FANNING INTO FLAME:

A SPIRITUAL GIFTS-BASED MINISTRY FOR CHURCHES OF THE BAPTIST CONVENTION OF KENYA

by

DANE WINSTEAD FOWLKES

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To Gina Fowlkes,
my best friend and
companion on the journey

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the influence of western missionaries upon African Christians in general and more specifically, Baptists in Kenya. Of particular concern to this study is western influence on the concept and practice of Christian ministry in Kenya Baptist churches.

It is asserted that western missionary influence has been negative upon Kenya Baptist churches in the concept of Christian ministry. Missionaries introduced a distinction between clergy and laity, emphasizing a ministry model of paid clergymen who dominate and drive their respective congregations. This contradicts clear New Testament teaching that every believer is a minister and is spiritually gifted to do Christian ministry in the context of the local church. Pastors are needed to equip and free church members to minister.

Thus, it is concluded that Baptists in Kenya need to change from following missionary introduced patterns of Christian ministry to that which is spiritual gifts-based and lay dependent.

INTRODUCTION

Western missionaries influence African Christianity. That sweeping statement encompasses at the same time both an extensive history and uncertain future. A brief stay in any number of African countries reveals the truth of the statement but also poses a disturbing question. The question which begs to be asked is this: has that acknowledged western influence been positive or negative? Still further, in what way or ways have western missionaries influenced African Christianity, be it good or bad? And again, if that influence has been generally negative, is its damage irreparable? This study is an attempt at answering these questions as they apply to churches of the Baptist Convention of Kenya. Stated succinctly, the desire is to know whether or not the churches of the Baptist Convention of Kenya are unduly dependent upon western missionary introduced patterns of Christian ministry and in so doing, have they acquiesced to biblically and culturally inappropriate forms of Christian ministry? (Research Question) The goal of the study, then, is to develop a culturally appropriate approach to Christian ministry for Baptist churches in Kenya that maintains biblical integrity (Goal of the Study).

A recent Annual General Meeting of the Baptist Convention of Kenya in Limuru, Kenya, highlights the significance of this problem. In the opening address of the convention gathering[1], the current moderator, Elijah Wanje, stated several times in no uncertain terms that Baptist missionaries from America were the source of confusion in Kenya Baptist churches on several accounts. The strongest point made was in relation to leadership and ministry in local Baptist churches. Baptist missionaries were castigated for their part in poor quality among our Baptist pastors and the prevailing

confusion among Baptists in Kenya as to the meaning of ministry in the local church. Added to this is the general seeking among African believers for inculturated theological roots, often taking the shape of appeal to liberation or "black theology," restating church history from an African perspective, Jesus as ancestor, etc. African Christians in general, and Kenya Baptists in particular, need a contemporary clarification of and proposal for Christian ministry in African context.

Upon examination of the concept of Christian ministry and consideration of missionary impact on that concept, a condition of hope will be discovered. The damage is not irreparable pending timely discovery of an appropriate contextual approach to Christian ministry. The thesis of this study is that an appropriate contextual approach to Christian ministry for Baptist churches in Kenya is spiritual gifts-based and lay dependent (Thesis). This is the one thing the African Church has in abundance - lay members. They are as another has described, "a sleeping army." The needed transformation is seen in the Apostle Paul's admonition to Timothy, "fan into flame the gift of God which is in you. . ." (2 Timothy 1:6), which refers to the proper exercise of one's spiritual gift(s). This is that which may change a sleeping army into a subjugating one. Therefore, this study seeks to actively explore Christian ministry in African context and to "fan into flame" by proposing a plan for spiritual gifts-based ministry among the churches of the Baptist Convention of Kenya. This study holds tremendous importance for the Baptist Convention of Kenya as it offers a carefully researched pattern of ministry which maintains cultural relevance and biblical integrity, but is replete with potential for ministerial reformation. An increasing number of African authors are addressing theological concerns these days such as liberation theology or 'black theology', but a relatively small number address the issue of Christian ministry in the wake of missionary impetus. The void in

this area is both surprising and disturbing, which makes this particular study of even greater importance.

The methodology used in this examination of Christian ministry in African context is actually a combination several modes of research. First, Christian ministry in general, Christian ministry in Africa, and missionary influence in Africa are all examined through the writing of other scholars as well as by means of personal interviews with Kenyan Baptists. For a proper understanding of the historical development of the Baptist Convention of Kenya, primary documents are consulted as well as private interviews and secondary sources. The perspective currently held by Baptists in Kenya will be ascertained by means of a specially prepared survey instrument and through a wide random sampling of Baptists in Kenya. The survey is conducted both in English and Kiswahili in order to adequately survey Baptists from all walks of life and levels of education. Conclusions in this study are based upon academic research, survey responses, personal interviews, and biblical exegesis. This varied use of methodology should insure accuracy of research and conclusions.

CHAPTER 1

Christian Ministry - A Descriptive Analysis

Changing Images of Christian Ministry

When discussing Christian ministry, it is needful to bear in mind the meaning of two very important terms. The first is "clergy," which means the ordained official ministry of the Church. Next is "laity," which denotes the mass of Christian church members who are not ordained and therefore do not perform "official" ministry in the Church. Foundational to this study is the fact that "ministry has improperly become synonymous with *the clergy*" (Hull 1990, 164). The understanding and practice of Christian ministry in reference to these two terms has changed considerably during the past two thousand years and is true in both Protestant and Roman Catholic circles. In early Christian tradition the ordained ministry was seen as only one form of ministry within the Christian community. In time, however, the diaconate became a stepping-stone to the official clergy and remained so in the Roman Catholic tradition until Vatican II. In his *Theology of Ministry*, Thomas O'Meara, a Dominican priest, describes what he calls "six metamorphoses which ministry has undergone" during the past two thousand years. He writes:

> Two thousand years lie between the pneumatic, missionary churches of the first century and the ministries we need at this moment as history nears the end of the second millennium. This span between the first and twentieth centuries is not a void, nor a linear distribution of museums. History is a living drama where old and new characters act out their play, the one drama of grace. The different epochs of history have touched and transformed the Christian ministry. The Gospel in theology and the church in ministry have not hesitated to become incarnate in various cultures. (O'Meara 1983, 128)

During the time of the Protestant Reformation, some of the leading Reformers restructured the ministry of the church. Calvin, for example, brought lay people into church ministry through the offices of elder and deacon. Additional distinctions were made in some Reformed churches between teaching elders and ruling elders, thereby separating the teaching and preaching ministries from that of church administration. In time, Protestant pastors became *the* ministers in the church. Christian ministry in America among Protestants has changed as various dominant ministry styles have emerged. These have been referred to as the 'Master' (the Scottish 'dominee'), the 'Revivalist', the 'Pulpiteer' ('princes of the pulpit') and the 'Builder' (the organizer and motivator). DeGruchy relates that these evolved according to tradition as influenced by socio-historical locations. "A particular character arose and became embedded in the minds of church people and widely recognized within and outside the church. The character then receded in importance, as both theological and socio-cultural movements interacted to give birth to a new 'character' "(DeGruchy 1986, 22).

Not all Christian traditions accept the need nor value of a separate category of ordained ministers. Stemming from the Radical Reformation, communities such as the Friends (Quakers) reject this as a narrow and false understanding of Christian ministry. Roland Allen observed some years ago that in India, traditional village leaders called *chaudri*, were entrusted with spiritual responsibilities in the churches and were paid for a time.

> Payment was discontinued when experience showed that salary tended to create a professional class. Subsequently, the *chaudri* serving in this way increased to thousands. These men went at the work in a way different from regular clergy and grew very close to the people (Braun 1971, 46).

De Gruchy warns of agreeing to a professional clergy, inferring that clericalism has no real biblical basis but rather a social origin. "Clericalism is

one of the moulds into which social pressure has, in the course of history, pushed the ordained ministry, and from which it needs to be rescued" (De Gruchy 1986, 26). Former Bishop of Bukoba Bengt Sundkler observed an increasing tendency toward clericalism within the African Church and warned of its undermining character as to a proper understanding of and vision for ministry in the local church (Sundkler 1962).

Most, however, acknowledge the place of and need for a professional clergy. Braun states that a professional clergy is needed to help churches stay in touch with the changes in an ever changing society (Braun 1971). Concerning this obvious tension in the Church, Hans-Ruedi Weber writes, "a high doctrine of the laity includes rather than excludes a doctrine of the ordained ministry" (Neill and Weber 1963, 388). Even De Gruchy claims that "clericalism is not overcome by rejecting an ordained ministry or by down-playing its significance and task" (De Gruchy 1986, 26). Although stated some years previous, P. T. Forsyth summarizes the prevailing attitude concerning the professional ministry, "The Church will be what its ministry makes it. That stands to reason" (Sundkler 1962, 127).

Christian Ministry in Church History

The leadership patterns of the Early Church were emerging ones and were still flexible. The contemporary and familiar practice of one paid clergyman leading each local church was not mentioned or conceived of by the Apostle Paul and his contemporaries. In fact, the first definitive expression of the New Testament church was the 'house church' (Hadaway 1987, 38). As early as immediately following Pentecost, congregations of Christians met in the homes of believers in various cities. "Every day they continued to meet together in the temple courts. They broke bread in their homes and ate together with glad and sincere hearts, praising God and enjoying the favor of all the people" (*New International Version*, Acts

2:46-47). This was a natural development since the New Testament *koinonia* had a strong orientation toward being "family." The church was centered around the idea of *oikos.*[2] This reflected a strong Old Testament influence where the people of God were called "the children of Israel." Also, the home was the centre of religious instruction, a practice which was carried over into the New Testament era. The early church grew out of the mass evangelism at Pentecost, but individual homes were the most ideal context for the fullest expression of the life of the New Testament church. When Saul was persecuting the church before his conversion, he searched for believers in homes rather than Temple or synagogue (Acts 8:3). From time to time, these house churches were visited by traveling apostles, evangelists, prophets, and teachers, serving as links between the house churches and between all the cities where churches existed. The house church was the common expression of the Christian congregation until circa A.D. 200. According to discoveries in the ruins of the ancient city of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates River in the Syrian desert between Baghdad and Aleppo, a large house, probably owned by a wealthy member of the church, was adapted as a place of worship around the year 230 (Hadaway 1987, 44). Two rooms were evidently made into a chapel which would seat approximately one-hundred persons. There was a raised section apparently for the leader of worship and in one corner there was a baptistry covered by a decorated canopy.

The lifestyle of the first Christians meeting in homes was so powerful that daily conversions took place (Acts 2:47). The total involvement of believers in these home-based New Testament churches astounded outsiders: "But if all prophesy, and an unbeliever or an ungifted man enters, he is convicted *by all*; he is called to account *by all*; the secrets of his heart are disclosed; and so he will fall on his face and worship God, declaring that God is certainly among you" (1 Corinthians 14:24-25). In the early church there were no specialists and apart from the teaching of the Apostles,

leadership was not emphasized to a great extent. Details and needs were taken care of by those closest at hand as the needs arose. As the movement developed, equippers of the believers for the work of their ministry arose from within the house churches (Ephesians 4:11-12). The first task of the equipper was to exhibit the character befitting a model for other believers: "Do not try to rule over those who have been put in your care, but be examples to the flock" (*Good News for Modern Man*, 1 Peter 5:3). In at least some instances, several leaders (elders) were appointed from among the believers to serve as leaders in local churches. "From Miletus Paul sent a message to Ephesus, asking the elders *(presbuteroi)* of the church to meet him" (*Good News for Modern Man*, Acts 20:17). Regular salaries are not mentioned in this period of the Church, although Christian leaders did receive from time-to-time support (i.e. financial assistance) from believers. It is well known that the Apostle Paul constructed tents for a living and did not receive regular financial support from the churches. Perhaps his example came from the Jewish rabbis. "Rabbi Hillel, who founded a well-known rabbinic school, worked at felling trees" (Braun 1971, 35).

In summary, there appear to be three basic principles in the New Testament concerning Christian ministry:

1. Ministry is the task of the complete Body of Christ.

This is the antithesis to the idea that Christian ministry is performed by one clerical professional in the church. As we will see more clearly later in this study, all members of the church receive spiritual gifts for ministry. Although some obviously have more gifts and therefore greater responsibility than others, all are to be participants in building the Body of Christ.

> There are different kinds of gifts, but the same Spirit.
> There are different kinds of service, but the same Lord.
> There are different kinds of working, but the same God
> works all of them in all men. Now to each one the man-
> ifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good. . .
> Now you are the body of Christ, and each one of you is

a part of it (*New International Version*, 1 Cor 12:4-7, 27).

2. Ministry is a matter of function not status.

The metaphors of Christian ministry in the New Testament focus on the functional nature of the ministry. The writers of the New Testament were uninterested in raising the status of a certain category of individuals, but instead were vitally concerned with what was required to build the Body of Christ. This reflects upon the idea that "the essence of ministry itself is closely related to the doing of something and not so much to being someone" (Hogarth 1983, 10-11). Originally all believers were called saints[3] and all were expected to minister (Eph 4:11-13).

3. Authority for Ministry is derived from spiritual authority held.

Our example for ministry is the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus' ministry showed us who he was, or in other words, he ministered out of who he was. His personhood and ministry matched perfectly. What that means for the Church today is that the ministry in our churches must be based on the spiritual authority of those who are ministering. Persons minister not out of some clerical position, but who they are in Christ. The question then arises of how best to organize things in the church so that the church corporately advances and individual members mature accordingly (Hogarth 1983).

There is much evidence in the early writings of the Church that reveals the gradual changes that took place in its order and methods of ministry. That the original foundations remained for a time is seen in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," an ancient document written in the early part of the second century (Hay 1947). It reveals the local church under the leadership of elders and deacons. Traveling evangelists were supported by freewill offerings, and prophets and teachers were sometimes itinerant. The writings of the Fathers of the Church of the first and second centuries give clear witness to the fact that a plurality of elders presided in each church and in no case did one elder alone rule over a church. Polycarp, writing to the

Philippians nearly one hundred years after the church was founded by Paul, counsels them to "submit themselves to their Elders and Deacons." During the second century it seems to have become common for the elders in a given congregation to choose one of their number to preside over them, thus applying to him the designation of Bishop. But even as late as A.D.300, Eusebius uses the terms bishop and elder interchangeably.

For several centuries it continued to be the general practice of elders to earn their living by secular employment. In the middle of the third century, Cyprian objected to long absences of his elders on matters of business. It was much later, during the fourth century, that members of the clergy were forbidden to engage in secular business, resulting in a growing distinction between clergy and laity. Gradually, the priesthood of all believers was replaced by an order of professional clerics that was regarded as the channel through which Christ worked and the Holy Spirit spoke.

Originally, the final spiritual authority in all matters rested with the congregation, but an increasing dependence upon human factors rather than the Holy Spirit's gifts made it inevitable that persons with greater natural abilities should be depended upon and become prominent. "Under these conditions the oversight of the congregation by a group of Elders, all of them equal, who took no more part in the ministry of the Word than the other members, became impracticable and it was unavoidable that authority would come to be vested in one person and that the authority of that one should steadily increase (Hay 1947, 250). Another structural change with far-reaching consequences was the disappearance of the evangelist's ministry and the final substitution of the authority of the Diocesan Bishop. This was the inevitable result of the growth of the elder's authority. No longer was there a spiritual foundation for church extension as bishops, with regional authority and increasing ecclesiastical power, replaced evangelists.

The conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine early in the fourth century is the most significant turning-point in the history of the Church. Before that time changes came gradually, but after Constantine's conversion to Christianity the process of change became rapid and complete, embracing every phase of the Church's life and ministry. Great numbers of pagans were admitted to the Church simply by a change of name, bringing with them their pagan beliefs, superstitions, and customs. A hierarchical organization in the Church was quickly implemented, patterned after the government of the Empire which culminated later in the establishment of the Papacy. By the fifth century, Christianity had conquered paganism, and paganism had infected Christianity.

During all this time, there were churches and groups, generally called Montanists in the early centuries, that sought to remain faithful to the doctrines and practices of the Apostles, and walk in the way of the Spirit. Hay quotes Hatch concerning these Montanists:

> The gift of ruling, like Aaron's rod, seemed to swallow up the other gifts. Then came a profound reaction. Against the growing tendency towards that state of things which afterwards firmly established itself, and which ever since has been the normal state of almost all Christian Churches, some communities, first of Asia Minor, then of Africa, then of Italy raised a vigorous and, for a time, a successful protest. They reasserted the place of spiritual gifts as contrasted with official rule. They maintained that the revelation of Christ through the Spirit was not a temporary phenomenon of Apostolic days, but a constant fact of Christian life. They combined this with the preaching of a higher morality than that which was tending to become current. They were supported in what they did by the greatest theologian of his time, and it is to the writing of that theologian (Tertullian) rather than to the vituperative statements of later writers that we must look for a true idea of their purpose. . . It was a beating of the wings of pietism against the iron bars of organization. It was the first, though not the last, rebellion of the religious sentiment against official religion (Hay 1947, 257-258).

While that description fails to include the excesses of the Montanists and the fact that the movement eventually died largely because of them, it does help us understand that the importance which the Montanists placed upon the gifts of the Spirit, however stilted, and their free exercise by all members of the Church is significant.[4] The new organization developing in the established Church, with its ritualism and sacerdotalism, necessarily meant the cessation of Christian ministry based upon the free exercise of spiritual gifts by all believers. As the Church became dependent upon the natural abilities and material wealth of individuals, the nature of Christian ministry changed completely.

> The history of the reorganized Church during the centuries that followed surely speaks for itself. It marched in to take possession in the Roman State, consolidated its position until its dominion was well nigh absolute, and led the world into the corruption and ignorance of the dark ages, when much even of the light of the culture that had flourished in the heathen nations of Greece and Rome was eclipsed. It availed itself of every art and artifice that man had devised and developed the strongest human organization ever known. It created titles and conferred authority: it added ceremonies ever more solemn and gorgeous. It built Cathedrals and filled them with pomp and art. But it never conquered the world; it was conquered by it (Hay 1947, 260).

Johannes van der Ven comments on these changes as well:

> The leaders of the church are not the only bearers of charisma; in principle all members are, as exegetical research into the pre-Pauline and Pauline communities has shown. The later development in the church does not imply that charisma has disappeared from view but rather that charisma as a "gift," given to all, has been reduced to the property of a certain group, the leaders: 'The development of the ministry in the early Christian churches was not so much . . . a historic shift from charisma to institute. It was a shift from the charism of many to a specialized charisma of but a few' (van der Ven 1993, 311).

Summarizing the evolution of church organization and therefore Christian ministry that took place, it is clear that:

1. The plurality of elders, all equal in position and authority, gradually becomes a presbytery with a president, who takes the title of bishop.
2. The authority of this bishop increases until he becomes the chief authority in the congregation.
3. The plurality of elders is gradually eliminated.
4. The bishop of a congregation in an important and influential city assumes authority over congregations in the smaller surrounding towns and villages. This is the beginning of the Bishop of a diocese.
5. The growing ecclesiastical authority of elder and bishop, the disuse of spiritual gifts in the churches, and lack of interest on the part of church members to be involved in ministry, lead the Christian ministry to become professional and for those who ministered to become a separate class (clergy).
6. With the formation of a special class of professional ministers, it became necessary to have specially trained persons in these positions. This made formal theological training a prerequisite for Christian ministry.
7. Those who were not specially trained and authorized were discouraged from doing ministry, and, ultimately, forbidden. This resulted in the priesthood of all believers being replaced by a clerical class and ordinary church members becoming laity, inarticulate so far as ministry was concerned.

The 16th century saw the coming of spiritual awakening in the Protestant Reformation, with much that had been lost theologically regained. One of Martin Luther's great contributions to the body of Christ was his rediscovery of the biblical doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Previously the church had fallen into the false doctrine that ordinary Christians did not have complete personal access to the Father without the assistance of intermediaries called priests. However, there was not a complete return to the simplicity of New Testament order and ministry. Martin

Luther did not carry the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers forward to include the ministry of all believers, meaning that the right of all believers to take part in ministry through the gift of the Holy Spirit was not fully regained (Hohensee 1992). So far as ministry in the churches was concerned, pre-Reformation clericalism continued, although in a different form. The classical theologians did not recognize that the Bible's teachings on spiritual gifts had a direct application as to how ministry was to be done in the local congregation. The Protestant clergy replaced the Roman Catholic priesthood, and the churches which emerged, so far as structure was concerned, were reformed Roman Catholic churches rather than New Testament ones.

The Enlightenment produced several options in the Church. One of these was the spiritualist option characterized by the teachings of Jakob Boehme, George Fox, and Emanuel Swedenborg. Of these, only Fox affected structure and order in the churches. Since Fox and his followers (Friends or Quakers) believed that any structure in worship could be an obstacle to the work of the Holy Spirit, their worship took place in silence. Any who felt called or spiritually moved to speak or pray aloud were free to do so. Fox himself did not prepare to speak at such meetings, but waited for the Spirit to move him. There were many times when groups gathered to hear him speak, but he refused to do so because he did not feel led by the Spirit (Gonzales 1985). However, such movements were small and had little influence on the general view of the church on structure and ministry in the church.

John Wesley and the early Methodists emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit and, in fact, Wesley believed the church across the ages was to have and use spiritual gifts. His reasoning was that since the devil continues to perform false signs and wonders, true signs and wonders must still exist. For Wesley, the spiritual gifts were described in two passages, Mark

16:17-18 and 1 Corinthians 12:8-10. "He denied he ever laid claim to all of the gifts but does admit to the gifts of exorcism, and of healings and miracles"[5] (Hohensee 1992, 56). Wesley did not take great pains to define the gifts or how they were to be used in ministry, but he did give rise to the Holiness Movement in the nineteenth century, and in turn the modern Pentecostal movemement, which has placed a great deal of emphasis on certain gifts. The two gifts stressed by Pentecostalism are healing and tongues, so much so that many refer to it as the "Tongues Movement." However, strange as it may seem, even though Pentecostals stress certain gifts as available and desirable for all believers, the professional clericalism so typical of churches in general has not changed greatly. Pentecostal pastors, much like Baptist and other Protestant pastors, continue doing most of the ministry of the churches and members are largely recipients and spectators of Christian ministry. "'The priesthood of the believer,' the central goal of the Reformation, has been restored only theologically, not practically"[6] (Rutz 1992, 13).

Christian Ministry in Context

"People must learn to do theology" (Hiebert 1995, 372). Nowhere is this more critical that in the area of applied theology or theology in context. Numerous definitions of contextualization have been formulated and proposed. George Peters defines contextualization as discovering "the legitimate implications of the Gospel in a given situation."[7] O. Imasogie gives us a functional definition of contextualization from an African perspective:

> The African convert is not given the opportunity to confront his self-understanding with the claims of Christ. Consequently, the average African Christian is a man of two faiths. When faced with existential crises a conflict invariably develops as to the relevance of his Christian faith to what he perceives as a metaphysical problem . . . His unconscious rationale for opting for an unchristian solution is that the "Christian God" must not

> be familiar with this type of problem . . . "[8] (Eitel 1986, 31)

At the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization held in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1974, the following definition of contextualization was promoted:

> Contextualization means the translation of the unchanging content of the Gospel of the kingdom into verbal form meaningful to people in their separate cultures and within their particular existential situations.

The first important term here is 'the unchanging content of the Gospel of the kingdom.' Obviously, this refers to Jesus Christ as the fixed and unchangeable heart of the Gospel. Each time we present Him we contextualize, but Jesus Christ never changes. Tite Tienou calls for a biblically balanced contextualized theology.

> A contextual approach, whether or not we like the word, is needed and in fact has always been applied (with more or less awareness and forcefulness) in Christian theology. The question is: how do we prevent contextualization from leading to heresy? A right contextual approach takes seriously both the biblical text and the cultural context where the message is given.[9] (Eitel 1986, 32)

At the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly in Nairobi during December 1976, African theologian John Mbiti reminds us of the supra-cultural nature of the Gospel:

> "The Gospel is not the property of European or American culture: neither should we make it the property of our African culture. The Gospel belongs to Jesus Christ, and it refuses to be the exclusive property of any one culture, or nation, or region, or generation."
> (*Facing the New Challenges* 1978, 275).

The second important phrase concerns conveying the Gospel in a "form meaningful to people in their separate cultures." In reference to the Gospel, it means that the message never changes, but the method for delivering it must constantly be in flux. For our concern of Christian ministry, it means that ministry must be done and designed according to appropriate

cultural forms. Again, John Mbiti spoke to this important issue at the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly:

> As such there is no divine form of Christianity which is one hundred percent suitable for all peoples and at all times. Every form of Christianity has its impurities because of man's sinfulness. Therefore every cultural setting has a right to evolve its own form or expression of Christianity. No single form of Christianity should dominate another.[10]

Culture does have a formative role in the process by which the Gospel gets into us and expresses itself through us.

Regardless of the definition we choose, if we are to apply this term 'contextualization' to the matter at hand, we must consider that which is truly biblical or immutable about Christian ministry. If contextualization is vital in reference to the form and expression of Christian theology, it must be true in regards to the form of expression of Christian ministry. What then is the biblical or constant part of Christian ministry which must be inculturated by every people group and culture? The answer comes from our earlier discussion which plainly shows that the indispensable character of Christian ministry is Christlike service done by all believers to both believers and unbelievers in the setting of the local church.

In his *Theology and Ministry in Context and Crisis*, John W. De Gruchy proposes a contextualized Christian ministry:

> The ordained ministry, as an integral part of the church in the world, must be related to the socio-political and cultural context within which it exists. Hence, its character and style may well change not only from one generation to the next but also from one social location to the next even within the same country (De Gruchy 1986, 31-32).

Although those in ministry must be well founded in the general mission of the church, that mission must be exercised particularly in each given situation (context). Ministry which does not take into account specific needs and

crises ceases to be ministry. The issue at stake then, is whether or not the structures of ministry to which we are accustomed and promote, enable or actually hinder the accomplishment of ministry in the life of the local church. Another influential missiologist in African context writes:

> It is axiomatic that there is a great difference between what can be said absolutely about the church's ministry regardless of century and country: that it be in obedience to God, as known to us through the clear teaching of scripture, the constant witness of tradition and the most authoritative declarations of the living church from time to time - and the sociological pattern of ministry in any given time and place. There can be no possible doubt that the latter can and should change vastly according to the diverse historical character of the world to which the church must minister (Hastings 1971, 96).

Ministry must be appropriate to the context and therefore, in a sense, sociologically influenced; however, it must retain biblical integrity if it is to have appropriate cultural meaning.

Christian Ministry and Western Worldview

"Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualizations of what reality can or should be, what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible, and impossible. These conceptualizations form what is termed the 'worldview' of the culture" (Kraft 1988, 53). Worldview is the system by which cultural members process reality and is also the foundation of values and mores. As Kraft states it, "worldview lies at the very heart of culture, touching, interacting with, and strongly influencing every other aspect of culture" (Kraft 1988, 53). Every member of a given society is conditioned to interpret reality in terms agreed upon by members of that culture.

Westerners operate and approach Christian ministry from a particular worldview. Western thought about God and man can be divided into three major periods: the ancient period (2000 B.C. - A.D. 400) in which biblical ideas contrasted sharply with Greek world views; the Middle Ages (A.D. 400 -

1500) which introduced a period of synthesis in which Christians attempted to harmonize or unify Christian and Greek ideas; and the modern era (1500 - present) in which post-synthetic approaches have developed that differ radically from the revival of biblical views sparked by the Protestant Reformation (Hoffecker 1986). The development toward a modern Western worldview may be shown by the following diagram modified from the one by W. Andrew Hoffecker (Hoffecker 1986, 8):

DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN WORLD VIEW

BIBLICAL WORLD VIEW _____ . . . . . .REFORMATION

ANTITHESIS MEDIEVAL SYNTHESIS

GREEK WORLD VIEW RENAISSANCE .

ENLIGHTENMENT

NATURALISM - HUMANISM

2000 B.C.	1000 B.C.	500 B.C.	0		1000	1500	1600	1800
Patriarchs	David	Plato/ Aristotle	Christ	Nicea/ Augustine	Aquinas	Luther Calvin	Descartes Kant Darwin Marx	

It becomes clear that the contemporary Western worldview extends from the traditions of the Enlightenment and causes those from the West to perceive the world in mechanistic terms which has been termed a Cartesian or Newtonian worldview. These stem from the philosophy of Rene Descartes (1596 - 1650) whose philosophical system was based on a great confidence in mathematical reasoning, joined to a profound distrust of all that is not absolutely certain. He compared his philosophical method to geometry, a discipline that accepts only what is an undeniable axiom, or has been rationally proven.[11] "I think, therefore I am" - in Latin, *cogito, ergo sum* -

became the starting point for his philosophy. His philosophy was termed Cartesianism, because his Latin name was Cartesius. Another development comes from German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804) and his Copernican Revolution. Kant displayed an unbounded faith in human reason and rejected previously held views of reason as a servant of Christian philosophy. He was influenced by, among other factors, the physics of Isaac Newton. Just as Copernicus has demonstrated that the sun, not earth, is the centre of the solar system, so Kant hoped to show that man, not God, is the centre and source of all valid knowledge. The basic principle of Kant's 'Copernican Revolution' is that objects and events we experience conform to our minds and not our minds to experience (Hoffecker 1986, 283). Therefore, unless something is empirically objectified and capable of being screened through the categories of the mind, it has no existence.[12] Those influenced by such Western philosophy assume that the natural universe is predictable, rational, and scientifically describable (Kraft 1988). Therefore, Westerners attempt to understand and rationally explain the factors and causes of such phenomena as storms, sickness and health, misfortune and success. This determination to probe, analyze, to explain comes "naturally" because contemporary Western culture says reality is structured that way. The writing of renowned scientist Frtijof Capra helps us see that this rational or naturalistic worldview treats human beings more as machines than as persons. Capra tells us that machines are constructed, whereas organisms grow and are process-oriented. Machines function only in a rigid, pre-determined, and predictable manner, whereas organisms exhibit a high degree of flexibility and ability to adapt to changes in the environment (De Gruchy 1987).

Many unwittingly and quite naturally bring this Western mechanistic worldview into the ministry of the local church. Christian ministry becomes one of servicing and maintaining structures in an institution rather than

empowering persons to care for other persons. In De Gruchy's words, "Instead of being practical theologians ordained ministers become clerical technicians; instead of their focus being on the mission of the church in the world, it is on church maintenance (De Gruchy 1987, 128). How different this is from the Pauline image of the church as 'the body of Christ.' Ministerial success is seen as running a well-organized institution rather than equipping and releasing the People of God. Joseph Hough and John Cobb state it this way:

> The internalisation of Enlightenment individualism by Christians has deeply affected the understanding of the church as well. It has also caused some serious problems for the concept of the people of God in mission. Individuals do 'join' the church, but because American churches, regardless of their official polity, function as voluntary associations, they are mostly congeries of consenting individuals whose commitment to the church is very conditional. (Hough and Cobb 1985, 36).

Mechanical clerical ministry destroys creativity and promotes central dependence, to the extent that the church cannot function without its 'clerical mechanic.' This professional-oriented Christian ministry establishes hierarchies of ministerial privilege rather than distributing ministry among all spiritually gifted persons. In effect, the Western worldview confines Christian ministry to a few well trained professionals who function more as preservers of institutions rather than spiritual leaders.

Lay Involvement in Christian Ministry

Sir John Lawrence some years ago exposed the problem facing the Church today by stating that what most church members want is: "a building which looks like a church; a clergyman dressed in a way he approves; services of the kind he's been used to, *and to be left alone.*"[13] The Church

has for many years struggled with this Cartesian dualism of clergy-laity. This attitude has become so prominent that the English word "lay" has become synonymous with "amateur" as over against "professional." The result has been a loss of identity by non-clerical church members, and the clergy has become overburdened with the enormity of the demands of Christian ministry.

Throughout the Old Testament, Israel is constantly referred to as the people of God. The Hebrew term for "people" (*am*), according to Hort, is translated in the Septuagint most often by the Greek word *laos* (Braun 1971, 102). In the New Testament, *laos* is used both of the Jewish people and the new Israel which is the Church. The first Christians saw themselves as being the continuation of God's ancient people and not merely a new movement under Jesus of Nazareth. Such passages as Hebrews 4:9 and Revelation 18:4 reveal Christians consciously applying to themselves the ancient Hebrew terminology of "the people of God."[14] Again in Hebrews 8:8-10, the writer applies the stirring prophecy of Jeremiah to Christians:

> The time is coming, declares the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah. It will not be like the covenant I made with their forefathers when I took them by the hand to lead them out of Egypt, because they did not remain faithful to my covenant, and I turned away from them.
>
> This is the covenant I will make with the house of Israel after that time, declares the Lord. I will put my laws in their minds and write them on their hearts. I will be their God, *and they will be my people*.

In the New Testament passages mentioned above, and others in which the expression *laos* of God appears, the entire believing community is meant, not a select group within the body.[15] This People of God is that unique community composed of all chosen to be in Christ.

The *laos* of God is called to Christian ministry. The word "ministry" has come in time to describe the work of professional clergy, but in the New Testament *diakonia* (ministry) is not the function of a special class of

professionally trained individuals, it is a role to which all believers are called. In other words, in the New Testament, all are *diakonoi* (ministers). The task of pastoral leaders of the church was never to do all the ministering, but rather to equip all believers to fulfill their calling as ministers. All believers are collectively the *laos* of God, regardless of their function in the church.

The division between clergy and laity was never intended by the Lord of the Church. In his, *A Theology of the Laity*, Hendrick Kraemer holds that there was a linguistic dimension to this change of emphasis from *laos* to laity. He explains that the word "layman" is a descendant of the Greek *laikos* which passed into several Western languages in its Latinized form. The word *laikos* never appears in the New Testament, but instead refers to the *laos*, the people of God. The word *laikos* was a term of honor in the Apostle Paul's day, but it gradually underwent changes in meaning. Liturgies came to use this word to refer to the congregation, as distinguished from the priest who officiates (Kraemer 1958).

The word "layman" now refers to anyone outside any profession. He or she is someone who is not qualified to make judgments concerning specialized fields of knowledge. What was once a term of honor has become one of subordination and as such it devalues the expression "the people of God" (Braun 1971, 106). The most tragic element in this diminution is that it has become acceptable to the laity, assuming the clergy bears the entire burden of ministerial responsibility in the church. It is impossible from the New Testament to defend such a division or attitude. "The early church had no room for an idle and selfish soul. Every believer was a worker, warrior, witness. He came into the church as soon as he was baptized, to be a member in the body where every member had an office, and must needs fulfill his function in order to the health and help of the whole body" (Pierson 1895, 109-110). As Kraemer states it: "The view of the laity's role, all too common today, which allows laymen to be appealed to as a sort of auxiliary army for

times of special but temporary need, is no true biblical view" (Kraemer 1958, 119). The pastor does not do the ministry of the church assisted by the laymen; all are called to be ministers: some are given one gift or function, some another.

Clarification for this confusing and unnatural division comes from the writing of the Apostle Paul in Ephesians 4:11-13.

> It was he who gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, and some to be pastors and teachers, to prepare God's people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may be built up until we all reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God and become mature, attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ.

Clearly, the pastoral function is to equip or prepare all the *laos* for ministry. "All are servants of the Word by which 'the body of Christ,' the *Una Sancta*, is to be built up; yet not these workers alone are to do this work, but all the saints are to be equipped and engaged in it like a growing body" (Lenski 1937, 529). However, Paul's meaning in verse twelve is obscured by the punctuation of our English versions. The placing of a comma has a determining influence on the interpretation of these verses when the text is regarded as consisting of three coordinate or parallel phrases. Verse twelve is translated in the Revised Standard Version, "for the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ." The Authorized Version gives a similar rendering of the verse. Here, the comma following "saints" makes it appear that it is referring to the work of the clergy, but in fact, there is no justification for placing a comma here. The three phrases of verse twelve are not parallel since in the Greek there is a change of prepositions (*pros, eis, eis*). It seems best to take the first two phrases together as has been done in the New International Version: "to prepare

God's people for works of service." B. F. Westcott enlightens us on this matter:

> A consideration of the scope of the whole passage in which special stress is laid upon the ministry of every part to the welfare of the whole, seems to be absolutely decisive as to the interpretation . . . The change of the preposition shows clearly that the three clauses . . . are not co-ordinate, and however foreign the idea of the spiritual ministry of all "the saints" is to our mode of thinking, it was the life of the apostolic church. (Westcott 1952, 62-63)

There is an absence of definite articles indicating that this is not *the* ministry as some have interpreted it to mean.[16] All the saints/believers have this work and are to be prepared for it so that the body is properly developed. This is not a mixing of metaphors. This is true "body building", whereby the body is developed to its full potential, which in this case would include church growth of three kinds: quantitative, qualitative, and organic. Fortunately for Swahili speakers in East Africa, the newer Habari Njema (Good News) version of the New Testament in Kiswahili captures the correct meaning of the Greek, whereas the older Union version retains the commas.[17]

The right meaning, then, is that the primary work of those who are gifted to fill the role of pastors, teachers, prophets, and evangelists, is to equip all the believers in the church so that they may be able to use their gift(s) in Christian ministry. There is no New Testament basis for a professional class of clerics who perform *the* ministry in the church; instead, pastor-teachers are gifted and called not to do the work of the ministry, but to prepare others to do so. In *Theological Foundations for Ministry*, Ray Anderson writes:

> The term 'ministers' refers to members of the church who have been entrusted with a special function, or office in the life and mission of the Church. The term 'ministry' refers to what Christ does through the total membership of the church. We thereby reject the common equation of the term 'ministry' with the min-

isters and their work. (Anderson 1976, 430)

Does this concept negate the pastoral call or cause pastor-teachers to cease exercising the gifts which the Spirit has apportioned? Quite the contrary. The New Testament concept of ministry would not curtail the ministry of pastor-teachers but instead widen their scope.

> How different was the effect of the New Testament order upon a congregation. Each church was a hive of activity - not institutional activity, but spiritual activity - through the exercise of the gifts of the Spirit by all the members; an activity that radiated outwards, extending in an ever widening circle, reaching farther and farther afield as new converts increased the membership and the numbers seeking scope for ministry multiplied . . . A congregation that participated fully in the responsibility of the ministry of the Word and that faced the adversary together with united faith and prayer must needs grow in spiritual stature and strength. (Hay 1947, 293)

The tragedy of most churches is that the congregation is carrying on its ministry by proxy. It pays a pastor to preach for it, a home missionary to minister in the urban ghettos, and supports some foreign missionaries in distant forgotten places. These congregations are filled with members of the Body of Christ and, therefore, are provided with divinely selected spiritual gifts for ministry, yet they do little more than attend worship services, judge the pastor's preaching, and perhaps rejoice when the lost are saved through the pastor's ministry. What a great torrent of spiritual power is dammed up in that congregation. Whereas the church is to be about the business of unshackling the bound, many are still in chains. Hans Küng challenges us at this point:

> Freedom is demanded of the church precisely because freedom has been given to the Church. The indicative precedes and makes possible the imperative: ultimately it is not because freedom has to be struggled for and won that it was granted, but it is because it has been granted that it can and must be lived. (Anderson 1976, 458)

While most churches have confined the pastoral function largely to educated and salaried ordained[18] clergymen, the New Testament presents a liberating picture of congregations full of spiritually gifted persons who share in Christian ministry.

What conclusions are possible from this discussion of Christian ministry in the New Testament and contemporary practice? First, there are no restrictions placed upon us by the New Testament which would preclude the adoption of culturally appropriate and more flexible forms of ministry. As writes Leon Morris: "Since there are no authoritative directions for the ministry, we must feel that at least in some respects the ministry is capable of adaptation to the various situations that will arise" (Morris 1964, 112). Second, whatever culturally appropriate form the church takes, that form must include the empowerment and unleashing of all believers in that culture to express their God-given spiritual gifts for Christian ministry. Only then will the biblical concept of ministry be incarnate in the culture in question.

CHAPTER 2

MISSIONARY IMPACT ON CHRISTIANITY IN KENYA

Historical Background on Missionary Penetration into Kenya

Vasco da Gama anchored off the coast of Mombasa on 7 April, 1498, at the modern location of Fort Jesus. He had traveled around the Cape of Good Hope and discovered a new route to India and the Far East. Da Gama also thought he was near the realm of Prester John, legendary African King of whom Europeans had heard a great deal. Such an alliance potentially could be a great help in the struggle against Muslim expansion in Africa.

Da Gama earned notoriety in the struggle against the Moors (black Muslims) who threatened Portugal and Spain. A crusading spirit within drove him to find a powerful ally in Africa who would assist him in his struggle against Muslims. Arriving first at Mozambique on the East African coast, and later Mombasa, Vasco da Gama discovered that Muslims had already established presence on the East Coast and that they were not friendly toward his encroachment. He did, however, receive a friendly reception at the hands of the ruler of Malindi, who was constantly at war against his stronger neighbor in Mombasa. To commemorate the treaty between Malindi and Portugal, da Gama erected a marble pillar at Malindi[19] (Gray 1958, 3).

After da Gama confirmed there were extensive gold fields on the East Coast, Portugal took definite steps to insure Portuguese monopoly of these. Francisco d'Almeida was sent in 1505 with instructions to invade Kilwa and secure trade at Sofala. The Sultan of Kilwa was removed and a sympathizer established by the Portuguese. From Kilwa, Almeida went to Mombasa

where the town was taken after heavy fighting and afterwards being set ablaze. Almeida made no attempts at evangelization of the nationals and left behind Franciscan friars for the express purpose of serving as chaplains to the Portuguese soldiers. Nonetheless, in a letter addressed to the King of Portugal dated 31 August, 1506, Kilwa reported forty persons desiring to be Christians. The Portuguese captain had the people baptized much to the disdain of the Muslims (Nthamburi 1991, 2). This same captain sent an envoy to search for an inland route to Ethiopia, but was murdered before he passed beyond Mombasa. Another attempt was made from Malindi but it too failed, this time due to hostile resistance from the interior. Eventually, two Portuguese did reach the court of the King of Ethiopia and they reported this in a letter addressed to King Manuel of Portugal. In 1513, the Portuguese abandoned Kilwa after establishing themselves at Sofala and thus gaining control over the South African gold trade (Gray 1958, 9).

Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, the Portuguese viceroy to India, was the one who ordered construction of a fort at Mombasa, and who also instructed that the gospel be preached to the inhabitants. However, four years later it was reported that no progress had been made due to Muslim resistance and opposition. It was decided that it would be unwise to introduce Christianity in Malindi, since that action might anger and offend their allies and jeopardize their tenuous relationship. The only Christian ritual allowed the Portuguese residents was the burial of their dead according to Christian tradititons and customs.

Portuguese relations with the inabitants of the East African coast were never better than tenuous. John Gray reports that John Dos Santos, a Dominican friar stationed in the Kerimba Isles, baptized a nephew of the ruler of Zanzibar in 1591. In the absence of sons of his own, the ruler had raised this nephew to be his heir, so he became angry with the Portuguese for what he considered an act of a treachery and relations reached a low point. In

1585, a Turk by the name of Mir Ali Bey preached a *jihad* (holy war) against the Portuguese, gaining enthusiastic support for his mission. At the island of Pate, nationals dragged John Rebello around the town and pelted him with stones because he refused to recant his Christian faith. He later died from the injuries and the Portuguese retaliated two years later by attacking Faza. They looted and burned Faza to the ground, slaughtering all inhabitants including women and children (Gray 1958, 14).

The Portuguese practiced a lifestyle that brought into question the validity of Christianity. Dos Santos gives just such an account:

> If a chicken belonging to a Muslim enters the dwelling of a Christian (Portuguese) and the Muslim asks for it, the Christian answers that the chicken entered his house because it wanted to be a Christian, and so he cannot give it back.[20](Nthamburi 1991, 3)

In fact, the Portuguese were so known for their oppressions and frauds that such happenings were nicknamed "Pemba tricks." Also, their moral behviour brought reproach to the name of Christ. They were known to keep concubines as well as being extremely cruel to nationals and even one another. Of course, the majority of the Portuguese on the East Coast were soldiers and merchants and not necessarily religious persons; nevertheless, Christianity was judged by those who portrayed a negative attitude and witness towards their faith.

The best known Portuguese missionary, who made his appearance in Kenya on his way to India in 1542, was Francis Xavier (Nthamburi 1982, 12). He had fruitful conversations with Muslim leaders in Malindi. By 1599, Francisco da Gama reported that the Church in Mombasa was complete and the Augustinians reported that 600 people had been converted. Among these was the exiled ruler of Pemba who was living in Mombasa. Most of the converts to Christianity were from African traditional religions as the Muslims were non-responsive and even hostile toward the Gospel. There were

reports of 1200 baptisms and a Christian community of 4,000 by the year 1600, with approximately 1,000 baptisms each year. The clergy, however, reported that the lives of the new adherents remained scandalous. There are no records to show how Christianity was progressing at Lamu and Pate, but at Faza the Liwali was friendly to the Portuguese and even assisted in building the Church, hoping to receive protection for his town from the notorious Portuguese soldiers.

The struggle for dominance and political rivalry between the Portuguese and Arabs[21] continued for many years. In 1652, there was a general rebellion of the Arabs along the East Coast. In 1696, for thirty-three months a fleet from Oman besieged Fort Jesus, until only six Portuguese remained. On 25 April, 1729, the last attack on the Portuguese at Mombasa occurred, lasting five months. In the end, the remaining Portuguese gladly accepted the offer of two dhows to take them to Mozambique, and on 26 November, 1729, the Portuguese flag was lowered for the final time (Nthamburi 1991, 6). There is no record of any Christian presence after the Arabs regained control of Mombasa which points to the fact that Portuguese dominance of the East Coast made no significant impact for the Gospel. Their interests were mainly commercial and they were more interested in exploiting the nationals than converting them. No attempt was made to contextualize or indigenize the Christian faith and what remained quickly disintegrated. When the first modern missionaries arrived there was no evidence of Christianity. As the Portuguese power was waning, other European powers became interested and converged on East Africa. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Portuguese merchants along the coast were being replaced by British, Dutch, and French traders. Merchants were followed by scientists, explorers, and geographers. These in turn were followed by philanthropists and missionaries whose special interest was in helping people escape exploitation by slave traders (Nthamburi 1982, 13).

Johann Ludwig Krapf was the first modern missionary to East Africa. He was first sent to Ethiopia as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.)[22] in 1837. He spent five years there trying to reach the Galla people and left in 1842 to meet his bride who was awaiting him in Egypt. After marriage, they tried to return to Ethiopia but were refused entry. Frustrated, he requested permission of the home committee to attempt to reach the Gallas by another route. After obtaining permission, Krapf landed in Mombasa in 1844. He settled in Rabai Mpya, opposite Mombasa island, but soon his dreams turned to nightmare. Two months after arriving, his wife, Rosine, gave birth to a baby, and both baby and mother died soon after. Krapf was so ill himself that he was unaware of the time of his wife's death (Anderson 1977, 1). A few days later, he wrote to the home office in London:

> Tell our friends at home that there is now on the East African coast a lonely missionary grave. This is a sign that you have commenced the struggle . . . as the victories of the Church are gained over the graves of her members, you may be more convinced that the hour is at hand when you are summoned to the conversion of Africa from its eastern shore. (Anderson 1977, 1)

With the arrival of John Rebmann who joined him in 1846, Krapf studied the local languages, including Kiduruma and Kigiriama, and produced a Kiswahili dictionary.[23] Two years later, the whole of the New Testament had been translated into Kiswahili.

At Rabai, Krapf and Rebmann lived among the Mijikenda people (formerly called Wanyika). Altering the approach used by Roman Catholics in previous centuries of trying to convert the chief first, the two missionaries built a church and invited people to worship with them. Fifteen people joined them for their first worship service, but afterward said they would attend every week if the missionaries provided rice and a bull for them. The coast proved a difficult place to work as well as an unhealthy place to live, so Krapf and Rebmann determined to find a more suitable place inland.

Krapf and Rebmann were joined by a colleague named Erhardt in 1849, and in 1850 Krapf returned to Europe. He returnde to England with little success of which to boast, having baptized only one person, a dying cripple by the name of Mringe. Another Giriama outcast, Abbe Gunja, remained a faithful disciple (Nthamburi 1991, 8). He did publish his translations and also wrote his famous book, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours* (published in 1860). This book later inspired Methodists to begin work in Kenya, and Krapf himself offered to help them in the beginning. But Krapf's major objective was to convince the Church Missionary Society of his vision of a 'chain of missionary stations' stretching inland to Unyamwezi and eventually to West Africa. The C.M.S. accepted his plan and Krapf recruited six new men to start the chain. Sadly, his six recruits never began their work. One was rejected by the C.M.S., another turned back after reaching Aden. A third died after the group reached Rabai, and the other three soon departed as well. "Krapf was left with Rebmann and Erhardt" (Anderson 1977, 5).

Krapf returned to Mombasa in 1862 in order to help Thomas Wakefield, the first missionary of the United Methodists Free Church to establish a mission station in Kenya. In October, Krapf became very ill and returned to Europe, leaving Wakefield alone on the coast. In 1863, Wakefield was joined by Charles New, a man of vastly different temperament from Wakefield. Like Krapf, New wanted to take the Gospel inland, but Wakefield was more patient with the abiding goal of reaching the Galla with the Gospel.[24]

Towards the end of the sixties, attention in Europe turned toward the East African slave trade. When Sir Bartle Frere, the British governor of Bombay, was sent as special emissary in Zanzibar, he encouraged Christian missionaries to focus on settlement of freed slaves (Nthamburi 1991). He chastised missionaries becaused they offered a bookish education with little

practical teaching. A large settlement for freed slaves was established by the C.M.S. by the name of Freretown and the missions on the East Coast were opened to African refugees (*watoro* in Kiswahili, therefore *kitoro* - belonging to refugees). Some were escaping famine or the Maasai and were seeking food and protection. Others were runaway slaves. This acceptance of *watoro* of all kinds became the first distinctive type of African Christianity developed in East Africa - *kitoro* Christianity (Anderson 1977, 15). Besides the humanitarian purpose of assisting the weak, Freretown existed to create a Christian community and to train future African missionaries. John Swedi, a freed slave, was the first African ordained clergyman in East Africa as he was ordained a deacon in 1879. In 1890, the Universities Mission to Central Africa ordained Cecil Majaliwa, another freed slave, as the first African priest from East Africa.[25] James Mbotela, the author of *Uhuru wa Watumwa* (Freedom for Slaves), was raised in Freretown and later went to Kambaland as a missionary for many years (Anderson 1977, 10). Even at this stage there were outstanding African evangelists such as David Koi, the first martyr in East Africa (1883), William Jones who was ordained in 1885, Ishmael Semler, George David, John Mgomba, Thomas Mazera, and Stephen Kireri (Nthamburi 1991, 10). Unfortunately, many missionaries regarded Africans as essentially and racially different from them. They were treated as little children who had to be guided and patronized in every way (Strayer 1978, 14-28).[26]

The dividing of Africa by the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) had great impact on the pattern of missions. It divided the continent of Africa into spheres of influence. Each European country imposed its own administrative and legal systems, with the result that African countries soon copied the European differences in political systems. In a limited positive sense, colonialism brought many and diverse linguistic groups together making countries conglomerations of peoples with different cultural characteristics.

However, colonialism made a complex situation even more complex because it established unrealistic territorial barriers, and at times divided single people groups into two or more territories.[27] The colonial powers imposed their culture upon the African territories which were under their control, bringing about cultural contradictions. For example, the British field policy encouraged instilling British ways of life among the African populations and where British settlements were established (e.g. Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and Kenya), the interests of the Africans were subordinated to those of the British (Dickson 1984, 75-78). Missionary societies tended to follow national lines in order to receive maximum protection. The granting of the Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 directly influenced Protestant expansion in East Africa. The company's director, Sir William Mackinnon, encouraged missionary expansion into the interior. Since he was Scottish, Mackinnon encouraged the establishment of the East African Scottish Mission and assisted in securing the services of Dr. James Stewart, David Livingstone's successor in Nyasaland (Malawi) (Nthamburi 1991). The later establishment of the British East African Protectorate and the building of the "Uganda Railway" which was begun in Mombasa in 1895, reaching Nairobi in 1901 and Kisumu in 1901, provided incentive for inland movement among mission groups. The railway provided safe passage across hostile country inhabited by the warlike Wakamba and Wamaasai. In the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 the missionary situation completely changed in Kenya. The first 35-40 years had been slow, missions being few and confined to the coast. But in the 1880's missionaries started moving inland and new stations were opened. The building of the railway turned the penetration of missionaries into a flood (Anderson ORP 91).

Kikuyu land in central Kenya was the site of severe competition among missions. Missions even reached Kikuyu land before the railway. The Church Missionary Society established themselves eight kilometres from the

Presbyterians (Church of Scotland Mission). In order to ease tension, "the sphere of influence" doctrine was enacted, which was an imaginary line drawn between the Ngong Hills and Mount Kenya, with the C.M.S. receiving the sphere east of the line and the Scottish mission west of the line. Later contention developed between the C.M.S. and the United Methodist Free Mission over Embu, which resulted in Embu going to C.M.S. while Meru was left for the Methodists (Nthamburi 1991). Amzaingly, "spheres of influence" were negotiated between missions with no regard as to the desires of the Africans affected by them.

In 1901, the American Friends organized the Friends' Africa Industrial Mission in Western Kenya, which developed quickly with schools, a teacher training college, a Bible Institute, and a hospital. The Africa Inland Mission was established as a "faith mission" on the same basis as Taylor's China Inland Mission or the Sudan Interior Mission, beginning in 1895 under the direction of Peter Cameron Scott. Scott survived only fourteen months in Mombasa, and one by one the rest of the party died until only one of Scott's seven companions remained. He returned home. Several years later a second attempt was made by Dr. Charles E. Hurlburt, who opened a station in Kambaland in 1895. Progress continued, particularly after establishing its work in Kijabe in 1903, fifty kilometres from Nairobi between Maasai and Kikuyuland (Langley 1974, 77).

The Gospel Missionary Society was a Pentecostal element in the Africa Inland Mission and became separate in 1902 under the leadership of a missionary settler named Krieger. In 1905 in Western Kenya the Church of God commenced its work. One of their first missionaries was a black man from South Africa by the name of Yohana Mbila. The Pentecost Assemblies of Canada began their ministry in Kenya in 1921. Another established Church that started work in Kenya in 1921 was the Salvation Army. It is well known for its charity work such as the school for the blind at Thika and

schools for the physically handicapped. A number of other mission societies have begun their work in Kenya more recently. Southern Baptists from America arrived in 1956.

Missions and Colonialism in Kenya

In many ways, the word 'missionary' has become as unpopular as the word 'colonialist'. This new view is reflected in the titles of some of the books published since 1960, e.g. *Missions in a Time of Testing*; *Missions at the Crossroads*; *The Unpopular Missionary*; *The Ugly Missionary*; *Missionary Go Home*; and *End of an Era* (Bowen 1996, 99). What is the truth about the relationship between missions and colonialism, especially in Kenya? For one thing, the missionaries that brought the Gospel to Kenya were of the same race, and often, the same nationality as the colonizers. This caused many critics to associate the missionary movement with the colonization impetus, when, actually missionaries preceded colonizers and were the first Europeans to contact Africans, excluding the Portuguese period of influence on the East African coast. However, it is clear that missionaries welcomed European intervention and even encouraged the reluctant British government to annex East Africa (Nthamburi 1991, 26). Charles New, the Methodist pioneer missionary did all he could to encourage the British government to establish colonial rule in Kenya (Kendall 1978, 113). Missionaries went so far as to assist the colonization process in its initial stages. "Missionaries were often led to make one town rather than another their centre through the urging of some ship's captain, himself a member of their church back home"[28] (Muzorewa 1985, 24). In areas void of government agents, missionaries acted as administrators. The Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate in 1905 justified the opening of more mission stations for these reasons:

There are districts in East Africa such as Taita and

> the lower Tana in which European influence has hitherto been represented almost entirely by missionaries, but which have made as great progress as the regions which have been taken in hand by government officials. (Nthamburi 1991, 27)

The missionary has to accept the responsibility of giving colonialism respectability which it otherwise would not have attained.[29] Granted, the missionary like many other Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, believed that the European powers were the benefactors and even saviors of Africa.

> In dealing with African savage tribes we are dealing with a people who are practically at the genesis of things . . . and we cannot expect to lift them in a few years from this present state to that of a highly civilised European people . . . The evolution of races must necessarily take centuries to accomplish satisfactorily.[30] (Sorrenson 1968, 227)

Missionaries from time to time spoke quite adamantly against the abuses of colonial rule. In East Africa until the 1950's, British colonial policy seemed aimed at making Kenya 'a white man's country' (Adewoye 1971, 30). Between 1901 and 1903 there was a significant shift in the attitude towards the development of East Africa. Before 1901 it was regarded as an appendage to Zanzibar and the interiror was considered to be of little value except as a necessary route to Uganda. But by 1903 the picture had changed. With the completion of the railway, the centre of government and commerce moved from Mombasa to Nairobi with Indian merchants and European settlers entering in the highlands in increasing numbers (Sorrenson 1968, 61). The British Order-in-Council legalised the alienation of land in Kenya, and by 1915, about 6,000 square miles - mostly in the fertile Highlands region - had been alienated to European settlers under the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1902. By 1913 the entire Maasai tribe was moved from their home in the Rift Valley to the Laikipia region in order to make room for European settlers. Unfortunately, the very nature of their work involved

missionaries in the land problems of the Protectorate. They needed land for mission stations and other activities, selecting locations in the midst of populous districts in the hopes of gathering a greater harvest of souls. At times they engaged in highly commericalized farming to raise money for expansion of their mission efforts. The missionary occupation of the highlands coincided with that of the settlers: missionaries took up land alongside settlers, under the same land regulations, and adopted the same methods of cultivation (Sorrenson 1968, 256). The fact is that the Europeans who settled in the highlands before the first World War regarded themselves as founding a new colony, a white man's country. They were not expatriates who intended to return to their home country eventually, but true colonists in that they intended to establish a permanent colony, even looking forward to the time they would receive self-government[31] (Sorrenson 1968, 142). These who came to the highlands, most of whom prior to Word War I were South Africans, had not migrated to East Africa for altrulstic reasons; they were not missionaries who went to East Africa to convert and civilize the natives.

> Many of the settlers became profoundly distrustful of the missionaries and resented their educative influence on Africans. The settlers went to East Africa because they hoped to make money, or because the highlands seemed to offer them a congenial refuge, free from disagreeable conventions and restrictions at home. (Sorrenson 1968, 229)

Colonialism became even more oppressive following World War I. Settlers were calling for a policy of forced labour to provide a cheap and abundant work force. There was, however, strong missionary protest against it. When the policy of forced labour was inaugurated by Governor Northey in 1919, the Alliance of Protestant Missions criticized it as being cruel to Africans. In Britain, Dr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, studied the Kenya labour situation and said it pointed to

the greater issue of whether or not the interests of the African people or the interest of the settlers were primary. In a letter to the Colonial Office dated 17 May, 1921, he wrote:

> A policy which leaves the native population no future except as workers on European estates cannot be reconciled with trusteeship. Nor can it, in the long run, conduce to the economic prosperity of the East African Protectorates. The chief wealth of these territories is the people, and, on a long view, the cardinal aim of policy must be to maintain tribal life, to encourage the growth of population by combating disease and promoting sanitation and hygiene, and to develop by education the industry and intelligence of the population. (Langley 1974, 109)

Ultimately because of this protest, the Devonshire White Paper was issued in 1923, declaring that . . . "the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that, if and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail" (Langley 1974, 109). The Alliance also opposed reduced African wages and higher taxes imposed on Africans. In 1936 the average amount spent on the education of an African child was 16 shillings, as opposed to 500 shillings for every white child. In 1920 the *kipande* syste, was introduced whereby every African male over sixteen years had to carry on his person a registration certificate for the purpose of identification, to remind him of his inferior and subordinate status in his own country (Adewoye 1971, 32). During the 1930's and 1940's there was a growing cultural nationalism which did not enjoy missionary favor. The defense of female circumcision by the Kikuyu Central Association during the late 1920's and early 1930's was symptomatic of cultural self-assertion. That spirit was also evident in the emergence of schools free from missionary control and geared towards economic and social development of the Kikuyu without destroying their cultural essence. The Kenya Teacher Training College was founded at Githunguri (Kiambu) in 1939 to provide teachers for

the independent schools. Parallel efforts at self-assertion were noticeable in the Church, especially in Central and Western Kenya. Secessions from the missionary churches were known as early as 1916. In the 1930's and 40's they took on a more radical and nationalistic perspective. This was particularly true of the messianic-type movements, such as the *Dini ya Msambwa*, which advocated a return to traditional religion and the spread of anti-European sentiments (Adewoye 1971, 34). The *Watu wa Mungu* were forbidden to use European clothes, money, and other things.

At times missionaries did not protest and even collaborated with the government. When the Mau Mau Movement appeared missionaries condemned it in strong terms, identifying the church with the status quo against weak and oppressed people (Wanyoike 1974).[32] The Christian Council of Kenya, consisting of both European and African Christians, condemned the movement, saying:

> This is no struggle between white and black. It is a struggle between good and evil, between those who seek by violence to gain their own ends at the expense of all others. These violent men must be dealt with, that in peace, the rest of us may by peaceful and constitutional means seek the welfare of all.
> (Langley 1974, 112)

Some writers saw the Mau Mau Movement as a 'revolt by the Kikuyu against civilisation and Christianity.' Overall during this period the missionary, because he was white, enjoyed a position of privilege giving him or her greater authority in the community, which was resented by Africans.

Some people even today are suspicious of the Church. This is not based on the present policies of the Church but attitudes from before *uhuru* (freedom/ independence). The charge is often made that the Church cooperated too well with colonial governments which clearly discriminated against Africans (Langley 1974, 102). For example, in the midst of the circumcision controversy in the 1920's, the Kikuyu people had a saying: *Gutiri*

muthungu na mubia ("there is no difference between a setter/ colonialist and a missionary"). That era is past and missionaries are no longer policy-makers in many denominations, but the criticism is not easily forgotten. Even today there are those who claim the Church in Africa is a European institution which came with the colonialists and has no further relevance in the context of an independent East Africa. During the period of colonialism, much of African culture was altered or replaced by the more vigorous and technically advanced forms of colonizing western culture, backed by the political power dominant at the time. Even in the church in colonized areas there was generally an attitude of demeaning African culture. Generations have grown up largely cut off from traditional forms of worship, and the only ways that are familiar are those adopted from Western models. In various parts of Africa, worship is conducted in a Western fashion.[33]

> Western influence in Africa has not ceased, it has only changed its appearance; military arms-trade instead of slave-trade; economic imperialism instead of political dominion; power struggle of the big nations for spheres on influence in Africa; technological, managerial, organisational know-how positions instead of the old racial and social superiority assumptions; ideological propaganda and warfare through mass-media instead of 'educating these tribes towards self-government.'[34]

"The influence of missionaries from the West will always be bound up with their culture unless a very concrete operation takes place 'the work of the cross!'" (Burki 1976). It is correct to say that there is basis for criticizing mission influence in colonial times since, by their cooperation, they strengthened the colonial position and opposed the African struggle for independence. This weakened their Christian influence, which was, after all, the very reason for their presence in Kenya. In his book, *The End of an Era*, Kendall makes a good summary statement concerning the matter of missions and colonialism:

> "A conscious effort is needed by the Westerner to feel the power of the hostility of the modern African to the colonial period. Africans probably do not realize how neutral and detached the modern European feels from the colonial past. . . For our purpose the important fact is that in Africa colonialism is seen from an African perspective, that is, in large and stark outline. The close association of the missionary movement with it is a factor not to be ignored. (Kendall 1978, 13)

Missionary Influence and African Response

"The intention of the European missionaries since the middle of the nineteenth century was to convert the Africans to Christianity and to purge them from what they believed to be heathen ways. . . Actually, in the course of their work they made mistakes which had the effect of causing African resentment against certain aspects of Christianity as introduced by them" (Muga 1975). When not deliberately trying to destroy them, the colonial processes undermined the systems, values, and views of entire cultures.

> These evaluative concepts, taken as facts, serve as the foundation for what may be called the bulldozer ethos of both western missions and colonialism in Africa. Like a bulldozer, missions tended to level other traditions . . . It should be no surprise that Africans, novelists, play wrights, politicians, academicians, and even churchmen saw missions as a form of western imperialism. (Tienou 1991, 11)

In schools and churches, Africans were taught to be ashamed of their "primitive" and "pagan" ways. Colonial systems made westernization the way of human advancement and many people came to believe that "progress" consists of imitating foreign ways. Christian missionaries, either consciously or unwittingly, were accomplices to the errors of colonial leaders (Hillman 1993, 8).

> Religious activity, aimed at displacing Africa's traditional religious symbol systems, and replacing them with foreign imports, was the great-

> est threat to the survival of African cultures. This is so, because these cultures are intimately bound up with the people's traditional religious experiences. (Hillman 1993, 8)

Today, in spite of the rhetoric of inculturation, indigenization, and contextualization, the general situation is characterized by little more than literal translations and questionable substitutions. True incarnations of Christianity are few and far between. Instead, there is in most Christian congregations a clinging to the model of missionary and pastoral ministry developed during the colonial period under the influence of western cultural ignorance. The dominant method used is still the importation of western theological systems, institutions, practices, and customs. These foreign elements heavily impact local cultures, undermining traditional world views, art forms, customary laws, and ethical norms (Hillman 1993, 11). Such western obtrusion by missionaries upon Africans has engendered a colossal identity crisis among modern African believers. Dr. Tite Tienou of Burkina Faso writes:

> It is well known that the question of identity for Africans is often posed in terms of an alternative between westernization and authentic Africanness. Christianity usually comes under vitriolic attack for having promoted the cultural and religious alienation of Africans. Christians, especially in countries evangelized in the wake of European penetration, are repeatedly challenged to choose between westernization or a revival of African cultures. (Tienou 1991, 3)

Many African Christian leaders are now calling for an intentional and consequential self-examination which will render an African expression of authentic Christianity.

> Theology, in the African context . . . must mark out the road to follow for the African church which, confronted be a society ever more critical of it, is trying to find its own identity and spiritual maturity. It must indicate to African Christians the true role of authentic disciples of Jesus Christ, in a post-colonial society where the gospel needs to be lightened of all its colonial cultural

weights. (Zokue 1996, 354)

However, not all African Christian leaders are willing to change. Some have retreated to their borrowed structures and styles and are not willing to disrupt what they currently enjoy. Speaking of the depth to which some leaders are entrenched in their borrowed Christian structures, Douglas Waruta of the University of Nairobi states: "It is no exaggeration to say that African Christian leaders as Catholics are more Italian or French than Italians and Frenchmen, as Presbyterians more Scottish than Scotsmen, as Lutherans more German than Germans, as Baptists and Pentecostals more American than Americans and as Anglicans more English than Englishmen! While the ideals of indigenization of Christianity are often given lip-service, outmoded foreign structures and styles are defended in the name of orthodoxy, apostolicity and universality" (Mugambi1990, 30-31).

The systematic detachment of Africans from their roots has been encouraged in many different ways. One is the emphasis on individuality rather than "the group." Westerners stress individualism in every facet of life. Such intense individualism is foreign to most animistic peoples, which forms the core of Kenyan society. Such "Western individualism has become so intense that it has frequently undermined biblical Christianity" (Van Rheenan 1991, 129). One obvious practice that accomplishes this is that of imposing foreign "Christian" names, sometimes at baptism. Even today, only a minority of missionaries and pastors encourage the use of African names at baptism. In a doctoral dissertation at Belgium's Louvain University, an African scholar proposed several important issues to be faced by African Christians concerned with "salvaging the local missionary church from a rootless Christianity based and vested in foreign cultural values"[35] (Hillman 1993, 13). The first mentioned was the issue of "Christian" names for Africans. The next example of missionary impact mentioned is the infrequent use of African prayer forms, practices, gestures, styles, and imageries in Christian worship.

By insisting on learned and mechanical forms of worship, the colonial methods and structures of church continue to devalue the religious heritage of Africans. A wooden conformity to missionary introduced forms and structures produces a spiritual sterility in the Church which threatens to erode its effectiveness from the inside out. It appears missionaries often fail to ask and answer the question, 'Do Africans, in their many and varied cultural contexts, have different needs and their own ways of meeting them; ways capable of being integrated into the Christian community?'

The tendency of early and later missionaries to East Africa continues which is that of treating everything pre-Christian in Africa as either harmful or valueless. This tendency to condemn African things *in toto* came not from actual observation but more from ignorance on the part of foreigners. "Many missionaries have been too simply convinced of Western superiority and have come unconsciously, but naturally, as bearers not only of the Christian message but also of westernization" (Hastings 1967, 61). In order to combat this, the missionary must recognize that African society has a past, its own past. Respect for a people involves a consciousness of their past; i.e. history does not begin with the arrival of the white man. One thing which is certain is that when the first missionaries came to Kenya, it was not to an irreligious land; on the contrary, it was to a world filled with religion. That religion differed from Christianity, but when purified provided a real foundation for Christian doctrine. Such traditional beliefs as one high god, close family ties, unity of spirit and matter, basic moral values, importance of wisdom from the elders, and the recognition of the rights of the individual within the tribal community, are values easily and appropriately incorporated into the Christian message. That is what John Mbiti had in mind when he wrote that passing from primal religion into Christianity, "the man of Africa will not have very far to go before he begins to walk on familiar ground" (Bediako 1995, 175). Missionaries who wholesale discount African traditions and generalize

them into the categories of ancestor worship, witchcraft, absence of morality, are missing fertile ground in which to plant the seed of the Gospel.

"The significant transforming impact of the Gospel upon the non-Western world arises from non-Western responses to the Gospel in its own terms and not in terms of Western expectations" (Bediako 1995, 174). In examining African response to the missionary message, it is important to note that instead of obliterating the traditional African world view, in its essentially unified and 'spiritual' nature and replacing it with a two-tier Western view separating spiritual and secular dimensions, the Christian message has reinforced the African view. East African traditional religion was aware of the distinction between the natural and supernatural, but in practice considered the two as one and inseparable. Thus Western Christian religious ideals distinguish between the spiritual/sacred and the non-spiritual/natural (Muga 1975, 51). Although African Christian communities were exposed early to Western education through missionary efforts, African Christians in general have avoided contamination and secularization of their outlook. Western science and technology has not replaced the basic African view that the whole universe in which life takes place is fundamentally spiritual. Therefore, the Gospel affirms an inherent spirituality about life but sharpens its focus on Jesus Christ.

Clearly, Christianity has had a tremendous socio-religious impact on Africans in general and Kenyans in particular. This impact is felt and evident in three aspects of African life: social, economic, and religious. Missionaries had supreme confidence in the virtue of their way of life, and they did not conceal their dislikes of African traditional customs, such as polygyny, clitoridectomy, sacrificial offerings, etc. The permanent establishment of Christianity called for specific social changes. Missionary-educated Africans, who had become literate, changed their means of earning a living when colonial administrators hired them as civil servants. Polygamy was

denounced so strongly by missionaries that African converts began to condemn it as well. Most Westerners are under the impression that all the changes brought about by missionaries were for the good of all Africans, but this was not necessarily always the case. Christianity was presented in such a way that the new African believer thought that he or she had to undergo social metamorphosis before becoming acceptable in God's sight (Muzorewa 1985, 32). Among other things, the introduction of Christianity into Africa by Western missionaries brought about a conflict between indigenous values and Western ones. The story is told that a Catholic priest in the former Belgian Congo went to the Ituri Forest to carry out his life's work. After some time, he happened to mention to the pygmies of the Forest that in World War II many millions were killed. One of the pygmies replied, "How do you suppose they ate all those millions of people?" The question was asked because some of the pygmies were reported to be cannibals. The priest quickly explained, "We don't eat them. We do not eat human beings." Then the pygmy asked, "If you don't eat them, then why do you kill them?" Early missionaries condemned most African customs as unchristian, and therefore wrong for participation by African believers. Denunciation of ancestor worship is a particularly difficult issue. For Africans, ancestors provide a link between the present and the past, and also at times function as a social control agency. For example, many Africans believe that one must be kind to the *wazee* ("old men" in Kiswahili) among your relatives; otherwise, the spirit of the old man who was not treated properly may return following death to harm and disturb the offender. Christianity allows and promotes worship of the Trinity alone, and rightfully so. But Africans need something to replace this important connection with the past, and many found it in the practice of deifying Christian saints. Christianity also frequently resulted in the displacement of native authority and social values. The authority of the chief, parental control, family organization, and the tribal system itself have all

fallen victim to one degree or another the missionary influence in Africa. In addition, the material abundance of the early missionaries made a great impact as the Africans were impressed by both the quality and quantity of Western materialism. Since material wealthy is commonly a sign of spiritual blessedness for Africans, many were converted to Christianity to become prosperous (Muzorewa 1985, 33). But Christianity's greatest effect has been upon African traditional religion. In Desai's book, *Christianity in Africa as Seen by Africans*, the author questions the early missionaries at this point:

> Missionaries arrived in Africa already despising the African and his way of life. The early missionaries labored under the assumption that Africans were without any religion, education, or culture and that Africa provided a virgin field where they could sow the seeds of Western religion and civilization. It is revealing to note the attitude of some of the early missionaries towards the Africans. In 1873 a missionary remarked, 'When I carry my torch into the caves of Africa, I meet only filthy birds of darkness.' (Desai 1962, 13)

Missionaries did miss the fact that Africans are extremely religious and have an underlying belief in God. As Muzorewa has stated, "the important fact is that Africans knew God, but they didn't know God's son, Jesus Christ. As my own father always told me, 'The only new thing the missionaries brought to Africa is Jesus Christ, not God. We knew God.'" (Muzorewa 1985, 34). Therefore, the impact of the missionary message was peculiarly Christian, not simply religious. This has led some, at least, to claim that the acceptance of Christianity in Africa is more apparent than real (Desai 1962, 22).

> African Christianity is doomed in the long term if it allows itself to be imprisoned either in westernization or in indigenous cultures and religions. Both of these roads lead to irrelevance. The former will make Christianity irrelevant through foreignness, and the latter will cause it to be superfluous and thereby irrelevant (Tienou 1991, 4).

Missionary Influence on Christian Ministry in Kenya

No one need look any further than missionary initiated ministerial training structures and curriculum in order to gain a clear understanding of missionary impact on Christian ministry. In 1967 T. A. Beetham observed:

> The curriculum [of African theological colleges] is in most cases too much tied to a traditional western pattern. Students can still come away from their lecture room after studying the first two chapters of Mark's Gospel - with its account of the touch of Jesus of Nazareth on different kinds of illness, including mental sickness - without having come to grips either with the failure of their own Church, despite its hospitals and clinics, to exercise a full ministry of healing or with the success of some Independent Churches in this respect. (Beetham 1967, 106-107)

Roman Catholics and Protestants alike have developed ministerial training through the years which replicates the Western pattern of a professional clergy that does *the* ministry.

In the beginning of their work in East Africa, Western missionaries depended a great deal on the abilities and services rendered by the African teachers who had received their elementary education in the mission schools. These Africans were in actuality lay persons who had only received a few years of elementary education and thus were unable to handle the heavier responsibilities of teaching the Bible and administering the sacraments. Higher education was necessary but time was needed for more highly educated persons to occupy ordained positions in the church. This, coupled with the limited number of European missionaries, limited the growth of the church. Missionary attitude toward African church leadership was not extremely positive in the early part of the twentieth century. A missionary with the African Inland Mission implicates the attitude of many European missionaries at the time. He states that the prevailing attitude was to

"evangelize them but keep them in their place" (Muga 1975, 117). This attitude persisted throughout the colonial period but is changing today.

Missionaries often inculcated a policy paralleling colonial policy which assumed as a necessary precondition for the development of Africa the creation of an African middle class which would fit the European mold. Therefore, the training of Africans for ministry in the early days of missions aimed at creating an African ministry with a European approach to the Gospel and as much as possible adopted a European mode of life (Dickson 1984, 79). The missionaries in the beginning were not able to do their work without the help of African clergy, however, the African clergy occupied a lower level in church leadership than the missionary co-workers. The reason is that from the beginning Africans did not receive enough education to qualify them for higher positions of leadership. The policies for running the churches are formulated by European missionary leaders. It has always been difficult for African church workers to assume positions of responsibility and leadership in which they can fill the roles that European missionaries have held. There has been a significant difference between the attitude and practice of Roman Catholic missionaries and Protestant missionaries concerning ministerial preparation of Africans. Roman Catholic missionaries have followed a policy of training African ordained priests who would eventually replace the European missionaries. On the other hand, Protestant missionaries have stressed training Africans for local leadership and have put less emphasis on equality with their European colleagues. In his book, *Non-Bourgeois Theology*, Joseph Donders criticizes this kind of 'spiritual imperialism':

> It has proved difficult even in the West to continue the traditional ways of Christian life. Yet, without any ostensible hesitation, these same ways are pushed on the minds and hearts of the people of other, very different cultures. One example is the priest-model of the Latin Church after the Council of Trent. There of course must have been a reason for the existence of

> this model in that Latin Church. For theological and spiritual reasons, it is a model in which an African young man (the woman is excluded) can hardly be happy. The Africans' worldview and appreciation of life conflict with the model. (Donders 1986, 96)

It is no secret that modern literature on leadership coming from the industrialized West identifies pastoral leadership in bureaucratic terms. Most of the research that has been conducted has been in the military world, using business executives and managers (Cole 1991, 37). Therefore, Western missionaries continue to train African leaders to be ministerial professionals. Professionalism as used here presupposes need for expertise knowledge and a client-professional relationship, professionals being the experts and clients being those who depend on the experts' services. With such blatant "professionalism" comes elitism to the detriment of the biblical roles of the masses of church members. What one observes today is a congregation allowing the "professionals" who are paid for their services, to do all the ministry in and outside the church. Another example of this is the trend toward "professional" specializations. Counseling specialists are trained by theological institutions, music specialists, Christian education specialists, etc. These specializations tend to train persons for certain narrow aspects of the tasks essential for leadership in the church. Admittedly, there are no easy solutions to this dilemma. Is it not true that in an upwardly mobile culture such as one finds in many developing African countries, appropriate training for ministers in urban context naturally lends itself to perceived "professionalism?" Is not one way of coming alongside one's flock, to be trained in a way that people in the congregation may respect and understand? Does the church member with an earned Ph.D. really want his or her pastor to spurn degree granting training and instead equip him or herself with a few seminars and certificates? However, the pastor-leader role is meant to be a composite with the spiritual giftedness of church members producing the specialists. This does not deny the official capacity

of the pastor, but the type of professionalism here described is foreign to biblical norms. Such alien understanding can have catastrophic results. A case in point comes from Ishimwe Anaclet concerning Christianity in Rwanda. He begins his case study with the question: "Why were 1,250,000 Rwandans murdered by machete-wielding tribesmen in a country where statistics claimed that 83% of the population were Christians?" In his brief yet poignant study, Anaclet declares:

> I speak as a Hutu of Rwanda. I am thankful that the missionaries brought the Gospel to our area. Yet I believe that the approach to evangelism in Rwanda and the Great Lakes Region has been severely flawed. Instead of reaping the benefits of evangelism and experiencing the riches of a Christian community and society in Rwanda, I saw hatred, bitterness, and "Christians" killing fellow Christians (Anaclet 1998, 6).

Anaclet goes on to lay some of the blame on the professionalism of church leaders. Pastors and church leaders must be challenged to see evangelism and Christian ministry not as a profession but as life itself. It would be too harsh to lay all or even most of the blame for such a holocaust at the feet of Western missionaries or professional ministers, but it is obvious that a serious problem exists in the missionary introduced Christianity and ministry so common in Africa. As far back as 1960, Lutheran bishop Bengt Sundkler said it this way:

> It is not so much the professed and verbally expressed theology of the ministry that is shaping the attitude of African office-bearers. It is rather the phenomenology of the ministry: that which is seen and observed in the actual practice of the missionary and his first African co-workers conditions their outlook. (Hogarth 1983, 13)

Another difficulty in following the Western style of ministerial training is its heavy emphasis placed on knowledge, credentials, accreditation, etc. (Cole 1991, 41). Such ministerial training reveals that according to the West, the knowledge emphasis is the overriding criterion of leadership (Man 1965,

43). The cost of training in keeping with this Western mentality is enormous and unfortunately, this is the norm accepted and promoted by most mission organizations in Africa. This is seen clearly in the following expression of Bishop Lesslie Newbiggin:

> The patterns of ministry, and therefore of ministerial formation, introduced by the Western missions are now seen to have been the imposition of a style of leadership foreign to the cultures in which the church was being planted. The rapidly growing churches of today are those which rely on more indigenous patterns of leadership training. Leadership envisaged in our Western-style theological seminaries can only exist in a colonial situation where there are large foreign funds to support it.[36] (Newbiggin 1974, 12)

Newbiggin here criticizes a stereotyped ministry of the professional kind which has been trained through the seminary system and which has been unable to cope with the burden of all the ministerial work there is to be done. He urges the reader to develop a sound theology of ministry which he thinks would lead us to reverse the roles as they are normally understood, to see lay leaders as the normal ministry and the salaried clergy as auxiliaries. Newbiggin states it this way:

> Would it not be more in accordance both with scripture and with our real situation if it was a local and respected elder of the local congregation who normally presided at the Eucharist, and a full-time salaried person who would be his auxiliary both to supplement his teaching ministry and also to assist him in the continuing process of leadership development. (Newbiggin 1974, 13)

With the exceptions granted, however, leadership in African traditional settings does not depend solely on who knows the most or who can recite the most or who holds the most impressive academic credentials. Can one therefore function as a church leader without ever stepping into a theological institution in Africa? Our answer is yes in many cases, unless one insists upon a definition of Christian ministry which is foreign to both the Bible and African culture.

In the course of human history it would be difficult to find a group of individuals more committed to a cause than have been the vast number of missionaries to the world in general, and to Africa specifically. In 19th century Africa, the average missionary anticipation of life can hardly have been more than two years. Even those who did survive had little hope of returning home. Decade after decade, such intrepid men and women have made their way to Africa with the burning zeal of the Christian message. The love, dedication, and sacrifice of these missionary saints admitted, it would appear that contemporary confusion over Christian ministry's meaning in Africa is simply an extension of a more general confusion over Christian identity in light of missionary influence. Lacking in African society and the Christian church is what some have termed "selfhood." At the First Assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches (1963), the report, *Drumbeats from Kampala*, seriously addressed this concern. This lack of selfhood was recognized on three levels:

1. The level of the unity of the Church: the symptoms here were the state of anarchy occasioned by 'the multiplicity of the Churches' which was an importation from abroad.

2. The tragedy of our situation is that in spite of more than 300 years of contact with our continent, in spite of our boast of so many Churches and approximately 60 million Christians on the continent, Christianity is still a foreign religion to us.

3. The third dimension of the picture is provided by the administrative side:

> "We submit that missionary activity on this continent has not followed the New Testament pattern where the Apostle, whose weakness in lack of support from some foreign conquering power was really his strength, planted the seen of the Evangel, trained a few indigenous leaders, and left the Church to develop according to local genius, initiative, and intuition. Ours has been a too-prolonged hot-house kind of atmosphere, and the good and well planned organization for the Christian nurture of the African by the missionaries and their societies far away, has perhaps been the greatest weakness of Christianity on this continent." (Kendall 1978, 8-9)

West African theologian Kwesi Dickson summarizes the problem of selfhood within and without the church in the following manner:

> Selfhood has not been realised by the Church in Africa, which is not surprising, for without the achievement of national selfhood in the sense of the practice of that kind of life-style which exhibits a keen awareness of the values in African religio-cultural traditions, selfhood in the Church could hardly become a reality.
> (Dickson 1984, 85)

Regrettably, to move from the era of the mission Church to the present is to encounter a familiar situation: generally the now independent and self-governing Churches in Africa have a pattern of life and thought and ministry which is not much different from that established by the missionaries (Dickson 1984, 98).

CHAPTER 3

CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN AFRICAN CONTEXT

The Concept of Call to Ministry

To this point we have both described the concept of Christian ministry from various perspectives and examined the history of missionary involvement in and impact upon East Africa in general, and Kenya in particular. We have seen that the Western worldview has been taught and modeled by Christian missionaries before Kenyan Christians over a lengthy period of time, particularly in the concepts of church and ministry. In this chapter, we turn our attention to the concept of ministry in African context as we attempt to move away from a Western-oriented approach to ministry toward one which is both biblically accurate and contextually appropriate. In order to approach and gain a clear understanding of ministry in that African context, it is necessary for us to examine the African conception of "call" to ministry. For most Western religious groups and institutions, receiving a divine call to ministry is a prerequisite to preparation for and public exercise of Christian ministry, and this "call" is individualistic. Once an individual experiences and expresses a call to ministry, he or she is seen as entering an exclusive category popularly known as "the ministry." This private call is most often publicly formalized by ordination, allowing that person to become a part of the clergy. Our desire is to learn if this idea of an individual call leading to position in the official clergy is a primarily Western concept which missionaries inflict upon national believers or if it is trans-cultural.

One definition of call is stated as follows:

> The developed Biblical idea of God's calling is of

> God summoning men by His Word, and laying hold of them by His power, to play in and enjoy the benefits of His gracious redemptive purposes.
> (Drummond 1985, 32)

In this definition we see the essential nature of the Christian call but also the comprehensive challenge to ministry. It is comprehensive in a twofold sense. First, all believers are called. Secondly, all are called to belong totally to God, which means to serve Him with all the heart, soul, and mind. The first aspect of this has to do with what Paul meant by the call to be "in Christ." The phrase "in Christ" as used in the New Testament literally means to be fused "in union with Christ," to become one with Him. It is that mysterious "abiding" commanded by Christ of His followers in John 15. But no one used the term as frequently as the Apostle Paul. The Apostle uses that expression, or its synonyms, no less than 160 times which shows that it was at the core of Paul's concept of Christianity. James Stewart, Scottish biblical scholar, wrote that to fail to understand Paul's meaning by his expression to be called "in Christ" is to fail to understand Paul's grasp of the Christian experience (Drummond 1985, 33). The point is that we have been called into Christ; we have become a new creation.[37] As we were once "one" with and in Adam by virtue of our natural birth, we are now "one" with and in Christ because of the new birth. That is the essence of our calling.

The second important part of the "in Christ" motif of the New Testament is the fact that all believers are "one" in Christ. Christ is our head and we are his body; therefore we share in his life-giving sustenance. We are part of the Body of Christ which means that what is essentially true of one believer's relationship to the Lord is true of all.[38] As a result, there are no differing degrees of ethical expectations, no categorizing of responsibility for ministry. Our oneness in the Body demands the same depth of dedication from all who are in Christ. The heart of all this is that all believers are called to be ministers of Christ by virtue of their call to faith. Yet, the prevalent and

prevailing clergy-laity dualism contradicts the concept of the call to be in Christ. It may well be that the most serious impediment to sustainable Kingdom growth in Africa (and anywhere else for that matter) centers around this problematic dualism. It would seem we have never fully completed the Reformation of the 16th century.

> Today, our current practices in the Church come uncomfortably close to a pre-Reformation understanding of "call" and "Christian ministry." We have a three-tiered understanding of Christian vocation in which we think of clergy and missionaries as having the highest call, dedicated church leaders and officers are on the middle rung of this ladder, and then all the other non-ordained Christians on the bottom rung. The compelling issue for Christian discipleship is: How can we recover a New Testament understanding of call which applies to all persons and which empowers us to incarnate the rule of the kingdom in all areas of our common life? (Drummond 1985, 37)

Clearly, the pre-reformation idea of the priesthood of special people exists still and has even grown and expanded into wider circles of influence. Therefore, we ordain individuals with a "special call" and in our thinking elevate them to superior roles as Christians, with the rest retaining an inferior status. Many will argue for and defend the "priesthood of all believers" but do not realize that it means much more than the principle that we may all come to God without the intervention of a "professional" priest. If we who are in Christ are all priests, it is replete with numerous implications for ministry. Priestly service is embedded in salvation; the two are inseparable. This does not mean that all ministry roles are one and the same; they obviously are not. Paul acknowledged that those who are gifted and labor as teachers and preachers and leaders in the church are to receive special honor for their work.[39] But all are called to be "full-time Christian ministers." Some are called to be full-time Christian farmers, businessmen, laborers, etc. All believers must seek God's will for their lives and serve Christ there. Just as

the body is one with many different members, so also is Christ's body, the Church.[40] To develop a church structure in which certain "professionals" receive a special call in order to perform all ministerial tasks goes against the New Testament pattern.

Consequently, it may be said that when a man or woman sees what God wants of him or her, he or she is called or obligated. This notion is not so difficult to accept if one remembers that man is made to love God with his or her whole heart. One realizes then that the Christian calling is to be found in the constant search for God's will and the perfect fulfillment of it: the habitual attitude expressed by Samuel: "Speak, Lord, your servant is listening." (Gerken 1963, 119) It is also necessary to stress that this call is obligating; there is an obligating will of God for each individual. If this note of obligation is lost sight of, then one fails to grasp his personal relationship with Christ and sees him or herself as "called" to be nothing more than another good person, one of God's volitional mechanisms which is functioning properly now and will be rewarded in the future with eternal life. This is not to condemn "good people," but instead to underscore the reality of both a specific call in keeping with God's will, and an inclusive nature in that all believers are called by God to ministry.

Early in their mission efforts in East Africa, Western missionaries placed a distinction between their calling from God and that of the Africans. In the 1860's, the North German Missionary Society viewed its missionaries as being called to ministry 'by the Lord himself.' The African catechists were described as merely called 'by men' (Ustorf 1992, 30). Their influence, is seen in that most often in African context, the specific nature of being "called" is emphasized more than the idea of a general call to ministry for all believers. Sundkler said some years ago that, "the call to ministry comes much earlier in the lives of African pastors than is generally realized" (Sundkler 1962, 9). Sundkler proceeds to give examples of various reasons

African ministers express a "call" to ministry which are helpful to examine by category:

1. The vow of a relative.

The father of one Zulu pastor was his father himself a pastor and one of the first theological students at the Lutheran Theological College at Oskarsberg in 1912. He and his wife had seven daughters with no son, which is not well received in African culture. Therefore, the man and his relatives joined in prayer asking for a son. In 1914 the made a vow and said: "Should I get a son, I will do in my power to dedicate him to God and his work." The son who is now a pastor relates that as soon as he was conscious, he was made aware of this vow and of his answer-to-prayer status. This ultimately led to his rejection of a profitable career and he became a minister instead (Sundkler 1962, 9-10). The Rev. Dr. C.G. Baeta, former head of the Department of Theology of the University of Ghana received his call in the same way. He states, "I grew up assuming that I would become a minister and never seriously considered any other profession." (Sundkler 1962, 11).

2. Childhood experiences.

Often the possibility of becoming a minister is introduced to a child through various experiences. These experiences may include brushes with the law, odd experiences that are seen as predestinating one for ministerial service, or simply a childhood attraction to the ministry. Sundkler cites a Ghana theological student as giving a typical response to the question of a "call." He states: "The idea of becoming a minister began working in me from my early school days, but the notion was not very clear then. This impression dawned on me as a result of my personal contact with a minister and as the effects of the stories about Jesus I learned in Sunday School." (Sundkler 1962, 14).

3. Parental loyalty.

Often African pastors are sons of pastors or catechists and the loyalty to the father is a significant part of the fabric of a call to ministry. Many denominations have traditions of ministerial or pastoral service within certain families. This is due to the fact that the African relationship between father and son goes much deeper than the Western idea of fatherly advice or example. Of one prominent Ghana Methodist leader who was son of a Methodist pastor, it is said that, "He felt he was always standing in his father's shoes." (Sundkler 1962, 14) It is extremely significant that the decision to enter the pastoral ministry is often associated with the father's death. The African pastor is an African first, which means he is subject to the demands of family and clan.

4. Dream-life

Africans often hold to the authoritative character of revelation through dreams, one example of which is that of receiving a divine "call" to ministry. Closely connected with this is at times the idea of parental loyalty. Sundkler tells of an interview with Bishop Akinyele of Ibadan, Nigeria. The day before he left home to that of a missionary where he was to receive his education, the young boy and his mother prayed together. As they prayed, she made him promise to give his life to God. Three years later his mother died and then he was invited to become private secretary to the Governor, Sir George Goldie, in Lagos. The day before he was to leave, he had a dream in which his deceased mother appeared and reminded him of the promise he had given her and God. So he chose to follow the guidance from his dream instead of the attractive post assisting the Governor (Sundkler 1962, 17).

Churches in East Africa which have been greatly influenced by the *Balukole* or East African Revival movement diminish the importance of dreams not only by church leaders but lay leaders as well, which appears to be an indication of Western influence upon these churches. This is not typical of other churches in Africa. An African evangelist from the Lake

Victoria region states in his autobiography: *Mambo hutokea na mambo yatokeayo, kwanza yaotwa katika ndoto; baadaye hutokea*. In Kiswahili, this means: "Things happen and things that happen have first been dreamed in a dream; then they happen." (Sundkler 1962, 23)

5. Missionary example.

Among first generation Christians in Africa, their ministerial calling often resulted from contact with Western missionaries. Such was the case of notable early Kenya Christian leaders such as Shadrack Mliwa, Petero Kigondu, James Mbotela, and Joshua Mutaru (Anderson 1973, 9). Sundkler relates the testimony of an African pastor in South Africa which fits this pattern. Pastor Stefano was a teacher for many years and his German missionary friends suggested he be ordained, but he refused. Then in 1926 the missionary superintendent became seriously ill and called Stefano to his bedside where commissioned him to shepherd his flock. In Stefano's own words: "Overcome with grief I did not understand the weight of his words, but later I did. It was the call to the ministry and I fathomed the meaning of those words." Stefano hesitated to follow the missionary's instruction, so another missionary urged him to heed the deceased missionary's final request. "There and then I saw the face of my father (i.e. the missionary) and heard him say to me: 'They are your flock!' It was then that my spirit believed in the call to be a minister." (Sundkler 1962, 19)

6. Crisis of life.

Often African pastors have answered the "call" due to enduring a crisis experience. This would include personal illness, serious accidents, death of family members, natural disasters. Clearly, these crises of life hold special meaning which may give rise to a sense of "call." Autobiographies of pastors from all parts of Africa underscore and emphasize the close relationship between crisis and call (Sundkler 1962, 19-21).

The History and Concept of 'Minister' in African Experience

Western missionaries were slow to accept Africans as pastors. One example comes from early missionary efforts in West Africa. Rudolf Mallet was born in Togo in 1850 and upon baptism in 1863 received the name of a well known Bremen revivalist preacher (Ludwig Rudolf Mallet). Mallet was trained for "the" ministry. In 1880/81 he began to work as a pastor, itinerant preacher, and teacher under the supervision of missionary Johannes Merz. Mallet accepted his subordinate position within the European-dominated mission structures in an amazing way. The Home Board of the North German Missionary Society (NGM) did not think him worthy of the office of a pastor, therefore, when he was ordained in 1882 it was kept secret until September 1884. The public in Germany was not to know that there existed an African pastor. The NGM reluctantly allowed two additional ordinations in 1901 but did not begin concentrated in developing African pastors until 1910 (Ustorf 1992, 32).

In Kenya, by the early 1920's there were Kenyans who were full-time workers, paid for their work, and usually trained. The type of full-time worker who was most common was the evangelist who was usually a teacher as well. Most of them became full-time teachers, but others with evangelistic or pastoral ability became ministers. These evangelists did a great deal of pioneering work in the sense of being on the forefront of spreading Christianity in Kenya, in fact the evangelist is seen by many as the key to the expansion of Christianity in Kenya. Christians usually visited villages around twice a week, preaching. When they received a favorable response, often a school was started staffed one of these teacher-evangelists. The work was often extremely difficult. Joshua Mutaru, when he was doing pioneer evangelism at Kihumbini, found charms in his pocket from time to time, put there by a school-boy who was trying to drive him out by magic. He also

discovered charms planted in the *makuti* (thatch) roof just above the door of his house (Anderson 1973, 9).

African pastors emerged more slowly. Shadrack Mliwa and Daudi died as evangelists but others like James Mbotela and Joshua Mutaru were ordained as ministers.[41] Ministers usually came comparatively late. For example, the Presbyterian Church was organized in Kenya in 1920 before any minister had even entered into training. The first ordinations took place in 1926. In the Gospel Missionary Society, missionaries waited until the 1930's to ordain their first ministers. The reason for this is that the evangelist held a distinctive role in the church whereas the minister did not, except to be a "little missionary." In Nairobi, churches had African pastors for twenty years before they were allowed to administer the sacraments. "The leadership of the minister was corked in by overbearing or paternalistic missionaries above him . . . The growth of the church and the scarcity of missionaries working in the Church gave increasing scope to the minister (African), but he remained a 'little missionary'" (Anderson 1973, 10). This attitude prevailed not only in East Africa, but other regions as well. On the West Coast of Africa, the Home Board of the North German Missionary Society (NGM) saw black teachers, catechists, and pastors as subordinate assistants with 'assistant' being their official title. This subordination is shown not only structurally but also in financial terms with Africans receiving dismally low rates of pay (Ustorf 1992, 30).

Nevertheless, some outstanding African pastors emerged in Kenya in time. The most outstanding African Christian leader in central Kenya was Rev. Filipo M'Inoti. He was one of the first Christians at the Methodist Mission at Kaaga near Meru. When Worthington, the Methodist missionary there left, Filipo became a minister and developed his leadership among the people. He was an excellent preacher and leader as well. In 1939-1940, Filipo made his most daring move, that of joining the Njuri Ncheke and

making a way for Christians to join.[42] Christians objected to the oaths taken to join the Njuri so Filipo arranged that they be taken on a Bible instead. This was seen as scandalous by many Christians, with Tiganian Christians walking out when he tried to persuade them that joining the Njuri Ncheke was compatible with Christianity. Other churches refused to allow him to baptize their children. Later, Rev. Filipo M'Inoti became a chief, although he remained a Methodist minister until his untimely death in an automobile accident. One man called him the "Constantine of Meru" (Anderson 1973, 10).

A second prominent African minister in Kenya was Petero Kigondu. A young shepherd boy, he went to work for missionary-farmer named Krieger, eventually becoming his cook. Kigondu was interested in the Christian message, but became a teacher of missionaries in the Kikuyu language before accepting the Christian message. When he did, he underwent training to become a teacher-evangelist. CMS (Church Missionary Society) sent him to divinity school at Freretown for a year's course in 1907, where he did not finish due to illness. He returned to Kikuyuland where CMS put him to work as a teacher. In the mid-1930's Petero felt a strong call to become a minister - a call which he said came to him suddenly, like being converted. In 1935 he was sent to St. Paul's Divinity School in Limuru and after a year's training, he was ordained a deacon and sent out to Kajiado in Maasai land. When later in 1942 he was supposed to return to complete his studies for the Anglican priesthood, the Church would not allow him to go. Most likely this was due to missionary opposition to his growing political activity. The next year, Kigondu and his wife were converted and became a part of the East African Revival.[43] Eventually his political associations and activity brought him a two-year jail sentence which was increased to nine years during the Mau-Mau uprising. Kigondu came out of detention an unwanted old man. Anglican Christians

suffered greatly during the Mau-Mau emergency and would not accept a "Mau-Mau minister." He was forced to retire (Anderson 1973, 11).[44]

What this shows us is the early missionary ability to communicate to Africans and their inclusion of Africans in some areas of leadership. The missionary failure was largely in the arena of leadership training. At first, many missionaries used an apprenticeship method foreign from anything done in Europe or America. The failure was that there was no established standard and ultimately that there was a limit to responsibility granted. This paternalistic spirit introduced Western views of a professional clergy without accompanying these with the freedom to perform clerical duties. In other words, Western expectations were introduced without the means to fulfill those expectations. This was greatly influenced by the colonial mind-set which colored everything. Africans assumed unnatural subservience, and whites carried out an unnatural leadership over Africans. Mau-Mau marked the beginning of a new creative response by the churches to the freedom movement in society, but by then too much time had passed to allow changes in the established denominational churches.

The Response of African Independent Indigenous Church Movements

Political independence of African nation after nation in the 1960's rapidly swept aside the educational monopoly of mission schools and the religious immunity of the Church. For many African nationalists, Christianity was too closely identified with Western imperialism/colonialism and the Church as an agent of slavery, racism, and colonial domination. Creation of cultural centres became priority for national budgets and a return to tradition became the rallying cry, an appeal to return to African traditional values, ways of life, and religion. The late African playwright and cultural revolutionist from Uganda, Okot P'Bitek, claimed that true African identity can only be found in African traditional religion (Adeyemo 1979, 3-4). The

majority of mission schools were nationalized and became public schools. Soon, Islam and African Traditional Religions (ATR) were openly taught along with Christianity. The message of the Cross continued to be evangelistic but it failed to be prophetic in the situation that followed national independence. Statistics show a proliferation of theological education programs following independence, but impact and influence on African society was not as visible as during the colonial period. Such was clearly stated by Mr. Sebelo Ntwasa of Soweto, South Africa in August of 1971:

> The most positive contribution our seminaries have been able to make is that they have enabled students to be sufficiently competent to study abroad. But as creative agents of change in South African church embedded in South African socio-political struggle, they have largely failed. (Adeyemo 1993, 5)

A similar sentiment was expressed by the late Dr. Samuel Odunaike, former President of the Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar (AEAM) and a renowned businessman and Church-statesman:

> African churchmen and women today are demanding a reason for their faith developed through African thought-forms within an African culture but true to the everlasting gospel. (Adeyomo 1993, 5)

This national unrest both inside the Church and out gave rise to the African Independent Indigenous Church movement.

Although most missionaries hesitated to admit it, by 1950 there had developed a large and enduring body of churches wholly outside any mission connection. In 1950 the independent churches were a familiar part of the religious atmosphere in Africa and Bengt Sundkler's pioneering study, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, had already been published. "Here as in other fields of thought the Swedish Lutheran missiologist had pointed with learning and prophetic sensitivity to an area of Christian life which, hitherto, had been largely ignored by writers but which in coming years was to receive an ever increasing measure of attention" (Hastings 1979, 67). Generally, it was the

oldest areas of Protestant missionary work in which African independence emerged and became strongest: South Africa, the West African coast, the Congo basin, and Kenya. Already African independence had a heritage of dead spiritual prophets whose stature grew rather than diminished with the passing of time: Wade Harris, the Liberian prophet of the Ivory Coast who in 1913-1914 led the most remarkable evangelistic campaign ever seen in Africa; Isaiah Shembe, the Zulu healer who founded the Church of the AmaNazaretha; and Moses Orimolade, the Nigerian founder of the praying societies of the Cherubim and Seraphim who was also known as Baba Aladura.

While new movements continually emerged and have done so throughout the twentieth century, there appear to have been three categories or waves of African independence, each with its own unique characteristics. The first wave dates from the final years of the nineteenth century and produced in both Nigeria and South Africa a group of churches known as 'African' or 'Ethiopian.' This movement originated from within the existing Christian community and was led by men who were already leaders in these existing churches. It was a protest against white domination of the mission churches and the unnatural subservience forced by the missionaries which resulted in a demotion of Africans while the white missionary force increased. These independent churches retained many of the characteristics of the churches from which they seceded. A second and different wave emerged between 1910 and the early 1930's and is characterized by 'spirit' churches. This was a populist movement receiving members from former Christians and non-Christians alike, and it emerged as the following of a prophet or group of prophets - men and women who had already acquired a position of spiritual authority through prayer, healing, or preaching activities within an existing church, but who were excluded from its regular ministry and leadership.

Their organization and emphases were very different from the existing mission churches, though they most certainly were influenced by them.

In East Africa, *Kusoma* (to read) Christianity's greatest failure was in its failure to answer the spiritual questions and meet the spiritual needs Africans felt. It merely taught a new faith and worship, without seriously considering the foundation of African spirituality, and it was the discovery of the Holy Spirit which began to unlock the doors of ministry which were closed to Africans due to the limitations of *Kusoma* Christianity. The first great revival in Kenya began in 1926 and 1927 among the Friends Africa Mission in western Kenya. Arthur Chilson, one of the pioneer missionaries of the Friends Africa Mission, had a great love for Africans. In 1926 at Chavakali, Chilson went to the school and told the school boys that their parents, though many of them were church leaders, were not really Christians. He stressed Romans 10:9, "If you confess with your mouth that *Jesus is Lord* and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved." Some of the students requested to know more so he led the young men in a spiritual retreat in the Kaimosi forest, where he urged them to confess their sins openly and pray for the Holy Spirit to fill them. Then at the Friends' Yearly Meeting at Kaimosi on August, 1927, a spirit of revival fell on the people and was characterized by open confession of sin and seeking restoration. Out of the revival came prophets who were driven by a divine call to preach and who displayed special insight into the sins of others. These prophets such as Daniel Mundia, Jakobo Buluku, and Daniel Sande, walked through Maragoli preaching a message of a 'new birth' and the filling of the Holy Spirit. By early 1928, fierce opposition to the revival prophets developed and a choice was given to the *Roho* (spirit) people to keep quiet or leave the Friends Church. Those not caught up in the revival resisted the prophets' demand for public confession of sin, adults in front of their children. Many of the *Roho* people acquiesced to the Church's demands for fear of losing their jobs as

teachers or places for their children in schools. Only a few refused to surrender their new-found spirit emphasis and remained in the revival movement. After a period of widespread preaching and facing open hostility, a group of *Roho* Christians held a three year prayer meeting in South Maragoli. There they read scripture daily, shared words of prophecy, and prayed. In time, new practices developed. First, many adopted distinctive clothing: *kanzus*[45] and turbans. Then many took Saturday as the day of worship and rest. Worship among the *Roho* Christians became quite different from that of the mission churches. For example, drums, which many missionaries forbade their use in the churches, rattles, and iron bars were beaten to accompany singing. Worship began with a time of confession in which every man confessed his sins of the past week openly. Then the windows were shut, Satan excluded, and the worshippers began praising God with great joy punctuated with Hallelujahs. The services also included a time of healing and testimony of God's work among them. *Roho* churches emerged in Kikuyu, Meru, Ukambani, and Luo country, many of which sprang up quite independently of others (Anderson 1977, 119-120).

A third wave of African independence began in the late 1940's which was similar to the one which preceded it, although there was less dependence on a charismatic prophet figure and a greater multiplication of small groups. Some have drawn a distinction in these groups between 'Ethiopian' on the one hand, and 'Zionist' on the other (Hastings 1979, 69). These did not always originate in conscious schism from an existing missionary-related church and in some cases emerged due to the absence of any mission churches in a given area. However, independent movements did flourish in areas sufficiently close to missionary activity where they appealed to those disenchanted with missionary rigidity and control. There are indeed, within the phenomenon of African conversion to independence, elements of reaction against *Kusoma* or missionary Christianity. This would include

unexpected responses to emotional revivalist programs of Keswick minded missionaries, missionary intolerance of free behavior on the part of African disciples and even ministers, or simply taking portions of the Bible more literally than did the particular missionaries who had introduced it as the final religious norm. Still more important was a search for rediscovery of African traditional values not accepted by missionaries or missionary churches. This included revelation through dreams and visions, complex rituals, separation between clean and unclean animals, polygamy, the descent of the spirit of God upon the prophets, forming a type of alliance of the Old Testament and African traditional religion against *Kusoma* Christianity. In the words of Adrian Hastings:

> The Protestant missionary sedulously presented a book to his converts, but he did not really expect them to imitate all its contents, any more than he did himself - he had somehow overlooked, as essentially irrelevant, a great deal of what is actually in the Bible; thus he denounced polygamy without mincing his words, though his converts could find it apparently sanctioned within the very work to which he appealed as ultimate earthly authority, and the same is true for much else. (Hastings 1979, 71)

It must be noted that the problem did not only concern the Old Testament but much of the New as well. The New Testament's inclusion of apocalyptic and eschatological teaching, the interpretation on dreams, miraculous healings, and the expulsion of demons, were all matters of great importance in the original text but which most missionaries thought more or less irrelevant to the current situation, and were in fact bewildered when some of their converts believed so differently. The desire of the African independent church was for a ritual, a belief, and a community in which immediate human physical, social, and psychological needs could be appropriately met. Too many of these had been insignificantly met or ignored altogether by the mission churches. It is difficult to access the 'Christian' character of these various independent movements, nor their relationship to traditional religion. Their adherence to

prayer and visions, fasting and healing, robes and pilgrimages to sacred sites may seem very different from *Kusoma* or missionary Christianity, yet it can be argued that they attempt to be as faithful to the Bible as a whole (Welbourn 1961, 165-169).

A significant lesson may be learned from the African independent churches in relation to the question at hand. What may be learned from these *Roho* Christians concerning Christian ministry? If the independent movement teaches us anything, it is that African Christians accept the ultimate authority of the Bible and are quite prepared to follow its teachings, which means that the concept of Christian ministry we propose and model must be more than a Western/missionary one. It must be true to the Bible or will ultimately be rejected by the majority of African Christians. Another clear lesson is that the concept of Christian ministry we propose must meet the felt needs of Africans. African Independent Churches (AICs) are often involved in the important economic activities of voluntary mutual benefit societies. These have obvious socio-economic benefits but also a socio-religious dimension. In African traditional society, mutual aid was a kinship and community responsibility, but industrialism and urbanization paved the way for individualism. The mainline missionary churches were wither indifferent or unable to respond meaningfully to the total needs of the African, so churches that separated from or existed separately from mission churches used mutual benefit societies as instruments of caring. AIC members play a prominent role in burial societies, which enable impoverished people to bury their dead as culture and religion demand. This is but one example of the independent churches' return to traditional values which include the idea of kinship and community responsibility. Nowhere does there exist a more culturally appropriate model for community responsibility and a holistic approach to caring for the needs of people than in the New Testament

concept of Christian ministry in which every believer is gifted and called to minister in the name of Christ.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BAPTISTS IN KENYA

Beginnings and Early Expansion, 1956 - 1966

Southern Baptist work in East Africa was born in the hearts of Dr. and Mrs. William L. Jester, early missionaries to Tanganyika. They served many years with the Africa Inland Mission in Tanganyika and Kenya, later serving with the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in Nigeria (Stewart 1976, 13). In 1954, Dr. Jester accompanied Dr. I. N. Patterson on a survey trip to East Africa, to study the possibilities of establishing work in that part of the African continent. "Patterson wrote of their reception in the countries of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, and of their recommendation that Southern Baptists begin in only two countries leaving Uganda until a later time when the reception might be more cordial" (Saunders, 172). Soon after, Dr. George Sadler, then Secretary for Africa, Europe, and the Near East for the Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, U.S.A., contacted Wimpy and Juanita Harper in Nigeria about the possibility of beginning the work in East Africa. Accompanying them would be the Davis Saunders and the Dr. Jack Walkers. The three men made their first trip to East Africa in June, 1956, taking them to Nairobi, Kenya, and on to Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanganyika. On 27 July, 1956, the three men formulated their proposal for opening work in East Africa. The proposal had three components:

1. That a tuberculosis hospital be opened, and that it be located in or near Mbeya, Southern Highlands Province.

2. That evangelistic work be started in Dar es Salaam, and that a goodwill centre be located in the general area after further study to determine the exact location.
3. That the Harper, Saunders, and Walker families move to Tanganyika as soon as passage could be arranged (Saunders, 174-175).

Their business finished, the men returned to Nigeria to make preparations for moving their families to Tanganyika. After arranging for the move, the three families met in the Saunders' home in Oshogbo, Nigeria, for the first official Mission Meeting of the Baptist Mission of East Africa, 23 August, 1956. It was opened with a devotional led by Davis Saunders which concluded with a quotation from Philippians 4, "I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me" (Stewart 1976, 22-23). Plans were made for the three families' trips to Tanganyika, an operating budget of $56,450 was requested, along with $270,500 for capital funds for building nine residences, two church buildings, a good-will centre, and a hospital, making a total request of $326,950. The Harpers were the first to arrive in Dar es Salaam on 20 October, 1956, moving into a hotel with hopes of finding residences for the three families, and to arrange for language study.

In July, 1956, three other families that were originally appointed for other countries in Africa, were sent to East Africa. The Webster Carrolls and the Samuel DeBoards, both having been appointed for Rhodesia, and the James Hamptons, appointed for Nigeria, eventually found themselves together in East Africa (Hampton 1966). On 6 December, 1956, the missionaries met together and decided that the Saunders would move to Kenya and begin work in Nairobi rather than moving Mbeya to work with the Walkers. Following this decision, the Saunders proceeded to established residence in Nairobi on 17 December, 1956, thus becoming the first resident Southern Baptist missionaries in Kenya (Saunders, 175-176). A short six months later, on 28 June, 1957, the James Hamptons moved to Mombasa,

Kenya, to plan an evangelistic ministry among the 124,000 inhabitants of that city, most of whom were greatly influenced by Islam or Hinduism. The Earl Martins joined the Saunders in Nairobi in September. The Saunders and Martins were unable to find a suitable building to rent so space was borrowed from various government institutions including a day nursery, where Saunders and Martin began teaching adult literacy classes several times a week(Stewart 1976, 26). Eventually land was purchased and the Nairobi Baptist Centre was dedicated on 5 July, 1958. A week long revival (evangelistic effort) was conducted by Early Martin following the dedication, with Davis Saunders preaching in Swahili and daily attendance averaged more than 300.[46]

A full weekday program was developed quickly at the Nairobi Baptist Centre, providing contacts with all members of Kenyan families. Women met in the mornings to learn to read, write, sew, and cook, as well as better ways to care for their homes and families. Bible classes were taught which emphasized God and His Son, the Saviour of all who will believe. While the women attended their classes, children attended nursery school where they too learned the stories of Jesus and His love for people, including Africans. Afternoons saw programs conducted which were planned especially for teen-aged boys and girls where the girls learned to cook, sew, and weave while the boys attended handicraft classes which included weaving with sisal. All studied the Bible together and had planned recreation (Stewart 1976, 27). Men came to the centre in the evenings to learn to read and write with the centre library being opened to them as soon as they learned to read. Eventually, traditional Southern Baptist programs (from U.S.A.) such as Sunday School, Training Union, midweek prayer meeting, WMU (Women's Missionary Union), and GA (Girls in Action) were included in the church program. This led to the organization in December, 1959, of the Shauri Moyo Baptist Church[47] with eight charter members. Five more were baptized the

next day and other converts soon attended new member's/inquirer's classes.[48]

One other Baptist church existed in Nairobi at that time. This was an English-speaking church which was organized in October, 1956, with twenty charter members, including two Africans, five Asians, and thirteen Europeans. Baptist missionaries Earl and Jane Martin were two of the charter members (Stewart 1976, 28). Originally this church consisted of a small group of Baptists in Nairobi who had met together on Sunday afternoon once-a-month for tea for several years prior to the Saunders arrival. Upon their arrival, the Saunders invited the group to meet for worship instead of tea and soon they were meeting in a borrowed 'Gospel Furthering Fellowship Church' building. Within a few months' time, the group (Nairobi Baptist Fellowship) was holding worship services twice every Sunday with a Sunday School program for the children. The group moved to the St. John's Ambulance Hall, then to the United Kenya Club, and later to the Girl Guide Headquarters. When the church was organized, it was completely self-supporting and became affiliated with the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Rev. Tom Houston being installed as its first full-time pastor in 1959. Earl Martin and Davis Saunders had been serving up until that time. They purchased land and erected a building in 1960 (Stewart 1976, 28).

After surveying various parts of Mombasa, the James Hamptons decided to begin their work in the Kisauni village of 16,000 predominantly Muslim people. Preaching services were held under a mango tree and continued in that way for six months. After many fruitless efforts to purchase property to build a meeting place, a Muslim man offered to rent his mud house to the Baptist Mission. Soon another Muslim man made available a three acre plot, located in the centre of the village. By May, 1958, there were seventeen members of inquirers' classes in Kisauni. Eight men were the first to be baptized, with two claiming having received a call to preach. One of

these early converts was Morris Wanje, whose son is now moderator of the Baptist Convention of Kenya.[49] These converts were organized as a church with ten charter members on 12 April, 1959, the first Baptist church for Africans in all of Kenya. The service was witnessed by many, including the Muslim village chief, who invited Baptists to undertake, with assurance of his cooperation, additional missionary efforts in Kisauni (Stewart 1976, 36). Soon, two additional preaching points were opened, one in the Lokoni area and the other in Bamburi village approximately a kilometer from Kisauni. Shortly after this, Baptist missionary Charles Tope rented a building and began a Sunday School for children in Old Town Mombasa, a Muslim stronghold with elaborate mosques but no Christian witness. At first no one came, but soon sixty children were attending nearly every Sunday.

As early as November, 1957, the Baptist missionaries in East Africa voiced a serious concern over polygamy in the churches. A committee was instructed to prepare a tract on Christian marriage as well as a paper entitled, "Baptists and Their Faith" (Stewart 1976, 37). Concern was also voiced regarding the need of a seminary for training church leaders in East Africa. Arusha, Tanganyika, was chosen as the site, and Baptists purchased a hundred acre tract of land eighteen kilometers north of Arusha on the Nairobi highway. Construction began in 1961 and the first class of fifteen students was received in January, 1962, with classes beginning on 29 January. "Among the first students of the Seminary was Ishmael Sibale, the first African Baptist minister to be ordained in the history of Southern Baptist mission work in East Africa. He was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Dar es Salaam which met at the Baptist Centre" (Stewart 1976, 39).

Baptist missionaries soon targeted areas other than the major urban centers of Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, and Mombasa. Nyeri, which is in the central highlands of Kenya, was one of these. Mr. and Mrs. Jack Hull arrived in Nyeri, Kenya, on 22 June, 1960, where Mr. Hull immediately contacted

government officials, African officials, chiefs, headmen, and other missions in the area stating their purpose for being there. Soon after, Mr. Hull met Chief Mohouo, senior chief of the Kikuyu of Nyeri District, and found that he was a Christian of deep conviction. Chief Mohouo said, "Most missionaries in the past have come to our people, baptized the babies, counted the numbers, and left the people with empty hearts. When trouble came the people had nothing to live by" (Hull, 3). In the aftermath of the Mau-Mau struggle, the British people in the area were not enthusiastic about the Hulls arrival and permission to secure land or buildings was refused for fear of demonstrations.

Second Decade, 1966 - 1976

In honor of the tenth year of Baptist work in East Africa, a special committee of missionaries was appointed to plan a special emphasis. It was decided that 1966 and 1967 would be years of special evangelistic emphasis, and plans were made for two clinics on evangelism, one in Kisumu, Kenya, and the other in Tukuyu, Tanzania. An East African Wide Crusade was planned for 1967. This was in keeping with worldwide interests at the time. The World Congress on Evangelism met in West Berlin with more than one hundred countries attending, and there were also evangelistic efforts in Ghana, Costa Rica, Trinidad, Jamaica, British Guiana, Venezuela, and Japan (Stewart 1976, 87). The missionary committee also recommended that every Baptist association and every local church participate in revival efforts in 1966. At this meeting a report was given from some who made an air survey into the remote Northern Frontier District of Kenya and concluded there were many areas with no evangelistic witness nor medical service. However, no plans were made for responding to the obvious need.

In 1966 the Women's Work Committee reported over one thousand women enrolled in societies in over fifty churches. The Youth Work

Committee reported one hundred sixty girls enrolled in ten churches. Also in 1966, an extension class of the Baptist seminary in Tanzania was formed in Limuru, Kenya, consisting of twenty five students. This was the beginning of what is today the Kenya Baptist Theological College with three five levels of training and more than two hundred students.[50] Work among Asian people of Nairobi was started by offering English classes for women and Bible clubs for boys and girls. Three English classes included approximately fifty five women, and there was a waiting list of others who wished to study. Two groups of Asian boys and girls attended Bible clubs on Saturdays (Stewart 1976, 93). Also, two pilot programs of Christian music and drama were prepared for the voice of Kenya radio.

On 16 April, 1966, the Nyeri Baptist High School was dedicated with thirty nine students. As a result of the interest generated by starting the Baptist High School, Baptist churches grew in their witness. Nyeri town Church sponsored four preaching points, Kanunga Church sponsored the building of Mukurwe-ini Church, and the Laikipia Church developed an area called Mugunda. Nyeri evangelism progressed in 1967 in several ways. At the annual associational meeting which was held at Kimahori Church, thirty five people prayed to receive Jesus Christ as Lord. Following this a three day outdoor revival was conducted which resulted in sixty seven professions of faith. When Baptists' first wooden frame church building in the Eastern Province was dedicated at Magenka in the Chuka Division, a large bus load of people made great sacrifices to attend the dedication services (Stewart 1976, 105). Following six weeks of intensive evangelistic efforts in Nyeri, a witch doctor was converted to Christianity, and she invited her new Christian friends to her home. There she and the others together burned all the things she had in her home that she used to cast evil spells on people. Later that week her husband and daughter also professed faith in Christ Jesus.

More than two hundred fifty missionaries and three hundred fifty churches led by three hundred thirty four pastors with a combined membership of nearly twenty thousand worked together from September to November, 1970, to present Jesus Christ as the hope of Africa and of the world.[51] Within Kenya and Tanzania, the purpose of this effort was to impact with the Gospel the masses of four major urban centers, whose combined population was nine hundred thousand. This was attempted through radio, television, newspaper advertisements, mass rallies, musical concerts, special evangelistic efforts in the churches, distribution of tracts, etc. Estimated attendance at all the meetings exceeded sixty seven thousand and there were reported two hundred thirty eight churches participating and over four thousand professions of faith recorded. This effort led to urban studies being undertaken which indicated opportunities for a wider ministry in the urban centers.

Also in 1970, Baptist missionaries proposed the idea of Theological Education by Extension (T.E.E.)[52] as an opportunity for men to do serious theological study and inquiry while remaining home. The course was to be set-up, materials made available, and students guided in their home study by teachers at a central center. Each local group would then gather weekly to discuss what they were studying at home and occasionally, groups could be convened for intensive courses under such headings as continuing theological education, tent-maker training, and correspondence courses (Stewart 1976, 122). Dr. Vance Kirkpatrick and wife were assigned the task of developing this Theological Education by Extension program utilizing the thirty five programmed texts then available through the TEXT Africa Project (Kirkpatrick, 9).

A period of real transition for national Baptists took place between the years 1971-1976. Both Kenya and Tanzania Baptists decided to form their own conventions in 1971, and by the 1970 September meeting of Kenya's

Evangelism Committee, a constitution was drafted. When the assembly of national Baptists met, a voted was called for on March 25, 1971, and the members slowly stood to their feet giving an affirmative vote. Soon every voting member was standing and the Baptist Convention of Kenya had been formed. The next day, Morris Wanje was chosen the first Chairman of the newly formed convention.[53]

The next major advancement among Baptists in Kenya was when the Baptist Mission of Kenya approved the recommendation of its Theological Education Committee that a pilot project in pastoral leadership training be started in central Kenya. The project was related to the Baptist Seminary of East Africa, with the director living in the area of the project, but relating as a member of the faculty in Arusha. Although the project was intended primarily to train recognized leaders of local churches, other leaders in the churches found the program helpful (Stewart 1976, 136). As the T.E.E. program spread throughout much of Kenya, a second form of theological education termed 'Bible School' was coordinated with the T.E.E. program. Bible Schools were local initiatives by associations and churches. A local school would meet for one week each month for three years, using Kiswahili as the medium of instruction and graduates received the "Certificate of Biblical Studies" awarded from the International Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa (IBTSEA). These Bible Schools were managed and funded locally with local associations of churches electing a committee to plan and supervise the school, and appointing a principal with the consent of the Extension Director of IBTSEA. The local committee determined where the school would meet and it soon became apparent that the Bible School program could flourish without additional support outside its area (Kirkpatrick, 9). After several years of development of the T.E.E. and Bible School programs, a higher level was initiated and many began to realize that extension education at high academic levels was not only viable but extremely effective. A growing

number of leaders began to appeal for alternatives to the residential format of the International Baptist Theological Seminary of East Africa based in Tanzania. For several years Baptists of Kenya, both missionaries and nationals, considered various models of theological education, ultimately centered around three major concerns:

1. Education qualifications (academic and vocational)
2. Man power needs
3. Resources (including land, faculty, and finances)

> "These three issues converged to become a compelling force toward the establishment of a radically new approach to theological education. Baptists began to determine who they were to become. What should ministers 'look like'? What resources can we realistically employ? How many trained leaders at which levels must we have, or should we have?" (Kirkpatrick, 9)

A modified residential program was the result with the following guidelines being set forth by the Board of Governors of IBTSEA for the newly approved Kenya Branch, IBTSEA:

1. Students should continue in ministry as they study
2. Students pay 5% of the total cost of the program
3. Two experienced missionary teachers would be assigned to the Kenya branch
4. One Kenyan teacher would be assigned to the Kenya branch
5. Residential contact hours should be approximate to those of the IBTSEA requirements
6. Home study assignments should be required
7. Course work would be performed in English
8. Awards would be "Advanced Certificate of Theology" for secondary level students and, hopefully after several years, the "Diploma of Theology" for post-secondary students (Kirkpatrick, 11)

Third Decade, 1976 - 1986

The Baptist Mission of East Africa celebrated twenty years together at its Mission Meeting in 1976. One of the most significant undertakings that followed the anniversary was what is known as the "Giriama Project." Tom McMillan, Principal of IBTSEA at Arusha, Tanzania, learned that the Giriama tribe of coastal Kenya was one of the largest unreached people groups in the world. The tribe consisted mainly of animists, and each family had a 'god-hut' in which the family ancestors were represented by short poles fixed upright in the ground. Ancestors reportedly communicated their needs to the family by means of dreams and visions. When Tom heard that the tribe was essentially unreached, he decided to make this a project for the seminary graduating class. Soon McMillan, along with Louie Scales and Clay Coursey planned with Wilson Charo, a member at Kongowea Baptist Church, to begin evangelizing the Giriama. Charo resigned his job and went with Louie Scales to a Giriama village for evangelism, witnessing in the village and preaching each afternoon under a mango tree. At the end of three days, seventy-three Giriama had been saved. Conscious that they were embarking on something significant, the missionaries along with national leaders began to plan the project in detail. Five seminary graduates were teamed with Giriama Baptists doing house-to-house evangelism, outdoor meetings, and teaching for one week, then the second week was spent in training leaders for a new church. This instruction included lessons on what a church is, what its functions are, how to produce and mature believers, etc. Another important part of the Giriama project was the digging of water wells in the dry lands of the Giriama. In fact, the Giriama Project officially began on 1 August, 1976, with the dedication of a water well at Gongoni in Giriama-land. The results of the Giriama Project were significant in terms of total impact. Approximately 2,850 adults were baptized and more than 100 churches were established. As a result of the spread of the Gospel and Baptist churches, a mobile Bible

School for training pastors was started and eventually the Bible School was permanently located in Malindi due to centrality and accessibility (Scales 1998, 1-10).

Kenyans, as well as those from other African countries, display a strong desire and motivation to do advanced studies in the States. The result is that many of the Baptist leaders in Kenya are trained by Western colleges, universities, and seminaries. Some of the earliest of these date from 1977. Leonard Otita, studying in the United States, was actually licensed to preach by a Baptist church in Arkansas. John Kariuki began studies for his Doctor of Ministry degree following the completion of Master of Religious Education and Master of Divinity degrees at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kansas City. Another Kenyan leader, Geoffrey Muchoki, former pastor of the Waithaka Baptist Church in Nairobi and assistant in the office of Baptist Social Ministries, began his studies toward a Master of Divinity degree at Central Baptist Seminary in Kansas City. Still another, Douglas Waruta, moved to the U.S. to begin work toward a Doctor of Education degree at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas. This trend continues with the number of those pursuing education opportunities abroad increasing rather than decreasing.

Western Kenya was the site of some significant church and ministry issues among Kenyan Baptists in 1979. *Uchawi* (witchcraft) and traditional beliefs and practices were rampant in the churches and church leadership failed and even refused to confront the issues. Compacted this was the fact that many pastors would not preach regularly in their churches leaving untrained women to do the preaching and teaching in the church. The majority of the pastors taught that undedicated babies and small children would go to hell if they died. Pastors sold dedication cards to parents, and church practices such as baptism, communion, and 'Christian burial' were all considered essential for salvation. Added to this was the fact that Baptist

leaders and pastors in Western Kenya did not consider the Bible to be authoritative but merely a 'white man's book.' Churches were thought to be buildings rather than groups of believers, and church buildings were seen as shrines which honored God and brought favor to the owner of the land on which the church building stood. A natural result was that those who owned church plots saw themselves as owners of the churches located on them (Scales 1998, 40). Any missionary who refused to provide money for a church plot and build a church for the people was seen as depriving them of the only way they had to honor God.

Tension that had been growing for several years between the Baptist Mission of Kenya and the Baptist Convention of Kenya escalated in the early 1980's. The Kenya Development Council operated for several years as the liaison group between the Baptist Mission and the Baptist Convention, providing a forum for joint approval of work budgets for missionaries and mission activities, missionary personnel placement, new work approval, and discussion about survey trips. When the KDC was to meet on 22 September, 1983, the Executive Committee of the Baptist Convention informed the Mission that they would not attend, signifying the depth of division between the two bodies. In reaction to this, the Baptist Mission implemented the following:

1. All convention subsidy be suspended.
2. All actions of items that were the responsibility of the KDC be suspended.
3. All actions on the transfer of church properties to the trusteeship of the convention be suspended.

The following year, leaders from nineteen Baptist associations along with the chairman of the convention and three convention officers, met with a committee of missionaries to begin discussions on ways to bridge the gap between Convention and Mission. The Baptist missionaries asked the nationals to compile a list of criticisms, suggestions, and observations of

missionaries individually and collectively, and the Convention presented the following list:

1. Missionaries do not know the language or cultural environment of the people. A missionary should know three things: the Bible, language, and the culture.

2. Some missionaries do not go to church but instead stay at home. If missionaries are people who love Christ and His church, why do they fail to attend church meetings?

3. Missionaries make changes too quickly. They do not give the national time to adjust to them.

4. Missionaries do not fulfill their promises.

5. Africans like to fellowship - some missionaries do not like to fellowship with Africans, especially at marriages, funerals, and special days at the church.

6. Missionaries do not take time with Africans. They are always in a hurry. Every once in a while, they should leave their watches at home.

7. Missionaries should be leaders and have plans for the church to grow.

8. Missionaries should be leaders, not rulers.

9. Missionaries who are not CDs (Church Developers) know nothing of the work of the churches nor seem to be concerned about them.

10. Wives of missionaries should try to be involved in the work.

11. Missionaries should be preaching even though they have other jobs.

12. Missionaries ought not to criticize all Kenyans for the errors of some. These errors might be misuse of funds, lying, etc.

13. "His preaching is excellent, but he is a *kali* (angry) man."

14. The mission often chooses the wrong (national) leader. Too often he is not one who has shown stability and steady Christianity, but is the bright, more educated English speaker.[54]

1985 saw a steady move toward healing of the break in fellowship between the Baptist convention and mission.

Fourth Decade, 1986 - 1996

The fourth decade of Baptist work in Kenya is characterized by crusades utilizing American volunteers. This was initiated in 1990 with what is known as the Kenya Coast Crusade. Baptist missionary, Dr. Ralph Bethea, invited churches while on furlough in the U.S. to accept a challenge from pastors of the Mombasa area to come and join them in a major crusade in the Mombasa (coastal) area. This 'invitation' was given prior to any discussion by the Baptist Convention of Kenya or the Baptist Mission of Kenya, resulting in a number of Kenyans expressing that this placed them in an "embarrassing and difficult position later when they were called upon to 'approve' Bethea's actions after the fact" (Scales 1998, 149). The Coast Crusade was conducted with five hundred forty American volunteers reporting 56,323 decisions and eighty-three new churches started at a total cost two million U.S. dollars. Free-flowing money from the volunteers was and continues to be a soource of concern among Baptist missionaries in Kenya. Research done by the research staff of the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board, gives the following assessment of the Coast Crusade and the financial implications:

> An average of $106.30 in financial help was given to churches by participants while they were in Kenya. After returning to the U.S., thirty eight- percent of the participants sent money back to a church or churches in Kenya. The average amount that a volunteer sent back was $913.30. And 31.2% of those who sent money back are continuing to send money back to a church or churches in Kenya. 26.9% sent money back to a Kenyans pastor, member of his family, or a church member. 11.5% of the churches or other organizations to which participants belong sent money to a Kenyan church after the participants returned. The average amount that was sent was $1,463.30 (Scales 1998, 152-153).

In this report compiled in 1992, it is also noted that sixty-eight new churches were planted during the crusade, but that twenty-two of them had already died. Also, at first, it was thought that a majority of those making decisions

for Christ were of Islamic background but in actuality, only 3,220 were of Islamic background and most of these were forced to revert to Islamic lifestyles almost immediately. Crusades of this nature have become the norm for evangelism in Kenya with hundreds of groups of volunteers coming from the U.S. each year to work with Kenya Baptists and churches. Regional crusades have been conducted in Nairobi (Greater Nairobi Crusade, 1995), Western Kenya (Western Kenya Evangelistic Effort, 1997), and Baptists plan to conduct another regional crusade back in the coastal area in 1999 (Eastern Kenya Baptist Evangelistic Effort). The result of such Western-based evangelistic efforts seems to be increased dependence on Western financial support, Western teachers, and Western styles of ministry and church life.

In 1992, the Baptist Convention of Kenya and Baptist Mission of Kenya once again formed a group for joint discussion of strategy, needs, personnel, problems, etc. The previous year, the *word baraza*[55] had occasionally been used for a joint mission-convention committee and in 1992 the Baraza became a reality. The Baraza became the liaison group between the Mission and Convention, taking the place of the now defunct Kenya Development Council. One change was that the Baraza would not have the responsibility of planning and approving missionary work budgets as the KDA had done. Instead, it was charged with joint planning in the areas of education, human needs, properties, church programs, and evangelism. Each of these areas would be supervised by a committee of five, consisting of two representatives from the Mission and three from the Convention. The chairman and secretary of the Baraza would come alternately from each body, so that a chairman from the convention would be helped by a missionary secretary.[56]

CHAPTER 5

CHRISTIAN MINISTRY AS VIEWED BY BAPTISTS IN KENYA

Survey Instrument Described

In order to examine the missionary influence upon Baptist pastors in Kenya, a research questionnaire was prepared.[57] It was decided that the best approach would be the analytical survey approach so as to analyze the data in order to infer certain meanings from the data, or at least to discern the presence of potentials and dynamic forces within the data that may suggest possibilities of further research. The methods of analysis are those referring to the domain of what Leedy terms "inferential statistics" (Leedy 1974, 114). Since this paper is concerned with missionary influence on the concept of Christian ministry among Baptists in Kenya, it was necessary to define the population as pastors of Baptist churches affiliated with the Baptist Convention of Kenya rather than simply Baptists in general. The most recent and reliable statistics show that there are approximately 2,000 Baptist churches and preaching points affiliated with the Baptist Convention of Kenya, and that there are approximately 1,200 pastors working with these congregations.[58] Although the figures are not available, very few of these would be serving in a full-time capacity, with most having one or more other jobs beside their church position. In order to obtain reliable results, it was decided that a 10% representation of Baptist pastors in Kenya was needed. One hundred eighty surveys were prepared and distributed with one hundred forty respondents, or a 78% response rate. Of these, twenty one questionnaires were unusable due to improper responding on the part of the

respondent, leaving 119 usable questionnaires which was in keeping with the original intent of a 10% representation. Next, questionnaires were separated according to those from current Kenya Baptist Theological College students who have completed the author's course on spiritual gifts, and those who have not taken the course. The purpose for this distinction was to study whether or not concentrated teaching on the use of spiritual gifts as the basis for Christian ministry would influence the views expressed by Kenya Baptist pastors.

Interpretation of Survey Results

The first observable item in the research questionnaire is that 26% of the respondents are between the ages of 25-30. Another 45% are between the ages 31-39. The respondents between the ages of 40-49 were 19% with another 5% between the ages of 18-24. Only 5% of the survey respondents were age 50 years or older. That means that 95% of the Baptist pastors surveyed are below the age of fifty.

The second item is concerned with the length of membership in a Baptist church. Of those who responded to the question, 37% have been Baptists for 16 years or more. Those respondents which have been Baptists for 6-10 years are 30%. Another 20% have been Baptists for 11-15 years. Those who have been Baptists for 3-5 years number 10%, with 3% having been Baptists for less than 2 years. The data indicates that among the Baptist pastors in Kenya responding to the questionnaire, 57% have been Baptists for more than 10 years.

A third item surveyed by the questionnaire concerns the length of service as a pastor. Those responding as having served as a pastor for 3-5 years are 32%. Another 30% have served 6-10 years as a pastor. Those who have served as a pastor for 2 years or less are 26%. Only 7% of the respondents have served as a pastor for 11-15 years with an additional 5% having served 16 or more years as a pastor. This indicates that of those

Baptist pastors responding to the survey, 58% have served 5 years or less as a pastor.

A fourth question relates to denominational affiliation prior to becoming a Baptist. The respondents indicating a Pentecostal or Pentecostal-oriented denominational background number 11%. The respondents indicating that they were not saved prior to becoming a Baptist are 36%. Former Catholics were 13% of the respondents. Respondents who were from "other" number 25%. The other 15% are from various denominations including C.P.K.,[59] PCEA,[60] and African Independent groups.

Next was their response to a direct question concerning the existence of God's call in their life. Those who responded that they had been clearly called to ministry were 91%. Because of that affirmative response, those respondents were asked to complete question six. Of them, 44% claim their call came between the ages 18-24. Another 46% describe their call as coming to them between the ages of 25-34. Only 5% expressed their call as having come after the age of 35.

When asked how long a call to Christian ministry lasts, 97% stated that they felt it lasts a lifetime, with 3% expressing that it lasts many years.

The eighth question is regarding the perceived primary source of the call to Christian ministry. The results are as follows:

- childhood experience - 8%
- understanding of spiritual gifts - 22%
- decision of a relative - 4%
- dream or a vision - 8%
- missionary influence - 4%
- crisis in life - 13%
- biblical teaching - 36%
- other - 5%

The ninth question concerns the primary source for the respondent becoming a pastor. The results are as follows:

- other pastor(s) - 24%
- missionary(ies) - 4%
- Bible - 30%
- Bible School - 16%
- Seminary - 26%

Question 10 is an extremely important question for examining Baptist pastors' views on Christian ministry. Of those responding to the question, 48% said that the pastor is primarily responsible for doing ministry in the local church. Another 45% said that all church members are responsible for doing the majority of ministry in the local church. The remaining respondents said that deacons or elders were primarily responsible for doing ministry in the local church. It is extremely important to note here that of those who stated that all church members are responsible for doing ministry in the church compared to the pastor, 88% of the respondents are students at Kenya Baptist Theological College who have completed the author's course on spiritual gifts. This would seem to indicate that those who have not been trained in a biblical understanding of spiritual gifts display a much higher impact of Western influence (the model of a pastor-dominated congregation), whereas those taught the meaning of spiritual gifts from a biblical perspective are able to depart from that same Western influence to some degree.

Question 11 examines attitudes toward pastoral support. Of those who responded, 74% indicated that it is best for a pastor to be paid full time. This strongly supports the conclusion that missionaries influence Kenya Baptists in their concept of Christian ministry. Another 10% suggested the pastor be bi-vocational (have a secular job along with serving as pastor). Only 5% of those responding felt that a minister should do his work in the church without pay.

The next item (question 12) examines attitudes toward the pastor's primary responsibility. Of those surveyed who responded to the question, 51% responded that it is the primary responsibility of the pastor to equip church members to be ministers. Another 20% chose preaching as the pastor's primary responsibility, while 22% said it is to do all the church's ministry. Again, it is important to know that of the 51% choosing equipping for ministry as the pastor's primary responsibility, 59% are students who have completed the spiritual gifts course under the author's teaching. Negative influence may be corrected through instruction.

Question 13 asks what is necessary for a person to be an effective minister. Of those who responded, 61% said it is necessary to know one's spiritual gifts. Another 17% expressed the primary need as attending Bible School and/or seminary. No one responded, "learn from a missionary."

The next item inquires as to the manner in which Baptists in Kenya have been influenced by Western missionaries. The largest number of respondents (47%) said that western missionaries have for the most part positively impacted the work of Baptists in Kenya. An additional 19% responded that the influence of Western missionaries in Kenya has been negative.

Closely connected with question 14 is one which asks what attitudes Western missionaries primarily display toward Kenya Baptists. Of those responding, 64% said that western missionaries primarily display support of the ideas/plans of Kenya Baptists. On the other hand, 12% expressed that missionaries display a lack of concern for Kenya Baptists. An additional 10% see missionaries as displaying a colonial mindset in their relations with national Baptists.

Question 16 asks for opinions on the reason African Independent Churches are usually started. The largest number of respondents, 27%, feel that Independent churches are usually started as a reaction against Western

missionaries. The next highest response, 25%, was that they are started due to misunderstanding clear biblical teaching. Another 25% feel that Independent Churches are started out of a desire to follow African traditional beliefs. Of those responding, 17% feel that Independent churches usually begin with a desire to follow more closely the Bible.

The final question asks how church members should be viewed in relation to ministry. The largest number, 28%, see church members as doing most of the ministry in the church. Another 16% see church members as those who do all the ministry in the church. Of these two groups combined, 65% are students who have completed the course on spiritual gifts taught by the author. In addition, 23% of respondents state that church members should be viewed as those who primarily receive ministry. Another 24% see church members as helpers for the pastor. Together, that means that 47% of respondents (primarily those not having taken the author's course on spiritual gifts) feel that church members come to receive ministry rather than provide it in the church.

In conclusion, from a basic and cursory examination, it appears from this research survey conducted among Baptist pastors in Kenya that Baptists have been significantly influenced by Western missionaries and that this has led to many non-biblical practices such as pastor-dominated and driven congregations, the need for a full-time clergy, little or no ministry involvement of non-clergy members. It also shows that one may be taught to believe differently and therefore that training is the key to changing beliefs and attitudes among Baptists in Kenya. Only through instruction will the deeply ingrained patterns of Christian ministry introduced by Western missionaries be corrected. This survey was conducted in order to illustrate the author's theological view that the churches of the Baptist Convention of Kenya are unduly dependent upon western missionary introduced patterns of Christian ministry, negating the biblical concept of a spiritual gifts-based ministry.

CHAPTER SIX

A PROPOSAL FOR CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN CHURCHES OF THE BAPTIST CONVENTION OF KENYA

In view of the previously stated research concerning Western impact on the concept of Christian ministry in Africa, and the survey conducted among Baptists in Kenya concerning attitudes toward Western missionary influenced concepts of Christian ministry, the following is this author's theological proposal for Christian ministry within the specific context of Baptist churches in Kenya.

An Examination of Christian Ministry in the New Testament

Roman Catholic missiologist and church historian Adrian Hastings states: "It is clear that the earliest books of the New Testament present us with a rich diversity of ministries and that some of these, at least, were clearly not associated with the laying on of hands" (Hastings 1971, 99-100). He goes on to say that the tendency of a professional ministry to 'eat up' other ministries and consequently create a rather clear distinction between ministers and those ministered to, has been a repeated one. This routinely gives rise to new forces which work in the opposite direction, pushing for Christian ministry done by lay church members. However, this does not do away with the Christian theme of segregation, whose proper understanding is essential to New Testament thought and life as the Christian life involves a total separation from sin and the unclean world.[61] This separation is truly a setting apart or making holy, but it is not a segregation from things and has no sociological manifestation. This idea of individual consecration to God but

corporate interdependence is basic to the Apostle Paul's theology of the ministry.

When considering New Testament teaching on Christian ministry, one must focus primarily on the writings of the Apostle Paul. His activities are usually summarized by the term "ministry," but what exactly is meant by "the ministry of Paul," or any other person for that matter? The term itself is best understood as an ordinary act of assistance or service to another[62] or as service rendered to God and to others in God's name, and is used almost exclusively by Paul in the latter sense (Ellis 1997, 1). His use of the term in this way is best understood in light of two important factors: (1) Paul's Jewish background and (2) his interpretation of ministry exclusively in terms of Christ. First, in the conception of ministry in first century Judaism, three types of ministry may be isolated: priestly mediation between God and man, prophetic gifts of the Holy Spirit, and various kinds of teachers and administrators. The title *elders* was used politically for the heads of leading families[63] but could also designate religious teachers who were local synagogue leaders and others with "service" functions. Most scholars believe that the synagogue emerged during the Exile, which seems to be a logical time for the synagogue to originate, with the forced removal of the Israelites from their homeland and the perceived necessity of preserving Yahwism. Though the synagogue was important in its inception, its most consequential contribution came following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in A.D. 70, which was never rebuilt. It became the responsibility of the synagogues once again to assure the perpetuation of Judaism. In the synagogues, "the Law was read, first in the original Hebrew and then in Aramaic paraphrases, known as Targums, followed in turn by a homily" (Martin 1964, 66). Early believers carried this sense of synagogue importance with them into the early churches, along with the concept of synagogue worship centered in the reading and expounding of scriptures and

the offering of prayer (Eakin 1971, 38).[64] Less prominent was the *shaliah*, best translated "apostle," which was the designation in Judaism for one who fulfilled an occasional role as a commissioned representative (Ellis 1997, 2).

Secondly, early Christian ministry differed radically from that of Judaism in that it was perceived completely in terms of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus the Christ (Messiah). This meant that early Christian ministry was patterned after Jesus' earthly ministry[65] and the Apostle Paul clearly understood his service to God in this christological frame of reference. Especially with reference to Paul's emphasis on the Holy Spirit and His gifts, Paul maintained a christological hermeneutic. For Paul, the objective reality of the Holy Spirit is the person of the risen Christ.[66] A christological hermeneutic is the standard by which the church is to recognize and affirm the testimony of the Spirit to the unity of Christ in his incarnation and eschatological manifestation (Anderson 1993, 110-111). In Ephesians 4:8-12, he defines the whole of Christian ministry as gifts from the exalted Lord:

> "When Christ ascended on high, he led captives
> in his train and gave gifts to men." . . .
> It was he who gave some to be apostles, some
> to be prophets, some to be evangelists, and some
> to be pastors and teachers, to prepare God's
> people for works of service, so that the body of
> Christ may be built up . . .[67]

In this passage Paul attributes Christian ministry with three characteristics: First, it is a gift, meaning that it may result in achievement, but it in itself is not an achievement.[68] Second, ministry is diverse and in the Pauline churches is manifested in a variety of gifts and gifted individuals. The final characteristic of Christian ministry from this passage is its focus on the community of the ascended Christ, or in other words, its ecclesiastical dimension. It is this third characteristic that dominates Paul's letters to the churches. For Paul, ministry as the new activity of the Spirit was limited to

the community of Christ, the body of believers who have received the Spirit and whose ministry is a means to mediate the Spirit and his gifts to others[69] (Ellis 1997, 7-8). Throughout Paul's letters, Christian ministry has its locus in the body of Christ, the church, and nowhere else.

The nature of the church's existence is the significant thing in understanding Christian ministry. Its existence as the corporate "body" of the resurrected Christ was a reality which was radically different from all that went before. In the words of Karl Barth:

> A congregation is the coming together of those who belong to Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit. We heard that special men belong in a special way to Jesus Christ. This takes place when men are called by the Holy Spirit to participation in Christ's word and work. This special membership has its analogue on the horizontal level in a membership of those men with one another. . . We cannot speak of the Holy Spirit . . . without continuing *credo ecclesiam*, I believe in the existence of the Church. And conversely, Woe to us, where we think we can speak of the Church without establishing it wholly on the work of the Holy Spirit. *Credo in Spiritum sanctum*, but not *Credo in ecclesiam.* I believe in the Holy Spirit, but not in the Church. Rather I believe in the Holy Spirit, and therefore also in the existence of the Church (Barth 1959, 141-142).

Paul would agree with Barth and would not have differed with a second century writer who described the Christian community as "a new race."[70] In contrast to the Christian community which is incorporated "in Christ," the society of this world ("in Adam") is a community under the sentence of death.[71] Of life in Adam, Dietrich Bonhoeffer states:

> Temptation itself belongs to man in Adam, and must lead to death. It brings with it again and again the terrors of eternal death (Bonhoeffer 1961, 168).

In speaking of life "in Christ," Bonhoeffer adds:

> Here the man *in se conversus* is torn away from the attempt to remain alone in himself and is turned towards Christ. Now he lives only in the contemplation of Christ . . . Only in Christ does man know himself as

> the creature of God; in Adam he was at once creator and created (Bonhoeffer 1961, 171).

The sharp distinction made by Paul between the world "in Adam" and the body of Christ relates in two important ways to his concept of and teaching on ministry in the world. First, ministry facilitates a change in peoples' identities from the sphere of Adam to the sphere of Christ; in traditional terms, ministry facilitates regeneration and sanctification. Second, the present world order or society "in Adam," is not the concern of Christian ministry because it is the object of God's condemnation, and at the parousia it will be destroyed. Instead, ministry is that which a believer does to fellow believers within the context of the body of Christ.

"Church order in earliest Christianity concerns at least two matters, the regulation of the meetings of a local assembly, and the constitutional patterns of the church in its various institutional manifestations" (Ellis 1997, 87). The first has to do with the leadership of the church's life and worship. The second concerns the official status in the church given to some believers. These issues raise a significant historical question: Did orderly procedure in a church presuppose an ordered structure, or did the congregations arise as spontaneous meetings and only later created structures, including official ministries, to meet the needs of the believing community? As stated earlier, for Paul, ministry consisted of exercising one's spiritual gift(s). However, in much of church history ministry has been identified with an office to which one is appointed or "ordained." Therefore, the question which must be considered is this: Does the Apostle conceive of ministry as an office and, if so, what kind of office? It appears that most of those who ministered in the congregational meetings of the Pauline churches had no official status, but were recognized as gifted persons and their ministries were accordingly received. These are the ministries that are prominent in Paul's discussion of the subject in 1 Corinthians 14.

There is evidence that, along with an unstructured charismatic ministry, an appointed ministry was also present in the Pauline churches whose basis was also the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Specifically it was identified with persons who were recognized to have ongoing church responsibilities and who were entitled to honor and/or financial support (Ellis 1997, 92). These fall into several categories. First, the collection and distribution of gifts at Philippi and Corinth provide two examples of an ordered ministry in the Pauline churches. Collections from the Philippian church were brought to Paul by "the brothers" and, on another occasion, by Epaphroditus, "the brother" or commissioned representative of the church in Philippi. Persons "who distribute" and "show mercy" in this way are described in Romans 12:8 as exercising a gift of ministry. This suggests that the commissioned representatives from Philippi were doing ministry according to their spiritual gifts that were recognized and endorsed by the congregation. A similar administrative function in local churches may be seen in Paul's instructions to the Corinthians concerning the collection for the needy believers in Jerusalem.

Other examples of ordered ministries include other forms of church leadership. "While Paul spoke of all believers having gifts of ministry, he also believed that certain ones had been divinely appointed to have a leadership role in the church" (Hawthorne 1993, 603). At least two of Paul's letters name specific classes of ministers as the recipients. Philippians 1:1 is addressed to all the saints together with the "overseers" and "ministers." Without a great amount of explanatory material, it appears that there were some who were set apart for a continuing and recognized ministry with the responsibilities of teaching and pastoral insight[72] and who were probably equivalent to those called "leaders" (*oi proistamenoi*) and teaching shepherds (*oi poimenes kai didaskaloi)*. The second term in Philippians 1:1, *diakonoi*, is used frequently in the Pauline epistles for those who exercise ministries of teaching and

preaching. In terms of function it best corresponds to the designation "minister," and is misleading to translate it "deacon."

A different kind of ordered ministry appeared at Colossae. The letter of Paul to the Colossian church is addressed to "the holy and faithful brothers."[73] At times this word "brother" (*adelphos*) may mean "fellow believer," but in other instances it is has the more specific meaning of "coworker" or colleague. It is used in the more specific sense of traveling missionaries, letter bearers, and of those who brought gifts to Paul from the church at Philippi.[74] The same technical connotation of the term *adelphoi* in Colossians 1:2 is confirmed in the body of the letter. For example, the recipients of the letter are given the following instructions:

> Give my greetings to the brothers at Laodicea, and to Nympha and the church in her house. After this letter has been read to you, see that it is also read in the church of the Laodiceans and that you in turn read the letter from Laodicea. (Col. 4:15-16)

Following the tradition of public reading of Old Testament scriptures in the synagogue, the church continued to do so by substituting the reading of apostolic writings in church. This is not only a clear illustration of the authority which was attributed them but also presupposes an orderly manner by which the reading was carried out. The brothers in the Colossian church who were the recipients of the letter performed this service and were to do so as well at Laodicea, about ten miles to the west. In addition they are exhorted to "teach and admonish one another."[75] In summary, the brothers at Colossae were Christian workers who had spiritual gifts of teaching and had special responsibilities as letter bearers and appointed readers in local worship. "The teaching brothers of the Colossian church show the way in which a charismatic ministry in the Pauline churches was incorporated into an organized structure of appointed tasks and ordered worship" (Ellis 1997, 97-98).

A more general indication of an appointed category of ministers in Pauline churches is the right of some believers to receive remuneration for their services. Paul begins by giving support from the teaching of Jesus Christ himself:

> The Lord has commanded that those who preach the gospel should receive their living from the gospel. (1 Cor. 9:14)

The same principle appears in 1 Timothy 5:18 as Paul combines an Old Testament passage with the words of Jesus:

> For the Scripture says, "Do not muzzle the ox while it is treading out the grain," and "The worker deserves his wages."

The "worker" here encompasses a large number of Paul's colleagues who are designated by various titles and their right to remuneration is alluded to in other passages.[76]

The principle of the right to support found in 1 Corinthians 9 is in agreement with these examples. Admittedly, it is immediately connected with the rights of apostles and traveling missionaries, but it includes Pauline "workers" as well. The most important evidence of a category of paid Christian workers is Paul's own boast to the Corinthians that he had refused his rights in the matter. In the same way, he reminds the Thessalonican church that when he was among them he earned his own way so as not to be a burden to them but to leave an example for them to follow.[77] His actions were represented as exceptional; there would be no grounds for boasting if his practice had been customary among the Christian workers in the churches. From these observations, it becomes clear that charism (spiritual giftedness) and office[78] were not mutually exclusive in the Pauline churches. However, while Pauline churches clearly had a variety of ordered ministries, their church order differed in at least three important respects from later forms of Christian ministry:

1. Charism was the primary requisite for and focus of ministry in the Pauline churches, but not in the later church. The ordered forms of ministry were seen by Paul and the early church as instruments to facilitate the manifestation of spiritual gifts for ministry by all believers.
2. There were no priests included as an appointed group in the Pauline churches. Priestly ministry (*leiturgia*) is a function of all believers, who may act corporately, as in sending gifts to Paul or Jerusalem, or individually, as in giving themselves in the service of Christ through their varied spiritual gifts.[79] Certain appointed leaders did function in a somewhat priestly role in the sense of proclamation of the Word, but not in the sense of performing sacramental acts.
3. Paul's letters do not include reference to a ministry of "sacraments," as the Lord's Supper and water baptism later came to be called. In fact, these ordinances are mentioned only in passing by the Apostle and were in no way seen as central to early worship or ministry. Paul himself baptized rarely and did not regard it as a significant part of his ministry and apparently did not restrict the act to any certain category of believers or "workers."[80] Paul mentions the Lord's Supper only in reference to abuse at the hand of the Corinthian believers. In this situation, he appeals to and rebukes individual believers only and makes no appeals to church leadership to correct the abuses. "While the formula in 1 Corinthians 11:23ff probably presupposes an ordered observance of the Supper, we do not know whether its administration was the specific function of an ordered ministry" (Ellis 1997, 101).

Church order in the Pastorals is essentially the same as that in the other Pauline epistles as ministry continues to depend upon the gifts of the Spirit and function is emphasized rather than office. Timothy seems to have been a traveling evangelist but special reasons demanded he stay for a time at Ephesus. The church at Ephesus had a body of elders but Timothy was sent there as Paul's special representative as Tychicus was later.[81] The

conditions which Paul foresaw while at Miletus years before[82] and which he sought to rectify in his letters to the Colossian and Ephesian churches, still demanded attention (Robertson 1909, 297). As Paul instructs Timothy concerning the barren philosophies being promoted by "certain men"[83] at Ephesus, he gives his most detailed tutelage concerning an ordered ministry in the church. Paul's emphasis in the Pastorals is still function over order. Even the "laying on of hands" referred to by Paul in writing to Timothy signifies the recognition of spiritual gifts.[84] His *gift* is compared with a fire which has burned low and needs attention: a poker and bellows may turn embers into a blaze.[85] However, in two respects church order in the Pastorals differs significantly from that in other Pauline letters. First, the Pastorals place more prominence on official or appointed ministries, with 1 Timothy and Titus containing detailed qualifications for overseers. Secondly, the Pastorals introduce the term "elder" (*presbuteros*) as an alternative designation for overseer or bishop (*episkopos*).[86] *Presbuteros* is used almost twenty times in the books of Acts and the epistles in reference to a unique group of leaders in the church. From the beginning it was clear that mature spiritual leaders were to have responsibility for the church (MacArthur 1991, 182). Ronald Ward delineates the connection between elder and overseer:

> Elders of certain character are to be appointed, "for a bishop . . . must be blameless" (Titus 1:5,7). The "for" is very significant. There is no precise distinction between elder and bishop. The ecclesiastical structure is primitive . . . which does not reflect the monarchial episcopate as Ignatius advocates it. It is doubtful if Paul would have gone so far as to say, with Ignatius, that whatever the bishop approves is pleasing to God (Ward 1974, 87).

Clement of Rome, writing around A. D. 95, confirms the interchangeability of these two terms (Alderson 1997, 40). This type of ministry is observable in the other Pauline letters, but the term itself is not used. The Pauline

churches, as observed through Paul's letters, recognized the essence of ministry to be in the gifting of the Spirit, and in worship were led primarily by charismatics with no official or appointed status. They did, however, set aside from the beginning certain gifted believers to appointed tasks of evangelism, teaching, and pastoral leadership. These received greater prominence in the final years of Paul's life, as reflected in the differences between the Pastorals and other Pauline epistles. The dissimilarity between ministry in Pauline churches and later ones was not that the former was charismatic and the latter ordered. The primary distinction is rather in the manner in which charism and order were related to one another. Pastoral supervision comes to its climax in utilizing the spiritual gifts of teaching and prophecy (preaching) (Ward 1974, 87). Thus the distinction between ministry in Pauline and later churches may be summarized in two ways:

1. The Apostle Paul gave priority to the charismatic basis of ministry while the later church stressed official appointment. In other words, Paul assumed the manifestation of spiritual gifts as the prerequisite for appointment while appointment in the later church, that is ordination, was simply assumed to convey a gift of the Spirit.
2. The Pauline churches gave full expression to the ministry of all believers in the congregation while the later church increasingly restricted the authority and exercise of ministry to those who had ordained, official standing in the church. Therefore, the variety of ministries described by Paul was reduced to three or four offices which are traditional among most churches even today.

These changes in church order may have served to protect congregations from certain abuses and negative influences, but they also introduced certain defects into the institutional structure of the Christian faith. This transformation of Christian ministry represents in many ways a loss to the church.

Spiritual Gifts as the Basis for Christian Ministry

In view of the set policies followed by most Christian Churches for centuries, it is a surprise to many that the New Testament does not set forth one clearly definable doctrine of Christian ministry. Rather than a narrow view of the pastoral function being relegated largely to a special class of ministers, the New Testament presents quite a different picture of variously gifted persons who share in the ministry of the Word and Body. In this biblical scenario, no one person or class of persons exercises a monopoly over ministry. The only qualification mentioned is that any contribution to ministry in the body must edify the church. In fact, the dominant note in the New Testament, so far as organization is concerned, is fluidity. The emphasis is more on the work to be done than on matters of position or status, and undergirding Paul's theology of ministry is a pneumatological[87] orientation.

It has already been observed that for the Apostle Paul Christian ministry is an activity of the Holy Spirit grounded in Christ. This observation gives rise to several pertinent questions: (1) How does the activity of the Spirit in ministry differ from His role in the natural created order, and (2) How does it differ from other activities of the Spirit in the church? In order to answer these and other questions, a foundation of understanding the work of the Holy Spirit is needed. As explained by Max Turner:

> New Testament beliefs about the Spirit did not fall ready-made from heaven amidst the tongues and fire of Pentecost. The early disciples already had the fundamentals of a theology of the Spirit from their Jewish understanding of the Old Testament, and this understanding would have been extended by the 'revival' of the Spirit in the ministries of John the Baptist and Jesus (Turner 1996, 1).

The language of the Old Testament concerning the Spirit is strongly metaphorical and difficult at times to distinguish references to God's Spirit.

This is due to the fact that the Hebrew word used for spirit (*ruach*) sometimes denotes a storm wind, sometimes 'breath', and sometimes 'vitality' or even life. According to the Old Testament, the Spirit of God had both a prophetic and creative purpose (Ellis 1997, 26). In perhaps the majority of Old Testament usage the Spirit of God acted as a channel of communication between God and persons, thus giving rise to 'the Spirit of prophecy' as Judaism came to understand it (Turner 1996, 4). In the New Testament, the Holy Spirit is identified with the Old Testament Spirit of God,[88] whose activity continues to be prophetic and creative but in several respects is seen as radically different from that in the Old Testament. For Luke the writer of *Acts*, the Spirit is largely the 'Spirit of prophecy' and an empowering for witness. This may be seen in Peter's inaugural speech relating Pentecost to the promise of the Spirit to all believers as the gift of the 'Spirit of prophecy' promised by the prophet Joel.[89] In an article entitled, "The Continuing Charismatic Structure, Hans Kung writes:

> By contrast with the Acts of the Apostles, Paul makes it clear that the Spirit is not just a special gift for a special external action, but that he determines fundamentally the existence of the believer. In Acts the Spirit is given to the faithful; in Paul's writings prayer itself is an act of the Spirit; for Paul there can be no new eschatological existence at all without the Spirit. If there is no Spirit, it does not mean that the community lacks its missionary commission, but that there is no community at all (Anderson 1976, 462).

Paul's theology of ministry centers around three pillars of understanding: the Holy Spirit's work as primarily corporate in nature, the local body of Christ as a community of faith, and spiritual gifts as the essence of Christian ministry. First, for the Apostle Paul, the new work of the Spirit is mediated exclusively through Jesus the Christ (Messiah), and its creative aspect is directed not toward sustaining the present creation but toward bringing about the "new creation" in Christ Jesus.[90] With respect to its

prophetic aspect, the work of the Spirit primarily relates to the communication of the demands, conditions, and hope of the resurrection life and it is the Lord Jesus who sends the Spirit and his gifts to the Christian community. When Paul affirms, "If any person is in Christ, there is a new creation", one might be tempted to interpret the statement as merely a powerful metaphor for individual inward renewal of heart and spirit by the indwelling Spirit of God. But this explanation is unsatisfactory as it ignores the predominantly corporate focus of the new covenant promises in the Old Testament. For example, Ezekiel 36-37 concerns the re-creation of the *nation* as a righteous people, and similar corporate renewal language is used in Isaiah 65-66.[91] Paul himself alludes to the corporate dimension of the new covenant/new creation work of the Holy Spirit in Philippians 3:2-3, and the more pastoral contexts of 1 Corinthians 12-14; 2 Corinthians 13:13; and Romans 12:4-8 . Therefore, for the Apostle, each conversion is a 'new creation' in three-dimension: it is individual renewal, it is part of the re-creation of 'Israel' as a united people of God in the church, and both of these are a first installment of the eschatological new creation (Turner 1996, 120).

Paul's corporate theology centered in the Spirit and the Spirit's gifts is clearly seen in 1 Corinthians 12-14. From chapter seven on, Paul answers a series of questions asked of him in a letter from the Corinthians,[92] explaining why his topics change so rapidly. In order to better understand Paul's concept of the spiritually gifted community, three aspects of Corinthian church life should be considered. First, in the Corinthian church there was an "overrealized eschatology" (Carson 1987, 16). Paul maintains tension between what God has already done and what He will do in the future and sees that maintaining this balance is crucial to both individual and corporate maturity. If one thinks only in terms of what is yet future (futurist eschatology) he or she will bog-down in a slough of endless speculation neglecting the completed triumph of the incarnation, the cross, and resurrection of Christ.

On the contrary, if one focuses purely on what Christ has already accomplished (realized eschatology), he or she is in danger of committing the errors (sins) that characterized many of the believers in Corinth. Secondly, the Corinthian church was a divided church. The first four chapters present clearly the divisive nature of the church but this theme continues throughout the letter. Rather than chapters 7 -16 being divorced from the factionalism of chapters 1-4, they tend to illustrate and explain practically the schisms. If the church were unified on the points raised in the letter to Paul, there would have been no reason to raise the questions, as they are anything but rhetorical. Thirdly, the primary focus of these chapters is the conduct of the corporate church. This is most easily seen in chapter eleven but is true elsewhere as well.[93]

The second pillar of Paul's theology of ministry is the local body of Christ as a community of faith. As the body of Christ, believers are joined to Christ as the head and therefore joined to one another as parts of his body. Since they are joined in this way, they are the extended family of God both in this life and the life to come, and therefore members of a worldwide family of brothers and sisters from every tribe and nation. This extended family of God is joined together for all eternity through the blood of Christ with Jesus as Savior, Lord, and King. Believers have his name; He owns them.[94] In many African societies, when a person is initiated, he or she is initiated into someone's name and becomes legally and spiritually joined to that person. In the same way, when one places faith in Christ and confesses him as Lord, he or she receives his name and becomes legally and spiritually joined to Christ[95] (O'Donovan 1992, 154-155). Not only is this true on a universal level but on the local one as well. Because of the social structure of life in Africa, it is easy for Africans to understand God's intention in creating the church. Community is the way of life for Africans in general and this personal interest in others is in sharp contrast with the Western principle of

individualism (Traub 1978, 104). In Africa, a person's extended family and community are the most important realities of life. The family consists of people who know us, accept us, speak our language and understand our way of thinking. God intended local churches to serve in this way; local churches are to be communities which provide love and acceptance. The church is to be a community where any person is accepted regardless of racial, social, gender, or ethnic background because we are all one in Christ.[96] It is the community in which members are obligated to care for one another because they are brothers and sisters in Christ. There are other reasonable points of comparison between African community and the community of the local church. Traditionally, Africans receive their values and beliefs and early training in life through the extended family and it is the community in which one establishes the deepest and most meaningful relationships of life. Likewise, the church is the community in which a believer receives his or her values and beliefs and early training in the Christian life (discipleship). Also, the church community is to be the locus for the deepest and most enduring relationships in life. It is even this group from which the believer derives his or her name as a Christian and identity as a child of God. "The reason people in Africa have such total loyalty to their clan and culture group is because their identity, security and meaning in life has to do with being a part of their extended family and clan. The same is true concerning the church, but in a much deeper way" (O'Donovan 1992, 156). In Africa, the well-being of the extended family is all important to the well-being of the individual clan member. In the same way, the highest loyalty of every believer must be to Christ as Lord and to Christ's body, the church, and the local expression of it. All of this is well founded in the Apostle Paul's use of the human body as an illustration of interdependency within the church.[97] Clearly, the discovery and use of spiritual gifts must be anchored in the context of community (Kinghorn 1976, 57).

The final pillar of Paul's theology of ministry concerns spiritual gifts as the essence of Christian ministry. As Paul discusses unity and ministry within the church, he uses the expression "spiritual gifts." In 1 Corinthians 12:1-7 Paul draws attention to six traits of this foundation for ministry within the body:

1. *energemata* ('workings') of God (v.6),
2. *diakoniai* ('acts of service') given by the Lord (v.5),
3. *phanerosis* ('manifestation') of the Spirit (v.7),
4. *pneumatika* ('things of the Spirit'), things the Spirit enables,
5. "for the common good": i.e. of the church (v.7),
6. *charismata* ('grace gifts') given by the Holy Spirit.

Paul uses the term *charisma* sixteen times and it is found once in 1 Peter 4:10. Clearly connected with *charis* (grace) it refers to something given on the basis of God's grace, a "grace-gift." As stated by Dunn, "*charisma* can only be understood as a particular expression of *charis*", or more specifically, *charisma* is an "event" of grace. This 'event' character of *charisma* has far reaching significance for Dunn's theology of spiritual gifts and their relation to Christian ministry. He thinks for Paul, ministry is always the exercise of *charismata*.[98] For this reason, Dunn finds it difficult to believe that Paul would have established or condoned any concept of ordered or appointed ministers; "*charisma*, for him, cannot be institutionalized"[99] (Turner 1996, 262-263). Clearly, Paul uses the term *pneumatika* along with *charismata* to refer to charisms or empowerments, given to the church from the risen Lord for ministry in the body of Christ. However, Paul does distinguish between *charisma* which can be used of any or all of the gifts, while *pneumatikon* appears to be restricted to gifts of inspired perception, verbal proclamation and/or its interpretation.

> In 1 Cor. 9:11 the 'spiritual things' that Paul 'sowed' among the Corinthians are defined in the following

> context as the gospel message. Similarly, in 1 Cor. 12:1 the 'spiritual' gifts are connected directly with 'speaking' *en pneumati*; when, in 1 Cor. 12:4ff., other charisms come into consideration, the expression broadens (Ellis 1993, 24).

Carson asserts that the relationship between *charisma* and *pneumatikon* is Paul's warning to his readers that the quest for an individualizing and self-centered form of "spirituality" was in danger of denying the source of all spiritual gifts which is the grace of God (Carson 1987, 23).

Dr. James Robert Clinton expresses the proper emphasis of spiritual gifts in the following definition:

> A spiritual gift is:
> * a unique capacity
> * given by the Holy Spirit
> * given to every believer in Christ
> * for ministry in a local church
> * to cause the church to grow quantitatively (numerically), qualitatively (maturity), and organically (organization). (Clinton 1985, 23)

A study of the spiritual gifts mentioned in Romans 12, 1 Corinthians 12-14, and Ephesians 4, substantiates such a definition and reveals the fact that complete provision has been made for all the needs of the church (see Appendix A). The organization of the church, its government, extension, instruction, and corporate life are all cared for by the Holy Spirit manifesting his gifts through the members. There is in fact no part of the work for which there is not a gift of the Spirit. In examining the three major passages which contain information on spiritual gifts, five basic principles may be exegeted:

1. Every believer in Christ has one or more spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:7; Eph. 4:7-8). Each has been gifted to accomplish some necessary ministry in the church.

2. The gifts of the Spirit are varied and different (1 Cor. 12:14).

3. The Holy Spirit determines the gifts we receive; we do not choose what gifts we have. The sovereign Spirit assigns to every believer individually as

He wills (1 Cor. 12:27). We do not earn them or work for them, therefore we have no grounds for boasting about them.

4. Spiritual gifts are given to individuals to be used for the growth of the church (1 Cor. 12:7). The three types of church growth related to spiritual gifts are as follows:

1) Quantitative church growth - refers to the addition of people to the church (Acts 2:41, 47; 4:4; 9:31).
2) Qualitative church growth - the process of individual and church growth in spiritual maturity (Acts 2:42; 5:42; 14:21-22; 16:5).
3) Organic growth - the process whereby the leadership of a local church emerges to provide the best organization for the growth of that church (Acts 6:2-4; 14:23; 20:17-18).

5. God wants every disciple to know his or her spiritual gift(s) and to use it/them in ministry for Christ's glory (1 Cor. 12:1). The parable of the talents (Mt. 25:14-30) uses financial investments as an illustration and teaches that we will be held responsible for the use of all our gifts (1 Cor. 3:10-15; 1 Pe. 4:10).

A significant word appears in the teaching of both Jesus and Paul. The Greek word for "build/erect" used by Jesus in Matthew 16:18 is *oikodomeo* and is used frequently as a verb to describe the construction of an edifice, or, used as a noun, as the building itself.[100] However, it refers most often to construction using material termed "living stones" (Neighbour 1990, 40). In 1 Corinthians 3:9 Paul says ". . . you are . . . God's *building*." Ephesians 2:21 says, "In him the whole *building* is joined together and rises to become a holy temple in the Lord." Hebrews 3:6 tells us: "But Christ is faithful as a son over God's house. And we are his *house*, if we hold on to our courage and the hope of which we boast." *Oikodomeo* also describes the main work of the living stones themselves: "Therefore encourage one another and *build each other up*, just as in fact you are doing."[101] Again, "From him

the whole body, joined and held together by every supporting ligament, grows and *builds itself up* in love, as each part does its work."[102] It is obvious that Christ intended to be the builder of the church, but also that the "living stones" were to be empowered by him to share in the edifying of all nearby stones. The desired lifestyle of every church then is characterized by a tight relationship between every "living stone" and each contiguous stone.

Another picture of the church likens it to the human body. Christ now becomes the head with the *ecclesia* the body parts. Paul explains in 1 Corinthians 12:14-19 that the unity of the body is such that any one body part may never say, "I have no need of you" to another member. Once again, the concept of body parts being responsible for building up (*oikodomeo*) one another becomes the focus of their lifestyle (Eph. 4:15-16). The Greek word *katartizo* used in Mark 1:19 for mending nets is translated "equipping" in Ephesians 4;12, meaning that each body member is to participate in helping other body members be repaired for service/ministry. In Galatians 6:1, the "spiritual ones" are again described as mending other body parts that are damaged, restoring them for ministry.

In a study of the early church, one observes that this theory was practiced without a great amount of instruction. Paul describes the mutual building up of believers through spiritual gifts in 1 Corinthians 14 and uses the word *oikodomeo* six times in his teaching (verses 3, 4, 5, 12, 17, 26) as he stresses the fact that *each one* (no exceptions) is to participate in the ministry of building the body.[103] This may be described in contemporary terms as a needed shift in theological reflection in ministry where theological reflection is the process of applying the resources of the Christian faith to practical decisions of ministry. As stated by James and Evelyn Whitehead:

> The emphasis . . . moves toward understanding the community of faith as the locus of theological and pastoral reflection. Pastoral insight and decision are not just *received* in the community but

> are *generated* there as well. Theological reflection becomes a responsibility of the community itself, a corporate task (Whitehead 1980, 5).

Theology breeds methodology and the departure from a true New Testament theology of ministry breeds what Ralph Neighbour, Jr. calls the "Program Base Design" church (P.B.D.). The P.B.D. concept doesn't build people; it only builds programs. Therefore, the first thing a P.B.D. church looks for are ministerial *specialists* to design and direct the different programs of the church. Even the smallest group seeks a *Pastor-Specialist* who can come and preach, teach, counsel, subscribe the budget, administer its spending, win the lost, and effectively manage the church schedule. Instead of being seen as an "equipper of the saints for the work of ministry[104] he is *The Minister*. He does the things that professional clergymen do, including preaching, officiating weddings, burying the dead, visiting the sick, counseling, caring for the elderly, meeting with the deacons or ministerial staff. He is the primary victim of the P.B.D. church and doesn't even recognize the problem. Worst of all, life in the P.B.D. church does not provide the *koinonia* needed and desired to create true community where people build up one another.

The Holy Spirit is not an external extra to the church, as though the church could exist without the Holy Spirit, although perhaps in an imperfect way. When Scripture refers to the church as a spiritual house and the temple of the Holy Spirit, it does not mean that the church is the outward framework into which the Spirit enters. On the contrary, the Spirit of God comes first, and through the Spirit Christ creates the church and constantly renews it. The Spirit of God can pass through all walls, even church walls and as Kung puts it: "He is and remains the free Spirit of the free Lord . . . not only of church offices, not only of Christians, but of the whole world" (Anderson 1976, 474). The Spirit desires and designs ministry in the church along the same lines of freedom. It is In Swahili, this idea is expressed as *kuwekwa*

huru, meaning to be unleashed/ unshackled. When God's people in a church discover and begin using their spiritual gifts in ministry, the inevitable result is quantitative, qualitative, and organic growth for the church, and individual fulfillment and freedom for the believer. Otherwise, our struggle will be the one described by Trueblood in his book, *The Company of the Committed*:

> The struggle against apathy is so great a task that if we are to achieve even a semblance of victory we cannot be satisfied to leave Christian work to ordained clergymen. The number one Christian task of our time is the enlargement and adequate training of our ministry which, in principle, includes our total membership. This is a large order, and one which often seems discouraging in prospect, but we cannot settle for anything less and yet to be loyal to the idea of Christ's revolutionary company. (Trueblood 1961, 57)

Spiritual Gifts as the Proper Foundation for Christian Ministry Among Baptists in Kenya

Missionary Christianity in Kenya was largely the same regardless of the denominations prominent in various parts of Kenya. The Christian missionary process is said to consist of three phases. In the first the gospel is proclaimed and the first generation of converts participates with the missionaries in establishing the Christian faith (Mugambi 1989, 48). During the Colonial period the missionary did and was everything. He made all the decisions and provided all the initiatives with no contribution from the people being evangelized. The second phase is followed by a period of expansion. This stage of evangelization and development consisted of the missionary as the "paternal" guardian of predominantly passive national believers who never questioned his directives. The third and final phase is a period of consolidation and crisis. In this stage the national Christians began to

comprehend the spiritual aspects of the Christian faith and began asking difficult questions and challenging missionary authority. An example comes from the Church of South India which when it became concerned about ways and means to provide pastoral care, it found that missionaries had as a matter of course instituted in India the patterns of the Western church. This is also true of Japan where prevailing patterns of ministry and pastoral care were not developed by the Japanese, but were introduced during the last century by western missionaries (Braun 1971, 115). In East Africa these three phases continue simultaneously with the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages as the catalyst for revolt among many. As prominent African theologian John Mbiti states:

> But then comes the translation of the Bible, either in in full or in part and with it the doors swing wide open. People now feel they are automatically initiated into the mysteries of the Biblical truth, the mysteries of the Christian way. They now have full acccess to the Word of God. Now God speaks their language - and the Bible is now their Bible. They are at last freed to take it seriously and to apply it in ways they understand. In this way, the Bible in the local language becomes the most directly influential simple factor in shaping the life of the church in Africa (*Facing the New Challenges* 1978, 276).

There are at least four major types of churches in African Christianity in general and Kenya in particular. These may be classified as the state church types, orthodox types, distinctive types, and indigenous types, although the classification must be understood as generalizations due to overlapping of types. The 'state church types' are characterized by centralism, formalism, and a commitment to be involved in the secular affairs of state. The Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans are the most notable examples, although if given the opportunity for power, other groups tend to develop this way. These are most closely connected with Western forms and institutions. The 'orthodox types' are those churches

which modify certain forms of the state church types but maintain basic orthodox beliefs of historical Christianity. They tend to reject formalism and centralization and encourage more spontaneous participatory forms of worship. Examples would be Baptists, Assemblies of God, Churches of Christ, etc. Still greatly affected by Western forms, there is a move toward mediation between what is Western and what is African with a desire to retain biblical integrity. The 'distinctive type' of churches carry out their mission in ways that are distinctive to them. These have their own distinctive traditions such as special uniforms (Salvation Army), special days for worship (Seventh Day Adventists), etc. They have a very high call for what they term biblical Christianity. Many belong to historical groups such as Mennonites, Friends, Salvation Army, etc., retaining close ties with the West. The final type of churches is the indigenous or independent churches. They are the ones which split from the historical missionary churches or from earlier independent ones and are associated with rejection of foreign domination of African people and their culture. These tend toward syncretism, blending biblical doctrines with African Traditional Religions.

In all of these groups there is movement toward developing what is called an African Christian Theology. There are a number of factors fueling this development - not all of them strictly theological. One was certainly the movements toward independence in many colonial territories during the 1950's and 1960's. A second factor was the rediscovery of African traditional culture. A third factor was the emergence of an increasing number of African Independent Churches, producing their own distinctive forms of church government and worship. Finally, Europeans have had a role in the movement towards the development of an African Christian Theology. (Parratt 1987, 2-3). This would include such individuals as Fr Tempels, Parrinder, Bengt Sundkler, and John Parratt. Development of a true African Christian Theology becomes paramount because the concerns of African

theological reflection are not identical with those of Western Christian theology, and the Church in Africa is faced with problems quite different from those of Western churches, meaning that Africans cannot turn to Western theology for relevant answers.

If the need exists for developing an African Christian Theology, there also exists the imperative of developing an African Christian Ministry. "When Jesus declared to his followers that he would 'build' his *Ecclesia*, it was never clear what form or structure that *Ecclesia* would take" (Waruta 1990, 31). Baptists in Kenya need to seriously examine their dependence on Western introduced forms of Christian ministry and unshackle (liberate) themselves from that which is neither biblically accurate nor culturally appropriate. According to Charles Kraft:

> Theologizing is a matter of dynamic-equivalence trans-culturation and of witness to Christianity in terms of culture. All theologizing is culture-bound interpretation and communication of God's revelation. Good theologizing is Spirit-led, even though culture bound. In spite of the impression often given that theology is an absolute, once-for-all kind of thing, theologizing is a dynamic, continuous process. . . Dynamic-equivalence theologizing is the reproducing in contemporary cultural contexts of the theologizing process that Paul and other scriptural authors exemplify (Kraft 1988, 291).

Baptists in Kenya, then, need a dynamically equivalent theology of Christian ministry which maintains balance between biblical integrity and cultural appropriateness. Already it has been clearly shown that the theology of and practice of ministry among Baptists in Kenya is greatly affected by missionary issues which is itself not in keeping with biblical teaching concerning the meaning of Christian ministry.

Proposal for Ministerial Reformation

This proposal for ministerial reformation among Baptists of Kenya and development of a spiritual gifts-based ministry among the churches of the

Baptist Convention of Kenya consists of restructuring local church life according to three vital elements: pure worship, true sharing, and free ministry. These relate closely to Bosch's division of the biblical concept of *martyria* (witness) into *kerygma* (proclamation), *koinonia* (fellowship), and *diakonia* (service) (Bosch 1980, 227).

> 'Word', 'service' and 'fellowship' are not three separate missionary activities but the three colours cast in spectrum by a single prism. (Bosch 1980, 227-228)

Admittedly, the three must exist as a whole, yet to achieve the purpose of clearer understanding, each will be discussed in detail. Another way of describing these would be celebration, cell, and congregation. Whereas pure worship concerns the changed role of the pastor in a "Spiritual Gifts Base Design" church (S.G.B.D), true sharing concerns a culturally appropriate and biblically acceptable approach to discipleship ministries and in the church. Finally, free ministry concerns the transformation of attitudes and actions of church members, assisting all believers to see themselves as Christian ministers. Unlike the "Program Base Design" church introduced by Western missionaries which has proven among Kenyan Baptists to be neither biblical nor effective, "Spiritual Gifts Base Design" churches (S.G.B.D.) maintain scriptural integrity and cultural appropriateness.

Early believers met regularly for a participatory oriented worship experience where they met one another and the Lord heart-to-heart. This syle of worship might be termed *pure worship*. In that intimate communion they gathered enormous strength directly from the Holy Spirit which transformed them and dispersed them to minister throughout the week despite often enormous persecution. Resultantly, Spirit-led worship itself became not self-serving but rather focused on serving others. That was the pattern then: in, out . . . in, out. Stated succinctly, in true spiritual worship, we turn our attention to God, making our worship clearly the most valuable

act any human being can perform. A.W. Tozer described worship as "the missing crown jewel in evangelical Christianity" (Tozer 1985, 7). Sadly, except for a brief time of group singing and sometimes group praying, the believer normally has little opportunity to express his or her adoration and worship, to make the vital, creature-to-Creator contact. He or she can merely listen to a leader (normally the pastor) doing these acts *on his or her behalf*. Worship is mostly vicarious. Most Kenya Baptist churches do allow for a few individuals to give a testimony or sing a chorus but these are usually superficial at best, and given by the same individuals week after week, with less experienced members too intimidated to try. Furthermore, the emphasis is largely upon guidance (a message *from* God), rather than worship (a message *to* God). And of course, having messages from multiple individuals is out of the question. "Worship" services usually amount to nothing more than a warmhearted lecture series together with some music and an offering. Most worship attenders (not participants) are never given a genuine opportunity to share their grief or joy or the deepest needs of their lives, simply because the pastor performs most, if not all, of the visible dynamics in worship. It isn't that Baptist pastors in Kenya are egomaniacs thriving on the attention of their devoted parishioners, it is that the closed-church system introduced by Western missionaries and perpetuated by missionary instructed Kenyans that consigns everyone to a mute role, a face without a voice or heart so to speak. The irony is that the one primary time a week Christian brothers and sisters meet for interaction is the one time they are forbidden to obey such scriptural commands concerning interaction, such as:

- Provoke one another unto good works
- Confess your sins one to another
- Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly as you teach and admonish one another
- Bear one another's burdens

- Encourage one another and build each other up
- Warn those who are idle . . . encourage the timid

This is not to question or violate the need for pastor-equippers in the church. As already discussed, the pastoral role is scriptural and one of the leadership positions necessary for the advance of the church. But what is needed is the pastor to be set free from performing all the ministry in the church, and released from serving as the chief executive officer, church president, administrator, errand boy, head counselor, permanent pulpiteer, i.e. neo-priest direct from the Roman tradition. The needed freedom would include release from performing all the official acts of worship for the gathered church. Instead, three admonitions from Scripture should transform pastor-dominated worship into pure worship:

1. "When you come together, everyone has a hymn, or a word of instruction, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation. *All of these must be done* for the strengthening of the church."[105] The focus is upon individual contribution by the many rather than the few. Obviously the pastor may facilitate this but he should refuse to dominate.

2. "While they were worshipping the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, 'Set apart for me Barnabus and Saul for the work to which I have called them.'"[106] The closed worship patterns in most Kenya Baptist churches do not allow for such Spirit intervention. This does not elevate lack of preparation over orderliness, but it does suggest that in the midst of our well orchestrated worship a sense of Spirit dependency should pervade all we do.

3. "Speak to one another with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs."[107] This "speaking to one another" does not refer to group singing but more a mutual encouragement, a forum for spiritual interaction resulting from heart-felt and Spirit-directed participatory worship. In our drive for largeness we must not reject the intimacy and mutual edification which was the original intent of Christian worship. All too often we prove Gall's *Non-Additivity Theorem*: "A

large system, produced by expanding the dimensions of the smaller system, does not behave like the smaller system" (Rutz 1992, 24).

Not only does the worship service in most Kenya Baptist churches need transformation beginning with the role of the pastor, but the lack of *true sharing* or Christian community must be addressed. Community takes place when there is a shared life, allowing common goals and commitments to develop between all of its members. In *The Different Drum*, M. Scott Peck writes:

> If we are to use the word [community] meaningfully we must restrict it to a group of individuals who have learned how to communicate honestly with each other, whose relationships go deeper than their masks of composure, and who have developed some significant commitment to "rejoice together, mourn together," and to "delight in each other, make others' conditions our own" (Peck 1987, 59).

As the extended family is the *oikos*[108] of society, so the small group or cell group is the basic building block of community among believers. Only in these sharing groups can true spiritual community take place. This reveals the tragedy which exists in and is perpetuated by most Baptist churches in Kenya. A very small percentage of Kenya Baptist churches conduct any type of small group for Bible study or any other purpose which indicates an almost absolute absence of genuine spiritual community in these churches.

What heightens this crisis among Baptists in Kenya is the lack of understanding that spiritual gifts are best expressed and most effective in the context of the sharing or cell group. Without cell groups, the exercise of spiritual gifts must take place in public services which often brings undo and unhealthy attention to the one exercising the gift rather than being used to edify the body of Christ. Often in churches without *true sharing* groups, the use and display of spiritual gifts becomes routine and are merely another version of the predictable pattern of Protestant worship. As Ralph Neighbour, Jr., has said, "Ritual is ritual, whether done with raised hands or with robes

and candles, with overhead projectors or Baptist hymnals. Spiritual gifts aren't designed to be ritualized" (Neighbour 1990, 149). One reason many do not acknowledge or understand the need for cell groups is the excessive emphasis on a few of the more visible spiritual gifts, including those which supposedly validate the recipient having attained a higher level of spirituality. Sadly, the service gifts that God has given the body are easily ignored which means that little if any genuine ministry takes place, except for that which is done by the pastor. Every individual arrives in the Kingdom "crippled inside" because living apart from God for many years creates inner brokenness which must be repaired. The cell or sharing group exists as a community where the healing power of God is manifested through the exercise of spiritual gifts among the members. Christ could have chosen to minister to each of us apart from others, but He chooses one or more persons to become agents of spiritual gifts which minister to us. This requires members of a S. G. B. D. (Spiritual Gifts Base Design) church to use their spiritual gifts in all phases of ministry to build up one another. In the New Testament, the emphasis is on their use in ministry, *not the gifts themselves*. To isolate spiritual gifts from their purpose is to create serious problems. This was the problem in the Corinthian church where the members had lost a sense of community and the gifts were changed from mutually edifying ones to personally edifying. In other words, spiritual gifts, removed from the place of the cell group - the only form of church life which makes it possible for *every* person to participate - are usually used in an inappropriate manner. In contrast, flowing with spiritual gifts which have been exercised to edify body members, the people of God will reach out to rescue those who are perishing in their lostness and heal the hurts of those numbered among them.

The final aspect of this proposed ministerial reformation among Baptists in Kenya concerns *free ministry*.[109] As has been shown throughout this study, all who belong to Christ are the *laos* of God, whether they are

termed clergy or otherwise. This is the pivotal truth in this study and proposal for Baptist churches in Kenya. "The greatest need in evangelical churches is the release of members for ministry" (Warren 1995, 365). As Hull states it, ""the church operates at a low efficiency level because too few work" (Hull 1990, 166). If persons who have generally been regarded as laymen are trained for and admitted to various levels of church leadership, including those involving what has traditionally been considered pastoral functions, much of the work in mobilizing all members to be ministers will have been accomplished. As Braun puts it, "when believers realize that positions of leadership and responsibility are not only open to them, but that God is calling men like themselves to active service, a new participation in the purposes of the Church will become manifest" (Braun 1971, 127).

It appears that the key to initiating and experiencing such a ministerial transformation is in training all the members of the church. Believers must understand the meaning of the term 'spiritual gifts,' meaning of individual gifts, the role of spiritual gifts in church growth,[110] and discover their own spiritual gift(s).[111] "Every church needs an intentional, well-planned system for uncovering, mobilizing, and supporting the giftedness of its members" (Warren 1995, 367). Ministry simply means to serve and it is clear that all God's people are to do the work of service or ministry.

> A minister may do some of the things normally associated with professional clergy, such as hospital visitation, baptizing, . . . but ministry means much more. It means being trained to exercise your gifts toward people inside and outside the body of Christ. (Hull 1990, 164)

It was precisely these matters which the author taught to a number of the individuals who responded to the research questionnaire discussed in the previous chapter. As clearly indicated by the responses of those having

completed the spiritual gifts course, it is possible to alter negative missionary influence and develop a biblically accurate and culturally appropriate approach to ministry in the local church based on proper use of spiritual gifts. Only when every church member is equipped to exercise his or her gift(s) in Christian ministry will the body of Christ function as intended. Trueblood poignantly underscores this idea of true total involvement:

> It must be admitted that we are now a great distance -- not only in practice but even in theory -- from the fellowship of universal witness. Millions are merely back-seat Christians, willing to be observers of a performance which the professionals put on, ready to criticize or to applaud, but not willing even to consider the possibility of real participation. Here is the fundamental weakness of contemporary Church. Millions claim to have some sort of connection with the Church, but it is not a connection of *involvement.* The result is bound to be superficiality. (Trueblood 1961, 57)

CONCLUSION

Western missionaries influence African Christianity. Initially we acknowledged the truth of that statement and proceeded to ask several related questions. Has western missionary influence in Africa been positive or negative? In what ways have western missionaries influenced African Christianity, be it bad or good? If there has been negative influence, is its damage irreparable? Finally, are the churches of the Baptist Convention of Kenya unduly dependent upon western missionary introduced patterns of Christian ministry, and in so doing, have they acquiesced to biblically and culturally inappropriate forms of Christian ministry?

As a result of this study, it is apparent that Baptists in Kenya have been negatively affected by western missionary influence. Primarily due to stated missionary impact, Kenyan Baptists conduct Christian ministry along the lines of a western model of pastor-dominated and driven congregations in which church members are spectators and the pastor is *the* minister. This is a corruption of the biblical model of ministry whose genuine foundation is the exercise of spiritual gifts by all members of a Christian congregation. Only when Kenyan Baptists abandon the missionary introduced model of ministry and turn to a truly biblical one will they experience the quantitative, qualitative, and organizational growth which is available to them. All depends on change - change from following a Program Base Design for churches to that of a Spiritual Gifts Base Design, that which is characterized by pure worship, true sharing, and free ministry. This then is the appropriate approach for Baptists in Kenya, to fan into flame the spiritual gifts that are within them and return to the practice of Christian ministry that is spiritual gifts-based and lay dependent.

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

(Circle the appropriate response)

1. Is your current age between the years
   a. 18-24 b. 25-30 c. 31-39 d. 40-49 e. 50 or above

2. How long have you been a Baptist?
   a. 2 years or less b. 3-5 years c. 6-10 years d. 11-15 years
   e. 16 years or more

3. How long have you been a pastor?
   a. 2 years or less b. 3-5 years c. 6-10 years d. 11-15 years
   e. 16 years or more

4. Before becoming a Baptist, were you
   a. Pentecostal b. CPK c. Catholic d. PCEA
   e. Assembly of God f. African Independent g. Not saved
   h. Other:_____ (give name)

5. Have you experienced a "call" to ministry?
   a. Yes b. No c. Not certain

(answer question number 6 only of you responded "yes" to question number 5)

6. At what year of age were you called to Christian ministry?
   a. 0-10 b. 11-17 c. 18-24 d. 25-34 e. 35-44
   f. 45-54 g. 55 or older

7. When a person is called to Christian ministry, the call usually lasts
   a. a short time only b. many years c. a lifetime

8. Which of the following was the primary source of your particular call to ministry?
   a. childhood experience
   b. understanding of spiritual gifts
   c. decision of a relative (mother, father, etc.)
   d. dream or a vision
   e. missionary influence
   f. crisis in life
   g. biblical teaching
   h. Other:_____

9. You most clearly learned the meaning of being a pastor from
   a. other pastor(s)

b. missionary(ies)
c. Bible
d. Bible School
e. Seminary

10. Who is primarily responsible for doing ministry in a local church?
a. deacons b. elders c. pastor d. all church members

11. It is best for a pastor
a. to be bi-vocational (have another job)
b. to be paid full-time
c. to do his ministry without pay
d. None of the above

12. The primary responsibility of a pastor is
a. preach b. counsel c. evangelized. do all the church's ministry
e. equip church members to be ministers

13. In order to be an effective minister, it is necessary to
a. know your spiritual gift(s)
b. attend Bible School and/or seminary
c. learn from a missionary
d. study the Bible for himself
e. become important in the community

14. Baptists have been most affected by western missionaries
a. positively
b. negatively
c. have not been affected by them
d. do not have enough information to answer

15. Western missionaries primarily display
a. support of the ideas/ plans of Kenya Baptists
b. a colonial mind-set
c. a willingness/desire to be like Kenya Baptists
d. a lack of concern for Kenya Baptists

16. African Independent Churches are usually started because of
a. a reaction against western missionaries
b. a desire to more clearly/closely follow the Bible
c. a reaction against established churches
d. misunderstanding clear biblical teaching
e. a desire to follow African traditional beliefs

17. Church members (not pastor or official ministers) should be viewed as:
a. those who primarily receive ministry from the pastor
b. those who do most of the ministry in the church
c. helpers for the pastor
d. those who do all the ministry in the church

MASWALI YA KUVUMBUA

(zungusha jibu la kufaa)

1. Umri wako wa sasa uko katikati ya miaka
   a. 18-24 b. 25-30 c. 31-39 d. 40-49 e. 50 au zaidi

2. Umekuwa Mbatisti kwa muda gani? (katika miaka)
   a. 0-2 b. 3-5 c. 6-10 d. 11-15 e. 16 au zaidi

3. Umekuwa mchungaji kwa muda gani? (katika miaka)
   a. 0-2 b. 3-5 c. 6-10 d. 11-15 e. 16 au zaidi

4. Kabla ya kuwa Mbatisti, ulikuwa mshiriki wa dhehebu gani?
   a. Pentekosta b. CPK c. Katoliki e. PCEA e. Assemblies
   f. Kanisa la kujitawala g. Sikuokoka
   h. Lingine:_____ (andika jina lake)

5. Umeitwa na Mungu kufanya huduma kanisani?
   a. Ndiyo b. La c. Sina hakika

(Jibu swali la sita (6) kama ulijibu "ndiyo" kwa swali la tano (5))

6. Ulikuwa na umri wa mikaka mingapi ulipoitwa na Mungu kufanya huduma kanisani?
   a. 0-10 b. 11-17 c. 18-24 d. 25-34 e. 35-44
   f. 45-554 g. 55 au zaidi

7. Mtu anapoitwa na Mungu kufanya huduma, kuitwa hukaa muda gani?
   a. muda kidogo tu b. miaka mengi c. siku zote

8. Nini ilikuvuta sana ulipoitwa na Mungu kufanya huduma kanisani?
   a. Mambo ya kitoto
   b. Akili ya vipawa vya kiroho
   c. Shauri la wana jamii (mama, baba, n.k.)
   d. Ndoto or njozi
   e. Mvuto wa mmisheni
   f. Shida za hai
   g. Mafundisho ya Biblia
   h. Nyngine:_____

9. Ulifundishwa sana maana ya kufanya kazi ya mchungaji na nani?
   a. Mchungaji mwingine
   b. Mmisheni
   c. Biblia
   d. Shule ya Biblia
   e. Seminari

10. Nani huhudumu sana kanisani, hata zaidi kuliko wengine wo wote?
    a. mashemasi b. wazee c. mchungaji d. washiriki wote

11. Ni bora mchungaji
    a. afanye kazi ya aina nyingine pamoja na kuhudumu
    b. alipwe mshahara wa kutosha ili ahudumu sizu zote
    c. ahudumu bila kupokea mshahara wo wote
    d. aina nyingine

12. Wajibu wa kwanza wa mchungaji ni
    a. kuhubiri b. kutoa mashauri c. kufanya huduma yote kanisani
    d. kutayarisha washiriki kuhudumu kanisani

13. Ili uwe mhudumu wa kufaa, ni lazima
    a. ujue vipawa vyako vya kiroho
    b. uhudhurie Shule ya Biblia au Seminari
    c. ujifunze kutoka kwa mmisheni
    d. kusome Biblia wewe mwenyewe
    e. uwe mtu mkuu jamii yako

14. Wabatisti wamevutwa sana na wamisheni
    a. vizuri
    b. vibaya
    c. hawajavutwa na wamisheni
    d. sina maelezo ya kutosha kujibu swali hili

15. Wamisheni wa Kibatisti
    a. husaidia maono/mipango ya Wabatisti wa Kenya (BCOK)
    b. huonekana kuwa watu wa *colony*
    c. hupinga maono/mipango ya Wabatisti wa Kenya (BCOK)

16. Makanisa ya Kujitawala ya Kiafrika huanzishwa kwa ajili ya
    a. kuzuia wamisheni
    b. kujaribu sana kufuata mafundisho ya Biblia
    c. kuzuia makanisa ya kawaida
    d. kutoelewa vizuri mafundisho ya Biblia
    e. kutaka kufuata desturi/imani za kawaida za kiafrika

17. Tuone washirki wa kanisa (si mchungaji) kama
    a. watu ambao hupokea huduma kutoka kwa mchungaji
    b. watu ambao huhudumu sana kanisani
    c. wasaidizi kwa mchungaji
    d. watu ambao hufanya huduma yote kanisani

END NOTE REFERENCES

[1]The message preached 16 April, 1998, was entitled simply, "Arise," and was taken from Isaiah 60:1. Convention moderator Elijah Wanje challenged Kenyan Baptists to arise in the areas of worship, giving, leadership, fellowship, and ministry.

[2]*Oikos* refers to the basic building block of community life. Its' literal meaning is "extended family" and is usually translated "household" in the New Testament.

[3]The word "saint" is best translated, "those declared righteous by God." The word occurs in numerous places in Scripture and always refers to believers collectively rather than a small number of select supra-spiritual persons (e.g. 1 Cor 1:2; Eph 1:1,18; Rom 8:27).

[4]Montanus emphasized the working of the Holy Spirit in the individual without the sermon being preached or the sacrament being administered. He emphasized a radical separation from the world in preparation for the imminent return of Christ. While his intentions were pure, he erred in excessive supernaturalism and radical Puritanism. Instead of bringing renewal he divided the church. Montanus' movement was labeled schismatic and leaders of the orthodox church fought against it. The church responded by elevating the priesthood, and made it even more difficult for those who desired to enter the priesthood.

[5]Quoted by Hohensee from John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 1872.

[6]Justification by faith was the theme of Luther's Reformation, but the believer's priesthood was the goal.

[7]Quoted by Musa A. B. Gaiya, "Contextualization Revisited," Vol. 13.2, 1994, p. 117.

[8]From an article by O. Imasogie, "Contextualization: Constructive Interaction Between Culture, People, Church, and the Theological Programme." *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 2 No. 1, 1983.

[9]Quote by Tite Tienou, "Issues in the Theological Task in Africa Today," *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. I, 1982.

[10]From "Christianity and Culture in Africa," *Facing the New Challenges* 1978, 275.

[11]Descartes was a deeply religious man who hoped that his philosophy would be found useful by theologians, but not all agreed with him. The universal doubt that Descartes proposed as his starting place seemed to many no better than gross skepticism. The theological faculties of several universities declared that Aristotelianism was the philosophical system best suited to Christian theology and that

Cartesianism would of necessity lead to heresy. Dismayed by such criticism, Descartes left his native France and at the invitation of the queen of Sweden, moved to that country where he lived out the remainder of his life.

[12]In his insistence that reason cannot demonstrate the existence of God, Kant unknowingly exemplified the biblical teaching that "the man without the Spirit does not accept the things that come from the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, and he cannot understand them, because they are spiritually discerned." (1 Cor 2:14)

[13]Quoted by Lewis Drummond in an article entitled, "A Theology of the Laity: Spiritual Gifts," which is found in a book edited by Fisher Humphreys and Thomas A Kinchen, 1984, *Laos: All the People of God.*

[14]"There remains, then, a Sabbath-rest for the people of God." (Hebrews 4:9)
"Then I heard another voice from heaven say:
'Come out of her, my people,
so that you will not share in her sins,
so that you will not receive any of her plagues.'" (Revelation 18:4)

[15]The idea of the totality of the Church is met in the New Testament picture of the congregation of the redeemed in Revelation 5:9 and 7:9. In Hebrews 4:9 the term *people of God* is used for the complete group. The term *my people* occurs in 2 Corinthians 6:16, and of the Gentile converts in Romans 9:25. Gentiles are incorporated in the *people of God* with responsibility (Romans 15:9-14). 1 Peter 2:9-10 brings all this together in a specific community to be known as the *people of God.*

[16]In speaking to students of Kenya Baptist Theological College in January, 1998, Dr. John Stott said he instructs persons to never state they have been called into "the" ministry. Instead, he or she should claim a call to ministry because the definite article implies that pastoral ministry is the only valid ministry in the church.

[17]"Alifanya hivyo apate kuwatayarisha watu wote wa Mungu kwa ajili ya kazi ya huduma ya Kikristo ili kuujenga mwili wa Kristo." (Habari Njema version)

"Kwa kusudi la kuwakamilisha watakatifu, hata kazi ya huduma itendeke, hata mwili wa Kristo ujengwe." (Union version)

[18]The case for ordination is not secure in the New Testament. The practice of "laying on hands" is much more secure, but is not identical with the common concept of "ordination." Laying on hands is an ancient practice which seems in the New Testament to represent a Christian community's affirmation of God's working in an individual's life. As for ordination, there is no one word in the Greek for "ordain," and the verb "to ordain" translates at least a dozen different Greek words in the New Testament. Only gradually did the church develop the concept of fixed "orders" distinguished by "ordination" (Davis 1988, 44).

[19]The pillar was a symbol of sovereignty of Portugal on the East Coast. It was also a symbol of Christianity.

[20]Quoted from Dos J. Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, Book 5 chapter 11.

[21]The term 'Arab' is applied to the immigrants who originally came from Yemen, Handramaut and Muscat. From early times southern Arabia was the market for goods from the east, and the north east monsoon brought dhows from Arabia to the East African Coast. By the thirteenth century, trade between Arabia and East Africa was fully developed but Arab settlements at the coast were in existence as early as the eight century A.D.

[22]The Church Missionary Society was a Church of England society that was founded in England in 1799.

[23]Along the coast, Arabs intermarried with Africans to produce the Swahili people, who embraced Islam and the mercantile way of life of the Arabs. By the third generation most of them spoke a new language, Swahili (technically, *Kiswahili*). It is basically a Bantu language with lexical borrowing from Arabic. By the fourteenth century, the distinction between Arab and African customs was decreasing, paving the way for a common culture. Swahili continued to be the spoken language while Arabic was the written language. Swahili emerged as a written language somewhere between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[24]The people of Ribe nicknamed Wakefield, *Pole pole*, which in Kiswahili means "slow and steady."

[25]The Universities Mission to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.) was a mission born out of Livingstone's appeals in England to overthrow African slave trade with Christianity and commerce. In its initial stages in the Shire highlands of Malawi, its missionaries liberated slave-caravans and fought slave raiders. These militant actions undermined the mission's security and led to the deaths of Bishop Mackenzie and many of his party. His successor, Bishop Tozer, rejected the policies of Mackenzie and Livingstone, and moved to Zanzibar. Nevertheless, U.M.C.A. missionaries found other ways to carry out their struggle against slavery. A most dramatic symbol of the successful fight was the U.M.C.A. cathedral of Zanzibar. With its altar on the very site of the old whipping-post for slaves, it revealed the Christian determination to raise up Africa's liberators from the victims of slavery.

[26]Many educated Africans resigned their positions with C.M.S. and either joined government service or went to work with UMCA in Zanzibar.

[27]An example is the Ewe people who are to be found in Ghana, Togo, and the Republic of Benin.

[28]A quote from Beetham (1967, 11)

[29]Dillenberger and Welch remind us that this type of collaboration between church and state can be traced back to the Roman Empire during Constantine's rule:

> When Christianity had become the established religion of the empire,

> the propagation of the faith had been actively sponsored by the rulers of the Christian countries. This had continued to be true of the expansion in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, when the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries was strongly supported by governments of Spain and Portugal, and Orthodox missionaries by the Russian government." (1954, 174)

[30]A memo on native policy from John Ainsworth and C. W. Hobley to the Colonial Office, dated 13 November, 1909.

[31]In fact, the Colonial Office held no intention of giving them self-government except, possibly, in the very distant future. They were too few in number - about 1000 by 1915 - and were unable to defend themselves.

[32]For additional information concerning Mau Mau, consult:

Buijtenhuijs, Robert 1971, *Le Mouvement* 'Mau-Mau': Une Revolte Paysanne et Anti-Coloniale en Afrique Noire. The Hague and Paris: Moulton.

Kaggia, Bildad 1975. *Roots of Freedom 1921-1963*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Thuku, Harry 1970. *Harry Thuku: An Autobiography*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

[33]From a message delivered by Dr. Mulatu Baffa at the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly in Nairobi in December, 1976. His topic was, "Christianity, Culture, and Western Influence."

[34]Quotation from a message by Dr. Hans Burki at the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly in 1976.

[35]From an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation entitled, *Evolution of Morals in Kenya Under the Influence of Christianity: A Developed Study of Agikuyu Morals and Marriages*, 1974.

[36]Bishop Lesslie Newbigin speaks from long years of experience in the mission in India as well as in theological education with the World Council of Churches and leading its Programme on Theological Education.

[37]"Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come! All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the ministry of reconciliation: that God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ, not counting men's sins against them." (2 Corinthians 5:17-19a, *New International Version*)

[38]"Speaking the truth in love, we will in all things grow up into him who is the Head, that is, Christ. From him the whole body, joined and held together by every supporting ligament grows and builds itself up in love, as each part does its work." (Ephesians 4:15-16, *New International Version*)

[39]"The elders who direct the affairs of the church well are worthy of double honor, especially those whose work is preaching and teaching." (1 Timothy 5:17, *New International Version*)

[40]"The body is a unit, though it is made up of many parts; and though all its parts are many, they form one body. So it is with Christ." (1 Corinthians 12:12, *New International Version*)

[41]Shadrack Mliwa first worked as an evangelist with missionary Kabete Macgregor in Fort Hall, Kenya. Mliwa was an evangelist his entire life among the Kikuyu, eventually learning the Kikuyu language and took a Kikuyu wife, Alice Wangu from Njumbi. Daudi Makumi was one of the earliest Christians of Thogoto and in 1915 went as pioneer evangelist into the Chuka side of Meru land.

[42]The Njuri Ncheche are an indigenous council of Meru elders with legal powers. It is within the structure of the age-class system that the association of *njuri* was formed. Members of the njuri were selected elders who passed through a series of special initiation rites and paid the established fees. One became a member by invitation from the senior members. The association in the past had complete hold on the social and political life of the Meru people. In the past, their meetings were held in secret and their decisions were final and obligatory. The name *ncheke* came from the site of njuri meetings, a plain between the Upper Imenti Forest and the first slopes of the Nyambene Range in the area of Tigania. In the past, the highest level of njuri held authority to pass sentence of death. The Njuri Ncheke have now been incorporated into the District Council and hold advisory power only.

[43]The East African Revival arose in Rwanda in the early 1930's. Men and women came under deep conviction of sin. Those converted during the revival were called the *akaba* (men on fire) and began emphasizing the need to be truly "saved." Adherents were those with a dynamic experience of a living Jesus, a burning desire to share with others the truths that had become so real to them, and a power in communicating those truths which brought conviction in their hearers.

[44]Almost all of the material conveyed by William B. Anderson is derived from research made from the oldest generation of Christians in Kikuyu, Embu, Meru, and Ukambani. This research was done under the sponsorship of the NCCK (*National Council of Churches in Kenya*), and is deposited at the library of St. Paul's United Theological College in Limuru, Kenya, where Mr. Anderson lectured for some time.

[45]A *kanzu* is a long-sleeved calico gown, described by some of the earlier visitors to East Africa as a 'bed-gown', reaching from the neck to the ankles. Usually plain white or yellowish brown, it may be with or without lines of silk stitchwork and is fastened with a small button or tassel at the throat. Worn over a loin-cloth or under a colored sleeveless open waistcoat (*A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* 1939, 173).

[46]This report is recorded in a Foreign Missions News Release of the Southern Baptist Convention, dated 20 May, 1958.

[47]*Shauri moyo* in Kiswahili literally means "counsel the heart." It is a very common

religious expression in Kenya.

[48]This information comes from a Foreign Missions News Release, 23 May, 1958.

[49]Elijah Morris Wanje is moderator of the Baptist Convention, former principal of Kenya Baptist Theological College, and currently serves as full-time pastor of the Ridgeways Baptist Church in Nairobi, Kenya.

[50]The largest number of students being training by Baptists in Kenya is the T.E.E. (Theological Education by Extension) program. Next are the Bible Schools which meet for one week every month. Currently, there are twenty four in Kenya. On the seminary level, there are actually three different levels: Certificate (Swahili only for Bible School graduates), Advanced Certificate (English for Bible School graduates), and the Diploma (English for secondary school graduates). Effort is being made to begin a Bachelor's level program and it is anticipated that this will begin in 1999.

[51]The "New Life in Christ for Africa" Campaign originated at a Conference on Evangelism in Limuru, Kenya, between 23-27 May, 1966. Forty four national pastors and other church members, and forty five missionaries representing six African countries participated in the meeting. A central coordinating committee was chosen for overall planning in the participating countries of Zambia, Rhodesia, Malawi, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania. Ethiopia later withdrew from the planning.

[52]"A T.E.E. center is established in a local church or school. Students enroll for a course of study, pay the fee and receive the text. Each student studies the text at home, five times per week. Once a week he attends his center for a two hour session with his leader and other students. A final examination is mailed from the T.E.E. administrator's office after the ten week course is completed." (Dr. Vance Kirkpatrick, from an unpublished paper)

[53]One of Morris Wanje's sons, Elijah Morris Wanje, is currently moderator of the Baptist Convention of Kenya.

[54]The original list contained 21 items and although they are quite condemning of missionaries, it is reported that the spirit of presentation was not one of condemnation.

[55]A place of public audience or reception, members of the council, cabinet, committee, elders of the tribe. (*A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* 1939, 29)

[56]The first meeting of the Baraza was called for September, 1992, but was delayed because of unrest and violence in Kenya during the election year.

[57]See Appendix A

[58]Statistics from an unpublished annual survey report of Baptist churches in Kenya compiled by Roy Brent, research specialist for the Baptist Mission of Kenya, in August 1998.

[59]Anglican Church in Kenya

[60]Presbyterian Church of East Africa.

[61]See Romans 6:11-14; 7:5-6; 8:5-9; 12:2, etc.

[62]E.g., Luke 10:40,

[63]Cf. Numbers 11:12-25; Ezra 5:9; 6:7; Luke 19:47 with 20:1.

[64]Paul admonishes Timothy in 1 Tim. 4:13, "Devote yourself to the public reading of Scripture." This task of the public reading of Scriptures is distinct from the private study counselled in 2 Tim. 3:15-17. This is an inheritance received, through the early church, from the synagogue worship of Judaism. The evidence of public scripture reading is more abundant in the later church. Justin Martyr in A. D. 150 describes a worship service in Rome and tells how the the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets were read as long as time permitted. Then, when the reader finished, a church leader admonished and exhorted the people to follow the noble teaching and examples.

[65]Note Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 11:1, "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ."

[66]This is the meaning behind Paul's statement: "There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all" (Eph. 4:4-6).

[67]Ephesians 4:7-16 is a *midrash*, that is a commentary on Psalm 68:18 which Paul incorporates here and draws on in Colossians (1:28; 2:19).

[68]These gifts in the Greek are called *charismata*, a word which comes from the Greek root word, *charis* meaning grace. Therefore, the very nature of Christian ministry as a gift means that ministry is not earned but given according to God's grace.

[69]Romans 8:9; 1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:2; 1 Tim. 4:13; 2 Tim. 1:6; Tit. 3:3-8.

[70]Epistle to Diognetus 1:1.

[71]"For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive." (1 Cor.15:22)

[72]1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:7; Acts 20:17, 28

[73]Col. 1:2. Alternatively, the phrase may be translated, "the saints and faithful brothers."

[74]E.g., 1 Cor. 16:11; Col. 4:7ff; Gal. 1:2; 2 Cor. 8:18, 23.

[75]Col. 3:16. The parallel passage in Ephesians 5:19 addresses the congregation as a whole but strikingly omits "teaching and admonishing."

[76]Gal. 6:6; 2 Thess. 3:10ff.

[77]1 Cor. 9:5, 15; 2 Thess. 3:8.

[78]An appointed ministry for particular tasks of persons set apart and supported by the Christian community.

[79]Rom. 12:1; 15:16; Phil. 2:17.

[80]1 Cor. 1:11-17.

[81]2 Tim. 4:12.

[82]Acts 20:29ff.

[83]1 Tim. 1:3.

[84]1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6.

[85]As Paul saw it, Timothy's *gift* was not a thing of past history. This raises the question of the permanency of spiritual gifts. Is it possible for them to fade away or the fire be extinguished? Are they ever withdrawn? Since spiritual gifts are distributed by the Spirit as He chooses (1 Cor. 12:11) and does not act in an arbitrary manner, spiritual gifts may be regarded as permanent. If a believer neglects his or her gift(s) they may need rekindled and if neglected too long the gift may be said in all practicality, to have been withdrawn.

[86]1 Tim. 5:17ff. Reference should be made here to 1 Tim. 3:1-7; 5:1; and Titus 1:5-9. The term "elder" is of Old Testament origin with the primary Hebrew word (*zaqen*) most often of a special category of men who were set apart for leadership. Later the elders of Israel were specifically involved in the leadership of cities (1 Sam. 11:3; 16:4; 30:26). The Greek word for "elder: (*presbuteros*) is used about seventy times in the New Testament and has primary reference to mature age. 1 Tim. 5:2 uses the feminine form of *presbuteros* to refer to older women. Since "elder" was the only commonly used Jewish term for leadership that was free from any connotation of either the monarchy or priesthood, it was natural for the concept of elder leadership to be adopted for use in the early church. This was a significant choice since unlike the nation of Israel, the church has no specially designated earthly priesthood since all believers are priests before the Lord.

[87]Pneumati hagio (Holy Spirit).

[88]Mt. 12:18 = Isa. 42:1; Lk. 4:18 = Isa. 61:1.

[89]Joel 2:28-32; Acts 2:17-21; 38-39.

[90]2 Cor. 5:17.

[91]Note especially Isaiah 65:17, 18, which speaks of the creation of new heavens and a new earth metaphorically as the anticipated transformation of Jerusalem.

[92]Paul begins chapter seven: "Now for the matters you wrote about . . . " (1 Cor. 7:1).

[93]E.g., "in the church," (14:19); "when you come together," (14:26).

[94]Revelation 5:9-10.

[95]Col. 1:15-23.

[96]Gal. 3:26-29; Rom. 8:14.

[97]1 Cor. 12:12-31.

[98]That Paul's churches were "charismatic" is implied in a number of places in his letters. For example, in Galatians 3:5 Paul asks his converts, "Does he who supplies you [do so] by the works of the Law, or by [the] hearing of faith?" Paul's question would have no point unless the presupposition underlying it were true, that is, that God was working miracles among them. Paul's extended treatment of the *charismata* in 1 Corinthians 12-14 was in response to problems that had arisen regarding "charismatic" ministry exercised in the church at Corinth.

[99]The evidence of 1 Corinthians 12-14 seems to reflect a congregation that was ministered to primarily by those who were spontaneously endowed with various *charismata*. Further, Romans and 2 Corinthians give no indication that there were "official" ministers in the churches to which these letters were addressed.

[100]Mt. 24:1. The noun form is *oikodome*.

[101]1 Thess. 5:11.

[102]Eph. 4:12.

[103]"When you assemble, each one has a psalm, has a teaching, has a revelation, has a tongue, has an interpretation. Let all things be done for edification (building up)" (1 Cor. 14:26).

[104]Ephesians 4:12.

[105]1 Corinthians 14:26

[106]Acts 13:2

[107]Ephesians 5:19

[108]*Oikos* is used here to refer to the basic building block of true community. It is normally translated "household" in the New Testament.

[109]In a 'closed church' or Program Base Design (P.B.D.) church, ministries are centrally planned by the leadership. Functions are assigned and jobs filled according to

(S.G.B.D.) church, the Holy Spirit is free to direct and decide which ministries will be conducted at what time and in what setting. The church leaders pray and seek God's will in the situation, but theirs is not a plan to prevent ministry but to release it.

[110]Genuine church growth produced by effective use of spiritual gifts will consist of quantitative, qualitative, and organizational growth.

[111]See Appendix B for one method of assisting church members discover their spiritual gift(s).

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