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# The Theology of Trans-Atlantic Evangelicalism and Its Impact on The East African Revival

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THE EAST AFRICAN Revival occurred in the context of the religious, political and colonial history of the area, and has major religious and socio-political significance for the expansion of Protestantism. It was notably the longest revival in African history, spanning three generations. The three main phases of the Revival movement were as follows: Phase 1: 1930-1940s, Phase 2: 1950-1960s and Phase 3: 1970-1980s.

The Revival began in Rwanda (Ruanda)<sup>1</sup> in the early 1930s as a

movement of renewal, and was characterised by confession, repentance and reconciliation among the local people and the missionaries. Among the main figures in the movement was Dr. John Edward Church, a graduate of Cambridge and a medical missionary, and his medical colleagues of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).<sup>2</sup>

The revival contributed towards the settlement of disputes and misunderstandings, both religious and socio-cultural, among missionaries and African Christians and the wider society. The circle of the participants included members of the Rwanda Mission (CMS), other CMS missionaries and some Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists who were sympathetic to the movement. In due course, more

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1 Historically the country was called 'Ruanda' but currently it is known as 'Rwanda'; the latter is used in this paper except in verbatim quotes and footnotes.

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2 Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1981), pp. 54ff.

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evangelical Christians shared in the movement for holiness, integrity, righteousness and a deeper Spirit-filled life. Although, to some extent, the Revival movement was initially, viewed with suspicion by some leaders of the churches such as the AIC (AIM) and the Anglican churches, many participated later in the movement. The movement gained more support from evangelicals who strove for holiness, and the eradication of corruption, bribery and rivalry among even the religious communities.

## 1. Contribution of Keswick Theology

An analysis of the theology of the East African Revival movement provides perspectives into its origins which can be found in the British Keswick theology.<sup>3</sup> A closer examination of the theological origins of the revival movement reveals various significant aspects of the movement.

First, there is a need for an analysis of the theological origins of the 'Balokole'—'saved ones'. The popular definition of the movement has been the term, 'balokole', commonly defined in all major literature<sup>4</sup> as the 'saved

ones'. In fact, the original meaning of the word, 'balokole' in Luganda language, was the 'shining ones', not the 'saved ones'.<sup>5</sup> The root word, *balokole* is defined in the Luganda language in terms of *amulokole*—singular for the 'shining one', and *abalokole*—plural for the 'shining ones'.<sup>6</sup>

A second major point to clarify is that the Revival brethren did not call themselves the 'balokole'. They were referred to as the 'balokole', which implied the 'shining ones', by their neighbours and members of the community, who observed them and witnessed the changes in their lives. Thus the term originated from their external observers, and was not the choice of the leaders of the Balokole movement.<sup>7</sup> The medical missionary, Dr. Robin Church stated:

They did not say we are the shining ones. It was others who said, 'Look there are the shining ones.' It was like when 'the disciples were first called, "Christians" in Antioch.'<sup>8</sup> Their neighbours saw their whole lives. They knew who they were, and they saw that their lives were

<sup>3</sup> It is critical to understand the theological influence of British evangelicalism. See Kamuri, K'Patrick. G.. 'Repentance: The Theological and Historical Significance of the East African Revival Movement in Uganda', MPhil. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1996. There was a significant contribution from British Keswick evangelical theology to Protestantism and evangelicalism East Africa.

<sup>4</sup> Kamuri, 'Repentance: Theological and Historical Significance of the East African Revival Movement in Uganda', pp. 32-62.

<sup>5</sup> Interviews with Dr. Robin Church, at Henry Martyn Centre Seminar, Cambridge University on 6 February 2003, and at his home in Cambridge on 20 February 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Interviews with Kenyan informants, including Dr. Chris Rutto, Birmingham, 5 May 2003 and Gloucester, 17 June 2003; and Dr. Jonathan Gichaara, Birmingham, 4 and 5 May 2003; Interview with Dr. Robin Church at his home in Cambridge, 20 February 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> See Acts 11:26; Interview with Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003.

changed... they did not start out by saying, 'let us have a theology'. They experienced revival... It was out of their experience of revival, that they started sharing their experiences of Christ and what he had done for them in saving them... The Americans came and asked my father (Joe Church), 'Give us the formula for revival; What is the formula?' But there was no formula. The Africans did not say, 'let us have a revival'. They experienced revival.<sup>9</sup>

The revival movement was largely among non-clericals, and their theological views emerged out of their experiences of revival. Thus the Revival theology could be considered as practical theology—a theology based on practice, instead of a theoretical theology, based on abstract theological formulations. Adrian Hastings observed the non-clerical nature of the adherents of the revival movement:

The most considerable and best-known area of independent initiative within the mission churches was that of the 'Revival in Eastern Africa, the Balokole...' Instead of it being a short, sharp renewal of religious commitment engineered as so often in Europe and America—by famous preachers, the East African Revival developed as an essentially lay community of prayer and fellowship; while it did indeed draw on mass conventions and

passing preachers and included clergy in its ranks, it remained a very unclericalised movement.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the revival being largely a lay movement, it was also for the most part, spontaneous. Hastings' use of the terms, 'short, sharp religious commitment engineered' needs qualification, since religious commitments could not be necessarily be described as 'engineered' by famous preachers in Europe and North America.<sup>11</sup> Although famous evangelists such as D. L. Moody were catalysts in revivals, he could not have 'engineered' the revival at Cambridge, during his visit that resulted in the missionary commitments of the 'Cambridge Seven', which were long lasting in the missionary enterprise.<sup>12</sup> This is due to the two-stage process of the 'revival'—an initial *awakening* to life, marked by confession of sin and repentance and salvation; and the subsequent stage of long-term *transformation* of moral life and social outreach, which may be viewed as an institutionalised way of

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003, Interview remarks on 'The Theology of the Revival.'

<sup>10</sup> Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, 1986), pp. 52-53.

<sup>11</sup> See detailed studies on the Great Awakenings such as the 1858 Awakening in America and Europe, which were largely lay prayer movements.

<sup>12</sup> John Charles Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven* (London: Marshalls, 1953), pp. 5-90.

life.<sup>13</sup> Hastings' point that the Revival ministry was based on teamwork within a 'lay community of prayer and fellowship' is valid. This contrasts with the focus on well-known evangelists in the West.

Another major definition which needs clarification is that the 'revived' Christians were 'known as the *Abaka*'—the 'on-fire' ones.<sup>14</sup> This distinguished them from those who considered themselves to be Christians but did not experience revival.<sup>15</sup> This implied that the revived believers' theological view was that if one was not seen to be 'on-fire' with the same zeal as theirs, then one's Christian experience was to be challenged. Henry Osborn, a missionary observant of the revival stated:

There were, among the *Abaka*,

some who were seen to be aggressively harsh to all who did not see things their way. They had been privileged to 'see the light' of what was sin and to know the forgiveness which God gives through the Cross. They felt very sensitive to what they saw as 'sin' in the lives of others. They challenged this, often with little grace. In the other group were those who considered themselves to be Christians, but did not accept or experience revival.<sup>16</sup>

The distinctives of 'seeing the light', 'shining ones', and 'walking in the light', were clear theological emphases, which resulted in the practice of questioning others on the validity of their Christian experience. Joe Church and Lawrence Barham resolved to defuse the tensions through 'a combination of Biblical Truth and personal experience of ministry in Revival'.<sup>17</sup> Osborn made the following observations on the conference at the Rwanda Mission's headquarters in Buye, Burundi, in 1939:

The form of expression of 'inner revival' in any individual depends on personality as well as on obedience to the truth revealed. Grace in relationships is as essential as maintaining Biblical truth. The two founders of the Ruanda Mission—both present—commented on this conference: Dr. Leonard Sharp, 'We all felt deeply thankful to God for bringing us to a new unity,' and Dr. Algie Stanley Smith, 'We never

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13 This is the view of RFB based in part, on the Keswick holiness movement at Cambridge. See Reports in Revival Brethren Publications, Joe E. Church, ed., 'Front Line News', 2 November 1944, pp. 1-10, in archival Files of Lee Papers, Lee 4/1, Cambridge University, Martyn Henry Centre; Osborn, Herbert Henry. *Pioneers in the East African Revival* (Winchester, Hampshire: Apologia Publications, 2000), pp. 150-170; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110ff.; Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 150-170; Keswick Convention Council, *The Keswick Week, 1975: Centenary Year* (London: Marshal Morgan and Scott, 1975), pp. 2-25.

14 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175; Bill Butler, *Hill Ablaze: Bill Butler one of the Team at the Heart of the East African Revival* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), pp. 9-10.

15 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175; Herbert Henry Osborn, *Revival: A Precious Heritage* (Winchester, Hampshire: Apologia Publications, 1995), pp. 7-129.

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16 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175.

17 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 175.

want to go back to the old complacency.’<sup>18</sup>

While the Rwanda Mission founders were aiming to avoid schisms based on theological differences or emphases, they were equally determined not to return to the ‘old complacency’ of ‘nominalism’. Osborn’s observation on ‘personality’ and ‘grace in relationships’ appears to under-estimate the significance in the perspectives of the African revived, ‘shining’ and ‘on-fire’ ones who saw the reserved ‘personality’ of the British missionaries as a form of pride which needed to be addressed and dealt with theologically. The theology of the revived Africans was based on the exposition of sin, and its open confession and discard. In this regard, they considered that ‘grace in relationships’ or the reserved ‘personality’ could be a means for covering up one’s real reluctance to deal with sin and experience revival. The director of the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society (B.C.M.S.), Rev. J. Roger Bowen, a graduate of Oxford, and a missionary in Kenya and Tanzania, during the revival, made the following observation: ‘The British are known to be reserved—they are Anglo-Saxon, I am Celtic, Welsh... The Africans express themselves differently... You could not transport the revival (expressions) to England.’<sup>19</sup> This demonstrates the role of culture, such as

spontaneous expression in the Revival.

## 2. Origins and Significance of ‘Tukutendereza’

The significant contribution from the Revival under George Pilkington’s ministry in 1893 in Uganda was the introduction of Western hymns including Wesleyan and Anglican hymns.<sup>20</sup> The following is the Revival Fellowship Brethren’s (RFB) version of the Revival Chorus: *Tukutendereza Yesu*

Luganda:

Tukutendereza Yesu  
Yesu Omwana gw’endiga  
Omusaiigwo gunaziza  
Nkwebaza, Omulokozi

English:

We praise you Jesus,  
Jesus Lamb of God  
Your Blood cleanses me,  
I Praise you, Saviour.

The Original Hymn in English:<sup>21</sup>

Precious Saviour, Thou hast saved me;  
Thine, and only Thine, I am;  
Oh, the cleansing blood has reached me!  
Glory, Glory to the Lamb!

18 Charles F. Harford Battersby, *Pilkington of Uganda* (London: Marshall Bros., 1898), pp. 220-225; Osborn, *Revival*, p. 175; Herbert Henry Osborn, *Pioneers in The East Africa Revival*, pp. 9-10.

19 Interview with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

20 Interviews with Robin Church, 20 February 2003; J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003; Robin Church, 20 February 2003; and Rev. Richard Bewes, 2 March 2003. See Children’s Special Services Mission (CSSM) *Chorus Hymnal Book 1* (London: CSSM, 1920).

21 See Keswick Convention Council, *The Keswick Week, 1975: Centenary Year* (London: Marshal Morgan and Scott, 1975), pp. 2-25; Church, *Quest for The Highest*, p. 271. The original hymn in English was written by L. M. Rouse, with music by D. Boole and reproduced in the Keswick Hymn Book as the ‘Cleansing Blood’.

*Glory, Glory Hallelujah!*  
*Glory, Glory to the Lamb!*  
*Oh, the cleansing blood has reached me!*  
*Glory, Glory to the Lamb!*

Long my yearning heart was striving  
 To obtain this precious rest;  
 But, when all my struggles ended,  
 Simply trusting I was blessed.

Trusting, trusting every moment;  
 Feeling now the blood applied,  
 Lying in the cleansing fountain,  
 Dwelling in my Saviour's side.

Consecrated to Thy Service,  
 I will live and die to Thee;  
 I will witness to Thy Glory;  
 Of Salvation, full and free.

Yes, I will stand up for Jesus,  
 He has sweetly saved my soul,  
 Cleansed my soul from sin's corruption,  
 Sanctified, and made me whole.

Glory to the Lord who bought me,  
 Glory for His saving power;  
 Glory to the Lord who keeps me,  
 Glory, Glory evermore!

The Revival hymn is a local adaptation of the original hymn in English. The local version, which became a popular hymn for the RFB, emphasized 'cleansing' for forgiveness, and 'praise' for gratefulness. The origins of the hymn 'Tukutendereza Yesu' can be traced to the hymn used by D. L. Moody and Ira Sankey<sup>22</sup> who held a mission at Cambridge University in the fall of

1882.<sup>23</sup> Bowen stated:

There were lots of songs... "Tukutendereza". It was an American song, it was a Sankey and Moody song, which spoke about being cleansed by the Blood of the Lamb. But everyone in East Africa sang it in Luganda, and the word, "Tukutendereza" is Luganda. They didn't even bother to translate it, they knew what it meant... All about the Blood of the Lamb, it's about being washed in the Blood of the Lamb.<sup>24</sup>

The hymn was also published by the Children's Special Services Mission (CSSM), and was used to influence Cambridge students during the summer camps.<sup>25</sup> Rev. Richard Bewes stated, 'I was born into revival', as he sung the hymn, 'Tukutendereza Yesu'

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<sup>23</sup> See the impact of the visit of Dwight L. Moody to Cambridge, and especially its influence on the CICC, in John Charles Pollock, *A Cambridge Movement: A History of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union* (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 20-210. John Charles Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven*, pp. 5-90.

<sup>24</sup> Interviews with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

<sup>25</sup> See also, CSSM *Chorus Hymnal Book 1*; Joe Church's conversion was through the influence of a similar CSSM hymn at their summer mission in Whitby, on 29 August 1920: 'Cleanse me from my sin, Lord, put Thy Power within Lord, take me as I am, Lord, and make me all Thine own. Keep me day by day, Lord, underneath Thy sway, Lord, make my heart Thy palace and Thy royal Throne.' Katharine Makower, *The Coming of the Rain. The Life of Dr Joe Church: A Personal Account Revival in Rwanda* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), p. 25; Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 55.

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003.

in Luganda.<sup>26</sup> Almost all missionaries interviewed who went to Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya or Tanzania, as well as Revivalists from these countries, sang the 'Tukutendereza Yesu' hymn in the Luganda language. This demonstrates the widespread unifying influence of the revival hymn. Robin Church stated that the Christians who remembered the words of this hymn, which Pilkington taught them during the revival of 1893, were grateful for its adaptation in the vernacular into 'Tukutendereza Yesu'.<sup>27</sup> A similar hymn, which influenced the revival movement was, 'Behold The Lamb', by Charles Wesley.<sup>28</sup> Adrian Hastings observed the influence of Tukutendereza:

The movement had begun in Ruanda in the 1930s and spread waves, first across Uganda and then through other Protestant churches of East Africa, carrying everywhere its triumphant Luganda hymn 'Tukutendereza

Yezu': 'We Praise Jesus'. In 1950 it was at the height of its influence and making a particular impression both in central Kenya and in Northwestern Tanganyika. While it had many of the characteristics and group mechanisms from the Keswick Conventions and the 'Oxford Group' of Buchman, it quickly developed an African form and impetus of its own.<sup>29</sup>

Although Hastings, like many scholars, noticed the influence from Keswick, and to some extent, the Oxford group, he was unaware of the contributions from Moody and Sankey in the formulations of the 'triumphant Luganda hymn'. The movement's influence from the study of Scofield's Bible by Joe Church and Simeoni Nsibambi in 1929, in Uganda, was also overlooked. The revival can be traced from this influence of Church and Nsibambi's meeting in Uganda, before it emerged in Rwanda and then returned to Uganda.<sup>30</sup>

### 3. Biblical Studies on the Holy Spirit

The Scofield Bible influenced the Biblical studies on the Holy Spirit in the East African Revival movement.<sup>31</sup> The

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**26** Interview with Rev. Richard Bewes, Rector of All Souls Church, London, 2 March 2003. Both Church and Bewes, like their fathers, were influenced by the East African revival, as well as the CICCUs Keswick theology.

**27** Interview with Rev. J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003. This was the first line of the Chorus in Luganda. The English version was 'Glory, Glory Hallelujah! Glory, Glory to The Lamb! For The Cleansing Blood has reached me. Glory, Glory to The Lamb!' The hymn was originally written by L. M. Rouse, and its music by D. Boole. It was No. 170 in Keswick Hymn Book-'Cleansing Blood.' See Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 271.

**28** Joe E. Church, *William Nagenda: A Great Lover of Jesus* (London: Ruandan Mission, CMS., ca. 1973), pp. 8-9.

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**29** Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, p. 52.

**30** Interview with Dr. Robin Church, 20 February 2003.

**31** Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 11, 45-46, 132-180; Lindesay Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.* (London: Ruanda Mission, C.M.S., n.d.), pp. 49-50; Osborn, *Revival*, pp. 58-59.



significance of Joe Church's study was not that it was merely a topical presentation using Scofield's chain reference Bible, but that it was focused on the filling of the Holy Spirit for revival. This was based on Keswick double emphases on 'testimony' and 'commitment'—referred to as the 'second blessing'.<sup>32</sup> This implied the need for a complete surrender to the Holy Spirit for effective Christian experience and ministry.

Pilkington related a similar experience in the 1893 revival. When he recognized his emptiness, he went alone for a visit to the island of Kome (one of the Sese Islands in Lake Victoria). It was there that he learned 'the great secret of the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit', while reading an account of the Tamil revival by a revivalist, which transformed his life.<sup>33</sup> Subsequently, he returned to Uganda with 'renewed vision and zeal', and preached in a mission in December 1893, which resulted in revival.<sup>34</sup> It was from the remnants of the small groups of African Christians that Simeoni Nsibambi emerged in 1929, who along with Joe Church, became catalysts for the East African Revival.<sup>35</sup> While much attention has been given to Joe Church, very little study has been done on Nsibambi's spiritual quest before he met Church. Nsibambi was

greatly influenced by his reading of the Bible, his studies on the Holy Spirit, and Christian literature from 'Britain and elsewhere', since he was versatile in both English and Luganda. Nsibambi recollected his theological development:

There were a number of tracts, booklets and books from Britain and elsewhere which helped me to understand the ministry of the Holy Spirit. For a whole year I gave myself to the study of Scriptural materials with prayer. The reading of my Bible led me to complete commitment, and God filled me with the Holy Spirit. This is what I wrote in my Bible as a commitment, 'I have committed myself to God the Father. As from today I desire to be genuinely holy and never intentionally to do anything unguided by Jesus.' After the commitment, I was filled with the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>36</sup>

This demonstrates the influence of 'Scriptural materials' from Britain and other parts of the world on Nsibambi, apart from the Rwanda Mission's Keswick teaching. Thus the theology of both Nsibambi and Church were formulated from scriptural teachings on the Holy Spirit, which became the hallmark of the Revival theology.

The Revival Brethren studied the Bible and consulted each other on various aspects of their lives.<sup>37</sup> Bowen stated that the revival touched the whole of life: 'The Revival wasn't just

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32 Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 156.

33 C. F. Hartford-Battersby, *Pilkington of Uganda*, pp. 220-225; John Gehman, 'The East African Revival', *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1986, p. 36.

34 C. F. Hartford-Battersby, *Pilkington of Uganda*, p. 225.

35 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 55.

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36 Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 17.

37 Anne Coomes, *Festo Kivengere*, pp. 109-111.

a religious thing; it affected the whole of life. If someone wanted to get married, they would ask the Revival brethren to find them a wife. If they wanted to buy a car, they would ask the Revival brethren to help them find a car.<sup>38</sup> Thus the 'revived' Africans seriously consulted the Bible and aimed to obey its teachings in every aspect of their lives. Robin Church emphasized that 'they were reading it in their language for its meaning more than even the missionaries'.<sup>39</sup> The emphasis was on Bible reading, prayer and holiness.<sup>40</sup> It was not inductive Bible study, but a devotional Bible study with meditation, intended for spiritual growth along with practical implementation. Bowen stated clearly how the communal aspect of the 'revived' African's theology differed from that of the missionaries:

The Europeans brought what we call a 'segmented Christianity', it was religion; but for the African it was holistic, and it was community, the community was essential. They did their Christianity completely differently from the missionaries. For example, the missionaries, because they were evangelicals, they used to teach people to have a 'quiet time' (devotional time) in the morning; get up read their Bible and pray, each person by himself. The Revival brothers didn't do it

like that. They used to get up *very* early in the morning, much earlier than the missionaries, and they used to meet together!<sup>41</sup>

Joe Church designed a Bible study material for use by the Revivalists, which eventually resulted in the Book, *Every Man a Bible Student*.<sup>42</sup> Thus the Revivalists were influenced in part by Church's Keswick teachings. The Revival movement was distinguished by its emphases on conversion, biblical and Christocentric orthodoxy. It shunned and repudiated alcoholism, smoking, gambling, dancing, games, second marriages (adultery), polygamy, etc., which they considered were evil in their society. In addition, it opposed racial, ethnic, tribal discriminations and prejudices. C. Robins defined some of the emphases of the movement:

Their emphasis on the necessity of a conversion experience following the evangelical paradigm of intense guilt relieved by open confession and 'acceptance of Jesus as personal Savior,' is largely consistent with Anglo-American Protestantism and with the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, in whose traditions the movement is historically rooted.<sup>43</sup>

38 Interview with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

39 Interview with Dr. Robin Church, 20 February 2003.

40 Interview with Dr. Robin Church, 20 February 2003.

41 Interview with J. Roger Bowen, 9 February 2003.

42 Joe E. Church, *Every Man A Bible Student* (Exeter: Paternoster Press Ltd., 1976), pp. 2-15; Joe E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 62; See also, Joe Church's Papers, Files: 'Call to Mukono, 1935-1940'; 'New Way Memorandum'; 'New Way, The Mukono Crisis', William Nagenda to Joe E. Church, 'New Way', Joe Church to A. Stanley Smith, 26 March 1943.

43 Church, *Every Man A Bible Student*, p. 9.

These were the religious roots of the revival movement, which enabled them to function within the Protestant denominations of East Africa. The 'Balokole' Revival, as Robins acknowledges, was a 'largely orthodox non-schismatic movement operating within several Protestant denominations in East Africa. In Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, for historical reasons, it has been largely confined to the Anglican Church.'<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. Open Confession and Personal Testimony

Another significant aspect of the theological distinctives of the revival movement was open confession and personal testimony.<sup>45</sup> Prior to the revival, the influence of 'Western civilization', and 'formal Christianity' were prevalent.<sup>46</sup> Lindesay Guillebaud noted these problems:

Many letters from the field tell of heartbreaking disappointment and of backsliding on a very large scale; again and again a longing is expressed for the convicting power of the Holy Spirit, so that crowds who sought baptism might enter not a visible Church only, but the Church of Christ, which is His body. Western civilization was beginning to sweep through the country, and it was easy to accept formal Christianity as part of a new learning.<sup>47</sup>

Subsequently there was theological emphasis on the convicting power of the Holy Spirit—'God's convicting Spirit'.<sup>48</sup> Joe Church and the Rwanda Mission taught the Keswick theology of the fullness of the Spirit and the conviction of the Spirit for revival. The Rwanda Mission had received guarantees from the CMS. following the liberal conservative splits and tensions in the 1920s that their mission would be evangelical. During the crisis of the liberal versus evangelical debate of 1922, some of the Anglican evangelicals seceded from the CMS. on the authority of the Bible, and formed the BCMS. According to Bowen, the former director of the BCMS, the CMS is now more evangelical, with little difference between the BCMS (now Crosslinks) and CMS:

Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society was founded in 1922. It was more evangelical. It came out of CMS on the issue of the authority of the Bible. That was the point of issue. The CMS at that time was sending out missionaries who did not necessarily believe that the Bible was inspired and without error. It was a big crisis, and in 1922 the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society was founded by a group of CMS people who came out of CMS and founded the Bible and Churchmen's Missionary

<sup>44</sup> Church, *Every Man*, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 177.

<sup>46</sup> Lindesay Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>47</sup> Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed*, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> The RFB based this theology on the following Scriptures: 'But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my (Jesus) name, he will teach you all things', John 14:16; 'When he has come, he will convict the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment', John 15:8; *Ibid.*, p. 51ff.

Society in Britain. It was a small society, it always was smaller than CMS. It's still small, but now it's called Crosslink. They still have missionaries, it's still an Anglican Missionary Society—evangelical. But now there is not so much difference between CMS, because CMS has become much more evangelical, they (CMS) have changed their views.<sup>49</sup>

The Rwanda Mission was determined to work within the CMS. The Rwanda Mission may be considered as in the 'middle' between the BCMS and the CMS. They were evangelical but did not intend to separate entirely from the CMS. Thus the CMS agreed after much discussion to form 'The Rwanda Council' in 1927, as a self-supporting mission. The aim was that it should be 'composed of members of CMS in whole-hearted sympathy with the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the society'.<sup>50</sup> The theological perspectives of the Rwanda Mission were as follows:

1) The Rwanda Council and the missionaries of the Rwanda General Medical Mission stand for the complete inspiration of the whole Bible as being, and not only containing, the Word of God. 2) Their determination is to proclaim full and free salvation through simple faith in Christ's atoning death upon the Cross. 3) They are satis-

fied that they have received from the CMS full guarantee to safeguard the future of the Rwanda General Medical Mission on Bible, Protestant and Keswick lines.<sup>51</sup>

Thus Rwanda Mission missionaries including, Church and Barham, together with 'revived' African Brethren such as Nsibambi and Blasio Kigozi, lamented the desperate conditions of the Church preceding the revival. Hence they taught the need for true conviction and confession of sin. Blasio Kigozi describe the conditions of the Church prior to the revival:

1. What is the cause of the coldness and deadness of the Ugandan Church?
2. The communion service is being abused by those known living in sin and yet are allowed to partake. What should be done to remedy this weakness?
3. What must be done to bring revival to the Church of Uganda?<sup>52</sup>

The result of the change in the theology of many leaders and missionaries of the CMS was a broad definition of

<sup>49</sup> Interview with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003.

<sup>50</sup> Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942* (London: SCM, 1971), p. 267.

<sup>51</sup> Ruanda Mission Constitution, Ruanda Mission Papers, Ruanda Mission, Kabale, 1921; Papers of Ruanda Mission 1933-1934; Group 3, Committee Original Papers, 1933-1934, CMS Archives and Manuscripts, University of Birmingham; Lindesay Guillebaud, 'The Ruanda Council', *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.* (London: Ruanda Mission, C.M.S., n.d.), p. 30; Keswick Convention Council, *The Keswick Week, 1975: Centenary Year* (London: Marshal Morgan and Scott, 1975), pp. 2-25.

<sup>52</sup> Blasio Kigozi, in Joe E. Church, *Awake, Uganda!* p. 13; Patricia St. John, *Breath of Life: The Story of The Ruanda Mission*, pp. 114-115.

salvation. The typical sermons preached were based on baptism for salvation. Gehman stated:

A gradual change occurred in the theological perspective of many in the CMS. The favourite verse preached in the pulpit was Mark 16:16, 'he who believes and is baptized will be saved.' As Katarikawe observes, 'No matter how one lived so long as he was baptized, was a ticket to heaven. This was the kind of gospel they often heard from the pulpits.' Thus salvation was through baptism.<sup>53</sup>

When revival eventually came through prayer and Bible devotions, there was deep conviction and confession of sin. Although Lonsdale attributes the revival among the Kikuyu in Kenya to the translation of the Kikuyu New Testament in 1926, instead of missionary influence, his focus was on the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya.<sup>54</sup> Besides, the translation was only one factor, since repentance and obedience to the Scriptures were essential.<sup>55</sup> In the

early phase of the revival in Rwanda and Uganda, the teachings of confession of sin and the cleansing by the Blood of Christ, had direct contribution from the teachings of Keswick.<sup>56</sup> Even Lonsdale concurred: 'When Revival "proper" came to the mission churches, its brethren not only attested to the cleansing power of the Blood of the Lamb, they confessed sin publicly.'<sup>57</sup> The RFB based the confession of sin on the biblical text:<sup>58</sup> 'If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness' (1 John 1: 7).

## 5. Repentance: Evidence of a Changed Life

The theology of the revival was based not only on the confession of sin, but also on the forsaking of sin and true repentance, and the evidence of a change in one's life.<sup>59</sup> The message preached was that of a decisive departure from sin.<sup>60</sup> This theology was imparted through the Revival leaders' 'teaching on sin, the holiness of God,

<sup>53</sup> Gehman, 'The East African Revival', *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1986, pp. 51-53.

<sup>54</sup> John Lonsdale, 'Revival-Kikuyu Christianities' in David Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, eds., *Christianity and The African Imagination. Studies of Religion in Africa. Supplements to the Journal of Religion in Africa*. Paul Gifford, Adrian Hastings and Marc R. Spindler, eds. (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), p. 178.

<sup>55</sup> See the testimony of Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 48-50; Testimonies of other Kikuyus in T. F. C. Bewes, *Kikuyu Conflict*, pp. 5-49; Many accounts of other Kenyan tribes, including Kikuyus in D. W. Smoker, *God's Triumph*, pp. 5-200.

<sup>56</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 165-180, 176-186.

<sup>57</sup> Lonsdale, 'Revival-Kikuyu Christianities', in *Christianity*, p. 179.

<sup>58</sup> Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127; Bewes, *Kikuyu Conflict*, p. 20-70; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 20-196.

<sup>59</sup> Osborn, *Pioneers*, p. 177; See numerous accounts of Repentance, restitution and salvation in D. W. Smoker, *God's Triumph*, pp. 5-200. Interview with Dorothy Walker, Smoker, 4, 11 January, and 10 August 2003, Alhambra, California.

<sup>60</sup> Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 139.

the new birth, repentance, faith, prayer, the Holy Spirit, sanctification, the Christian walk, and the second coming'.<sup>61</sup> Dr. Joe Church and a team of ten Africans, including Blasio Kigozi and Simeoni Nsibambi, conducted missions following invitations, in South-West Uganda in Kigezi and Ankole. The teaching and Bible readings were focused on 'sin, repentance, the new birth, separation or "coming out of Egypt", the Holy Spirit and the victorious life'.<sup>62</sup>

Lawrence Barham clarified the effect of this doctrine in the revival: 'Confession of sin, restitution, apologies followed; many had dreams, sometimes receiving strong impressions to read certain verses of the Bible, which led them to put away sin... Preaching bands have gone all through the districts, and many are stirred'.<sup>63</sup> The evidence of a change was based on deep repentance without compromises or excuses.<sup>64</sup> True repentance, implied a change in lifestyle and not merely repetitive confession of the same sins.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Joe Church reported that the Revival 'broke the surface' in Uganda on 22 June 1936. Bishop Stuart of the CMS supported this theological emphasis. He planned a mission at

Bishop Tucker Theological College at Mukono for Joe Church, Lawrence Barham, and Simeoni Nsibambi. Church emphasized the importance of this theological exposition:

At Mukono the whole college met in the big hall with the staff sitting around the platform in their academic gowns. The atmosphere was tense. But very soon as we went on expounding verse after verse conviction came and it became easy to speak. ... Each day was spent on one subject in this order: sin, repentance, the new birth, separation, the victorious life, [on June 28, Sunday]. People kept coming forward who had decided for Christ until they numbered about forty.<sup>66</sup>

Besides this theological exposition, the contribution of George Pilkington was evident as Church illustrated. 'Pitt Pitts was with us and helped us to counsel each one. He pulled out an old concordance from the shelves to look up a text and found Pilkington's signature on the cover and the date was 1893'.<sup>67</sup> The converted students and others influenced by this teaching spread this theology of the Revival through Uganda, which emerged the following year in Kenya.<sup>68</sup>

The theology of repentance included restitution. Restitution involved amendments for sins committed in the past.<sup>69</sup> This provided the

61 This was the message at the convention held at Gahini, Ruanda, Hospital during the Christmas of 1933. See Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 98-99; Genham, 'The East African Revival', p. 41.

62 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 142; Genham, 'The East African Revival', p. 42.

63 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 117.

64 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 142.

65 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 112.

66 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 128.

67 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 128.

68 Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 129-150.

69 Joe E. Church, 'Ruanda Notes', CMS Archives, No. 40, pp. 18-19; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 103.

means for reconciliation and the restoration of fellowship with the Brethren. Thus forgiveness was truly possible when there was open confession and restitution.<sup>70</sup> John V. Taylor recognized this significant aspect of the revival:

It was primarily an answer to the unconverted state of a great part of the Church, and of some of the clergy. It was revulsion from the hypocrisy of long concealed sins, expressed in the release of open confession and restitution. It was a discovery on a large scale that the Gospel is an offer of actual rescue from the grip of sins.<sup>71</sup>

Humility and brokenness were also essential for the establishment of harmony between revived Africans and missionaries.<sup>72</sup>

The 'aggressiveness' of some of the Revival Brethren needs an analysis. The 'aggressiveness' of some preachers may constitute part of the behaviour of some Revivalists. In the definition of 'revival', the actual experience of revival starts with conviction of sin, confession and repentance. The process ends with a commitment to Christ for salvation.<sup>73</sup> The invitation to

experience revival itself does not constitute 'revival'. But it is clear that the loud aggressive preaching used by some Revivalists was unacceptable to the established Anglican Church in both Uganda and Kenya.<sup>74</sup>

The process of inviting someone to be revived may include preaching, but preaching styles themselves may differ from one Revivalist preacher to another. Interviews conducted with several missionaries and local Africans seem to suggest several reasons for this friction between some revivalists and others, including some CMS and AIM missionaries.<sup>75</sup> First, during the early stages of the revival, not all who participated in the meetings could be clearly identified as 'revivalists'.<sup>76</sup> Secondly, aggressive preaching seems to have developed later in the absence of the emphasis of the early Revivalists (1929-early 1940s), such as Joe Church and Nsibambi, versus later Revivalists (late 1940s-1960s), on the significant role of the Holy Spirit in the conviction of sin. This contrasted the preaching of others, which were seen as comprising condemnation, accusations and faultfinding.<sup>77</sup> Kevin Ward's

<sup>70</sup> Bill Butler, *Hill Ablaze*, p. 12; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 197-206.

<sup>71</sup> John V. Taylor, *The Process of Growth in An African Church* (London: SCM, 1958), p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>73</sup> For RFB perspectives on Revival, see Blasio Kigozi, in Joe E. Church, *Awake, Uganda!* pp. 12-13; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 48-50; Herbert H. Osborn, *Pioneers in The East African Revival*, pp. 165-180, 176-186; Patricia St. John, *Breath of Life: The Story of The Ruanda Mission*, pp. 114-115.

<sup>74</sup> See minutes of some of the Revivalists in 'Minutes of Revivalists', Kampala, Uganda, ca. 1950, pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, M.A., at Henry Martyn Centre Seminar, Cambridge University, 6 February 2003, and at his home in Norwich, 7 February 2003.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Dr. Jonathan Gichaara, Birmingham, 4 and 5 May 2003; Interview with Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003. See John Gehman, *Doing African Theology* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing, 1985), p.130.

later work after his PhD seem to suggest that those who were involved in this kind of aggressive preaching had seceded from the 'Balokole' movement, and became known as the 'Trumpeters'.<sup>78</sup> Ward stated:

He [Doctor Eliya Lubulwa] introduced a local man, Yutso Otunnu, to 'salvation' and Otunnu in turn became the driving force of the Revival throughout Northern Uganda. When Lubulwa arrived in the North he was already out of fellowship with the Brethren (as Balokole called themselves) in Buganda, and as a result Revival in the North developed a distinctive character. It acquired the name of 'Trumpeters', because Revivalists used megaphones to preach aggressive evangelistic sermons in market places and outside churches, disrupting the services taking place inside. Otunnu and Luwum were arrested for disturbing the peace in Kitgum in 1948.<sup>79</sup>

The early Revivalists may not interpret this aggressive preaching as revival, but it was clearly part of the method of preaching used by the aggressive preachers.

Rev. John Haselden Dobson, gradu-

ate from Oxford and AIM missionary to Kenya from 1961 to 1972 in the West Nile gave his assessment of the revival during this latter stage:

My experiences of the influence of the East African Revival Movement in Uganda in the period 1961-1972 was mostly very positive... An offshoot of the Revival movement known as the 'Strivers' or the 'Trumpeters' (because of the long megaphones through which they shouted their message) were extremely divisive. At times their message would centre on the call to turn away from sin and to believe in Christ. But their message would contain condemnation of all who were not members of their group.<sup>80</sup>

Although this particular group, the 'Strivers' were an 'offshoot' of the 'Balokole' they sometimes preached a similar doctrine to that of the 'Balokole', on the need to 'turn away from sin and to believe in Christ'.<sup>81</sup> Dobson also attested to the faithful ones he identified among the 'Balokole':

Janani Luwum [Archbishop of Uganda, martyred by Idi Amin], like his friend Festo Kivengere [Bishop], was also someone who came to a deep faith and Christian commitment through the witness of those touched by the Revival. He was a marvellous and gracious person to be with, and as Archbishop,

<sup>78</sup> Interviews with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003; Dr. Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February 2003; Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003; Rev. Richard Bewes, London, 2 March 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Kevin Ward, 'Archbishop Janani Luwum', in *Christianity and The African Imagination. Studies of Religion in Africa*, p. 206. Yusto Otunnu's son, Olara Otunnu, became a cabinet minister in the 1980s and now is a prominent official of the United Nations. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003; See also further accounts of his experiences in his book, John H. Dobson, *Daybreak in the West Nile*, pp. 3-48.

<sup>81</sup> Dobson, *Daybreak in the West Nile*, pp. 20-48.



a fearless critic of the evils committed by Idi Amin and his henchmen. From the moment of his conversion, Janani had determined that if he was going to be a Christian he wanted to be a faithful soldier and servant of Christ.<sup>82</sup>

Ward confirmed the impact of the Revival's theology on Archbishop Luwum: 'Luwum was seen to possess good social and pastoral skills, enabling him to gain the respect of different people. As a moderate Revivalist, committed to both church and fellowship, he was particularly sensitive to the need to respect impartially all sections of the church.'<sup>83</sup>

The various wings of the revival movement could be grouped in three main categories: the 'moderates', the ardent RFB members, and the separatists. The 'moderate' Revivalists were committed to maintaining the revival influence within the Church. Thus they attended their regular church services, and also met, although not regularly, with the RFB in their fellowship meetings. The moderates placed less emphasis on revival outside the established Church.<sup>84</sup> The ardent members of the RFB were the Revivalists who placed greater emphasis on the revival's influence through

the RFB than through the main established churches. Their primary allegiance was to the revival fellowship groups, and thus attended their meetings regularly, although they attended services at the mainline churches as well.<sup>85</sup> Joe Church and the early revivalists could be described as ardent revivalists, since their interest was more in furthering the revival cause, although Church would not advocate secession from the mainline churches.<sup>86</sup>

The separatists wing of the Revival movement were those who advocated secession from the main-line denominations, and thus did not attend their meetings since, in their view, the established churches compromised their religious and moral standards and therefore needed to be 'saved'. The separatists felt that the only way for revival was through separation from the established churches—Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.<sup>87</sup>

In the aftermath of Luwum's martyrdom by Amin and members of his regime, the Church appointed Silvanus Wani, who was also a 'member of the moderate wing of the Revival movement that worked for cooperation with the institutional church'.<sup>88</sup> Robin Church recollected the effect of the

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Rev. John Haselden Dobson, Norwich, 7 February 2003.

<sup>83</sup> Ward, 'Archbishop Janani Luwum', in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>84</sup> See Osborn, *Pioneers in The East African Revival*, pp. 15-260; *Ruanda Notes*, No. 56 p. 12; No. 57, p. 8; No. 59, p. 16; No. 47, pp. 16-90; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 46-59.

<sup>85</sup> See Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127.

<sup>86</sup> See Church, *Quest for the Highest*, pp. 5-196.

<sup>87</sup> See Barrett et al., *Kenya Churches Handbook*, pp. 40-125; John Gehman, 'East African Revival', pp. 37-54.

<sup>88</sup> Ward, 'Archbishop Janani Luwum', in *Christianity and the African Imagination*, pp. 220.

revival's theology:

When the Revival came, there was a real change in the lives of those who were affected. There was repentance, public confession and joyful testimonies of the forgiveness and peace of God, which came with the repentance. This was followed by restitution, reconciliation of relationships in families, community, workplace, with authorities, between missionaries and Africans, and across tribal barriers.<sup>89</sup>

The effect of the implementation of this theology, was that they 'became public examples of a Christian way of living the whole of their lives, with joy, righteousness and Godly ways'.<sup>90</sup>

## 6. Salvation: Assurance of Conversion

The theology of salvation was based on the Pauline doctrine that it was by 'faith in Christ' and not merely by good works.<sup>91</sup> This theology of the Revivalists required good works after repentance and faith to demonstrate that conversion had occurred.<sup>92</sup> Assurance

of salvation is based on the atonement of the death of Christ and his resurrection for the believer.<sup>93</sup> The RFB taught that one must persist in the faith in Christ on a daily basis without a relapse into sin or complacency.<sup>94</sup> Bishop Bill Butler wrote from Kenya, after his speech at the Kitale 'Keswick': 'The Blood of Jesus has made Victory gloriously available to me and entering experimentally into that victorious life is dependent on just one thing: my willingness to keep saying "Yes" to Jesus!'<sup>95</sup> He cited Hebrews 12:2 to validate this teaching, 'Wherefore,... let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily besets us; and let us run the race that is set before us. Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Perfector of our faith.'<sup>96</sup> This doctrine of making sure one was 'saved' was a major theological emphasis of the revival movement.<sup>97</sup>

In analysis of the theology of salvation, the Revival Brethren doubted as to whether one was saved if one's life did not comprise a constant 'habit of yielding... to the warnings of the Holy Spirit' in a 'daily walk with God' and 'cleansing by faith through the Blood of

**89** Interview with Robin Church, Cambridge, 20 February, 2003.

**90** Interview with Robin Church, Interview notes, p. 2.

**91** See Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 46-80; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127.

**92** See Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 25-250; *Ruanda Notes*, No. 56 p. 12; No. 57, p. 8; No. 59, p. 16; No. 47, pp. 16-90; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 46-59; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-127; Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 20-90.

**93** Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 58-59.

**94** Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 50-60; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya*, pp. 70-80; Mambo, 'Revival Fellowship (Brethren) in Kenya', pp. 110-112.

**95** Bill Butler, 'News From Kenya', CMS, *Front-line News*, July 1945, No. 3, Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.*, p. 14-20.

**96** Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.*, p. 14.

**97** Joe E. Church, ed., *Ruanda Notes*, No. 47. p. 140.

Christ'.<sup>98</sup> Joe Church summarised the process leading to salvation as follows:

Salvation is a complete whole... It is complete in Him...there is the *act* (sic) of repentance, the coming out of the pit, and there is the *attitude* (sic) of repentance, the abiding habit of yielding, or being broken, to the warnings of the Holy Spirit in our daily walk with God. There is the act of being cleansed from all past sin, which is called justification, and there is the *attitude* of daily cleansing by the Precious Blood in keeping fellowship unhindered, which is Sanctification. There is the *act* of prayer, such as Peter's cry, "Lord save me!" and there is the abiding *attitude* of prayer, when the Lord is very near and real. This is the place of true communion with God, the place of real intercession.<sup>99</sup>

This theology can be located in the broader Christian theological tradition of the Keswick Holiness movement, in which the process of sanctification results in a pietistic life-style for the Believer. Although this challenged the complacency of the Calvinist theology of election, where salvation was based on predestination—those already chosen by God for salvation, with little

striving by the Believer;<sup>100</sup> the effects of such striving could also be anxiety for salvation, instead of faith in Christ.

In the theological perspective of the Revival Brethren, there was more emphasis on the word, 'saved' than 'Born-again', since the latter had connotations with baptism. Although many evangelical missionaries used both inter-changeably, the Revival brethren were determined to make their theological distinctives on 'salvation' unequivocal. Bowen expanded on the reason for emphasis:

You wouldn't call them (Balokole) Christians. To them the Christians are the ones who have been baptized. The Balokole, are the saved ones. They would say, and many people have said this to me, 'Oh, yes, I am a Christian, but I am not saved yet.' They all know what you are talking about. Even today, if you go to Africa you will hear people say, 'I am a Christian, but I am not saved yet.' And they also say 'yet', 'I am not saved yet.' Meaning that one day it might happen, but not yet. Ever so clear, totally clear. They didn't use the word 'born-again' very much, just 'saved.' The reason they didn't use the word 'born-again' very much was because with Lutherans, anyone 'born-again' is connected with baptism. When you are baptized as a baby that is the sacrament of

<sup>98</sup> Joe E. Church, ed., *Ruanda Notes*, No. 47. pp. 140ff.; Guillebaud, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Growth of the Ruanda Mission of C.M.S.*, pp. 13-20.

<sup>99</sup> Joe E. Church, *Out of the Pit: An allegory in picture form showing man's redemption from the pit of sin* (London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1958), p. 14.

<sup>100</sup> Weber, Max, *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1948), pp. 95-127; Calvin expounded this theology in his Calvin's Institutes: Chapter III (of God's Eternal Decree), No. 3, No. 5.

regeneration... The whole society knew that if you were 'saved' you were different.<sup>101</sup>

The emphasis in the theology of salvation was that the Revival Brethren had to persevere in their faith in Christ. Redemption by the grace of God implied a daily cleansing by faith through the Blood of Christ towards greater sanctification—'The utmost for the Highest.'<sup>102</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

The significant contributions of the trans-Atlantic theology of the East African Revival and its subsequent impact on East African Protestantism were in terms of the rapid growth of the churches through the multiplication of fellowship groups, resulting in the formation of the Revival Fellowship Brethren. The subsequent social

impact was through influence of the Revival Fellowship Brethren within the home, workplaces, the community, and the wider society. The Revival was a major challenge to the decadence and corruption within the Kenyan society.

The contributions of the revival include endeavours to alleviate the suffering of their society, such as the oppression of the lower classes by the upper classes through bribery and corruption. This included their participation in programs towards social and political justice, assistance to the poor, needy, elderly, and the sick, and other philanthropic and benevolent activities such as refugee work, and medical and educational programs.

Furthermore, the education of the Revival Fellowship Brethren especially in phase two and the early stages of phase three of the Revival, provided its participants with prominent educational, social and political leadership positions in the society. This subsequently provided the means for a wider engagement of the participants of the Fellowship in efforts to curb corruption and bribery, and enforce moral standards of fidelity, integrity, and law and order in the society.

**101** Interview with J. Roger Bowen, Cambridge, 9 February 2003.

**102** Joe E. Church, 'My Utmost for His Highest', CMS, *Front-line News*, July 1945, No. 3, C.M.S. Ruanda Mission, 'Private Circulation,' pp. 2-3; Osborn, *Pioneers*, pp. 176-186.

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