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AN EVALUATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN  
NORTHERN TANGANYIKA IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

By

Donald Eugene Johnson

B. A., St. Olaf College

B. D., Augustana Theological Seminary

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## INTRODUCTION

There are two questions of transcendent importance facing Christians in the present generation. The first is simply: what is the Church? The second which grows out of the first is: what is the Church's role in the world? On neither of these questions do the Christians of the world speak with one voice. On the question of the nature of the Church itself the answers range from those of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox on the one hand to that of the Quakers on the other; on the question of the role of the Church in the world the opinions range from those of the liberal tradition on the one hand who see the Church's role as primarily in the realm of social action in this world, to those of the extreme fundamentalist position on the other hand who would claim that the Church has no business with the things of this world that is to be destroyed anyway, the task of God's people being that of saving individuals from and out of the world.

It is perhaps the calling of this generation to work through the problem of the doctrine of the Church, just as the Nicene period up to the Council of Calcedon (451) dealt with Christology, and the Reformation was concerned primarily with Soteriology. In the same way men of this generation must give most serious consideration to the question of what the Church is and what is the calling of

the Church in the world. World events and the pressure of the world on the Church will force this upon Christians whether they wish it or not. The Church faces the totalitarian state in some of the older nations and the emerging state in some of the nations that have only lately been "colonies" with all the resulting oppression on the one hand and chaos on the other. The Church must consider very seriously the question of its own nature and its work in the world.

This thesis addresses itself to the problem of the doctrine of the Church as it relates to practical matters in the Northern Province of Tanganyika Territory in British East Africa with special thought to the problems of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and the emerging political state. Obviously, one cannot deal with practical problems of the Church without some understanding of the theological implications of the doctrine of the essence of the Church itself. For the Church is unique, and there is no group to which we can compare it.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in the first chapter consideration will have to be given to an understanding of the essence of the Church. The understanding of this will necessarily greatly affect the

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1. T. Ralph Morton: *Community of Faith, The Changing Pattern of the Church's Life*, New York, 1954, p. 19.

understanding of the practical part of the present consideration--it in fact will determine the direction of the treatment.

#### A. The Problem Stated

The problem, briefly stated, is this: there are a number of Christian religious groups existing and propagating their understanding of the faith in the Northern Province of Tanganyika, one of them being the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. There is at times quarreling and bickering among these groups; at least one, the Roman Catholic Church, is not even willing to recognize that some of the others are churches, while all the time there are the great social problems attending any clash of cultures such as is going on in East Africa today--problems to which the Church needs to address itself. The questions that face the Lutheran Church in this context are: (1) What is the Church? (2) How do these various denominations relate to the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church? (3) In view of the Church's doctrine of itself what is its role in the social order?

The particular concern of this thesis is to seek possible answers to these questions by a study of the Church in Northern Tanganyika.

## B. The Method of Procedure

The way of treating the problem will be as follows:

(1) a short summary of the doctrine of the Church in the New Testament as it relates to structure and polity (especially the way in which this relates to its understanding of its oneness), and as it relates to the society of that day asking the question, Is the relationship that existed between the Church and the society of that day relevant for the Church in this generation? (2) a survey of the Church as found in Northern Tanganyika today with recognition of its denominational aspect; a description of the relationship of The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika<sup>1</sup> to other Christian bodies at present (both Lutheran and non-Lutheran) together with a few suggestions as to how some of these relationships might be altered will also be made. There will be a treatment of the activities of the church groups in the realm of social relationships and social witness, also. (3) An evaluation of the condition of the Church in Northern Tanganyika today in light of the doctrine of the Church is presented in chapter one both as to the structure of the Church and the Church's relation to the social order.

One thing should be understood at the outset: the thesis will not attempt to lay down any broad principles

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1. Hereafter to read "L.C.N.T." rather than "Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika."

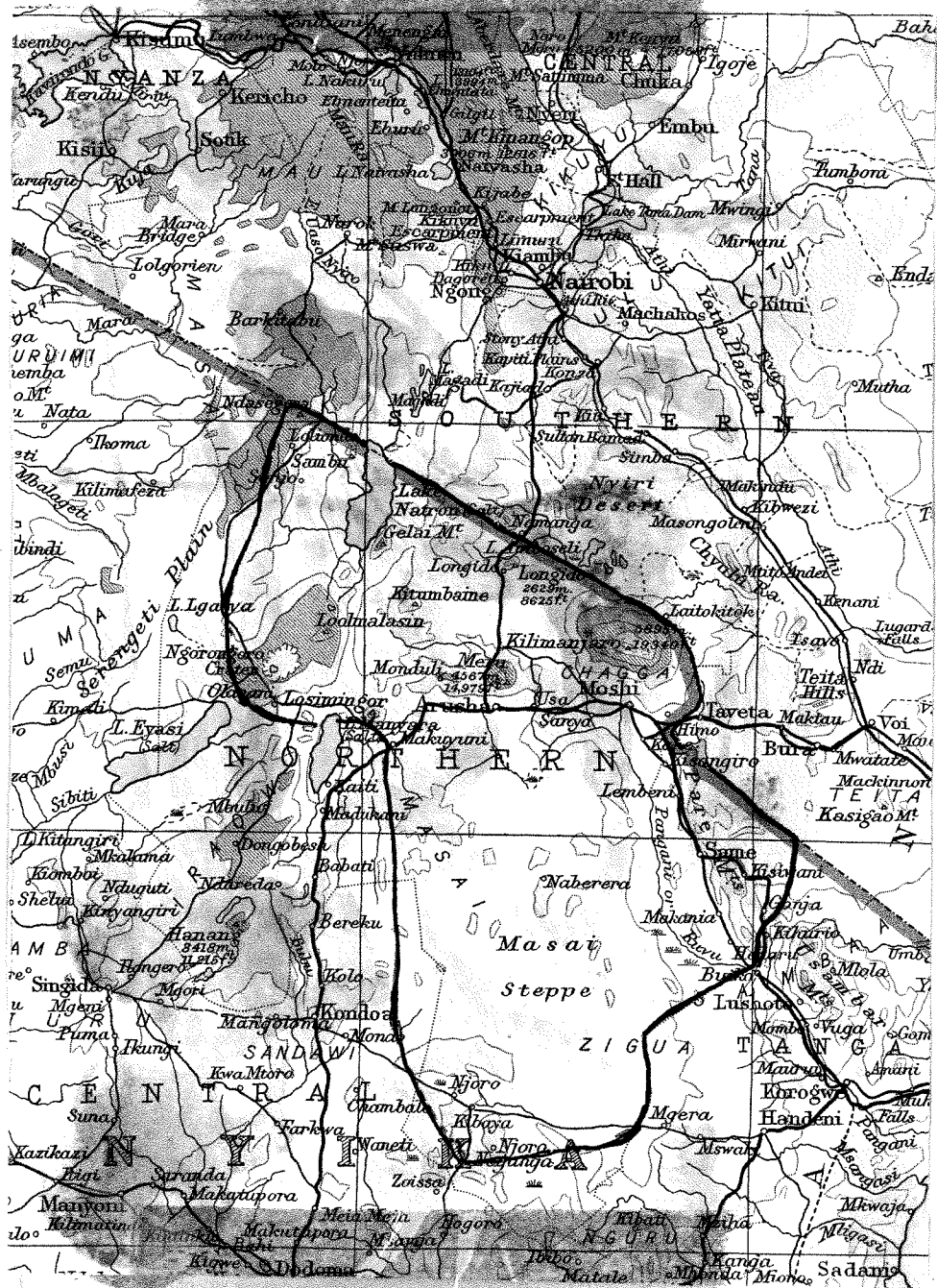


that will give a key to action for the Church in any situation, especially in practical matters. Any suggestions made in the area of practical things pertain to Northern Tanganyika at the present (1958). While some things said will have wide validity in Africa and other parts of the world, and some perhaps will speak to the years ahead, it should be emphasized that conditions vary greatly in different parts of Africa (even different sections of Tanganyika) and a policy that might work in one part might be totally unworkable in another due to different conditions. It should also be noted that Africa is now going through rapid change and that the Africa of today is not the Africa of five or ten years hence, and so the social and political groups here described might give a different appearance in a few years time.

### C. Sources of Data

The sources of data will be: (1) the New Testament, both the English and Greek texts together with W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich's A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament; (2) various theological writings on the nature of the Church, especially Anders Nygren's Christ and His Church; (3) contemporary sources of data on the situation in Tanganyika. Important in this last mentioned category are the published reports of the Tanganyika Government, the reports of the United Nations Visiting Missions to the East

African Trust Territories; and reports and minutes of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and the Lutheran Mission of Northern Tanganyika. The reports and minutes of the Church and Mission are mostly unpublished and some are still regarded as confidential. The reports of the Church are in the Swahili language. Complete catalogues of the reports can be found in the office of the President of the L.C.N.T., Moshi, Tanganyika Territory. Some of the reports, although not all, are found in the office of the Department of World Missions Cooperation of the National Lutheran Council, 50 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Most of the Swahili language reports are not found at the latter address however. The Scriptures quoted are from the Revised Standard Version, 1952.



MAP OF NORTHERN TANGANYIKA

The area outlined is that occupied by the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika.

## CHAPTER I

### THE CHURCH OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS RELATION TO THE SOCIETY OF ITS DAY

#### A. Introduction

When considering the Church in the New Testament it would be much easier if the Bible itself gave a definitive answer to the question of what the Church is and what its relationship to society should be. However, unfortunately for the theologian and fortunately for the Church itself no such definition exists in Scripture. Although the doctrine of the Church is not spelled out, it does not mean that Jesus and the apostles regarded it as something that is not important. Here an analogy to the doctrine of the Trinity may be seen: Christian faith is essentially trinitarian, although the doctrine of the Trinity is not defined in the Bible. An understanding of the nature of the Church is both possible and essential, although the New Testament does not explain in detail about the doctrine. The first chapter will attempt to give a brief summary of the New Testament doctrine of the Church together with an explanation of its relation to the society of its day.

#### B. Its Structure and Organization

##### 1. Polity

The word used for "Church" in the New

Testament is ἐκκλησία which is defined as meaning an assembly, an assemblage, a gathering, or meeting. It is derived from the preposition ἐκ and the verb καλέω which together mean "to call out." In pre-New Testament usage it could mean a regularly summoned political body, or in Philo, Josephus, and others the congregation of the Israelites.<sup>1</sup> As a specifically Christian "Church" the word is used in the following ways: (1) as a "church meeting" (I Cor. 11:18; 14:4 f.; 14:19; 28:35); (2) the totality of Christians in one place (Mt. 18:17; Acts 5:11; 8:3; I Cor. 4:17; Phil. 4:15; (3) the "house-churches" (Rom. 16:5; I Cor. 16:19; Col. 4:15; Phlm. 2); (4) the Church universal to which all believers belong (Mt. 16:18; Acts 9:31; I Cor. 6:4; 12:28; Eph. 1:22; 3:10; 21; 5:23 ff.; 27; 29; 32; Col. 1:18; 24; Phil. 3:6; I Tim. 5:16).<sup>1</sup> It is especially this last mentioned usage that will be treated in this thesis. To quote the passages may be helpful:

And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. Mt. 16:18.

So the Church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace and was built up; and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit it was multiplied. Acts 9:31.

If then you have such cases, why do you lay them before those who are least esteemed by the Church? I Cor. 6:4. And God has appointed in the church first apostles,

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1. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature (Chicago, 1955), pp. 240,241.
2. Ibid.

second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in various kinds of tongues. I Cor. 12:28. ...and he has put all things under his feet and has made him head over all things for the church...Eph. 1:22.

To me, though I am the very least of all the saints, this grace was given, to preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things; that through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places. Eph. 3:8-10.

Now to him who by the power within us is able to do far more abundantly than all that we ask or think, to him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all generations, for ever and ever. Amen. Eph. 3:20,21. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Saviour. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, that he might consecrate her, having cleansed her by the washing of water and the word, that the church might be presented before him in splendor, without spot or wrinkle or any other thing, that she might be holy and without blemish. Even so husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For no man ever hates his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, as Christ does the church, because we are members of his body. For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one. This is a great mystery, and I take it to mean Christ and the church; however, let each one of you love his wife as himself, and let the wife see that she respects her husband. Eph. 5:23-33.

The above somewhat long passage, has been quoted in its entirety because it is quite relevant to the whole discussion of this chapter. The following also shed light on the subject.

He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in everything he might be preeminent. Col. 1:18. ...as to zeal a persecutor of the church, as to righteousness under the law blameless. Phil. 3:6. If any believing woman has relatives who are widows, let her assist them; let the church not be burdened so that it may assist those who are real widows. I Tim. 5:16.

To try to discuss polity and the New Testament Church is to bring disagreement in ecumenical circles, for those who sanctify one form of polity claim to find that form in the New Testament. It is not the purpose of this chapter to try to present any one form of polity as being sacrosanct. It would seem from the New Testament that there were variations in polity within the Apostolic Church, and that uniformity such as that found in the monarchical episcopate was a later development.<sup>1</sup>

To those who claim that the episcopate, with its attending doctrine of apostolic succession, existed from the beginning it must be admitted that the words "bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος), presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) and deacon (διάκονος) occur in the New Testament, although there might be some question that they have the same meaning that they have in episcopally organized churches of today.

It seems that authority in the Apostolic Church was found in the council of the whole Church when matters

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1. A. D. Mattson, Polity of the Augustana Lutheran Church, (Rock Island, Illionis, 1952), p. 9.

needing a decision arose. This is seen in Acts 15 with regard to the admission of Gentiles into the fellowship. It appears that both clergy and laity (if such a distinction is valid for that time) were represented at this council, for Acts 15:22 reads "to the apostles and elders, with the whole church"

(τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις  
οὐν ὅλη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ), indicating a rather

wide representation. Apparently, James was chairman of this council, although there is not clearcut evidence that he had been consecrated a "bishop." In fairness it must be noted that there is no evidence that he was not so ordained in succession to the apostles, nor is it absolutely necessary that he should have been in order to chair the meeting, even if one holds to a strict interpretation of the doctrine of apostolic succession. It has been suggested that James got his position partly from his personality and partly from the fact that he was the oldest male of the Messianic house, taking into account the Jewish background of the Jerusalem Church.<sup>1</sup> This is a possible but not necessary interpretation.

The Church at Antioch might have had a somewhat different organization from that of Jerusalem. Acts 13:1 reads "Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets and

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1. Ibid., p. 3.



teachers, Barnabas, Symeon who was called Niger, Lusius of Cyrene, Manaen a member of the court of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul." The context suggests that these "prophets and teachers" were those in charge of the church there. The Didache also shows that prophets and teachers are mentioned, but not bishops and deacons, in connection with the church in the vicinity of Antioch of Syria.<sup>1</sup>

In the quotations listed at the beginning of this chapter Paul speaks of officers in the Church in I Cor. 12:28. In this list the "apostles" come first. It is interesting to note that here administrators are far down on the list. Also interesting for their inclusion are prophets, workers of miracles, healers, and speakers in tongues. Evidence is lacking that these apostles ordained bishops necessarily to succeed them as administrators of the Church.

The above ought to emphasize what has already been said: that there was no sacrosanct form of polity in the New Testament Church, and certainly not a monarchical episcopacy, however valuable that form of Church government might prove to be in another age.

## 2. The Apostolic Church's Doctrine Regarding Itself.

In considering another category of the meaning of the word "Church" in the New Testament it can be seen that the Church can and does exist in its fullness in a

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1. Ibid., p. 5.

local congregation, even centered in the home of one member.

If your brother sins against you, go and tell him his fault, between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother. But if he does not listen, take one or two others along with you, that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses. If he refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church; and if he refuses to listen even to the church, let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector. Truly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. Mt. 18: 15-18.

Other passages previously listed under the headings of "house-churches," and the Church as a meeting and the "Church" as the totality of Christians in one place bear out the idea that the Church was thought of as existing in its essence in the local situation. Where the Church is, the Church is!

Now, how did the Church think of itself? What was its self-consciousness? What follows seems to be Paul's concept of the Church. He of all the New Testament writers most fully develops the idea. He thought of the Church as the Body of Christ.<sup>1</sup> This is most strikingly seen in the passage from Ephesians 5 quoted on page 3, in which Paul speaks of the Church as the Body of Christ, comparing the relationship to that of man and wife.<sup>2</sup>

. . . . .

1. Anders Nygren, Christ and His Church, (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 93.
2. It may be rather ironic to note that to the Christians of the first century Paul could point to the relationship of Christ and the Church, which they evidently had an understanding of in order to point out what the relationship of man and wife ought to be, while in this generation it is necessary to use the Christian marriage relationship to explain the meaning of the relationship of Christ and his Church.

The relationship is most intimate--there is complete identification. Anders Nygren clarifies this when he writes:

The best point of departure for our attempt to clarify the meaning of Paul's usage of 'body of Christ' is found in Rom. 5:12 ff., where the apostle diametrically opposes Adam and Christ--Adam as the origin and head of the old aeon, Christ as the origin and head of the new aeon. The comparison which the apostle makes between these two is extremely informative.

In the same way that Adam is the head of natural humanity, Christ is the head of the new humanity. In neither case is the viewpoint individualistic. The fall of Adam, according to Paul, was not something that affected him in a personal and individual way, but was the occasion for the entry of sin into the world, and through sin, death. The destiny of the human race was decided once and for all in Adam. To be human is to stand under the sovereign lordship of death--a condition that has become the lot of every child of Adam. Humanity stands together under Adam as its head.

In the same way the destiny of the new humanity has been decided once for all through Christ. To be in Christ is to belong to life; it is to stand under the sovereign lordship of life. The resurrection of Christ was not something that affected him in a personal and individual way, but he arose as the first, as the head, of the new humanity, of the new creation which is the Church. With the resurrection life has begun for those who belong to his body. The Church is nothing without Christ; but, on the other hand, Christ could not be what he is without the Church, just as Adam could not be Adam unless he were the head of the old humanity.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection Nygren quotes I Cor. 15:21 ff.

He proceeds to discuss the suggestion of some that mysticism is found in this kind of thinking, and finds that it is not so. Man "in Adam" is not subject to death because of any "mystic experience of unity with the progenitor of the human race" but because of him (Adam) the human race has been

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1. Nygren, op. cit., 93, 94.

placed under the reign of death. The objective reality of life and being "in Christ" is something that has been given by the incarnation. That which happened to the Head (Christ) will happen also to the Body.<sup>1</sup> It seems also that Paul's use of the image of marriage in describing the relationship of Christ and the Church<sup>2</sup> would also guard against the designation of mysticism. For in marriage, although there is an identification, an intimacy, and a oneness of purpose and direction, the individuals remain individuals, and there is no losing of personality. In fact personality is heightened and enriched.

Thus, the Body of Christ, the Church, is in actuality Christ himself. "The Church is Christ as he is present among and meets us upon earth after his resurrection."<sup>3</sup> Thus to be in the Church is to be in Christ; and to be in Christ means to be in the Church. The two are inseparable. To be in Christ is to be in the new aeon, and the man who is in that relationship shall surely live (Rom. 1:17).

A person becomes a member of the Body through baptism:

For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body--Jews or Greeks, slaves or free--and all were

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1. Ibid., p. 95.
2. Ante., p. 4.
3. Nygren, op. cit., p. 96.

made to drink of one Spirit. I Cor. 12:13.

Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life. Rom. 6:3-4.

Obviously, here baptism means more than event or a rite, although it certainly does not mean less than that. It appears that baptism is an activity of God by which he unites a person with the Body of Christ, uniting him with Christ in his death and resurrection. With the child this means that he who has been born a child of Adam and therefore subject to death has been incorporated into the Body of Christ, where he has been put under the influence of the means of grace, the Word of God and the Holy Communion. For the adult, the sacrament of baptism is also the point of entrance into the Body of Christ, the Church. Even while a catechumen the experience of the sacrament was potentially present to him, this being brought to actuality in the rite. Obviously, in this case, it is impossible to separate baptism from the Word of God, and from Christ. To try to do either and think of it merely as a rite is to fall into superstition.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .

1. It must be recognized that there is disagreement in the Church Universal on this matter of the sacraments, especially baptism. There are certain Protestant denominations that object to thinking of the sacraments as means of grace, preferring to think of them as signs or symbols of an inward experience. While it is not the purpose of this thesis to admit the validity of this point of view it might be suggested that some of the theological terminology used to explain the view herē presented might give objections on rational grounds, and that it might well be the task of Lutheran theologians to give explanations of the sacraments, using terminology of the present day. With regard to the question of infant baptism, the crucial matter seems to be whether or not a child who has not yet come to the age of rational accountability can be a member of the Body of Christ.

By what means is Christ present in his Church?

This is through the means of grace which are his Word and the sacraments. The doctrine of baptism has been treated briefly. That Christ is present as his Word is proclaimed and sinners brought to repentance and faith needs no defense. It might be well, however, to consider the sacrament of the altar.

The most systematic treatment of this doctrine in the New Testament is found in Paul's writings:

The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ? Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf. I Cor. 10:16-18.<sup>1</sup>

For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, 'This is my body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' In the same way also the cup, after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.' For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes.

Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord. Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For any one who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment upon himself. That is why many of you are weak and ill, and some have died. I Cor. 11:23-30.<sup>2</sup>

That the Church in this day is not in agreement on the manner in which Christ is present in the sacrament needs no amplification. It would seem from the above that Paul

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1. I Cor. 10:16-18.

2. I Cor. 11:23-30.

considered the eucharist to be a participation of Christ in his Church and of the Church in Christ.

In the light of John 20:21-23 absolution is seen to be another means by which Christ is present in his Church bringing his reality to the believer. This, like baptism and communion, cannot be thought of apart from the Word of God.

Having considered the Church as the Body of Christ and having noted the matter of Christ's presence and participation in the Church, attention can now be paid to the more "practical" matter of the relation of the New Testament Church to the world in which it lived.

#### C. The Relation of the New Testament

##### Church to the Society of its Day

T. Ralph Morton observes that:

The early church knew that it was the expression of God's love for men, the instrument for the fulfilling of his purposes on earth. That was almost all about its task that it did know. The few Christians who made up the church then could not have imagined how they were to preach the Gospel to every creature, and they never seemed to have discussed it. They knew nothing and cared nothing about ultimate targets and workable programs. To have considered such would only have appalled them. But they did know that they were an instrument in God's hands and that all that mattered was that they should be ready and fit to be used. And they took thought to the pattern of their life in the church.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .

1. Morton, op. cit., p. 19.

There seems to have been within the Apostolic Church a reckless abandon as far as the practical problems of meeting the needs and solving the problems outside the Church, but a real concern for a strong cohesiveness within. Although the Lord had commanded that disciples be made of all nations (Mt. 28:19), and there were those like Paul who went about the civilized world preaching the Gospel and planting Churches, there is no evidence of organized plans within the Church for the bringing of the Word to all parts of the Roman Empire, nor does the body of Christians seem to be greatly concerned with the great social issues that were alive in the culture of its day. The great concern of the epistles seems to have been the relationship to Christ within the fellowship of the Church.

Both Paul and Peter seemed to believe that secular government was for the good and that it was the Christians' obligation to obey it. (Rom. 13:1-7; I Pet. 2:13,14). They seemed also to have been oblivious to slavery, the great social evil (to use the language of the twentieth century) of the day, exhorting slaves to be submissive not only to the kind masters but to the overbearing as well. (I Pet. 2:18). Paul exhorted Philemon to receive Onesimus as a brother, sending the slave himself with the letter. What the implication of receiving the slave as a brother would be in the practical matters and the inconsistency of holding a



brother in bondage Paul did not explain, probably because no discrepancy occurred to him.

In actuality the exhortations to obey the government and the comparatively mild attitude toward the institution of slavery indicate a rather negative attitude toward government and the affairs of the world. The government was to be obeyed because it brought order to the world, and without it chaos would reign. There is no thought of working to build up that government and to improve it, because as a government of the world it belonged to the old aeon which was ready to be destroyed.

The apostles were not thinking in terms of the Church's existing on the earth for hundreds or thousands of years, and were therefore not concerned with the practical affairs of running a government. This, they could leave to the children of the world.

Furthermore, the Church was undergoing persecution at the hands of the state. Paul's last letters were written from prison. The book of Acts records the persecution of the Christians at the hands of the Jews. The Founder of the Church had been executed by the Roman government. Thus, they were hardly in any position to have a great deal of influence on the government.

The question is: Is this position of the Church as a persecuted minority without any voice in the affairs of society and with a rather dismal outlook as far as the future

of the world order is concerned to be thought of as classical? Are Christians of the twentieth century, who have quite a different position in life, to keep the same point of view toward the government and the world as did Peter and Paul in their day, or are Christians of this generation called upon to follow a different path in practical affairs because their conditions are different?

One thing that must be said at the outset is that the Christians of the twentieth century have almost two thousand years of church history behind them which the early Christians did not have. Whether or not they are capable of learning anything from it is beside the point--the fact is that the record of the history of the Church with its mistakes and victories is there.

Perhaps the question has also been wrongly asked. It might be better to ask: Why were the early Christians persecuted? Were they persecuted on account of their religion or for political reasons? Was it simply because the Roman Empire did not want to see a new religion, or was it because they actually posed a threat to the political system? Was it because the state was so stupid that it could not see that they were no threat to it, or was it because it was clever enough to see that they were?

Morton argues that the Christians were persecuted for political and not religious reasons.

It is this fact that made the church a problem to the Roman Empire and that has made it always a problem to the state. The Roman Empire knew how to deal with religion. But a society of men was a different matter. That was a political question. So Christians, then as ever, were not persecuted for religious reasons but because they belonged to a society which made unique claims. They were persecuted for political reasons.<sup>1</sup>

The Master had been executed because he was a King and thus in opposition to Caesar. Though the Roman governor himself could find no crime in him and was ready to let him go as simply a harmless, dreamy fanatic who was so far from the realm of reality that he could harm nothing, the leaders of the Jews understood him and understood the implications of his teaching well enough to know that if he were allowed to be free he would soon upset their own way of life within the Roman state to which they had become accustomed and, in spite of certain humiliations, in which they had become quite comfortable. It is quite irrational to believe that God would have permitted his Son to be crucified because of a misunderstanding on the part of either the Jews or the Romans.

But the fact according to the New Testament is that the Church is a "society" that is created by God through Christ.<sup>2</sup> As a society it is in the world and cannot help but

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1. Ibid., pp. 24,25.

2. Ibid., p. 24.

partake of the things of the world also. And because it is in the world it cannot be unmindful of the conditions under which men live in the world. It is true that wherever Christians are together under the influence of the means of grace there Christ is and there the Church is, and no matter how large or small the gathering is he is there. But Christ's call is open to all "tribes and peoples and tongues" (Rev. 7: 9) without reference to race. But when social customs prevent Christians of different races the right to worship together they have infringed on the freedom of the Body of Christ, and the Christian must obey God rather than man and cannot follow those customs. If the custom has become a law, then the Church has become a political problem.

The Church in Northern Tanganyika is a far cry from the persecuted minority it was in the Roman Empire. The Church in Northern Tanganyika enjoys the status of being a recognized religion. The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika is one of the recognized and approved voluntary agencies working in the Territory; it receives grants of thousands of shillings each year from the Government for the support of its schools and hospitals. It enjoys the approval of the African people within its territories, being the sole mission that has been approved. While it has not consciously sought political power, because of historical circumstances it is not without the ability to wield influence even in the area

of Territorial politics. (These general statements will be elaborated more fully in subsequent chapters). Though in Christ the Church belongs to the new aeon, it is set very firmly in the old aeon.

#### D. Summary and Conclusion

The question of this thesis is: What is the Church's calling in the social situation? Is it called only to convert individuals and give them a good orientation to life without regard to social conditions or social practices? That question has already been answered. It has been said that the Church is the Body of Christ and as the Body of Christ is Christ as he is present in the world after his resurrection. If that be so, what does the African (as well as the European and Indian) see of Christ in the Church of Northern Tanganyika? What can be seen of the will of God for the lives of people in the Church in Northern Tanganyika? It must be remembered that the issues that are in men's minds and the problems that are having their effect in that part of the world today are social problems: the relationship of one race to another, and the relationship of one group to another; the problem of the distribution of land, and the problem of how to develop the land that is available. If the voice of the Church is not heard in these matters will it be listened to in others?

## CHAPTER II

### THE CHURCH AS FOUND IN NORTHERN TANGANYIKA TODAY

#### A. Introduction

In order to treat adequately the material of this chapter certain assumptions must be made. One of these is that the Church does exist in Northern Tanganyika and another is that the empirical denominational structure as it is seen, while it might not necessarily constitute the "Church" as such (indeed in terms of the definition seen in Chapter I, it cannot), it does have a very definite relationship to it, and furthermore, the subject of the "Church" cannot be correctly treated if this denominational structure is ignored. The point of view to be found here is that the Church does exist within the denominational structures described below, in so far as Christ is present through the means of grace, the Word of God and the sacraments. No attempt will be made to give any comparison of how effective the means of grace found under varying forms are in the various communions; no attempt will be made to evaluate the validity of the various orders. One can only say that insofar as the Word of God is preached and its truth and purity maintained, and the sacraments administered according to the command and

institution of Christ, there is Christ and there is his Church.<sup>1</sup> It is not the purpose of this chapter to evaluate whether or not the Word is preached "in its truth and purity" nor whether or not the sacraments are administered according to the command and institution of Christ. It will be assumed that enough of the Gospel is present in the Roman, Orthodox, and Dutch Reformed systems so that one can say that the Church is present. This, admittedly, introduces a note of ambiguity but the doctrine of the Church is still ambiguous.

#### B. Denominational Structure

Therefore, it is well first to note the denominations that are presently existing in the Northern Province of Tanganyika, recognizing that while there can be only one Church, in all of the bodies in which the means of grace are found the Church is also found. In thinking of the denominational structure a division should be made between the "confessional" groups and the "ethnic" groups. The former embraces denominations which seek to reach all people within the geographic area (and in the case of the Roman Catholic Church claim to be the Church), or at least have a policy that encourages membership of all people whatever their background to the exclusion of none. The second group refers to denominations that exist, at least in this Territory,

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1. Ante., p. 10.

primarily to serve people of a particular cultural or racial community, with little encouragement to anybody who might be outside that particular group. It is obvious that neither entirely succeeds in its aims, but such is the general policy.

#### 1. Confessional Bodies

There are two and possibly three denominations that can be included in the first category: the Lutheran Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Anglican Church. There is a question that the Anglican Church should be here included, or whether it ought to be put in the other category since the work is a chaplaincy in the English language, largely among Europeans. It should be emphasized, however, that in places Anglican Swahili services are provided for Anglican Africans who have moved into the area, and no attempt is made to discourage Africans from attending the English services. For this reason it seems better to include the Anglicans in the first category. It is true that the Church Missionary Society (the Anglican group working here) is at present carrying on no vigorous mission program among Africans in this province. The reason for this is that the Northern Province is regarded by the non-Roman Catholics in Tanganyika as the sphere of influence of the Lutheran Church, and for that reason the Anglicans observe comunity and do not try to compete, just as the Lutherans do not carry on mission work in Anglican territory in Gogoland in the Central



Province. The Anglican chaplaincy in the English language is a custom of long standing. It is confined largely to two towns in the area under discussion, Moshi and Arusha, although services are held also on some of the plantations and at the residence of Government officials in Mondul, the headquarters of the Masai District.<sup>1</sup>

From the point of view of numbers, the largest Christian denominations in Northern Tanganyika are the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and the Roman Catholic Church in this area under the leadership of the Holy Ghost Fathers Mission, both working primarily among native Africans, but both, especially the Roman Church, carrying on work to meet the spiritual needs of Europeans also. In the days when Tanganyika was German East Africa the area was parcelled out in spheres of influence between the two denominations, each having rights to do mission work in its own area. This has led to certain well-defined areas being regarded as Lutheran and others as Roman Catholic. This division does not pertain to the areas of the Masai Plains and the plains around the foot of the mountains which have been opened up for both settlement and mission work in later years.

The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika is at present comprised of about 105,000 baptized Christians.<sup>2</sup> This

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1. Much of the information on the Anglican work was obtained in 1955 from an interview which the Anglican priest in charge of the work in Arusha.
2. Official statistics of the Church for the year 1956.

does not include those under catechetical instruction being prepared for baptism. Geographically, the area in which this Church works is the entire Arusha District, on and around Mt. Meru, the Masai District, the northern part of the Mbulu District,<sup>1</sup> the western part of Mt. Kilimanjaro as far as the eastern border of the Machame chiefdom, a strip of Central Kilimanjaro in the Old Moshi and Mbokomu chiefdoms, and a part of East Kilimanjaro: half the Marangu chiefdom along with those of Mamba and Mwika. The L.C.N.T. is found also in the bordering Tanga Province within the Pare District. (See map on p. vi).

In the Masai District the Roman Catholic Church is carrying on mission work in roughly the same areas as the Lutheran. It should be noted that the Masai people are nomadic, and therefore the only places where there can be anything like centres are at the places of permanent water where the people come with their herds during the dry season, so therefore both Churches become crowded together in the

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1. It should be noted that although there is both Lutheran and Roman Catholic work in the southern part of the Mbulu District, it is not here included, because administratively, the work of both denominations is separate, in the case of the Lutheran Church the work being carried on by mission societies separate from the L.C.N.T. and with the Roman work the work being carried on by a separate order and a different bishop from that in other parts of the Northern Province.

same areas. Furthermore, if one is to carry on work among the Masai it is necessary to cover practically the whole area.<sup>1</sup>

At present the Roman Catholic Church has been prevented from carrying on work among the Meru tribe on Mt. Meru by decision of the tribal council and has been kept largely out of the area of the Arusha tribe also, although it is carrying on work in certain estates among the detribalized estate workers near Arusha and also in the town of Arusha.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church is working also on Kilimanjaro, in the areas that are not "Lutheran" (again see map). While the greatest block of the Lutheran work is at the western end of the mountain, the largest area of Roman work is at the eastern end. The Roman Church is also working in the Pare District of the Tanga Province.

Both churches are working in Moshi town and the outlying areas at the foot of the mountain.

As has been noted, the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England is carrying on a chaplaincy in the English language largely in Arusha town and Moshi town,

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1. With regard to the work among the Masai the writer speaks from two years experience as a missionary among these people.
2. For a further description of the status of the two Churches among the Meru see p.125.

although there is some work in Swahili for the Africans who are of that denomination.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. The Ethnic Churches

In addition to the large confessional denominations there are also the "ethnic churches," denominations that work largely among people of a certain ethnic group. Those in the Northern Province are the Greek Orthodox Church and the South African Dutch Reformed churches, the latter being made up of three denominations. These Churches serve communities, but they are cultural rather than geographic communities. Both groups are very self-conscious, the Church being but one expression of the total life of the group. It might be noted for instance that the East African Hellenic School is located in Arusha. The services of these Churches are carried on in the language of the communities they represent.

As the denominational structure is at present these groups fit well into the scheme of things. They are not competing with other denominations to win converts from among the Africans as are the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches. They provide a form of Christianity for their respective communities, leaving other people alone to pursue their religion in peace. In describing the "missionary work" in the Northern Province they could perhaps be mentioned as interesting religious groups and then passed by. The problem

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1. Ante., footnote, p. 19.

comes, of course, when one begins to ask questions about the nature of the Church and how these groups are related to the Church and especially the unity of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

C. The Folk-Church or the Gathered-Church

In thinking of the Church, especially in Northern Tanganyika, something ought to be said regarding the theories of the Church as a "gathered" church or "folk" church (Volkskierche). A gathered church is one that includes only those who have made a clear-cut decision for Christ, with perhaps their baptized children (depending on what theory of the Church discussed on p. 7, footnote), while the folk church is one that seeks to include, or in the case of some parts of Europe, does include everybody in the community, the church being thought of as a means to bring about the personal experience of Christ, although it might include many who have not yet had any conscious experience of God's grace.<sup>2</sup>

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1. For a good description of the South African Duth Reformed Churches and their outlook on both race and Church see "The Duthh Reformed Churches in South Africa and the Problem of Race Relations" in The Ecumenical Review, Vol. IX, No. 1, October 1956, published by the World Council of Churches, pp. 64-69.
2. A description of the folk-church in Lutheranism is found in the part on the German and Scandinavian Churches in Lutheran Churches of the World.

The folk-church idea is strong among the religious bodies in the area under consideration. The background of the Greek Orthodox Church in Greece is that of a national church. Whatever the particular theory of Church of the South African Christian denominations, in practice they are the Church of the South African community. Although they do not include all the people in a geographical community, they do include a cultural community as has already been discussed.

The history of Roman Catholicism in Europe has been that of a folk-church. There is no reason to believe that any other theory of Church is being followed in the mission policy of that Church in Africa.<sup>1</sup> This is not to say that people enter the Roman Catholic Church without instruction, nor does it mean that that Church is not carrying out a vigorous process of education. It is. It does mean that the policy of the Roman Church seems to be as inclusive as possible, bringing everybody into the fold, and patiently waiting until a future time for religious experience on the part of the people.

The Anglican Church in the area partakes of both theories of the Church. Certainly, in the thinking of many of the communicants who were reared in the British and

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1. An American anthropologist who did work on Kilimanjaro in 1953 made the observation that he believed that at the rate their work was progressing, within a few years the Roman areas of Kilimanjaro would be solidly Catholic with at least nominal adherence of the total population.

Continental folk-churches, there is no thought of the English Church as being any different from those which they knew in the homeland. There are also those who attend this Church, however, who come out on non-conformist churches in Britain who are not used to thinking of the Church in this way.

When one considers the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika in the light of these two theories of the church, it quickly becomes obvious that both have played a part in the thinking of the leaders in the past, and that the church has grown without any clearcut view on its part as to what its true nature was.<sup>1</sup>

There were among one of the German missionaries who worked in this Church before World War II a man named Bruno Gutmann, who believed that man must not be thought of primarily as an individual, but as a member of an organic structure. Therefore, the approach to be made, according to Gutmann, was not primarily that of converting individuals to the Gospel, but that of sanctifying the tribal life of the people, in order that a folk-church might be born which would be the instrument of bringing men into the Kingdom of God.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Donald E. Johnson, "Church and Liturgy in Northern Tanganyika," Una Sancta, January, 1958.
2. N. Arne Bentz, "Lutheran Strategies in World Mission," Augustana Seminary Review, Fourth Quarter, 1957.

Gutmann worked among the Chagga people in the parish of Old Moshi. He was a keen student of African customs. His influence was great, especially among the people of his own parish. It was his hope to see a Chagga folk-church on Kilimanjaro. It does not seem that Gutmann's theories were universally held even among his fellow German missionaries.

The leadership of the Mission since the beginning of World War II has been largely in American hands in which the effect of pietism can be seen. This has not been congenial to the thinking of Gutmann, but there has been more of the tendency to think of the church in terms of a gathered body of converted people and their baptized children. However, since missionary leadership has been spread very thinly, and the actual work of preaching, instructing, baptizing, and administration have been in African hands, there is perhaps a question as to what theory was operative in the church at the grass-roots level.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that something akin to a folk-church was actually developing in the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. This does not deny that especially under certain pastors and leaders there has not been a sincere attempt to bring those who enter the church into a real religious experience. However, in actuality, partly because of the numbers that have entered the Church, often not much more was possible than to require



an acceptance of the doctrine contained in Luther's Catechism and the Rite of Baptism. The phenomenal growth of the church is seen in that from 1952 to 1956 the L.C.N.T. grew from 88,000 members to over 105,000.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in truth, it must be admitted that although the thinking of missionary and African leadership has been that of the ideal being a gathered church in which the people have had a genuine religious experience, the practice of the church has not reached this objective, but the church has taken to itself many who have accepted it (the church) as the representative of the Kingdom of God, but who have not as yet had a real confrontation with the Lord of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, in summary, it should be said that in Northern Tanganyika the practice of most of the groups has leaned toward that of a folk-church rather than that of a

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1. Official statistics of L.C.N.T. Not published but available from the Office of the President of the Church, Post Office Box 195, Moshi, Tanganyika Territory, British East Africa.
2. The statement that the L.C.N.T. is in some areas a Volkskierche will doubtless be disputed by many inside that Church, especially missionaries who are not friendly to the idea. They would perhaps prefer to think of it in terms of a Church in which the spiritual life was at a low ebb. This seems to be taking a negative attitude, ignoring on the one hand the fact that the Church developed in this way out of historical necessity, since there was for years not adequate pastoral care and leadership in large areas, and on the other hand the evangelistic opportunities that exist among the people who are members of the Church.

gathered Church. Although in the thinking of the Leadership, the Lutheran Church has not held this as an ideal, nevertheless, this is the way things have worked out in practice. Although many criticisms might be leveled at such a policy, it has brought great numbers under the influence of the means of grace and therefore under the influence of Christ, although they may not yet have had a personal religious experience.<sup>1</sup>

D. The Relation of the Lutheran Church of  
Northern Tanganyika to Other Christian Bodies

It is now necessary to consider the body that is the special concern of this thesis, the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and its relation to other Christian bodies of the Church universal, both those that exist within the boundaries of its own territory and those in other parts of the world, including international Lutheran and ecumenical Christian agencies and bodies. Some of what is contained in this chapter has at least been suggested by the previous material covered, yet it is perhaps necessary to delineate a bit more in detail some of the relationships that do exist and perhaps point out a few of the possibilities that have not yet become actuality.

1. Relation to Other Lutheran Churches

In considering the relationships of the

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1. One institution that has since its founding in 1953 been an influence on the Church has been the Bible School, at Mvika. Its work has been that of injecting a strong note of personal-experiential Christianity into the existing folk-church.

L.C.N.T. to other Christian groups it is necessary to think first of its relationship to other bodies of the same household of faith.

Administratively, the L.C.N.T. is linked to the Usambara Lutheran Church and the Uzeramo Lutheran Church (Dar es Salaam) through the Missions Coordinating Committee (usually referred to as MCC). The reason for this is that all these three Churches are administered by the National Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. They are the "former German missions," having been taken over by American Lutherans when the German missionaries were forced to leave at the outbreak of World War II. Being administered thus, there is a mobility of missionary staff from one church to another. Until 1957 the MCC was entirely a missionary committee. At a meeting in December, 1957 there were African representatives from all three Churches in attendance also. The future of this committee is at this time in doubt, since there is a question that there ought to be a field committee passing on the askings of an autonomous Church. It should be emphasized that this relationship within the MCC is primarily an administrative one, and is not the primary means of fellowship among the Lutheran churches of Tanganyika.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The best description of the administrative organization of the Lutheran work in Tanganyika is by George N. Anderson, "Post-War Development of Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika" in Lutheran World, Spring, 1954. Developments since that time are gleaned from unpublished reports of the various bodies concerned.

The L.C.N.T. is a member of the Federation of Lutheran Churches of Tanganyika (Fungamano la Makanisa ya Kilutheri ya Tanganyika), which comprises all the Lutheran churches in the Territory. In addition to the L.C.N.T. there are the Usambara Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission working among the Mbulu people, the Uzeramo Lutheran Church, the Buhaya Evangelical Church, and the Lutheran Church of Ubena Konde. It is this organization with its mission counterpart, the Lutheran Missions Council, that administers joint institutions of the Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika, the most important of which is the Theological School for the training of African pastors, located at Makumira on Mt. Meru. The aim of this federation is in time to have one Lutheran Church in Tanganyika. This is not at present possible because of the various stages of development among the several Lutheran churches in the Territory. A practical unity on matters of mutual interest and cooperation is achieved, one of the latest schemes being a pool of all Lutheran educationalists in Tanganyika.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The matter of the pool of educationalists is a rather radical step to meet the problems posed by lack of continuity in educational staff. It is a development within the last year, so there is nothing yet published on it. The information here was gotten from a report in the agenda of the February meeting of the Board of World Missions of the Augustana Lutheran Church. The information is to be found also in various reports from the field. The term "educationalist" means a worker in the education system of the Church (as well as the Territory as a whole), be he missionary or African. It denotes teachers, school supervisors, and administrators.

In 1955, the L.C.N.T. became a member Church of the Lutheran World Federation. This necessitated a change in the Church Canons so that the President of the Church could be a man elected by the African Church itself, since a Church cannot be considered autonomous and therefore eligible for membership in L.W.F.<sup>1</sup> unless it elects its own head. Before this time the President of the Church (Mkuu wa Kanisa) was Superintendent of the Mission, elected exclusively by missionaries. As the Constitution of the Church now reads, the church nominates, and the church and mission confirm the election. Thus, the initiative is entirely in the hands of the church.<sup>2</sup>

It is the opinion of the writer that membership in the Lutheran World Federation and the general association with world Lutheranism, and the awareness of being Lutheran has had generally a beneficial effect on the L.C.N.T., although it might have slightly lessened interest in ecumenical relations. The reason for asserting that the

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1. Hereafter "Lutheran World Federation" is abbreviated to read "L.W.F."
2. There is no published English version of the Canons of the L.C.N.T. A Swahili version is printed by the Vuga Mission Press in Tanganyika. Because of the developments of 1957 already alluded to (p. 32) the Canons are now in process of being revised in the direction of giving the African Church a greater hand in shaping policy, and in effect amalgamating Church and Mission with regard to administration of the work.

strengthening of the denominational tie is beneficial is that the great danger in Africa at present in the church is sectarianism: the formation of small sects and cults, completely independent and cut off from the Ecumenical Church, and although they are all extremely nationalistic, because of their sectarian emphasis and because individually they are too small and unable to have an intellectually trained ministry, they are totally unable to give a responsible social witness.<sup>1</sup> Membership in the L.W.F. has given the L.C.N.T. an awareness of membership in a definite group, and in a sense status among the Lutheran churches of the world. It has made the L.C.N.T. part of an organization of churches

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1. The best discussion of the problem of these independent African Churches as they are found in South Africa, where they have been most prolific is found in Bengt G. M. Sundkler's Bantu Prophets in South Africa (Lutterworth Press, London, 1948). Dr. Sundkler asserts that some elements in these Churches and sects are definitely not Christian, while other elements have real faith and vision. Nationalism does play a large part in their thinking. There are more than 800 distinct Churches and sects within the Union of South Africa. Sundkler distinguishes two main types, "the Ethiopian" and "Zionistic," the former being closer to the Churches still connected with the missionary movement, being more "Christian" in their practices, many using catholic liturgical forms, while the latter are in some cases hardly distinguishable from African paganism, although in the beginning some of them had ties with certain pentecostal sects. While nothing as advanced in its development as this has yet appeared in Tanyanyika, some of the elements that formed the seeds of these groups exist in every part of Africa south of the Sahara.

that are in the main stream of ecumenical Christianity, and therefore is at present an anchor against the tides of sectarianism. If it should become necessary for the missionaries to leave Africa, the Lutheran World Federation would continue to be an important link for the L.C.N.T. with the Ecumenical Church. Thus while the strengthening of the denominational tie serves as a bulward against hasty unionism, in the end it strengthens ecumenical Christianity by keeping the young Church linked with a movement greater than itself. There is nothing in terms of an ecumenical organization within Tanganyika at this time which could take the place that the L.W.F. fills.

One thing that is encouraged by the L.W.F. is cooperation, fellowship, and close association of Lutheran churches in the same general area of the world. Therefore, in line with this, there has been a drawing together of various Lutheran churches on the continent of Africa, together with Madagascar. As yet, no permanent organization of these churches exists (as compared with the National Lutheran Council in the United States), but contacts and meetings have been held, the chief of them being the All Africa Lutheran Conference, at Marangu on Kilimanjaro, in November, 1955.

In Appendix A there is a description and an evaluation of this Conference, outlining what has been started in terms of laying the ground work for continent-wide Lutheran cooperation. Plans are that the course for

higher training of African pastors will be held at Marangu. There are plans for a second all-Africa Lutheran Conference to be held in Madagascar in 1960.

Thus, the relationships of the L.C.N.T. in terms of other Lutheran churches are classified as follows: (1) cooperation with other Churches under the MCC in terms of a working relationship; (2) membership in the Federation of Lutheran Churches of Tanganyika, with the resulting cooperation in joint efforts; (3) an association through conference with other Lutheran Churches on the continent of Africa; (4) membership in the Lutheran World Federation.

## 2. The Relation to Other Evangelical Groups

Other than those with churches of its own household of faith the most satisfactory church relationships of the L.C.N.T. are those with other evangelical churches in Tanganyika. Here are groups that differ on certain points of doctrine and church order, yet recognize each other as Christian and recognize each other as being part of the Church, although there may be doubt in one group about the fullness of the realization of that on the part of the other.

### a. The Possibility of Christian Fellowship

By Christian fellowship is meant here the willingness to recognize that the other is a Christian and that it is possible to join together in common prayer



and worship, being willing to be blessed by each other's ministry. Christian fellowship in its fullness (at least church fellowship) is contained in pulpit and altar fellowship discussed in Chapter II.<sup>1</sup>

In Northern Tanganyika some of the ambiguity that exists in world Lutheranism with regard to ecumenical relationships is seen. As has been seen on the matter of the unity of the Church, it is considered enough to agree on the preaching of the Gospel and the administering of the sacraments.<sup>2</sup> As far as intercommunion is concerned among most of the Lutheran churches in America, for instance, this usually means only other Lutheran churches, since there are significant differences between the Lutheran Church and other bodies on the interpretations of the sacraments and in

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1. For a discussion of the whole matter of Christian fellowship see Nels F. S. Ferre', On Christian Fellowship (New York, 1940). It must be admitted that practicing Christian fellowship in matters of prayer and conversation but denying the fullness of it in the matter of pulpit and altar fellowship can hardly be defended from the New Testament. The answer usually given is that the sacraments are more than an individualistic **experience** and to celebrate the sacrament with a group proclaims unity in the intention of the celebration, and that if in actuality there is not unity in the intention the celebration is dishonest in that it proclaims a nonexistent unity. There is no word from the New Testament on what to do about doctrinal disagreements regarding the sacraments, since this was not a source of disagreement at that time.
2. *Ante.*, p. 19.

some cases the doctrine of the Word of God. Generally it is recognized among Lutherans that other Lutheran bodies are also the Church, but any outside are often suspect.<sup>1</sup> This is because it is not always clear just how the other bodies view the means of grace, and since it is by these means that Christ makes himself present in the Church, an inadequate doctrine on this subject could be dangerous. For that reason, often, pulpit and altar fellowship are not practiced, at least officially, with groups outside Lutheranism. Certain exceptions are made, but the above is the rule. It should be said that Lutherans are neither comfortable nor completely satisfied with their practices in connection with their relationship with other Christians in connection with the sacrament. An address by Dr. Hans-Werner Gensichen before the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, Minneapolis, 1957 illustrates this:

In this connection we must, at least briefly, touch the problem of communion-fellowship. Here, at the Table of the Lord, where the many should become one body by partaking of the one loaf, more nourishment has been given to divisiveness than anywhere else. Here, where the fellowship of the reconciled, united in heart and soul, was to proclaim the Lord's death until He return, our unity of faith is particularly grievously obstructed and broken. The situation is especially critical for the Lutheran Church. On the one hand, we Lutherans claim that our doctrine of the Lord's Supper approaches most closely the intentions of the Lord, and we have in the course of history

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1. Lutheran Churches of the World, pp. 160,161.

drawn very sharp lines of distinction over against those who disagree with our doctrine. But, on the other hand, we ourselves are today perhaps farther than ever removed from complete agreement on the traditional Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Today there is at least one Lutheran Church which has reached agreement on the Lord's Supper with its Calvinistic neighbor church, not to mention various types of 'emergency' intercommunion practised in diaspora regions or in young churches. There are Lutheran churches which 'really see no obstacle' to intercommunion with the Anglican Church. Some present-day Lutheran exegetes assert that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper as stated in the Confessions, does not do full justice to the biblical witness. And then there are many other Lutherans who view all this as deplorable apostasy from the faith of the fathers...Of course it is the table of the Lord, and not ours, to which we are called; and He is present, regardless of our interpretations of the mode of His presence. But time does not exempt us from the duty, in our teaching about the Lord's Supper and in our practice of communion, to adhere strictly to the word of the Bible and the will of Him who instituted it. For this reason we cannot favor unlimited intercommunion, by means of which and as a result of which doctrinal differences are--so it is hoped--to be overcome. The discussions in South India prove that an honest and frank discussion concerning the Lord's Supper holds more promise than does any attempt to cover up existing differences by compromise.<sup>1</sup>

Exceptions to the general practice noted above are also seen in America, some congregations letting all baptized Christians commune at their altars, others restricting it to those who receive the sacrament holding the same doctrine as the Lutheran Church, others restricting the

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1. Hans-Werner Gensichen, "The Unity of the Church in Christ" printed in Messages of the Third Assembly, The Lutheran World Federation, (Minneapolis, 1957), pp. 48,49.

sacrament to confirmed members of the Lutheran Church only.<sup>1</sup>

In practice, at least, the stand of the Lutheran Church of Norther Tanganyika is not rigid with regard to pulpit and alter fellowship. It would probably not permit one who is not an ordained Lutheran pastor to celebrate Mass in one of its churches; yet those who have not been confirmed as Lutherans, but who are members in good standing of other Protestant Christian groups, are allowed to receive communion at Lutheran altars.<sup>2</sup> This is true especially of those who have been instructed and baptized in other areas of the country, by pastors or other denominations, but who are residing in the area of the L.C.N.T.

These practices are in line with what is done elsewhere on the so-called "mission fields." In places where heathendom is closer at hand and where the Church is less established and is a minority movement the feeling of the meaning of the Una Sancta is much more prevalent than in a land where the traditions of a Church divided by denominationalism is a part of the fabric of the culture. Another

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1. This is a fact that can be observed by anyone who will take the trouble to visit a number of Lutheran Churches on a Sunday when Communion is being celebrated.
2. This has been observed by the writer from time to time in being with an African pastor and hearing him deal with communicants who have come from outside the area. The words "in good standing" usually refer to the person's ability to produce a document to that effect from his home parish.

factor is that of geography-if people who are temporarily or permanently residing in a locality different from where they have been instructed are going to have any Christian contact at all it must be with the church that is in the area where they are living. There is therefore an inter-communion, of at least a limited nature, with other evangelical groups, which in this case is the Anglican Church primarily.<sup>1</sup>

There is in this an expression of the Una Sancta which practically approaches the New Testament way, although as far as the L.C.N.T. is concerned the theological implications of the practice is perhaps still undefined. For evangelical Christians who come into the area, the L.C.N.T. is the Church that ministers to them, and is the Church to them while they remain there. There is a recognition of the unity and catholicity of the Church, although in certain doctrines and practices the L.C.N.T. may differ from the Church in other parts of the Territory.

c b. Cooperation in the Field of Evangelism

Most of the contacts of the L.C.N.T. with non-Lutheran evangelical Churches are through the Christian Council of Tanganyika (CCT), an organization of Churches and missions in the Territory carrying out certain joint projects that they (the Churches and missions) are not able to carry on individually. It seems that its greatest potential is yet to be realized. It could be that

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1. Ante., p. 41.

in the field of social witness on the Territorial level the CCT will be the means that the Churches will use to make their voice heard.

The main area of cooperation of the CCT is in the maintenance of the office of Education Secretary General for the non-Roman Catholic Missions.<sup>1</sup> Since the matter of the Church's relation to the Territorial educational system will be discussed in chapter IV it is not necessary to discuss it here.

The CCT has also explored areas of cooperation with regard to radio work. This is necessitated by Government policy. The radio stations in Tanganyika are maintained by the Government and do grant free time for religious broadcasting, but are not willing to deal with every small mission, but demand a common agency. It is therefore necessary for the Protestant witness in this area to be joint if it is to be made at all.<sup>2</sup>

Since 1955 there has been cooperation between the Lutheran Church and the Church Missionary Society

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1. There are some missions and Churches that cooperate in the work of the Education Secretary General, but who as yet are not members of the CCT.
2. The matter of broadcasting was brought before the CCT at its meeting in June, 1956 at Dodoma, at which the above-mentioned matters were discussed. The decision to go through with it was contained in the unpublished minutes of this meeting, which were distributed to the member missions and Churches.

in running a Christian Book Shop in Moshi. This is a practical venture in the area of distribution of Christian literature. Previous to this time the shop was run entirely by the C.M.S.

c. Problems and Opportunities  
in Ecumenical Relationships

From what has been said it is evident that ecumenical cooperation in Churches of Tanganyika is still in its infancy. As yet the matter of witness to political problems is untouched on this level. Doubtless here development will take place.<sup>1</sup>

From the previous discussion it is evident that in the matter of relations with churches outside itself, the L.C.N.T. has a strong confessional orientation, with emphasis on unity with other Lutheran Churches. Eventually the question of this confessional loyalty versus the idea of a Church in Tanganyika crossing denominational boundaries will have to be faced. How soon such a question will have to be faced, or in what form it will come, cannot be predicted at

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1. The writer attended a meeting of the CCT at which there was opportunity for discussion with both African and European political leaders on certain problems of political philosophy, but it was thought that those present were not prepared for such. This is not antypical of Protestants.

this time. However, it is not unlikely that such a decision will eventually have to be made.<sup>1</sup>

One question that has been discussed from time to time in the Lutheran churches of Tanganyika is that of the episcopate and the doctrine of apostolic succession. The Mission of the Church of Sweden has been eager to introduce it on its field (the Buhaya Evangelical Church), and it is planned that this year a Swedish bishop will visit that Church.<sup>2</sup> Whether at that time a bishop will be consecrated for the Buhaya Church is uncertain. The only relevance that this might have for the L.C.N.T. in its ecumenical relations at this time is the fact that if the L.C.N.T. had a bishop in the apostolic succession it might bring closer relations with the Anglican Church, perhaps that Church even being willing for the L.C.N.T. to assume the work of the "European chaplaincy." If this should happen the L.C.N.T. would be much more free to carry out a multi-racial witness, and would head off the danger that the L.C.N.T. would develop into an "ethnic" church. Certainly, if the L.C.N.T. were to carry on large scale work

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1. Nothing has been written on this subject as far as Tanganyika is specifically concerned. However, the writer has heard a leader of one of the non-Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika express himself privately as favoring closer ecumenical ties with perhaps eventual Church union within the Territory as over against contacts with international confessional bodies.
2. Minutes of the Lutheran Missions Council.



in the English language and appeal to Europeans a certain flexibility in the program would be necessary, but it seems that such would be possible.

### 3. The Relation to the Roman Catholic Church

One of the most vexing problems of the evangelical Churches, especially in the areas of the "younger" churches, is the relation to the Roman Catholic Church, a church which claims to be the one and only Church, and while claiming authority over all baptized Christians does not regard those outside its fold as belonging to the Church, at least does not regard other "churches" as being part of the Church. The difficulties are caused by both the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. It is obvious in a completely "Mission"l area (where the population is almost wholly yet outside the Church) two competing missions, both claiming to be the true Church to the exclusion of the other, present to the prospective convert a confusing picture, to say the least. The doctrinal position of the Roman Church is well enough described in various writings and generally well enough understood by even those who are not theologians so that it is not necessary to repeat it here.

There are difficulties encountered in describing the methods sometimes employed by Roman Catholic

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1. A "mission" area is one where there is no indigenous church, the work of propagating the gospel being carried on almost entirely by outsiders. There are often African workers in these areas, but they are paid from the outside and the direction of the work is from outside.

missionaries and workers. In seeking to find the truth in matters of religious warfare it is not always possible to accomplish one's aim. It is an area where emotions run high, and where zeal is often fanatical. It is an area where it is very easy to forgive the faults of one's own side but look glaringly at those of the other. It is an area that is also difficult to document, since religious warfare is not considered a proper thing to put in print, and it is often considered better taste not to publish the worst aspects of church quarrels. Yet the confidential correspondence of missionaries and churchmen, and the minutes of mission and church meetings abound in stories of bickering and fighting between those who call themselves followers of Christ.

It can be truthfully said that there has been antagonism between the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and the Roman Catholic Church, Holy Ghost Fathers Mission. In his annual report for 1955 the President of the L.C.N.T. said, in speaking of the mission work, that the African church itself was carrying on among a neighboring tribe the Sonjo:

The evangelization of the Sonjo tribe by the Church continues, and a small congregation already exists in Sonjo, and the slow penetration of the word of God into the very heavy darkness of heathendom is being increasingly felt. The Roman Catholic Mission, which does not seem to be ashamed to stoop to unChristian methods in order to gain ground for its Church, told the little Sonjo tribe that if they permitted the Roman Catholic Mission to enter Sonjo, the

Sonjo could become Christians and continue their sacrifices to the tribal god Ghambageu and also take more than one wife. Sonjo Christians answered that this was to deceive the Sonjo. So far the Sonjo have kept the Roman Catholic Mission from entering this small tribe of less than 4,000 souls which our Church started to evangelize in 1948, and among whom we have permanent work established in four of the five village areas. It seems that everywhere we are established the Roman Catholic Mission is pressing to advance, but the way it is done is so often such a shame on the Name of the Saviour Jesus Christ. We cannot possibly compete with the Roman Catholic Mission with a clean conscience using the methods that they employ. Again, we need to guide our Church in its witness to be determined to know nothing, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.<sup>1</sup>

It should be pointed out that the information concerning some of these activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries came through word of mouth, and it is difficult to prove the charges. (It would be impossible to prove exactly what the Catholic missionary in question said to the Sonjo people). The writer was present at the conference when this report was given, and knows something of the tension that has gone into the background of this particular matter of the evangelization of the Sonjo on the part of the L.C.N.T. The above is quoted, not because it is in any way unique, nor because it is worse than other reports of activities of Roman missionaries that come before the church, but because this is one instance that has appeared in a printed report.

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1. E. E. Danielson, "Superintendent's Report, Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika" Annual Reports of the Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika Territory, 1955.

Some things might be pointed out that are typical of the situation, however. It is stated that the Roman Catholic Church was attempting to get a foothold in this particular tribe,<sup>1</sup> for their mission work. At that time they had no mission post among that tribe because the elders of the tribe (who were practically all pagans) were not ready to let them come in and do mission work. The Lutheran Church, on the other hand, had been doing mission work there since 1948.

Many factors might be discussed here. It is at once obvious that there is something different here from what in America is called individual freedom of religion. When a mission wants to do work in an area it must first get permission of the native authorities in the area before it can go in and preach the Gospel. Doubtless, individuals could go through the land making evangelistic appeals, but for any settled mission work where buildings are built it is first necessary to get the acceptance of the tribe. For any effective work some arrangement like this is a necessity. To try to buy land is out of the question, since all land is held by the tribe and cannot be sold. What missions usually do in going into new areas now is to get permission of the tribe to build on communal land.<sup>2</sup>

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1. They have since succeeded in doing so.
2. For information on land tenure in Tanganyika see the 1954 U. N. Visiting Mission's Report, p. 55.

It becomes obvious that here there are two competing ecclesiastical systems that are both trying to deal with authorities of the tribe, each trying to make a deal to its own advantage and to the detriment of the other. If one can gain the acceptance of the people in a given district for his own mission to the exclusion of others he has under this kind of a setup achieved a "triumph." Actually the argument used is that primitive peoples ought not to have to be subjected to the confusion resulting from rival forms of religion, and so therefore some kind of spheres of influence appears to be the best arrangement.

It is in this kind of a confused situation that the Lutheran and Roman churches confront each other in Northern Tanganyika. Both are of about equal strength; both have experienced rapid growth since the end of World War II; both are pressing very vigorously in both the field of church evangelism and the field of Christian education. Indeed both have seized the opportunities offered by Government subsidies of Church-administered primary and middle schools for the winning of converts.

Government officials are, indeed, aware of the differences between the two churches. In his 1954 report the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province spoke of the internal difference that existed among the missions.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Reports of the Provincial Commissioners of Tanganyika, 1954.

The general areas in which each group is working have been described on p. 23. It might be noted where the areas of greatest conflict are. First of all, there is the Sonjo mission in the northwestern corner of the area of the L.C.N.T. This is a mission field of the African Church; it has been financed, staffed, and administered by the African church, largely apart from any assistance from the Mission.<sup>1</sup> For that reason, any interference with it from the Roman Church brings strong repercussions since it has such an emotional pull within the Church. This area is completely mission and until recently the Roman Church was unable to get a foothold. It seems now, however, that it has been able to come in.

The much larger area surrounding the Sonjo and extending far to the southeast (see map) is the Masai plains area, which is also largely mission - at least there are yet so few converts it is difficult to speak of a "church" in this area. This work among the Masai however, is financed and administered largely by the Mission rather than the African Church. Here also there has been sharp conflict with the Church of Rome. Not much comes out in the official reports that are printed, but much discussion takes place regarding strategy to meet the menace caused by methods

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1. There is a Swahili booklet telling the story of how the Gospel came to the Sonjo. Every issue of the minutes of the Church Council has one or more decisions regarding the work in Sonjoland.

of the Roman missionaries, which do not preclude the "enticing" of converts (who in this area are mostly children and young men) by promises of advantages of schooling and other things.<sup>1</sup>

In the Arusha area, except for Arusha town and some of the estates, the Roman Church has not yet been able to get permission from the tribal authorities to start work. Officially, the Lutheran Church has had nothing to do with this. It has been the first church to begin work of evangelization, and in some cases the leaders in tribal affairs have been members of this church, and there has been no need as far as the tribes are concerned for another mission to start work.<sup>2</sup>

The different areas of the two churches on Kilimanjaro, and in Pare Mountains have already been mentioned. It is sufficient to say that the situation is more fixed than in the Masai territory, but that there is definitely a Roman Catholic advance in both areas, with a tendency no longer to regard what were considered in the past as spheres of influence. The tension between the two groups seems to be mounting rather than diminishing. The aggressiveness of the Church of Rome in going into areas which have been regarded as

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1. The trouble between the two Churches over the Masai is a far from edifying spectacle of bickering, squabbling, claim and counter-claim, with involvement in tribal politics on the part of at least the African servants of both Churches.
2. The academic question of "freedom of religion" could be raised here as well as with the Meru tribe that will be discussed later.

"Lutheran" would seem to indicate that they believe at this time they are able to succeed in gaining footholds, and perhaps in gaining whole areas. Every action on the part of one group produces a reaction on the part of the other. Recent minutes of both the L.C.N.T. and the Lutheran Mission of Northern Tanganyika, which are still regarded as confidential, reflect measures taken to combat the danger of Roman encroachment.

Generally, where there has been conflict, it is the Roman Church that has triggered it. This has been caused by the fact that it has gone into areas already occupied by the Lutheran Church. It should be noted that after World War II the Lutheran Church, using mostly African workers, was very quick to spread out from the areas of the mountains of Kilimanjaro, Meru, and the Pares, on to the surrounding plains. The Roman Church was much slower in occupying this area, perhaps concentrating in the training of a corps of leaders. Since 1950, however, they have come into the area into which the L.C.N.T. has expanded but not yet consolidated. This has caused considerable tension.

In the area of social matters, such as the witness to the righteousness of God in political and other social matters, there has not yet been any cooperation between the two groups. It is perhaps true that Roman Catholic missionaries and Lutheran missionaries think much alike on political and social matters, but if such is true,



it has not resulted in anything that might be a united front in social matters.

It is axiomatic that when there is a threat of a common foe from the outside, contending groups will often call a halt to their fighting for the purpose of concentrating on things more dangerous. There is always a possibility that the threat of a common enemy might cause the Roman and Lutheran Churches to call a moritorium on their quarrels in Tanganyika. There are two movements at the present time that could produce this effect, namely, Islam and Communism.

There are today thirty million Muslims in non-Arab Africa.<sup>1</sup> The growth of Islam is one of the factors with which the Christian Church must deal in this generation. Within the borders of the L.C.N.T. there has been increasing tension with Islam, on Kilimanjaro with regard to ritual slaughter of animals for meat, and in the Pare district over school problems. At the time of the writing of this thesis the minutes of the Church Council especially treat of the former problem, while the latter has been a burning issue for both the Mission and Church for the last four or five years.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Wilfred Cantwill Smith, Islam in Modern History (Princeton, 1957), p.293.
2. Basically, the problem with regard to schools has been that the greatest leak from Islam to Christianity in the Pare region has been through the Christian day schools. Muslims have awakened to this fact, and as a result, in some areas, have boycotted the schools, hoping to close them for lack of students. They have also asked permission for their teachers to come in and teach their religion to Muslim children who are attending Christian schools.

The aims and methods of international Communism are well known and need not be recounted here. Although the writer has at times looked for evidence of direct Communist activity in Tanganyika, he has not found any. That is not to say, however, that the Communists are not working in the country. There is every reason to believe that they are and that at a time most convenient to themselves the results of their labors will be manifest.

The question can well be asked, whether in the face of these two formidable foes, it may not be necessary for the two large Churches in Northern Tanganyika to modify their policy toward one another. The fighting and bickering has been a scandal in the eyes of Africans.

Obviously, any change in the doctrines of either Church with regard to the other is impossible at this time. It is not a matter of the two groups getting together and "recognizing" each other as "Churches" but one of practice on the level of the grass roots. The greatest threat of the Muslim advance now in the area is in the field of education, both in their attempts to destroy the Christian schools through the boycotting of them, and their own attempts to set up an Islamic school system. Obviously, in the face of this pressure, it is not to the advantage of Christian bodies to weaken each other's school system by battling in the Government educational councils. While it may be impossible

to recognize the area of another church as "forbidden territory" with regard to one's own evangelistic program, it may under some circumstances be expedient not to trespass on that territory. Indeed, this is consistent with Lutheran practice, in that the Church does not attempt to send missionaries into the territory of even an heretical church (such as the Roman Catholic or Coptic) where it is believed that enough of the Gospel is presented so that it is possible for people to be saved. While such programs might conflict with Roman doctrine, that Church, too, might find it necessary to observe the same practice. Ultimately, these things are in the realm of casuistry.

Under present circumstances any cooperation between the two Churches in the area of social witness is impossible. This is obvious from the above description of the existing relationship. Where the only contact is that of clash there is little room for cooperation in any venture. A recognition of the Church's calling to give witness on the social level, and that that calling involves a responsibility beyond a narrow sectarianism would do much to bring at least a tolerance and mutual respect between the two denominations. The way to achieve this is not, however, for the Lutheran Church to weaken its position or to try to deal with the Roman Church and come to agreement with it. It is evident that the Roman Church believes that it will be able to make

inroads into the Lutheran work and only when it sees that this is not possible will there be any chance for cooperation. On the other hand Lutheran leaders ought not let the present unfortunate relationships blind them to the possibility of something better in the future, however remote the hope might be.

#### 4. The Relations to the Ethnic Churches

If the relationship with the Roman Catholic Church at this time may be characterized as one of hostile competition, that with the so-called "ethnic" churches is one of complete disassociation on the ecclesiastical level. In short, there is at present no contact at all on the Church level between the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and either the Greek Orthodox Church or the South African Dutch Reformed Churches.

It is impossible at this time because of doctrinal, linguistic, and cultural reasons to have any contact of fellowship with the Greek Orthodox Church. Professor Alivisatos, writing in The Nature of the Church (R. Newton Flew, Editor) on the Greek Orthodox concept of the Church, says:

As to the value and relationship of these many Churches to the authentic one, there are four possible theories: (1) This one Church is during the ages lost among the many Churches; (2) this one Church is divided into fragments, each one forming one of the existing different Churches. Each one of them has kept something essential from the one and their simple union will reconstitute the one broken in pieces; (3) this one Church is to

be identified in several existing Churches, which, though broken apart from each other, may each have retained the essential elements of the one Church; (4) out of the many existing Christian Churches there is only one of them which is entitled to be the one as having kept unchanged and uncorrupt the one truth as revealed by the Lord and the Apostles, regardless of later outward developments. The first three theories, with slight modifications, are represented by the theology of the several Protestant Churches, while the fourth is represented by the R.C.C. and the G.O.C., each one according to its own conception.<sup>1</sup>

In a footnote Professor Alivisatos brings in the Orthodox doctrine of the "economy" in which it is admitted that perhaps God is able to save people outside the Church, so that according to the Orthodox point of view "Christians" outside the Church are not necessarily lost. There is, however, no basis for Church fellowship with other denominations. Obviously this view of the Church is one that is not acceptable to Protestants. It is not in accord with the doctrine of the Church presented in Chapter I of this thesis.

It is difficult to speak of the South African Dutch Reformed Churches because so little is really known of them, and it is a question if they are really understood by people around them. There is evidence, however, of their having a "chosen nation complex" that not only divides them from other people, but hinders understanding of them by others as well.<sup>2</sup> It might be mentioned that

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1. Pp., 43,44.

2. Laurens Van der Post, The Dark Eye in Africa (London, 1955), p. 120.

individual South Africans have helped the L.C.N.T. at times in allowing the Church to build chapels for worship on their estates, for use by African workers. At times these men have built them with their own funds. Being a religious people they have been willing to encourage Christianity among their African workers, although this has not gone as far as to lead to church-fellowship with them.

There is one real point of danger with regard to these "ethnic" churches. It has been stated that these churches are the religious expression of ethnic communities.<sup>1</sup> What will happen when the interests of one of these communities ~~conflict~~ with the interest of the native African community? What will the fact that both communities have a numerically strong Christian Church mean? When there has been no contact and fellowship between these churches there is doubt if the churches will be able to bridge the gap caused by differences in economic interest. For example, the settler community has been the chief supporter of the Tanganyika European Council in the Northern province, an organization devoted to the promotion of European interests in Tanganyika.<sup>2</sup> Often what are regarded as European interests do not coincide with what are regarded as African interests, especially on land matters as will be seen in

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1. Ante., p. 22.

2. U. N. Visiting Mission Report, 1954, p. 74.

Chapter III. Such a situation can make a farce of Christianity in the eyes of those who expect the Church to be a voice of social justice and responsibility. A church that cannot rise above the interests of its own community is ill equipped to be responsible in Africa.

E. The Relation of the Church to the Social Order  
with Special Reference to the Political Aspects

In order to assess correctly the role of the Church in its relationship with social and political issues in any given territory it is first necessary to be acquainted with the currents of economic and political life that are moving over the area in question. This is most necessary in thinking of Northern Tanganyika, where social and political matters today occupy a prominent place in the thinking of the educated African. Unfortunately, the Church is often least at home in these things. There are Christians who do not believe that they ought to take part in politics.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding social matters, it is well to consider the different categories which are under consideration. For what one group considers the proper sphere of the Church's thinking would not be accepted by another. Matters of social concern in which the Church has an interest can be divided into two main categories: (1) those which affect the church directly as an institution; and (2) those matters

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1. J. V. Taylor, Christianity and Politics in Africa (London, 1957), pp. 7-20.

which do not affect the church directly, but about which the Church has an opinion because of its interest in the welfare of men and the will of God in human society. In the first mentioned category, for example, is the whole matter of tax exemption for church property in the United States, or in Tanganyika the matter of Government subsidy for schools and hospitals maintained by the Church. The second category might be subdivided into those matters which are social practices, or at least need to be socially controlled but which affect mostly individuals or families, and social matters which have an effect on society as a whole. In the former category are drunkenness and divorce. To be sure these are social problems, and in a sense they affect society as a whole in that they necessitate the building of institutions to take care of the wrecks of humanity that spring from them, yet the greatest toll is paid by the individuals concerned and their immediate families. Politics, on the other hand, is another matter. It is something that affects the whole of society--the political process is something that affects every person in the group, even those who consider themselves "non-political."

To be sure, these categories are never hard and fast. There will always be an overlapping. For example, in Tanganyika, land matters which might at first glance be regarded as of a completely a social or political matter,



will be seen to have facets that also directly affect the Church as an institution.<sup>1</sup>

In discussing "social problems" or "social developments" in Tanganyika, and especially the Church's relation to them, certain selections of subject matter must be made, for it would be impossible to consider all the implications of the Church's relation to the social structure. The selection does assume a value judgment regarding the importance of various social issues.

1. Pertinent Social and Political Matters  
in Tanganyika at Present

There are three matters which seem to be the most pressing in Tanganyika at this time, and these three are: (1) the distribution of land; (2) the emergence of a self-governing state; and (3) the development of an adequate African system of education. The necessity of the third matter for the development of a self-governing democratic state need not be discussed at length. That an educated citizenry is necessary for a well ordered government with an intelligent policy is axiomatic in Western countries, indeed, all over the world, although there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes a good educational system. The nature of the land problem and the development of the political structure, should, however, be reviewed briefly. While it is

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1. Post., p. 80.

not the purpose of this thesis to give an exhaustive study to these matters it is necessary to understand a bit of them in order to see how they affect the life of the Church and how the Church is able to affect them.

a. The Land Problem

Regarding the land problem, the 1954 Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories in East Africa, excerpts of which are found in Appendix B, will perhaps give a general picture. The description is of Tanganyika as a whole, but it is typical of the Northern Province.

A large part of the alienated land<sup>1</sup> is found within the territory of the L.C.N.T. on the mountains of Kilimanjaro and Meru. On the latter, especially, in the last few years there has been dispute over land alienation for European use. This is dealt with also in the 1954 Visiting Mission's Report. Since this case will be spoken of specifically in the discussion of the L.C.N.T. and the political and social problems it is not necessary to speak of it here. From the above these things regarding the land problem are clear: (1) There is not at present enough available and usable land for the support of a rapidly

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1. "Land alienation" refers to the taking of land out of the hands of African tribes for purposes of Government projects, commercial enterprises, or agricultural settlement by non-Africans, or possibly even by individual Africans.

expanding population which at present is living largely on a subsistence level, the problem having been aggravated by the introduction of cash crops; (2) from time to time land has been alienated for use by settlers, the majority of whom are Europeans. This second matter needs to be thought of in terms of the total development of the Territory, remembering that much of this land was alienated at a time when the population problem did not exist. However, when people are living at a subsistence level, it is obvious that if non-Africans are occupying land and having a relatively high standard of living a potentially explosive situation is found.

b. Development toward Self-Government

On the question of the development toward self-government, it is even less possible to be objective than with the land question. This matter, in fact, is related to the problem of land, since the chief source of tension between the African and the European (White man) comes over the question of ownership of land and who is to have the controlling voice in the emerging Government. The previous sections of this thesis have described fairly well the situation in which there are tight racial and cultural communities, such as African (Black), South African, Greek, Indian, and others. Generally speaking, they are united into three political groups: African, Asian (Indians, Pakastani, Goan, and to a small degree Arab), and European.

The importance of the Asian and European groups is not found in terms of their numbers, but their political domination (European) and economic control (both Asian and European). In 1953 there were approximately 8,000, 000 Africans, 84,000 people of Asian origin, and 20,000 Europeans in Tanganyika.<sup>1</sup> The significance of these figures will be seen in the proposals regarding self-government. It is evident that no normal person can question that with Africans being in the overwhelming majority they must eventually dominate the political scene in Tanganyika. The question is one of timing. The policy of the Government at this time is to work for a closer integration of the races by making use of a "multi-racial"<sup>2</sup> policy in representation in Government, laying the foundation for eventual self-government on a non-racial basis. That means that at present representation in the Legislative Council is on the basis of race, i. e., all three races have representation, but the eventual aim is a democratic government with representation elected by individuals without regard to race.

The system of government at present in Tanganyika is well described in the 1957 U. N. Visiting

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1. United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, Report on Tanganyika, p. 2.
2. United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, Report on the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, p. 14.

Mission's report:

In short, the Territory is administered by the Governor, assisted by an Executive Council consisting, since 1955, of eight official and six unofficial members, two appointed from each of the three main racial communities on the basis of personal merit. The laws of the Territory are enacted by the Legislative Council consisting, since 1955, of a speaker and thirty-one members on the Government side (including seventeen officials and fourteen non-officials) and, on the representative side, ten Africans, ten Asians and ten Europeans (one of each race appointed to represent each of the eight provinces and the capital, Dar es Salaam), and also one of each race to represent such interests as the Governor may see fit. It is to be noted that in addition to the Government majority in the Council, the Governor also possesses substantial reserve powers under the relevant legislation and may, if the situation warrants it, refuse to accept the advice of the Executive Council; in both cases he would be required to report his action to the secretary.<sup>1</sup>

A footnote to the above quotation indicated that the membership of the Legislative council has been increased by three on both the Government and representative sides as a result of the division of one province. It will be noted that presently "racial-partity" exists in the representation on the Legislative Council. It is the opinion of Government at this time that this racial representation is necessary at this stage in order to lay groundwork for future cooperation between the races and to protect minority interests in the Territory.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid., p. 19.

2. Ibid., pp. 19,20.

Elections are planned, beginning in September, 1958, in one part of the Territory, and a second for the remainder, in 1959. The way of voting and the qualifications for electors are well described in the 1957 Visiting Mission's Report<sup>1</sup> as follows:

The system of parliamentary representation requires electors, on pain of invalidating their votes, to vote for three candidates, one from each of three racial communities. The electors, in order to vote, should be twenty-one years of age and have resided in the Territory for three of the preceding five years and also should be able to satisfy one of the three following alternative requirements: to have attained the level of Standard VIII in the educational system; to possess an income of £ 150 a year; or to have had experience in certain specified categories of office. The latter categories comprise membership or former membership of the Legislative Council or one of the various types of local government bodies, Native Authorities, chiefs and other recognized authorities, and heads of clans or kindred groups. The candidates will be required to possess slightly higher qualifications particularly in regard to residence and education or income. In addition, a candidate must have been nominated by at least twenty-five of the voters in his constituency of whom fifteen must be members of his own racial group.

51. The voting qualifications, outlined above, necessarily exclude the majority of the African population which consists largely of peasants living in a subsistence economy and with, so far, at least as the adult population is concerned, very little education. The Election Ordinance was drafted on the premise that for the present it was desirable to restrict the franchise to those individuals whose personal qualities and attainments gave good reason to suppose that they would exercise their right to vote with understanding and a sense of responsibility.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 19,20.

2. Ibid., p. 21.

Obviously, the above contains ample grounds for disagreement among the various peoples of Tanganyika, even disagreement within the different racial and cultural groups. It is not the purpose of this thesis to point to any one solution to the political problems of the Territory, but to show the scene in which the Church is involved, and to try to assess what the Church has done and how it has been affected by these conditions. It was therefore necessary that the above information be presented. It is also necessary to say something as it has expressed itself in the formation of political parties.

The two major political parties involving Africans are the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the United Tanganyika Party (UTP). TANU, according to its president, has a membership of 150,000 to 200,000 and up to now is completely African, while the UTP, founded in February, 1956 and sponsored by a majority of the representatives in the Legislative Council, has a membership of about 10,000 of whom 67 per cent are Africans, 23.6 per cent are Asians and 8.5 per cent are Europeans.<sup>1</sup>

The 1957 U. N. Visiting Mission's Report is perhaps again the most concise source of information about these two parties. Its description of TANU is found in Appendix C.

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1. Ibid., p. 35.

Thus, it is clear that TANU represents the voice of African nationalism in its more advanced form. It is opposed to the present Government's policy on the grounds that it is discriminatory toward Africans and because it believes it is not quick enough in the matter of bringing self-government to the Territory. The report of the visiting Mission points out that TANU has not been popular with non-Africans in the Territory. This is not difficult to understand in view of the opinion on land alienation. Accusations against this party which never are printed, some of which are half-truth, others of which are completely irresponsible, are passed by word of mouth among the European population. In an atmosphere of tension and fear it becomes increasingly difficult to separate fact from fiction.

The second group mentioned, the UTP, is interracial, while TANU is made up entirely of Africans. It is not opposed to the present tri-partite vote, although it believes it ought to be optional. It emphasizes step-by-step evolution toward self-government based on equal rights for all citizens regardless of race or creed. It also is in favor of the creation of a second chamber in the Legislative Council made up of chiefs and outstanding citizens of all races. It is especially concerned with economic development of the Territory, especially land utilization. It is in favor of individual tenure of land. It believes that the



African peasant farmer ought to be assisted in order to be more productive. It favors increase in wages and the establishment of multi-racial trade unions. It also believes in interracial education as well as the establishment of a Territorial university college.<sup>1</sup>

This group does not believe that the stage to which Tanganyika has now come is the permanent pattern, but it is satisfied with the policy and the plan that the Government is now following. It should be noted that it was founded with the approval of the majority of the members of the present Legislative Council and therefore those who have a stake in the existing order. While many of the policies it supports might at first glance seem sound, its numbers as compared to those of TANU do not seem to indicate that it has gripped the minds of the African population to the extent that the latter had. The elections will perhaps be a true indication of the comparative popular strength of the two.

There is a third small political party group in Tanganyika that deserves mention, not because of its size, though statistics were not available, but because of its principles, namely, the Tanganyika National Society.<sup>2</sup> It was originally the Tanganyika branch of the Capricorn Society,

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1. Ibid., pp. 35,36.

2. Ibid., p. 36.

information about which will be found in the Appendix. There are many things in its platform to commend it to the Christian conscience. It has not, however, gained the confidence of great numbers of Africans. It supports present Government policy of parity representation (which is perhaps the reason why it is suspect by most Africans) but only as a transitional measure. Its influence does not seem at this time to be great.

There are also small Asian political parties which ought to be mentioned, namely, the Hindu Council of Tanganyika, Ismailia Central Political Committee, and the Asian Association. The last mentioned has political aims similar to TANU.<sup>1</sup>

There are local African political groups (but not parties) in the Northern Province which are perhaps closer to the life of the L.C.N.T. although they do not present a picture different from that already given. There is the Chagga Council, presided over by Chief Thomas Marealle II (a member of the L.C.N.T.), which is concerned that Tanganyika develop primarily as an African state. They do not like the parity plan. Their principal concern seems to be the increase in educational facilities beyond the primary level (Standards or grades I to IV). This, of course, affects the mission and Church because of its maintenance of a school

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1. Ibid., pp. 36,37.

system. The Chagga Citizens Union, a group of people within the Chagga tribe holds similar views.<sup>1</sup>

There is a small group of people of the Meru Tribe, the Meru Citizens Union, which has been primarily interested in the local land dispute which will be spoken of later. This group claims 6,000 members. Its views are similar to those of TANU.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika and Political and Social Issues

The next matter to be discussed is the manner in which these matters and others have affected the L.C.N.T. and what effect the Church has had on them. It must be said that it is extremely difficult in a country that is in the process of a social and political revolution to get exact information, especially documentary information about activities in this sphere. That is because churches are reluctant to speak especially in writing on controversial questions, particularly if they will be suspected of being "subversive" to the present political order. For that reason far more thinking and discussion will go on than will actually appear in printed minutes. Thus rather innocent sounding minutes may have been preceded by involved discussion.

### a. The Support of Legislation regarding the Church's own Welfare

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1. Ibid., pp. 38-40.

2. Ibid.

As has been mentioned before, the L.C.N.T. cooperates with Government in the Territorial educational program, receiving funds from the Education Department for its school system. Although certain elements, especially within the mission, have at times questioned this policy, suggesting that it is perhaps not the purpose of the Church to be so involved in purely educational matters. It is maintained that the purpose of the Church is evangelism, and that the Church would be better off to turn the whole education system over to Government and Native Authority (the local tribal Government) and concentrate on evangelizing. It would maintain only higher schools for the training of Church workers. The policy that has been accepted by the Church and Mission when decisions have had to be made, however has been to go along and cooperate with the Government in these matters and to maintain the subsidised schools as Church institutions.

The Church, generally, has supported the policy that more and more of the funds for the running of these schools should come from Government, since the schools are part of the Territorial system of education, the Church being responsible for the spiritual guidance of these schools. Beginning with 1955, 100 per cent of the teachers' salaries in the registered schools have been paid by the Government. The Mission has declared the policy that only in extreme cases

will schools be opened that are not aided by Government. There are at times here differences between Church and Mission, the Church sometimes urging the Mission to open and support schools in areas that are not yet aided by the Government.

The representation of the voice of the Church to government is channelled through the office of the Education Secretary, and the Education Secretary General.<sup>1</sup> On the local level the Church makes its thoughts known to the Education Secretary through the Church Education Committee.

While admitting that increased Government control of the school system, and that perhaps eventually the schools will become secular, it is believed that that time has not yet arrived, and that imperfect though the present system is, it is perhaps the best arrangement that can be worked out now. Indications are that with the call for increase in education on the part of the Africans, the Church's involvement in this area will become greater before it becomes less.

The Church is involved with Government also in the field of medicine. Here, perhaps, especially in the more advanced areas, its responsibility will tend to diminish rather than increase.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ante., p. 46.
2. This matter was developed by His Excellency the Governor of Tanganyika, in an address before the All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu in November, 1955.

b. The Church and Marriage Problems and Religious Boycott

There are a number of local social problems that have involved the L.C.N.T., some arising out of tribal custom, others out of the spirit of the age now existing in Africa. They are local not because their counterparts do not exist in other parts of Tanganyika, but because they have been dealt with on the local level.

Two problems that have been especially acute are those of bride-wealth and the slaughtering of animals for meat. In the matter of bride-wealth, something of African customs should be explained. In the old tribal structure it was customary for the groom, together with his father, to present to the father of the bride on the occasion of a marriage certain gifts of cattle, goats, native beer, etc. These were "marriage-insurance" to be returned if the marriage should be broken of the fault of the bride. Conversely if the marriage were broken because of the fault of the man he forfeited his right for the return of the bride-wealth. These things have become oppressive burdens on the younger generation. One result is that some young people dodge the issue by not paying the bride-wealth and living together in common law marriage. This has caused no little discussion within the Church. The youth group of the L.C.N.T. has been agitating for the abolition or at least the lessening

of the whole system. Those who live in common law marriage are excommunicated from the Church since they are living together without being legally married. It is a matter which is regarded as a social problem. As yet, no concrete solution has been made by either Church or society.<sup>1</sup>

The trouble over the slaughter of animals for meat has involved Christians who have owned butcher-shops. Muslims have demanded certain ritual practices in the slaughter of all meat sold in the area. The problem is a current one that is as yet unsettled. The Church has, with the support of the Mission, stood behind its people in this matter.<sup>2</sup>

c. The Church and the Land Problem

The stand of the L.C.N.T. with regard to land in Northern Tanganyika has two facets: (1) the disposition of mission land itself; and (2) the church's and Missions's attitude toward the Government land policy, especially in regard to the Meru land question.

In 1946-47 a survey was made of the lands

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1. For a discussion of marriage customs of the Chagga tribe see Charles Dundas, Kilimanjaro and Its People (London, 1924), pp. 228-254.
2. The problem being current, the information has been gleaned from current minutes of the Church and Mission.

on Mounts Kilimanjaro and Meru with regard to seeking to solve or alleviate a problem already mentioned, namely, that of the overcrowding of the agricultural land on the two mountains. The findings of this Commission, commonly known as the Wilson Land Report, covered a great many facets of the land problem in the area, and brought forward many recommendations. One rather minor recommendation of the Commission, but one which had great effect on the Mission and Church concerned Mission-held land, especially on Kilimanjaro. At the time both the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Missions were holding tracts of land that they were not using for Church purposes, some of it being used commercially. It was the recommendation of the Wilson Report that these land be turned over to the Native Authority for the use of land-hungry Africans.

At the time some 691 acres of land were held by the Lutheran Mission in the Moshi District (Kilimanjaro). Over half of this was returned to the Africans in accordance with the recommendation.<sup>1</sup> Compensation was paid in cash for this land. It is interesting to note the position of the Roman Catholic Mission. In 1954 it still held all its 3,229 acres in the Moshi District, including a tract of 1,330 acres near its Kilema mission which at the time was "largely rented to African peasant farmers."<sup>2</sup> The Roman Catholic Mission had indicated willingness to give up some of

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1. U. N. Visiting Missions Report, 1954, p. 52.

2. Ibid.,



its land if in return it could receive other land in small plots. This, the Chagga Council has refused.<sup>1</sup>

The above needs explanation. Doubtless, any explanation will be highly subjective. There is serious doubt if the Lutheran Mission followed wise procedure with regard to this land situation. It has been previously stated that the Church and Mission are committed to the maintenance and expansion of a school system for which land in ever increasing amounts will be needed. When the land has been given up to land-hungry peasants it is impossible to get it back. Subsequent events have shown that the Mission and Church have been seriously hampered by a shortage of land for educational purposes and for other Church institutions. In one of the sites where land was given up, Marangu, a middle school had to be built in a location not ideally situated because there was no other space available.

The missionaries at the time believed that the Africans of the Church were in favor of the transaction. The question can be asked why they were in view of the unfavorable result for the work of the Church in future time, added to the fact that in the long run the handing over of a few hundred acres of mission land was inconsequential as

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1. Ibid., pp. 51,52.

far as the settling of the land problem in Northern Tanganyika is concerned. The answer is found in the fact that at that time the land was held and administered almost solely by the Mission with little or no African voice concerning its disposition, and since it was at that time unused it was looked upon as simply unused "European" land which could be made better use of by African farmers. That it could cause trouble later for the Church was easily forgotten in an emotionally charged situation. Had the question come before the Church at the present time when it has a far greater voice in the whole policy of the work, or had the question been raised concerning a coffee estate that is controlled by the African Church itself, the outcome might have been for different. A people cannot be expected to act with responsibility until responsibility is placed in their hands.

The Roman Catholic Mission was able to maintain its position, claiming that the land being held for future generations. There is no indication that it has lost anything by holding to this position.

The other part of the Wilson Report that has involved the Lutheran Church the most has been the Meru land case. This is an extremely complicated matter and one that is very difficult to explain and at the same time do justice to all parties concerned. The Lutheran Church has been involved in this because of its involvement with the

Meru tribe, it being the only Church working among those people. A Government official (who perhaps would not wish to be quoted by name) once made the statement in a private conversation that "Church and state are one in Meru." A bit of the Lutheran Church's closeness to the Meru situation can be seen from some direct quotations from the 1954 Visiting Mission's report.

The Mission was invited to a meeting with the Meru tribal council at the Native Authority headquarters on the mountainside. It was a public gathering, with a large attendance of people. For the first time in the Mission's experience in Tanganyika, the meeting began with a Christian prayer, an act which no doubt reflected the strong influence of the Lutheran Church among the Meru people. The Lutherans, besides operating many of the government-subsidized schools and medical services in the area, have set out to establish a self-governing and self-supporting indigenous Lutheran church; they claim 90,000 baptized African Christians in northern Tanganyika, including some 9,000 among the Meru. The present chief (who was visiting England at the time) is a Lutheran medical worker, and the other candidate in the 1953 election was a Lutheran pastor.<sup>1</sup>

Briefly stated the Meru land case was this: the Wilson Land Commission was searching for a solution to the problem of finding adequate land for the Meru and Chagga peoples, while at the same time protecting the interests of the European settlers who had come into the country, seeking to insure the best and most efficient development of the land.

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1. Ibid., p. 43.

In the case of the Meru an equivalent area, which has also been increased (see paragraph 350), was to be made available for the tribe. But in their case other factors were also involved. The Commission devoted attention to the future of the Sanya "corridor," the plateau separating the two mountains and also separating the European alienated land on the northeast of Mount Meru from that on the north-west of Kilimanjaro. It contained on its eastern fringe the two farms purchased by the Meru, but otherwise was used only by the Masai for highland grazing at certain times of the year. The Commission stated that the Masai had been properly excluded from this area when the district boundaries were demarcated in 1925, and that they should never have been allowed to filter back again. Knowing that the Government hoped for a flourishing dairying industry there, it proposed that the Masai should be excluded from the corridor, and the corridor closed; and a natural corollary to this would be the joining up of the three European settlement blocks at the centre and north end of the gap. The Veterinary Department had stated that it was necessary to the success of the dairying industry that all native cattle should be excluded from what most essentially be a compulsory dipping area; with the exclusion of the Masai and one isolated Somali cattle owner, the only African cattle left in the area would be those of the Meru who had settled there after the acquisition of the two farms mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

The farms were those that had been alienated during the days of the German rule of Tanganyika, but had been bought back by the Meru people during the 1930's.

The Commission concluded that the real advantage in joining up the three non-native settlement blocks would be the constitution of a solid, infection-free compulsory dipping area as desired by the Veterinary Department. (It should be explained that the Commission wrote its report some years before the present successful dipping scheme for the Meru was introduced). With that

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1. Ibid., p. 50.

object in view it recommended, subject to agricultural survey, the exclusion of the Meru and all other Natives from settlement or grazing inside a defined line, within which the two Meru farms at Engare Nanyuki and Leguruki would fall. The need to keep undipped cattle away from the European herds made it essential to move the Meru from Engare Nanyuki....<sup>1</sup>

The Meru who lived in the area did not wish to be moved, although the Government tried to tell them (and believed) that the land they would receive instead in the Kingori area was better. An assessment of compensation totalling ₤ 14,000, which was thought to be generous, was carried out. About half of the people concerned refused to give their names to this assessment. Arrangements were made with the Lutheran Mission for the transfer of its dispensary from Engare Manyuki to Kingori. The Meru, however, protested, sending appeals to the Governor and to the Secretary of State for Colonies and to the U. N. They brought their case before the 1951 Visiting Mission. Between the dates of 17 November and 12 December, 1951 the Meru were forcibly evicted from the Engare Nanyuki region.<sup>2</sup>

The effect on the spirit of the people and their attitude toward Government was disastrous. The Meru took their case to the U. N. A resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee inviting the Administering Authority (the Tanganyika Government) to return them to their land failed to get the two-third majority in the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid., p. 50.

2. Ibid., p. 51.

3. Ibid., p. 52.

At the U. N. they were represented by Mr. Kirilo Japheth, a member of the L.C.N.T., now president of the Northern Province TANU.

The L.C.N.T. was greatly concerned about this matter. In a letter dated 11 January, 1951 (before the above described events happened) Dr. E. R. Danielson, then Superintendent of the Church and Mission, expressed concern that "a smouldering resentment" was being started among the Africans who believed the European farmers were forcing them off their land and that this might cause trouble for years to come. The matter came up at conference of the Mission of the L.C.N.T. from time to time after the unfortunate events described above. After the people had become embittered not much more could be done. One thing that ought not be minimized was the effect of the pastoral care of the leaders of the Church, especially Dr. Danielson, in guiding the Meru people through this difficult time.

The above is not all of the land story in Northern Tanganyika, nor is it even the end of the Engare Nanyuki-Meru difficulty. It does, however, point up the involvement of the L.C.N.T. in the land problem. In summary, it cannot be claimed that the L.C.N.T. influenced the Government policy with regard to the land situation. It was the victim of the Wilson Land Report in connection with its own land on Kilimanjaro. It did, however, express its concern

over the Meru situation, and to this day has great influence among the Meru people.

d. The Church and Politics

Often the best analysis of a Church's influence in the political order comes from one outside that Church. In the 1954 Visiting Mission's report there is a review of the Mission's interview with Dr. Danielson.<sup>1</sup> It is too lengthy to be reproduced here but is found in the Appendix. From this it is apparent that the concern of the Church and its leaders for the issues facing the society of Northern Tanganyika is seen to be genuine. The concern was expressed that a multi-racial society evolve, in which an emphatic concern for human relations on the part of the Government ought to be emphasized. It is significant that the opinion of the Church was sought by the U. N. Mission. This indicates importance of the Church as a means of shaping the minds of men in Africa. The concern that the Church has shown for the welfare of Africans in such matters as the land problem.<sup>2</sup>

The subject of the Church and its relation to political parties must be faced. Because there is no effective political leadership without participation in

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1. Ibid., p. 51.

2. Ante., p. 83.

political parties, one cannot be a political individualist and hope to be effective. It was obvious from statistic presented at the beginning of this chapter that the political party which has most gripped the minds of Africans (at least the statistics would indicated thus) is TANU. While there might be noble things in the platforms of the other parties, and while they may at times seem to be acting in a somewhat more responsible fashion, it is TANU that is effectively active in formulating African public opinion. The writer remembers discussing the Capricorn Africa Society, the philosophy of which has gone into the Tanganyika National Society, with one of the lay leaders of the L.C.N.T. This African, himself friendly to the Europeans, has a good grasp of many of the social problems of his people. He was willing to admit that the Capricorn Society had many good things in its platform, but he did not believe that it was able to win the sympathy of any number of Africans. The fact is that TANU seems to have the sympathy and support of the majority of Africans who are doing any political thinking, and so any effective political leadership must be through this party or some other which is able to capture the imagination of the African.

What is the record of the L.C.N.T. with regard to TANU? Are members of that L.C.N.T. exerting the influence that they ought to in responsible leadership of



the party? It is perhaps impossible to assess the influence of any one church-body on a political movement since so many things go to make up politics. The Church Council as well as the pastors of the L.C.N.T. have gone on record as not favoring pastors and evangelists of the Church being members of political parties. The reason for this is that the pastor and evangelist are called to serve the whole congregation regardless of political affiliation, and that active participation in a political party might serve as a hindrance to that pastor in being a pastor and priest to one of another political idea.<sup>1</sup>

There is a question regarding the teachers employed in Schools of the Church, whether they ought to be allowed to join political parties. The policy has been that any teacher who wished to join a political party must secure the permission of the Education Secretary. The question has been much discussed in the councils of the Church and is not settled as yet.

Generally speaking, the missionaries have not favored the participation in political organizations by pastors, evangelists and teachers of the Church, and many

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1. This matter was discussed and the above reasons for not joining political parties at the 1955 meeting of the pastors of the L.C.N.T. held at Makumira Seminary, July, 1955, were formulated.

of the missionaries have looked with suspicion upon TANU. One reason for this is perhaps the pietistic background of many of the missionaries which emphasizes personal conversion, personal holiness, and tends to withdraw from the political order as being part of the world that they do not wish to contaminate themselves with. There also has been an innate conservatism and fear of change coupled with fear caused by irresponsible acts caused by some individual leaders of TANU.<sup>1</sup> Many Europeans in the Territory are not sure of the real purposes of TANU, and therefore do not trust it. Justifiably or not, this has been the thinking of many of the missionaries. They are not sure what TANU represents and therefore suspect it. The practice of repeating rumors that sometimes are irresponsible is not confined to Africans in the territory.

#### F. Summary and Conclusion

The Church in Northern Tanganyika today is divided into denominations as is the case in almost every country in the world. For purposes of analysis these denominations have been treated under two headings: confessional churches, and ethnic churches. The confessional churches, in this case the Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Anglican, either try to reach every person within their area,

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1. Ante., p. 69.

or at least do not follow a policy of discouraging anybody from affiliating with their church. The ethnic churches, the Dutch Reformed and the Greek Orthodox serve specific national and cultural communities.

It has been necessary to discuss the two theories of church organization, the folk-church and the gathered-church. It is evident that the ethnic churches serve as folk churches for cultural groups, although not for geographic areas. The Roman Catholic Church seeks to be the folk-church wherever possible. Because of historic circumstances, the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika in certain areas has become de facto a folk-church due to the phenomenal growth since the beginning of World War II.

In summary, regarding the relation of the L.C.N.T. with other Christian bodies it has been seen that there are four categories: (1) with other Lutheran Churches; (2) with other evangelical Churches; (3) with the Roman Catholic Church; (4) with the "ethnic" Churches.

With the other Lutheran Churches, both those inside Tanganyika and those outside, there is at present complete harmony, cooperation, and pulpit and altar fellowship, with a growing movement toward unity of action and cooperation on a continental and worldwide scale. Regarding Church union, the development is in the direction of confessional unity rather than geographical unity that

crosses confessional boundaries. These Churches of the L.W.F. are in the mainstream of the ecumenical movement. With other evangelical Churches it has been seen that there is a type of intercommunion although perhaps not yet complete pulpit and altar fellowship since priests of other churches do not regularly serve at altars of Lutheran Churches. A suggestion of what the introduction of the episcopate might do for the L.C.N.T. was made. It should be emphasized that ecumenical relationships in Tanganyika are still at the beginning stages, and that at present there is not yet much cooperation in giving a witness on the political level. With the Roman Catholic Church, antagonism in spiritual and practical matters was noted, but with the suggestion that in the future a modification of policy might be necessary in the face of common danger. With the "ethnic" Churches it was noted that there is at present no relationship at all. What the attitude toward these Churches will be in the future is difficult to say. If it becomes necessary for most of the Europeans in the Territory to leave, it might be that they will cease to exist. It is evident from the above that serious thought needs to be given in the L.C.N.T. regarding relationships and attitudes toward other Christian bodies.

Two pertinent social problems in Tanganyika at the present time are land tenure, and the development towards self-government. The land problem is due to the

growth in population and the practice of growing cash crops resulting in there not being sufficient land to go around for the African population. This has been complicated by the presence of the European settler. The problems in development toward self-government center chiefly around the proportion of representation in the Territorial legislative council for the various racial groups.

The L.C.N.T. has been involved in these and other social matters. It has supported legislation for its own welfare, chiefly in connection with Government subsidies for Church-schools. It has also been involved in other matters of a more local concern.

In the land problem the L.C.N.T. has been affected in two ways: it has had to give up some of its own mission-held land on Kilimanjaro, and it has been close to the Meru people in their grievance with Government in connection with the forced eviction of people from their homes at Engare Nanyuki.

In political matters many of the laymen of the L.C.N.T. have been in and are carrying on an active part in the political parties. The Church as such has not entered into support of the policy of any one party, however.

## CHAPTER III

### EVALUATION

#### A. Introduction

This final chapter will seek to evaluate how the Church as described in Chapter II fulfills the requirements of the Church of the New Testament as seen in Chapter I, both in terms of its structure and its relation to society. This will be done under two main headings: (1) the relation of the present structure to the New Testament; and (2) the Church and social issues.

The first part will be a discussion of whether or not the church organization as it exists in Northern Tanganyika today can really be called the Church. It will seek to deal with the question: if the Church is the body of Christ, and Christ cannot be divided, does the Church really exist among many bodies, especially when some are mutually exclusive?

The second part of the chapter will seek to evaluate the position of the Church in the social order. It will ask the question: is it valid for the Church to involve itself in the social order in the light of the New Testament? It will also seek to evaluate how well the Church has fulfilled its calling in the social sphere as well as to suggest some possible ways of being effective in this matter. Evaluations will be given in light of the specific social issues described in Chapter II.

B. The Relation of the Present Structure to the New Testament

Is the picture of the Church as it exists in Northern Tanganyika today consistent with the Church as is seen in the New Testament, or are there elements in Northern Tanganyika that contradict the essence of the Church as seen in the New Testament? Is it correct in the light of the New Testament to speak of the denominations mentioned above as "Churches" regardless of how necessary it might be to do so in a practical sense?

It has been seen from above (Chapter I) that the Church is the congregation in which Christ is present through the means of grace. In that sense of the word the Church is present in its fulness wherever there is a congregation in which the Word and sacraments are present. Therefore, it might be said that the Church exists within the denominational structure. Here, however, a difficulty arises: in the New Testament there is no provision for separate "Churches" or different bodies or "Churches" that are not in fellowship with one another, or that do not recognize each other as Churches.

It is true that there were divisions within the New Testament Church. It is seen from the Corinthian correspondence, from the letter to the Galatians, and from the book of Acts that there was not always agreement within the Church. They sometimes spoke of different "churches" but

these were geographical distinctions and there was no thought that "Churches" in one locality were out of fellowship with those in another.<sup>1</sup>

# 1. A Fragmented Body

It is seen that in Northern Tanganyika (as in other parts of the world) the Church exists in a fragmented body. The divisions are not entirely geographical, but confessional, cultural, and racial. Geographical divisions do in a practical sense limit or even prevent that fellowship in a spiritual way. Christians are not only prevented by geography from getting together, but spiritual barriers are raised between them by the very nature of the organizational structure of the Church (or churches).

From the point of view of the unity of the Church there are two general areas where it can be said that the present structure in Northern Tanganyika approaches the New Testament concept of the Church, namely, in the purely "African" tribal areas in which either the Lutheran Church or the Roman Catholic Church is the Church and no other group is working. These "African" areas are those under tribal administration, in which the only permanent residents are Africans living on their tribal land, in contrast to the towns

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1. I Cor. 1:10-17; Gal. 2:1-21; Acts 15; Rev. 1:9-11. The word "Churches" when used in the New Testament refers to geographical rather than cultural or doctrinal divisions. Although there were doctrinal differences, as the above passages show, they did not at that time rend the Church.



and estates (plantations) where there are large numbers of Europeans, Indians, and Africans of various tribes and in which various religions are working, sometimes in competition, or side by side in self-contained cultural communities with no contact between each other. Thus the Church is unified only in areas where history and tribal structure have favored it.<sup>1</sup>

It should be emphasized that the preceding paragraph is not an attempt to say how effective the Word of God is in the lives of members of these Churches. It merely states the fact that in the above mentioned areas the organizations listed are the sole representatives of Christ and are the existing manifestation of the Christian Church, no matter how well or how poorly they manifest it.

## 2. The Question of Church Existence in the Present Day

This is a most serious question. Does not the existence of separate "Churches" contradict the very use of the term "Church" in its New Testament usage? Is there such a thing as the "Church" in our day beyond such occasions as when Christians are gathered together. Has the "Church" as thought of as the sum total of Christendom been destroyed by the "Churches?" Obviously, the answer is "No," on two accounts: (1) Jesus' own statement in Matthew 16:18 would

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1. One source of information on the structure of African populations in general in Tanganyika is the book Tanganyika, A Review of its Resources and their Development, by J. F. R. Hill, pp. 29-33.

show that the Church is indestructible, at least as long as the word of Christ is proclaimed; (2) by faith it is apprehended that Christ is manifested in the "Churches"<sup>1</sup> through the Word and sacraments and therefore the Church is known to be present, although there may be serious doctrinal problems regarding its nature.

Dr. Conrad Bergendoff in his 1953 Hoover Lectures discusses the meaning of the Church as "catholic." This has a bearing on the subject treated here. He first establishes his case that the Greek word *καθολική* is the most suitable for describing one quality of the Church--a word that neither "Christian" nor "universal" is able to displace --and a word that needs to be renovated for present-day usage.<sup>2</sup>

He goes on to develop the meaning of the New Testament quality of the Church that this particular word describes. The Church in the New Testament was the meeting-ground of Jew and Gentile in which all were one in Christ Jesus. The danger that the Church would be split over the relationship to the Old Testament Jewish practices had occasioned the Jerusalem Council mentioned in Acts 15. But

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1. Nygren, op. cit., p. 96.
2. Conrad Bergendoff, The One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, (Rock Island, Illinois, 1954), pp. 51, 52.

at this conference the storm was weathered and it was recognized that Gentiles were able to enter the household of God. Bergendoff goes on to say that almost always the Pauline concept of the Church held the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile as something that had already come to pass. The catholicity of the Church was then one of a universality of salvation without any distinction of race or cultural background, but one that was open to all who would be in Christ Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say that in the degree that the early Church became completely a Gentile Church apart from the Jews it lost a measure of its catholicity in that a part of those for whom the Gospel was prepared were separated from it. In the remainder of the chapter he shows how the word "catholic" in the second and third centuries took on the meaning of a specific form of church government that was alien to the spirit of the New Testament.<sup>2</sup>

This perhaps is the point of departure in considering the nature of the Church as it is found now in exclusive divisions. The fact that the Church became a Gentile Church, apart from the Jews, did not nullify the presence of Christ in the Church, although in so doing it lost a measure of its catholicity. In other words, it did not cease to be

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1. Ibid., p. 53.

2. Ibid., pp. 53-73.

the Church (the Body of Christ) but it was not so able to express itself effectively as Christ would have had it do. In this measure it was a suffering Church because its Head, namely Christ, was suffering.

The same logic can be applied to the Church in Northern Tanganyika. It cannot be said that the Church does not exist, nor can it be said that Christ is not active in these organizations (denominations). It must be recognized that the preceding sentence is a tautology since where Christ is there the Church is and where the Church is there is Christ. The fact that the Church is in schism does not nullify the presence of Christ in that Church, although essential features of the Church are being denied, and the Church is hindered from expressing its true self. It is an axiom that Christ cannot be divided, therefore the Church cannot be divided. Therefore, it must follow that under the multiplicity of organizations, some of them denying that the others are even the Church, there is an essential unity in Christ of his Church that men in their organizations are still denying. As the Body is seemingly divided, it suffers at not being able to express the unity that its Head would have it do. In this measure it was a suffering Church because its Head, namely Christ, was suffering.

It is true that unity does not necessarily imply unity of organization, nor does it necessarily mean

identical forms of worship.<sup>1</sup> The fact that there are for efficiency sake different organizations for carrying on the work of the Church does not necessarily destroy the unity of the Church. The fact that different languages are used in the worship--Swahili, Chagga, Meru, Afrikaans, Greek, etc.-- does not destroy the unity of the Church since these **are simply** means to make the worship intelligible to people of different traditions. The fact that forms of worship differ from some that are very simple to some that are very highly liturgical does not necessarily destroy the unity of the Church. It was one principle of the Lutheran Reformation that for the unity of the Church it is necessary to agree on the matter of the Gospel alone.<sup>2</sup> In practical matters this has meant to the Lutheran Church what is called "pulpit and altar fellowship." This means that if such fellowship exists communicants from one group can commune at the altar of another and that pastors may preach in churches that have this fellowship with their own. Where this type of fellowship does not exist there is no unity of the Church. Where such fellowship does exist one can say that there is a practical expression of the unity of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Augsburg Confession, Art. VII.
2. Ibid.
3. The matter of pulpit and altar fellowship is discussed in the classic doctrinal statements of American Lutheranism such as the Galesburg Rule and the Minneapolis Thesis.

C. An Evaluation of the Church's Relation to  
the Social Order

1. Justification of the Church's Relation  
to the Social Order in Light of Its Doctrine of Itself

The first question that must be asked is: is the Church justified in being involved with Government and other agencies in the social order in light of its doctrine of itself? It is right for the Church to cooperate as a voluntary agency in the Government's program of education? Is it right for the Church to be concerned with squabbles over butcher-shops, and problems of bride-wealth? Does the Church have a legitimate concern with land tenure? Is it right for the Church to try and influence political parties? Obviously, these questions are not all of equal value, nor can any one of them be given a categorical "yes" or "no" answer.

The overall answer to all of the questions is: The Church is the Body of Christ, and as the Body of Christ it is Christ as he is present on earth after his resurrection.<sup>1</sup> This means that the Church is a community and as a community it cannot help but be involved in the affairs of this world. As a community, if it is to express

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1. Ante., p. 8.

the life that God wills for it, it must be concerned with the welfare of its members, for people cannot live in harmony and love if their minds are twisted by injustices and hatred. A Church cannot live and fully express its life in a social system where chaos reigns.

It is not claimed that every relationship in which the Church now finds itself was found in the New Testament Church. The Church of the Apostles cannot be used as a pattern for relationships that did not exist. The Church in Northern Tanganyika today is not a persecuted minority as it was in New Testament times.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, there is no New Testament precedent for the Church's cooperating with the Government in an education program as it does presently in Tanganyika. Here, however, there is precedent in Christian history in Europe in the folk-churches. But even though there is no New Testament precedent, it does not necessarily follow that the practice is antagonistic to the New Testament doctrine of the Church. As the Body of Christ, the Church is interested in and involved in all the things that concern its members. This connection with Government gives the Church the opportunity to present the gospel to its children at the same time as they receive their secular education, as well as to integrate all of the children's learning around the Gospel.

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1. Ante., p. 15.

In this connection the Christian schools are an opportunity to carry out the responsibility of Christian nurture.

The relevance of the bride-wealth, and the Muslim boycott of the butcher-shops owned by Christians is perhaps the most obvious of all the social questions. These two problems have vexed the Church in that they affected the lives of its members. Both of them touch the Church as it is a communion of saints, a body. An integral part of this is the family. Certainly, anything that threatens the family as the bride-wealth problem has, is a threat also to the Church. A solution needs to be found that is conducive to peace for all concerned. While it is true that conditions of long standing in the tribe cannot be let go easily, it is also true that the social conditions of the Christian community must be consistent with the will of Christ who is its Head, and everything must be put under his lordship.

The matter of the Muslim boycott of the butcher-shops is still too contemporary to receive the consideration that it needs. Information is still insufficient to give a complete explanation of the situation.

Nevertheless, when a solution to the problem is found, if it is to be satisfactory to the Church it must be something that the Church as a redeemed and redeeming community can do in good faith.



However laudable the involvement with the cause of the people in the land question is, is this policy consistent with the doctrine of the Church? Should the Church be getting mixed up in land matters? In connection with its own mission land there was no alternative; a decision had to be made on the basis of the Wilson Report. Since the organized church is a part of the order of the world, and since it was holding land that was requested by the people, it could not help being involved. In relation to the other land cases the situation was different. Was it right for church-leaders to be connected with such secular matters?

The answer is found again in the definition of the Church as the Body of Christ, a holy community, Christ as he is present on earth after the resurrection. If the Church is Christ's body and if it is a community it cannot help but be involved in the things of the world. For a community of men is related to the general welfare of men.<sup>1</sup> There can be no community without life, and there can be no life without land and means of livelihood. There can be no community when men are torn apart in separate groups, divided by enmities. In short, the Church is

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1. Ante., p. 15.

called on to do what Christ himself would do in its witness, in terms of justice for all men and in terms of seeing itself as God's own community.

The Church needs to concern itself with political matters for the same reason that it needs to be involved in land problems. It is a community of men and men are involved in matters of the world. It lives in a different context from that of the Christians of the first century who did not think in terms of a Church lasting many generations. Like the Church of the first century, the Church in Northern Tanganyika is still the Body of Christ. When it engages in politics action it does not do so in the hope that it will reform the world, but in the hope of fulfilling its own purpose of being God's people, free to express the oneness in Christ.

## 2. An Evaluation of the Effect of the L.C.N.T. on the Social Order

Little more needs to be said in evaluation of the Church's relation to the Government in the education program as well as its involvement in the matters of bride-wealth and troubles arising over the Muslim **boycott** of Christian business enterprises. The information presented regarding the school situation is an evaluation in itself. How effective the schools are in nurturing the children is something that can legitimately be left out of



this thesis. This would involve an evaluation of technical matters of education, a discussion of the tribal backgrounds and level of morality found within tribal life, and other very complex matters. Regarding bride-wealth, although the problem is not yet solved, the Church has been active in bringing it to the attention of the tribal authorities. In this the Church has born witness. The problem of the Muslim boycott has not progressed far enough as yet to be able to be evaluated.

It is possible to make some evaluation of what church leaders as well as the Church itself have done in the social and political order. The L.C.N.T. has been involved in the land problem in Northern Tanganyika. It cannot be claimed that the church organization influenced Government policy greatly in the land situation. The Church was the victim of the Wilson Land Report in connection with its own land on Kilimanjaro. It did express concern over the Meru situation, and to this day it has great influence among the Meru people because of this.<sup>1</sup>

Generally, up to now, missionaries have not had interest and concern for the development of African political parties and therefore their influence has been rather negative. There have been positive influence in

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1. See Appendix C.

the leadership of the Church, as the Visiting Mission's interview with Dr. Danielson proves, but it has not gone as far as to encourage partisan politics. One reason perhaps is that political parties in Tanganyika are a development of the last five years and<sup>1</sup> as something new are naturally somewhat suspect in the early stages. It will be tragic, however, if the African is led to believe that the missionary leadership of the Church is opposed to his political aspirations and is taking a negative attitude toward his national hopes. This is the surest way to bring the Church into ineffectiveness.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Church, and especially the Mission, has not encouraged its pastors, evangelists, and teachers to be in political parties, that does not mean that the laity of the Church have not been active in political parties and political movements, including TANU. Kirilo Japheth has already been mentioned in connection with the Meru problem.<sup>3</sup> There are others of the Church who are taking an active part in this party. How much influence for good

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1. U. N. Visiting Mission Report, 1957, p. 31.
2. There is no published material on the matter of the opinions of the missionaries of the L.C.N.T.
3. Ante., p. 84.

they are having, and how their Christian convictions are influencing the course of the party is difficult to evaluate.

It must be admitted that in much of the emphasis on personal Christianity that has been in the Church heretofore, the Africans have received little that will equip them to be leaders with an understanding of how their Christian convictions relate to political problems. Being a Christian political leader means more than abstinence from alcohol and personal honesty, important as these qualities are.

The time is late, but not yet too late for the Church to exercise her leadership in the matter of politics. The influence of the Church in Meru has already been seen. The chief of the Arusha tribe, Zephania Sumlei, is a former Lutheran Mission school inspector.<sup>1</sup> Many of the Africans of the Chagga tribe who enjoy the confidence of the African people as leaders, including the Paramount Chief, are Lutherans. The same is true in the Pare tribe although there the power of Islam is stronger.

Thus, in summary the status of the L.C.N.T. with regard to the politics of the country is as follows: (1) it has been involved in the Meru case, in that many of its people were affected, and it has given spiritual guidance and counsel to the Africans affected, as well as to

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1. U. N. Visiting Mission Report, 1954, p. 43.

identify itself, through statements of the Superintendent, with the cause of the African; (2) although members of the Church have been in the political movements, some of them taking positions of leadership, there has been generally an uneasy attitude toward the emerging African political parties, especially on the part of the missionary leadership.

### 3. Suggestions for Effective Social Action

Obviously, for reasons already stated, the Church cannot endorse the program of any one political party. It should, however, encourage its members to join political parties, and give responsible leadership in them. J. V. Taylor in his book, Christianity and Politics in Africa, discussed five means by which the Church can engage in political action: (1) to pray; (2) to act as a leaven in society, being faithful to Christ in its own corporate life in order with European Christians acting toward the African in a spirit of Christ, which involves the whole matter of witness and Christian ministry to Europeans in Africa; (3) to serve as a meeting-ground where Christians who represent different points of view can come together to discuss their differences under the influence of the means of grace. A retreat-centre could be extremely beneficial in this connection. This has already been suggested within the L.C.N.T.; (4) to act through personal influence by leaders of the Church with leaders of Government and political

parties can be a most effective way of witness also. Often, more can be accomplished by personal interviews than by synodical pronouncements; (5) Finally, and it should be emphasized it is last to make resolutions as a witness in that they educated the membership of the Church regarding the issues and their relevance to the Gospel, and give those outside the Church an indication of the stand of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

While the L.C.N.T., perhaps, has no cause to boast of its record of witness and action in political matters, it can be thankful that it has been with its people in their problems, that in some places it is having influence on the workings of the tribe, and that opportunity still exists for it to be used by God in this area.

#### D. Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, the Church in Northern Tanganyika is a fragmented body, as indeed it is found throughout the world. In this area there are two groups of churches: confessional bodies and ethnic churches. The division of the Church is a departure from New Testament practices. Although there were at times differences of opinion within the Church of the Apostles, the fellowship was not broken. This division of the Church into denominations

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1. J. V. Taylor, Christianity and Politics in Africa (London, 1957), pp. 50-59.

does not mean necessarily that the Church does not exist in Northern Tanganyika, for where Christ is present through the means of grace, there is the Church, but it does mean that the Church is not free to express itself as Christ would have it do because of these divisions. Essentially the Church is one in Christ; men by their denominations deny this, and so deny essential features of the Church.

The validity of the Church's involvement in the social order is seen because it is the Body of Christ and therefore Christ's own community. If it is to express its life as a redeemed community it cannot escape being involved in the affairs of men that impinge on that community, and as a community cannot help but but impinge on the affairs of the social order.

The L.C.N.T. has been involved in the social order, in connection with the Government school system, various local problems, the problem of land tenure, and the emerging political parties. It has stood with the Meru people on the question of their land, voicing its concern over the unwise Government policy in evicting people from their homes. Although pastors and evangelists of the Church have not been encouraged to join political parties because of the nature of their offices in the Church, lay Christians have become members of these parties.

The missionary leadership has not always



encouraged participation in political parties on the part of African Christians. This has been unfortunate, although understandable.

Opportunities still exist for the L.C.N.T. to be a vital influence in the stream of life in Northern Tanganyika.

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## APPENDIX A

By Fridtjov Birkeli, in Lutheran Churches of the World,  
"Lutheranism in Africa," pp. 268-272.

This article is an Evaluation of the First All-Africa Lutheran Conference held at Marangu, 1955.

As we have seen in the above account, most Lutheran missions in Africa have connections with other Protestant missions or churches. This connection is generally through membership in local Christian councils or church councils, which in turn means connection with the International Mission Council, an organization which has the confidence of almost all Lutheran missions and churches in Africa. The World Council of Churches is much less known in Africa, and for that reason it has not meant as much as has the International Missionary Council.

But the division of the continent into colonies has tended to isolate each country, with the result that church contact across colonial boundaries has been astonishingly small, to the detriment of all. The language situation, too, has been regarded as a decided barrier in the way of association on a broader basis. And it has been believed that colonial authorities would strenuously oppose fraternizing of natives belonging to different colonies. Thus it was fairly generally held that the time was not ripe for a general gathering of African Christians in defiance of boundaries, language barriers, and racial differences.

Since 1949, however, Lutheran interests in Africa have had a focal point outside the continent, in the annual gatherings of the Lutheran World Federation's Commission on World Missions. Here special committees for South Africa, Tanganyika, and Ethiopia as well as for other Lutheran centers in Africa have come in contact with leaders of all the larger Lutheran missions. Also missionaries and other representatives of various younger churches have increasingly participated in these meetings, as these have had decisive authority in determining the amount of financial aid to missions and churches in need. The Commission's committees on Africa have had their attention directed to the question of cooperation, and in this way they have contributed in a significant way to the growing sense of needed unity and unification of Lutheran mission and church work in Africa.

One of the most significant decisions of the Commission concerning Africa was the summoning of an All-Africa conference by Lutherans. This important gathering was held Nov. 12-22, 1955, at the Marangu Teacher's College in Tanganyika. Preparations for the conference revealed that

those who foresaw great difficulties in the way were right, but also that those who thought the obstacles insurmountable were wrong. Never before had a gathering of such proportions taken place, neither in the political and social field nor in the religious. Many deemed such an attempt premature, but the conference proved that it was high time for such an assembly to meet, and also for similar gatherings to take place in the near future.

As all governments concerned readily issued passports, no delegate was prevented from taking part in the conference. Language difficulties were overcome by the up-to-date simultaneous use of four languages, wireless telephony, and trained interpreters.

The following countries were represented: the Camerouns, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, South Africa, Southwest Africa, and Tanganyika. Only African countries had the right to send delegates, Europe and America being represented only by speakers and visitors. The ratio of Africans and non-Africans was set at two to one, a proportion more than maintained from the African point of view, as of 168 delegates 116 were Africans. During three-fourths of the meeting time Africans presided. The discussions concerned themselves with the following topics: faith and the confessions; the growing church; the ministering church; the church and its environment.

The most significant thing about the conference was doubtless the fact that it was held, added to the circumstance that it afforded so many different types of Africans a chance to meet and to experience spiritual unity. Another significant thing was the arrangement that all participants, African and non-African, were lodged together in the college dormitories and in a near-by hotel; this seemed to remove all barriers. Another valuable feature of the conference was the openness of the discussions carried on. One truly heard the voice of Africa at the meeting, also in a strictly literal sense as the message sent out by the conference was written by a small group of five, all of whom were Africans.

It should be mentioned that the African delegates held several separate meetings at which they sought to clarify African problems as these appear to Lutheran Christians. They agreed to put at the top of the list the question of better theological training within Africa itself for leading pastors from various countries. An interesting circumstance in this connection was that there was unanimity in naming these centers as likely places for such advanced training courses: Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Salisbury University in Northern Rhodesia, with access for students of all races. Next in order were discussed ways and means to provide stipends for gifted African students to be sent to Europe or America for



study until first class educational facilities become available in Africa itself. And third in order was the necessity of improving in every country existing schools for the training of pastors, evangelists, and teachers.

The proceedings at the conference created both spiritual and intellectual tension. Thus, during discussions on revival movements were heard on the one hand warnings against unspiritual aberrations and on the other insistence on the need for true spiritual life in the congregations.

A matter which caused considerable attention was the question of a possible Confessio Africana. The question was raised whether the time has now come for a pronouncement by African Lutherans concerning their faith under the conditions which are typical for Africa. As a matter of course, a conference cannot at will produce a confessional document of lasting importance; that can be done only by a hard-pressed, militant church which with its very life-blood writes statements of permanent value. But the Marangu Conference may be said to have made initial pronouncements as to the matters concerning which such an eventual confession may have to express its stand. And who knows just when the churches of Africa may be thrown into a situation which will demand a pronouncement on specific parts of the Christian faith made vibrantly alive through peculiarly African situations? It may be, too, that the unification of churches of Lutheran faith in any one African land may lead to a Confessio Africana.

In the matter of transition from mission to church the Marangu Conference spoke with marked sobriety and with typical African politeness. But as a leading thread running through discussions both during and in between sessions two closely related thoughts were voiced by many Africans. The church which we are discussing is my church, and it is my responsibility to propagate it. Strongly emphasized was the thought that there were but two alternatives: Evangelize or die. One of the most penetrating questions raised was: Has Africa lost Christ?

To a participant in the Marangu Conference it appears that this conference meant to each one present a new and clearer vision of the holy catholic church as a living, militant force in all Africa. And it looks as if this vigorous Lutheran initiative will mean something in the line of a spiritual unification throughout the continent. For at long last the voice of Africa itself has been definitely heard in the councils of the Church.

Three of the five presidents were African: Ambassador Emmanuel Abrahams of Ethiopia; Rev. Andreas Magubane of South Africa; and Rev. Rajosefa Rakotovao of Madagascar. Rev. Simon A. Mbatha of South Africa was chairman of the message committee of the Marangu Conference. Mention must also be made here of Pastor Stefano Moshi, one of the leading churchmen of Tanganyika....

One thing is sure: the conference held in 1955 laid a foundation for continental cooperation which should be continued to the extent that economic support can be obtained.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Fritjof Birkeli, Lutheran Churches of the World (Ed. by Carl Lund-Quist, (Minneapolis, 1957), pp. 268-272.

## APPENDIX B

### From United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, Report on Tanganyika.

The economy is essentially agricultural and pastoral. African staple foodstuffs are grown in most of the inhabited areas of the Territory which, however, make up only part of the total arable land area, most of the rest being without readily accessible water or covered with bush and infested with the tsetse fly. Rainfall is concentrated in most places within a few months of the year, and over the high central plateaus in particular it is so low and uncertain that food shortages spasmodically occur. Poor harvests were widespread in 1953, and again in 1954 in the case of the Central Province, where famine relief measures have had to be undertaken. Exported agricultural crops and minerals provide, directly and indirectly, the mainstay of the Territory's public finances. In order of 1953 values the main exports are sisal, the hard fibre used for rope and other purposes, which is produced almost entirely on European and Asian plantations; coffee, grown by Africans and to a lesser extent by Europeans; and hides and skins, oil seeds and nuts mainly by Africans. Tea, tobacco, papain and pyrethrum are other less important export crops in which European growers predominate, as they do also in sugar production for internal consumption. Unlike that of the Europeans, the bulk of African production is in fact for domestic consumption; and the grains, root crops, beans, bananas and other foodstuffs produced by the Africans have an estimated cash value well in excess of that of their export products and those of the non-African combined. But But the Territory's food production is barely sufficient to meet even the low nutritional standards of most of its people, and the sale of some staple food surpluses, especially maize and rice, is controlled by the Government, in order that it may purchase foodstuffs and store them for local sale as required.

11. The Mission's account of its visit will show that problems of land tenure are of acute importance in the African mind in many parts of the Territory. On the one hand the influence of increasing population and cash crop production, among other factors, has put the customary systems of tribal land tenure under heavy strain. This is a problem which was not, however, raised before the Mission to any great extent and one in which the Territory as a whole appeared to be awaiting the report of a Royal Commission

which has recently studied land and population questions in all three East African territories under British administration. On the other hand the partly related problem of the alienation of land to non-Africans was frequently and often forcefully brought before it in several parts of the Territory as one of the outstanding issues, politically as well as economically, of the day....The total amount of alienated land, including that to which rights have not been established appears therefore to be in the neighborhood of three million acres. It is held principally by European companies, individuals, and missions; a much smaller amount is held by Asians, and a very small amount by Africans. The proved rights cover, as the Administering Authority has frequently emphasized before the Trusteeship Council, only about 1 per cent of the land area of the Territory. This means, however, a much larger percentage of the presently usable land of the Territory, and a conspicuously large amount of the best-watered, most fertile and otherwise favoured places.<sup>1</sup>

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1. United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, Report on Tanganyika: Together with Related Documents, Trusteeship Council, Official Records: Fifteenth Session (25 January - 28 March 1955), Supplement No. 3, New York, 1955, p. 3.

## APPENDIX C

Extract from United Nations Visiting Mission to  
Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, Report on Tanganyika,  
pp. 58-59.

Because it has been in existence for several years and has followed a programme of expansion, TANU has succeeded in establishing a large number of branches throughout the Territory. In so doing, it has, upon several occasions unfortunately come into conflict with the Administration and the Native Authorities and, while it had an estimated 48 branches in existence in June 1957, ten others had been banned or refused registration under the Societies Ordinance on grounds that their activities prejudiced the maintenance of law and order. TANU maintains strongly that in a number of these cases and in a few subsequent cases it has been unfairly penalized for the irresponsible behaviour of a few individuals acting without authority from the leaders, while in other cases it attributes the action to opposition to it on the part of non-Africans. As an example of what he described as unfair action by the Authorities, the president of TANU, Mr. Nyerere, sent to the Mission, after its departure from the Territory, a copy of a letter which he had written to the Governor concerning the banning of the TANU with the Government's cattle dipping scheme at Iringa. Mr. Nyerere pointed out the TANU had officially condemned this interference and had expelled the individual responsible for it. Nevertheless the Government had subsequently banned the TANU branch and at the same time suspended the cattle dipping scheme. It was the opinion of Mr. Nyerere that, in dealing with TANU the Government was prompted not by justice or by a genuine desire to maintain law and order but by fear of African nationalism. He considered that the Government's contradictory actions in the matter were calculated to discourage responsible leadership and he accordingly protested these actions as calculated to encourage irresponsibility and thus give further excuse for suppressing TANU.

78. The Mission met with, and received memoranda from the National Executive and many of the branches of TANU. Its membership being confined to Africans, its concern for the advancement of Africans in all fields. Its political demands, as previously stated, are for constitutional advance by progressive stages towards the establishment of a democratic African State in which non-African minorities would enjoy equal rights as citizens. It is opposed to the

present constitutional arrangements providing for equal racial representation and introduction of universal adult suffrage, on both the central and local Government levels, abolition of the proposed system of tripartite voting and the establishment of a timetable of constitutional, economic and educational development leading to self-government. In addition TANU calls for increased Africanization of the Civil Service.

79. The party's demands for improvement of African conditions extends into all fields, particular emphasis being placed on improvement of the African sector of the economy, educational advancement (including the establishment of a territorial university) and labour conditions. The party is strongly opposed to land alienation to individual non-Africans, although it is willing to accept the lease of land to non-Africans commercial corporations where, in its opinion, this is demonstrated to be beneficial to the Territory's economy. The National Executive of TANU, in its memorandum to the Mission, expressed the belief that for a long time the Government had been wrong in laying emphasis on the dependence of the country upon immigrant races and on foreign investment. The economy of the country depended, in its opinion, upon the land and upon African peasants whose potential capacity, it believed, was limitless. The party is especially sensitive to situations which, it feels, involve any form of racial discrimination.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

## APPENDIX D

Extract from the United Nations Visiting Mission's Report, 1954, Telling of the Visiting Mission's Interview with E. R. Danielson, President of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika (pp. 58-59 of the Report. The numbers are those of paragraphs of the Report).

375. The Mission was also interested in some views which it heard of the general problem from a rather different standpoint than that of either the European settler or the African political spokesman. These were the views of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, whose influence in the area has already been mentioned by the Mission, and they were expressed through its superintendent, Mr. E. R. Danielson. He appeared before the Mission to explain the interest and concern of the church in what is considered to be the three foremost problems in present African thinking: The development of relations between the races; the land problem; and the problem of education. He emphasized that he was attempting to express the views of his already largely Africanized church, and that these views were not intended as criticisms, for the church had a deep appreciation both of the spirit of religious freedom which existed in the Territory and of the high calibre of the officials of the Administration now serving in the Northern Province. On matters of education the views which he expressed reflected the desire of many Africans for a strong and adequate primary educational system, which must, he said, extend over not less than six standards. The children who now had to leave school after only four years were neither literate in the best sense, nor old enough either to leave their homes for work or to assume much responsibility at home. Unless primary education were extended to all children, and at least through the sixth standard, the problem of juvenile delinquency which was already arising would become overwhelming.

376. His church believed that the creation of a multi-racial society in the province should be the fixed objective of government policy and that there should be a definite program of education and enlightenment to that end. It felt that the next ten years or even five, would be the crucial period for the development of a genuine multi-racial

society, and there was need for positive government activity in "human relations," perhaps through a special department created for the purpose. It was the problems of land which, in this province, had created the most serious problems of human relations between the races. Further, it was the Europeans, as a race, for whom the adjustment to a non-segregated, non-discriminatory society was most difficult. While he believed that the majority of the Europeans in the province were responsive to the new obligations being placed upon them, Mr. Danielson felt that a serious estrangement had arisen over the years between the African farmer and the European settler, "who always seems to be classified differently by the Africans from the other Europeans," and that this estrangement was slowly getting worse.

377. The land problem was at the root of this, and the Engare Nanyuki affair had made all the Meru and all Africans in the province more conscious of that fast-growing problem. The Lutheran Church, through its administering mission, had been very anxiously concerned about the eviction of 1951, and had expressed this concern to the authorities many months before the event. Mr. Danielson showed the Mission a copy of a letter which he had written on 11 January 1951 and in which he expressed the belief that a smouldering resentment would be started among the Africans, who believed that the European settlers were forcing the issue on the Government, and that this resentment might cause increasing trouble for many years to come. The church still believed, as it had warned would be so, that the forcible eviction had been a great moral mistake, if not an economic one. The resentment aroused, by it created a delicate situation and a political danger. The church was deeply concerned, since over a quarter of the Meru were baptized Christians belonging to it, and that there should be complete reconciliation "on true and honest levels" between the Government and the ordinary people of Meru. That reconciliation did not exist, and no one should be deceived by a certain superficial quietness among the people. A deep moral struggle was taking place in the minds even of the African pastors of the church.

378. Mr. Danielson emphasized that the problem of land shortage became an acute personal one among Africans as the number of mouths to be fed increased and there was no land immediately available even to grow the necessary food. He said that thousands of Africans, farmers in the Pare, Kilimanjaro and Meru mountains now maintained their homes and tiny acreage in the mountains but grew the required supplementary food on the plains seven to fifteen miles away. To walk to these areas they usually had to pass large European farms, often one or two miles in length. He believed that the African was basically generous towards his



fellow men, Europeans or otherwise, and did not deny the European the right to make his living from African soil. The estrangement had arisen, however, and could not be overcome without bringing the Africans and Europeans together on a basis of mutual respect to work out a long-range solution.

379. At the time of the Mission's talk with Mr. Danielson he was reluctant to express any views of a more specific kind as to the land problems of the area and their possible solution, because he said the church did not enter into political matters. He has since written to the Mission, however, that he feels that it is the duty of the church to be concerned in a matter of such great moral and social consequence to its people. He states that in his personal view that while the investigation by the Wilson Commission was the best effort up to 1946 towards solving the land problems, both the economic circumstances and the state of African opinion have so greatly changed that a new investigation, based on a new approach, should be undertaken. The reactions to the Engare Nanyuki eviction can be accepted, he believes, as an indication of the present temper of the African people in the Northern Province in respect to matters affecting their land. He points out that there is nothing in the Wilson Report to indicate that the Commission was aware of the possible African reaction to the removal of the people from Engare Nanyuki, but that on the other hand there is a very definite awareness of the feelings of the Africans ("South African Dutch") at Oldenyo Sambu if they should have been asked to move. He does not believe that the Commission was sufficiently close to African opinion, especially in the Arusha district. He points out also that African population estimates at the time were too low. A fresh inquiry, he believes, is required.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid.

## APPENDIX E

Extracts from the Capricorn Africa Society, Handbook  
for Speakers.

### Section D

#### Doctrine

#### Political Philosophy

##### Question D 1

What is the fundamental basis on which the Society brings together Europeans and non-Europeans.

Answer:

The basic understanding between the white member and the coloured member of the Society, is this: the coloured consents to the protection of civilized and cultural standards while the European consents to the removal of the colour bar and all types of racial discrimination. This is not much more than the precarious placing of one foundation stone against another, but it does give the Society the one practical basis on which it can construct a code of human relationships which will bind the two stones together firmly and forever. This code of human relations is being prepared by the Society's Citizenship Committee.

##### Question D 2

Does the Society look exclusively to the West to provide basis of moral values?

Answer:

No. This question to be best answered by referring to the recently amended Object (iii) of the Society's Constitution, which reads as follows:--

"To make effective the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of civilization and to help all members of all races to attain these standards.

Footnote--- This means for those of European descent, for most educated Africans and for many Asians, the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of the Christian Western tradition but this term is used in no exclusive sense. We believe that as civilisation takes

root on African soil, these standards will become enriched by the contribution which will be made by other great religions and cultural traditions, as well as by the indigenous traditions of African life and ways of thinking.

In British Capricorn Africa it is the European who holds at present this main responsibility of Government and, therefore, it is the Christian ethic which is mainly under test. Could any Christian in real honesty attempt to reconcile colour discrimination with the ethic of his religion?

It is because the precepts of Christianity are not being sufficiently observed in British Africa that we say in our Objects Clause under review that the Society's purpose is "to make effective the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of civilisation." It is only when Christianity fulfills itself in Africa that these standards can be made effective and only then the European can expect with justice that members of other races should measure up to the ethic of their own.

Question D 5

Does the Society agree that power will inevitably pass from the European to the African because of the latter's vast superiority in numbers, and that therefore, the only hope for the European in Africa is for this transference of power to take place in orderly fashion so that he can retain his role of being a creative minority?

Answer:

No. This is not the way the Society sees the transference of power taking place. Rather the Society sees the transference from a predominantly European control to a control which is organically non-racial. It is a basic conviction of the Society that our Capricorn revolution must succeed in establishing a new African patriotism and political faith, which will really remove the risk of race being at the root of political division. Moreover, the Society maintains that the creative minority bringing about the new Capricorn order will itself include Africans and Asians.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Capricorn Africa Society, Handbook for Speakers.