statistical Reports, 1915, 1930–1942.
 SM 73: Tanganyika Mission Operating Statements, 1941–1945.
 SM 74: Tanganyika Mission Tithes and Offerings Reports, 1933–1945.
 SM 75: Tanganyika Reporter & East African Mission News, 1941–1948.
 SM 76: Teaching Syllabi, 1930s.
 SM 77: Time Tables—School, 1944–1947.
 SM 78: To Whom It May Concern, 1941–1950.
 SM 79: Translated Material, 1946.
 SM 80: Union Quadrennial Reports, 1951.
 SM 81: Union Session, 1982.
 SM 82: Various Reports, 1942.
 SM 83: Various Reports and Minutes, 1948–1949.
 SM 84: Village Schools, 1951–1951.
 SM 85: Miscellaneous.

Staatsarchiv Hamburg

- Politische Polizei SK 197, vol. 1 (Hamburger Verein der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten—Internationale Traktat Gesellschaft), 1891–1921.
 Politische Polizei SK 197, vol. 2 (Internationale Traktat Gesellschaft—Hamburger Siebenten-Tag-Adventisten Verein).

Tanzania Adventist Press

Correspondence and minutes related to the history of Tanzania Adventist Press.

*Tanzania National Archives*¹⁵

German Period

- G 9/42 Acta des Kaiserlichen Gouvernements von Deutsch-Ostafrika—Niederlassung der Siebenten Tag Adventisten [*sic*], 1903–1904, vol. I.
 G 9/43 Akta [*sic*] des Kaiserlichen Gouvernements von Deutsch-Ostafrika—Niederlassung der Siebenten Tag Adventisten [*sic*], 1906–1913, vol. II.
 G 9/49 Afrika Inland Mission [*sic*], 1909–1913.
 G 54/360 Landerwerb der Adventisten-Mission in Pare, 1903–1914.
 British Period: Files Dealing with Seventh-Day Adventist Work
 19/17/4B Suji Mission School—Seventh Day Adventist, 1934–1949.
 19/17/18 Suji N.A. School (Gonjanza).
 72/19/2D Education—Mission Schools—Seventh day Adventists, 1949.
 77/17/39 Mwaya Mission Site—Seventh-day Adventists. [Mbeya Regional Office correspondence, 1933–1948]
 180/L2/244 Land—Missions—SDA 1955. [Kigoma Regional Office]
 204/19/1B School zote za Lutheran, Catholic, SDA na Islam, 1943–1958. [Same District Council]
 204/20/1A Shule za Government na Missions Islam Roman Catholic Mission S.D. Adventist [*sic*], 1950–1958.*¹⁶
 215/10/2 Missions—Seventh-Day Adventist Mission—Application for schools etc. [Mwanza Regional Office]
 301/1010 Seventh Day Adventists—Village Schools—Tanga Province, 1933–1955.*
 301/EDA/856 Seventh Day Adventists—Girls School—Ikizu, 1930–1957.
 301/EDA/1067/I Seventh-day Adventists—General Correspondence, 1959–1962.
 304/651/66 Land Lushoto—Application by Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Suji for school—Site at Tambwe, Maribwi, Lushoto District, 1935–1936.
 304/651/90 Land Lushoto—Application by Seventh Day Adventist Mission for School and Dispensary Site at Malibwe [*sic*] Mlola, 1936–1950. [N.B.: the index says 304/652/90 but this is a mistake]
 304/711/3 Mission Seventh Day Adventist Church, 1926–1928.*
 436/E38 SDA Mission Correspondence. [Tarime District Office]

¹⁵ The Tanzania National Archives (TNA) contains documents from both the German and the British colonial periods. Some files are devoted to Seventh-day Adventists, and others relate to areas and issues that are of importance for their history.

¹⁶ The TNA items marked with an asterisk (*) were found in TNA indexes but have not been accessed because they could not be traced by the archives personnel at two different instances. Furthermore, among the accession numbers that deal with District or Regional Offices of areas where Seventh-day Adventists were present before the 1960s and interesting files of the Ministry/Department of Education, the following had no indexes and could thus not be taken into consideration: 35, 55, 73, 84, 163, 164, 230, 299, 304, 485, 557, 605, 606.

- 517/E1/8 Ex. Education—Seventh Day Adventist Schools, 1955–1962. [Same District Office]*
- 517/E1/39 Ikizu Secondary School, 1962–1963.*
- 517/M1/29 Medical Mamba Dispensary & SDA Dispensary.
- 523/L20/40 Application for Land at Buhoro and Karunga by Dr. Taylor of Seventh Day Adventist Mission, 1953–1963. [Kigoma Regional Office correspondence].
- 541/D1/20 Suji 1965–1967.
- 544/E1/38 Seventh-Day Adventist Primary Schools. [Tarime District Office].
- 544/M6/3 Seventh-Day Adventists. [Tarime District Office].
- 11333 Missions: SDA School: Iringa Province. [Correspondence and notes, 1927–1933].
- 12759 Maongezi Matamu. [SDA magazine started in 1928].
- 31278 Seventh-day Adventist Mission: Medical Work. [Correspondence, 1942].
- British Period: Documents from the Environment of Adventism.
- 19/6/1 Annual Reports. [Same District Office].
- 19/6/1 Vol. II Annual Reports. [Same District Office].
- 19/17/23 Education—Standards V and VI—Pare District.
- 1733/13/86 Annual Report on Mwanza District for the Year 1924 [Alternative numbering: AB 80].
- 21247 Vol. I Missionary Council for Tanganyika, 1932–1936.
- 21247 Vol. II Tanganyika Missionary Council, 1946–1952.
- 21746 Permission to be absent from Duty to attend Religious Ceremonies on days other than Gazetted Holidays, 1933. [In reality 1933–1952].
- 26273 Contribution by Upare Tribal Authorities towards the Erection of Village Schools, 1938.
- 37616 Sunday Observance, 1948. [In reality 1941–1948].
- 967.821.3 (025.173) Lake Province Annual Report, 1960.
- Musoma District Book, without accession no., n.d. [Probably 1941].
- Musoma Sub-District, without accession no., 1916–1927.
- North Mara District Book, without accession no., n.d. [Probably 1959].

*Tanzania Union*¹⁷

Tanzania Union Minutes, 1970 to the present.

3 *Interviews*¹⁸

Arusha Area

- Abihudi, Andrea Mburuja. Ngongongare, 18 May 2000 and 15 June 2003. [Retired SDA pastor]
- Abihudi, Nazihirwa [Mrs]. Ngongongare, 25 November 2000. [Wife of Andrea Abihudi]

¹⁷ No pre-independence items or documents from the 1960s and 1970s have been preserved in the Union offices except minutes. Correspondence from the 1990s and some from the 1980s, which was found in container stores, was not relevant for this study.

¹⁸ Interviews have been done by the author (Pare and those in the category “Others,” as well as some at Arusha, Lake Victoria, Dar es Salaam, and Morogoro) and three research assistants: Enos Mwakalindile (Mbeya and Sumbawanga and some at Dar es Salaam), Joseph Sorrongai (the major part of Dar es Salaam and Lake Victoria), and Rugera Wanjara (Heri Hospital, some at Morogoro, and most of the Arusha interviews). More interviews were done than the ones in this bibliography, but only those that have been referred to in the text are listed here. The notes from these interviews and, in many cases, their full transcriptions, are in the author’s possession.

- Bwenda, Adam C. Arusha, 15 May 2000. [A former Member of Parliament; SDA from Kigoma Region]
- Gara, Filipo. Daudi (Mbulu), 5 August 2002. [Retired SDA pastor]
- Kiboko, Adzere Daudi. Ngongongare, 30 April 2000. [Retired SDA pastor and long time teacher of theology]
- Kiondo, Navoneiwa Mbonea [Mrs]. Arusha, 14 May 2000. [Church member]
- Kirangi, Isaac. Arusha, 18 May 2000. [Church member]
- Kirangi, Joyce [Mrs]. Arusha, 14 May 2000. [Church member]
- Kitomari, Ndereko Ikamba. Tengeru, 28 November 2000. [The first Meru to accept the Adventist faith]
- Kuga, Natogola Eunice [Mrs]. Arusha, 16 May 2000. [Office secretary at Tanzania Union and one of the first Adventists in Arusha]
- Lebabu, Loitupuaki Ole. Ngongongare, 10 March 2002. [A Maasai SDA pastor]
- Lekundayo, Godwin. Arusha, 11 June 2002. [A Maasai SDA pastor]
- Lomay, Elias. Ngongongare, 28 September 2002. [An Iraqw SDA pastor]
- Manase, Elisante. Arusha, 10 March 2000. [Church member]
- Manase, Konje Nikombolwe. Arusha, 17 May 2000. [Church member]
- Megeza, Raphael Chacha. Arusha, 12 March 2000. [Retired SDA pastor and former Tanzania Union Treasurer]
- Mhina, Nakunda [Mrs]. Arusha, 17 May 2000. [Church member]
- Mkiramweni, Elisante. Arusha, 15 May 2000. [SDA pastor]
- Mramba, Ely. Ngongongare, 25 October 2001. [SDA theology student]
- Msangi, Julius. Usa River, 19 February 2002. [A Pare SDA pastor]
- Muganda, John. Ngongongare, 15 May 2002. [An Adventist who lives in Singida, son to the evangelist Fares Muganda]
- Mutani, William. Arusha, November 2000. [Former Secretary of Tanzania Union]
- Nasari, John. Ngongongare, 26 November 2000. [One of the first Meru to accept the Adventist faith]
- Noah, Ololep Meshuko. Arusha, 16 May 2000. [One of the first Maasai to accept the Adventist faith]
- Okeyo, Elisha Ago. Arusha, 27 November 2000 and 18 May 2003. [Retired educator and Tanzania Union Secretary]
- Sumbia, Mrs. Arusha, 14 May 2000. [Church member]

Dar es Salaam and Morogoro

- Bhokeye, Lois Lameck [Mrs]. Dar es Salaam, 30 July 2001. [Church member, among the first members in Dar es Salaam and an early literature evangelist in Dar es Salaam]
- Bomani, Paul. Dar es Salaam, 27 July 2001 [Former Tanzania government minister in various ministries and ambassador, SDA member]
- Elineema, K. Bariki. Dar es Salaam, 10 December 2000 and 22 July 2001. [SDA pastor for some years and then worked at the University of Dar es Salaam]
- Due, Bright Dickson, Matthew Malata, and Parmenas Shirima. Dar es Salaam, 11 December 2000. [Pastors of the International Missionary Society/Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement in Tanzania, at the time of the interview president, secretary, and vice president, respectively]
- Kajula, Ambonisye Wilson Kamenya. Dar es Salaam, 20 August 2000. [An early church member at Mbeya]
- Kalambile, Madege Gideon. Dar es Salaam, 21 August 2000. [The first Safwa SDA pastor]
- Kimbawala, Alphonse. Dar es Salaam, 25 July 2001. [SDA pastor]
- Kulwa, Joshua. Morogoro, 2 December 2000. [SDA pastor]
- Kuyenga, Jocktan Ng'omboli. Morogoro, 4 December 2000. [Retired SDA pastor; former East and West Tanzania Fields president and Union departmental director]
- Lisso, Zebida Nyamambara [Mrs]. Morogoro, 24 December 2000. [Wife of a retired SDA pastor and politician]

- Lukinga, Abrahamu Omari. Morogoro, 7 December 2000. [Employee of Tanzania Adventist Press and the first Luguru to become an Adventist]
- Lukwaro, Yohana. Morogoro, 3 December 2000. [Retired Literature Evangelist; the pioneer of SDA work in Morogoro]
- Mbwambo, Tumaini Enock Kilonzo. Dar es Salaam, 5 August 2001. [Among the first members of Temeke SDA Church]
- Moses, John Kivunge. Kibaha, 18 July 2001. [Retired SDA pastor and long-time worker in the Dar es Salaam area]
- Odiembo, Timothy Samuel. Morogoro, 9 August 2001. [Retired SDA pastor and first treasurer of North-East Tanzania Field]
- Onyango, Joseph Shem. Morogoro, 6 August 2001. [SDA pastor and long-time departmental director of East Tanzania Field]
- Sando, Abrahamu. Dar es Salaam, 24 July 2001. [Church Member]
- Wanjara, Elizaphan Bwirima. Morogoro, 25 December 2000. [Retired SDA pastor and Field president]

Heri Hospital Area

- Bisanda, Solomon. Heri Hospital, 5 December 2001. [An elderly church member]
- Kagize, Jacob. Heri Hospital, 1 December 2001, and 5 June 2002. [One of the first church members]
- Magogwa, Simion. Heri Hospital, 3 December 2001. [A veteran employee of the hospital]
- Maguru, Enock. Heri Hospital, 2 December 2001. [One of the first church members at Heri]
- Ntiamalumwe, Zabron. Heri Hospital, 3 December 2001, and June 2002. [An elderly church member]
- Takisivya, Elesi [Mrs]. Heri Hospital, 5 June 2002. [A long-time church member]
- Twing, Ethel [Mrs]. Heri Hospital, 30 November 2001. [A long-time missionary at the hospital]
- Uso, Misigaro Mayane. Heri Hospital, 4 December 2001. [An elderly church member]

Lake Victoria Area

- Bina, Samson Chacha Mwita. Mogabiri (Kibumaye), 11 December 2000. [Brother of Zephania Bina, a leading SDA pastor in the post-independence generation]
- Chambiri, Bhoke Werema [Mrs]. Tarime, 10 December 2000. [Wife of the first District Commissioner of Tarime who was an Adventist]
- Doto, Petro Masatu, and Samweli Kulwa. Mwamanyili, 28 August 2001. [Mr. Doto is a teacher and member of the Tanganyika Sabato Church who lives near its headquarters; Mr. Kulwa is an SDA church elder at the same small town, Mwamanyili]
- Gesase, Gesase Maiko. Tarime, 10 December 2000. [Church member]
- Kabale, Joana [Mrs]. Bupandagila, 27 August 2001. [One of the first girls to attend the girls' school at Bupandagila in the 1930s]
- Kulebela, Lucas, and Petro Mayagi. Bwasi, 26 December 2000. [Church Elders of the Tanganyika Sabato Church]
- Lima, Eliasaph. Musoma, 20 December 2000. [A retired SDA politician and mayor of Musoma]
- Lugoe, Nimrod. Musoma, 20 December 2000. [The Regional Commissioner of Mara Region and former Tanzanian ambassador, a church member]
- Machage, Immanuel Kisuka. Bisarwi, 5 December 2000. [Church member]
- Machage, Japhet Sese. Bisarwi, 5 December 2000. [Church member]
- Makorere, Samson Senso. Tarime, 13 December 2000. [Church member]
- Maradufu, Danny. Tarime, 7 December 2000. [Church member, son of an early teacher in Majita]
- Mashigan, Harun Kija. Bupandagila, 26–27 August 2001. [Retired SDA pastor and long-time South Nyanza and Mara Fields president]

- Muganda, Joshua M. Bwasi, 22 December 2000. [Brother to Fares Muganda, the Tanzania Union evangelist in the 1960s]
- Otieno, Simeon Dea. Shirati, 13 December 2000. [Retired SDA pastor and Field president; first Tanzanian to be Tanzania Union Administrative Secretary]
- Wandiba, Andrea Magori. Busegwe, 17 December 2000. [Church member, son of one of the earliest Zanaki converts]

Mbeya and Sumbawanga

- Chobaliko, Elphod Bwenda. Sumbawanga, 30 and 31 August 2000. [A medical professional working for the SDA Church]
- Elisante, Ahidi. Sumbawanga, 30 and 31 August and 2 September 2000. [One of the first SDA church members in Sumbawanga]
- Garimoshi, Amos. Ntendo, 1 September 2000. [One of the first Fipa to become an SDA]
- Josephson, Samson. Mbeya, 19 May 2000. [One of the earliest SDA believers residing in Mbeya town, an active lay member]
- Masoya, Claudio. Sumbawanga, 3 September 2000. [One of the early Fipa SDA believers]
- Masumbuko, Joshua. Sumbawanga, 31 August 2000. [One of the earliest Fipa SDA believers]
- Mwakalonge, Monica. Mbeya, 12 August 2000. [SDA believer]
- Mwambogela, Alinanine. Mbeya, 5 May, 19 May 2000 and 27 August 2000. [One of the early SDA believers at Masoko]
- Mwamogwa, Josia. Mbeya, 15–16 May 2000. [One of the early SDA believers at Masoko]
- Siwanja, Philipo. Mbeya, 27 May 2000, 6 August, and 23 August 2000. [One of the first Safwa SDA believers]

Pare

- Elieneza, Godson. Hedaru, 13 June 2002. [Retired NETC president]
- Fadhili, Elifuraha. Mamba-Giti, 19 July 1999. [Church member]
- Herieli, Salim Saburi. Makanya, 16 July 1999. [Muslim son of a formerly SDA chief of Chome]
- Kanyempwe, Chaberwa, and Reine Kanyempwe [Mrs]. Suji, 18 July 1999. [He was a cook of various missionaries since the 1930s]
- Kinduru, Raheli [Mrs]. Hedaru, 30 March 2001. [Probably 105 to 110 years old at the time of the interview. SDA since the 1940s]
- Kirekero, Esikia Wande. Bwambo, 19 July 1999. [Retired SDA pastor who was more than 100 years old at the time of interviewing]
- Lusingu, Yohana. Suji, 18 July 1999. [Retired SDA pastor; first Tanzanian to become Tanzania Union president in 1980]
- Msangi, Aron, and Naomba Msangi [Mrs]. Suji, 18 July 1999. [The son of a Pare missionary to Uganda]
- Mwanyika, William, and John Yosiah. Mamba-Myamba, 19 July 1999. [Elderly church members]
- Nzota, Redneka. Makanya, 21 July 1999. [Retired church member]
- Tuvako, Abduel. Kihurio, 20 July 1999. [Retired SDA teacher]

Others

- Fenner, Marie. Telephone interview, 4 January 1999. [Missionary, 1937–1940]
- Ganz, Lothar. Friedensau, 9 September 2003. [Missionary teacher at Ikizu Secondary School, 1961–1966]
- Kajula, Joshua. Telephone interview, 1 November 2003. [Conference and Union President]

- Kuyenga, Jocktan. Telephone interview, 19 April 2003.
 Wanjara, Elizaphan. Telephone interview, 8 April 2003.
 Wanjara, Rugera. Friedensburg, 25 August 2003. [Former pastor of Heri Hospital]

4 *Literature by and about Seventh-Day Adventists*

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- Adams, Roy. *The Sanctuary Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church*. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1981.
- Agboola, David. *The Seventh-Day Adventists in Yorubaland, 1914–1964*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1987.
- Amayo, Gershom N. "A History of the Adventist Christian Education in Kenya: Illustrated in the Light of Its Impact on the Africans' Social, Economic, Religious, and Political Development, 1906–1963." Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 1973.
- Anderson, W.H. *On the Trail of Livingstone*. Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1919.
- Andreasen, M.L. *The Sabbath: Which Day and Why?* Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1942.
- Andreasen, Niels-Erik. *Rest and Redemption: A Study of the Biblical Sabbath*. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1978.
- Andrews, John Nevins. *History of the Sabbath and the First Day of the Week*. Battle Creek: Review and Herald, 1861.
- Bacchiocchi, Samuele. *Christian Dress and Adornment*. Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1995.
- . *Divine Rest for Human Restlessness: A Theological Study of the Good News of the Sabbath for Today*. Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1986.
- . *God's Festivals in Scripture and History*. Part I: *The Spring Festivals*. Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1995.
- . *God's Festivals in Scripture and History*. Part II: *The Fall Festivals*. Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 1996.
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- . *Vatican II: Bridging the Abyss*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1968.
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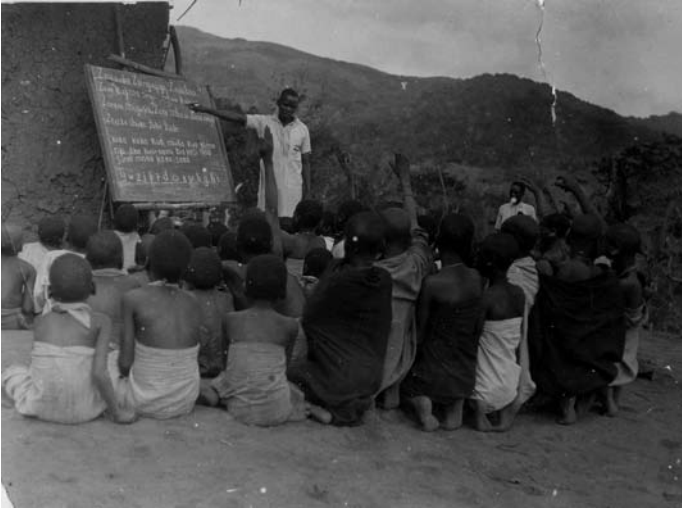


Figure 6. A Typical Out-School in Pare¹

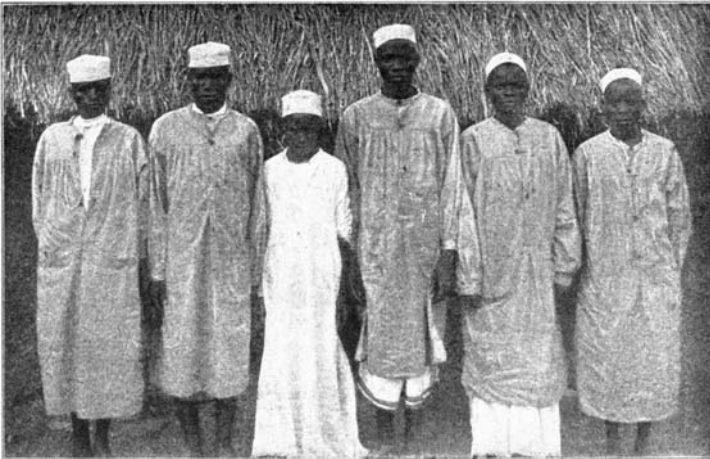


Figure 7. The First Six Pare Adventists, 1908²

¹ This photograph by Spencer Maxwell is from the early or mid-1920s. Used by permission of Stanley Maxwell, Watford.

² From Kotz, *Von Schwarzen und Weißen*, 28; also found in L.R. Conradi, "Unsere Missionare in Deutsch-Ostafrika," HW 25, no. 13 (1908): 101. Used by permission (© Advent-Verlag Hamburg/Lüneburg). From left to right: Andrea Senamwaye, Yohana Kajembe, Davidi Mazumba [Chambega], Filipo Mmbago, Lazaro Omali, Abrahamu Salimu [Seivunde].



Figure 10. German Missionaries to Tanzania before World War I⁵

⁵ This picture was taken in 1920 at Friedensau and appeared in AB 70, no. 6 (15 March 1971): 112. Used by permission (© Advent-Verlag Hamburg/Lüneburg). Those seated in the front row are not missionaries but church leaders. From left to right (last row): K. and A. Kaltenhäuser, W. and A. Seiler, H. Drangmeister, L. Aberle, M. Kunze, (middle row) P. and Mrs. Drinhaus, E. and H. Kotz, B. Ohme, R. and Mrs Lusky, W. Kölling, R. and L. Stein, (front row—church leaders): H.F. Schubert, L.R. Conradi, A.G. and Mrs Daniells; L.H. Christian, M.E. Kern (?).

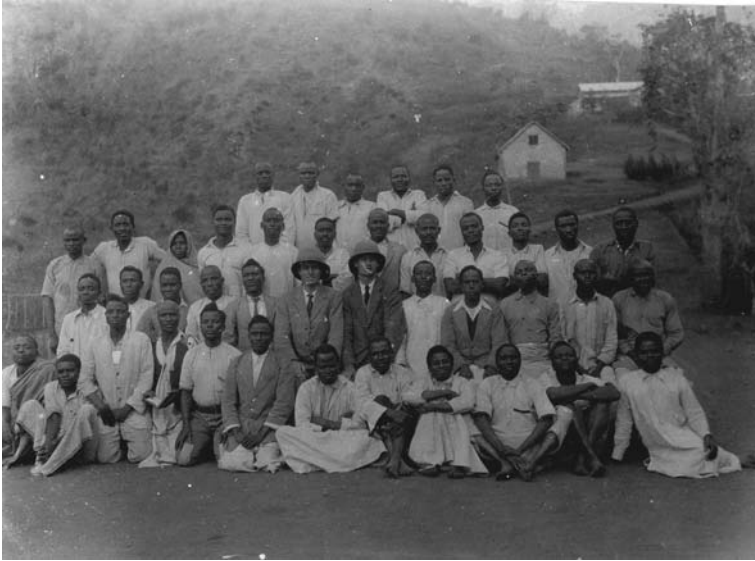


Figure 11. Pare Teachers with Missionaries Maxwell and Bull, ca. 1928⁶

⁶ Photograph by Spencer Maxwell. Used by permission of Stanley Maxwell, Watford. Among the individuals who could be identified are the following: Second last row, first from left: Abrahamu Msangi; second from left: Muze Shogholo; third from left: Damari Kangalu. Third last row, fourth from left: Paulo Saburi Kilonzo; sixth and seventh from left: missionaries S. Maxwell and A. Bull; first from right: Petro Sebughe. Front row, sixth from left: Andrea Mweta; ninth from left: Zakaria Lusingu; second from right: Nikundiwe Mauya.



Figure 12. Mamba-Myamba Church Building⁷

⁷ Photograph from AAE. Used by permission.



Figure 13. Robsons at Ntusu, ca. 1937⁸



Figure 14. Morning Chapel at the Girls' School at Ntusu, ca. 1937⁹

⁸ From the collection of Mrs Marie Fenner, Uelzen. Used by permission.

⁹ From the collection of Marie Fenner, Uelzen. Used by permission.

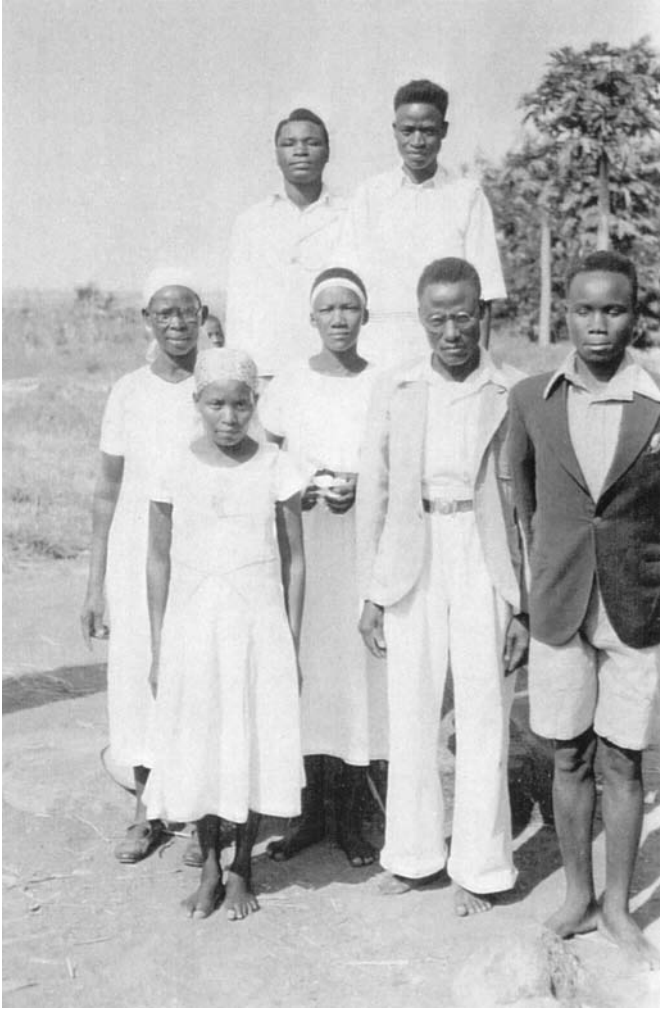


Figure 15. Teachers at Ntusu Girls' School, ca. 1937¹⁰

¹⁰ From the collection of Marie Fenner, Uelzen. Used by permission. Back row from left to right: M. Rutolyo, Y. Malili; front row from left to right: E. Habi, L. Munyuku, M. Malongo, F. Kamba, A. Kwilabya.



Figure 16. The Church at Ikizu Mission¹¹

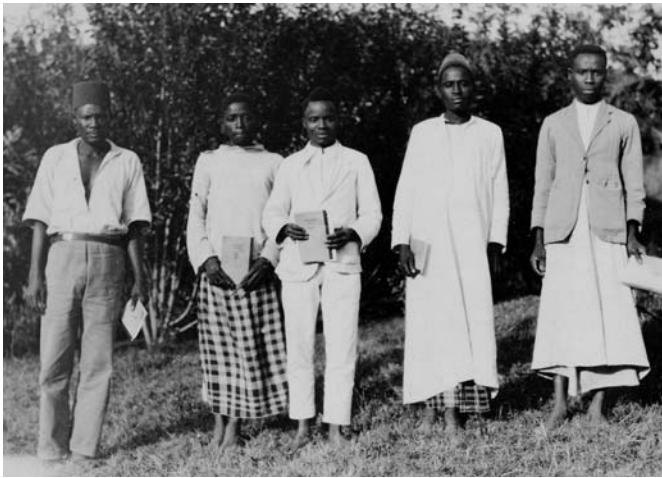


Figure 17. Early Literature Evangelists, ca. 1930¹²

¹¹ From the collection of Günter Schmidl, Lohra. Used by permission.

¹² Photograph by Spencer Maxwell. Used by permission of Stanley Maxwell, Watford. The person in the left is Mathayo Shengena, and the third and second from the left are Esikia Wandea Kirekero and his wife Orpah. Cf. the book cover.



Figure 18. Sabbath School at Ntusu, ca. 1937¹³

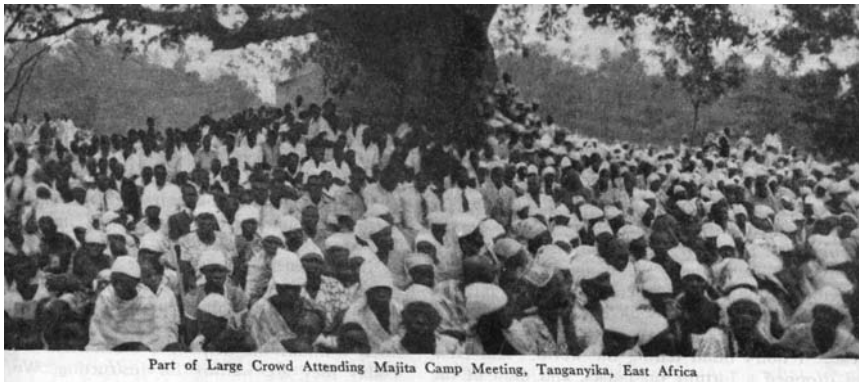


Figure 19. Majita Camp Meeting, 1949¹⁴

¹³ From the collection of Marie Fenner, Uelzen. Used by permission.

¹⁴ From H.M. Sparrow, "Camp Meetings in Tanganyika," RH 126 (27 October 1949): 1. Used by permission (© Review and Herald Publishing Association). This was a camp meeting that five thousand persons attended.



Figure 20. Tanzania Union Leaders, 1966¹⁵

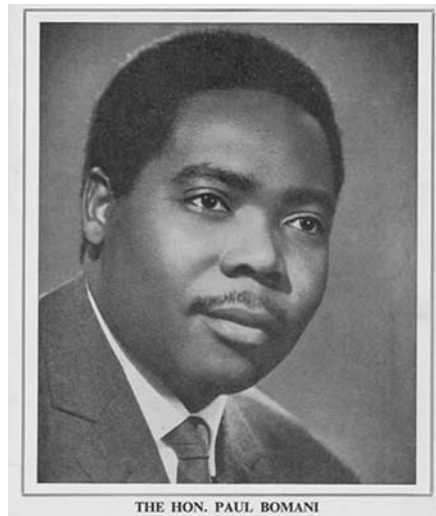


Figure 21. Paulo Bomani in the early 1960s¹⁶

¹⁵ From the collection of Günter Schmidl, Lohra. Used by permission. From left to right: Elizaphan Wanjara, Reuben Ngasani, Thomas Lisso, Rudi Henning, Rudolf Reinhard, P.G. Werner, Günter Schmidl, Merle Mills [Division president], E. Semugeshi, Yohana Lusingu, Dr. Ashton, Harun Kija Mashigan.

¹⁶ From www.paulbomani.com/galleryapril2006/kishamapanda.htm, accessed 14 April 2007. Used by permission of Allan Bomani.



Figure 22. The First Adventist Church in Arusha¹⁷



Figure 23. Listeners Queuing at Evangelistic Campaign, Arusha, 1967¹⁸

¹⁷ From the collection of Günter Schmidl, Lohra. Used by permission.

¹⁸ From the collection of Günter Schmidl, Lohra. Used by permission. The text on the announcement board says: "Your Bible Says' Presentation. Cyril Bender and Evangelists from Bugema College. The truth of the heart of Africa. Great Bible-Marking Plan. Singing from Colour Pictures. Gifts. Questions will be answered. Come early. You are all welcome."

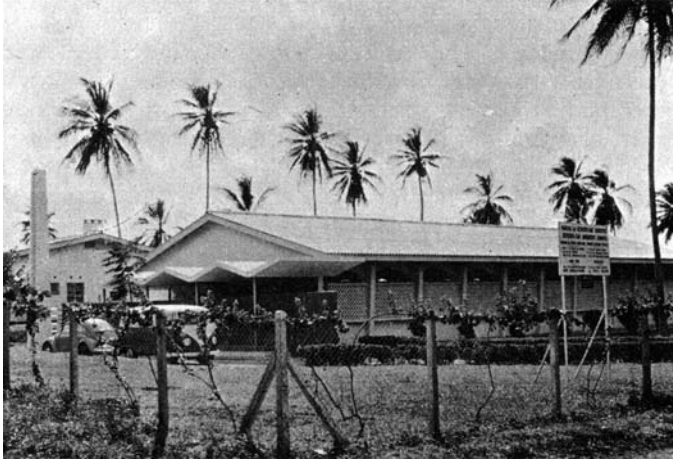


Figure 24. The First Adventist Church Building at Dar es Salaam: Magomeni¹⁹



Figure 25. Meeting of 600 East African Literature Evangelists at Dodoma, 1976²⁰

¹⁹ From the collection of Günter Schmidl, Lohra. Used by permission.

²⁰ From the collection of Marie Fenner, Uelzen. Used by permission.