THE SUDAN UNITED MISSION BRITISH BRANCH 1934-1977: AN EXAMINATION OF THE MISSION'S INDIGENOUS CHURCH POLICY

JORDAN SAMSON RENGSHWAT
BD, MTH (CHURCH HISTORY)
(PGA/UJ/0130/06)

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the research work for this thesis and the subsequent preparation of this thesis by Jordan Samson Rengshwat (PGA/UJ/0130/06) were carried out under my supervision

_____

Prof. Musa A. B. Gaiya

SUPERVISOR

_____

Dr. (Mrs.) P. M. Lere

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT, RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

_____

Prof. Umar H.D. Danfulani

DEAN, FACULTY OF ARTS

_____

Prof. E.M. Uka

EXTERNAL EXAMINER

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work is the product of my own research efforts, undertaken under the supervision of Professor Musa A.B. Gaiya and has not been presented anywhere for the award of a degree or certificate. All sources have been duly distinguished and appropriately acknowledged.

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Jordan Samson Rengshwat

PGA/UJ/0130/06

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.C.C.	All Africa Conference of Churches
A.P.	Action Partners
B.T.I.	Bible Training Institute
C.B.M.	Church of the Brethren Mission
C.C.M.	C.O.C.I.N. Community Mission
C.E.S.	Chinese Evangelization Society
C.I.M.	China Inland Mission
C. & M.A.	Christian and Missionary Alliance
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
C.O.C.I.N.	Church of Christ in Nigeria
C.R.C.	Christian Reformed Church
C.S.W.C.	Centre for the Study of World Christianity
C.U.M.P.	Cambridge University Mission Party
D.C.C.	District Church Council
E.C.W.A.	Evangelical Churches of West Africa (now Evangelical Churches Winning All)
E.K.A.N.	Ekklesiyar Kristi a Nigeria
E.K.A.S.	Ekklesiyar Kristi a Sudan
E.L.T.I.	East London Training Institute
E.R.C.C.	Evangelical Reformed Church of Christ
E.U.B.B.	Evangelical United Brethren Branch
F.C.T.	Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, the seat of the Nigerian government
Lb	*The Lightbearer* Magazine
L.C.C.	Local Church Council

N.A.M.	North Africa Mission
P.C.C.	Provincial Church Council
R.C.C.	Regional Church Council
S.I.M.	Sudan Interior Mission
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
S.P.M.	Sudan Pioneer Mission
S.U.M., B.B.	Sudan United Mission, British Branch (later changed to Action Partners some years after 1977. Towards the end of 2009 the name changed from Action Partners to Pioneers UK)
S.U.M., C.R.C.B.	Sudan United Mission, Christian Reformed Church Branch
T.C.N.N.	Theological College of Northern Nigeria
W.C.C.	World Council of Churches
Y.M.C.A.	Young Men Christian Association

Abstract

The indigenous church policy, which centred on the three-self principle of self-governance, self-support, and self-propagation, was the subject of much debate in mission circles in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Sudan United Mission British Branch (S.U.M., B.B.) successfully implemented the policy. There are three problems which this research addressed. Some converts on the mission field of the Church of Christ in Nigeria (C.O.C.I.N.) were over pampered; they were not encouraged to be self-reliant as a church from the outset. The researcher's findings have addressed this deficiency. The current wide gap in the relationship between S.U.M., B.B. (now Pioneers UK) and C.O.C.I.N. is another problem of the study. This has roots deep in the mission's interpretation and implementation of the three-self policy; and has affected the development of human resources in the church. There is also the problem of lack of document on how the mission implemented the policy. Therefore, as its aim, this research examined the Mission's indigenous church policy, why it was adopted, how it was implemented, the reaction of indigenous Christians to the policy, how the Mission handled that reaction, and the impact of the policy on the Church and the Mission. The primary sources that were used for this study include the magazine of the Mission, newsletters, oral sources, and archival materials such as minutes, correspondence and diaries. To obtain relevant information from the oral sources, the interviewees were deliberately selected and open-ended questions were used. The secondary sources include related books, pamphlets and articles. The researcher's findings are that the policy was in the S.U.M., B.B. right from the outset but only slightly implemented until 1923 when it was officially adopted. The adoption of the policy was to achieve the goal of a healthy church. Between 1934 and 1977 some indigenous Christians reacted negatively to it. How the Mission handled some of these reactions left much to be

desired. Right from 1923 the Mission's ideas of the policy were different from those of Roland Allen, thus countering the widely held tradition that the Mission was operating Allen's scheme. The Mission understood self-propagation as only evangelism in Mission districts therefore the Church was not encouraged to operate a mission society of its own. Self-governance was delayed until nationals showed their dissatisfaction. This shows that undue paternalism was part of the Mission's interpretation of the policy. The Mission's understanding of self-support deprived the Church of adequately trained evangelists and pastors. This greatly affected discipleship, thus making the Mission unable to realise its goal of a healthy Church. The policy separated the Mission and the Church so that there is no forum for fellowship between the two today. The contribution of this study is that it has, for the first time, fully laid bare how S.U.M., B.B. interpreted and implemented the policy and what the impact was on the Church. To the S.U.M., B.B. the formation of a missionary society for the church was not a necessary part of self-propagation. Besides, the adequate preparation of nationals in sufficient number for leadership was not, in practice, regarded as an essential part of self-governance. This discovery is not found in any of the materials the researcher reviewed.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

By and large, from 1648 until about the middle of the 18th century dead orthodoxy prevailed in Protestantism in England. But with the revival movement led by the Wesley brothers and George Whitefield, the situation began to change. According to B.G. Worrall,

> That revival had been a protest against dull rationalism and conventional religion in favour of a more emotional response to the gospel. Theologically it had been a recovery of some of the insights of the sixteenth-century Reformation, especially the doctrine of justification by faith alone (7).

This revival gave rise to the Evangelicals which became '[…] the most numerous and influential of the church parties' in England in the 19th century (Worrall 7).

The British Evangelicals of the 19th century gave prominence to the Bible, the cross, conversion and activity (Bebbington 20-21). The Bible was the supreme court of appeal of the Evangelicals in matters of faith and practice. Therefore, the scriptures were used not only for public worship but also for daily private or family devotions (Bebbington 21-22). Besides the Bible, the cross of Christ became the focus of Evangelical Christianity. The Evangelicals saw Jesus' death on the cross as the supreme means of salvation (Bebbington 25, 26). In addition to the Bible and the cross, the Evangelicals stressed personal conversion as against 'nominal Christianity' (Bebbington 29-30). Bebbington notes that a logical corollary of interest in the Bible, interest in the passion of Christ and emphasis on conversion was the deep eagerness to be up and doing for God in sharing the good news of salvation with those who were yet to partake of it

(21, 33). It was this religious setting that gave the Christians in Britain the burden to evangelise non-European countries.

As one of a number of missions that were born in the revival of 1859/1873 (Fiedler 112), the Sudan United Mission, British Branch (henceforth, S.U.M., B.B.), was an Evangelical Faith Mission. It was founded in Great Britain as a result of the influence of the German-born Dr Hermann Karl Wilhelm Kumm. It was founded in 1902 as Sudan Pioneer Mission (S.P.M.) to bring the Christian Gospel to the people of the Sudan (now the Sahel) Savannah in the interior of Africa. In 1904 the name of the Mission was changed to Sudan United Mission.

That same year four missionaries of the Mission, including its founder, came to what is today North-Central Nigeria to begin mission work. When they arrived they established their first base at Wase. By the end of 1907, from their base in Wase, the missionaries of the Mission opened work among the Jukun, Tarok and Birom in Wukari, Langtang and Bukuru respectively.

In a separate development, the Cambridge University Mission Party (C.U.M.P.) in collaboration with the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) began work at Panyam among the Mwaghavul in 1907. In 1910 this work was extended to Kabwir among the Ngas. The work among the Ngas branched out to Mwari among the Siyawa in 1927 (Lowry Maxwell 15, 172). In 1930, through mutual understanding, the C.M.S. handed its work in these three places to the S.U.M., B.B. This did not go down well with the indigenous believers who did not like the S.U.M.'s approach to mission. Similarly, during the Second World War, the Sudan United Mission, Christian Reformed Church Branch (S.U.M., C.R.C.B.) took over the work of the S.U.M., B.B. among the Jukun in the Ibi and Wukari areas (Tett 41). In 1946, after the war had ended, the British Branch also handed over its mission stations among the Mumuye tribe to the Sudan United

Mission (Evangelical United Brethren Branch) (henceforth, S.U.M., E.U.B.B.) (Tett 40). The beginning of the British Branch's work among the Mumuye was in 1928 (Maxwell 158). Thus by 1946 the S.U.M., B.B.'s major centres of operation[1] were Birom, Mwaghavul, Ngas, Siyawa and Tarok lands.

In 1922 the Church among the Tarok was formed into a District Church Council (D.C.C.). Similarly the Church among the Birom became a D.C.C. in 1928. In 1930, after the transfer from C.M.S. to S.U.M., the Churches among the Mwaghavul and Ngas were formed into D.C.C.s (Gutip 161-162). Between 1948 and 1958 these D.C.C.s were formed into one Church denomination, which is today known by the name Church of Christ in Nigeria (C.O.C.I.N.).[2]

The denomination was created based on a certain vision. About eighteen years after the Mission set foot in Nigeria, the question of what kind of Church she wanted to establish became a pressing issue.[3] Subsequently, the Mission decided that she was going to establish a Church that would not only be totally committed to the teaching of Christ but one which would also be indigenous. The Mission's view was that for a Church to be truly indigenous, it must be self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting. This was popularly called 'three-self policy.'

Within the Mission, the vision of an indigenous Church based on the three-self formula is often attributed to Rev H. J. Cooper of the Langtang Mission station who was, according to Nanwul Gutip, influenced by the works of Roland Allen (35). Allen '[…] was an Anglican missionary in China from 1895 to 1903. For a few years afterward he was in charge of an English parish. For the next 40 years he was writing on missionary principles' (Allen i). Obviously, Allen was not the originator of the three-self principle. According to Stephen Neill, a veteran historian of mission,

> As early as 1854, Henry Venn, the prescient secretary of the Church Missionary Society in London, had spoken in terms of the aim of the mission as being the calling into existence of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Churches, and of the euthanasia of a mission. Once the mission has brought a Church into being, it may die out in the area; the missionaries may go on to the unevangelized regions, and leave the Church which they have brought into being to fulfil, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, all the functions of a Church (220-221).

For a long time the three-self policy had been the subject of much controversy in mission circles. One example may suffice here. The question of self-government in the Church was the subject of much debate in the C.M.S. in West Africa during the days of Ajayi Crowther, but right up to the 1930s the C.M.S. in Nigeria was paying her Nigerian evangelists with mission funds. Furthermore, about a decade after the creation of C.O.C.I.N. based on the three-self policy, Stephen Neill cast aspersions on the policy in the following words:

> Later experience has placed many question–marks against Henry Venn's formulation. Any such sharp separation between Church and mission as is implied in Venn's solution seems to lack theological foundation in the New Testament. And the first attempts to carry out the principles of Venn's dictum proved almost wholly disastrous (221).

However it was based on this vision of an indigenous Church that the Mission created C.O.C.I.N.

After the formal registration of the Church with the government of Nigeria in 1958, the Mission remained in the country for the next nineteen years. But in January 1977 the Mission ceased to exist in the country and handed over all its work to the

Church. In 2004 both the Mission (now Pioneers UK) and the indigenous Church founded by the Mission celebrated the centenary of the beginning of the Mission's work in Nigeria. Today, the indigenous Church founded by the Mission is to be found in eighteen of the thirty-six states of Nigeria, and in the Federal Capital Territory (F.C.T.) Abuja. It also has branches in the Benin and the Niger republics. Since the Mission brought the Church into being there has been a complete separation between the Mission and the Church. Thirty years after the Mission left Nigeria there has been no critical study of the Mission's vision of an indigenous Church or on the relationship between the Mission and the Church.

1.2 PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

There are five main works on the Mission. *Half a Century of Grace*, by J. Lowry Maxwell covers the first fifty years of the Mission in Nigeria (1904-1954).[4] A strength of Maxwell's work is that it focuses on all the S.U.M. Branches during the time, but this strength turns out to be a major weakness as no detailed historical account of each of the Branches is given. Mollie E. Tett has also written a history of the Mission titled *The Road to Freedom: Sudan United Mission 1904-1968*. Although Tett is able to carry the story further into the 1960s, the work is brief. Interspersed with pictures, it is only 160 pages long and of the 160 pages, only about 102 are on the British Branch. A scholarly study of the British Branch was written by Jan Harm Boer in his *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission.* This is a profound work, which looks at the period 1904-1979. However, it has a major limitation in that it centres only on the relationship of the Mission and the British colonial government. In the writer's own words,

> This work constitutes a case study on the question of the relationship between a Western Evangelical mission and colonialism […]. This study then seeks to uncover the relationship of the Sudan United Mission (S.U.M.) to the British colonial endeavor in northern Nigeria as well as the reasons for this relationship (3).[5]
>
> It appears necessary to point out that this study is not a complete history of the S.U.M.'s work and motives. Rather, we select certain aspects. The concerns of this study may even be said to have been a secondary issue in the mind of the S.U.M. (5).

The fourth work is Nanwul Gutip's *Church of Christ in Nigeria: Birth and Growth*. The centenary booklet of the Mission describes her work as excellent (*Facing the Challenge* 3). However, since her concern is the general history of the Church that was created by the Mission, she only gives information on the Mission when necessary for her purpose. Thus, she has not been able to treat a number of things in detail. For example, she mentions the three-self policy in a number of places in her work and even says that Cooper was at the centre of it in the Mission, and that the Nigerian leaders also caught the vision, but she did not go further (Gutip 4). One other work worth mentioning is titled *Facing the Challenge: Sudan United Mission-Action Partners 1904-2004*. This was written for the centenary celebrations of the Mission's work in Nigeria. In only fifty pages, which also contains over a hundred pictures, the book gives a bird's eye view of the story of the Mission from 1904-2004.

As one reads these existing works on the Mission they raise a lot of questions that beg for answers. For example, how did the Mission's idea of an indigenous Church, which centred on the three-self principle, develop? Why did the Mission adopt the policy when the policy had been the subject of much controversy in missionary circles? How

was the Mission's vision actualized? What was the manner in which the three-self policy was implemented? And what were the principles that guided the implementation of the policy? Other questions that come to mind as one reads the aforementioned materials include questions of how the indigenous Christian leaders and members reacted to the Mission's policies toward the Church that stemmed from its vision of an indigenous Church. How did the Mission eventually inculcate the vision into its indigenous leaders? How did the missionaries interpret the clear separation between the Mission and the Church arising from the vision? And what was the impact of the vision on both the Church and the Mission, particularly how did the strict implementation of the policy affect the relationship between the Mission and C.O.C.I.N.?

In addition to a lack of document on the policy, another problem that this study has addressed is the over pampering of converts in the mission field. Converts in some mission field of C.O.C.I.N. are not encouraged to be self-reliant from the outset. They are allowed to depend on the sending church for almost everything they need as a new congregation or church. The current wide gap in the relationship between S.U.M., B.B. (now Pioneers UK) and C.O.C.I.N. is another problem of the study. This has roots deep in the mission's interpretation and implementation of the three-self policy; and has affected the development of human resources in the church. In the light of these, the work the researcher has attempted is important.

1.3 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

As the title of the research indicates, this study looks at the story of the Sudan United Mission, British Branch from 1934 to 1977. This was the period leading up to, and following, the formal establishment of C.O.C.I.N. The study covers this period in order to critically examine the Mission's vision that created the Church. The Mission's

vision of an indigenous Church, by means of which C.O.C.I.N. was established, was centred on the three-self policy.

Generally the study set out to:

1. examine the Mission's indigenous church policy.
2. find out why it was adopted by the Mission, even when the policy was a subject of debate in mission circles.
3. find out whether the missionaries of the Mission consistently shared the same understanding of the policy during the period under consideration.

Specifically, the study meant to:

4. examine how the policy was implemented to establish C.O.C.I.N.
5. uncover the principles that guided the implementation of the policy.
6. find out the Mission's general policies toward the Church that stem from its understanding of the policy.
7. look at the reaction of indigenous believers and leaders to these policies.
8. find out how the Mission handled their reaction.
9. uncover how the Mission inculcated her vision of an indigenous church in the indigenous Church leaders and members.
10. identify the impact of the policy on both the Mission and the Church, particularly what the strict implementation of the policy meant for the relationship of the Mission and the Church.

The examination of the policy was undertaken in the context of trends in mission circles in Nigeria during the period of study. The researcher has achieved his objectives by looking at the documents of the Mission and the Church, and by conducting oral interviews in Nigeria and Britain. Some of the materials for this research were found in the library and archives of T.C.N.N. Bukuru, where *The Lightbearer* (the official

magazine of the Mission) from 1904 to 1977 and the microfilm of the Mission were deposited. The archives of C.O.C.I.N. Headquarters Jos were searched. These contain, among other things, the minutes of the Field Committee of the Mission. A material was also found from a private archive in Berwickshire, United Kingdom. A staff member of the *Church Herald* was able to send a relevant material to the researcher from the United States. The researcher was able to use the Mission's archival materials that were deposited at the Centre for the Study of World Christianity, University of Edinburgh. The Mission archives in Bawtry, Doncaster was also visited by the researcher. This yielded much relevant information.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are two problems, which this research has addressed. The first one relates to mission work in C.O.C.I.N. Today C.O.C.I.N. has a mission society call C.O.C.I.N. Community Mission (C.C.M.). It was established in September 1988, eleven years after S.U.M., B.B. ceased to exist in Nigeria. In April of the following year the pioneer missionaries were accepted by the new mission (*COCIN Community Mission* 5). Even after the coming into being of C.C.M., the women's fellowship of the Church and Local Church Councils were encouraged to engage in mission work. In some cases Local Church Councils and the women's fellowship were even allowed to have some mission fields under their charge for varying lengths of time. This practice has continued to this day. Although the Church was created by means of the three-self policy, the women's fellowship and some C.O.C.I.N. Local Church Councils (L.C.C.) are unaware of that policy. This has led to haphazard mission practices and the pampering of converts on the mission field by some L.C.C.s today. One example may suffice here. In October 2006 I was the senior member of a team which visited two mission fields, one in Niger State

and the other in Kwara State, on behalf of L.C.C. Guralandoh, Bukuru. Our mission field was in Niger State. We went to officiate at the wedding of our missionary who was an indigene of Niger State but the wedding did not take place on our mission field. It took place on a mission field in Kwara State that belonged to an L.C.C. under the Provincial Church Council (P.C.C.) of Jos. The Church building in this mission field was built and roofed by the L.C.C. After the wedding, a group of able bodied men approached me with a request. They begged that when I got back to Jos I should inform the L.C.C. that established the mission work in their village that they should come and plaster the walls of the building and fix the doors and windows. Looking at the number of believers in the Church I concluded that the missionary in charge of that mission field had not groomed the believers in the art of self-support like the missionaries of S.U.M. did.

The veteran missiologist J. H. Bavinck posits that 'The history of mission is of great value to missionary practice' (284). The three-self policy is common knowledge to seminary students and pastors because Roland Allen expounds it in his books. However, Allen's work on the policy is largely theoretical. Thus the practical application of the policy as was carried out by the British Branch of the S.U.M. may be more helpful to C.O.C.I.N. missionaries and those L.C.C.s that are doing mission work. For example, knowledge of how the Mission inculcated her vision in indigenous leaders could give those who are currently involved in mission work an idea of how to inculcate the three-self policy in their converts in the mission field. Knowledge of the manner in which the policy was implemented, and the principles that guided that implementation, could be useful to those who are involved in mission in the midst of scarce resources at home. Similarly, knowledge of how the Mission handled the reaction of the indigenous leaders and members to the implementation of the policy could be useful in the event that a similar situation arises today on the mission field. However, the researcher does not want

those who are involved in mission work to learn those aspects of the Mission's understanding of the policy that gave rise to poor discipleship in the Church and the inadequate training of indigenes for leadership.

The second problem the study has addressed concerns the question of relationships. Currently there is a sharp separation between the Mission and the Church, which has its roots deep in the Mission's interpretation and implementation of the three-self principle. This had serious implications for the development of human resources in the Church. The 'scripturality' of some aspects of the three-self idea itself is not in doubt. By discovering how a misunderstanding or misapplication of the policy has given rise to the sharp separation of Church and Mission, we have been able to recommend a repairing of relationships that may be useful to both the Mission and the Church.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

There were many branches of the Sudan United Mission. There were two American Branches (C.R.C.B. and E.U.B.B.), a Danish Branch, the Netherlands Reformed Congregation Branch, the South African Branch and the British Branch. Others were the Australian and New Zealand Branch, the Canadian or North American Branch, the French Branch, the Norwegian Branch, the German Branch and the Swiss Branch. Of these twelve S.U.M. branches, the first six worked in what is today Nigeria. This study has focused on only the British Branch. However, some of the other branches have been mentioned or their relationship with the British Branch has been brought into focus.

The entire history of the British Branch of S.U.M. is broad as it spans a period of more than one hundred years from its inception in 1902. We have been able to identify three periods or phases of the story of the Mission. There is the pioneering phase, which

we may call the early or first period. This covered from 1902 to 1933. The characteristic features of this period were the vision to establish a chain of mission stations from the Niger to the Nile; the conversion of indigenes in trickles; the formation of a handful of small congregations and the practice of informal education. The second period covered 1934 to 1977. This is the period leading up to, and following, the establishment of a responsible indigenous church, C.O.C.I.N. The core vision of this period was to build and train an indigenous Church that was self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing. Thus the period falls within the years of the founding of Gindiri as a training centre and the year that the Mission ceased to exist in Nigeria. The third or last period covers 1978 to the present. In this period the Mission ceased to exist in Nigeria. Although much remains to be written about the first period (1902-1933), this study has focused only on the second period (1934-1977). However, in order to lay a foundation for the second period the researcher has considered the early period, but only to the extent necessary to understand the second period.

As this is both a historical and a missiological study, in addition to the historical narrative attention has been given to missiological analysis. We have considered in brief some prevailing thoughts in mission circles around the world that had direct or indirect impact on the vision and policies of the Mission. This was very necessary to enable us to get a correct understanding.

As earlier noted, our interest is only in the Mission's vision, which centred on the three-self policy that created C.O.C.I.N. The study has focused only on how the vision developed, why it was adopted by the Mission, how it was actualized, the manner in which it was implemented and the principles that guided the implementation. The study has also considered the Mission's policies toward the church that stemmed from its understanding of the three-self idea, the reaction of Nigerian Christians to the policies,

how the Mission handled the reaction, and what the three-self policy meant for the relationship of the Mission and the Church. In addition to this, we have examined how the Mission inculcated the policy in the indigenous Church, and the impact of the policy on both the Mission and the Church.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The indigenous church policy includes three things. It includes the principles that a mission should follow to make a missionary church become responsible for its life and work. These principles are known by the name 'three-self policy' by scholars and students of missiology. It also includes relating or adapting the Christian gospel to the situation of the host community, such as using the local language and condoning the elements of culture that do not conflict with the gospel. Lastly, the question of making a missionary church relevant to the life of the wider society is often part of the picture of indigenous church policy. In other words, indigenous church policy is the principles by which a mission influences nationals, in their cultural milieu, to make Christian beliefs, institutions, structures and practices from the West their own in a way that meets '[…] European standards' (Shenk 'Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn […]' 170).

The central concern of this study has been the three-self policy. In the history of Protestant world mission the idea of the three-self policy originated from Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn in the 19th century. It was because of this that the two men came to be regarded '[…] as the fathers of the "three-self" triad' (Shenk 'Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn […]' 171). In the 20th century Roland Allen became a leading voice on the policy in mission circles. So compelling was his voice on the policy that some people wrongly thought he was the originator of the policy in the S.U.M., B.B.

According to Rufus Anderson the goal of mission is to bring into being self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing churches (Beaver 13-14). Any Christian community that cannot manifest the three elements of this policy is not a church but a mission field (Long and Rowthorn 66). Taking each of the component parts of the three-self policy separately: self-support is the ability to meet one's own needs without external help. The proponents of this policy were in agreement that this should be encouraged by a missionary on the field right from the outset. Similarly, self-governance is the ability to manage one's own affairs without outside guidance or interference. Here Wilbert Shenk understood Henry Venn to mean 'As early as possible, local leadership should replace the missionary' (*Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 31). Self-propagation is the multiplication of one's own kind without outside help. It is spontaneous expansion, the ability to multiply oneself numerically and naturally without being made to do so by any outsider. Henry Venn admonished all C.M.S. missionaries to rekindle missionary zeal among the young churches they founded right from the outset (*Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 32). Self-propagation involves two things. First, it involves evangelism and discipleship in a district where there is already a Christian community. Secondly, it involves church planting across cultural, national and tribal boundaries. For a church to be regarded as self-propagating, the two should go together. The foregoing understanding of the three-self policy is the yardstick with which the missionary efforts of the S.U.M., B.B. are judged in this study.

The S.U.M., B.B.'s implementation of the policy did not sufficiently agree with the foregoing understanding. Although the Mission taught evangelism to converts in schools and in its mission districts, by 1968 the Church founded by the Mission had no mission society of its own for the proper coordination of missionary work (Letter to Bill 9-4-1968).[6] The training of leaders for the Church was not encouraging and the

delegation of responsibilities to national Christians was unduly delayed. This was obviously in sharp contrast with Venn's admonition that 'As early as possible, local leadership should replace the missionary' (*Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 31). There was a measure of success in the implementation of self-support, but local architecture was not encouraged to save the cost of building huge church structures. Thus we are left to wonder what the mission's actual understanding of the indigenous church policy that centred on the three-self policy was. Since it is in the implementation that a Mission's total understanding of the indigenous church policy is clearly seen, we have carefully examined how the Sudan United Mission, British Branch implemented the three-self policy.

1.7 METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY

This study is interdisciplinary in nature. The study is a historical one but, it also contains elements of missiology, as we shall explain shortly. Therefore, in addition to the historical method, we have employed the methodology of missiology.

As the study is entirely about the past, the historical method was used for gathering information. Both secondary and primary sources were used for this study, with particular emphasis on primary sources. The secondary sources include related books, pamphlets and articles on the subject of inquiry. The primary sources include the magazine of the Mission, newsletters, oral sources, and archival materials such as minutes, correspondence and diaries. To obtain relevant information from oral sources, the interviewees were deliberately selected and open-ended questions were used. The relevant information gathered from these sources, was critically selected and compared for consistency[7] with a view to excluding erroneous information. The backgrounds of our interviewees were investigated, to detect how much they had influenced the information

they had given. This was intended to guard against bias. This critical historical approach was useful for acquiring the needed accurate information for documentation.

Methodology from the field of missiology was used to understand how mission visions emerged, and how and why mission policies were made. The wider context within which the Mission was born and within which it operated was not necessarily based on primary sources. Major authorities were consulted for this section. However, where primary sources were available they were preferred. We only dealt with such things as were relevant to the aforementioned area of study. Historians do not manufacture evidence, so the outcome of the study has depended entirely on the availability and reliability of both written and oral sources. And since the study is of a qualitative nature, the interpretation and documentation of the information has been done in narrative, descriptive and analytical fashion.

NOTES

[1] There were outreaches to the surrounding tribes from these centres.

[2] The first name of the Church was Ekklesiyar Kristi a Sudan (E.K.A.S.), meaning the Church of Christ in the Sudan. Later it was changed to Ekklesiyar Kristi a Nigeria (E.K.A.N.). Today it bears the English equivalent of E.K.A.N., Church of Christ in Nigeria (C.O.C.I.N.).

[3] By 1923 the question of the kind of Church the Mission should establish had become a pressing issue. It was against this background that a paper on the three-self principle was presented at the 1923 Wukari conference.

[4] This book is largely a primary source. Maxwell was one of the earliest missionaries of the Mission.

[5] His work is on the British Branch of the S.U.M. (see page 117).

[6] The identity of the sender of this letter is not clear as the sender did not append his name.

[7] In historical studies there are times when a researcher may come across different stories or dates concerning an event. By comparing the variant stories or dates or their sources and by probing into what could give rise to such information we can avoid documenting subjective stories or incorrect dates. Where necessary, the reason (s) for discriminating against certain information or dates shall be given in the footnote.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

The question of indigenous church policy is as old as the history of Christian mission.[1] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it became the subject of much debate across the globe. Since then several scholars have written on the subject from different perspectives. Some are general in nature and unrelated to the British branch of S.U.M. but the information they give is helpful as they provide a framework for understanding the concept of the three-self policy, which influenced the missionaries and policy makers of the Mission. Therefore we have reviewed some of these materials that are general in nature. There is also a small amount of material by Africans, including Nigerians, that is relevant to the subject in question. These have also been reviewed. We do not claim to have exhausted all the literature on indigenous principles and mission-church relations as attention has been given only to the ones that are most relevant to our study.

The aim of this review is to interact with scholars who have carried out related or similar studies on the subject. We believe their works provide the background for understanding indigenous church policy. Another aim of the review is to identify the gap which these scholars have left so that this study can add its own contribution to this particular field of study.

The methodology adopted for the review is the thematic one. Thus the review of literature is undertaken in four sections. Section one considers the meaning of indigenous church policy. The next part looks at the first attempt to implement that policy in Nigeria. The third section deals with materials on church and mission relations, dealing with the application of indigenous church policies. The last part focuses on published works on both S.U.M. British Branch and the Church that came into being as a result of the work of this Mission.

2.1 THE MEANING OF AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH POLICY

This section presents a review of the understanding of an indigenous church policy by different authorities.[2] The pioneers of the policy were Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. Other contributors were John Livingstone Nevius, Gustav Warneck, Roland Allen, Sidney J.W. Clark, E. Jacottet and Herbert J. Cooper.[3] All these authorities are in agreement with respect to the general outline of the policy. They agree that missionaries should organize indigenous churches in their respective mission fields. They also agree that an indigenous church is one which is self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing. However, they do not agree on the details of how such a church should be organized and how the three-self policy should be realized, as we shall see.

In his book titled *Henry Venn-Missionary Statesman*, Wilbert Shenk gives the biography of Venn with his mission principles and administrative practice. Shenk traces the origin of Venn's indigenous church policy to his thirteen functional or working principles. Venn's first policy was preaching. He saw preaching as the heart of mission. Thus he observed that it should not be misused or limited to the pulpit. The second and third principles were the mastery of the language of the host community and the translation of the Bible into the language of the host community respectively. In the next policy Venn stressed that the Bible should be given first place in missionary work. The fifth policy emphasized the necessity of education in mission work. Another principle he advocated was for 'continuous advance in mission'. In the seventh policy he stressed that native agency is necessary for the development of mission. Besides, Venn said that native believers should be taught to rely on their own resources. According to the next policy, missionary zeal should be kindled in the native church from the beginning or else the young church may think that the propagation of the Gospel is the task of European missionaries only. The tenth principle indicated that the Church Missionary Society

(C.M.S.) should work in only areas that had no mission or church. Furthermore, Venn admonished C.M.S. missionaries to develop a cordial relationship with the missionaries of other societies. The twelfth principle admonished the missionaries not to meddle in the political affairs of the host community. In the last policy the missionaries were asked to respect indigenous institutions (30-33).

Venn's biographer, Wilbert Shenk, asserts that it was because of the seventh principle, the necessity of a native agency, that the three-self principle was formulated (31). Shenk also points out that Venn's idea of the three-self took time to mature. It was not until 1863 that he expressed clearly the idea of the three-self principle. Thus for Henry Venn, the goal of mission is to establish indigenous churches that will be self-governing, self-sustaining and self-propagating (44-46). When such churches are established the 'euthanasia' of a mission can take place as the last stage of a long process. Venn summarizes his view of indigenous church policy in the following words:

> Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, "the euthanasia of a mission" takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all the missionary agency should be transferred to "the regions beyond" (Venn in Shenk 119-120).[4]

Shenk gives a number of factors or stimuli that made Venn to develop his missionary principles. The first stimulus was that he made the C.M.S. a field of reflection on missionary work. His regular reflection on problem situations on the field made him think of principles that were relevant for solving such problems. The second factor was Venn's rejection of the traditional assumptions that had guided mission work since the days of John Eliot.[5] In the past, missionaries had often been pictured as ascetics and self-denying heroes, thus the missionary was put at the centre of mission work rather than the Gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit. Venn's demystification of the romantic in mission enabled him to have a clearer picture of mission work and its attendant problems, for the solution of some of which he came up with specific principles. The third stimulus to Venn's development of missionary principles was the lengthy debate within Anglican circles on questions of the episcopacy in particular and ecclesiology in general. Therefore it became necessary for him to battle with questions like: 'What form does the missionary church take? What is the ultimate goal of missionary labor?'(25). As he was reflecting on these questions a financial crisis in the C.M.S. in 1841 raised further questions about the nature of the missionary church, and how an indigenous church was to be founded. The fruit of his reflections on these questions and others like them was the formulation of useful missionary principles (24-25).

A critic of Venn's indigenous church policy is Stephen Neill. He says,

> Later experience has placed many question-marks against Henry Venn's formulation. Any such sharp separation between church and mission as is implied in Venn's solution seems to lack theological foundation in the New Testament. And the first attempts to carry out the principles of Venn's dictum proved almost wholly disastrous. The establishment of the 'Native Pastorate' in Sierra Leone in 1860, with the complete withdrawal

> of the missionaries from participation in the affairs of the pastorate inflicted on the church a paralysis from which a whole century did not avail to deliver it. A similar attempt in Tinnevelly twenty years later would have proved equally disastrous, had not a new generation of missionaries put the clock back by taking over again the control and direction of a church which had not yet attained the growth and maturity without which 'independence' is only a synonym for disintegration and decay (221).

In contrast to Neill, Venn finds an able supporter in T. S. Johnson who expressed his anger over Western missionaries' control of the church right up to the 1950s (Shenk 111).

While Henry Venn (1796-1873) was pioneering the indigenous church policy in Britain, Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), a contemporary of Venn, was also developing it in America.[6] In the book titled *To Advance the Gospel: Selections From the Writings of Rufus Anderson,* edited by R. Pierce Beaver,[7] Anderson found the model for Christian mission in Paul's ministry. Like Venn he stressed that the goal of mission is to plant self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting churches in the central districts of heathen lands. Anderson went on to show how such autonomous churches could be brought into being. He said the missionary should form churches like the apostle Paul did, without waiting for the perfection of the converts. He also said that trained native pastors should be found for these churches as soon as possible without the mission requiring too much from the candidates for ordination (97-98, 104). He stressed that from the outset the missionary must govern the infant churches with an eager eye on the time they would be able to take decisions and act on their own (139).[8] He also stressed that native pastors must be subordinate to missionaries, for a time, in view of the

weaknesses that are generally found in men coming from a heathen background (123). Anderson also observed that from the outset native helpers should be supported by the mission until the church is able to take on its responsibilities (90). He emphasized the role of education in the realization of the three-self goals (90, 103-104). However, he discouraged the running of English language schools and higher education (160-172). In Anderson's view, the work of a missionary is said to be completed, or rather the three-self goals are said to be realized, when there is no longer a need for a new mission station in a central district of a host community; and when Gospel institutions can exist on their own without the presence of the missionary. When the three-self is realized in this way, the missionary should withdraw and go elsewhere (93, 96).

Anderson's impulse for formulating his mission policy was the emphasis of the missionaries of his day on evangelization and civilization as the aims of mission. It was in reaction to this that he proposed the goal of mission to be the bringing into being of self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing churches (Beaver 13-14). According to Beaver, for a long time after his death Anderson had no open critics in America (38).[9]

From the foregoing we can see that for both Venn and Anderson, an indigenous church is one which is self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing. This is realized through gathering converts into churches, educating both the church and prospective church leaders by means of Christian education, and training them to be self-supporting and self-propagating. When pastors have been trained government of the church should be devolved, with the eventual withdrawal of the missionaries to the regions beyond. It is on this issue of self-government that the two men differ. While Anderson advocated self-government as soon as mission churches could stand on their own without the support of missionaries, Venn saw complete self-government as the last stage of a long process of mission work in a host community. The two men also differed

on their understanding of the structure of the church on the mission field. While Anderson talked about the autonomy of individual congregations, Venn referred to the autonomy of a diocese within which there are many congregations.

Next in the pioneers of the indigenous church policy was John Livingstone Nevius (1829-1893), who lived at the same time as Anderson and Venn. In the booklet titled *The "Nevius Method" in Korea,*[10] Floyd E. Hamilton presents John Nevius' view of the policy. According to Hamilton's interpretation, Nevius recognized the three-self goals of Venn and Anderson but laid special emphasis on self-support. Nevius believed that a healthy indigenous church was one that was able to support itself. He stressed that from the very beginning every new group of believers should be financially independent. Mission funds should be used for western missionaries, while indigenous funds should be used for whatever needs the indigenous church might have. Nevius also emphasized non-institutional Bible classes for all Christian groups (3-9). According to Hamilton, Nevius taught this self-support system to missionaries working in Korea. When the missionaries adopted the system, it proved overwhelmingly successful (9).

The second part of the booklet contains Roland Allen's response to the 'Nevius method.' After a critical analysis of the method, he praises Nevius' emphasis on self-support and non-institutional Christian education, but he questions why the self-administration of the sacraments should be denied to a group of believers from the very beginning. Allen sees complete compliance with the apostolic model as the ideal (10-16).

The Nevius method is unlike Venn and Anderson's approach in its special emphasis on self-support from the very start. In Nevius' view of self-support money appears to be divided along racial lines, Western money for Western missionaries and indigenous money for indigenous Christians. He is also unlike Venn and Anderson in his emphasis on non-institutional Christian education for all indigenous Christians.

In their co-authored book titled *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission,* Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever present Gustav Warneck's idea of indigenous church policy. According to their interpretation[11] Warneck saw the aim of mission as the bringing into being of independent national churches. The starting point of Warneck's theology was Matthew 28:19, where he saw not only the conversion of individuals but also the Christianizing of nations (45-46).

Although Warneck did not disagree with the three-self formula, he did not see autonomy as an important mark of indigenousness as Venn and Anderson stressed.[12] For Warneck, autonomy was the mark of the mature church. Therefore he cautioned that the application of the three-self formula should not be rushed, and must be on a firm biblical foundation in view of the fact that disciples are not made overnight (46-49).

For Warneck, an indigenous church is one in which the mother-tongue is used in school and church. It is also one in which natural social ties are preserved and strengthened but permeated with the Gospel, and converts are not uprooted from their natural environment. He further stressed that an indigenous church should be able to condone folk customs that do not conflict with Scripture (48-49). The uniqueness of Warneck's position lies in his downplay of autonomy as an essential mark of the church. Although he did not object to the encouraging of autonomy, he was of the view that indigenous church workers should remain under the guidance of missionaries for a longer period than Venn and Anderson envisaged. He was also unlike Venn, Anderson and Nevius in recognizing the adoption of positive cultural elements by a church as a mark of indigenousness.

A major contributor to indigenous church policy was Roland Allen (1868-1947), an Anglican missionary who served in China from 1895 to 1903. In his *opus magnum* titled *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?*[13] he made a case for the adoption of every

detail of the missionary methods of the apostle Paul. He painstakingly explored all the principles that accounted for Paul's wonderful success. According to Allen, one of Paul's principles was that he planted churches at strategic locations (10-17). Another principle was that he '[…] left his newly-founded churches with a simple Gospel teaching, two sacraments, a tradition of the main facts of the death and resurrection, and the Old Testament' (90). Besides, after a short period of mission activity in an area Paul would leave the church he planted to stand on its own. He would not meddle in its affairs unless there was a case of sin which was not properly handled or unless there was a question which needed clarification (111-125). Furthermore, Paul did not press for uniformity, neither did he set up a central administration for the churches he planted. Each was allowed to grow with its own peculiarity, but none was completely independent of the others (127-135). Besides, Paul was confident that the Holy Spirit would preserve his converts (152).

Allen concludes by showing how Christianity on the mission field was exotic and dependent on Europeans, in contrast to Saint Paul's method which produced independent and indigenous churches. He stressed that the methods of Paul could be applied in the early twentieth century context (141,151,153).

Another relevant work by Roland Allen is *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes Which Hinder It.* This book is, according to Allen, "[…] a companion volume to […]" *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* but was written as a response to the various criticisms of his earlier work. In this second book Allen argued that it is the failure to establish churches on the pattern of the apostle Paul that makes the spontaneous expansion of the church impossible (32-33, 41-42). Thus he insisted that missionaries should emulate the apostles in the establishment of self-supporting, self-

governing and self-propagating churches (142, 147-150). He stressed that missions should not think of secular education or make any provision for it (153).

Allen also wrote *Education in the Native Church* where he argued that the essential elements in a native church are self-government, self-extension and self-support. Therefore missions should not bother with buildings, finances, and Bible or conventional schools in the mission field. He believed that when a truly native church is formed, these things would evolve on their own, over time, even to an advanced stage. He believed that experiences that are shared by the indigenous Christians would bring all these into being (4-13, 18-26).

The Ministry of the Spirit edited by David M. Paton contains the selected writings of Allen. Of the many themes discussed in this book, only two are relevant to our study. The first of these is titled 'Mission Activities Considered in Relation to the Manifestation of the Spirit.' Here Allen says that the activities of mission committees overshadow the activities of the church founded by the mission. These activities, education, health services and social work, are made to take the place of the Holy Spirit. These activities are not essential. They obscure the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the native church. They unnecessarily consume money and they glorify human wisdom and skill, not the power of the Holy Spirit. The pre-occupation with these activities runs contrary to Paul's methods. The gospel and the ministry of the Holy Spirit were the only priority of Paul's ministry. It was the churches he founded that manifested these kinds of activities as a fruit of the Holy Spirit working in them. Pre-occupation with the gospel and ministration of the Holy Spirit alone is not indifference to the plight of the people on the mission field; it is rather laying the axe at the root of the tree-bearing problems of society (89-113).

The second relevant writing of Allen in the aforementioned book is captioned 'St Paul and the Judaizers: A Dialogue.' In this work, Allen answers his critics who said that Saint Paul's method could not be employed in modern mission as the conditions of the modern world are different from those of Paul's day. Allen argues that Paul's method of gathering converts into churches, and ordaining ministers for them and leaving them to stand on their own, could be employed in the 20th century as Christ's grace and his Holy Spirit could keep the young churches as they did during Paul's time (117-127).

'Islam and Christianity in the Sudan' is another relevant work of Allen. In this article, published in the *International Review of Missions*, Allen points out Islam's successful application of the three-self policy as the major cause of her rapid expansion in the Sudan savannah. He says if Christianity is to advance as rapidly as Islam, Christian missions should consider the use of the three-self principle (531-543).

In all of Allen's works he stresses the pre-eminence of Saint Paul's missionary method, criticizes the use of institutions in missions, and reiterates that the Holy Spirit is capable of leading new churches to maturity and to the establishment of the various institutions the missionaries would love to have seen. He also argues against paternalism and mission imperialism. He says missions should copy Saint Paul who, as soon as a congregation was born, ordained leaders for them and moved away. The factors that made Allen develop this radical view of indigenous church policy are threefold. These factors are stated by Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever:

> Allen is the least in sympathy with colonial attitudes. If he belongs to the colonial era it is as one impatient with it, on practical grounds, because of what he has seen in China–a reaction to colonialism which he believes will spread to all similar situations elsewhere–and, theologically, because

> he considers these attitudes a denial of the power of the Holy Spirit, at least where believers are concerned (55).

Allen's insistence on the realization of the three-self policy within the shortest possible time, like Saint Paul did, marked his out as the most radical of the different perspectives we have already seen. He is unlike Venn and Anderson who advocated limited paternalism. He appears to be the opposite of Warneck whose view encourages protracted paternalism. He is similar to Nevius in the area of self-support and a non-institutional approach to Christian education.

Other relevant contributors to indigenous church policy include Sidney Clark, E. Jacottet, Peter Beyerhaus and Herbert J. Cooper. In his *Indigenous Fruits* published posthumously, Sidney Clark argues that missions should not be involved in institutional work. They should rather establish indigenous churches[14] with institution-bearing potential. He sees the limited resources of the sending churches as a reason for his argument (4-29). Apart from providing us with a reason for mission policy, Clark's work shows that Allen was not a lone voice in the rejection of institutional work in mission.

The views of Allen and Clark are heavily criticized by the booklet, *Our Indian Missions.* The booklet was written in defence of the Christian Reformed Church's (C.R.C.) missionary work among the Indians of North America. The booklet sees the indigenous church policy that set aside institutional work as extreme and narrow minded. Besides, the booklet doubts the Biblical nature or theological balance of such a policy (23-26).

E. Jacottet has also contributed to the indigenous church policy debate. In his *Native Churches and their Organization,* Jacottet saw the formation of native churches as the goal and end of missions and called the South African missionaries of his day to immediate action. In the formation of native churches he suggested that missionaries

should learn Paul's model. Unlike Allen, Jacottet said the self-governing aspect of the three-self formula should be realized through a process of paternalism and devolution. He also said that to achieve independence in the church the native minister must be properly educated but not Europeanised and his salary should be one that the native church could support. Jacottet also emphasized that on achieving independence, the native church should not be dependent upon any other church and she was to be responsible to God alone (1-27, 30).

Published in the *International Review of Missions* (vol. 53, 1964), Peter Beyerhaus' "The Three Selves Formula: Is it Built on Biblical Foundations?" gives a brief history of the formula. He says Venn and Anderson, who were thinking along similar lines at about the same time, formulated it to solve the problem of paternalism that arose from a pietistic view of mission. He observes that Warneck agreed with the formula but was against a doctrinaire application of it. Beyerhaus says Allen came onto the scene to address the conservatism of those like Warneck by presenting a radical form of Anderson's definition. Beyerhaus further observes that some missions applied the formula radically, others moderately, and others almost failed to apply it. According to him the formula came under fire after the Second World War. He notes that the formula contains both truth and danger. He argues that the formula cannot be the absolute goal of mission. He says the formula breeds jealousy and an attitude of self-sufficiency, and it is not compatible with the age of ecumenism (393-407). Beyerhaus helps us to understand that different missions understood and applied the formula differently.

The Lightbearer of September-October 1924 contains 'Caring for a Church' in which Herbert J. Cooper[15] outlines his view of the three-self policy. He says in caring for a mission church, the first concern of the missionary should be the spiritual nurture of converts. The next concern should be the organization of the church to attain the three-

self goals. He stresses that right from the outset converts should be taught self-support, self-extension and self-government. In this article Cooper advocates institutional works, unlike Allen who discourages institutional work in mission. This article is very relevant to this study. Cooper's work was a model for S.U.M. and it is claimed that he was a student of Allen (Tett 100), yet he does not appear to have closely followed Allen's understanding of the policy.

Cooper also authored two other works on the policy titled: 'Fostering an Indigenous Church in Nigeria' and 'The Formation of the Indigenous Church' which appeared in 1928 and 1929 respectively. In his 'Fostering an Indigenous Church in Nigeria' Cooper wrote that the idea of the policy came to him when he was meditating on the Bible and on the experience of other missionaries (82). When the idea came to him, he and his wife set out to establish an indigenous church on the three-self principle. Cooper showed how he implemented the policy in the Langtang mission district. First, he urged the people that they were saved to serve and that the work was really theirs and not the work of the European missionaries. Self-governance was the first to be impressed upon the converts. This was not difficult for the converts to understand, as there was a precedent from their culture. After the enrolment of the first converts into the enquirers' class, everything else in connection with the emerging church was done in consultation with them. This made them to realise that it was their church. Secondly, as the converts were getting used to participating in decision making that involves the emerging church, self-support and self-propagation were also taught to them. This yielded fruit as many voluntary preachers became common in the district (83-88).

'The Formation of the Indigenous Church' was a paper which Cooper presented at a gathering of the Conference of Missions in the Northern Provinces (C.M.N.P.) of Nigeria in 1929. In this paper Cooper stressed that the aim of missions should be the

planting of indigenous churches. In considering this subject he suggested that some thought should be given to the experience of other missionaries in other lands. He specially commended the work of Nevius and recommended that all missionary candidates should read Nevius' book titled: *Methods of Mission Work* (28). He quoted extensively a Jerusalem Conference Report and an article from the *World Dominion* to show the necessity of adopting and implementing the indigenous church policy in the formation and nurture of an African church. He stressed that missionaries are expected to do two things in forming a church in the mission field. First they should nurture the church through teaching. Secondly they should organise the church along the lines of the three-self principle. Towards the close of his paper Cooper appealed to the member missions of the C.M.N.P. for a united action in the implementation of the policy (29-35). In all of Cooper's works he did not allude to Roland Allen's work, rather he drew attention to Nevius' work instead.

In his book, *Towards an Indigenous Church*, Bolaji Idowu stresses that unless Christianity in Nigeria is indigenized, it may perish like the great church of Maghreb North Africa (7). According to him, the term indigenization simply means that '[…] the Church should bear the unmistakable stamp of the fact that she is the Church of God in Nigeria' (11). He argues that it was a lack of indigenization of Christianity in Nigeria that led to the emergence of Aladura churches in the first half of the twentieth century (41-43). Idowu does not define an indigenous church in terms of self-support, self-extension and self-governance, although these are implied in his book. Rather, he defines it in terms of the church's ability to accommodate valuable elements of Nigerian culture. According to him, an indigenous church is one which '[…] must respect, preserve, and dedicate to the glory of God anything that is of value in the culture and institutions of the country' (7).

‘What Can We Learn from Ourselves and Others About Establishing Indigenous Churches?’ is a paper written by Ernst H. Wendland. In this paper the writer focuses on what his readers can learn from the mission principles of his church denomination, and from the mission work of other churches. The section of the paper on the Roman Catholic understanding of the indigenous church principle is important to our study. In this section the writer argues that the missions of the Roman Catholic Church do not see the indigenous church policy in terms of self-support, self-extension and self-governance (7). Rather, they see it in terms of the thorough training of nationals for the priesthood. In the words of Wendland, ‘Their insistence upon a complete and thorough training of men for the priesthood, for example, whether Asian, African, or American, is their own way of applying an indigenous principle’ (8). The works of Bolaji Idowu and Ernst Wendland further show that the ‘three-self’ policy is not what readily comes to everyone’s mind whenever the phrase ‘indigenous church’, or ‘indigenous church policy’, is mentioned.

In his doctoral thesis, Samuel Dante Dali explores the S.U.M.’s understanding and practice of church unity and how such understanding was passed down to the churches founded by the different branches of the S.U.M. He argued that initially the S.U.M. branches planned to have a union church in Northern Nigeria but they eventually settled on the formation of a federation of churches for fellowship instead. During this S.U.M. period, the churches founded by the different branches of the S.U.M. were in practical unity, one which was not based on doctrine or organic organisation. He also argued that the unity of the churches today is not what was in place during the missionary era. So he recommended that leaders should address the current problems that are challenging the practical unity of the churches. Overall, Dali’s work is not relevant to this study but, in his working definition he mentioned the terms ‘indigenes,’ ‘indigenous’ and ‘indigenous church.’ Commenting on these terms he wrote:

> […] it appears that missionaries used the terms to describe the process of replacing missionaries with the local people rather [than] what the technical definition suggests. In this case, it may be possible for the Church to be self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating and yet still be western in its polity, theology, doctrines and practices as the Churches in Nigeria are today (36).

Dali gives the meaning of an indigenous church policy in the following words: '[…] the indigenous Church formula is the three self-understanding of the Church as self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting. This was the common understanding among the Protestant missionaries that went to Africa' (35).

John Ritchie, who was a missionary in Peru for about thirty seven years, has also contributed to the discussion on the indigenous church policy. In his book titled *Indigenous Church Principle in Theory and Practice*, he reveals how an indigenous church was established in Peru along the line of indigenous church principles. He traces the origin of the phrase 'indigenous church' to Sidney Clark (13). He says the term indigenous church became popular from 1912 (14). According to him, this phrase was promoted by the *World Dominion* from 1924 (14). He presents the early proposals of the policy in these words:

> The proposal set forth in "The Indigenous church" was that the missionaries and mission-paid workers should carry out the preparatory evangelism, visiting the villages in a co-ordinated effort […] the group of interested persons so gathered out and formed into a church should then be left to the ministry of the Holy Spirit and of unpaid leaders (16).

In another instance he gave an expanded form of the early proposal thus:

> […] when the little Christian group has come into being by whatever method, it should be left to God and its own resources, without outside provision for pastors; church building, or equipment, and without allowance from foreign mission funds to provide these or any other of the needs of the local community. In the now familiar formula, the indigenous church was to be self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating from the first day on which it was organized (17).

Ritchie called the above the "first principle" of indigenous church. He identifies two other principles that were stressed alongside the three-self principle. In his own words:

> The second principle is that the foreign missionary should devote himself to pioneer evangelism, and neither he nor any worker paid from mission funds should settle down to fulfil the pastoral duties for a congregation. The third principle is that nothing should be instituted on the mission field by the mission which could not be taken over, maintained, and conducted by the native church (17-18).

According to him the policy was employed in missionary circles to solve the problem of insufficient finance and personnel (15-16, 24, 26). He observes that the word 'indigenous' has lost its original scientific meaning to mean self-support (26). He argues that 'it was financial sufficiency that was aimed at rather than nativity (24).' He says the early proposal as shown above was sound but some details need to be modified.

Against this background, Ritchie presents how the indigenous church policy was put into practice in Peru. He then compared the policy in theory and the policy in practice and found some flaws in both. In his own words:

> […] it is not only the conception of the church which is inadequate in both the theory and the experiment under review, but also that the

> conception of the Gospel is inadequate. These critical observations do not invalidate the indigenous church principles but they indicate the necessity to expand them (66-67).

Thus he restated the policy to make provision for the complete fulfilment of the missionary mandate as presented in Matthew 28:19-20 (67-113).

Ritchie's work is related to our study. However, the practical application of the policy in Peru, as he outlines it, was not exactly the same as how the British branch of S.U.M. implemented it.

2.2 THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT THE POLICY IN NIGERIA

The Niger Mission was the C.M.S.'s second attempt at implementing the indigenous church policy of Henry Venn in West Africa.[16] We are considering the Niger Mission because it was the first deliberate attempt at implementing the indigenous church principle of Venn on the soil of what is today Nigeria. A number of authors have written on the story of how this mission fared from its constitution, with Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther as its head, to the year the C.M.S. suspended the further application of the policy some years after the demise of Henry Venn. We have reviewed only the major authorities namely J.F.A. Ajayi, E.A. Ayandele, G.O.M. Tasie, O.U. Kalu, P.R. McKenzie, E.P.T. Crampton, and Duke Akamisoko.

J.F.A. Ajayi devotes the last two chapters of his book, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite,* to the story of the Niger Mission. Ajayi shows that the consecration of Crowther as Bishop was Venn's way of trying to implement his indigenous church policy in Nigeria. He argues that Crowther was not the Bishop of the Niger alone, but the Bishop of 'the countries of West Africa beyond the limits of our domain' (206). This means that he was the Bishop of Yoruba land except

Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan. Venn hoped that these three areas would in the not too distant future come under Crowther's jurisdiction. He was Bishop of the Niger which was regarded as an extension of the Yoruba mission. Later, he also took charge of the American Episcopalian church of Liberia, and he also looked forward to the evangelization of Bathurst (Gambia). Therefore, according to Ajayi, by residing in Lagos he was at the central point of his area of jurisdiction. Venn hoped that Crowther would organize his diocese into a self-supporting and self-propagating church (206-208). Venn did not in any way doubt the ability of Crowther (183-186). The implication of this development was that Bishop Crowther was given full charge of running missionary and ecclesiastical activities within his diocese.

As soon as he was consecrated in 1864 (194), Crowther threw himself into his new task. The expulsion of Europeans in 1867 from Abeokuta placed the Yoruba mission of Abeokuta and Ibadan under Crowther as Venn had hoped (207). But this situation was not to last long. As events unfolded, the Yoruba mission, particularly Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan, did not come under the full control of Crowther. Therefore his work centred mostly on the Niger Mission (207).

As the sole administrator of the Niger Mission, Crowther had three major problems to face. There was the problem of communication (208, 211). He was living many miles away from the Niger area, and the Niger River was navigable for only about four months of the year (216). Therefore his supervisory influence over his wide diocesan area was not intensive. Besides this there was the problem of lack of finance. His diocese was not yet self-supporting; it was looking to the C.M.S. for most of its finance. As the years went by the financial help from the C.M.S. became inadequate, for when the work of mission under his care greatly expanded the usual grant from C.M.S. did not increase commensurately (219). In addition to these problems, he had the

problem of recruiting adequately trained staff. Until 1883 he had no money for building a training college[17] for his workers. Thus, '[…] he depended most on middle aged men barely literate in English and the vernacular' (222) from Sierra Leone.

These factors combined to make the work of the diocese ineffective. Besides, the lack of adequate supervision by Crowther owing to communication problems, and the poor training of the agents led to indiscipline in some members of his staff, some of which he knew about but failed to properly address (246). According to J.F.A. Ajayi, the ineffectiveness of the work and the indiscipline of some members of staff were exaggerated by racist European traders and some new C.M.S. missionaries who were influenced by the new spirit of colonialism. These new C.M.S. missionaries condemned the work of the Niger Mission and sidelined Crowther by taking control of the mission. In this way Henry Venn's plan of establishing a church based on the three-self policy was reversed (233-255).

In his book, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis*, E.A. Ayandele writes to show how the missions that worked in Nigeria brought about large scale social change. In his discussion of Ethiopianism he makes reference to Venn's indigenous church policy (180-183), and in some depth discusses the last days of Crowther. Unlike Ajayi, Ayandele speaks clearly on the administrative lapses of Bishop Crowther. Ayandele sees Crowther's only very casual visits to his diocese, his overly fatherly posture in dealing with his agents, and the many unfortunate appointments he made as some of the factors behind the corruption of some members of his staff (209-213). However Ayandele, like J.F.A. Ajayi, says that racist Europeans in the C.M.S. from 1887 were determined to take over the control of the Niger Mission (213-214). As a result they blew out of proportion the indiscipline of some of the agents of Crowther in order to justify their actions (207-209). According to

Ayandele, when Crowther was sidelined both Christians and non-Christians in West Africa protested (216-217).

G.O.M. Tasie also presents an outstanding work on the attempt at indigenisation on the Niger. In his *Christian Missionary Enterprise in the Niger Delta 1864-1918,* Tasie presents the story of the Niger Mission from the angle of the people of the Niger Delta (x, 134). Thus he is able to see and reveal things which neither Ajayi nor Ayandele were able to uncover.

According to Tasie, the Niger Delta Mission began with the invitation of King William Pepple of Bonny to Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther to establish a school in his domain. Subsequently, other Delta states followed Pepple's example and invited Crowther into their domains (29, 82). Tasie observes that behind Crowther's activities on the Niger was Henry Venn, who wanted to experiment with his indigenous church policy. According to him, Venn had a lot of faith in Crowther in particular and Africans in general (88).

Tasie shows that after working on the Niger for some years, most of the agents employed by Crowther had very bad Christian testimonies (86-88, 103-104). The result of this was that the C.M.S. lost faith in Africans and decided to reverse Venn's policy, by taking over the work from Crowther and his agents, to avoid building the Niger church on very unchristian foundations (87-89, 237). According to Tasie, the racial propaganda, by Africans, that followed the sidelining of Crowther and his agents was so great that it almost obscured the facts. In this way the Niger Delta Christians were made to join in a protest which they knew very little about (237-238).

Although Tasie admits that there were some racial undertones in the sidelining of Crowther and his agents, he heavily criticizes some social and political historians for overemphasizing European racial prejudice and the wrong that was done to Crowther.

Tasie sees the sidelining of Crowther as necessitated by C.M.S.'s very genuine concern for the quality of the work on the Niger (133-134).

Ogbu U. Kalu's *The Embattled Gods: Christianization of Igboland, 1841-1991* is also relevant here. In this book Kalu takes a critical look at the position of nationalist historiographers on the Niger crisis. Using the analogy of Nebuchadnezzar's statue, he says 'Nationalist historiography had its own feet of clay' (19). He criticizes nationalist historians' shallow characterization of the young C.M.S. 'purgers' on the Niger. He notes that because the nationalists were selective in their use of evidence, they ignored available materials that could have revealed the sincerity of the young C.M.S. missionaries. This bias has led to a distortion of the Niger crisis. The nationalist historians tend to sweep the failures of the native agents under the carpet (20-22). Like Tasie, Kalu implies that the action of the young British agents, who drove incompetent and carnal native agents away from the Niger Mission, was occasioned by a genuine concern for the quality of the work on the Niger.

In contrast to Kalu and Tasie, E.P.T. Crampton seems to side with Ajayi and Ayandele, when he says that the Sudan Party used Crowther's shortcomings as a pretext to take control of the Niger Mission (26, 27). Armed with the holiness doctrine of the Keswick convention, they pulled down almost all that the staff of Crowther laboured for at Lokoja, including closing one *preparandi* (27-29). Later Robinson, the only survivor of the Sudan Party, apologised for his part in the removal of African missionaries (35). However, Crampton notes that 'The European missionaries who went there after the demise of the Sudan Party often had the same low opinion of the Christian community there' (29).

According to Duke Akamisoko, following rumours of gross misconduct by Crowther's missionary agents, the C.M.S. in London, in 1880, sent Rev J.B. Wood to

investigate the matter and report back. Wood reported that some of Crowther's missionary agents were involved in taking alcohol, slave dealing, quarrels, illegitimate trade and sexual immorality and their work was ineffective. The C.M.S. did not accept the report as some of the charges were not substantiated. Consequently the C.M.S. asked Crowther to investigate the matter further. Crowther's report revealed that some of the charges in the Wood report were true. He gave three cases of sexual immorality committed by three of his missionary agents (72-73). Owing to these moral lapses in some of Crowther's agents, some new missionaries from England who were preoccupied with Keswick holiness and had some racial prejudice dismissed most of Crowther's missionary agents, including two of his senior assistants. As a result, Crowther resigned. In December 31st 1891 Crowther died of a stress related illness (74-77).

In his *Inter-religious Encounters in West Africa*, P.R. McKenzie also gives us a version of the Niger crisis arising from C.M.S.'s attempt to implement the three-self policy in the area. When Crowther procured a steamer in 1878, J.H. Ashcroft was installed by C.M.S. to handle it and also to relieve Crowther of the secular aspects of mission work. In 1879 Ashcroft dismissed Crowther's missionary agent at Lokoja without consulting him. James Kirk also dismissed two carpenters working for the Niger Mission without consulting the Bishop. Both men had no ecclesiastical powers to dismiss church workers. Besides this, Ashcroft refused to use the steamer to convey building materials for the Kipo Hill station (73). Around this time Ashcroft said if there was to be genuine Christianity on the Niger Europeans must lead. In the wake of this, J.L.B. Wood was asked to investigate the work of the Niger Mission and to report back to the parent committee. Wood based his report on the testimonies of white traders, some of which were exaggerated or false (77). In 1883 more of Crowther's missionary agents were dismissed without his consent. This prompted Crowther to write to the parent committee,

in dismay, to ask them to provide more Europeans to be the chief workers under whom he and his agents would be content to work (77-78). In March 1887 J.A. Robinson arrived at Bonny (84). He was later joined by G.W. Brooke and F.N. Eden. They planned to work in association with the Niger Mission, but they gave themselves freedom of action. They condemned the work of the Niger Mission as shallow and unreal (87). They forced Archdeacon Henry Johnson to leave the Upper Niger (88). At a finance committee of the mission held at Onitsha in 1890, Charles Paul and Archdeacon Crowther were suspended by these overzealous missionaries. This led to the resignation of Bishop Crowther (89). Not long after this episode, Crowther became sick and later died (92).

McKenzie chooses not to address what prompted the mass dismissal of the African agents of the mission. However, he tells us something of the moral decadence found among Christians in the Niger area in these words: 'Underneath the theoretical debate that took place lay practical ethical issues such as the practice of some women traders among the congregation [in Onitsha] of sending female slaves to the factories allegedly to work as prostitutes […]' (65).

The materials we have so far reviewed in this section reveal that the Niger Mission was Venn's attempt to try his indigenous church policy. This meant that the work was effectively left in the hands of Crowther and his agents. But, as things turned out, the work was not up to expectations for want of quality and accountability. As a result Crowther and his agents were sidelined.

2.3 CHURCH AND MISSION RELATIONS

The materials the researcher found relevant for this section include those by Victor E.W. Hayward, Lamin Sanneh, James Scherer, Gerhard Hoffmann, Emilio Castro and C. Peter Wagner. Works of Ogbu U. Kalu, Ruth M. Harris and Patricia J. Patterson, Pius

Wakatama, Harold Fuller, E.M. Uka, Luzu Gonten and Moses Yamtal and John Gatu are also referred to.[18]

In his article 'African Independent Church Movement', found in the *International Review of Missions* (April 1963, 163-172), Victor E.W. Hayward gives us the story of an important consultation on the African independent church movement, which was arranged by the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) in collaboration with the All Africa Conference of Churches (A.A.C.C.) in 1962. The aspect that is relevant to our study is the factors behind the emergence of independency in African Christianity. According to Hayward, racial, political and cultural tensions resulting from the general African situation were behind the emergence of these movements. He also observes that '[…] man's natural desire for freedom to express his religious faith and to carry out his religious practice in ways which he himself finds deeply significant' (164) is another factor. Hayward's work helps us to see that long before some African church leaders asked European and American missionaries to go home, there had been some reaction against European and American spiritual domination of Christianity on the continent.

Lamin Sanneh's *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* is also relevant here. His seventh chapter is captioned "The Rise of African Independent Churches." In this chapter Sanneh gives the story of the beginning and development of independency in West Africa, from the 1870s to the 1960s. He identifies European and American missionary domination as the cause of the earliest protests and secession in some of the mission founded churches of West Africa. He says the emergence of the Native Baptist Church and the United Native African Church were outcome of African Christian discontent with the domineering attitudes of Western Christian missionaries to Western Africa. He further observes that direct colonial rule and economic factors increased and galvanized feelings of independency in the region (174-176). Sanneh's work is another pointer to the fact that

before the era of the call for a moratorium, there had been growing discontent with the way the missionaries were dominating religious affairs. Sanneh's work gives us a picture of what things were like before the moratorium call of the 1970s.

James Scherer's *Missionary, Go Home!* traces the moratorium call to both Old and New Testament times. He says Jeremiah, Jesus and Paul '[…] were the first to sound the cry, "Missionary, Go Home!"' (16) to false prophets and proselytizers. He observes that in modern times the cry of "Missionary, Go Home!" was not coming only from non-Christians, but also from younger churches founded by the missions (72). He admits that there was a legitimate element in the protest (5, 24, 39, 72). He takes a critical look at missionary activities and policies in the past and finds them littered with failures (24). He criticizes the fraternity between missions and colonialism and missionary cultural and ecclesiastical imperialism (27-38) that were common features of former mission practice. He sees these un-apostolic elements in the practice of mission as the reasons for the cry, "Missionary, Go Home!" (39).

Owing to the prevailing grave suspicions of the aims and purpose of missionary work in the early 1960s, Scherer advises younger churches to work towards a changed relationship with Christian Europe and America by indigenizing church life and living by God's grace. He also advised that they should express their loyalty to their nations, and join their country-men and women in the task of nation-building. Scherer gives this advice against the background of the anger of nationalists, communists and anti-colonialists against Europe and America (170-171).

Scherer wrote his book in the early 1960s. Like Hayward and Sanneh's works, Scherer's work gives us general background to the moratorium call of the 1970s. The work helps us to know that before the moratorium call became loud and clear in the 1970s, there had already been some "shrill" voices to that effect in the 1960s. Although not a third

world national, Scherer recognizes the legitimacy of the moratorium call. He sees it as a response to the mission policies of Western missionaries.

In "Missionary, Go Home" John Gatu, the African church leader most often associated with the moratorium call, argues that European missionaries should be withdrawn from the third world in general and Africa in particular to enable the churches to find their own identity (4). According to him there are a number of reasons for this call. There is ferment in many parts of Africa because of the presence of European missionaries who are known to be allies of colonialism and commerce (4-5). He says, as self-styled spokesmen for Africa, missionaries often give a distorted view of Africa and Africans (5). Furthermore, missionaries occupy the positions meant for Africans (5). He also notes that in order to enable Africa to develop her own resources, the African church needs no help from the West. In addition, Gatu observes that behind the West's desire to help, there is a cruel wish to continue the spirit of colonialism (20). Gatu concludes that if his call for the withdrawal of missionaries and money is heeded, there will be a transformation of relationships and in the image of the Church, and the Gospel will have a more far-reaching effect than before (21).

Gerhard Hoffmann, in his "The Crisis in World Mission: An Issue of Death or of Life?" in the *International Review of Missions* (Vol. 60, 1971, 39-49), observes that the crisis in world missions stems from the lack of sufficient theological work by the mission societies on their own practical activities (40). Thus he says their work was characterized by contradictions between theory and practice (41). He points out two contradictions, one of which was the missions' attitude to social work. He notes that some missionaries did not see social work as real mission. Hoffmann says that such an attitude was like that of the priest in the story of the Good Samaritan who passed by on the other side, leaving the victim without help because he had "higher" work. The second contradiction, and one

which is important to this study, is the attitude of some missionaries towards the emergence of competent indigenous church workers. He says some missionaries, although they claimed they were working on the indigenous principle, were not really happy when competent indigenous Christians were available and ready to take the place of the missionaries. Such missionaries wanted to continue to dominate the younger churches even against the wishes of indigenes. Hoffmann stressed that Western missionaries should be willing to give up their privileges for the sake of the indigenes (40-44). He says the end of Western mission and Western privileges could be the starting point of real world mission (45). Hoffmann's work suggests that the tendency for European and American missionaries to dominate the younger churches of the third world was widespread. His work helps us to see what the situation was like on the eve of the moratorium call by third world church leaders in the 1970s.

In his "Moratorium" in the *International Review of Missions* (Vol. 64, 1975, 117-128), Emilo Castro says that moratorium is not a new idea. He agrees with Scherer who traces its history to Old and New Testament times. According to Castro, emotions ran high at the mention of the word because it reappeared '[…] at the time of intense mistrust and great polarization' (117, 118-119). He further notes that moratorium does not aim at a complete break of relations rather it seeks the suspension of current relations so that better ones may emerge. To Castro, moratorium means freedom to critically look at present mission patterns and engagements to see whether missions and younger churches can go on with business as usual or not (119-121). Castro's work enables us to see the sensitive nature of the moratorium call at the time it was made. His work gives us something of the emotional pulse of the time, which in turn gives us some idea of how serious the subject matter was in the 1970s, the period when the S.U.M. British Branch pulled out of Nigeria.

'The Moratorium Debate: Responses to a Questionnaire', in the *International Review of Missions* (vol. 64, 1975, 148-164), is another relevant but anonymous article. The article records the responses of eleven respondents, from across the globe, to a nine-question questionnaire on the moratorium debate. Responding to one of the questions G. T. Brown says the call reflects a genuine desire for self-reliance, indigenization and authenticity. He also notes that the call came strongest from Africa, but the African voice was not united on the matter (150).

C. Peter Wagner's 'Colour the Moratorium Grey', in the *International Review of Missions* (vol. 64, 1975, 165-176), tells us the reaction of some Western missionaries to the moratorium call. Wagner says that when the call was made at a conference in 1973, he and others shouted 'no' but later he became aware of the complexities of the call and changed his mind. Wagner sees the moratorium as a time of pruning. He says it should not be applied indiscriminately, but should be made only on unproductive missionaries and those who perpetuate cultural chauvinism, theological and ethical imperialism and paternalistic inter-church aid (165, 171-176). Wagner's work is useful as it helps us to know that the call for a change in relationship, as advocated by the moratorium call, did not go unchallenged and also that moratorium can be selective rather than total.

'Not Just New Relationships but a Renewed Body' by Ogbu U. Kalu is also relevant. Kalu understands the moratorium call as a desperate version of the quest for indigeneity and more. According to him, the call was not only a call for new relationships, or indigenisation, but a call for doing mission in a new way, a call to pull down denominationalism in order to develop the structures necessary for sharing resources within the third world, and a call for a renewed body (*International Review of Missions*. vol. 64, 1975, 143-147). Kalu's understanding adds another dimension to the moratorium debate. The desire to pull down denominationalism, that Kalu raises, is not a common

element in the debate. This may be a pointer to the fact that people understood the idea of moratorium differently.

In their 'People in Mission: Towards Selfhood and Solidarity', in the *International Review of Missions* (vol. 64, 1975, 137-142), Ruth Harris and Patricia Patterson recognize that the moratorium call was a question of selfhood. It was a reaction against missionary and foreign church domination (137-138). They call on US missionaries and churches to ponder why their own selfhood should infringe on the selfhood of younger churches. Thus, they call for a shift in the understanding and practice of mission from the traditional way to a new one in which the people of God are in mission together (137,139-142).

Independence for the Third World Church: An African's Perspective on Missionary Work is another contribution to mission-church relations. Here Pius Wakatama discusses the moratorium in some depth. Like G.T. Brown he notes that Africans were not united on the moratorium question (10-11). Wakatama recognizes four major groups behind the moratorium call. The first group makes the call to avoid the extinction of culture and to check exploitation in the third world. Wakatama rejects the reasons this group give for the moratorium. He says culture is not sacred and should not take precedence over the souls of lost humanity. He also says if missionaries had not taken part in colonialism the exploitation of the third world might have been worse (16-17).

The next group calls for moratorium because mission work in the third-world has been successful. This group says that now there are many viable young churches in the third-world, missionaries should go home. Wakatama also condemns the suggestion of this group on the basis of the scope of the Great Commission and the nature of the church. He says Christians are to obey the Great Commission until the close of the age, even when there are viable churches around the world. He also notes that the church is one, and Christ

should be above culture so that all races can work together as was the case with mission work in the apostolic era (21-27).

The third category calls for moratorium because of the frustration of working with Western missionaries. Wakatama places John Gatu in this group. This group accuses the missionaries of: occupying positions Africans should hold, giving financial support with strings attached, treating nationals like children, and of crippling indigenous initiatives. Wakatama sympathizes with this group but he does not support their call for all missionaries to go home (29-38).

The last group consists of those who call for a selective moratorium. Wakatama identifies himself with this group. He says a moratorium should be called on missionaries who come to occupy positions that Africans can handle. He says that instead of occupying positions Africans can handle, Africans should be assisted to be responsible for the work in their areas. Such assistance should take the form of training (42). Training should be given in theology and other fields that could help evangelists to be relevant to society. Training should also be given in journalism, book writing and Christian leadership. He also argues that nationals should be sponsored to study overseas while efforts should be made to provide higher education in the third world (67-82). He further stresses that only missionaries whose spirituality and commitment has been tested by their home churches, and who have good educational and attitudinal qualifications should be sent to the third world as missionaries (83-94).

Like Ogbu Kalu, Wakatama notes that missions' perpetuation of division among African Christians was a factor in the moratorium call. He advises African Christians to be one on the basis of Scripture, and not on the basis of inherited ideas from missions, without forming a super-church (95-104). He further suggests that missions should restructure themselves and embark on a voluntary selective moratorium in order not to retard the

initiatives of nationals (105, 107-112). He sums up by saying that the moratorium should move missions to bring their activities '…in line with scripture and the changing world situation.' He makes a call for international cooperation in mission so that Christians in all parts of the world can get the needed support '…to do the best job possible of making disciples' (118-119).

Wakatama's work is useful as it points to the complex nature of the call for a moratorium. The voice of members of churches in the third world was divided over whether or not a moratorium should be called. Even among those who wish for a moratorium, there were variant views on why and how it should be carried out. Like Hoffmann's, Wakatama's work gives the impression that the break in mission-church relations, arising from mission policies, was widespread in the third world.

Similarly, Harold Fuller's *Mission-Church Dynamics* is relevant. Here, the writer discusses the way in which missions and the churches they brought into being behave and react towards each other, using the Sudan Interior Mission (S.I.M.) and the Evangelical Churches Winning All (E.C.W.A.) as a case study. He says tensions in mission-church relationships span the ages, are universal and will continue to be experienced in future mission endeavours (4).

Fuller takes a panoramic view of mission history and finds it littered with tensions such as tension between the sending church and the mission agency, tension within the mission agency, tension within the churches founded by the mission, and tension between the mission agency and the young church she brought into existence (5-6). On mission-church tension Fuller notes that there was tension between Paul and the Corinthian church (6), and between the Roman mission and some of the churches she founded on the mission field during the Dark Ages. Fuller observes that during this period, 'Missionary policy took little notice of local customs or desires…Policies were dictated

from Rome, producing local tensions between church and mission' (11). Fuller notes that the consecration of Ajayi Crowther as Bishop was Venn's attempt to overcome tension between English missionaries and African ministers (32). He further observes that in 1932 the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C. & M. A.) in India experienced a breakdown in relationship with the community of believers she had brought into being (36).

According to Fuller, in order to prevent or overcome mission related tensions, particularly tension in mission-church relations, some churches, missions and individuals came up with different patterns of church-mission relations based on the question 'How can a church relate to the mission that brought her into being?' He also notes that while missions were thinking about their patterns of relationship with younger churches, a number of events were unfolding which introduced additional tensions between the mission and the church. These events were the emergence of the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) and the incursion of liberal theology in missionary discussions. The emergence of the W.C.C. produced so much church-centred mentality that '[…] the right of existence of missionary organizations separate from church organizations was questioned' (56). A debate among liberal theologians led to the re-definition of salvation and evangelism, and missionary work as had been done in the past was de-emphasized (40-43). These trends '[…] coupled with the tensions of cross-cultural communication and the image of the colonial missionary' (109) led to the moratorium call which was rejected by evangelicals (25, 53, 103). Some evangelicals suggested that where the voice of moratorium prevails and young churches show no commitment to mission work, mission should by-pass such churches (109-110, 113-114).

Fuller describes the rising zeal for mission work in the third world. He also presents the desire of some of the churches of the third world to cooperate with one another and with western and American churches and mission agencies. He sees the

churches of the third-world as one of God's greatest resources given to his church to fulfil the Great Commission. He thus makes an appeal to evangelicals to develop this resource (121-126).

Fuller observes that much of the cause of mission-church tensions arise from a misconception of the nature of the church and her task, and from the polarization of mission-centric and church-centric views. He suggests that both mission and church should be seen as para-church structures in the service of Christ who is the centre of both (126-127). They should work together, through the changing phases of their relationship, to the point of mutual cooperation and interdependence as is found in a marriage or a dynamic father-son relationship. He stresses that the church of Jesus is universal and no one has the authority to stop the interdependence of the people of God (131-141).

According to Fuller, most of the tensions in mission-church relations centre on culture. The quest by nationals to present themselves as genuine Christians who are capable of learning aspects of European culture; and mission policies that seek to preserve culture are some of the reasons for cultural tensions (146-150). The way to reduce cultural tension is to let the Bible judge all cultures (146, 154-156). The writer gives the following as some of the cultural issues that produce tension in mission-church relations: differences in values and priorities; accepted rules of doing things or behaving in a society; finance; educational gap or image of the missionary; differences in concept of leadership; the introduction of change; the separation of social action from evangelism; banning a young church from offering educational, medical and agricultural services; lands and houses; written or verbal agreements; entering into affiliations; insensitive treatment of personnel; and acts of kindness which promote dependence (162-186).

As a case study Fuller looks at the policies which S.I.M. followed and the tensions that resulted from those policies, and how the mission handled the tensions. He

says tensions arose over the mission's policies on culture, finance and the handing over of responsibility to E.C.W.A. (193, 195-196, 201-207). However, through much interaction in meetings, seminars and local fellowships the mission and the church were able to work out a relationship (209, 221). He also observes that since the turning over of responsibility to E.C.W.A., the church has been very mission-conscious and her missionaries have experienced the type of cultural clash which S.I.M. missionaries had faced (227-241). Fuller concludes his book by stressing that the dimensions of world mission and trends in Africa and Christian theology call for global partnership in mission (245-257).

Harold Fuller's work is commendable. It gives us some insights into tensions in mission-church relations, arising from the reaction of nationals to mission policies. However, Fuller's work may not be the last word on indigenous policy and mission-church relations because no two historical situations are exactly the same. Besides, the case study is brief, as it is only thirty pages long. Furthermore, Fuller's work is not the product of research of this nature, but a published form of his lecture notes to students of Igbaja Seminary in Nigeria. The work we wish to attempt is therefore still relevant.

In his commendable work titled *Missionaries Go Home?: A Sociological Interpretation of an African Response to Christian Missions*, E.M. Uka looks at the moratorium call from a sociological standpoint. He argues that the call was predicated on the socio-economic, political and ecclesiastical injustices of Christian Europe and North America. According to him, African church leaders were dissatisfied with the paternalistic, dependent relationship between Africa on one hand and Europe and North America on the other hand. He says the dissatisfaction found an outlet in calling for a missionary moratorium. He stresses that the call was not made for Europe and North America to completely sever their relationship with Africa, rather it was made for a

change in relationship from one of paternalism and dependence to one of fraternity and respect as equals (15, 191-208).

The relevance of Uka's work to this study cannot be overemphasized. It reveals that, generally, church leaders in Africa were not comfortable with the existing paternalistic relationship between missions and the younger churches. It also reveals that some African church leaders opposed the moratorium proposal, thus agreeing with G.T. Brown and Wakatama that African church leaders were not united on the matter.

In their separate works edited under the title 'Two Views of the Implementation of the Three-self Principle in the Church of Christ in Nigeria' in the *T.C.N.N Research Bulletin* (No. 12, April 1983, 29-34), Luzu Gonten and Moses Yamtal each assess the level of the success of the three-self principle. Each of them also gives us a glimpse of the S.U.M.-C.O.C.I.N. relationship in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In Gonten's assessment the Church of Christ in Nigeria (C.O.C.I.N.) was, at the time of writing,[19] partially self-supporting and fully self-propagating. He also notes that although C.O.C.I.N. was self-governing, some expatriates still held some leadership positions (29-30). He further says:

> As far as peoples' [sic] attitudes towards the three-self principle are concerned, I have heard from elders at home and even from educated young men, that most people support the principle… many people feel that the church is now ready to run her own affairs and so the founders, i.e. the whites, should leave. Though some do not come out clearly to protest, the feeling is within them (31).

Similarly, Moses Yamtal observes that C.O.C.I.N. was, at the time of writing, partially self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing. He says the church was still getting some financial support from the mission, and the church and the mission

were involved in mission work in Chad and Sudan together. He also notes that the personnel secretary of the church was a foreigner. He further says C.O.C.I.N. desired to be autonomous without forgetting ecumenism and fraternity (31-34). However, he betrays the feelings of the time in these words,

> One thing, however, which western writers on the subject of missions have failed to realize or deliberately refuse to comment about is that some missionaries are secret agents of their home governments or at least collect information including pictures of nude people on the streets and of poverty-stricken people; and also write information in order to go home and make money when they write books…That is not too bad, but where they fail to give a fair picture of Africa and Africans they do the worse harm to Africa.
>
> Therefore I will never suggest that COCIN inter-church workers stay in Africa too long. Their days are numbered, they should be sent packing as soon as possible. COCIN church can maintain itself as regards the three self principle if only means of finance are truly harnessed (34).

Although these articles were written outside the limit of the period under review,[20] they are quite useful. They each leave us with the impression that there were feelings of both love and discontent against the mission in the 1980s, which probably had their roots in the period under review.

2.4 WORKS ON THE MISSION AND THE CHURCH

Lowry Maxwell, Mollie Tett and Jan Boer have all written on the work of the mission but gave very little attention to the mission's indigenous church policy. Maxwell mentions the three-self policy on pages 67, 83, 215 and 212-213 where he traces the

origin of the policy to Herbert Cooper of the Langtang mission station. He says Cooper's work became a model for other missionaries of the S.U.M. field (212-213). However he reveals a change in attitude towards the policy on pages 252 and 299-300 where he expresses regret that the policy had led to a delay in more advanced education being offered.

Similarly, Mollie Tett says it was from Cooper, who was a student of Allen, that the policy found its way into the mission. She says that although the emphasis has changed as all Christians are one in Christ, the policy helped the mission to avoid producing what she called 'rice Christians', and has also helped the young church to take up its responsibility right from the beginning (100-101).

Jan Boer debunks Farrant's claim that the policy was adopted by the mission right from the start. He says the evidence is clear that it was not adopted until 1923. Like Maxwell and Tett he traces the policy in the mission to Cooper, and ultimately to Roland Allen who he says '[…] revived Henry Venn's emphasis on indigenous churches' (442). Although Boer recognises Allen's complete disregard for social questions, it is surprising that he still links the mission's indigenous church policy, which was known for its mega institutional work, to Allen's scheme (444).

Nanwul Gutip also mentions the three-self policy in her *Church of Christ in Nigeria: Birth and Growth*. She says Cooper was at the centre of it in the mission, and that later the Nigerian church leaders also caught the vision (4). Gutip does not expand on this so we do not know how the Nigerian church leaders caught the vision.

Facing the Challenge is a booklet written for the centenary celebration of the mission. Like Gutip, Maxwell, Boer and Tett, the booklet traces the origin of the policy to Cooper, and says the policy was used to build C.O.C.I.N. In the words of the booklet:

> The Coopers aimed to establish an indigenous church, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. Herbert Cooper expounded his goal in 1923 at the strategically important Wukari conference. What he said then became a landmark statement which influenced much of the later development of the Church of Christ in Nigeria (10).

The booklet also talks about the integration of the mission and church which began with the formation of a joint church/mission committee in 1959 to discuss matters concerning mission policy. In 1960 there were church representatives on the field committee of the mission. In 1977 the mission ceased to exist in Nigeria, which put it at the forefront of world mission developments (35).

COCIN Community Mission: Mobilizing COCIN for Evangelism and Mission is a recent publication of the missionary arm of the Church. As the title suggests, it is written with the aim of '[…] mobilizing COCIN and her members to invest in missions […]' (vi). The booklet contains a brief history of S.U.M., B.B. It also contains the C.O.C.I.N. vision and mission statement which includes the phrase '[…] COCIN shall continue to be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing […]' (3-4). In only a page, a history of C.O.C.I.N. Community Mission (C.C.M.) is given. The remaining pages are intended to motivate C.O.C.I.N. Local Church Councils, pastors and members to take part in the missionary endeavour of the church.

The booklet makes interesting reading but it contains errors. For example Karl Kumm, the founder of S.U.M. is described as '[…] a young medical doctor' (18). Kumm was not a medical doctor. He was called 'Dr.' because he was the holder of a doctorate degree. The booklet also leaves much to be desired in other ways. It mentions the three-self policy of S.U.M., B.B. and even says C.O.C.I.N. will continue to be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing (2-3), but no detail of the policy is given.

Part of the mission statement of C.C.M. is to 'Establish Churches that will survive, support and reproduce themselves' (6-7), but there is no mention of how this is to be done by C.C.M. and nothing is said about how this is carried out on the different mission fields under the direct charge of some C.O.C.I.N. Local Church Councils.

As already noted, the methodology adopted for the review is the thematic one. The materials we have so far reviewed under 'The Meaning of Indigenous Church Policy' reveal two things. First they reveal that the indigenous church policy, which centred on the three-self policy, was controversial. For example Stephen Neill did not agree with Venn's formulation because of the sharp separation between mission and church which it entails, and because the application of Venn's understanding of the policy did not work well in Sierra Leone and Tinnevelly, India. The controversial nature of the policy makes us wonder why the mission under consideration adopted it. Secondly, the materials we have reviewed reveal that the definition or understanding of the policy widely differed. The key proponents of the policy were not in harmony over its content. While Venn, Anderson and Allen saw the three-self policy as the mark of indigeneity, Warneck did not. Although Warneck saw the importance of the three-self principles, he had his own ideas of an indigenous church. He says an indigenous church is one which is able to accommodate all the scripturally harmless elements of a people's culture. The proponents were also not in agreement over the timing of the realization of the three-self goals, neither were they in agreement over institutional work in missions. With respect to timing Allen and Warneck seem to have been at opposite ends. While Warneck's view encouraged protracted paternalism, Allen said as soon as a congregation is formed, leaders should be ordained for the church. When this is done the missionary should move away to allow the church to grow in her own way. On the question of institutional work Allen and Clark objected to institutional work in mission. In contrast

Venn, Anderson, Warneck and Cooper encouraged institutional work. Because the proponents were not in agreement, different missions understood and applied the policy differently. This review challenges the view that is widely held in C.O.C.I.N. that the mission was operating using Allen's definition. S.U.M. British Branch and Allen were a long way apart even on major issues that were important to Allen. This study will attempt to discover the Mission's understanding or interpretation of the policy, since it is now clear that she was worlds away from Allen's view. We shall also attempt to uncover the motives behind her indigenous church policy. In addition, the researcher intends to consider how the Mission applied its own version of the indigenous church policy.

The interaction with materials under the theme 'The First Attempt to Implement the Policy in Nigeria' also reveals two things. The Niger mission was entirely an African affair, no European missionary was part of the field staff. Secondly this early attempt at complete autonomy did not produce quality work as its proponents had anticipated. One wonders whether S.U.M. British Branch was aware of this antecedent. If she was aware of it, how did she guard against reproducing the Niger Mission story? When she granted complete autonomy to the church, by ceasing to exist in the country, how did the indigenous leaders and their followers react? What effect did this have on both the Mission and Church?

Under 'Church and Mission Relations' the review shows four things. First, although the indigenous policy was meant to check protracted paternalism, the application of the policy still led to undue domination and dependence. Secondly there was a widespread call by third-world church leaders for missionaries to pack up and go home. This became known as the moratorium call. From our review, we can see that the moratorium was a reaction against Western mission policies. African church leaders were not united in this call and their understanding of the call also differed. Thirdly, the

review also reveals that tensions in mission-church relations, arising from mission policy, span the ages, are universal, and will also be experienced in future mission endeavours. Fourthly, by 1981-82 there were feelings of both love and discontent for S.U.M. by some C.O.C.I.N. church leaders and members. Was there tension in the relationship between C.O.C.I.N. and S.U.M.? If there was tension, why? How did the mission handle it? Were S.U.M. and C.O.C.I.N. affected by the moratorium movement? What were their views on the moratorium? Can we trace Gonten and Yamtal's references to ill-feelings towards the missionaries to the period under consideration? Under 'Works on the Mission and Church', there are four pieces of work on the history of the Mission and one on the history of the Church. All these contain very scanty information on the mission's indigenous church policy, thus leaving us with more questions than answers.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the review has laid bare some gaps that this study can fill as its own contribution to this field. There is a need to probe into the mission's indigenous church policy, the factors that necessitated its formulation and adoption, and the Mission's general policies towards the Church that stemmed from its indigenous church policy. Besides, there is need to probe into the reaction of church leaders and members to the mission policies and how the Mission handled that reaction. It is equally important to probe into what the policy meant for the relationship of the mission and church. This review has also provided the background and framework for our study. Thus, our study is necessary and possible.

NOTES

[1] The question of indigenous church policy is often traced back to the apostle Paul.

[2] The authorities reviewed in this section wrote between 1850 and 2007.

[3] Henry Venn (1796-1873) and Roland Allen (1868-1947) were both British Anglicans. Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) was an American Congregationalist and a contemporary of Venn. John Livingstone Nevius (1829-93) was a Presbyterian missionary working in Shantung, China. Gustav Warneck (1834-1919) was a leading German Missiologist. Sydney Clark was a British Congregationalist who knew Roland Allen. Herbert J. Cooper was a S.U.M. British Branch missionary who worked in Langtang, Nigeria, from 1909 to 1936.

[4] Shenk includes Venn's papers on 'The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches' in his appendix. The above quotation is part of his first paper issued in 1851. The paper was published as a pamphlet in 1866. Although self-propagation does not appear in the quotation, it was part of Venn's picture of an indigenous church. This is obvious from his ninth functional principle which we noted earlier.

[5] John Eliot was the first missionary of the first British mission, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, founded in 1649.

[6] The ideas of both men were, at first, independent of each other. Later they knew about each other's work (see Verkuyl 184-185).

[7] We have not been able to obtain Anderson's mega work titled *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Scribners, 1869). Fortunately Anderson's works, edited by Beaver, contain his indigenous church policy.

[8] This does not conflict with "as soon as the mission church has a native pastor, the responsibilities of self-government should be devolved upon it" (Anderson 98). The word devolve implies delegation, with some authority still in missionaries' hands.

[9] The introduction of the book (page 9-44) was written by R. Pierce Beaver. The page referred to above is part of the introduction.

[10] The booklet is edited by Thomas Cochrane. It contains two articles, 'the Self-support System in Korea' by Floyd Hamilton and 'The "Nevius Method" in Korea' by Roland Allen. The researcher would have loved to review Nevius' *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches* (1886), but the book is not available. Therefore it became necessary for the researcher to use this material edited by Thomas Cochrane.

[11] Gustav Warneck's opus magnum, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, contains his indigenous church ideas. This book is not available and it is written in a language that is strange to the researcher. This is why we have used Beyerhaus and Lefever's work which contains Warneck's view of the policy.

[12] Gustav Warneck was familiar with the writings of Venn and Anderson (see Beyerhaus and Lefever 45). The factors that made Warneck hold his position about the indigenous church are not yet clear to the researcher. However, we can safely say that his views may not have been completely unconnected with the spirit of colonialism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see Beyerhaus and Lefever 54).

[13] The book was first published in 1912. He also wrote other relevant works. We need to see them together to understand his view of indigeneity.

[14] By indigenous church Clark appears to mean a church which '[…] has indigenous finance, indigenous leadership and indigenous organization' (3).

[15] Herbert J. Cooper was a S.U.M. British Branch missionary in charge of the Langtang mission station from 1909 to1936.

[16] The first attempt was made in Sierra Leone from 1860 (Neill 221). It is this that Bishop Stephen Neill heavily criticizes.

[17] Bad reports about lack of trained agents on the Niger made the C.M.S. release money in 1883 for Crowther to build a college at Lokoja (246). The building was completed in 1887. However, the mission was expanding faster than one new college could cater for (222).

[18] There are other relevant but unavailable works by Paul Hopkins, John Thorne, Carr Burgess, J. M. de Carvaldo and Howard J. Habergger. Paul Hopkins' work is titled "What is the Call for Moratorium and How Should We Respond?" in *Concern*, November 1974. *AACC* Bulletin 9, 1975 contains John Thorne's 'Focus on Moratorium: Becoming Prisoners of Hope.' The same Journal also contains Carvaldo's 'Focus on Moratorium: the Dawning of Partnership". *The Mennonite* Nov. 18, 1975 carries Habergger's "Moratorium: What is Behind the Call?" Carr Burgess' "The Mission of the Moratorium" is found in the *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research Library* 25, March/April 1975.

[19] We do not know exactly when Gonten and Yamtal wrote these articles. But we are sure, from Gonten's notes on page 31, that they were written before 1983. As the content of pages 30 and 32 suggest, they wrote them in either 1981 or 1982.

[20] The period this study is concerned with is 1934-1977, but the articles were written either in 1981 or 1982.

CHAPTER THREE
A HISTORY OF THE SUDAN UNITED MISSION, BRITISH BRANCH, UP TO 1933

The Sudan United Mission, British Branch (S.U.M., B.B.), was the product of its time. In this chapter we consider the general cultural surroundings from which the Mission emerged, and which directly or indirectly shaped its form and work. This has entailed looking at both the British and Nigerian settings. We also look at the rise of faith missions up to the year 1905. A brief history of the Mission up to 1933 also forms part of this section.

Much has been written about the context of modern mission and about the history of Britain and Nigeria. For example Mark Noll's *The Rise of Evangelicalism,* David Bebbington's *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* and Kenneth Hylson-Smith's *Evangelicals in the Church of England* give us the background to modern Protestant mission. M. Crowther's *The Story of Nigeria* and *A Thousand Years of West African History* edited by J.F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie are useful volumes on the history of Nigeria. Therefore, we have reflected only those things that are essential for understanding the cultural forces that gave birth to, and influenced the policies and work of, the mission under review.

Like any work of this nature, this chapter is not without its limitations. Since this is only a background chapter the researcher has avoided much detail, in order to keep the chapter to a reasonable length. Besides, the section is not entirely based on primary sources. Although preference is given to primary sources, we have only been able to use those that are available. In place of unavailable primary sources, relevant major secondary authorities are used. On the cultural settings, attention has been given only to Britain and Nigeria. In the Nigerian situation emphasis is laid on the Middle Belt, particularly those areas that were not markedly affected by the Sokoto caliphate.

Focusing on these areas of the Middle Belt is because these were the areas of operation of the Mission in question.

3.1 THE CULTURAL SETTING OF BRITAIN 1730-1977

It is often rightly said that Christian mission to the third world in the 19th and early 20th centuries floated on the rising tides of European and North American civilizations. From 1730 the socio-economic, political and religious landscape of Britain went through a number of changes that were to have tremendous impact on mission in the 19th and 20th centuries. Here the researcher looks at those cultural elements that, in the wake of their transformation, interacted with each other to give rise to scores of mission agencies and high missionary zeal in Britain in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

3.1.1 The Political Setting

Although we are considering Britain since 1730, her political history has roots deep in the Dark and Middle Ages. The withdrawal of the Roman colonialists in the fifth century A.D. led to the emergence of several small kingdoms in England.[1] But during the Middle Ages the Normans from North-western France,[2] under William the Conqueror, conquered England and consolidated its existing national unity. The Kings who succeeded William maintained his policy of national unity with a strong central monarchical government (Perry 395).

From 1215 the power of the monarchy began to reduce while that of the parliament grew (Perry 397). This trend continued until a parliamentary form of government, with limited monarchy, was firmly established in England in the 17th century. This form of government gave relative stability and internal peace to England for almost three centuries as observed by Perry thus: ‘In the almost 300 years since the

Glorious Revolution [of 1688-89] many states have experienced violent civil wars and revolution, long periods of disorders, and ineffective government. But in England the orderly process of parliamentary government has met every political crisis' (416).[3]

This long period of political stability and internal peace enabled Britain to be a regional power. In a series of colonial and naval wars she defeated France and the Netherlands to gain unchallenged control of the seas in the 18th century (Perry 507). In this way France lost her North American Empire and India to Britain (Perry 382).

Subsequent to the loss of most of her colonies in North America, occasioned by America's successful War of Independence, Britain directed her energies towards South Asia and Africa where she obtained colonies piecemeal. The spread of British power brought various parts of the world to the attention of the British people (Worrall 186-187).[4] The spread of British power not only created publicity for the needs of other parts of the world among the British public but wherever British power had reached, there was the possibility for her enterprising citizens to find passage and security.

3.1.2 The Economic and Social Settings

Until the industrial revolution, which began in the middle of the 18th century, British society was largely based on agriculture (Worrall 4). From 1750 onwards, the application of scientific and technological inventions to industry enabled British industries to produce surplus goods. Thus, 'By 1850 England was producing much of the coal mined in Europe and was manufacturing more than half of that continent's cotton cloth. Her iron, woollen cloth, and machine industries were of the first rank' (Perry 509).

Like the quest for colonies,[5] the industrial revolution also necessitated more trading contacts (Worrall 187). By 1870 Britain's commercial dominance in the world was obvious (Bebbington 14). The technological advance of the period also led to the

production of better sea vessels which greatly enhanced the reliability and speed of overseas travel (Bebbington 16). Thus, between the 17th and early 20th centuries British colonial agents and merchants were hand in hand in traversing the coasts of Africa and Asia. Obviously, like the colonial agents, the merchants also created publicity for the needs of other parts of the world among the British public. The industrial revolution and commerce brought prosperity to many British families. In the words of David Bebbington, 'Industrial and mercantile development brought prosperity in its wake. For the first time many families had money to spend over and above what had to go on subsistence […] Between 1860 and 1900 the average real wage of urban workers in Britain rose by more than 60%' (15).

3.1.3 The Rise and Decline of British Missions

The revolutions in the social and economic arena, and the political might of Britain powerfully interacted with religion to give rise to world missions in Britain. The reliability and ease of travel, and the availability of preventive and curative medicine brought about by science and technology; the availability of passage, security and supplies, and the prosperity of the time brought about by politics and commerce; and the deep eagerness to be up and doing for God brought about by the Evangelical revivals; jointly brought about the formation of a large number of denominational and faith mission societies in Britain (Latourette 18-21).[6] Thus, for all of the 19th century, British mission societies were thriving in the third-world. These trends in mission were not peculiar to Britain. It is in this light that Kenneth Scott Latourette refers to the 19th century as 'The Great Century' of mission (Kane 93).

This golden age for the expansion of Christianity did not last forever. In the century that followed, the vitality of British mission activities declined as a result of the

multiplicity of mission societies, the decline of religious commitment in Britain, the incursion of liberalism in mission discussions, nationalism in the third-world, the two World Wars, and the moratorium call by many third-world church leaders.

3.2 THE NIGERIAN CONTEXT 1804-1960

The conditions of the inhabitants of S.U.M.'s mission field had tremendous impact on the policies and work of the Mission. In this section we attempt to describe the conditions of the pagan Middle Belt as the missionaries met it.

3.2.1 The Socio-Political Setting

Before the second[7] coming of European Christian missionaries to Nigeria from about 1842, and the subsequent occupation of the region by the British crown, there were independent empires, kingdoms and states. There were the Oyo Empire, the Sokoto Caliphate, the forest and middle belt states such as Calabar, Bonny, Apobo, Benin, Warri and Kwararrafa, and what remained of the ancient and once famous Kanem-Bornu Empire which was not incorporated into the Sokoto Caliphate (Ajayi 1).

The 19th century was a turbulent period in Nigeria's history, particularly the history of Northern Nigeria. The century opened with the Sokoto jihad. According to Mahdi Adamu, '[…] the jihad was being fought in all parts of the Central Sudan' (Adamu in Usman, Y.B. 83). Adamu further tells us that:

> […] in the *jihad* campaigns, both in Hausaland and outside, prisoners were taken in large numbers, and, according to the military ethics throughout West Africa, they were either ransomed by relatives or enslaved. In the *Tazyin Al-Waraqat* of Abdullahi Dan Fodio (page 122) it can be seen that nearly all the prisoners of war captured were enslaved,

> and some even sold out. Bearing in mind that the *jihad* wars and punitive expeditions continued, particularly in the fringes of the Caliphate, well into the second half of the nineteenth century one can easily imagine how steep the rise in the incidences (Adamu 94).[8]

As a result of this protracted atmosphere of unrest, the inhabitants of the aforementioned political units were not interacting as frequently as is common today (Smith 23). This atmosphere of partial or in some cases almost complete isolation led to different civilizations in the region, the most backward of which were the pagan areas of the Middle Belt. Edgar Smith, a missionary to the middle belt from 1930, describes the backwardness of a section[9] of the pagan middle belt in the following words: 'At that time all were poor, food was not plentiful, and clothing was not available to the average home owner. Fear reigned and cruelty was common. There were no schools or hospitals; consequently ignorance and diseases were very common' (26). In contrast, when Walter Miller visited Kano in 1900, he did not hesitate to describe it as Africa's Manchester. In Miller's own words, 'This was Kano, the great metropolis in the heart of Africa - Africa's Manchester, with its thirteen gates, its massive wall surrounding a city of fifteen miles circumference–quite a good day's journey!–and with a population of from fifty to a hundred thousand people […]' (1). It was these conditions in the pagan Middle Belt that Western European, North American, Australian and white South African missionaries met and grappled with from the last quarter of the 19th century.[10]

With the passage of time, pax Britannica removed the isolation of ethnic groups that were hitherto hostile to one another. This, coupled with the activities of missionaries, made the non-Muslims of the Middle Belt gradually shift away from their primitive ways as they forged a civilization of their own. Not long after the birth of Nigeria as a nation in 1914, nationalist ferment began to fill the air. This led to eventual

independence and its attendant euphoria. Consequently this development checked the presence and activities of foreigners in the country.

3.2.2 The Economic Setting

In pre-colonial Nigeria the level of economic development was not evenly spread. Agriculture, commerce and crafts were among the economic activities of the country. A number of areas in the South and North of the country[11] were much better off than the pagan Middle Belt. The pagan Middle Belt areas were the most backward. As the priority of most of the inhabitants was safety, they often occupied areas that did not encourage productive agriculture. Therefore, the people were poor and famine was not uncommon (Smith 23, 26). With the advent of pax Britannica, a concomitant of colonialism, many people in the pagan middle belt areas gradually left their mountain fastnesses to occupy nearby plain lands, which could support more productive agriculture.

3.2.3 The Religious Setting

In pre-Christian Nigeria, except for the areas of the Sokoto Caliphate where the most civilized form of worship was to be found, the region was dominated by primitive religion. Each ethnic group had its own form of belief system and worship. There appeared to be a widespread belief in a Supreme Being who was thought to reside somewhere in the skies. To this Supreme Being worship was addressed through lesser deities. No ethnic group was consulting or worshiping the Supreme Being regularly. However, during moments of crisis the Supreme Being was consulted directly as a last resort.

Although there was a widespread belief in the Supreme Being, knowledge of this Being was often very small, and it varied from place to place.[12] In addition to belief in the Supreme Being, there were beliefs in countless spirits, ghosts, witches and wizards. As a result, people lived under clouds of fear and suspicion. With its roots deep in antiquity, traditional religion was so ingrained in the hearts and way of life of the people that it was difficult for them to relinquish it for another. It was to this region, famous for its economic and social backwardness, with multiple ingrained religious perceptions, that the missionaries of the British Branch of S.U.M. addressed themselves.

3.3 THE RISE OF FAITH MISSIONS UP TO 1905

3.3.1 Faith Missions in the Context of World Mission

From about 1622 (Neill 152) until about 1773 the Roman Catholic Church was deeply involved in world mission as she had the will, the men and the means. At this period the Protestants were not involved in world mission because of the influence of Calvinist theology and because they lacked both the men and the means. However there were mild efforts in some of their colonies, and a small scale attempt by those who were influenced by pietism. It was not until after the Evangelical revival that effective Protestant mission on a world-wide scale began. The man who started it was the Baptist William Carey. While the Protestants were awakening and starting world mission in earnest, the fortune of Catholic mission was dwindling. This change in the fortune of Catholic missions was caused by the eclipse of Portugal and Spain as leading world powers and by the dissolution of the Jesuit Order which led to the withdrawal of about 3000 Catholic missionaries from the mission field (Neill 173-175).

In Protestantism, between 1793 and 1850 two kinds of missions were formed namely interdenominational and denominational missions. Klaus Fiedler calls them

classical missions (20-21). Later, as the Protestant missionary movement gathered momentum, a third and a fourth kind, the faith mission and the specialized mission, were added (Kane 94-95).[13]

3.3.2 The Meaning and Origin of Faith Missions

Faith missions were those missions that expected all their financial support to come from God, through the men and women he chose to use, "only 'as an answer to prayer in faith'" (Fiedler 24). Fiedler observes that just as the pre-classical[14] and classical missions were born in the Pietist/Puritan revival and Evangelical revival respectively, faith missions were born in the revival of 1859/1873 (112). Faith missions trace their origin or the origin of their faith principle to the China Inland Mission (C.I.M.). Before the birth of the C.I.M. there were its prototypes, the independent and the non-church missions. What differentiated the C.I.M. from these two were missionary effectiveness and organization. The C.I.M. was more organized and much more effective than the independent and the non-church missions (Fiedler 24-25). The C.I.M. was founded by James Hudson Taylor and his wife in 1865. In the years that followed many similar missions such as the African Inland Mission, Sudan Interior Mission and Sudan United Mission arose. By 1900 there were about twenty four faith missions in Britain (Kane 94). The factors that gave rise to faith missions are fourfold. Fiedler presents three of these factors in the following words:

> Faith missions came into existence primarily because there were millions of unreached people and no (classical) mission willing or able to evangelize them speedily. A secondary reason for the development of faith missions was their background in a different revival, which led to different concepts of evangelism, holiness and eschatology, and of the

> church and its offices. A third reason was new (or revived) methods such as faith support and itinerant evangelism (125).

The fourth factor was volunteerism. There were many young people who were willing to be missionaries (Kane 103).[15] Some of these volunteers supported themselves or were supported by friends.

3.3.3 Two Significant Figures in the History of Faith Missions

Klaus Fiedler identifies two figures who were influential during the early history of faith missions. The first was James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) who was converted at the age of fifteen (Taylor 7). His faith that was later used of God to establish the first faith mission began to take shape right from the beginning of his Christian life (Taylor 9). Between 1853 and 1860 he was in China as a missionary. For the first part of this period he served under the Chinese Evangelization Society (C.E.S.). Before the period ended he severed his links with the society, and continued as an independent missionary until sickness forced him to go home in 1860. In 1865 he founded the first faith mission, which we have already noted (Dowley 574). According to Fiedler, it was from him that many similar missions copied the fundamental principles of a faith mission (11, 32).

The second figure was Henry Grattan Guinness (1835-1910). According to Fiedler, Guinness and his wife Fanny effected the transfer of the faith mission idea from China to Africa. They also founded the East London Training Institute (E.L.T.I.) which provided trained personnel to many faith missions (34-38). Besides, 'The great majority of the early faith missions stood in some kind of relationship to them' (34).

3.4 THE EMERGENCE OF S.U.M. BRITISH BRANCH

The story of the Mission is divided into three periods namely the pioneering period (1902-1933), the period of building an indigenous church (1934-1977), and the period when the Mission ceased to exist in Nigeria (1977 to date). This section, a history of the Mission up to 1933, looks at how the Mission was founded. It also considers the pioneering years of the Mission, with a view to having the necessary background for understanding the period under review–the period of building an indigenous church.

The major reference material for our biography of the founder of the Mission is Christof Sauer's work which is the product of his doctoral research. It is the most comprehensive and carefully researched work on the life and work of the founder. It is important to note that this section, a history of the Mission up to 1933, only gives sufficient detail for understanding our period.

3.4.1 Prelude to the Formation of the Mission

Jan Harm Boer rightly observes that the early story of the British Branch of S.U.M. should not be divorced from the biographical sketch of its founder, Hermann Karl Wilhelm Kumm (henceforth Karl Kumm) (112). His parents were August Friedrich Wilhelm Kumm[16] and Johanna Karoline Wilhelmina (Sauer 73), who 'were deeply spiritual' (Boer 113) and conservative Lutherans (Sauer 83-84).[17]

Wilhelm Kumm (Karl Kumm's father) was born on 29th June 1831 in Pohlde, 16km south of Osterode (Sauer 74). As a young man he had served in the Hannoverian army before the kingdom of Hannover fell to the Prussians and became a province of a united Germany (Boer 112). With the fall of the kingdom of Hannover, and its annexation to Germany, Wilhelm Kumm retired from the army in the last month of 1866. By his retirement he refused to transfer his service from the collapsed Hannoverian army

to the Prussian army. This action was occasioned by his deep loyalty to his king. Having abandoned his military career, he moved to Markoldendorf where he became an innkeeper (Sauer 75-76). It was in Markoldendorf[18] that Karl Kumm was born as the fourth child of his parents.[19] He was born on the 19th of October 1874 and was baptized on 28th November of that year. About six years after the birth of Karl Kumm, the family migrated from Markoldendorf to Osterode (Sauer 73-74, 77). Karl Kumm had his early education in Osterode. During his school days he was good at making friends, rhetoric, and excursions through the forests and mountains. He completed his 13 years of school education in Osterode in the Easter of 1894 (Sauer 78-79, 84).

From September 1894 to September 1895 Karl Kumm was on military service. As soon as he completed that he migrated to England in search of work and also to perfect his understanding of the English language. While in England, he was a guest of his friend Stanley Moore (Sauer 84-85). It was at this time that Karl Kumm had his missionary call which Christof Sauer describes in the following words,

> In October 1895, Karl Kumm, together with his friend Stanley Moore, attended an evening meeting at a nearby mission hall. This non-denominational mission hall was funded by a circle of businessmen, who invited renowned missionaries and evangelists as speakers there. On that evening, J.J. Edwards was the speaker. He had already worked with the North Africa Mission in Morocco for seven years. The calls to conversion, to perfection in holiness, and to missionary service, which were usual at such meetings of the Holiness Movement, resounded in Kumm's heart. He felt called by his Lord Jesus Christ to missionary service in Africa, and for him he was willing to go (86).

Having being called in this way he began to prepare himself for missionary service. From January 1896 until he left London in the summer of 1897 he was a student of the East London Training Institute (E.L.T.I.) (Sauer 88, 90) which was also known by the name Harley College (Maxwell 21). The college was founded in 1873 by Henry Grattan Guinness and his wife Fanny. The curriculum of the college consisted of some theological courses and basics in medicine and missions. The college was interdenominational in nature. Karl Kumm who was a Lutheran learnt to work with people from different denominational background in the college. During some part of his time at Harley, he learnt Arabic at Barking and also conducted outreach among sailors in Poplar and Ratcliffe Highway (Sauer 88-90).

When his time of missionary training ended in London, he spent about five months, from the summer of 1897, at the Baltic coast evangelizing fishermen (Sauer 90). It was after this that he worked for two and half years in Egypt '[…] in the study of Arabic, in work among Moslems, and itineration in the delta and oases of Fayoum, Charga, Dachla, and Beeris' (Sauer 93). During these two and a half years he was working with two mission organizations. He worked with the North Africa Mission (N.A.M.) from January 1898 to December 1899, and then with the Sudan Pioneer Mission he founded in January 1900 (Sauer 114).

The founding of the S.P.M. was not Karl Kumm's idea alone. Henry Grattan Guinness and his daughter Lucy were also connected with the emergence of the mission. Guinness was born in Cheltenham in 1835. When he married his wife Fanny in 1860 he left his congregational church and joined the Plymouth Brethren, the church of which his wife was a member. While in East London they joined an independent church. In 1873 they opened the East London Training Institute (E.L.T.I.). The family also had a mission journal called *The Regions Beyond.* In addition, they established 'Regions Beyond

Missionary Union' to bring the missions that were connected to E.L.T.I. together in one organization (Sauer 37-40, 45; Fiedler 34-40).

Of the four Guinness children who took part in the religious activities of their parents, 'It was Lucy Guinness (1865-1906) who shared most in the Sudan vision.' She succeeded her mother in 1888 as the editor of *The Regions Beyond.* In this way she wrote about the condition and need of the Sudan Savannah for over ten years (Sauer 41). Kumm had studied at E.L.T.I., in this way he probably came under the influence of the Guinnesses. When Fanny Guinness died in 1898 (Fiedler 39), Lucy accompanied her father to Egypt in 1899 where she met Karl Kumm who was working with N.A.M. as a missionary. For some time Karl Kumm had nursed the desire to reach the people of the Sudan with the gospel. Similarly Lucy had, by her pen, propagated the need of the Sudan for many years. Therefore, when the two were betrothed in Aswan, Egypt in January 1900, it was the union of those who were ready to do something for the spiritual need of the Sudan (Maxwell 22-23).

Soon after their engagement they founded the S.P.M. in Aswan. After the marriage ceremony in Cairo in February, they began their missionary work in Aswan. In April of that year they went to Germany to form a support base for the new mission. By the end of November a board for the mission was in place (Sauer 168-169), and Kumm became the travelling secretary of the mission (Sauer 212). After working with the German S.P.M. for close to three years Karl Kumm, together with his wife, was dismissed by the board of the mission in October 1902 (Sauer 114-115,140). The reason the board gave for this action was that: 'The entire committee didn't feel able anymore, to support in public, the manner in which Mr. Kumm was conducting his office, and the way he wanted to further the work of the mission' (Sauer 212). One year after his

dismissal from the German S.P.M., Karl Kumm received his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Freiburg (Sauer 224).

3.4.2 The Formation of S.U.M. British Branch

The origin of the Sudan United Mission British Branch is traced to 1901. The English branch of the German based S.P.M. was founded in the summer of 1901 (Sauer 206). Through this branch, money was flowing in freely from Britain to Germany in aid of the German S.P.M. (206-207, 216). During this early part of the history of the branch, Kumm reiterated that it would have the same status as any of the Helpers Unions in Germany (216). But as events unfolded, Kumm changed his mind. From January to September 1902 Kumm began to provide the British branch of the German S.P.M. with the structures that would enable it to send out its own missionaries. In Sauer's words:

> He held a Sudan conference at Cliff on May 14, 1902 with several speakers who had tried to enter the Sudan via the Niger […] Karl Kumm had planned to leave for Germany the next day, but then stayed in Great Britain all summer […] He used the time in England to consolidate the English Branch of the SPM […] Kumm also intended to recruit a secretary for the English Branch of the SPM, having in mind Mr. Lewis Nott[…] By July 24, 1902 Cliff House had been definitely offered to the SPM. Kumm already had caused three German students to come to Cliff and hoped for twelve more. They would be taught Bible and English there. Kumm hoped to recruit new workers for the SPM from their midst and from British universities. The new training institution at Cliff and the British SPM would need a tutor, a secretary, and a travelling secretary (207).

Besides, from September 15th, 1902 Mr. W. G. Pope began to devote half of his time to Cliff College and another half to the British S.P.M. as its travelling secretary (Sauer 207).[20]

Kumm decided to expand the British Branch of the S.P.M. while he was still a staff member of the German based S.P.M. He took this action because he saw the British Branch of the German based S.P.M. as more able to take up the challenge of the Sudan belt than the German S.P.M. which was becoming sluggish and more concerned with consolidating its field in Upper Egypt (Sauer 206-209, 216-219).[21] Christof Saur further informs us that from its constitution in 1901, as Helpers Union, the British S.P.M. had no board of its own. It was more like the property of the Kumms, more so in that the German board refused to take responsibility for it (216-217). In October 1902 Kumm, together with his wife, was dismissed from the German based S.P.M. (Sauer 212).[22]

After Kumm was dismissed, he continued to promote the needs of the lands of the Sudan. This led to a meeting in Sheffield on the 13th November 1902, with eight people in attendance. There were seven men and one woman.[23] The meeting was chaired by Henry Grattan Guinness, Karl Kumm's father-in-law (Wolfenden 188).[24] The meeting was held '[…] with the one object, to pray for the dark lands of the Sudan […]' At this meeting the needs of the Sudan were laid upon the participants by Lucy, and something of the land was described in graphic terms by Kumm. Consequently those who attended the meeting resolved to do something for the Sudan (Wolfenden 188). Referring to this meeting Wolfenden further tells us that:

> So the first Council Meeting of the Sudan Pioneer Mission was held on November 13th, 1902. The name of the Mission was chosen, that it should be called the Sudan Pioneer Mission, like the German work started through Dr. Kumm's visit to Germany two years before. That the object

> of the Mission should be the evangelization of the non-Christian peoples of the Sudan, in particular the peoples of the Adamawa and the Upper Benue. That the Mission should be interdenominational in character.
>
> Verily! here was faith that could remove mountains! Eight consecrated persons to attempt to stem the tide of Moslem propaganda in the Vast Sudan (Wolfenden 188).[25]

It appears that for some time this Council was the nucleus of the Mission. Subsequent to this meeting, efforts were made to build a society of pro-Sudan friends who would stand behind the new mission. In the words of Lucy Kumm, cited by Wolfenden, 'There and then, we put into form a purpose that for more than twelve months had been with us in prayer - the plan of linking together all the friends whose hearts the Lord may move for the Sudan, into a Lightbearers' League to stand behind the mission' (189).[26] Therefore, during the months that followed, the Kumms continued, in prayer and itineration, the promotion of the needs of the Sudan and the vision of the new mission throughout the British Isles (Wolfenden 189). As a result of this broad based campaign a number of leading Christian men from various church denominations formed local councils in Ireland, London, the Midlands and Scotland in support of the new initiative ('Origin and Progress of the S.U.M.' 101). While touring the British Isles to garner support for the new initiative the Kumms were also challenging young men to give themselves for work in the Sudan.[27]

In the course of touring the British Isles for support and men, the Kumms approached the great Evangelical missionary societies and challenged them to take up the work the new mission had in mind. They approached the missionary societies in keeping with the principle of faith missions. Faith missions did not want to work where other mission societies were working or about to start work. According to Klaus Fiedler,[28]

'None of the early faith missions wanted to work where other missions were already working. They even avoided working close to them, because they saw missionary work in the remaining unreached areas of the globe as the only reason for their existence' (73). As founders of a faith mission the Kumms approached and challenged the great Evangelical missionary societies to make sure that the existence of the new mission was justified.[29] Kane tells us that by the end of the 19th century there were about twenty four faith missions in Britain, not to mention classical and specialized missions (94-95). It was thus essential for the Kumms to prove that the existence of their new mission was necessary in other to get the desired support. Therefore, in their bid to find out whether the existence of their new mission society was justified, the Kumms unpretentiously '[…] approached each of the great [Evangelical] Missionary Societies, asking if they could undertake the work of this Mission, but one and all regretted their inability to do so […]' (Wolfenden 189). In their sympathy with the new initiative, and because they saw the necessity for it, the secretaries of some of the missionary societies they approached signed a resolution which encouraged the Free Churches[30] to do something for the Sudan. The wording of the resolution reads:

> In view of the present crises in the West Central Sudan, where, unless the Gospel of Christ be brought within the next few years to Northern Nigeria, the million numbered pagan peoples of that new British Protectorate (a country as large as one-third of India) will go over to Islam, and in view of the fact that none of the Missionary Societies of the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist or Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain or Ireland feels itself at present able to do anything for the evangelization of the Sudan, we should rejoice if the Lord should enable the Free Churches of the country to join in a United Sudan Mission; and,

> while we do not pledge our churches, or societies, to the support of such a Mission, we should be glad to see it taken up by all the churches which are at present doing nothing for the evangelization of the Sudan ('Origin and Progress of the S.U.M.' 101).

Apart from securing the cooperation of members of the Free Churches in this way, the Kumms also secured the cooperation of concerned brethren '[…] in the Church of England, the Church of Ireland and the Church of Scotland […]' ('Origin and Progress of the S.U.M.' 101).

Wolfenden tells us that right from the outset it was the intention of the founders '[…] that the mission should be interdenominational in character' (188). Although he was brought up by conservative Lutheran parents in a conservative Lutheran community in Germany (Sauer 83-84) Karl Kumm was not denominationally minded. This was because while in England he was influenced by the Holiness and the Brethren Movements. Besides, the influence of his wife and father-in-law who were also not denominationally minded, owing to their past affiliation with the Brethren Movement, (Fiedler 37-39) was also brought to bear on the founding of the Mission.

By July the organizational structure of the Mission consisted of a central committee and the four local committees in Ireland, London, the Midlands and Scotland ('Origin and Progress of the S.U.M.' 101).[31] On June 15th, 1904 the Scottish council suggested that the name of the mission should be changed from Sudan Pioneer Mission to Sudan United Mission. Boer observes that this became necessary in view of the fact that only the C.M.S. could lay claim to the word 'pioneer', and it would not be long before the name became irrelevant (114). It appears that another reason for the change in the name was that the widening of interest made it natural to introduce the term 'united', so that it would reflect the fact that the mission was a united effort ('Origin and Progress

of the S.U.M.' 101). At about the same time, at a meeting of the London council, a proposal was made for the first missionaries to be dispatched to the mission field (Maxwell 26). By July three young men were ready to go out as the pioneer missionaries of the mission.

These men were Dr. Ambrose Bateman, Mr. John Burt and Mr (later Rev) John Lowry Maxwell. The background of each of them is not clear as their biographical details are lacking or, as in the case of Maxwell, very fragmentary. Maxwell was born in 1880 in Northern Ireland. Before he joined the S.U.M. in 1904 he was a civil servant and a Presbyterian layman. Of the three pioneer field staff he was the only one who spent thirty years in Nigeria. He was finally forced home by ill health in 1934 (Boer 143-144).

Maxwell gives us a graphic picture of what the vision of the need of the Sudan was like in the eyes of those who launched the mission. Nubia had only two Protestant missions, Khartoum and Senaar had three Protestant missions, Fashoda district had only one Protestant mission, Sokoto had one Protestant mission at Girku, and Nupe country also had only one Protestant mission. In all of the regions of Bahr-el-Ghazal, Kordofan, Dafur, Wadai, Kanem, Bagirmi, Adamawa, Benue district, Borno, Gandu, Massina and French Western Sudan there was not a single mission (29-31). Besides the absence of missions in most of these areas, the Sudan was seen as socially and politically very needy. It was believed to be characterized by despotic rule, slave-raiding and slave dealing, inter-tribal wars, extortionate taxation, cannibalism, witchcraft, trial by ordeal and lack of safety. In addition to these, ignorance, illiteracy, disease, infant mortality and suffering were seen as endemic in the region (Maxwell 32-33). But what disturbed the founders of the Mission most was the view that all the pagan lands of the Sudan '[…] were in a temporary state of religious solution' (Maxwell 33). It was imagined that unless the Christian world acted fast and in a big way, all the pagan tribes would cross

over to Islam which was taking advantage of the pax Britannica to advance into pagan territories. Thus, the stemming of Islam became the driving force of the Mission. During the revision of the Mission's constitution in 1912 Kumm stated that the raison d'etre of the Mission was to counteract the advance of Islam by evangelizing the pagan tribes ('Report of the United Conference' 180). Again, Samuel Dali cites Kumm as saying: '"We are called to do something more than bring the Gospel…We are called to prevent Islam reaching these peoples, and please God, by Christianization"' (29).[32] Dali rightly observes that 'This sounds like a crusade sermon' (29). Therefore to stem the tide of the advance of Islam the mission planned to put up a chain of mission stations on the borderline between Islam and paganism. This vision of a chain of mission stations became the major pre-occupation of the mission from its inception until the 1930s ('1910-1935: A Grateful Retrospect' 37; Fiedler 76).

The decision of the Mission to put up a chain of mission stations on the borderline between Islam and paganism, to check the advance of Islam into pagan areas, reveals that the missionaries were concerned about the pagan tribes of the region. If the missionaries had not come, all the pagans in what is today North Central Nigeria would have gone over to Islam.

Like other faith missions, support was raised for the mission in mission halls, Sunday schools, and among members of the Young Men Christian Association (Fiedler 138) and the Lightbearers' League. This was done by appealing to prospective supporters' emotions over the spiritual and physical plight of the heathen, and against the then perceived advance of Islam into their fields of operation. The appeal to people's emotions against the advance of Islam was not peculiar to this Mission. Fiedler tells us that it was a characteristic feature of most of the Sudan Missions (78).[33]

3.4.3 The First 29 Years of the Mission in Northern Nigeria

Having procured three pioneer field staff, on July 23rd, 1904, the missionary candidates in the company of Karl Kumm were sent to Northern Nigeria. Towards the end of the year the Mission's first station was established in Wase, a small Muslim emirate in present-day Plateau State (Maxwell 35-46). By the end of 1907, from their base in Wase, the missionaries of the Mission had opened work among the Jukun, Tarok and Birom in Wukari, Langtang and Bukuru respectively. The Wase station was eventually abandoned in 1909 after a fire and a tornado in 1907 and 1909 respectively. The fire disaster was caused by the carelessness of a mission cook (Rengshwat 'First COCIN President' 25). The decision to abandon Wase was not occasioned by these disasters but '[…] by the fact that at Wase the gospel met with little response as the dwellers were Muslims. As a result the missionaries thought it wise to concentrate their little resources on pagan areas that were more promising' (Rengshwat 'First COCIN President' 25-26).[34]

Meanwhile, the perceived spiritual crisis in the Sudan, and the desire to quickly build a chain of mission stations from the Niger to the Nile in order to stem the advance of Islam into pagan territories, led to the global promotion of the need of the Sudan. Thus between 1906-1912 Kumm visited USA, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Denmark with his characteristic crusading rhetoric in the form of ' "To the help of the Lord against the mighty" ' (Maxwell 35).[35] This led to the formation of American, South African, Australia/New Zealand and Danish branches of the Mission ('Origin and Progress of the S.U.M.' 101). In the years that followed more branches were formed.

Each branch of the S.U.M. was autonomous, but served in a federation with the other branches. Each branch had a field committee, except for the British and South African branches which had a joint field committee for many years (Rengshwat 57-60).

There was a Field Council that brought the branches together. Similarly an International Committee which was consultative in character brought the national offices together (Jensen 86). While some of the branches were interdenominational in character others were denominational. Each branch had its own geographical sphere of influence on the field. By 1920 the stations of the various branches were as follows: American Branch–Wukari, Donga, Lupwe, Takum, Lissam and Rafin Kada; British Branch–Du, Foron, Ibi, Langtang, Pil and the Freed Slaves' Home situated in Rumasha but later transferred to Wukari; Danish Branch–Numan and Shillem; South African Branch–Keana and Randa ('Field Report […] 1920' 103). The sharing out of spheres of influence among the branches was occasioned by the desire to cover much ground against the advance of Islam. According to Boer, the British branch was the coordinator of this grand mission alliance (116). The other branches, particularly the Danish branch was not comfortable with the 'leadership role' of the British branch. The Danish branch was afraid of being dominated by the British branch (Jensen 152). There was an exchange of staff members between the branches as the need arose. In this way, and in their field councils and occasional conferences, there was free flow of information and ideas.

By and large, the S.U.M. as a unit was in a cordial relationship with other Protestant missions in Northern Nigeria. This is evident in the many conferences they shared together and in their cooperation in Bible translation and hymn writing. There were two inter-mission conferences at Lokoja in 1910 and 1913. 1926 and 1929 witnessed two other inter-mission conferences which were both held at Miango in present-day Plateau State. The friendly atmosphere among the different missions led to some attempts at organizing an African Union Church which did not materialize in the long run.

Among all the S.U.M. branches the methods of work included services in mission compounds, Sunday schools, Bible classes, medical treatment, open-air preaching, industrial work, personal discussion/interviews, sales of gospels and Christian literature, visiting compounds and schools ('Field Report […] 1920' 104). Compound services which were sometimes held twice a day were the most effective means of reaching the Jukuns ('Field Report […] 1920' 107). At the beginning the gospels and Christian literature were given away freely, but later they were sold, sometimes at subsidized prices (Farrant, 'Field Report […] 1919' 63). In 1920 H.G. Farrant, the then field secretary, wrote: 'The influence of school on the pupils is a powerful one, and in most cases the pupils become Christian' ('Field Report […] 1919' 64).

The policies of the S.U.M. as a unit at this period were: the building of a chain of mission stations, restraining induced conversions and delaying baptism (Maxwell 135). In this first period it was recognized that the indigenous Christians should take part in the evangelization of their people (Dawson 133).

In all the branches, between 1907 and 1930 the progress of the work was slow owing to language difficulties and other factors. However, by 1922 there were five organized churches namely at Donga, Wukari, Numan, Ibi and Langtang with a total membership of 90 people at the end of the year (Farrant, 'Field Report […] 1922' 55). Throughout the period the need for more European field staff was a regular refrain in the journal of the Mission. There was also a desperate need for 'Native helpers' (indigenes who could serve the mission as evangelists). To meet this need, candidates were trained in the mission stations. Later in 1915 a training institute was established (Maxwell 114). After functioning for a few years it was closed down throughout 1920 for want of candidates ('Field Report […] 1920' 103). A characteristic feature of the period, particularly in the year 1920, was the departure of several teachers and evangelists to

take up government and other better-paid jobs. This was counted by the Mission as due to a lack of spirituality (‘Field Report […] 1920’ 104). Another feature of the period was the Depression which followed the First World War. In the words of an anonymous writer: ‘Surely the state of financial depression prevailing throughout the country [Britain] is a challenge to our faith in God’ (‘A Special Appeal for Prayer’ 104).

In the British Branch, as already noted, pioneer work began in Wukari, Langtang, and Bukuru in 1907. By 1920 the stations of this branch were Du, Foron, Ibi, Langtang, Pil and the Freed Slaves’ Home (F.S.H.) (‘Field Report […] 1920’ 103). The F.S.H. was established in memory of the late Mrs. Kumm who died in 1906. The home was opened in 1909 at Rumasha when the government handed over the freed slaves in its custody to the mission. Later the home was transferred to Wukari which was regarded as a safer place from the point of view of health (Maxwell 77-78, 81-82, 127). By 1933 many more stations were added to the above. These were: Gindiri, Tutung, Lalin, Vom, Zinna, Gurum, Lafia, Kabwir and Panyam. Apart from Pil and Du, there were also 20 out-stations and 22 preaching centres (Farrant ‘Field Report […] 1933’ 57). The work in the Panyam and Kabwir areas was handed over to the Mission by the C.M.S. in 1930. The work in these places was begun by the Cambridge University Mission Party (C.U.M.P) in collaboration with the C.M.S. The Panyam and Kabwir work began in 1907 and 1910 respectively.

By 1933 the areas of operation of the S.U.M., B.B. were Foron, Panyam, Kabwir and Langtang. In 1922 the church in Langtang among the Tarok was formed into what became the centre of a District Church Council (D.C.C.). Similarly the church in Foron among the Birom became the nucleus of a D.C.C. in 1928. In 1930 after the transfer from C.M.S. to S.U.M., the church in Panyam among the Mwaghavul and the church in Kabwir among the Ngas were each formed into what became the centre of a D.C.C.

(Gutip 161-162). All these were formed without indigenous ministers to take care of them. It was not until 1934 that the mission took concrete steps to indigenize the ministry by establishing a training institute in Gindiri.

3.5 THE ORIGIN AND EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY

3.5.1 The Origin of the Mission's Indigenous Church Policy

The pre-occupation of the Mission for most of 1904-1933 was the building of a chain of mission stations from the Niger to the Nile.[36] Meanwhile the shortage of missionaries, and sickness which often forced some of the missionaries to go home for treatment necessitated the recruitment and training of what, during this period, the mission called 'native helpers' (Dawson 133).[37] By 'native helpers' the Mission meant those African converts who were in one way or another helping the missionaries in the propagation of the gospel, particularly 'native' evangelists ('Sixteenth Annual Report' 58). As it was, missionaries had begun to implement the indigenous church policy but only incidentally. The engagement of Africans as 'helpers' was a prelude to the implementation of the policy as the mission's constitutional review of 1912 shows: 'The Sudan United Mission looks forward to an African Union Church–self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating–and desires to do its part in preparing the way for such an organisation' ('Report of the United Conference' 185).[38]

Among the missionaries on the field, the origin of the mission's indigenous church policy is often linked to Herbert J. Cooper of the Langtang mission station. Maxwell tells us that:

> Reference has been made already to the work of the Rev. H.J. Cooper among the tribes of the Langtang district, a work which, founded and shaped as it was on "Indigenous Church" principles, has been an example

> to others over the field […] Mr Cooper kept himself up to date regarding missionary developments, and his clear insight into the principles of the work made him a leader in the application of the "Indigenous Church" method, his writings on that subject being circulated far and wide (212-213).

Mr (later Rev.) Cooper was born by godly parents in Leyton, Essex. Before he came to Nigeria as a missionary, he spent most of his life '[…] in and around London`. Through the influence of '[…] a most Godly Sunday school teacher`, he made a decision for Christ when he was in his teens. Following this he joined the Young Men Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.). Later he became a Sunday school teacher and leader of a youths` Bible class. He was also made '[…] Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Board.' ('Mr. Herbert J. Cooper' 215-216). This position exposed him to the need for missionaries around the world.

Between 1905 and 1906 he entered Bible Training Institute (B.T.I.) Glasgow for missionary training which lasted for two years. At about the same time he also attended public dispensaries to gain some knowledge in medical work. In about 1907 he learned about the great need for missionaries in the Sudan Savannah from Dr. Karl Kumm. The result of that meeting with Kumm made Cooper to offer himself for missionary work with the S.U.M., B.B. (`Mr. Herbert J. Cooper` 215-216).

Thus in 1908 he came to Nigeria for missionary service. In 1909 he was assigned to the Langtang mission station which was opened in 1907. In that station Cooper worked with his Scottish wife, Mary, for twenty-seven years. In 1936 they were forced by Cooper's ill-health to go back to Britain finally (Maxwell *Half a Century of Grace* 212-213).[39]

Cooper's public presentation of the indigenous church policy appears to have first taken place in Wukari in 1923 at a conference of all the branches of the S.U.M. The Wukari conference was, at that time, the largest field conference that all the branches had ever held together. There were thirty two missionaries in attendance, drawn from the American, British, Danish and South African branches, with Karl Kumm attending as part of the American Branch. Of the 32 missionaries in attendance, 19 were from the British Branch alone. The Mission's News-Letter for February 1924, gives us some information about the things that took place at the conference in the following words:

> Of course, there were many matters of administration, policy, and arrangement which had to be considered at our meetings. And everything, or practically every thing, that we had planned to consider had its opportunity […] A constitution for an African Church took considerable time. Our private lives, our attitude to our peoples, the spending of our time to an adequate extent in teaching and preaching, methods of a first evangelistic tour, early work on a new station, educational work, caring for the Church, standards for Church members and enquirers, literature, and expansion, were all dealt with in papers, and discussed by the Conference in full session.[40]

It was at this conference that Cooper presented his paper on the indigenous church principle under the title 'Caring for a Church.' Part of the paper reads:

> We must have some plan on which to work. It is the accepted principle of missions that everything must be done to lead the Christians of every congregation to self-government, as soon as it can take responsibility: to self-support, so that they may not come to depend on other people: to self-

> extension, first to the immediate district, and then into the regions beyond (90 – 91).

The Coopers had tried the policy in Langtang district right from the outset (Maxwell 212). In her 'Winning the Cannibal Yergum' written before the Wukari conference, Mrs Mary Cooper said,

> We work upon three principles at Langtang. First, the principle of self-support. No one gets a penny for their work. Secondly, the principle of self-evangelization. Every man is saved to serve. It is his business to preach the Gospel. Thirdly, the principle of self-government. We have never yet admitted a man or a woman without consulting our Elders. There we have the three great principles of all successful and fruitful missionary effort on the Mission Field (92).

It is difficult to ascertain how the Coopers arrived at these policies but they were able to implement them with much success. So successful was the implementation of their policies that their work outshone that of the other mission stations in average attendance at Sunday worship services[41] and in the commitment of the converts. In his 'Must the Mills of God Grind Slowly?' H.G. Farrant commented on the work in Langtang in these words:

> Our most successful work is in the Yergum tribe. Here, each Sunday, about one hundred and twenty people gather for worship. There is much to delight one's heart in their character and testimony and in the independence of the church–yet they are only one hundred and twenty, and many of them only rank as enquirers (92–93).[42]

Therefore when Cooper presented his paper, his call for the adoption of these policies was naturally heeded and, before the conference ended, the representatives of the four

branches of the S.U.M. unanimously agreed to implement the three-self policy (Smith 46–47).[43]

We do not know what was given in Wukari as the reasons for the adoption of the policy. However, in 1928 H.G. Farrant wrote that the Mission adopted the policy to avoid the mistakes that earlier missions to Africa committed and to '[…] achieve the goal of a healthy Church' ('The Policy and Methods of the S.U.M.' 112-113).[44] In 1929, while presenting another paper at a gathering of missionaries at Miango in Northern Nigeria, Cooper showed how the implementation of the policy could help solve the problems of financial and personnel shortages. In Cooper's own words:

> Turning to another source might I quote from "World Dominion," July, 1929. "By the adoption of the Pauline methods which the Movement has been advocating, the Alliance Mission found itself able last year to make an advance estimated at £10, 000 a year, without any increase of its budget." Surely this is a notable achievement and I think we should do well to give it some consideration especially when Mission Societies are finding it increasingly difficult to secure men and funds ('The Formation of the Indigenous Church' 30).

The adoption of the policy coincided with the economic depression which followed the First World War. The financial difficulties of the time were keenly felt by the British Branch of the Mission. Besides, there was a lack of missionaries in the British Branch and new men were not forthcoming as the Mission had hoped. A special prayer request for the needs of the British Branch summarises the difficulties of the time in these words:

> […] new tribes are being opened to the Gospel, and there is an urgent call to go forward and claim these people for Christ […] But the men necessary to enable us to enter these open doors are not forthcoming, and,

> moreover, the committee are faced with financial needs […] If the necessary funds should not be forthcoming, the work must be curtailed ('Waiting on God in London' 5).[45]

Again, at the moment we do not know all the details of the contents of the policy which the four branches of the Mission adopted at the time. However, Smith notes that they '[…] accepted the ideal of indigeneity as proposed by Roland Allen […]. After 1923 it was up to the Nigerian converts to pay their own workers and to build their own churches, pastors' homes, schools, and other facilities' (46–47).[46]

At the next conference which took place in Numan in 1931 the indigenous church policy was one of the items that took centre stage. Between the Wukari conference and the Numan conference 'the idea of voluntary working for the extension of the Kingdom had definitely taken root' (Maxwell 169). The deliberate attempt of encouraging self-propagation led to a growing number of preaching centres in many villages. These preaching centres were manned by voluntary workers who were in dire need of training. Even before the Wukari conference the need for training was evident, but between the Wukari conference and the Numan conference the need was clearly recognised (Maxwell 158-159, 166).

"Preparation for Harvest" was the theme of the Numan conference. According to Maxwell: 'In all the discussions the thought of the development of the Indigenous Church was kept foremost' (177). To this end,

> An educational policy was adopted calling for four kinds of schools:- (1) Vernacular schools in villages, conducted by Christians working voluntarily; (2) Registered schools taught by teachers supported by the Native Church; (3) Station schools, taught by the missionary staff up to

> fourth standard only; (4) Schools for advanced training for teachers and evangelists who serve the Mission (Maxwell 177).

Between 1931 and 1933 the British Branch of S.U.M. took concrete steps to establish the fourth kind of school and Gindiri, in present day Mangu Local Government Area of Plateau State, was chosen as the site between 1932 and 1933 (Maxwell 181). Although the Mission claimed to have adopted Allen's scheme, no concrete decision was taken at the Numan conference with regards to the location, training and ordination of 'native' ministers as Allen stipulated. Allen had clearly stated that when local churches are constituted, pastors should be ordained as soon as possible to administer the sacraments (*The Spontaneous Expansion* 7, 26-27, 143, 147, 150-152). Even when the need for advanced training was recognised, it was to train '[…] teachers and evangelists who serve the mission'[47] (Maxwell 177) not the Church. In this way the early period of the history of the Mission closed with more emphasis on self-propagation and self-support than self-governance.

3.5.2 The Early Implementation of the Indigenous Church Policy 1923–1933

We have already noted that the concept of an indigenous church policy was in the mission almost from the outset, but it was not much talked about until from about 1923. Before 1923 indigenous converts were taught to witness to Christ among their neighbours. In the Langtang district there were even voluntary evangelists. Again before 1923, except for the Langtang district, the S.U.M. as a unit had the tradition of paying indigenous evangelists from mission funds (Smith 46).[48] This practice was contrary to Karl Kumm's suggestion in 1912 when he said, 'Native evangelists should be supported by natives, and not by money from the Home Board' ('Report of the United Conference' 186). Kumm's suggestion was part of the early interpretation of the indigenous church

policy. It was an ideal which the missionaries on the field found difficult to put into practice before 1923.

From 1923 deliberate attempts were made to teach the converts self-propagation, self-government and self-support. The mission continued to encourage indigenous converts to witness as a way of life. They also encouraged promising converts to be voluntary evangelists to their people or to neighbouring tribes. With respect to self-governance, there were no indigenous pastors (clergymen) during this period (Farrant 'Fruitfulness' 71). All the churches were governed by European missionaries. As far back as 1912 an African Union Church was envisaged for all the congregations that would emerge from the work of all the Protestant mission societies in Northern Nigeria ('Report of the United Conference' 185). The church structure that was anticipated was that there should be '[…] three classes of church officers–Ministers, Elders, and Evangelists' ('Report of the United Conference' 185). In the absence of ministers or pastors at this period, training in taking decisions for the Church was given to the elders in each of the organized churches. This was done as the missionary pastors involved the elders in decision making that concerned the church (Farrant, 'The Policy and Methods of the S.U.M.' 114). Indigenous leadership development or the raising of 'native' pastors was to be a thing of the future.[49]

The aspect of the three-self policy that appears to have been most stressed was self-support. However, even after 1923 the mission station in Birom land was still paying its few indigenous evangelists with mission funds. In the words of Bristow in 1924, 'One of the things which will have to be worked out in future will be the control of the paid native workers. At present three out of the four baptised Christians are paid workers, so that the conditions are just the opposite of what is being worked for' (Bristow 10).[50]

The early testimony of the missionaries was that the implementation of the policy was difficult. Bristow in particular notes that the implementation of the policy was an uphill task in Birom land (Bristow 10-11). Similarly, Smith, who was a staff member of the British Branch from 1930 until 1934 when he was seconded to the American Branch (Smith 56), says 'Although it was very difficult to implement, it was wise that this step was taken' (46).[51]

3.5.3 The Early Reaction of 'Native' Christians to the Policy

In the Foron district, as in Langtang, converts or 'native' Christians were, by and large, willing to contribute free labour and Sunday collections. They also cooperated with the missionary pastor in outreach and in decision making (Bristow 10-11).[52] However there were some converts who did not support voluntary service. In the Langtang district, as H.J. Cooper tells us, there were two clear cases of negative reactions against voluntary service, one aspect of the Mission's indigenous church policy. In the first case, a voluntary farmer-evangelist left his duty post after serving for some time owing to the burden of combining ministry with self-support. In the second case, the teacher who went to continue the work of this evangelist also left when the converts could not maintain the monthly stipend they had decided to give him. In the words of Cooper,

> THIRTEEN [sic] years ago, when on a tour of investigation, we visited the Duguri section of the Jari tribe. The chief gave us a very cordial reception, and begged us to open a school in his town [...] and eventually one of our best Yergum [now Tarok] farmer-evangelists, with his wife and family, went to that district [...] The Yergum evangelist worked beyond his strength. The strain proved too much for him, and he

> eventually returned to his own home. The work, however, went on. The Christians held together, and again and again asked for a teacher. They raised sufficient for the first month's wages, and the Langtang church sent one of the senior pupils from the school to their aid. The Jari Christians failed to keep up their contributions after a time, and the teacher returned to Langtang ('Off to School' 14).[53]

With the C.M.S.-S.U.M. transfer of work in the Kabwir, Mwari and Panyam areas the introduction of the S.U.M.'s indigenous church policy in these areas was not welcomed by those evangelists who had been on the pay roll of the C.M.S. According to Nanwul Gutip, '[…] the issues of social drinking among Church members and the different methods of supporting the Evangelists continued to be serious issues in the Mwaghavul and Ngas local Churches, affecting the life and witness of the work throughout the thirties' (110).[54] The reaction of 'native' Christians against the principle of self-support was not peculiar to the British branch of S.U.M. Edgar Smith tells us that it was universal in the S.U.M. as a unit. In his own words, 'In the beginning it meant that the SUM tradition of paying Nigerian Christians to witness and teach had to be stopped. This change was resented by those who had benefited and for over thirty years the writer was to hear complaints about this action taken by the mission' (46). How the Mission handled this is unknown.

The S.U.M., B.B. was founded by Karl Kumm and his wife Lucy in 1902. The mission began work in Northern Nigeria in 1904 among non-Muslim people. By 1930 the churches among the Tarok, Ngas, Mwaghavul and Birom were embryos of what became D.C.C.s. In a bid to make the emerging Church indigenous the Mission introduced the three-self policy. However, the implementation of the policy in this early period was only partial.

NOTES

[1] These small kingdoms were established by the Angles and Saxons who invaded England and subjugated the Celts shortly after the withdrawal of the Roman legions (Perry 395).

[2] The Normans had raided France and settled in it and had adopted the culture of France (Perry 395).

[3] The 'Glorious Revolution' was the occasion when parliament, in 1688-1689, demonstrated its supremacy over the monarchy by dethroning King James II and jointly crowning Mary and her husband in order to avoid absolute rule (Perry 415).

[4] For example C.L. Temple, a colonial officer in-charge of Bauchi Province in the first quarter of the 20th century, wrote *Native Races and their Rulers* (Second Edition. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1968). Similarly E.D. Morel, a journalist in the first quarter of the 20th century, wrote *Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1911). And there is also a Governor's Report in Maxwell pages 32 and 33. These helped to bring the conditions and needs of Nigeria to the attention of the British public.

[5] It should be noted that the quest for colonies had trade as one strong motive.

[6] Also see Worrall 186-187; Bebbington 35; Neill 214-215.

[7] It should be remembered that western missionaries attempted to Christianize Benin and Warri between 1515 and 1807 (Sanneh 35-52).

[8] Tesemchi Makar downplays the religious motive in the wars between the Caliphate and the non-Muslim peoples of the Benue region (Makar 450). His position seems to be in contrast to the above quotation from Mahdi Adamu.

[9] Smith describes the Jukun-Kutep-Tiv section of the Middle Belt. His description was obviously true of the rest of the non-Muslim Middle Belt too.

[10] E.P.T. Crampton tells us that although effective missionary work did not begin in Northern Nigeria in the 19th century, there were (a few fruitful) exploratory trips in the area to that end (17, 35-37). Some of the missions that worked in Northern Nigeria were S.I.M., C.M.S., C.B.M. and S.U.M. The missionaries of S.I.M. and C.B.M. largely came from North America. The missionaries of 'S.U.M. general' came from Europe, S/Africa, America, Australia and New Zealand.

[11] Some of the areas in the south that were economically better than the pagan middle belt, in pre-colonial Nigeria, were Benin, Abeokuta, Calabar and Bonny. In the North, it seems that all the towns and villages of the Sokoto Caliphate were economically far better that most of those of the pagan middle belt.

[12] For example, Polycarp Datok tells us that among the Mwaghavul of Plateau State God was conceived of as feminine. According to him,

> Originally, Naan [God] was 'feminine' and nearly everything mysterious in Maghavul [sic] was feminine. But when the first missionaries arrived to preach that God was a man […] the people were convinced that God is masculine (84-85).

Similarly, in pre-colonial Pyam land God was generally conceived as masculine, but, as Alfred Daspan and Silbylle Hock tell us, 'Sometimes God is thought to be an old woman' (13).

[13] An interdenominational mission was a mission that was formed by an individual or a group of people or churches which was not under the control of any one denomination. It enjoyed the goodwill of many denominations and drew its support and personnel from across the denominations. As the name implies a denominational mission was one which was formed by or was under the control of a church denomination. A faith mission was an interdenominational mission that operated on the principle of faith whereby God was completely trusted to provide the funds needed for its operation. A specialized mission was one which ministered to a special class of people or was engaged in a special kind of work.

[14] These were Protestant missions that preceded the Evangelical revival. An example of this is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) founded in 1701. The Moravian Mission founded in 1732 also falls into this category.

[15] Also see Jensen 30.

[16] In this study we shall simply call him Wilhelm Kumm.

[17] Wilhelm Kumm reacted negatively to the conversion of his daughter in England because the idea of personal conversion to Christ was strange to him (Sauer 83-84).

[18] Mollie Tett, Jan Boer and Klaus Fiedler put Osterode as his birth place. This has been corrected to Markoldendorf by the meticulous work of Christof Sauer. See Sauer's page 76 footnote 19 for the authenticity of Markoldendorf as Karl Kumm's birth place.

[19] In the order of seniority, the children that were born to Wilhelm Kumm were Amanda, Pauline, Alfred, Karl and Mathilde (Sauer 77).

[20] See Sauer's footnote 116.

[21] Kumm's misgivings about the competence of the German board to make the Mission live up to its name were proved right by time. Maxwell tells us that at the time of writing, 'The German S.P.M. was later transferred to Switzerland, and its name altered to "Swiss Mission among Mohammedans." It has survived, and seems to be chiefly engaged in medical work, carried on a small scale' (24).

[22] Tett (155) and Maxwell (13) tell us, without explanation, that a bank account was opened for the mission in 1901. From what we have so far gathered from Sauer, there was an active British branch of the German-based S.P.M., but we are not certain about

the name it bore before November 1902. Sauer has provided us with a clue as to how there was already a bank account for the Mission in 1901 before its official inauguration in November 1902.

[23] Among these eight people, there were Kumm and his wife, there was also Grattan Guinness. Pope, who was since 15 September 1902 the deputation missionary of the English Branch of the German Based S.P.M., was also in attendance as secretary of this meeting (Sauer 207, see note 114).

[24] Wolfenden was, by 1912, a member of the mission's Executive Committee ('Report of the United Conference' 178). He claimed that 'An account of this first meeting from the gifted pen of Mrs. Karl Kumm lies before me' (Wolfenden 188).

[25] Wolfenden is right to call this meeting 'the first Council Meeting of the Sudan Pioneer Mission'. Sauer tells us that between the summer of 1901 and October 1902 what was the British branch of the German based S.P.M. had no board of its own, and the German board refused to take responsibility for it (216-217). It is difficult to ascertain how the British Branch of the German S.P.M. was related to this meeting. From the fragmentary data at our disposal, we know that some of the people who were associated with the British Branch of the German S.P.M. such as Karl, Lucy, Guinness and W.G. Pope were also part of this meeting. Probably, the bank account of the British Branch of the German S.P.M. continued to be used even after this meeting. If things are as we are trying to reconstruct here, then the origin of the S.P.M. that became S.U.M. is better traced to 1901 and not November 13^{th,}, 1902. Since the meeting in question was largely old acquaintances who had a share in the British Branch of the German S.P.M., we will not be entirely wrong to see this meeting as an attempt to provide the British Branch of the German S.P.M. with a lasting administrative structure to give it a completely British flavour.

[26] In the spring of 1904 the first issue of *The Lightbearer* journal appeared (Wolfenden 189) to keep concerned Christians abreast of developments in the new Mission.

[27] This was how John Lowry Maxwell came to give himself to the service of Christ in the Sudan (Tett14-15). In his own words, as quoted by Tett, "In 1903 I heard first of the Sudan Pioneer Mission when Dr. Kumm visited Dublin […] Then Rev. and Mrs. Pope of the North Africa Mission, came round lecturing for that Society. During one of the meetings a well know local singer, Miss Elizabeth Frost, sang a hymn which got me under the fifth rib! […] After that meeting […] I knew I had to apply to Dr. Kumm […] (Tett 14-15).

[28] Fiedler is a leading authority on the subject of faith missions.

[29] Boer says, 'Originally, the aim had not been to create an additional missionary body but to enlist existing organizations among British non-conformists […]' (114). Boer's position is subject to debate. If the original aim of the Kumms and their friends was not to create an additional mission society why was Kumm working round the clock to create an elaborate structure for the British Branch of the German-based S.P.M.? By 1903 when the British endeavour no longer had any connection with the German S.P.M. why was Kumm challenging the like of Maxwell to serve under the S.P.M. when he was

at the same time also challenging the great missionary societies to take up work in the Sudan? Although we do not have further evidence to support our position, it appears to be the most likely explanation for the approach to existing Evangelical missionary societies while at the same time challenging young men to give themselves to serve under their mission.

[30] These were 'non-Anglican Protestant bodies.' They were also negatively called Dissenters or Non-conformists. These included Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists and the Society of Friends (Quakers) (Worrall 136-137).

[31] The brief history of the Mission in this journal does not mention a central committee. We assume that there was one since it is reflected on the inside of the front cover of the January 1907 edition. In the issue for July 1907 the 'central committee' information did not appear. In its place there was the 'Midlands committee' which contained the list of all the people, except one, who used to be in the 'central committee' (See inside of front cover July 1907).

[32] We could not lay hands on the book from which Dali got the quotation. The book is titled *The Sudan: A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures about the Land of Darkness* (London: Marshall Brothers Ltd, 1907).

[33] Kane gives us a list of the things which Christian missions did wrong (161-164), but he fails to include this overly harsh attitude towards Islam.

[34] This mission from the British Isles is the one under review in this study.

[35] At a conference in Edinburgh, after describing " 'The Serious State of Affairs in Central Africa'" Karl Kumm said, " 'I call upon you, the people of Scotland, who have sent out men like Livingstone, Moffat and Mackay, to come and help us in the huge task of stopping Mohammedanism in Africa'" (Jensen 75).

[36] This can be seen in the Mission's journal covering this period. For example 'Origin and Progress of the S.U.M.' 102.

[37] In the annual report for the year ending 1923 they were called '[…] natives on our staff' (Farrant, 'Field Report […] 1923' 61. Also see 'Sixteenth Annual Report' 58).

[38] As early as 1912, Kumm had suggested that indigenous evangelists should be supported by Nigerian converts and not with money from Europe ('Report of the United Conference' 186). We are not sure whether Kumm or the constitution review committee got their idea from Allen, whose first book on the subject was published in 1912, or from Venn or Anderson. Apart from the three-self policy, a principle of the Mission was '[…] to consider native life and thought' (Krusius 172).

[39] His biographical data is incomplete.

[40] The News-letter has no page number.

[41] In 1919 the average attendance at Sunday services for the various stations were: Ibi=35, Langtang=112, Pil=13, Du=25, Foron=38, Wukari Hausa=90, Wukari Jukun=19, Donga Hausa=16, Donga Jukun=11, Numan=40, Shillem=16, and Keana=17 ('Statistical Report […] 1919' 65). Similarly the statistics for religious services in 1921 ('Statistical Report […] 1921' 111) and 1922 ('Statistical Report […] 1923' 63) reveal that Langtang was the biggest. The statistics for the Freed Slaves' Home should not be taken into consideration since it was obligatory for the children to attend services. The statistics for 1920 are lacking. The section in *The Lightbearer* has been removed. However it is difficult to ascribe the Coopers' success solely to the implementation of their policies. For, unlike the other stations the Langtang station did not experience many staff changes.

[42]Also see 'Wanted: A House' 101.

[43] From the foregoing it appears that the idea of the three-self policy came from the missionaries on the field. If there is any evidence to the contrary we are not aware of it. If the idea came from the field, its adoption on the field might have been subject to the approval of the home board of each branch.

[44] From 1916 until 1948 Farrant was the General Secretary of the Field Council that comprised all the branches of S.U.M. He was also the Field Superintendent of the British branch of the Mission during this period (Boer 296-297; 'Our New President' 101).

[45] The journal of the Mission between the two World Wars is replete with evidence of depression in terms of money and new missionaries.

[46] Cooper had presented a scheme which included institutional work. But Smith tells us that the four branches, including the British branch, adopted Roland Allen's scheme. Allen's scheme made no room for institutional work and the prolonged presence of missionaries on the field. It is doubtful whether Allen would have affixed his name to a scheme which differed from the apostolic model. For Allen clearly rejected the partial implementation of the apostolic model (*Missionary Methods* 5-6).

[47] We do not know what Maxwell really meant by this, but obviously, the churches that were organized during this period were still mission churches. They were churches with missionary pastors. There was as yet no separation between mission and church.

[48] Bristow has also alluded to this point (Bristow 10-11).

[49] This is why we are of the view that during 1923-1933, and even up to 1937, there was only a partial attempt at implementing the three-self policy.

[50] What was 'being worked for' was that the evangelists should serve voluntarily, and if they must be supported they should be supported by the funds of the church. The fund of the emerging church in Birom land was as follows: 'At Forum the contributions make up about half the evangelist's pay, and at Du about a quarter. The work at Vom is too new to introduce the envelope system, but the giving has been remarkably good' (Bristow 11). So we conjecture that some years after 1923 mission funds were used to complement local contributions in order to pay evangelists in Birom land.

[51] The difficulty that was experienced in the implementation of the policy was not peculiar to missionaries of the British branch. Miss Veenstra of the American branch is also reported to have said 'Mission work costs so little if the self-supporting policy is strictly adhered to. But is the hardest way' (Smith 48).

[52] Also see Farrant, 'The policy and Methods of the S.U.M.' 113-114.

[53] In those days teachers also played the roles of evangelists and vice versa.

[54] Also see Gaiya 25-28

CHAPTER FOUR
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MISSION'S INDIGENOUS CHURCH POLICY 1934-1977

The indigenous church policy of the Sudan United Mission British Branch was not a reproduction of Roland Allen's understanding of the policy. Herbert J. Cooper's three papers were the main documents of the Mission on the policy.[1] His work was a model for the S.U.M. as is recorded in the following words:

> […] the work of the Rev. H.J. Cooper among the tribes of the Langtang district […] has been an example to others over the fields […] his clear insight into the principles of the work made him a leader in the application of the "Indigenous Church" method […] (Maxwell *Half a Century of Grace* 212- 213).

Cooper's first paper on the policy appeared in *The Lightbearer* magazine in 1924. This paper was titled 'Caring for a Church.' The second paper titled 'Fostering an Indigenous Church in Nigeria' first appeared in the *World Dominion* in 1928. Owing to the importance of this second paper to the British Branch of the S.U.M., it was reprinted that same year in *The Lightbearer* with permission from the *World Dominion*. The third paper was titled 'The Formation of the Indigenous Church.' This was a paper which Cooper presented at a gathering of the Conference of Missions in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. In all of Cooper's papers he did not mention Roland Allen. Rather he commended the work of John Livingstone Nevius and even recommended his book titled *Methods of Mission Work*[2] to all missionary candidates. In the words of Cooper: 'His book, "Methods of Mission Work" is a splendid treatise on the subject and should be read by all missionary candidates' ('The Formation of the Indigenous Church' 28).

Cooper's insight into the policy was such that when he eventually left Nigeria for good, he was put in charge of training new missionary candidates (Maxwell *Half a Century of*

Grace 213). Obviously this was so that he could impart his knowledge of the three-self policy, which accounted for his missionary success, to them.

Although Cooper's papers were the main documents of the Mission on the policy, the papers do not contain the Mission's entire understanding of the policy. Therefore it is necessary that we examine how the policy was implemented in the Mission in order to get a proper picture of the Mission's understanding or interpretation of the policy.

The implementation of the policy was done by deliberately training the Church in evangelism and in self-support and self-governance. At this period, the training was unusually intensive and protracted, and it was directed at the whole Church and not just the church leaders. In the words of H.G. Farrant,[3] writing in 1954,

> There are thousands of Christians, and from the very first they have been trained in indigenous Church principles and are formed into self-supporting local Churches with pastors, elders, and evangelists, none of whom draws any support from Mission funds ('Crescendo of the Cross: The Church in the Mission Field' 75).[4]

How the church was trained in the three-self principle is the subject of this chapter, and to this we now turn.

4.1 THE TRAINING OF THE CHURCH IN SELF-PROPAGATION

The Mission's understanding of self-propagation was unique. Helping the Church to have a mission society of its own that would enable the Church to be involved in missionary outreaches to distant lands, was not seen as a necessary part of self-propagation by the Mission. Therefore, attention was given only to training in evangelism within the Mission districts as we shall see.

4.1.1 Teaching Evangelism in Schools

Gindiri Training Institute: School Apostolate

During its history the S.U.M. training ground in Gindiri had ten separate schools. According to a visitor in 1957: 'After a quiet week-end at Panyam, we called in at Gindiri, the great educational centre of the Mission. This remarkable institution now comprises nine separate schools […]' (Berry 98). Then, in the same *Lightbearer* issue, an editorial introduced the tenth school which was to be opened in February 1958 ('Nigerian Girls Move Forward' 101). These schools were: the school for evangelists,[5] teachers' training school and women's school for wives of the evangelists and teachers. Others were: demonstration day primary school, middle school for boys, girls' boarding primary school, industrial school, school for blind children, boys' secondary school, and girls' high school. The first three began simultaneously in 1934. It was also during that year that the fourth was beginning to take shape (*Gindiri Golden Jubilee Magazine 1934–1984* 4), when teachers in training organized the children of students into a class to teach them in the afternoon. The others came into being one after the other in later years. By 1970 the boys' middle school and girls' boarding primary school were no longer in existence.

The slogan 'Africa must be evangelized by Africans' was one of the impulses for the establishment of Gindiri. The other impulse was to ultimately provide the emerging Church with a trained pastorate (Field Council […] 27–29/3/1933 5). At the time of the founding of Gindiri, Bristow put the slogan thus:

> In the last number of THE LIGHTBEARER there appeared a short article telling about the proposed training school for our Field in Nigeria. The need for such a school will be apparent to anyone who studies present-day movement in Africa. "Africa must be evangelized by Africans," has long

> been an accepted principle of missionary work (‘More About the Training School’ 83).

This slogan was an idea borrowed from China. The slogan “China must be evangelized by the Chinese” was an often repeated one (Nevius 11). When the Protestant world missionary movement began to focus on Africa, this idea was also brought to bear on the African situation. The slogan was in complete agreement with a prevailing commercial and colonial principle in Africa, ‘“Never put a European on to any work that an African can do”’ (Bristow ‘More About the Training School’ 84).

Before Gindiri was chosen as the site for the training school, the slogan was an important determinant of the ideal site. According to H.G. Farrant, the chief bearer and custodian of the vision,[6]

> I wrote down a list of requirements for the ideal site, and the list seemed impossible to obtain in one site. I wanted a site cool for Europeans and not too cold for Africans, fertile and well wooded to provide scope for the students to farm, accessible by motor, central to the group of tribes it aimed to serve, surrounded by people who were pagans but spoke Hausa, and surrounded also by a population which will provide scope for the evangelistic efforts of the students. But much prayer gradually revealed the neighbourhood of Gindiri […] (‘A Training-School in Nigeria’ 40).

All the schools in Gindiri were established with this slogan in mind. It was in line with this thought that, prior to the beginning of the school, W.M. Bristow stressed that it was their plan to deliberately teach students the art of evangelism, as is recorded in the following words:

> In answer to various questions Mr. Bristow replied:--that an underlying motive in the curriculum would be training “in” rather than “for” the

> work. The long school term of about 8 ½ months would be broken by periods of itineration in the surrounding tribes […] (Field Committee 30-31/3/1933 3).

Therefore, nowhere in the history of the Mission was evangelism taught more, both in theory and practice, than in Gindiri. Writing in 1947 when the teachers' training school, evangelists' school, women's school and boys' middle school were in existence (Pam 'The Past Fifteen Years' 20), William Bristow gives some idea of the theoretical training of all Gindiri students in evangelism thus:

> In describing the work of Gindiri it is necessary to categorise the students under various names, one of which is "evangelists." In S.U.M. phraseology the word "evangelist" is often applied almost exclusively to a man who is barely literate, who, by life and example, is used by God in winning others. In many cases men of this type are set apart by the church as leaders of the spiritual life in small villages. In many cases the men do this work as voluntary workers, and are greatly used of God. All honour to them. It must not be assumed, however, that the students in the other categories are not evangelists. All students who come to Gindiri know that they are expected to devote their lives and gifts to God's service in winning souls for Him. All students, of what ever category, receive training in telling Bible narratives simply and accurately in their own words: a very necessary thing for those who minister in spiritual things to an illiterate community. All of them received training in presenting God's plan of salvation in words easy to be understood. It is only fair to the students, who are classed under other categories, to say that they too are "evangelists." The exhortation "do the work of an evangelist" is surely

> addressed to all ('Gindiri Training and Middle Schools-Report for 1946' 43).

Apart from teaching all students the theoretical aspect of evangelism, and exhorting them to "do the work of an evangelist" irrespective of their categories, many opportunities were created each school year for all students to go on evangelistic tours in the neighbourhood and beyond. The practical aspect of the training began right from the year the schools began (Tett *The Bridge Builder* 36-37). From the first year of the schools to the last years of the Mission in Nigeria evangelistic treks, which usually lasted for some days, became a regular feature of Gindiri student life. At the beginning of 1940 an editorial read: 'For several years now the students from Gindiri Training Institute have, while on their preaching tours, visited Gidgit, a Badawa centre near the Angas border, Nigeria' ('A New Centre' 2). Towards the end of that year another editorial read: 'All the students went out on itineration while the school was closed for a fortnight. Most of the men chose places which were not easy of access and rarely visited' ('Gindiri Mid-session Itineration' 93). In 1949 we have: 'The students have just recently returned from their two weeks' preaching tour. Their reports were good, but more than that, I was struck by the peace and obvious joy in their faces […]' (Miner 'Joy and Blessing' 70). In 1953 we also have:

> Each year since Gindiri Training Centre was opened in 1934, parties of men students have gone on preaching tours for ten days or so during their May or June Vacation […]. This year about forty companies, ranging from three or six in each company, went forth; mostly they went to S.U.M. districts as far as 100 miles from Gindiri, all the travelling being done on foot […]. In all over 150 men and women were out preaching during these ten days ('Gindiri Students' Preaching Tour' 77).[7]

In later years, the regular participation of girls ('Gleanings' 54; Rae 'Gindiri Girl Students' on Trek' 140-141) and blind students (Joy 'Experiment With the Blind' 133) in the evangelistic tours became a feature of the practical training in evangelism.

On their return from a long trek, many students often gave gallant reports of their work ('Gindiri Students' Preaching Tour' 77). In 1959 the separate reports of three students of the Teachers' College were documented. According to Agbi Kuje:

> One of the happiest times in Gindiri, I think, is the time when students and staff go out to fulfil the Lord's words in Matthew 28:18-20. It is really a joyful time as they go out to tell people about the tremendous love and the gift of our Father who sent His only Son down to earth to die for our sins. This year, we were away from college from March 31st to April 6th. We did not all go only to one place, village or town, but we were scattered all over nearby villages. We went not only to nearby villages around us, but as far as the mining camps around Barkin Ladi. While on this trip, we experienced many things, but one of our main messages that we gave to people was the famous words found in II Corinthians, 6:2– 'Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.' Many accepted the Lord Jesus straight away as their personal Saviour ('The 'Week of Witness' in the Teacher Training College' 38–39).

Similarly, Fillibus Adigidzi gave his own account:

> Bise, Samuel, Ishaku Sinnap, James and myself went to Cemso and Unguwar Baraya and preached. We started from Gindiri on foot, and reached Unguwar Baraya at 2.0 p.m. We stayed there for two days. We found that they had a church and a new building for a school. We got many children and people and we preached to them […]. Then we went to

> Cemso. There we were warmly welcomed by the chief. He agreed to us lodging in his house. We preached to his people and children. He was very happy with our preaching. We did not find a church there, so we gathered under a tree instead. We stayed there for four days, and on April 7th we turned back to Gindiri. I was very happy at having done such things for God ('The 'Week of Witness' […]' 39).[8]

Mary Dabiring also wrote:

> We girls divided ourselves into two groups; each group was accompanied by two European women [...]. One group went to Kopai and the other group went to Mungi. I was one of those who went to Mungi […]. When we arrived they showed us a new church to lodge in […]. We made preparations for cooking. When we had finished all this work we all went to nearby villages to tell them about what had brought us. […] and we told them that we would have a meeting at Six O' clock […]. We spent four days there and came back on Saturday […] ('The 'Week of Witness' […]' 39-40).

In addition to the occasional long tours, there were groups that went out at short intervals to preach in the neighbourhood of the schools (Gomwalk 15; Dimka 28). Although not an evangelistic group, even the Spartans' club of the schools sought opportunities to present the gospel (Cottom 'Spartans' 172). By 1953, the art of witnessing had so become part of Gindiri student life that the students were organizing themselves for evangelism (Bristow 'Gindiri Training School (Nigeria)–Report for 1953' 98).

On one occasion the European teachers and African students combined witnessing with community development work. They built a bridge across a river. Attah

Johnson, a student of the Teacher Training College, who was also a member of the bridge building team reported thus:

> The day was April 1st, 1959, when a group of sixteen T.T.C. men students left the school premises in a lorry for Fiyam Giji. With the students were Mr. E.R. Drew, Mr. D. Joy and Mr. P. Heaps as captains. We were going to do some practical service for God by building a bridge over a river for the Kwanka people […]. Relentlessly we continued each day at Fiyam Giji, witnessing for God through our hands […]. We found time during the working hours, at intervals, to speak to the natives with their 'Dodo' about God. In the evenings too we visited the villagers in their houses to consolidate the 'wa'azi' [preaching] they had received ('The 'Week of Witness' […]' 40 – 41).

According to Frederic Shidda, a similar team made up of staff and students also built a bridge for the Kulere of Bokkos (Interview 2–2–2010). Other community development work which the Gindiri students combined with evangelism included the giving out of fruit tree seedlings and teaching villagers how to plant and care for them; lending out 'Rhode Island cocks to stay with the villagers' hens for about two weeks', and teaching adult villagers how to read and write (Dimka 28).

The Gindiri Mission-induced students' evangelistic efforts were not without success. Back in 1947, just thirteen years after the school began, it was reported that 'the work at Gindiri has an untold influence on evangelistic effort in Nigeria […]' ('An Untold Influence for Good' 68). There were many reports of conversions and requests for evangelists and teachers in many of the places visited by the students ('Gindiri Mid-session Itineration' 93).[9] It is in this context that Mishenu Yakubu Aliyu attributed the evangelization of his tribe, the Pyam, largely to the outreaches of Gindiri students (28).

So successful were the students' evangelistic efforts that an air of optimism, over the prospect of the training in evangelism, pervaded the European members of the Gindiri mission community. It was against this background that Morris and his wife thought that if one member of staff is given only twenty-five students, they would be able to lead thousands of young Nigerians into God's Kingdom. In their own words:

> For seven years, we have been part of the Gindiri team-"Training Africans for Christ" […]. The joy of the students when they returned from a preaching tour […] we often felt like part of a living sum when we faced our class of students and thought of the children they would teach in the future. The sum went something like this:-Gindiri staff member X 25 students=Thousands of young Africans in God's kingdom (63).

Many old students continued the spirit of evangelism which they learnt at Gindiri (Morris 63; 'Gindiri, 1956' 73).[10] In order to encourage old students to continue the life of witnessing they were exposed to in Gindiri, the school opened a correspondence programme where letters were exchanged between the schools and many of the old students. In this way the school knew what many of the old students were doing, and the former students in turn knew about happenings in Gindiri, and they also received encouragement in their work as they read about what other former students were doing in their work places ('The Gindiri Literacy Plan' 8). An example of an old Gindiri student who kept correspondence with Gindiri, and who continued the spirit of evangelism he learnt in Gindiri was Dafwash. Through his efforts twenty-five of his pupils were converted one afternoon, after he taught them the ninth chapter of Acts. Dafwash was also instrumental in the conversion of his mother (Cheal *For Light and Truth* 22-25).[11] The second method the Mission employed to encourage many of the old students of Gindiri, particularly teachers, to continue the life of witnessing which they learnt in

Gindiri was a Christian teachers' convention. In May 1965 a Christian teachers' convention was held in Gindiri with the theme "Witnesses for Christ." At this convention, the participants were: '[…] mostly teachers from Plateau Church schools with two also from Native Authority employment' (Crane 'Christian Teachers Convention Gindiri' 87). Three years later, another Christian teachers' convention was held in Kuru. At the end of this convention participants: '[…] realized more forcibly than before how urgent it is to bring young people to personal faith in Jesus […]' (Crane 'Fellowship of Christian Teachers' Convention, 1968' 64-65). Through these encouragements many of the old students continued to make a decisive contribution to the growth of the Church.

Thus, less than two years before the exit of the Mission from Nigeria, optimism arising from the success of the training in evangelism at Gindiri was again expressed. On the occasion of the baptism of about one hundred and fifty students in one day, it was said that the future expansion of the Church rested on the shoulders of made-in-Gindiri Christians. In the words of Bridget Williams:

> This was the theme of the address at the baptism service at Gindiri. About 150 students of the schools and College of Gindiri gave an open witness that they had received the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. […] from now on, those who were baptized will have an opportunity of witnessing openly with God's people. The future extension of the church, under God, depends greatly on the many Nigerian Christians–especially the young people who, that morning, were testifying to their faith (56).

It was in the light of the huge success story of the training in evangelism, and the optimism arising therefrom, that Gindiri was often addressed as the 'Heart of the Church' (Muir 'British Branch Report for 1955' 110; Williams 'The Heart of the

Church' 12). From about 1944 onwards, the non-student adult population of Gindiri schools were also encouraged to witness in the immediate neighbourhood (Pam Interview 9-4-09). During the last years of the Mission in Nigeria, a Gindiri African staff member's attitude to evangelism became a prerequisite for giving further responsibility (Dearsley Letter to Tett 16-11-1970).

Vom Hospital Department for the Training of Nurses and Midwives

Vom Christian Hospital was established in 1923 by Dr. Percy Barnden (Tett *The Road to Freedom* 75). Between 1930 and 1935 the Hospital began to train medical dressers and attendants (Field Council 7-9/4/1930 5; Field Council 22-23/3/1938 10). Later, nurses and midwives were also trained for the districts. The aim was that by means of their work the medical workers could help to advance the gospel. In other words, the training was primarily intended to produce medical evangelists (Field Council 22-23 /3/1938 10-11). The impulse behind this idea was that medicine was the handmaid of the gospel (Field Council 22-23/3/1938 10). To this end the nurses and midwives in training in 1957 were given some theological training alongside their nursing and midwifery studies. In the words of Betty Major: 'Bible school meets once a week, and the course covers the four years of training […]. The course covers the whole Bible in outline, and includes study of Christian History, Pastoralia, Homiletics and Other Religions' (22). Similarly, in 1961 it was reported that: 'A Five-year Bible Course for all trainee nurses and midwives is held, and also Hausa Bible Classes for ancillary personnel and men from the town' ('Annual Reports of the Branches [1960]' 95).

Besides classroom training in theology, the nurses and midwives were also trained in the practical aspects of evangelism. They were encouraged to lead patients and their caregivers to Christ (Major 22). In the many years that followed, the nurses and

midwives in training occasionally visited mining camps and villages in the Foron Mission district to evangelise ('Annual Reports of the Branches [1960]' 96).[12] In this way the Vom-trained medical workers, a small section of the Church, were trained in evangelism.

The training of the medical workers in evangelism paid off, to some extent, as some of them lived up to expectations. A case in point was Nimram, a Vom-trained dispensary attendant. While in charge of a colonial Native Authority dispensary at Shendam, sometime between 1940 and 1951, he would

> […] run it on the same lines as any Mission dispensary. When the patients arrived for treatment, Nimram would give out a hymn in Hausa, sing it, open in prayer and then preach the Gospel, seeing to the spiritual needs of the people as of prime importance, then getting on with the medical needs (Extracts from the Autobiography of Ben Mackay 12).

Apart from Nimram, Da Fon and Mama Dija also bore testimony to the success of the training of the medical workers in evangelism. After a year's training as a dispensary attendant at Vom, Da Fon volunteered to commence evangelistic work at Fusa in August 1932 (Spartalis 13). In 1978 the headquarters of the Church of Christ in Nigeria paid tribute to the work of Mama Dija in these words: 'The former midwife at Fobur went to be with the Lord on September 19th. Praise the Lord for all her life and witness […]' ('Church of Christ in Nigeria Headquarters Newsheet–Octorber 1978 [sic]' 1).

Kabwir Regional Bible School and Seasonal Bible Schools

When the Regional Bible School Kabwir began in 1964 with 19 students and their wives (Field Committee 11-12/3/1964 2) it took the Gindiri pattern where both the theory and practice of evangelism were taught and emphasized to all students (Philips

55). During the 1960s even the students of Seasonal Bible Schools, which were held in the districts for a period of between two weeks and three months annually were not exempted from this. From 24th February to 6th March 1966 a short-term 'Bible School' was held at Limankara in North-Eastern Nigeria. During the two Saturdays of the course, students were enthused to go and evangelize in the neighbourhood (Hamilton 116-117). In the years that followed, all the Bible Schools took this pattern.

By and large, when the Bible School students completed their studies they were not sent to cross-cultural mission in distant lands but to congregations within or near their places of origin. In these congregations their main task was to shepherd the members of their congregations. In addition to this they were expected to continue the task of evangelism which they learnt in school. It was only between 1954 and 1974 that a few of the Bible School graduates were taken to North-eastern Nigeria, but not under any indigenous mission scheme that was undertaken by the whole church as will be seen later.

4.1.2 Training in Evangelism in the Mission Districts

The Exposure of Church Groups to Evangelism

The Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade (formally Girls' Life Brigade) and Women's Fellowship all began between 1934 and 1943. During their formative years they were effectively under the influence of the European Missionaries (Farrant 'Field Report […] 1943' 46; Barnden 'Vom […] Report for 1953' 95). The missionaries so guided the activities of these groups that in no time evangelism became a priority for each group. The Boys' Brigade (B.B.) often sought opportunities to preach the Gospel by using their displays as bait to attract on-lookers so that they could preach the gospel to them ('B.B.' 46; 'Boys' Brigade' 37-38; 'B.B. in Nigeria' 51).[13]

Similarly, at a Girls' Brigade (G.B.) camp in Gindiri in 1951 there were outreaches in the neighbourhood (Goldstein 44). The European missionary officers were so desirous to inculcate the art of evangelism in the girls of the G.B. that prayers were often made in that direction. An instance of this prayer occurred in 1957. In the words of an editorial:

> For the 1st Plateau Girls' Life Brigade Company the New Year began with a camp. From January 2nd–9th more than one hundred girls from eight different villages came in with their officers to Kabwir […]. As they have now returned to pagan homes these girls need much prayer. Will you join us in prayer for them that they may be true witnesses for Jesus ('Blessing among the G.L.B. Girls' 43).

Besides the prayers, the girls of the G.B. were often admonished to witness as a way of life. Reminiscing on a camp held at Miango in 1964, Kathleen McDonald gives an instance where such admonitions took place:

> The Pastor Bitrus Yamden of Panyam gave a message that perfectly crowns the emphasis of the whole camp. "Witness unto Me" was the theme of the week, and the challenge of the missionary fields of the churches represented had been brought before the campers. Now the message of Acts 2:17-18 rings out with great power. "In the LAST DAYS, saith God, I will POUR OUT OF MY SPIRIT UPON...YOUR DAUGHTERS…and they shall prophecy" (forth tell) [sic] (52-53).

As a result of the inculcation of the art of evangelism in the B.B. and G.B., and owing to the occasional evangelistic outreaches of these groups, back in 1957 a portion of the British Branch annual report reads: 'The young people's organizations, Boys' Brigade

and Girls' Life Brigade, both of which are powerful evangelizing bodies, are also sharing in raising money' ('Annual Reports of the Branches [1957:]' 79).

Like the B.B. and G.B., members of the Women's Fellowship (W.F.) were encouraged to evangelize until it became a tradition of the group. Therefore, in the Mission's districts, the W.F. often visited non-church folk in the neighbourhood and beyond for witnessing (Muir 'British Branch-Report for 1953' 93). The zeal of the women in some of the districts was great. This was observed by M.M. Ware thus: 'What zeal and earnestness, what fervour and endeavour we see on the part of these women, who were so young in the faith and yet so keen to win others' ('Women's Convention at Kabwir' 63). The evangelistic outreaches of the women were occasionally characterized by great courage, as is evident in two separate instances. According to Elsie Webster:

> Each year as many as possible of the numbers of the Women's Fellowship spend a week together preaching. They choose a centre where they all sleep and go out each day from morning until evening visiting and preaching in the neighbouring villages […]. This year over fifty women joined in this way and showed great perseverance as they plodded around in the hot sun from village to village. Many set off in the morning in shoes, but returned in the evening with the shoes on their heads weary and footsore (103–104).

Geoffrey Birch recorded the second instance in the following words: '[…] a team of women from Fobur walked nearly 30 miles to Zandi to preach the gospel around the homes, and in the church over forty people responded to the call for repentance' (60-61). It is needless to say that even these instances of perseverance in evangelism were learnt, through observation, from the female European missionaries in the days of pioneering

work and after. For in each district, by 1943, all missionaries were required to itinerate at least five times in the year (Farrant ‘Calendar of Station and Church Events’ 2).

The Role of Conventions

Church conventions and Women’s Fellowship conventions were also used by the Mission to cultivate or sustain the culture of Christian witness among believers. In Kabwir, a jubilee celebration in 1957 was crowned with an outreach (Ware ‘Kabwir 1907–1957-The Jubilee Gatherings’ 42-43).

Besides the use of conventions to help inculcate the art of evangelism in the members of the Church, the missionaries were always on the watch for any section of the Church that was getting cold in its evangelistic endeavours. When such a section was noticed, efforts were made to revive the members, as was the case in Jarawa land. When Wilfred Bellamy noted that there was coldness among the congregations, he encouraged the elders of one of them. Together with him they visited the other congregations. The visits lasted for some days during which Bellamy ate and slept with the elders (Bellamy ‘Village Visits’ 26-27).

The Conference of Missions in Northern Provinces and New Life For All

New Life For All (N.L.F.A.) began in 1963, as a non-denominational Christian Gospel movement. The aim was to stimulate every Church member to help preach the gospel to every single person in the Bauchi and Zaria provinces (Williams ‘The Diamond Jubilee Field Prayer Conference’ 119). As soon as the movement was founded, the Mission exploited it to the full. Having participated in bringing it into being the Mission seconded Wilfred Bellamy to the Movement so that he could join the missionary arm of the coordinating team. The basic principle of the organization was ‘Total Mobilisation

among the Lord's People for the Total Evangelisation of the lost […]' (Bellamy 'New Life For All' 62). Therefore, by means of this organization the whole Church was enlisted to propagate the Gospel. In this way the Mission's efforts at teaching evangelism received a further boost (Gotom 23-11-2009).

The involvement of the Mission in New Life For All was not the first time they were cooperating with other Missions in evangelism. In the first half of the 20th century the Mission received a lot of inspiration for evangelism from her participation in the Conference of Missions in the Northern Provinces (C.M.N.P.). Between January and March 1935, the Conference of Missions in the Northern Provinces passed a resolution for member missions to evangelise their geographical areas of operations thoroughly within three years (Field Council 1/4/1935 3-4). This further encouraged the Mission's efforts at inculcating self-propagation in the Mission's Districts and schools. While giving his own report of the three-year plan of evangelism Suffill wrote:

> Since the Birom Church meeting at Kuru in May 1935, all the Birom villages had heard the Gospel, some 22,000 people having been present at meetings during itineration. Mr. Long had spent a great deal of time on this work, accompanied by Christians, and other Christians had itinerated by themselves (Field Council 30-31/3/1936 2-3).

Similarly, Bristow reported that: 'Gindiri students, sometimes accompanied by Fyam Christians had itinerated the neighbourhood of Gindiri fairly thoroughly. Several visits had been paid to the Sara hills' (Field Council 30-31/3/1936 3).

4.1.3. The Reaction of Nationals to the Training in Evangelism

The Mission's efforts to '[…] inculcate in believers such an ardent desire for souls […]' ('Independence, Opportunity, Faith' 97) met with success. In 1940 there

were: three ordained pastors, forty-three evangelists and teachers and forty-two congregations where services were held each Sunday ('Names of Stations, Outstations, Classes for Religious Instruction […]' 1-3).[14] In 1953 the statistics of the progress of the work were as follows:

> Number of places where services are held each Sunday—370
>
> Average attendance at principal Sunday services for above—18,549
>
> Number of ordained pastors (African)—6
>
> Evangelists fully paid by the Church 3, partly helped 208, unaided 92;
>
> Total—303
>
> New communicant Church members accepted during year—286
>
> Communicant Church members in full communion at the end of the year—2,382
>
> Number of marriages—190
>
> Church income for year--£3,755 ('Figures Accompanying British Branch Report for 1953' 94).

Twenty years later the statistics more than triple the above as is seen below:

> Places holding regular services—1,128
>
> Total average attendance—154,560
>
> Church members—26,940
>
> African Pastors—71
>
> African Evangelists—1,128
>
> Offering—N88,460 ('1974 Statistics'115).

However the effort of the Mission in teaching evangelism was not without mixed feelings towards it. In Gindiri, while many students were always happy and enthusiastic about their exposure to a life of evangelism, others were often unwilling to go (Farrant

M. 65). Derogatory statements from a handful of students, about the whole exercise, were occasionally heard. In 1950 a student was expelled from Teachers' Training College on the recommendation of a thirteen-man special committee of enquiry, made up of ten nationals and three Europeans. The charge against the student was that:

> Last year (1948) in the month of June you went on a preaching tour in Bauchi Province with a number of other students. On the return journey you all lodged in the home of an evangelist in Seryawa Country. At night you all got into an argument about the merits and demerits of the work of a teacher or an evangelist. In the discussion you made the statement that you would rather go about hawking skewered meat than do the work of an evangelist. This gave great offence not only to your host but also to the student-evangelists who were with you (Bristow Special Committee of Enquiry August 28th, 1950 3).

The reason that was given for the expulsion of the student was that he '[…] was an unsuitable person for the work of a teacher […]' (Bristow Special Committee of enquiry 3). The depth of the student's crime becomes apparent when it is understood that all the school teachers of S.U.M. British Branch in those days were expected to serve in the dual capacity of teacher-evangelist as the name of the Mission's 'Classes for Religious Instruction' suggests ('On Tour' 51).[15] Therefore, a teacher in training who had no interest in the work of evangelism was unsuitable. More so that in S.U.M.'s judgment, a Christian's willingness to tell others about Jesus Christ was a sign of spirituality (Bristow 'Gindiri Training School. Report to Field Committee, March. 1941' 1). The reason for the student's derogatory statement about evangelism and the work of the evangelist cannot be ascertained today. However, this could not have been completely unconnected with the fact that outreaches for evangelism were mandatory for all students of the

teachers' college (Shidda 2-2-2010) whether they liked it or not, and whether they all understood its significance or not.

Some nationals outside the Church were not comfortable with the training of the Gindiri students in evangelism. About three years before national independence, it was reported that: 'This year we received much attention in the press, where it was deplored that students were forced to do evangelism against their will' ('Annual Reports of the Branches [1957:] The British Branch, Nigeria' 81). The columnist refused to see sense in the outreaches of the students even after the warden of Gindiri and the Head boy of the Teachers' Training College gave explanations ('Annual Report [1957]' 81).

Another negative reaction of the students to the training in evangelism was that about 50% of those who completed their training at Gindiri did not continue to witness as a way of life (Shidda 2-2-2010), particularly those who were not in Mission or Church employment (Gotom Interview 23-11-09).

4.1.4 The Mission's Partial View of Self-Propagation

In 1851, 1861 and 1866 Henry Venn wrote three papers on indigenous church policy. These three papers are presented by Wilbert Shenk in the appendices of his book titled *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman*. From these papers one can see Venn's view of a self-propagating indigenous church. To Venn, self-propagation has two sides, like the two sides of a coin. First, converts should be encouraged to witness to Christ within the area in which there is a Christian community. In his own words:

> […] in new missions the missionary may from the first encourage the inquirers to form themselves into companies, for mutual instruction and reading the Scriptures and prayer, and for making their weekly collections. It should be enjoined upon each company to enlarge its

> numbers by prevailing upon others to join in their meetings. The enlargement of a Christian company, so as to require subdivision, should be regarded as a triumph of Christianity, as a festive occasion of congratulation and joy, as men rejoice "when they divide the spoil" (Shenk *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 124-125).

By 'prevailing upon others to join in their meetings' Venn had in mind evangelism within an area in which there is a Christian community. Venn called this the elementary principle of self-extension (Shenk *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 125). Secondly, an indigenous church should have a church missionary structure for planting churches outside the district the church occupies. In his first paper on indigenous church principles in 1851, he reminded his readers of: 'The attempts which have been made by this Society to train up native missionaries […] by an European education […]' (Shenk *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 119). According to him, those to be trained as missionaries: '[…] may be best obtained by selecting from among the native catechists those who have approved themselves faithful and established Christians, as well as "apt to teach," and by giving such persons a special training in Scriptural studies […]' (Shenk *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 119). Therefore when Venn mentioned the 'euthanasia of the mission' he had in mind: '[…] the completion of the cycle from the time when a mission had full charge to the final stage with the Church itself being self-reliant and engaged in missionary outreach' (Shenk *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman* 46).

From the foregoing a self-propagating indigenous church is, first, one in which converts are trained in evangelism to increase church membership within a district in which there is a Christian community. Secondly, it is one in which a church missionary structure is in place for planting church congregations outside the district the church occupies.

By contrast, the S.U.M. British Branch in practice understood self-propagation to mean evangelism in the Mission Districts and their neighbourhoods. This was why well after 1968 the Mission did not deliberately encourage the Church to form and manage its own missionary society. Back in 1944, when traces of the idea of a missionary society for the Church were raised in the Mission, Farrant was not in full support of the idea. In his own words:

> The Church understands evangelistic methods within its own tribe or in an immediately adjoining tribe. It does not yet understand how to perform work at a moderate distance. Work that has been about 60 or 80 miles from home has almost never had continuity of service and has rarely been the entire responsibility of the Church. The danger to be avoided in forming a missionary society of the Church is that it shall undermine the work of the Church among unbelievers near home. […] Britain has the ocean to divide between home and foreign. We have no such definite barrier and must be the more careful (Letter to Cooper 27-4-1944 1-2).

Missionary work to distant places was not considered necessary by Farrant who saw missionary work as only an overseas affair, a business for whites only at that time. Farrant's ideas were not formed in a vacuum. The idea that only whites were missionaries was a notion that was common among Europeans like Herbert Kane. This idea had its origin in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to J. Herbert Kane: ''Too long we have subscribed to the notion that world evangelization is "the white man's burden." Only in the South Pacific were the nationals involved in the enterprise' (*A Concise History of Christian World Mission* 111). Since Farrant was the chief executive of the work of the Mission in Nigeria at that time, nothing was done to encourage the Church to form and run its own missionary society.

In 1968, eight years before the exit of the mission, the idea of a missionary society for the Church was raised again. During a Church council meeting a report was given about the missionary society of a young Chadian church. This made the Church feel the need for one, but in the end nothing was put in place to enable it to come into existence. This fact was reported in an anonymous letter to Bill Tett in these words:

> Regional Church Council. The meetings went off very well, most of the business seemed to be arising from reports of various activities, but special mention should be made of the Tchad Report and the interest that was aroused by the information of the Missionary Society set up by the Tchad Church for the support of missionaries to Lake Tchad. Since the need was first made known and the challenge accepted by the Tchad Church, they have established their own Missionary Society which in less than a year has recruited 1, 495 members and raised £1,200. This came as a real challenge to our Regional Church and both the idea and the need for a Missionary Society of the Church was accepted. No firm decision was made on the setting up of this, but I would expect it will appear for discussion, perhaps through the R.C.C. Standing Committee in the future (Letter to Bill 9-4-1968).

It is understandable why the Church could not immediately form a missionary society of its own after the model of the Chadian Church. By 1968 it was not easy to secure nationals who knew anything about the administration of a missionary society, as none were trained for it. In addition, between 1954 and 1970 the Church had a handful of volunteers who were working as missionaries in North-Eastern Nigeria (Muir 'British Branch–Report for 1953' 93; 'The Directors' […] Annual Report for year ending 30th June, 1970' 102). Although these volunteers were supported by the Church, there was no

Church missionary society to coordinate their activities. As a result, their work was coordinated by expatriate missionaries. This probably gave the Church the impression that it already had mission work and a missionary society of its own. Thus when the S.U.M., B.B. left there was no missionary structure of the Church in place to continue the Mission's work of deliberate and well coordinated missionary outreach to distant places.

4.2 THE TRAINING OF THE CHURCH IN SELF-SUPPORT

The training of the Church in self-support was directed towards the erection of structures, the support of Church workers, the support of the needy, the work of formal education, the training of Church workers and the self-reliance of individual Christians. It was also directed towards the running of rural health centres, and how to raise and manage Church finances.

The reason for the training of Christians in self-support was to save the Mission from the danger of attracting 'rice Christians' (Tett *The Road to Freedom* 100-101) or, as has already been observed, to achieve the goal of a healthy Church. Again, the epithet 'rice Christian' was an idea that was born out of Missionary experiences in China where many people became converts to Christianity for what they could get from the Missions (Nevius 12-17).

By 1933 some progress in the teaching of self-support had already been made in some of the older stations, particularly Langtang. Therefore, the task of the Mission from 1934 to 1977 was to help Christians in the older stations to do more, and to stimulate Christians in the new stations and outstations to be self-reliant.

4.2.1. The Training of the Church to Erect its Buildings

The buildings referred to here are worship places, pastors' houses and evangelists' houses. The Wukari resolution of 1923 in which converts were to build their own Church structures (Cooper 'Caring for a Church' 92; Smith *Nigerian Harvest* 46-47),[16] partly came to be understood as '[…] all churches in tribal areas should be responsible for the erection of their own buildings' (British Home Council Sub-committee on Field Affairs 17-2-1966 2). Although this was in place, the implementation was not rigid for the whole period under consideration. From 1934 to 1950 it was quite common to find joint efforts of converts and missionaries in the erection of Church buildings. During the erection of the first Church building in the village of Ganawuri among the Aten, in the Foron Mission district, two missionaries laid the bricks while the converts carried and lifted the bricks and clay to the missionaries (Farrant 'Ganawuri: Literally Life Out of Death' 71-72). Similarly, the worship place in Gindiri town was built by the joint efforts of indigenes and missionaries ('Gindiri: A Mid-session Report' 13). A Church building near Kabwir was also built by Kabwir '[…] Boys' Brigade Company with the help of the Mission' ('Nigerian Pastors in England' 65).

In other places Church buildings were solely constructed or paid for by converts. In the first half of the 1940s the Church buildings among the Seya were '[…] put up and paid for by Seya Christians' (Extracts from the Autobiography of Ben Mackay' 40). Similarly, in 1948 the new church building in Fobur was to be built by Jarawa Christians. They were also to provide free labour for the building of a missionary's house (Farrant's Diary 8-2-1948). Referring to this, Maxwell wrote: 'The people themselves discovered early in the year that a missionary would be available for work among them. Accordingly, they worked with a will, and built the whole station, including the missionaries' house, with their own voluntary labour' (*Half a Century of Grace* 281-

282). The partial participation or complete lack of participation of the Mission in the erection of worship places between 1934 and 1950 depended on the level of success of the Mission in teaching self-support.

4.2.2 How the Church Was Trained to Care for its Workers

By 1934 three offices were clearly in the mind of the Mission for its missionary Church. These were the office of evangelist, the office of elder and the office of minister, which the Mission called pastor. At the risk of repetition, the Mission practice of paying evangelists from Mission funds stopped after 1923. In Panyam where the practice was inherited from the Church Missionary Society in 1930, a scheme for the smooth transfer from Mission to Church support was worked out and implemented (Field Committee 27-28/3/1934 4). As this process of transfer of the support of evangelists was going on in Panyam, Christians in all the Mission Districts were encouraged to give themselves for work as voluntary evangelists who would not take any salary but depend on their farms for support. As has already been observed, the promotion of this type of voluntarism began soon after 1923. By the 1940s many Christians had given themselves as voluntary workers. In this way, the Mission was free from the burden of directly supporting evangelists from its funds.

Even when elders were specially set aside by prayer and the laying on of hands, in the early days (Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 157), they were not supported materially by the Mission or the Church. Unlike the evangelists and elders, the pastors (now Reverends) were not voluntary workers; they were to receive pay from the Church (Field Council 30-31/3/1936. 4-5). The Mission was able to get the Church to do this by involving them in the task of choosing prospective candidates for pastoral training, and

by making them on two separate occasions enter into a solemn covenant in that regard (‘Pastors 1938’ 4).

The Church was also stimulated by the Mission to support its own missionaries (Muir ‘British Branch Report for 1953’ 93).[17] In 1965 Sunday school children at Boi were taught to support Mission work in Limankara, North-Eastern Nigeria. According to the Missionary in-charge, ‘We are anxious that they should become “Missionary Minded” while they are still young’ (‘Sunday School at Boi’ 111).

4.2.3 The Training of the Church in the Support of the Needy

Converts were trained not only to support the immediate needs of the Church. They were also challenged to help provide for relief work within and outside Nigeria. When the Danes of the Danish Branch of S.U.M. could not pay their Nigerian staff due to the impact of the Second World War, Nigerian Christians in the British Branch sent some help to the Nigerian staff of the Danish Branch to ameliorate their situation (Cheal ‘A Warm Welcome’ 106).

In 1944 the Panyam Church sent two pounds six shillings in aid of Jews (Farrant, H.G. Letter to Dawson. 8-5-1944). Similarly, Foron Christians helped Greeks during their times of great difficulty which were occasioned by World War Two (‘From Africa to Greek’ 2-3). These examples show that the Church was learning to support the needy throughout the world.

4.2.4 Realizing Self-Support Among Individual Christians

By means of modern farming methods and industrial education the Mission tried to help individual Christians to be self-reliant. Training in farming was conducted in Gindiri Schools (Bristow ‘Gindiri […] Report for 1953’ 100-101), Christian Training

Centre Zamko (Williams Bridget 'The Farmer Evangelists' 111) and in the district by Faith and Farm. The attempt at improving the economic lot of individual Christians was predicated on: '[…] missions are coming more and more to realize that to attend only to the spiritual part of man's make-up is not sufficient' (Batchelor 'Agriculture' 49).

Faith and Farm began in about 1959 (Batchelor 'Faith and Farm' 54). The organization arose as a response to the economic and social needs of Northern Nigeria. According to Batchelor,

> Any visitor to a Northern Nigerian village would notice the material needs of the people. Social needs too, and in particular the huge unemployment problem among school leavers, are also readily apparent to the visitor. […] so we began the "Faith and Farm" work by finding ways of demonstrating our Lord's concern for every part of the life of individuals and of communities not just their Church lives. This took us into the realms of raising living standards through practical projects in agriculture […]' ('Faith and Farm' 54).

Thus, during its early history Faith and Farm gave out interest-free loans to some converts who successfully completed its training programme in farming. The loans, which were to be repaid in instalments over a period of five years, were given for the purchase of farm equipments such as bulls and ploughs ('Report of Survey of Faith and Farm Project' 1).

Besides wanting to help converts to be self-reliant, there was something of a desire to check the rural-urban drift, which was seen as capable of threatening the stability and growth of congregations in the villages. In the words of Batchelor: 'If we fail to recognize this as a need to be met by the Christian Church, or if there is no staff to

carry out the project in the villages, what then? The town-wards drift will continue and the Church in the villages will get weaker and weaker' ('Villages of Opportunities' 45).

Early in the history of the Gindiri schools there was the industrial department where specially selected young men were trained in carpentry and masonry. The training of these young men was intended to help them to be self-reliant. Besides, their skills were also to benefit the missionary Church as they built and roofed Church structures (Kerr 'The Great Service Station of Northern Nigeria' 77). Apart from giving a few selected young men an industrial education, all Gindiri students were taught some form of extra-curricular skill. According to Bristow, writing in 1948:

> All students of whatever category and all the boarding-school boys spend from two to four hours a day on practical work, all of which is centred round farming, gardening, forestry and animal husbandry, masonry, carpentry, spinning and weaving, mat-making of various kinds, blacksmith work etc. All our students come from bush villages and rural communities, and it is most essential that they should be able to make village life more attractive in everyway (*Training Africans for Christ* 13–14).

The desire to make even the handicapped self-reliant was also one of the reasons for work among the blind. In the words of an editorial: 'One of the biggest tasks will be to inculcate a desire to earn a living in the pupils. The normal thing in Africa is for blind people to live by begging […]' (Wanted a Teacher for the Blind 9). To this end, the Mission began the first school in British West Africa for blind children in 1953. In this school the pupils '[…] are taught crafts by which they can support themselves' (Williams *Students for Christ* picture page after 22).

In the leper colonies of the Mission, even lepers without fingers were encouraged to farm (‘Bornu Leper Farm Colony’ 2). This was to make them self-reliant after their period of treatment was over, and they were confirmed as healed. According to an annual report of the leprosy settlement of Mangu:

> The patients’ farms produced very well […]. The dry season gardens are ever more popular […]. Composting has been learnt and is practiced, and these new skills will be used when the patients go home. This is part of the rehabilitation programme (‘Provincial Leprosy Settlement Sudan United Mission Mongu Annual Report 1967/68’ 2).

While the women of the colonies were taught knitting, girls were sometimes organized in a sewing class (‘Bornu Provincial Leprosy Board Report. July 1938’ 2; ‘Provincial Leprosy Settlement […] Mongu […]’ 2).

The work of Faith and Farm, and the training at the industrial department of Gindiri benefited mostly the male folks. But the Mission was determined not to leave the women folk behind in the training for self-reliance. Thus, in Kwalla: ‘[…] a women’s class has been commenced, for the teaching of hand work, knitting, needlework, etc., under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. R. Churchman’ (‘Teaching the Women’ 70). In Panyam, as early as 1954 there was a mission women’s vocational school where much was done to train women in hand work (‘British Branch Field News No. 6. July, 1954’ 2).

The training of individuals to be self-reliant, particularly in the area of modern farming methods was, as far back as 1934, a collaborative effort between Missions and the colonial government of Northern Nigeria. In the words of a Resident of Plateau Province:

> In our efforts to improve agricultural methods and to introduce new ideas whereby the farmer may better his material condition it is to the missionaries that we have turned for assistance and support […]' ('Extract from Report to Government by Resident, Plateau Province, Northern Nigeria 3 Oct. 1934').

The training of converts to be self-supporting through farming could not have been unconnected with a desire to empower the rural dwellers so that they would in turn be able to support the young Church.

4.2.5 The Training of the Church in Financial Management

The missionaries taught converts to give offerings such as a weekly free-will collection, tithes and the first fruits of their farm produce. The converts did not find this difficult to understand, because there was a precedent in African Traditional Religion which the missionaries were aware of, and which they used as a point of contact to teach Christian giving (Cooper 'Fostering an Indigenous Church in Nigeria' 85). By 1941 the service of first fruits had became a tradition in Langtang Mission District ('News from Tutung' 34-35), as was also the case with the other districts. The missionaries also encouraged farming for the Lord. The converts in Kabwir '[…] on their own initiative […],' cultivated and tend a farm in 1947 for the Lord's treasury. This was commended by the missionaries ('Farming for the Lord' 2).

How taxation came to be used as a means of raising money for God's work cannot be fully known today. However, it is clear that the missionaries did not discourage it. Kwalla Christians were asked to pay an amount of money each for the training of their evangelist in 1954 (Potter 'The First from Kwolla' 130). Seven years later, every believer in Kwalla was taxed in order to erect a Church building ('A

Weekend at Kwolla' 17). In Ropp, a pound was collected from each Christian family, a form of tax, to erect a permanent Church building ('Sacrificial Giving' 2). These means of fund raising became a tradition in the whole Church.

From the emergence of congregations until the 1950s, the district missionary was in charge of the finances of the Church. It was not until 1951 that self-help in the handling of finance began to be taught. This started with Damina Bawado when he was chosen to be treasurer of the Langtang District Church, under the watchful eyes of his missionary mentor who checked the financial transactions of the Church from time to time (Churchman 'A Step Forward' 18). In the years that followed, the training of the Church in the handling of finances also became a feature of the other Mission Districts. In 1961, Church treasurers in the Foron Mission District were brought together in a three-day course ('Revealing the Development of the Church in the Birom' 79). In March 1962 the Field Committee of the Mission set the end of 1963 as the last day when Church finances should be completely taken over by the Church from the district missionaries. In the words of the minutes: '(b) Church Finance:-It was agreed that suitable Nigerian Church members be trained as Church treasurers in order to take over from the District Missionaries all Church finances, not later than the end of 1963' (Field Committee 21st and 22nd March 1962. 9).

4.2.6 Realizing Self-Support in Secular Education

Secular education was first introduced by the missionaries in every station and out-station. This was to enable enquirers to read and write in order to read the Bible, so that their faith would be based on an informed knowledge of God's word. The schools were then known as Classes for Religious Instruction. In time, each of the Classes for Religious Instruction often gave birth to twins: Church congregations and formal primary

schools. At first the formal primary schools, like the Classes for Religious Instruction, were run by the Mission (Tett *The Road to Freedom* 54-55); Rimmer 'Go Ye and Teach' 4-7; Meeting of Committee to Define the Responsibility of the Mission […]' 3). But right from the outset they encouraged indigenous believers to contribute to the development of education. The Seya Christians were encouraged to collaborate with the Mission in the building of a new school for 30 pupils and huts for boarders ('An Experiment' 66). In the Langtang Mission District, by 1941 Christians in Gazum had built a school and were also responsible for the support of the teacher ('Growth at Gazum' 34). In 1956 a similar report was given about the Panyam Mission District: '[…] Church members have been active, giving both in labour and money towards the building of village schools' (Muir 'British Branch-Report for 1955' 110). By 1960 the Panyam District Church had a scholarship fund for the training of her primary school teachers ('To All Missionaries in Charge of Stations' 21-12-1960). Back in 1956 Gordon Muir summarized the role of Mission and Church in the running of secular education thus:

> One encouraging feature has been the way in which the Church has increasingly shouldered responsibility for primary education, but the Missionary is still carrying most of the burden of management which should be placed in African hands at the earliest possible moment (British Branch-Report for 1955' 110).

In 1958 the Church was able to provide the cost of primary schools which were not covered by Government grant ('The Directors' […] Annual Report […] 1958' 84). Until this time it had been provided by the Mission: 'It is felt that the schools in the Districts are not as yet the financial responsibility of the Church. The Mission is still the Proprietor of the schools' (Field Committee 13th and 14th October 1954 1). Therefore,

having observed the capability of the Church, the Mission transferred the running of the primary schools to the Church between January and March 1964 as is recorded in these words: 'The transfer of primary Schools to Plateau and Bauchi Church of Christ in the Sudan has been made as from the 1st January 1964' (Field Committee 11-12/3/1964 7). However, the Church's full responsibility for the schools was short-lived, as the Government took over the schools from the Church between 1966 and 1968 (Regional Church Council Report attach to Field Council October 1967 2).[18] In all, 56 schools were transferred to the Benue-Plateau State Government (British Home Council 1st August 1968 1).

Back in 1954 the visionary H.G. Farrant anticipated this takeover of schools and the reason for the Church's relinquishing of them thus:

> In spite of the massive share which the Church now has in education, there is a fair degree of certainty that responsibility for the administration of primary schools […] will pass from the Church and go to Public Education Authorities […]. The likelihood of this change comes from two reasons. One is that schools are expensive, grant-in-aid rarely covers the total cost, and therefore the ability of the Church to maintain its own pastorate and the other Church workers can be crippled by having to meet the balance of cost on a great many schools. The Church, therefore, will incline to welcome a relaxation in its financial burden ('Crescendo of the Cross: VIII–Schools which fill the Churches' 148 -149).

Thus, the transfer of Schools from Mission to Church was, in reality, a preparation for the transfer to government (Field Committee 9th/10th October 1963. 5).[19]

4.2.7 Self-Support in the Running of Rural Health Centres

From the outset the missionaries were dispensing medical care from their own rooms and at their own expense. This was with a view to building friendship and trust between them and the indigenes whom they sought to convert to Christianity (Tett *The Road to Freedom* 71-76). Later, the missionaries were desirous of seeing the emergence of self-supporting dispensaries, as indicated by a hoped for one which was in the pipeline at Zangli ('A Dispensary at Zangli' 97). As a result, national converts were stimulated to help to bring them into being, or help to maintain or expand existing ones. Thus, Jarawa women provided manual labour and money to build and roof a maternity ward with corrugated iron sheets instead of grass (Churchman Jessie 'Jarawa Women Determine and Do' 105; 'Indomitable Jarawa Women' 35). Similarly, in Seya land, Seya women and girls contributed money towards the coming into being of a maternity ward (Ware 'Women and Girls in the Seya Tribe' 51). In Ganawuri, among the Aten, the Church was stimulated to support a Vom-trained midwife in 1955 ('New Maternity Home' 27).

The indigenous principle was also brought to bear on the payment of medical fees. Even very poor natives who could not afford to pay their medical bills were not exempted. According to Eva Stuart Watt,

> The indigenous principles of the Sudan United Mission have made the payment of a hospital fee by the natives a necessity, even though it was only a nominal one. For wage earning natives or well to do Mohammedans the way is clear. But imagine a poor man being carried forty or even seventy miles to Vom and arriving without his fee–what then? No heathen can be expected to pay up afterwards; it's not in him. Is he to be turned away or is the indigenous principle, so vital in the foundation of the work, to be ignored? Members of the European staff

> have repeatedly out of sheer pity paid the fee themselves (*Thirsting for God* 95).

In these ways indigenous believers became used to meeting their own medical needs.

4.2.8 Teaching Self-Support in the Training of Church Workers

It was also the desire of the Mission that the Church should be self-supporting in the area of Bible training for its evangelists and pastors. To this end, the Mission drew up a scheme to help the Church but in such a way that the Church would increasingly be able to take up the responsibility herself. In the words of the recommendation of an ad hoc committee, which had H.G. Farrant and W.M. Bristow as members, to the field Council of 1935,

> […] that an indigenous church in the ideal is responsible for the training of all its servants; but that the church raised up in the S.U.M. Field in Nigeria is not yet able to do so, and that until such time as it is able the Mission should assist, and that such assistance should aim at making the church progressively more able to undertake the training of all its servants. […] that the Mission will for a considerable number of years have to provide and maintain a European training staff. […] that to secure Africans who will one day be able to take over the entire teaching responsibility in training, it is necessary to include Africans in the training staff and educate them for, and give them, progressively greater responsibility. That it will be a financial economy for the Mission to use efficient Africans to assist in training. […] that the financial contribution of Mission towards training the servants of the church may be used for the maintenance either of Europeans or Africans on the training staff. […]

> that to secure that the church will one day take over the entire cost of training, it is necessary to educate it to do so by making increasing contributions to the cost. […] that the training of "responsible voluntary workers", such as that given at Gindiri, is suitable under present conditions, and the responsibility for it under-taken by the Mission is justified and satisfactory [...] ('Meeting of Committee to "Define the responsibility of the Mission […]"' 2).

Even before 1935 the Mission's indigenous Church policy was brought to bear on the beginning of Gindiri as a training centre for evangelists and teachers. The first sets of students at Gindiri in 1934 were required to build their own hostels before the commencement of academic work (Damina 9). This set a precedent for the years that followed, for in 1970, the first sets of students at the Christian Training Centre (now C.O.C.I.N. Bible and Agricultural Training Institute) Zamko were also made to build their hostels (Williams B. 'The Farmer Evangelists' 111). With the 1935 scheme of action in view the British Branch of S.U.M. continued the training of evangelists in Gindiri.

Later, a pastors' training programme was added to the Gindiri Training School, but this was not as regular as the evangelists' programme. In numerical strength, and in the depth of attention and the impartation of knowledge, the training of evangelists in the districts and in Gindiri from the 1930s to the 1950s was not anywhere near the training of teachers (Potter 'Training Evangelists' 126).

In the Districts, for most of the 1930s, right up to the first half of the 1960s, the training of evangelists was conducted in short courses of mostly two weeks duration each year during the dry season. During these short courses, from about 1959, some Gindiri

trained catechists were asked to teach the evangelists, as was the case in Kabwir (Ware 'Evangelists' Course at Kabwir' 43).

Back in 1954 in keeping with its policy, the Field Committee proposed to ask the Church to start its own Central Bible School (Potter 'Training Evangelists' 126). When this was disclosed to the Church in 1959, it was not received with the expected enthusiasm as recorded by Farrant: 'I am sorry that at the meeting of R.C.C. a decision to have a Central Bible School was not received as enthusiastically as you had hoped. May be, however, the idea will grow in the minds of those who are charged with examining it' (Letter to David Wilmshurst 28/3/1960). In early 1959 the facilities of the Mission in Gindiri which were used for the training of evangelists was given to the Theological College of Northern Nigeria for temporary use. Consequently, in 1960, Boi was used for a short Bible course in place of Gindiri (Field Committee, October/November 1960 8).[20] When the Church was beginning to accept the idea of a Central Bible School, towards the end of 1960 the Regional Church Council requested the Mission to staff Boi. The Mission did not act immediately (Field Committee, October/November 1960 8). As a result Boi was never used for a Bible course of long duration, for by 1962 the Church had sent its Hausa candidates for training to Bambur at the Bible Training Institute of the Evangelical United Brethren Branch of S.U.M. (Field Committee 21-22/3/1962 13). In March 1963 the Mission questioned the suitability of Boi for a Central Bible School on the ground of lack of sufficient land for students to farm ('Five Year Plan on Education, Medical and General Mission Work […]' 2). Therefore in the early part of 1964 what had been to begin at Boi began at Kabwir (Field Committee 11-12/3/1964 2).[21]

The objection of the Mission to the site at Boi was in keeping with their desire to bring the indigenous policy to bear on the training programmes of the Church. By

wishing the Church to site the school in an area that had sufficient farm land the Mission wanted the students to be self-supporting during their training, as is recorded here:

> It is recommended that the church re-considers the suitability of the Boi situation for a central Bible School. It was felt desirable that a Bible School such as this should be in an area where the students could be wholly or partly supported by farming ('Five Year Plan on Education, Medical and General Mission Work […]' 2).

Obviously, the Mission felt that when students are wholly or largely supported by farming, the Church would be able to maintain a Bible School of her own without recourse to Mission scholarships for the upkeep of the students. Apart from exploring the way by which the Church could maintain a Central Bible School, the Mission resolved in 1963 not to interfere with the Church's Bible teaching programme. This was recorded thus:

> As a Mission we recognize that our responsibility is to pass on something of our great heritage of devotional and theological literature to the Church in Nigeria. We should not, however, interfere with the Church's responsibility and privilege of finding suitable ways of organizing her own indigenous Bible teaching programme. The Mission policy would, therefore, be to assist indigenous schemes, such assistance being more in the form of teaching staff and help towards capital costs of new projects ('Five Year Plan on Education, Medical and General Mission Work […]' 2).

In 1964 a District Bible School of three months duration each year was begun at Foron (Owens 'Apt to Teach?' 15). By 1967 District Bible Schools were also found in the other Districts (Report on Bible School 2). The Theological College of Northern,

Nigeria Bukuru which began in Gindiri in 1959 and which offered training in English became another training ground for the Church. In all of these Bible Schools there was both Church and Mission support for the whole period under consideration, with the latter decreasing and the former increasing, until the responsibility was taken over by the Church some years after 1977. [22]

In addition to the aforementioned places of training in Nigeria there was also the possibility of overseas training for capable pastors. However, this too was guided by the self-support rule of the Mission. For in March 1968 the British Home Council resolved that:

> […] we should only encourage Africans who will be taking up key positions in the Church or Mission to come to the United Kingdom for Specialized training. If the Church in Nigeria desire pastors or theological students to take courses overseas, then they will be expected to bear the responsibility of travel and support (British Home Council 21/3/1968 1).

Consequently, when Mugana Dazai applied to Moorlands Bible College for further studies, William Tett, the Secretary of the Mission in London, reminded Geoffrey Dearsley about this policy in these words:

> We have communicated the information you have given us in this letter and a further letter to Moorlands. We are concerned, however, to know who is accepting responsibility financially for him for this training period and for outfit and also for allowances while in the United Kingdom. This matter should be cleared with the Church so that if he comes we are not embarrassed. I have informed Moorlands that at the present time we are accepting no responsibility for him until we get the word from you to do so. This is in keeping with our policy at the moment. Probably the church

> has not thought this through at all as they may have thought it through as to its costing but of course it will be quite considerable. I will be grateful for your intervention in this matter because it has been known for students to arrive in United Kingdom from other societies, not S.U.M. with no one to underwrite their financial costs (Letter From Tett to Dearsley 21/7/1972)

4.2.9 The Mission's Sensitivity to the Training in Self-Support

Back in 1913 Paul Krusius wrote: 'Our Principle is to consider native life and thought […]' ('Educational Proposals for the S.U.M.' 172). This principle, although nowhere stated after 1913, guided the Mission in most of its activities. One example may suffice here. In Gindiri, the first hostels were round huts built in groups, and students from the same tribe were made to live near one another or occupy round huts that were close to one another. This was in keeping with the principle of considering native life and thought.

Thus, although the Mission was eager to see a completely self-supporting Church, the principle of considering native life made the Mission provide scholarships to many Gindiri pupils and students whose parents were not in a position to provide full fees for their children. This scholarship scheme began right from the beginning of the boys' boarding school in 1944. According to H.G. Farrant:

> A decision was taken to open a boys' boarding school at Gindiri in 1944. This is the first serious attempt at education beyond the elementary standard […]. A problem that we have had to solve is that the boys will be away from home, and that the cost of board will be considerable. Now, we very much wish to help the men who have faithfully served the

> Church. They have done so for very small pay and cannot afford to send a son to this boarding school. We have proposed a system of scholarships. The scholarship would be available only to the sons of servants of the Church […] (‘Field Report […] 1943’ 43).

In later years, the scholarship was extended to any promising child or student whose parents were not in a position to pay (Field Committee 11-13/11/1952 5). Even the pastors’ and evangelists’ training programmes in Gindiri and the Theological College of Northern Nigeria benefited from this scholarship scheme for most of the period under consideration. This is evident in the annual scholarship budgets of the Mission printed in *The Lightbearer* magazine.

It was also the sensitivity of the Mission to ‘native life and thought’ that made the Mission embark on formal education. The Minutes of a special committee on training recorded this in these words:

> […] that the income of the Mission is received for the propagation of the Gospel; that since it is desired to have a literate Church, the teaching of reading is to be considered an essential accompaniment of the propagation of the Gospel; that “Classes for Religious Instruction” as provided for in the Government Education […] ordinance, 1933, are to be considered as giving a satisfactory organization for teaching the required knowledge: that schooling beyond the curriculum of a “Class for Religious Instruction” is not a necessity for the propagation of the Gospel, but is a necessity for the Church, (a) because to provide leaders for the church in the future there must be a background of schooling from which they will emerge, (b) because the British occupation of Nigeria has introduced new elements to African life to which the church must adjust itself, and it can

> be helped to do so by schools of Christian principles, that without help given by the Mission to establish a system of schools, the church will be kept weak, and will reckon that the Mission has not assisted it as it ought (Meeting of Committee to "Define the Responsibility of the Mission […]" 3).

It was against this background that the Mission invested personnel and money to run formal primary schools in the districts (Field Committee 13-14/10/1954 1). It was also this thinking that led to the coming into being of all the non-Bible Schools in Gindiri.

Besides this, the Mission assisted converts in the town of Kaduna to put up a worship place. This was in recognition of the fact that those converts were not in a position to easily acquire and develop a plot of land for worship (Lundager 'Spontaneous Growth of the Church in Cities' 28). However, even though the Mission was sensitive to the local situation in Kaduna, its help was rendered with the self-support principle in view as is recorded in the following words:

> […] it was suggested that any contributions given through the Mission, should be considered as a symbol of fellowship, and should not create a precedent or interfere with the indigenous principle of support in local Churches (British Home Council Sub-committee on Field Affairs 17-2-1966 2).

Immediately after January 1977, the month the Mission ceased to exist in Nigeria, it continued to support some areas of need in the Church in view of its principle of considering local circumstances (Reddish 'Facing the task unfinished' 122).

The principle of considering '[…] native life and thought […]' was one of the principles that guided the implementation of the Mission's indigenous church policy. Another principle that guided the implementation of the policy was the idea that all

believers were saved to serve. Mary Cooper of the Langtang Mission Station mentioned this idea: 'Every man is saved to serve. It is his business to preach the Gospel.' ('Winning the Cannibal Yergum' 92). This idea was common among faith missions. According to Klaus Fiedler, 'In faith mission theology, passive church membership does not exist. Every church member shares in the activities of the church. […] even the sick can actively pray' (320). It was in keeping with this principle that even pupils and students who confessed Christ were made to share their new-found faith with others who were yet to be converted.

The third principle that guided the implementation of the policy was that service for Christ should be freely given. Again Mary Cooper mentioned this when she wrote: 'We work upon three principles at Langtang. First, the principle of self-support. No one gets a penny for their work' ('Winning the Cannibal Yergum'92). It was this principle that gave rise to voluntary evangelists during the period of study. However this principle was not brought to bear on the employment of trained teachers and ordained pastors. This suggests that the principle was applicable only to those with little or no formal training.

4.2.10 The Mission's Financial Crises and the Self-Support Principle

For most of its history the work of the Mission was bedevilled by a lack of funds. There were many periods of delay in the payment of missionary stipends and station allowances (Dawson 'Looking Back: A Tribute' 13). Such periods of delay were seen as normal and did not bring about as much stress to the Mission as did the three periods of acute financial crises of the 1930s, 1950s and 1970s.

Following World War I, economic depression hit Europe. As Britain was the sending constituency of the Mission, the Depression was also felt by the Mission in

Nigeria. The impact of the Depression on the Mission was such that the Home and Field Secretaries of the Mission began to mention the possibility of retrenchment in the Mission (Farrant Letter to Dawson 13th December 1932). Therefore, in 1932 the Mission reviewed the terms of transfer of Kabwir and Panyam Mission Districts by reducing the Mission's grant to the districts. The Mission mentioned the economic depression in Britain and grumbling in the adjoining districts as reasons for their action (Field Committee 1-2/4/1932 4). In 1937 the first most difficult time came when the Mission was unable to pay December missionary stipends. These were later cancelled altogether for want of money ('1937 and After: Our Financial Position' 21). The financial difficulty of the 1930s spilled over into the 1940s. As Britain got embroiled in World War II, there was a '[…] slight deduction from allowances […]' of missionaries in 1941 ("Our Financial Position' 21). By allowances the editor meant stipends, for that was the Mission's word for it (Farrant 'The next thirty Years […]' 17).

The second most difficult period, and one which was remembered most by some Missionaries (Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 323) came between 1949 and 1953 when an acute financial difficulty rocked the Mission ('1950–51' 3-4).[23] In the second half of 1952 it was reported that:

> As things stand now, allowances [stipends] to missionaries and salaries to home staff are in the main six months in arrears, with corresponding arrears in the matter of other expenses on the field, such as upkeep of stations and many other necessities. The amount involved runs into many thousands of pounds ('Looking Forward' 38).

This financial difficulty was brought about by general economic difficulties in Britain ('Looking Forward' 38) which could not have been wholly unconnected with World War II which ended in 1945. In the last month of 1952 this four-year-long acute financial

difficulty abated (‘1952’ 23-24). During this period the Mission managed to survive through help from sister Missions, including Sudan Interior Mission (Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 323).

Between 1967 and 1976 the third most financially difficult period of the Mission was experienced. In October 1968 it was reported that: ‘We are two months behind in paying missionary allowances and three months behind in paying station allowances’ (Minutes of Special General Purpose Committee 24/10/1968 1). A week before this report missionaries were advised to effect economies in their daily living as there was no hope for improvement in the near future. This was reported thus:

> Payment of allowances this year [1968] has followed a similar pattern to that of last year [1967] and it is expected that the August allowance will be paid at the beginning of November. Due to the Gindiri financial situation, however, we do not have the same expectation of further money being available in the near future. It was agreed that the Field Superintendent write a letter to all staff to go out with the August allowances, explaining more fully the situation. We are in a place where we are quietly waiting upon the Lord to show us His will. He has guided through difficult times in the past and we know He will do so this time. We on our part, however, should effect all practical economics in our daily living (Report of Meeting of Personnel and Finance Committee 17-18/10/1968 1).

In June 1971 a similar report of financial difficulty was given (Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Nigerian Council Finance and General Personnel Items 2-3/6/1971 1). In August 1972 the Mission was again in arrears of three months of missionaries’ stipends (To All Missionaries 1). By September 1975 the financial difficulty of this third

period was still felt in the Mission, and the General Secretary of the Mission in London, Geoffrey Dearsley, wrote to the Field Secretary that: 'May I saw [sic] at this time, without being misunderstood, that extreme caution be exercised in Budget items and take into consideration the fact that we are in a worsening situation at home on the financial front' (Letter 5/9/1975 2). The financial difficulty of this third period was partly the outcome of a bad political situation in the United Kingdom, which saw more than a million and a quarter of the working population of Britain jobless (Dearsley Letter to Tom 5/9/1975 2). At about the peak of the financial difficulty of this third period, the wisdom of sending new missionaries to the field was questioned. In a letter to the General Secretary captioned 'Should the Mission continue to send new missionaries?' the Field Superintendent observed that: 'I am afraid there is some doubt in my mind as to whether a second physiotherapist should be sent whilst we are in such an acute financial position' (Superintendent Letter to Bill 27/7/1973).[24]

In the history of the Mission from 1934 to 1977, therefore, the period with least financial difficulty was 1954 to 1966. Out of the 33 years from 1934 to 1977, the period under consideration, about 21 years were characterized by acute financial difficulty in the Mission. The Mission was able to go on in spite of these three waves of acute financial difficulties because of the patient endurance of field staff.

It was these times of acute financial difficulty that sporadically checked the Mission's desire to be sensitive to helping the Church's difficult local circumstances. For example, owing to lack of money scholarships meant to assist the Church in the training of its leaders were trimmed down in spite of the Mission's desire to continue to assist the Church in the training of evangelists and Pastors (Future of Mission Structure […] 12/12/1975 2; Farrant 'Looking Forward from the Height of Sixty Years' 6).[25] Again, in 1972 there was a call to review the Mission's help in the building programme of the

Regional Bible School Kabwir in view of the prevailing financial difficulties (British Home Council Standing Committee 18/5/1972 1).[26] It was against the background of the financial difficulty of 1949-1953 that the Mission, in 1954, proposed to ask the Church to start its own Central Bible School of Evangelism (Potter 'Training Evangelists' 126). It was also at the beginning of the acute financial difficulty of 1967-1976 that the Mission formed its oversees training policy which in principle, squarely placed the responsibility for the overseas training of promising pastors and theological students in the hands of the Church, as has already been observed. It was also against the backdrop of financial difficulty that the principle of self-support was brought to bear on the activities of the Mission in the home land, as is recorded in these words: 'It was confirmed that every effort was being made to try to ensure that the 1977 House parties would all be financially self-supporting' (British Council 16/12/1976 2).

4.2.11 The Reaction of Nationals to the Training in Self-Support

The Mission's efforts to teach self-support met with some negative reactions. Mollie Tett narrates one such incident and how it was handled in the following words:

> One day he saw a young student who seemed to be hesitant in taking his share of the farm work. William handed him a hoe and, to his surprise, the young man refused to take it. "No Malam, I have come to Gindiri to learn how to be a teacher–not to dirt my hands in farming." William looked at the lad and said quietly, "I know of One who left his Home in Heaven and came to this earth. He gave his hands to be nailed to the cross, for you and me." The young man rather shamefaced, took the hoe, and in silence joined his fellow-students on the farm (*The Bridge Builder* 40).

It is obvious that the reason for the reaction of this student was his view of farming relative to teaching. He saw teaching as a better profession than farming which he associated with dirt. How this idea had been formed in the mind of this student is not clear. The reaction of the student was contrary to the general humility and loyalty of the African at the time (Bristow Letter to Dawson 31st December 1944).

Other negative reactions to the self-support principle came from some teachers and medical evangelists. In 1963 it was reported that some teachers who had resigned from Mission Schools were teaching in Native Authority Schools (Triennial Fellowship Gboko January 1963 3). The decision of these teachers could not have been unconnected with the low remuneration in the Mission. Demands for an increase in pay by some teachers and medical workers in the Mission were a recurrent theme in the history of the Mission during the period under consideration. In 1942 the Gindiri African teaching staff members made a plea for an increase in pay. The Field Secretary recommended to Bristow that, since the plea was based on an increase in the cost of foodstuff, no increase of salary should be made. Instead, the staff members in question should be provided with a ration of corn (Field Committee 21, 25-26/2/1942 4) pending when the cost of foodstuffs would normalize.

Similarly sometime before 1952 one Nimram, a Vom-trained Dispensary Attendant who was working in the Langtang Mission dispensary approached the missionary in-charge of the station for an increase in remuneration. In response the missionary told him that there would be no increase in his pay, and that he should make sacrifices as a Christian. Consequently, Nimram parted ways with the missionary and joined the service of the Native Authority where he was posted to a dispensary in Shendam (‘Extracts from the Autobiography of Ben Mackay’ 12). The reason for the Mission’s reluctance to increase the wages of teachers and medical workers even at the

risk of losing them was the desire to stick to '[…] a policy that the amount of their pay should be related to that of Church servants in the Districts' (Field Committee 21, 25-26/2/1942 4).

4.3 THE TRAINING OF THE CHURCH IN SELF-GOVERNANCE

From 1907 to 1918, when no Church was constituted in Langtang or Foron, the converts were discipled by Europeans. Between 1919 and 1937, when congregations had been formed in Foron, Kabwir, Langtang and Panyam, elders were elected for each congregation and evangelists also emerged. Again, at this period, all the congregations were under European pastoral care. Training in self-governance during this second period (1919-1937) consisted of involving elders in decision making that concerned the Church. The elders often took part in assessing candidates for the enquirers' and baptismal class. The evangelists who had the charge of village congregations were also under the supervision of the European missionaries as was the case with Dusu Lo Dam who was under the supervision of Tom Suffill (Suffill E. 'Put to the Test' 103).[27] By and large, the training of National Christians for leadership and the devolution of responsibilities to nationals were very slow. This generated animosity among national Christians.

4.3.1 The Training of Pastors 1937–1953: Initial Delay

From 1937 to 1953 there were only two batches of pastoral training which produced only seven ordained pastors namely: Bali Falang of Langtang, David Lot of Panyam and Toma Tok Bot of Foron who were trained in 1937–1938 and ordained towards the end of 1938. Others were Damina Bawado of Langtang, Gideon of Kabwir,

Musa of Foron and Dusu Lodam also of Foron Mission District. These were trained in 1945–1946 and ordained towards the end of 1946 (Pastors-in-Training 1).

At this period, 1937-1953, all the ordained pastors were under the effective guidance of the District Superintendents, as was the case with David Lot of Panyam. According to Tett and Cheal:

> From 1938 onwards Pastor David exercised an ever-widening ministry in the Church of the Panyam District […]. Miss Webster, who had taught, loved and prayed for him from his Childhood, guided him through his early years of Church leadership, and then slipped into the background, rejoicing in his growth into maturity and wise judgment ('New 'Orders' in Nigeria' 5).[28]

Between 1938 and 1953 the Church was fast expanding due to the intensity of evangelism by Gindiri students and the efforts of Church members, evangelists and missionaries in the Districts. Therefore, by 1953 there were 370 places where worship services were held each Sunday but there were only 303 evangelists and 6 pastors ('Figures Accompanying British Branch Report for 1953' 94). In this report there were also 127 primary school teachers. Certainly, these figures did not spring up overnight. Therefore, the holding of only two batches of pastoral training to produce only seven pastors within a period of sixteen years (1937–1953) shows that there was delay on the part of the Mission in producing men in sufficient quantity for pastoral work and eventual self-governance by the Church.

The delay could not have been due to a lack of suitable candidates. For in 1936 when the Panyam District Church was asked to give a candidate for the pioneer pastoral training of 1937–1938, the names of two people, David Lot and Paul Bakfur, were submitted by the Church (Field Council 24-25/3/1937 1). Similarly, in Foron the names

of three prospective candidates were suggested for the 1937–38 training (Suffill *The Birom* 61-62). In the end only one person was sent from each of Foron, Panyam and Langtang for the first batch of training. Besides, David Lot was called to pastoral training as a teacher (Tett and Cheal 5) in 1937; and Damina Bawado was also called to pastoral training as a teacher in 1945 ('Nigerian Pastors in England' 64). One wonders why this means of getting candidates for pastoral training was not exploited between 1938 and 1945 and between 1946 and 1953 in order to get more pastors since there were many teachers in the Mission Districts. By 1953 there were 127 teachers ('Figures Accompanying British Branch Report for 1953' 94), a figure which did not spring up overnight as the teacher training institute began way back in 1934. Therefore Maxwell was right to maintain that:

> Behind these three men, as a source of supply for further pastoral needs, there was, as already indicated, a great and growing body of African evangelists and teachers, among them men of long experience in Church service, skilful in handling of men, and able preachers (*Half A Century of Grace* 216).

It was in reference to the ordination of the first three pastors in 1938 that Maxwell wrote the above.

Furthermore, the delay could not have been due to a complete lack of instructors. The Mission's method of training only a few people at a time using one or two tutors was such that any respectable ordained missionary could give the instruction. The pastors who were in training in 1937-1938 were trained by I. E. McBride and David Forbes (Lot 13; Field Council /3/1938). During the second batch Mr. Jump was to do the training alone (Field Committee 24-25, 27/3/1944 7). It was with this background that the

Mission asked Bristow to be in-charge of the pastors' class of 1954 (Field Committee 30th April– 1st May 1953 4).

Neither was lack of money to pay the stipends of the pastors a factor mitigating against the multiplication of the pastors in sufficient number, as Farrant seems to suggest: 'Until now men have been ordained in quite small numbers and, in actual fact, the Church can only afford to pay reasonable stipends to a small number' ('The Whole Created Universe Working With Us' 61). On the contrary, the income of the church from 1938 to 1945 was enough to support more than three pastors. If on short notice the Birom Church could support Greeks with £15 (Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 255) in 1943, they had enough to support more than one man. Similarly the Panyam Church sent £2.6s in aid of Jews in 1944 as has already been observed. Again, as has already been observed, Nigerian Christians in the British Branch sent financial help to the Nigeria staff of the Danish Branch of S.U.M to ameliorate their situation of lack of pay, owing to the impact of the Second World War on the Danish missionaries who could not pay their Nigerian staff. These examples show that between 1938 and 1945 the Church had enough to support more than seven pastors, bearing in mind that even as late as the first quarter of the 1960s '[…] some pastors were paid as little as only a few shillings a month' (Heaps 'Boys of Gindiri' 52). In addition, teachers' salaries were, up to 1954, the responsibility of the Mission, and not the Church, as is recorded in the following words: 'It is felt that the schools in the Districts are not as yet the financial responsibility of the Church. The Mission is still the Proprietor of the Schools' (Field Committee 13-14/10/1954 1). Therefore, one wonders how the weekly collections in places of worship such as Mban, PilGani, Langtang, Panyam, Vom, Foron, Kabwir[29] and Ganawuri, not to mention all the other places of worship, could not have sustained more than seven Pastors between 1938 and 1953.

One factor in the failure to train more pastors after the graduation of the first set in 1938 was fear. According to Farrant, writing in March 1944:

> I am tremendously impressed, however, with our need of leaders. From time to time we look round for a man to fill an office and have to admit that we have not got one. We have laid a very good foundation I claim and have much of fine character that has stood the test of time and changing social conditions. We have not set ourselves to train men for the top. I think the reason is fear. Fear of the new ideas to which he will be subjected to the environment, perhaps, into which he will be taken. Nothing that is actuated by fear can have the blessing of God upon it. All that is not of faith is sin. I think we have to admit all the dangers, and perhaps admit that we can lose some, yet press on trying to overcome the opposition of Satan and bring men into the leadership of the Church (Letter to Cooper 18-3-1944).

Another factor was the Mission's tendency to pay more attention to matters pertaining to its administrative work to the detriment of Church work. When it appeared that the pastors' training scheduled for 1945/46 was threatened, Farrant wrote to the General Secretary in London:

> The Churches have all been asked to choose and in each case it has been done in consultation with the whole Church of the District. This is a lengthy process. It would be extremely bad to inform them that the class was off. In any case, in my experience, I have found a tendency to let Church work suffer in favour of administrative work (Letter to Dawson 16/11/1944).

However, the over-riding factor in the failure to train pastors in sufficient number was the thought that they had sufficient time to do it gradually to ensure a high quality of pastors. The quest for quality was a pre-occupation of the Mission right from its inception. Back in 1926 W.M. Bristow disclosed that the quest for quality was the reason why the qualification for Church membership in the Church founded by the Mission was higher than that for churches in Britain. According to him,

> The S.U.M. and the other Missions working in the Sudan have profited by the experience of older societies, and have commenced with very high standards. It is not too much to say that the standards for baptism are higher than those of most denominations at home ('Three Years' Progress in the Burum Tribe' 89-90).

Thus, in pursuance of good quality pastors the Mission set a very high standard for those who would wish to be trained for the pastorate: '[…] that the necessary qualification for an ordained Minister is Christian character, proof of which has been given by long and fruitful service to the Church' (Field Council 30-31/3/1936 4). The delay in training pastors in sufficient numbers was, therefore, caused by the Mission's desire to have candidates who have given '[…] long and fruitful service to the Church.' Little did the Mission know that post-World War II nationalism in Nigeria would threaten their stay in Northern Nigeria. The *Christian* rightly captured the pulse of the time in missionary thinking thus:

> The more responsible of our news papers have given graphic accounts of recent events in the Sudan; of simple tribesmen who have had loosed on them a complex system of voting which will lead to a new form of government, neither of which he understands. It is obvious that in the new conditions the Church will be subjected to great strain and will also have

> great opportunity. It was only during the last great war that change in social life began to accelerate, but the pace has now passed beyond the speed of adjustment of the tribes. Before the change began there was quiet, in which the missionary built slowly and, he hoped, solidly. He thought that he had plenty of time and may have under estimated the capacity of his people to receive the Message through Christ. Now he must watch both converts and the public being subjected to violent political shocks, and he knows well that in the conflict the value of his work is being judged. There is no longer time in which to correct his mistakes, or repair his omissions, before the country sets in its new form. He watches and prays, knowing that the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is ('New Circumstances: Sudan United Mission' in *Christian* December 4 1953).[30]

4.3.2 Nationalism and Pastoral Training 1954-1964

As already noted, from 1937 to 1953, a period of about sixteen years, there were only two batches of pastoral training which produced only seven pastors. From 1954 to 1964, a period of only ten years, there were three additional batches of training which produced twenty-two additional pastors some of whom, besides those from Gindiri, were trained in Bambur and Bukuru.[31] Thus, 1954–1964 was characterized by a significant increase in the pace of training from once every seven or eight years to about once every three years. There were two factors that accounted for this development. Nigerian nationalism in post-World War II Nigeria was different from the years before the war. At this time, the Nationalists moved beyond the quest for equal participation in governance to agitating for national independence. This turn of events showed the missionaries that

they might soon be asked to move out of the country or at least their activities might be greatly checked. Lowry Maxwell tells us of this foreboding, and the Mission's plan to embark on the training of many pastors from 1954, in the following words:

> In Nigeria steps had been taken to revise the Constitution, with the aim of giving the people of the Country more share in its Government. […] we must have ever before us the possibility that unfriendly developments may in Nigeria, as in China, expel all foreign workers. That means now that more fervently than ever before we must devote ourselves to grounding our people in the Word of God. Our districts must be so staffed that our people will be adequately taught in the things that belong unto their peace. Mere holding of services will not suffice […]. To this end it is imperative that we do our best to give them competently trained pastors […]. If we have to leave we must see to it that we leave a ministry behind us which by the grace of God, will be theologically competent to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints (*Half A Century of Grace* 299-301).

Consequently every District Superintendent cooperated in a training scheme to enable the speedy self-governance of the Church. It was against this background that the vision to establish the Theological College of Northern Nigeria, to train a pastorate that would be able to speak to the emerging nation, emerged through the British Branch of S.U.M (Boer 'The Theological College of Northern Nigeria' 54) in collaboration with Harry Boer of the C.R.C. American Branch of the Sudan United Mission. When it eventually came into existence in 1959, it provided an additional training facility.

Secondly, the British Branch of S.U.M. was deeply challenged by the progress of other neighbouring missions in the training of indigenous pastors. Whereas the British

Branch began work in Nigeria in 1904, the Danish Branch of S.U.M. and the Church of the Brethren Mission came into the country nine and nineteen years later respectively. This late arrival notwithstanding by March 1959 the British Branch, although it had more congregations, lagged behind others in the number of ordained pastors. H.G. Farrant, who at this time was the General Secretary of the Mission in the United Kingdom, was surprised to learn of this situation:

> I am not quite sure whether it was you or Arthur Burrough who sent me the Minutes in Hausa of T.E.K.A.S. I read the statistics with very great interest indeed. It was a surprise to me to see that the C.B.M. were well ahead of any of our S.U.M. Branches in the number of pastors, having 32 as against the Danes 22, and the British Branch 18. The British Branch Church attendance is very much better than in any other of the Branches, so that much more work must devolve upon the Evangelists than in other Branches. The figures are well worth studying, and I am sure it would help me if I made an attempt at a proper interpretation of them (Letter to W.H. Tett 6/3/1959).

If this discovery did not influence the subsequent efforts of the Mission in the training of pastors, at least it provided a challenge and a comparison.

4.3.3 The Devolution of Responsibility: Protracted Delay

Before 1951 the missionaries were in effective control of the Church, in accordance with a mission principle, part of which reads: 'The District Superintendent is Convener and Chairman of the District Church Council […]. The Field Secretary is Convener and Chairman of the General Church Council […]' (Principles Governing the Authority and Employment of Ordained Africans in Sudan United Mission 1). In 1951

the Regional Church Council (R.C.C.) which later became the General Church Council (G.C.C.) was formed. This was headed by a national Christian, Pastor Damina Bawado (Rengshwat 57-61). In principle the R.C.C. was given full powers, but in practice such powers could only be exercised within the purview of the policies of the Mission, as was stressed in the following words:

> In the Minutes the R.C.C. was given full powers. As missionaries we are to follow out the wishes of the Field Committee and the R.C.C. could not pass anything which was contrary to E.C. policy. It was agreed that the R.C.C. Agenda should be reviewed in Field Committee (Field Committee British and South African Branches 28-30/11/1951 7).

Therefore, although there was an African head of the Church, authority was ultimately in the hands of the Branch Superintendent. In the districts, even when there were ordained African ministers and senior primary school teachers, whose training in Gindiri had been largely religious, the Church was still very largely driven by the Mission after 1960. A memorandum of the Mission issued in 1961 gives a glimpse of the state of affairs:

> The Chairman of Langtang D.C.C. and Secretary of Forum D.C.C. are at present missionaries but they have both African under-studies who are well able to take office should the Church so desire. Panyam and Kabwir in the Field of Church Government are well advanced but have not taken the steps of handing over Church finances so the Church cannot be said as yet to be "running her own affairs […]. When the Church is completely and entirely self-governing and the Schools' managership is in African hands […] what would be the position of the District Missionary? (Memorandum on District Missionary Work 28/2/1961 1-2).

Between 1952 and 1964 H.G. Farrant was the General Secretary of the Mission in Britain, having served as Branch Superintendent in Nigeria from 1916 until 1948. During the early part of his time as General Secretary, Farrant was unhappy over the protracted delay. Consequently, he expressed his views in an article which was published in 1953 part of which reads:

> If a precise specification cannot be given, I am sure that of the two errors, to give responsibility too early, or to give it too late, the latter is the more dangerous […]. If a missionary holds back from giving responsibility because the converts may fail, he is hurting both the convert and the work. It is not fear of the convert that he is exhibiting, but distrust of God in him.
>
> Distrust is particularly harmful when fear is based on race, on the assertion that less is to be expected of an African because biologically he is less able, or less reliable. In spiritual things gifts and character come from God, and distrust of an African who is in Christ is distrust of God ('Crescendo of the Cross: On Not Being Afraid of One's Children' 139-140).

By means of this paper Farrant intended to enlighten the missionaries and their constituencies about the need for the transfer or devolution of authority from Mission to Church. This article went largely unheeded by the Mission.

A year before the political independence of Nigeria in 1960, William Tett, the Branch or Field Superintendent asked Farrant to give his opinion on the transfer of authority to the Church. In reply he wrote: '[…] my general feeling is that authority must be transferred, but the critical feature for success is the rate at which it is given. A lot of thought should be given to this rate of transference, and I am very deeply interested in it'

(Letter to Tett 11/3/1959). Following this, the Mission began to make some efforts to transfer the control of District Church dispensaries, primary schools and finances to nationals. In 1962, the Church accepted full responsibility for these areas. But the deadline for the transfer of the control of finances was fixed as '[…] not later than the end of 1963' (Field Committee 21-22/3/1962 9). By March 1964 the running of Mission primary schools had been handed over to nationals (Field Committee 11-12/3/1964 7). On May 21st 1964 Farrant's time in office as General Secretary ended. When he visited Nigeria some time before 1964 it was said of him '[…] "He trusted people" saith Mr. Smith and this had been a vital factor in the building up of the Church in this land' (Tett 'Jubilee!' 28).

Farrant's place was taken by William Tett on the day that Farrant stepped down. Tett's tenure in office saw a turning of the tide in the transfer of responsibility to the Church. When anti-British feelings in the Nigerian political arena slightly subsided, and when the Mission saw that the Northern Nigerian government was not hostile to European missionaries, the transfer of control did not continue because:

> Members [of the British Home Council of the Mission] felt that the time was not ripe when all matters affecting the Mission should be passed into the hands of the Church, and on the other hand that there should be no piecemeal passing over responsibility of various parts of the work (Tett Letter to Dearsley 14/10/1966).

Consequently, the Gindiri schools and Mangu Leprosy Hospital were not handed over to Church control until near the time the Mission left in January 1977. Vom Hospital was not handed to the Church, but to the Benue-Plateau State Government.

By this protracted delay in the devolution of responsibility, the Mission did not implement its wish to copy the commercial and colonial principle of '"Never put a

European on to any work that an African can do"' (Bristow 'More About the Training School' 84). Neither did the Mission live by its definition of indigenous Church policy which ran thus: 'The indigenous Church principle simply means that when the African is filled with the Spirit he can carry out God's plan, and the European must believe in him' (Meeting of Committee to Define the responsibility of the mission […] 13-14/12/1935 5).

4.3.4 Reaction of Nationals to Their Training in Self-Governance

The reactions of national Christians to the very slow devolution of responsibility were many and varied. In 1940 Christians in the Foron Mission District could not withhold their criticism of a convention in which European speakers dominated. This was reported thus:

> Mr. Suffill mentioned a convention held at Forum before his return from leave in 1940. There had been a good gathering and blessing but he had heard the criticism that there had been too many European speakers and that insufficient use had been made of African speakers (Field Council 11-12/3/1941 1).

Although Suffill did not specify the critics, the criticism most likely came from some national Christians. As a result of this criticism, in the years that followed Suffill gave nationals greater responsibility during conventions. A case in point was the 1947 Ganawuri convention which was arranged and carried out entirely by nationals (Suffill 'Taking Responsibility' 34).

On two separate occasions national Christians asked the Mission to accept representatives of the Church on their Field Committee. On another occasion the Church requested that the British Home Council should allow their senior Pastors in training in

the U.K. to attend their meetings. The first request, to have representatives of the Church on the Field Committee of the Mission, is recorded in the Mission's minutes of March 1949 in these words:

> (19) AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVES ON FIELD COMMITTEE.
>
> Mr. Bristow read a letter giving voice to a desire for this. The committee approved of it in principle. A sub-committee composed of Messrs. Bristow, Jump, Burrough and Leslie was appointed to investigate, prepare a plan and report (Field Committee 24-25/3/1949 7).

During the next Field Committee, the sub-committee that was given the responsibility 'to investigate, prepare a plan and report' did not approve of national Christians being on the Field Committee. According to the minutes of this meeting:

> Item (19): Mr. Bristow reported on the findings of the sub-committee. The members did not approve of the idea that African representatives of the Churches should become members of the Field Council and/or Field Committee. The Field Committee favoured the idea of the formation of a Regional Church Council with some executive authority in Church matters (Field Committee 15-19/11/1949 1).

Consequently, the Regional Church Council (R.C.C.) which later became the General Church Council (G.C.C.) was formed in 1951 with Damina Bawado as its Chairman (Rengshwat 57-61), as has already been observed. When the Mission had handled the request for representatives of the Church to be on the Field Committee by giving the Church a Regional Church Council, the nationals shelved their request for an opportune time.

In 1959, a year before national independence, a similar request to that of 1949 was made by the nationals to the Mission. Again, the Mission was not comfortable with this request as is recorded thus:

> Thank you for your letter of the 25th March and for the copies of minutes of Field Committee of 11th/12th March which arrived this morning. There is no doubt that our children are growing up, and the Church presents new problems to us. The matter of representation of the Church at meetings of Field Committee will require some thought. I propose to consult other like Missions and find out how the problem has been met on their Fields. This is not a thing at which Executive Committee is good because members are not well up in the matter […]. In general in these matters of representation I think one should have in mind our Lord's words that when one is compelled to go one mile one should go two. More trouble comes from trying to withhold a thing than from yielding a point. On the other hand, one has to look into the matter carefully and see just where it is leading because there is never much good in anyone having a say in things if he does not help to bear the burden. From the point of view of the Church, I suppose members argue that the Mission has a say in the affairs of the Church, and therefore the Church should have a say in the affairs of the Mission (Farrant Letter to W.H Tett 1/4/1959 1).

Although the Mission was not happy about the request, they eventually accepted representatives of the Church on the Field Committee (*Facing the Challenge* 34). This action became necessary as this was the peak of nationalism in Nigeria.

The other similar request was that senior Nigerian Pastors in training in the United Kingdom should be allowed to attend British Home Council meetings. The

standing committee of the British Home Council, at its meeting held on 21/11/1968, recommended that this request should be accepted (Standing Committee British Home Council 21/11/1968 1). There were two reasons why the Church wanted to have representatives on the committee of the Mission. While there was some desire for genuine fellowship, it was mainly that the Church wanted to speak for herself on such committees (Pam Interview 11-6-2009).

Another form of reaction to the very slow process of the devolution of responsibility by the Mission was the prevalence of nationalistic feelings in the Church, in the years leading up to and following national independence in Nigeria. Thus, in 1952, Potter reported that:

> The war experience of so many of the Yergum men has had a profound effect all over the tribe. Fortunately, we missionaries still hold the full confidence of the Christians, and, while they prefer to be given all the responsibility possible, they respond very loyally to our guidance and help (‘Progress at Langtang’ 74).

Similarly, in 1959 part of the Mission’s annual report read:

> With the promise of ‘independence for the Northern Region of Nigeria, a new spirit has gripped the people–‘the independence spirit.’ This spirit has not only been noticeable in the field of Government but also within the frame work of the Church. There has been an upsurge of the desire ‘to manage our own affairs.’ This is of course, a very healthy sign, for it is the sign of growth. Nevertheless, it is a situation in which much patience needs to be exercised (Tett ‘Annual Reports of the Branches: The British Branch, Nigeria’ 85).

The nationalistic feeling within and outside the Church was such that there was a deep foreboding in the Mission. Consequently, the Warden of Gindiri expressed a deep longing for continual fellowship between the two races. In his own words:

> There is one matter which is assuming greater importance as the country develops and progresses towards self-government. This is the quality of fellowship and understanding between African and European. This is always a vital issue, but in the present complex of stresses and strains brought about by education and self-conscious nationalism it is of paramount importance that there should be success and no failures in this field. Love and grace and persistence will be required to ensure that the greatest degree of fellowship may exist in the Church which is at Gindiri (Wilmshurst 'Gindiri Training College and Schools (Nigeria) Report for 1956' 68).

The upsurge in nationalistic feelings within the Church during the period leading up to, and following, national independence was the backdrop to the handing over of the management of Church finances to nationals in Langtang as far back as 1951 (Churchman 18). This was also the background in the general transfer of Mission primary schools in the districts, district dispensaries, district church finances and district Church secretarial work from Mission control to Church control between 1962 and 1964, as has already been observed. Obviously these different reactions to the Mission's training of the Church in self-governance were different expressions of the search for freedom. Each form was a protest against undue paternalism.

4.4 HOW THE MISSION INCULCATED THE POLICY IN NATIONALS

4.4.1 Theoretical Methods

Four words were normally used by the missionaries themselves to describe their efforts at helping the Church to learn the art of evangelism and to be self-supporting and self-governing. These words were 'enthuse', 'teach', 'stimulate' and 'advise.' While giving a report of mission work in North-Eastern Nigeria, G. Moles wrote that it was '[…] very hard to enthuse the people to tell out the Gospel news' ('Christ is Preached' 5). How exactly Moles tried to arouse the interest of the converts to share their faith with others cannot be known today.

While discussing the work of the Gospel in the major towns of Northern Nigeria, Farrant suggested that pastors should be 'stimulated' and 'advised' for this work ('The Importance of Capitals' 60). The verb 'stimulate' connotes excitement, therefore is a synonym of 'enthuse.' How effective 'enthuse', 'advise' and 'stimulate' were, as tools or methods of imparting the three-self principle to the Church, is hard to tell today.

There were also occasions for teaching as was done in the classrooms of Gindiri, Vom and Kabwir and during short courses in the districts. The classroom teaching was successful largely because many opportunities were provided to put into practice what was taught and learnt in the classroom, particularly in the case of evangelism.

Apart form the words 'enthuse', 'teach', 'stimulate' and 'advise', another word that was used by the missionaries themselves to show how they tried to impart the three-self principle to the National Christians was the verb 'train'. H.G. Farrant used this word in 1954 when he wrote, 'There are thousands of Christians, and from the very first they have been trained in indigenous Church principles [...]' ('Crescendo of the Cross: The Church in the Mission Field' 75).[32] It was necessary for the missionaries to 'teach' the

art of self-propagation, self-support and self-governance to the church that was being formed, since it was a pioneer work. The converts had no precedents to follow, like the African Instituted Churches whose founders came out of mission founded churches. Before these founders left the mission founded churches, in order to establish their own churches, they saw how self-propagation, self-support and self-governance were to be carried out.

4.4.2 Association Method

Training by association was the method most used by the missionaries between 1934 and 1960. Even after 1960 this method was still in use but not on the same scale as before. By the method of association the researcher means that occasion when a missionary and a national or group of nationals would do something together. As both races participated in a project the nationals saw how it should be done, and in the process they understood its inner significance. The theoretical methods in themselves would not have yielded much were it not for the countless examples of witnessing, building houses, giving weekly offerings and organizing church committee meetings which the missionaries set, and which the national Christians saw over a long period of time. For example, in Gindiri, training in evangelism between 1934 and 1960 was largely through the method of association, as is recorded thus: 'One of the happiest times in Gindiri, I think, is the time when students and staff go out to fulfil the Lord's words in Matthew 28.18-20' ('The 'Week of Witness' in the Teacher Training College' 38).

Similarly, as has already been observed, the building of the first worship place in Ganawuri was an affair of both missionaries and converts (Farrant 'Ganawuri: Literally Life Out of Death' 71-72). As the missionaries were those who gave pastoral oversight to the congregations during the first half of the period 1934-1977, the nationals saw how

committee meetings were organized or convened, and what things were discussed, why they were discussed and how they were discussed.

4.5 THE CONFUSION OF THE MISSION ABOUT THE POLICY

4.5.1 Ambivalence

The implementation of the three-self policy was characterized by lack of clarity, and the occasional expression of both negative and positive attitudes towards it. In 1943 at a gathering of African Pastors and elders with some of the missionaries, coming from all the S.U.M. fields, the quality of discernment of the nationals at this gathering made the Mission say that: 'We have, therefore, an added confidence in the methods of Church-building that we have used, and we look forward to the future optimistically' (Farrant 'Field Report […] 1943' 41-42). In contrast, seven years later, the Mission expressed deep regret for its reluctance in the past to venture into an educational programme. In the words of Maxwell:

> In Nigeria steps had been taken to revise the Constitution, with the aim of giving the people of the country more share in its Government […]. The outlook was not too bright for those to whom our society has been ministering. It would have been much better if we had not been so unwilling, in the past, to venture on a more thorough educational programme (*Half A Century of Grace* 299).

Certainly, the Mission's unwillingness from 1923 to venture into a thorough educational programme such as teacher training and secondary education was predicated on the indigenous Church policy (Smith *Nigeria Harvest* 46-47; Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 252).[33]

In the 1960s there was also ambivalence towards the policy. According to Mollie Tett:

> […] Mr. Cooper felt the time had come to form the indigenous Church at Langtang […]. The Church was to be "self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting." This teaching has been of tremendous benefit to S.U.M. throughout the years that followed. Emphasis today is somewhat changed as it is realised more and more that we are "all one in Christ Jesus" […] (*The Road to Freedom* 100).

4.5.2 Ambiguity

Apart from the occasions when feelings of ambivalence were expressed, one finds some situation of ambiguity in the Mission's understanding and implementation of the policy. In 1935, in connection with the training of teachers, it was observed that '[…] it was a bad economy that Europeans should be doing what trained Africans could do' (Field Committee 1/4/1935 4). Twenty years later, Farrant repeated this when he said that the aim of a missionary was not to do the work himself but to teach others to do it ('Go Overseas Young Man' 138). These two observations were, obviously, part of the self-help policy of the Mission. These observations notwithstanding, it was not until twenty-nine years after the Gindiri schools began that the management of District Church finances, District Church secretarial work, District Mission dispensaries and District Mission schools was passed from Mission to Church hands as has already been observed. And even then these transfers were occasioned by Nigerian nationalism rather than Mission policy.

Similarly, in spite of the idea that '[…] when the African is filled with the Spirit he can carry out God's plan, and the European must believe in him' (Meeting of

Committee to Define the Responsibility of the Mission […] 5), which was spelt out in 1935 as the Mission's definition of the policy, more than twenty-five years later the Church was still largely driven by missionaries, as has just been noted.

4.6 THE LAST YEARS OF THE MISSION IN NIGERIA 1963–1977

4.6.1 The End of the Sudan Savannah Vision

As has already been observed in chapter three, the aim of the Mission in 1904 was to build a chain of Mission Stations across the Sudan Savannah on the borderline between Islam and paganism. The reason for this was to stem the advance of Islam into pagan areas by winning the pagans to Christ. By 1963 this initial aim had almost been achieved and, therefore, there was no really new expansion work going on geographically (Executive Committee 17/10/1963 1–2). Thus, by the 60th anniversary of the Mission, the whole of the S.U.M. had reached a dead end. Therefore, judging by the initial vision, what remained was to do some consolidation and winding-up work, now that there was a viable Church in existence.

4.6.2 Farrant's New Continental Vision

At this point of the impending end of the Mission, the missionary statesman H.G. Farrant, who had ruled the British Branch of the Mission for 31 years on the Field, and was also in his 10th year as its General Secretary in the United Kingdom, shared the vision of 'A Continent for Christ' (Executive Committee 21-5-1964 1). In this new vision, Farrant wanted both the Mission and the Church to recognize that Africa faced a more acute danger in the 1960s than when the Mission began work on the continent in 1904. In 1966 he presented atheistic communism, technocratic secularism, Islam and 'animism' which was showing itself in the form of cultural revival, as the principal

forces that threatened Africa (‘God’s Will for the Future’ 1). In light of these dangers Farrant wanted the Mission and Church to join forces in a continental ministry to ward them off. To convince the S.U.M. that missionary work was not yet over he maintained that: ‘To touch a work of God is to touch infinity’ (‘God’s Will for the Future’ 9). And to paint the nature of the continental task he used words and phrases such as ‘gigantic task’, ‘emergency operation’, ‘present crisis’ and ‘combat’ (‘God’s Will for the Future’ 2,5,8). To Farrant the task was so great that a single Church or Mission could not do it alone (‘God’s Will for the Future’ 2). Consequently he also tried to sell his vision to other Missions. It was to this end that back in April of 1964 he presented ‘A Rallying Call of the Churches in Africa to the Rescue of Their Continent’ to the Africa Committee of the Evangelical Missionary Alliance in London (‘A Rallying Call […]’ 1). This committee consisted of representatives of 15 Missions (Executive Committee 16/4/1964 2). By all these means Farrant was re-enacting Karl Kumm’s ‘To the Help of the Lord Against the Mighty’, the call which, from 1902 onwards, he used to mobilize the Churches of Europe, South Africa, America and Australia to focus their missionary endeavour on the peoples of the Sudan Savannah.

According to Farrant, the initiative to launch out in this mega continental missionary enterprise should come from the Churches in Africa. The Churches should recognise the great spiritual danger that Africa faced, the very urgent need to launch out and the overwhelming scope of the work so that they could genuinely invite foreign Christians to join them in the rescue of their continent (Executive Committee 21/11/1963 2; Farrant ‘A Rallying Call’ 2). This continental vision, and the anticipated alliance of Mission and Church, was based on the growing awareness that ‘[…] we are “all one in Christ Jesus”’ (Farrant ‘The Magic Of Emergency’ 24; Tett *The Road to Freedom* 100). Farrant, therefore, asked the Field Secretary of the British Branch of the Mission to paint

this picture of ‘A Continent for Christ’ for the Church and enthuse the Church for immediate action, and report back (Executive Committee 21/11/1963 2).[34] While this report was being awaited, Farrant’s vision was printed in the January–February *Lightbearer* of 1964 for all the missionaries and their constituencies to read (Farrant ‘Looking Forward from the Height of Sixty Years’ 4–6).

4.6.3 The Response of the Field Secretary to Farrant’s Vision

When the Field Secretary received the instruction to paint the picture of the new vision for the Church and to stimulate her for action and report back, he did not share the vision with the Church immediately on the grounds that the vision was not clear (Dearsley Letter to Farrant 6/3/1964).[35] Strangely, the Board of Directors did not have any difficulty understanding the vision unlike the Field Secretary. They not only understood it but applauded it and reported that: ‘[…] the theme of, ‘A Continent for Christ-our contribution to it’, was brought vividly before us’ (Directors Annual Report June 1964 1). In reality, what prevented the Field Secretary from enthusing the Church immediately was two-fold. First, he said the Field staff could not see their own part in the picture (Dearsley Letter to Farrant 6/3/1964). By this he either meant that Field staff members were not duly consulted or the role of Field staff members in the new venture was not clearly spelt out. The former is the most likely sense. Secondly, he was not comfortable with the situation where, it seems, an idea from outside was being imposed on a Church that was already autonomous, a Church to which the Holy Spirit can initiate new ideas (Dearsley Letter to Farrant 6/3/1964).

As a result of the Field’s attitude towards the vision, the picture of Africa’s acute spiritual danger, the magnitude and urgency of the work which Farrant sought to convey to the Church, was not faithfully passed on to the Church. Therefore, since the vision

was only mildly and uninterestingly share with the Church, the nationals, one of whom at first appeared to be interested (Executive Sub-committee on Field Affairs 15/10/1964 2), said the vision was already in their constitution ('Regional Church Council Report' No date; Dearsley Letter to Farrant 19/3/1964). But it was certainly not shared in the form Farrant envisaged. In this way Farrant's vision was toned down, as the participation of the Mission in the vision was largely dependent on the Church's acceptance of it (Directors' Report 30/6/1964 1). Later it was said that New Life For All and Faith and Farm provided opportunities for a continental ministry (International Committee 2–6/7/1971 2). But Farrant never sought for opportunities but rather for deliberate and concerted efforts by both Church and Mission in a continent-wide, urgent ministry. Ultimately, the Field's attitude towards Farrant's vision boiled down to a general lack of genuine vision by the second generation missionaries who ought to have known the Pauline idea of Church autonomy. The mention of one incident will suffice here. While on furlough, a missionary gave a report of the work at Vom hospital at a meeting. At this meeting there was also Dr. Percy Barnden, the founder of the hospital, in attendance. Margaret Moles completes the story thus: 'Dr. Barnden, that most gentle of men, was once very angry when a report on Vom stated that it was "primarily for the training of nurses and healing of the sick"' (*A Place Called Vom* 79). Barnden was angry because he saw a clear case of the change of aim for the hospital. To him Vom was primarily a handmaid of the Gospel (Field Council 22-23/3/1938 10; Tett *The Road to Freedom* 72). No doubt the second generation missionaries were a product of the emerging post-Christian Europe that no longer had great zeal for aggressive missionary endeavours.

4.6.4 The Level of the Realization of the Policy at this Period

During the last ten years of the Mission in Nigeria, the art of evangelism was well rooted in the life of the Church. However, the Mission was still teaching this to Faith and Farm agents (Bachelor 'Faith and Farm' 54), and they were also encouraging the Church in the work of New Life For All by their pre-campaign training for pastors and evangelists (Executive Committee 21/5/1964 4). But still the Church had no missionary organization of its own.

Similarly, self-support had become part and parcel of the national Church in this last period. The Church was able to support her evangelists, pastors and building projects with some ease. However, had the government not taken over primary schools by 1968, her resources would not have been sufficient. The Government also took over Vom and Molai Hospitals as well as Gindiri Teachers' College. Later, when the remaining part of Gindiri Schools and Mangu Rehabilitation and Leprosy Centre were handed over to the Church a few months before the exit of the Mission, the financial and personnel burden was such that the Church could not cope. This provided the opportunity for missionaries' continued work with the Church, as inter-Church workers, long after the euthanasia of the Mission.

Self-government was not fully realized until January 1977, when the Mission ceased to exist in the country and when everything had been handed over to the Church. In terms of leadership training, it was obvious at this period that the Mission did not prepare the Church well to carry on, on its own. The training of evangelists and pastors left much to be desired. This is fully discussed in the next chapter.

4.6.5 The Sudden Exit of the Mission

In January 1977 the Mission ceased to exist in Nigeria, although some of her field staff members continued to work directly under the Church as inter-Church workers (*Facing the Challenge* 35). The reason that was given for the exit of the Mission was that: '[…] by the end of 1975 a joint panel in Jos declared that there were "no grounds for a separate Mission organization to continue within Nigeria"' (*Facing the Challenge* 35). The decision to have a Joint Panel to consider the future of Mission-Church relationship was decided upon during the S.U.M. Committee meeting which was held on 14th-15th August 1975. The membership of this Panel consisted of five nationals namely Rev. Damina Bawado, Rev. David Lot, Mr. Frederick Shidda, Mr. Barnaba Dusu and Mr. Bitrus Pam. There were also four European missionaries on this Panel. These were Rev. Alan Chilver, Rev. Tom Owens, Mr. David Williams and Mr. Cain A. Smith. On the 12th of November 1975 the members of this Panel met and decided, among other things, that 'there was no ground for a separate mission organisation to continue within Nigeria' (Minute of the Joint Panel 12th November 1975 1).

The Mission would have loved to have continued ministry into the eighties, and perhaps beyond. This is evident in Farrant's 'The next thirty years, if the Lord tarry', an article which appeared in 1964 (16-18). Besides, between 1969 and 1974 the Mission, in collaboration with the other Branches, was seeking a way to register the Mission with the new Nigerian government (Nigerian Committee of the Sudan United Mission 2nd April, 1975 2). Furthermore, in 1973 the Mission '[…] was still feeling that a 'marriage' would be the most suitable form of integration, so that the Mission would not lose its identity in Nigeria' (*Facing the Challenge* 34). The role of the Mission in the 'Mid Seventies or Eighties' was already a subject of discussion in 1974 (Tett Letter to Tom 29/1/1974 1).

The Mission wanted more time in the country so that they could bring the Church up to maturity, perhaps in view of the prevailing inadequate training of evangelists and pastors in the past. The intention to bring up the Church to maturity was summed up by the Branch Superintendent at a Swanwick Conference[36] and echoed by Alan White in 1973 in these words: 'If we in the S.U.M. don't bring the Plateau Church to maturity we have failed' ('Scottish Outlook' 91).

Therefore the declaration of the joint panel that was set up to look at the future of Mission-Church relationship could not have been the whole-hearted and sincere voice of the Mission. For, before this time, dichotomy was already an anathema to the Nigerian (Dearsley Letter to Bill 12/6/1973). The Nigerian anathema for dichotomy arose from the difficulty of the Mission-Church relationship, the euphoria of national independence (Yusuf Interview 3/9/07), and something of the spirit of the time, the moratorium question ignited by John Gatu of East Africa, as seen in Bitrus Pam's desire for a review of missionary recruitment (Dearsley Letter to Bill 10/7/1975 2). Having taken the pulse of the time the missionary members of the joint panel suggested the euthanasia of the Mission at a meeting of the panel. The African members of the panel did not hesitate to show their support for the euthanasia proposal (Shidda Interview 2-2-2010). Subsequently the Mission accepted the decision of the panel and spiritualised it, but not without difficulty. Many missionaries were unhappy at first about the decision of the panel. This fact was noted in the following words:

> It appears that there is a general agreement among staff regarding our objective as a Mission to phase into the Church in Nigeria–"closer relationship" with EKAN would be welcome. There is however a sense of disquiet and concern among staff of <u>how</u> and when the objective is reached (Notes for British Home Council 20th May 1976 1).

The Mission ceased to exist at a time when the indigenous Church had no organised missionary society of its own to adequately continue the work of the Mission.

NOTES

[1] Writing in December 1942 from Heiban, Chad, E.R. Harries noted that:

> From the minutes of the F.C. Meetings held at Gindiri, Feb. 1942, one noted that at the Wukari Conference in 1923 it was decided to adopt indigenous church principles which were subsequently outlined in the booklet: "The Church in the Mission Field" ('The Indigenous Church–Her Government and Organisation' 3).

In the Jos, Edinburgh and Bawtry archives the researcher could not find this booklet. The Mission has a catalogue for its archives with a long list of its publications. This booklet is not included in the catalogue, showing that it cannot be found today. Perhaps it was one of the documents of the Mission that were destroyed during the Second World War.

[2] The researcher searched for this book but could not get it for review.

[3] Henry George Farrant was Field Superintendent of the Mission in Nigeria from 1916 to 1948.

[4] The long title of the article is given to distinguish it from similar titles by the same author.

[5] Once in a while pastors were also trained in this school.

[6] Farrant was not the originator of the idea of a training school in the Mission. Before the beginning of World War I the idea of a training school was already in the Mission (Krusius 164-168, 169-172). Besides, 'The Wukari Conference in 1923 and the Numan Conference in 1931 both recommended that the school should be started' (Bristow 'More About the Training School' 85). This debunks Mollie Tett's view which traces the idea of a training school in the Mission to Farrant and Bristow. In her own words: 'The vision of such a school had been given to Mr. H.G. Farrant, the Field Leader, and to William Bristow' (*The Bridge Builder* 33). Therefore, Farrant was only the Chief bearer and custodian of the vision at this time because he was the Field Superintendent of the Mission, the highest office on the Field

[7] During the early days of the school it was known by three names: Gindiri Training Institute ('A New Centre' 2), Gindiri Training School ('Gindiri Mid-session Itineration' 93), and Gindiri Training Centre ('Gindiri Students' Preaching Tour' 77). Later in its history it became known as 'Sudan United Mission Gindiri Training College and Schools' (see signboard photo on page 140 of *The Lightbearer*, November-December 1970).

[8] The correct spelling of Cemso is Chanso while Unguwar Baraya is Angwan Baraya.

[9] Also see 'Gleanings' 54; 'The 'Week of Witness' in the Teacher Training College' 38-39.

[10] The evangelistic work of many of the old students of Gindiri was confirmed by Musa Gotom, a former student of Boys' Secondary School. He attended Gindiri from 1957 to 1961. He was 70 years old in November 2009. According to him many of the old students of Gindiri who worked in the districts were often at the head of preaching teams in their districts (Interview 23/11/09). Although Frederic Shidda agreed with Gotom, he said many of the old students of Gindiri did not continue to witness as a way of life after they left Gindiri. According to him such people constituted about 50% of the old students (Interview 2-2-2010).

[11] The correspondence scheme between Gindiri and the old students began very early in the history of the schools ('The Gindiri Literacy Plan' 8) and Dafwash died in July of 1957 (Cheal *For Light and Truth* 22).

[12] Also see John Lang, 'Outreach from Vom' in *The Lightbearer*, November–December 1969 page 126; 'Missionary Mail Bag' in *The Lightbearer*,. May–June 1970, page 71; and Jaduwa Bature, 'A Time To Speak' in *The Lightbearer* May–June 1974, page 63.

[13] This was not peculiar to the British Branch of S.U.M. The Boys' Brigade in the South African Branch area also had displays and preaching ('Boys' Brigade, Nigeria' 27).

[14] Detailed statistics for the British Branch alone between 1934 and 1952 are lacking from available sources.

[15] As late as 1964 the Classes for Religious Instructions still existed in the British Branch, as indeed in all the other S.U.M. Branches ('Some Statistics of the Work in Nigeria for 1964' 92).

[16] Cooper's work is the only surviving document of the Mission on the Policy, and it appears that it was accepted without modification as is evident on pages 46 and 47 of Edgar Smith's *Nigerian Harvest.* Apart from his 'Caring for a Church', another of Cooper's works on the policy is 'Fostering an Indigenous Church in Nigeria.' This was first published in *World Dominion* and later reprinted in *The Lightbearer* of July–August 1928.

[17] It should be noted that at this time the Church had no missionary society of its own and the 'Church missionaries' were under the direction of Europeans.

[18] Also see page 8 of British Branch Field Committee Minutes of 6th and 7th October 1965 which reveals that the Schools in Bauchi were to be transferred to the Government on 1st January 1966.

[19] This was confirmed by Enid Crane in an interview with the researcher in Bawtry, U.K., dated 19/5/2009.

[20] The first and second pages of the minutes are lost. The content of pages 3 and 9 strongly suggests that the meeting took place either in October or November 1960.

[21] It was not until October 1963 that the Mission set aside the Wares for the Central Bible School work (Field Committee 9th/10th October 1963 8).

[22] Up till now the Mission still gives some help to the Church's theological education in the form of seconded staff members.

[23] Also see 'The Directors' […] Report […] 1949' in *The Lightbearer*. July–September 1950. Page 43.

[24] The writer of the letter did not append his signature. The researcher conjectures that the writer was Dearsley or someone deputizing for him if he was on leave at the time. Hence the researcher has chosen to identify the writer of the letter simply as 'Field Superintendent'.

[25] Also see British Home Council Standing Committee 27/11/1975 page 2.

[26] This was accepted and partly implemented during the British Home Council meeting held on the same day, 18/5/1972 (British Home Council 18/5/1972 3).

[27] See the editorial note immediately after the heading.

[28] Also see Webster 'How the Church in a District Grows–Panyam' 72.

[29] Back in 1928 the local offerings for Kabwir was 53 pounds and that for Panyam was 38 pounds (Farrant Letter to Dawson 7/4/1929). The subject of the letter was the proposed takeover of the C.M.S. work among the Angas, Siyawa and Mwaghavul people.

[30] Pasted in H.G. Farrant's Diary. The Sudan referred to here is what we have defined in our glossary section. It does not mean the present day republic of Sudan.

[31] The details of the three batches of pastoral training between 1954 and 1964 are as follows: There was the Istifanus Deshi set which consisted of Istifanus, Nehemiah, James Tigol, Joel Luhutci, Ishaya Tihim, Manasseh Gyemu, Jatau, Song and David Telta, all of them from the British Branch area. This set was trained in Gindiri in 1954-1957 ('Fifteen Men added to the Pastorate' in *The Lightbearer*. March-April, 1958 25; 'Nigerian Pastors in England' in *The Lightbearer*, July-August 1965 65). There was the Bitrus Yamden set, with Yamden as the only candidate of the British Branch. This set was trained at the temporary site of T.C.N.N. in Gindiri in 1959-1961 (Bitrus Yamden, Interview, Panyam 8/1/2010). There was the Daniel Davwam set. This set was trained in Bambur in 1961-1964.

[32] The long title of the article is given to distinguish it from similar titles by the same author.

[33] Smith was a missionary of the British Branch who came to Nigeria in the 1930s. He was later seconded to the American Branch. Although his book is on the American Branch (C.R.C.), this section reveals what was common in the S.U.M. Branches. As a former member of the British Branch he had the opportunity of knowing something about the policy in the British Branch.

[34] Also see Executive Committee 21/5/1964 4.

[35] This is supposed to be in Box 15.5 but the researcher found it in Box 31.5

[36] The date of this conference is not indicated. See Alan White, 'Scottish Outlook' in *The Lightbearer*, July-August 1973, page 9.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE IMPACT OF THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH POLICY ON THE CHURCH AND THE MISSION

The indigenous church policy of the Sudan United Mission British Branch had a lot of impact on both the Mission and the Church founded by the Mission. On each side there were both positive and negative impacts. This refutes the general notion that the policy had only advantages (Davwam Personal interview 8-9-07). To the impact of the policy on the Church we now turn.

5.1 THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF THE POLICY

The insistence of the Mission on self-support for the whole period under consideration helped the Church to be self-reliant. It also taught the Church that taking responsibility as individuals or as a group is a necessity of life. Between 1938 and 1977 the Church was supporting its work of paying ordained pastors and volunteers who were serving as national missionaries under the direction of S.U.M., B.B. missionaries in North-Eastern Nigeria. The Church was also responsible for the erection of its buildings for most of this period, as has already been observed.

The policy did not allow the emergence of pastors and evangelists who were merely out for what they could get from the Mission or the Church. The policy helped many Christians to understand the meaning of ‘calling’ as against employment. Consequently, the evangelists and pastors were out to do God’s work because they felt called. The sacrifices of the evangelists and pastors led to the numerical growth of the Church.

The teaching of self-governance, although unduly delayed, enabled the Church to lead itself well, so that there was no major split in the Church during the period of study. The absence of a major split in the Church can also be attributed to a lack of wealth in

the Church and the 'federal' form of church government at the time. The lack of surplus money in the Church, arising from the emphasis on self-support, meant that there was nothing to fight for among the leaders and ethnic groups that made up the Church. The 'federal' system of church government at this period is traced back to the 1920s and 1930s when autonomous tribal churches were formed in Langtang, Foron, Kabwir and Panyam. This development was in keeping with the indigenous church policy of the Mission. These tribal Churches were brought together under one national administration in 1951, when the Regional Church Council, which later became the General Church Council, was formed, with Pastor Damina Bawado as its first Chairman (Rengshwat 28). When these autonomous tribal churches were brought together, the centre that held them together was not as strong as in an Episcopal system. Only annual budgets were given to the central administration while each Regional Church Council (formerly District Church Council) administered its own affairs such as the selection and training of candidates for the ministry, the payment of pastors and other workers and the running of dispensaries. During the period under consideration, some of the tribal churches practiced infant baptism while others did not. The weakness of the central administration did not present any need for a major split.

The involvement of nationals in evangelism right from the outset helped them to know that every believer is a witness for Christ. The involvement of nationals in other church related activities such as Women's Fellowship, Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade and New Life For All, which all had their origins in the activities of the missionaries, also helped nationals to exercise their gifts.

Owing to the insistence of the Mission on self-support, nationals contributed greatly to the coming into being of dispensaries and primary school education. From 1945 the Mission wished to have a body of educated men and women '[…] in the

Church and in the affairs of the country' (Tett *The Bridge Builder* 43). Against this background Tom Suffill gave his assent during the selection of Malam Rwang Pam and his subsequent coronation as Paramount Chief of the Birom (Bot Interview 7/4/2009). In these ways the Church was able to contribute to nation building.

Some blind boys and girls who would have been beggars or dependants for life were taught farming and crafts in Gindiri (Williams *Students for Christ* 18).[1] In this way they no longer depended on the charity of society or their relations. This helped them to have dignity as independent and useful members of society. Through its agricultural programme in Gindiri and Faith and Farm, both of which were integral parts of the indigenous church policy, the Mission tried to regain the dignity of farming that was being lost in favour of white collar jobs. The teaching of farming methods and how to cultivate different crops and rear animals that was organised for primary school leavers helped to check, to some extent, rural-urban drift. Many boys and girls, men and women were trained in new farming methods in Gindiri, and in the districts through Faith and Farm. The Faith and Farm programme even gave interest free loans to those who completed an apprenticeship in modern methods of farming in order to help them buy farming materials such as bulls, ploughs, seeds and herbicides to set up their own farms. This helped to improve the economic standard of many families. As some of the converts were empowered in this way they were better able to support the work of the Church.

The failure of the Mission to follow Roland Allen's understanding of the policy helped the Church to have a holistic view of Christian ministry. The Mission had maintained that:

> […] there never was a time when the care of the whole man was more in evidence. Education on all levels at all ages, training, teaching, healing, the care of mind, soul and body, all are used as the handmaid of the

> Gospel of Jesus Christ. For this reason, it is difficult, perhaps even unwise, to divide into the obvious divisions, education, medicine, evangelism, leprosy treatment, Muslim work and such like, because all form a part of the whole strategy of Mission and Church activity (Muir British Branch-Report for 1953 92).

This approach to ministry was maintained by the Church before and after the exit of the Mission from the country.

Clearly, it saved the Mission some of the cost of mission work in the areas of time, money, personnel, and in some cases prevented hardship and many church palavers. It also provided recognition to the Mission around the world. Cooper's articles in *The Lightbearer* and *World Dominion* on indigenous church policy brought the Mission into the limelight of Protestant world mission as his articles were '[…] circulated far and wide' (Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 213). And it was later said of the 1977 euthanasia of the Mission in Nigeria that '[…] this radical move put the Mission in the forefront of world missionary development (*Facing the Challenge* 35).[2]

5.2 NEGATIVE IMPACT OF THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH POLICY

5.2.1 The Policy and Mission-Church Relationships

By and large, the relationship between the Mission and the Church, and the missionaries and the converts, was cordial. Three stages in the relationship are identified. There were the pioneering, paternalistic and partnership stages. These three stages are not the same as the three periods of the history of the Mission which have been defined in chapter one. In the first stage, 1906–1950, the Mission was everything and national teachers and evangelists were regarded as helpers of the Mission. During the second stage, 1951-64, the Church had emerged, but was under the effective tutelage of the

Mission. In the last stage, 1965-1976, the Church and Mission were almost equals and they cooperated in the work of advancing what they understood as the Kingdom of God. It is only by looking at the entire question of relationships during these three stages that the impact of the indigenous church policy on mission-church relations will be clear. Therefore, to the question of relationships during the first stage we now turn.

Of these three stages, the first stage witnessed the most cordial relationship between the converts and missionaries. It was during this very cordial time that Tok Bot adopted the name of Thomas L. Suffill at baptism, so that he became known as Toma Tok Bot (Tett *Toma the Pastor* 3). It was also in this atmosphere that Toma Tok Bot came to address Suffill as 'MY BELOVED FATHER' ('A Letter from Pastor Toma to […] Suffill' 8-9). The cordial relationship between Toma Tok Bot and the Foron District missionaries finds parallels in relationships in the other Mission Districts of Langtang, Kabwir and Panyam.

Four factors accounted for the cordiality of the pioneering years. Some of the missionaries were very willing to accept the good judgment of their converts, even when it conflicted with theirs. Two cases in point will suffice here. In 1906 J.G. Burt and his house boy and other helpers went to Tunga. On the day they reached Tunga Burt preached to some men who came around. The next day, when Burt wanted to leave Tunga, his house boy objected. In the words of Burt:

> […] my boy would not allow me. He actually argued with me why I should not go. His argument was the need of the [Tunga] people. 'They want to hear again,' he said, 'Some men came to me in the night asking me about your words, and saying they wish to hear again. They were standing outside the compound last night, behind the grass wall, about thirty of them. But they want to know more. You must stay and tell them.

> We can go to the river in the night, it does not matter to us […].' I decided to wait at least another day, and have two services. To the evening one they came in great numbers, and sat for over an hour listening with rapt attention (Maxwell *Half A Century of Grace* 70-71).

H. J. Cooper also stressed that, while missionaries in the Langtang mission district, he and his wife highly respected the views of the indigenes. According to him:

> We endeavoured to think things out from their viewpoint, always respecting their ideas, remembering that we were guests in a foreign land, and that we had much to learn from this primitive folk, for "East is East," and they view most things from a different standpoint to the West ('Fostering an Indigenous Church in Nigeria' 83).

The attitude of J.G. Burt and the Coopers to the views of indigenes was in keeping with a missionary principle of the Mission. At the risk of repetition, way back in 1913 Paul Krusius wrote: 'Our Principle is to consider native life and thought […]' ('Educational Proposals for the S.U.M.' 172). Obviously, the tendency of some of the missionaries to respect the views of their converts endeared the missionaries to the hearts of the converts and made them feel accepted.

Besides, most of the missionaries accepted the good quality of life of the converts who were mostly directly discipled by the missionaries themselves. It was in this light that Herbert Cooper extolled the virtues of Miri Kakut and Lakan ('Baptisms at Langtang' 164-165; 'Letters from Nigeria' 22). Furthermore, the Mission would not let anything stand between it and the nationals so that they would be reachable and be taught in the Word of God. It was to this end that Farrant thoroughly investigated the alleged neglect of a missionary nurse which led to the death of the wife of a Gindiri student in childbirth. When the gravity of the mistake of the female missionary nurse and his own

inability to intervene dawned on William Bristow who was in charge of Gindiri he offered to resign, but Farrant convinced him not to. The missionary nurse accepted her fault and a sincere apology was tendered to the student community, and copies of the investigation dispatched to all the District Superintendents of the Mission (The Death of Ashagu [. . .] 1-2).

In addition, the first generation converts had a deep respect for what they saw as a selfless band of missionaries. They saw them as liberators of their people from what they understood as adversaries of their tribes. This was evident in the utterances or letters of converts to missionaries. When his Royal Highness Da Rwang Pam was promoted to the rank of second class chief, he sent a letter of invitation to the missionaries to attend the staff-of-office presentation ceremony. In the letter he wrote: 'In thinking of the promotion I can see that the real reason is that the Mission has helped us Birom to become a people [. . .]' ('Malam Rwang Pam, M. B. E' 130). It was in appreciation of their indebtedness to the pioneer missionaries that church secondary schools such as Cooper Memorial School, Goneret Memorial Secondary School, Nakam Memorial Secondary School and Dalo Memorial Secondary School were named after some of them. The foregoing factors combined to give a cordial atmosphere in the relationship of missionaries and converts during these pioneering years.

The cordiality of the pioneering years largely flowed into the two later stages. The very cordial relationship between national Christians and missionaries during these later periods was mostly seen between the first generation converts and the older missionaries. Even after the older missionaries retired to the homeland, the first generation converts continued to hold missionaries in high esteem. The Mission tried to perpetuate the cordiality of the pioneering years by avoiding anything that gave the impression of colour distinction, such as the debate among them over the title to be given

to national ordained pastors. The debate over the title to be given to national ordained ministers of the Church can be traced to a Field Council meeting which was held in 1938. The venue of this meeting is not clear today; it was most likely held in Gindiri. At this meeting it was decided that ordained national church ministers should be given the title 'Malam' in Hausa and Pastor in English rather than Reverend, as the title Reverend was a title for God. At the Field Council meeting of February 1942 Henry George Farrant explained that African ordained ministers should be called Reverend like their white counterparts to avoid colour distinction (Field Council 23-24/2/1942 17). They also tried to preserve cordiality by maintaining that the rapport between a missionary and nationals was a decisive factor in deciding whether a missionary under probation should be retained or not (Probation Form "C"). Furthermore, acceptability by both missionaries and nationals came to be a prerequisite for the office of Field Secretary (Field Committee Agenda 14-15/9/1944 2; Field Committee 24/9/1975 2; British Home Council 15/1/1976 1).

These efforts at perpetuating the cordiality of the pioneering years not withstanding, dark spots arose, which as Bitrus Pam said were normal in any relationship (Interview 11/6/09). The sources of tension during the paternalistic and partnership years were many. These included missionary membership of the Church, clerical dress, inter-racial marriage, personality clashes, nationalism and the perceived neglect of the Church by the Mission. When the first batch of pastors and later the second were ordained into the missionary Church which later became the Church of Christ in Nigeria, debate over whether they should wear clerical uniform or not began. While the national church leaders wanted an Anglican style of uniform, in keeping with what was worn by white clergymen in Panyam and Kabwir before 1930, the missionaries tried to persuade the

Church leaders against this. This debate took a long time before the missionaries eventually gave in to the wishes of the Church leaders (Pam Interview 11/6/09).

Tension also arose over the proposed marriage of Miss Kathleen Lillie to Daniel Gula. Kathleen came to Nigeria as a missionary nurse in 1963. Daniel Gula was an evangelist in North-Eastern Nigeria. Despite his very poor educational background he fell in love with Kathleen who consented to marry him. When their intentions came to the notice of the field missionaries and the home office, no one gave their consent. The Mission's disapproval was largely in keeping with its policy of not allowing any field staff to marry outside the Mission (Marriage of a Missionary to a National 1; Tett Letter to Dearsley 20/6/1969). When the disapproval of the Mission became known to nationals it was seen as racial prejudice. Therefore, when it became clear to the national Christian leaders that the intentions of the intending couple were godly, after interviewing both of them on separate occasions, they encouraged the marriage proposal against the policy of the Mission (Rengshwat 87-89). If it were not because of the sharp dichotomy between the Mission and the Church arising from the Mission's understanding of indigenous church policy, this tension would not have arisen. The Mission's policy on marriage should not have been applied in this situation, if the Church and the Mission were one in Christ as some of the missionaries claimed (Tett *The Road to Freedom* 100-101).

Personality clashes were another area of tension between missionaries and national Christians, the best known instances being that between Pastor Ishaku Ngwan and Mr. David Oram, and the one between Pastor Tom Owens and Pastor Akila Machunga. Ngwan and Oram were both working in Borno, North-eastern Nigeria. While Ngwan was the leader of the Church there, Oram was the leader of the Mission in the area. Both men were assertive in nature and this led to tension between them (Pam

11/6/2009). This and similar cases led to animosity which revealed itself during a Church council meeting at Langtang. According to Dearsley:

> R.C.C. Meetings. We had a very good time on the whole at Langtang but we did have one rather difficult period when reference was made to some outstanding difficulties between the Mission and the Church. It was not possible to nail anything down specifically: I think part of the problem comes from the fact that most Nigerians still find it difficult to speak to missionaries who might offend them. An example of this is the problem between Pastor Ishaku and David Oram where, as far as I know, Pastor Ishaku has still not spoken to David (Letter to William Tett 21/10/1970 1).

The personality clash between Ngwan and Oram was not immediately resolved (Tett Letter to Dearsley 30/10/1970) and Bitrus Pam could not remember when, where and how it was settled (Interview 11/6/2009).

A similar case of a personality clash was between Machunga, who was General Secretary of T.E.K.A.S. (later T.E.K.A.N.), and Tom Owens. This took on unpleasant dimensions when Machunga used his connections to influence a senior Nigerian customs officer to confiscate Owens' residence permit on his way to Britain on furlough. When this happened he was warned by the customs officer that he would not be welcomed back after his furlough. It took a delegation from the Church to influence the Governor of the then Benue-Plateau State to intervene before Owens was allowed back into the country (Pam Interview 11/6/09). It is with this in mind that the prayer request of Machunga, on Mission-Church relationships in London, in 1972 can be understood:

> Mr. A.W. Machunga, in replying to the welcome extended to him by the Chairman, gave a report on his time of training at All Nations Christian

> College. He asked for continued prayer for Church/Mission relationship in Nigeria, an area where there are many present problems (British Home Council 15/6/1972 2).

Owing to its self-support policy, and due to almost regular financial constraints in the Mission, which many nationals were not aware of, the Mission was not able to help the Church as the nationals had hoped. Many nationals wanted the Mission to help the Church in some areas of need which the Church was unable to meet on her own, as was the case with some other Missions. The perceived 'neglect' of the Church by the Mission generated some animosity (Davwam Personal interview 8-9-2007). This would have been avoided were nationals in the picture concerning the Mission's financial hard times. The sharp dichotomy between the Mission and the Church could not let the Mission disclose this to many nationals.

Nationalism (the desire to have an independent Nigeria) was in itself not a source of tension in mission-church relationships. It was largely used only as an occasion to let out unresolved pent-up animosity that had built up over time. A case in point was what took place in Vom some weeks before national Independence Day celebrations. In the words of Kay Maxwell:

> "The Independence ferment is a reality; the growth of tribal consciousness during these past 2 ½ years is quite amazing. At present the Birom here in the Vom area are ganging up on us in rather a frightening manner. A meeting with them on Friday night in Charles Hartley's house was so serious that Sam called us (Europeans) to a special staff meeting in his house last night. Wednesday next is to see another meeting with them, and they are so touchy, and full of their own importance, and stirred up politically that their actions are unpredictable. According to Sam violence

> is a real possibility. I am telling you this because you need to know to pray intelligently. All the European staff are in different ways strained and tense. I heard yesterday that S.I.M. are bringing in all their missionaries on outlying stations over Independence Day […]" (Extract from a letter to Mrs. Maxwell).

On a close examination of the situation William Tett discovered that the sources of tension were the Biroms' long unmet desire to have the hospital Church under the town Church, and the dismissal of two local Biroms from the junior staff of the hospital. It was not until they were later re-employed that the tension leading up to the Independence Day celebration subsided (Letter to Farrant 30/9/1960).

The question of missionary membership of the national Church was also a source of animosity. The question as to whether or not missionaries should be members of the African Church has a long history in the Mission: it can be traced back to 1945. At this time it was not yet an issue with national Christians. Instead of full membership or no membership the Field Council preferred a medial position of associate membership. This was to avoid dual full membership of the Church in U.K. and in Nigeria. The medial position would also ensure that no missionary was put under Church discipline without consulting the Mission (Field Council 19-21/3/1945 5-7). In 1955 when missionary membership of the Church became an issue among nationals they did not accept the medial position. Hence the issue kept coming up again and again during the 1960s and 1970s. It is no wonder that in 1972, in London, Machunga mentioned it at a meeting of the British Home Council to which he was invited (British Home Council 15/6/1972 2).

From about 1959 national Christians occasionally expressed the desire to be left alone. One such instance took place in 1960 when Farrant visited Nigeria. After a session at the 1960 T.E.K.A.S. annual 'Taron Zumunta' (gathering for fellowship) the Church's

delegates at the ‘Taro’ (gathering) asked that more missionaries should be sent. However, when Farrant asked if missionaries were needed in the Districts, the answer was hesitant, though positive (‘H.G. Farrant Visit to Nigeria' 6). In 1975, in conversation, Bitrus Pam spoke against the recruitment of more missionaries. This was reported thus:

> The other interesting point that Bitrus has made recently in conversation, is that he is feeling very strongly now that missionaries should not be recruited who are only coming to do some work, but that everybody who is recruited now–apart from needed teachers and medical workers–should be contributing positively to the training of Nigerians to take over their job at some quite near stage in the future (Dearsley Letter to Bill 10/7/1975 2).

No doubt, this was the peak of the moratorium call across Africa which Pam could not remember anything about. However, he seemed to be speaking that language himself.

Owing to the tendency of nationals to say that they should be left alone, the Mission, particularly field staff members, became extra-cautious in dealing with some Church officials (Dearsley Letter to Bill 26/5/1972) and even exaggerated the Church’s autonomy (Executive Committee 16/1/1964 3). This in turn made the field staff reluctant to share with the Church Farrant’s vision of joint action by Church and Mission in a continent-wide ministry (Executive Committee 16/1/1964 3). In addition, there was a reluctance to review the needs of Bible Schools in consultation with the Church for fear of meddling in the affairs of the Church (Dearsley Letter to Bill 26/5/1975). Although the Executive Committee was dissatisfied with the field staffs’ view of Church autonomy in which the staff members found it difficult to give suggestions to the Church (Executive Committee 16/1/1964 3), their view carried the day. The Vom pre-Independence Day tension was also due to the problem of relationships. But how this

was handled left much to be desired. Two junior staff members who had earlier been dismissed from the services of the hospital were re-employed just to give peace a chance (Tett Letter to Farrant 30/9/1960).

5.2.2 Consequences of Inadequate Training for Evangelists

During the period under consideration, the majority of the Christians won by the Mission were rural dwellers. In 1962 this fact was reported thus, 'The Church is almost wholly rural […]' ('The Directors' Fifty-Eight Annual Report for Year ending 30th June, 1962' 82). Most of the congregations in the rural areas were under the daily pastoral care of evangelists. Again, most of these evangelists spent part of their ministry years without any formal Bible training. According to one evangelist, 'I BEGAN IN THE WORK of the gospel in 1965 but I did not have any Bible training until 1970, when I went into the District Bible School for one year [sic]' (Bala 83). Similarly, pastor Deshi had spent four years in Somji as an evangelist from 1940 to 1944 without Bible training. It was not until 1944 that he was called to go to Gindiri to be trained as a teacher ('Nigerian Pastors in England' 65). Again, in 1958 Harold Potter recorded how many evangelists often spent the first part of their ministry years without formal Bible training.

> The twenty-two men in the evangelists' class this year come from eleven different tribes. They have been sent by the Churches who form the Plateau Region of the Ekklesiyar Kristi a Sudan. Most of them have worked in their districts as farmer-evangelists for several years, some with considerable success. They are very keen indeed to learn all they can during the nine months' course […]' ("The Bible School, Gindiri, 1958' 101).

Certainly ‘considerable success’ here meant the number of men and women the evangelists were able to bring into Church membership. It does not mean the quality of the teaching given, but the numbers in Church. Thus, for most of this time success was judged by numbers, and not by the quality of spiritual enlightenment and pastoral care that has transformational power. In 1954 only J. Lowry Maxwell was confessing the Mission’s concern about numbers rather than quality. Maxwell came to the field in 1904 and he worked as a field staff member of the Mission for three decades (Boer 143-145). In the early 1950s he described the Mission’s church building efforts as mere holding of services. In his own words:

> Our districts must be so staffed that our people will be adequately taught in the things that belong unto their peace. Mere holding of services will not suffice […]. To this end it is imperative that we do our best to give them competently trained pastors […]. If we have to leave we must see to it that we leave a ministry behind us which by the grace of God, will be theologically competent to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints (*Half A Century of Grace* 299-301).[3]

Although Gindiri was established in 1934 with the sole aim of training evangelists and teachers, the training of evangelists eventually took a second position in Gindiri from 1944 in view of the expansion of the teacher training section and the addition of separate boarding primary schools for boys and girls. Later, two separate secondary schools and a blind children’s school were added. These expansions naturally robbed the Bible school section of resources for its needed expansion to meet the challenge of the fast growing Church. Although the Mission was determined not to let the training of evangelists take a secondary position (Potter ‘Training Evangelists’ 126), it inevitably happened. Thus, in 1959 it was reported that:

> The Bible School ran a course for a small number of experienced evangelists. The greater number of them is catered for in short courses in the several Districts, so suiting the circumstances of the men who nearly all have to earn their living by farming and have to squeeze study periods into intervals when outdoor work is least pressing ("Annual Reports of the Branches: The British Branch, Nigeria [1958]' 88).

The admission of only small numbers of evangelists was not the only problem of the Gindiri Bible School. There were times that the school was not in session, in spite of the great need for training. In 1951 there was no class in the Bible School (Field Committee 28-30/11/1951 4). This could not have been unconnected with the financial crisis in the Mission at the time. In 1954 there were no teaching staff members for the Bible School (Potter 'Training Evangelists' 126). Again in 1957 the evangelists' class in Gindiri was not held. In its place locally arranged short courses, which were seen as more economical but insufficient, were held ('Annual Reports of the Branches: The British Branch, Nigeria [1957]' 79).

The short Bible courses in which the bulk of the evangelists were trained ranged from two to three weeks annually, as was the case in Limankara. Occasionally, three month courses were held annually, particularly between 1963 and 1964. The short Bible courses in the districts were later upgraded to District Bible Schools of one year's duration between 1964 and 1970. This one year programme was interrupted by a long spell of holiday during the farming season, from early May until late September. Even with the Bible schools in the districts, the opportunities were few for the evangelists who were desirous of going for training (Prayer Conference Miango-August 1966 1-3; Prayer Conference Miango–August 1968 2-3). Thus, by 1967-70 the highest training available,

and that which most evangelists looked forward to, was the one year District Bible School training, which in reality was less than nine months.

Throughout the period of study the Mission consistently maintained that lack of staff was the factor responsible for the inadequate training of evangelists. While it was true that a lack of staff was a common feature in the history of the Mission, five factors counter this claim. A lack of staff was not peculiar to the British Branch. Other British Missions to Africa encountered this as they were all recruiting new workers from the same limited constituency. Therefore, if the Mission was determined to train evangelists properly they would have made do with what they had to train nationals who would in turn train others. Secondly, although it consistently complained about lack of staff, the Mission loaned out many of its staff members to sister branches of the Sudan United Mission. From 1934 Edgar Smith was loaned out to the Christian Reformed Church Branch of the Sudan United Mission. Again, in the 1940s six staff members of the Mission were loaned out to the Australia and New Zealand Branch (Maxwell 270). An unspecified number of staff were also loaned out to the South African Branch in the 1940s (Field Committee 22-23/3/1945 4). Furthermore, in the early part of the 1960s when the Mission had no staff members to offer for the 1963 Pastors' Course (Field Committee 9-10/10/1963 8), it had, again, loaned out a number of staff members to the South African Branch (To All Missionaries […] 21/12/1960 1). Thirdly, if the Mission had been determined, attention to the Bible Schools would never have been eclipsed by the great expansion of Gindiri. Furthermore, between 1954 and 1960 the Mission asked the Church to design and manage its own school for evangelists. Most importantly, in the 1963 Five–Year Plan that was adopted by the Field Committee, the Mission decided that, as has already been observed,

> […] our responsibility is to pass on something of our great heritage of devotional and theological literature to the Church in Nigeria. We should not, however, interfere with the Church's responsibility and privilege of finding suitable ways of organizing her own indigenous Bible teaching programme. The Mission policy would, therefore, be to assist indigenous schemes, such assistance being more in the form of teaching staff and help towards capital costs of new projects (Five Year Plan […] Adopted by the Field Committee 13-15/3/1963 2).

This decision was taken at a time when the Mission was not in a financial crisis. It was also taken at a time when the Mission had loaned out some of their staff to the South African Branch. Ironically, even when they came later to start work in Nigeria, the South African Branch to which staff members were loaned out had established their District Bible Schools back in 1957: 'It was decided from the beginning of 1957 to start Bible Schools in each district and to date there are five–at Wamba, Randa, Ancho, Kagbu, and Murya, with an enrolment of well over one hundred' ('South African Branch, Nigeria' 89). It was about a decade later that the British Branch begun their own District Bible Schools (Owens 'Apt to Teach?' 15).[4]

Therefore, the over-riding factor in the inadequate training of evangelists during the period under consideration was not lack of staff, but the indigenous church policy of the Mission. Neither was it primarily the lack of money. When Farrant was told that Gindiri was no longer suitable for the training of evangelists owing to a lack of farmland which would enable the students to be self-supporting while in school, he queried the Field as to why the Mission should not continue to provide scholarships for the evangelists as was the case when the school began in 1934. In the words of Farrant:

> The suggestions for Bible schools are several and somewhat difficult. I hope that we shall be led to a very satisfactory pattern of the several levels required. It does seem as if Boi is unsuitable because of difficult approach and lack of land. I will be very happy if a permanent Bible School can be established at Gindiri, but the objections to it are the high cost of maintaining a student and a possible feeling of inferiority because of a lower academic standard of students. I am sure that a vernacular pastors' class is an imperative. The output of T.C.N.N. for the Plateau Regional Church will be quite inadequate for several years to come. When we had the evangelists class at Gindiri we raised scholarship in Britain for them, and there is no reason why that should not continue (Letter to Dearsley 11th April 1963).

Farrant's voice went unheeded as the Field had already made up its mind.

The inadequate training of the evangelists was consistently reported by *The Lightbearer*, minutes of meetings, visitors to Nigeria, and at prayer conferences in Miango. In 1953 W.F.W. Richmond reported that:

> There are also a number of Mission Stations where there is little or no missionary help available, and the little groups of Christians are dependent on the help of farmer evangelists who also need help and teaching. Some are able to go to Gindiri, but not all, and so again Bible Schools in the districts are needed. Unfortunately, because of lack of staff, it is not possible to hold such Bible Schools and herein lays one of the weakest links in the spiritual development of the work (British Branch– Report for 1952 113).

The mention of lack of staff here was not the real issue. In each Mission District there were one or more resident missionaries who, right up to 1962, were themselves the Church Treasurers, Financial Secretaries, Church Secretaries, Managers of schools and dispensaries, when they could have relinquished some of these tasks to nationals in order to start serious District Bible Schools. Again, in 1967 it was reported that:

> […] hundreds of village congregations are led by an untrained worker, often barely able to read, and so unable to prepare any progressive teaching for his hearers. Join us in prayer that these leaders might have both the desire and the opportunity to enter Bible school ('A Bird's Eye View' 5).

Between 1954 and 1960 three visitors from Britain visited the Field. Each of these men went back with a report of the general ill-training of evangelists. When J.L. Maxwell visited in 1954 he observed that:

> We have now two African pastors in the Yergum area (Langtang district) but in that area there are about 70,000 Yergum, and about 30,000 more outside it. In addition there are perhaps 20,000 Burum and Montoil. At this moment as I write, the Mission staff available for the district is composed of Rev. H.G. Potter and Miss E.W. Caldwell. In addition there are the two pastors above mentioned, some seven or eight trained teachers, and fifty or so evangelists, some very poorly equipped as far as training goes ('Langtang:1954' 55).

This situation persisted in the Langtang district, for a decade later, A.W.H. Crow gave the following report about the training situation of the evangelists there:

> The District Church now has a membership of over 1,400, and among this number are one hundred and two workers in charge of village groups,

> where regular Sunday worship is held. Very few of these workers have had any training, and the Church is now making Lalin Mission Station a District Bible School to which they can come for Bible study and tuition (‘Langtang: 1964’ 55-56).

The lack of adequate training for evangelists was never limited to the Langtang Mission District. Farrant gives us a general picture of the situation in the first half of the 1960s in these words: ‘Most of our village Churches are cared for by evangelists with training from fair in quality to none, and stipends from modest to nothing. Some village Churches have no helper’ (‘The Whole Created Universe Working With Us’ 59-64). Farrants’ comment above was largely the outcome of his observation when he visited the field in 1960. At the end of this visit, which lasted for about two months, Farrant maintained that: ‘At no level–from farmer evangelist to ordained pastor–is the training of the ministry adequate for the need of the Church’ (Opinions formed by H.G. Farrant on a visit to the Field January–March 1960 1). But, strangely, in spite of the above observation, when Farrant presented ‘The most urgent needs of new staff’ [sic] he wrote that seven medical workers were required, two book–keepers, one builder, and ‘1, preferably 2, teachers of Theology. 4 men well equipped for general district work’ (Opinions formed by H.G. Farrant 2). Similarly during the same visit as Farrant’s, Canon Hughes saw: ‘[…] well educated laymen being under the pastoral care of men who are inadequately trained’ (Executive Committee 17/3/1960 3).

In 1966, at a British Branch prayer conference held in August, at Miango, the following statistics were given. There were in all 22 ordained pastors, and 2 others who were about to be ordained. There were 36 fully constituted local church councils. Under these, there were a total of 641 village congregations. To man these congregations, there were only 606 evangelists. Out of this 606, it was reported that a total of 342 ‘[…] have

had no formal Bible-training.' This was 56% of the evangelists. The number of those in training at the time, who were not included in the aforementioned 342, was only 77. This was the sum total for all four District Bible Schools of only one year's duration (British Branch Prayer Conference August 1966 1-2). Thus, by August 1966, a decade before the euthanasia of the Mission in Nigeria, the majority of evangelists who were literally pastors of the village congregations had no formal Bible training as is recorded in the following words: 'Despite the progress made, however, well over one half of the evangelists in the Plateau Church have still had no Bible-training at all' (Prayer Conference August 1966 3).

Similar statistics were given two years later which revealed a slight reduction in the number of evangelists without formal Bible training. However it was still observed that:

> Average time spent in Bible school 17 weeks. It would seem, therefore, that on average our evangelists have had <u>less than one year</u> in school of any kind (J.P. or Bible). Compare this with the <u>12 years minimum</u> required to become a primary school teacher. Yet most of these evangelists are eager to learn (Prayer Conference Miango–August 1968 2-3).[5]

Bible Schools of one year duration emerged in each of the District Churches between 1964 and 1966 (British Branch Prayer Conference August 1966 3). But the quality of personnel, a fall out of the lack of training in previous years, and building structures in these Bible Schools were not adequate vis-à-vis the great need for training. At the risk of repetition, there were numerous evangelists who started pastoring church congregations without Bible School training and who were now awaiting training. So in

spite of the emergence of the District Bible Schools lack of training for the ministry was a problem for many years that followed.

It was therefore not surprising that lack of a good working knowledge of the Bible, and superstitious beliefs prevailed among many of the evangelists. Referring to developments in the Foron Mission District Thomas Owens reported that:

> Recently, one of our evangelists revealed that at burials he prays for the souls of the dead! Many of our Christians are easily confused when they encounter the Roman Catholic Church and the many sects which are now springing up […]. They easily confuse people of the same name, like Joseph the patriarch with the husband of Mary in the New Testament (‘Apt to Teach?’ 15).

Similarly in the Langtang District Bible School a student, who had been an evangelist in-charge of a congregation before he was admitted to Bible school, asked one of his teachers whether the Joseph who interpreted Pharaoh’s dream was the Joseph who married Mary (Phillips ‘‘‘The Same Commit Thou to Faithful Men’’’ 112).

It was thought that the trained ordained pastors would meet the Bible teaching needs of the Church but it turned out that: ‘[…] some of them have the oversight of as many as forty village congregations, they are quite unable to fulfil this responsibility’ (Owens ‘Apt to teach?’ 15). In principle the pastors were the leaders and teachers of the congregations, but in practice it was the evangelists who were the real shepherds of the Christians in the rural areas where the bulk of the population of the Church lived. This was observed in 1968 in the following words: ‘Much of the instruction given in the Plateau Church is given by evangelists’ (Prayer Conference Miango–August 1968 3).

The pastors were so few and the congregations so many, that each pastor often had a long list of places to visit as was the case for student–pastors in 1956, in Panyam District

(Cheal ‘Development’ 96). Right through the period under consideration, the ratio of ordained national pastors to church congregations was between 1:16 and 1:40. In 1963 it was indicated that there was 1 pastor for 36 congregations (Swanwick Conference–October 3rd/7th 1963 1). In 1966 it was 24 pastors to a total of 641 congregations, a ratio of 1:26 (British Branch Prayer Conference. August 1966. 1).

In the midst of this long list of congregations under each pastor, it was natural that the pastor ended up giving only occasional advice and brief encouragement to the evangelists and the members of their congregations as was the case with student–pastors in Panyam (Cheal ‘Development’ 96). Therefore with respect to each congregation the pastor was literally a part-time worker.

With very little help coming from an ordained pastor, an untrained or ill-trained evangelist who, although committed to his task, had only a little knowledge of the Bible and still nursed some unbiblical beliefs arising from his poor discipleship could only but reproduce his own kind. This point was rightly observed at the 1968 Miango Conference in the following words: ‘Most of our evangelists are not adequately equipped to be teachers of the word of God. The spiritual life of our church depends, to a large extent, on the quality of exposition given’ (Prayer Conference Miango–August 1968 3). J. Lowry Maxwell put it more aptly in 1953-54: ‘[…] as the teachers of the community are, so will the thinking of the community be’ (*Half A Century of Grace* 300). Therefore, the low standard of spirituality of many Christians became apparent from the second half of the 1950s onwards. It was against this background that the Cambridge and London University trained Alan Chilver (Harry Boer 116) came into Nigeria in 1960 as a Field staff member of the Mission (‘Missionaries of S.U.M.’ 32).

When Chilver came to Nigeria he worked very briefly in Langtang from where he was sent to help in the training of pastors at the new Theological College of Northern

Nigeria. On his arrival in Nigeria he was surprised to find a wide gap between the actual lives of many Christians and the glowing reports about the churches in *The Lightbearer*. When he made this observation in a letter[6] to the Field Superintendent, the Superintendent was not comfortable, and he did not waste time in informing the home office about it.

> Privately to you, I got a letter from Alan Chilver today to say that he thinks that the Lightbearer is too complimentary to the Church on our Field and that a newcomer is not prepared for the low standard of life in many of its members. The letter is confidential to me but, in replying, I shall say that it is rather a delicate thing to make criticisms of the Church in general at this time when people are extremely sensitive to comments (Tett Letter to Farrant 4/7/1961).

The 19th century story of the Church Missionary Society's Sudan Party and the Niger Mission would have repeated itself in the British Branch of the Sudan United Mission had the likes of Chilver been about a dozen in the Mission.

Chilver's observation was quite right. For something of what he observed had also been mentioned both before and after 1961. In 1954 it was reported that '[…] Satan has made a special attack on the Christian workers.' This was a reference to developments in Jarawa land ('The Enemy at work' 131). Similarly, at the 1966 Miango Prayer Conference it was observed that: 'Backsliding, drinking, marital problems and polygamy are taking a heavy toll of Church membership' (British Branch Prayer Conference August 1966 2). It is in this light that Daniel Bitrus' comments on the growth of the Church towards the end of 1977 should be understood. He maintained that C.O.C.I.N.'s was merely numerical growth and not growth resulting from the nourishment of members by pastors ('"Thirsty for Service"' 123).

5.2.3. The Emergence of a Training Tradition

From the lack of adequate training of the missionary years, a training tradition was handed down to, and copied by C.O.C.I.N. Right up to the 1990s there were some evangelists and national missionaries who started ministry with no formal theological training, acquiring it some years into their ministry career. This practice, no doubt, had a negative effect on discipleship, and by extension the quality of Christianity in an area.

5.2.4 Unrealistic Use of Pastors and its Consequences

As has already been observed, the ratio of pastors to congregations left much to be desired. These congregations were often spread over wide geographical areas. This meant, in many cases, a lot of travelling for the pastors who sincerely wished to live up to their calling, as was observed in these words:

> There is a need which is very pressing in some areas for more pastors. The present pastors are often overworked and their area of responsibility (e.g. one pastor has charge of 40 village Churches) means that realistic pastoral oversight is quite impossible (British Branch Prayer Conference August 1966 3).

One big consequence of the great work–load of the pastors was a lack of sufficient time for their families. This contributed to the waywardness of the children of some pastors. Another negative effect of the great work-load of the pastors was stress. Pa Bitrus Yamden said that in the 1960s in Mangu there was a mass movement of Christians, including some Church elders, to Islam. This followed in the wake of the proselytisation campaign of Alhaji Ahmadu Bello in 1965. When this happened, he decided to embark on intensive pastoral teaching and preaching each day in the whole Panyam Mission District. These preaching and teaching activities lasted for 42 days

without a break. By the time he was through he felt exhausted. The following year he repeated this exercise but not without inviting a pastor friend from the Lutheran Church in Numan, in present day Adamawa State, to come over and help him (Interview 8/1/2010).

5.2.5 Inadequate National Seminary Teachers

Right through the period under consideration ordained pastors were few. Therefore not many could be spared for the adequate staffing of Bible Schools and Pastors' College. Thus, in 1974, two years before the euthanasia of the Mission in Nigeria, it was observed that: 'It will be a number of years before the Church have enough of their own Bible teachers […]' (Dearsley Letter to Owens 29/1/1974 3).

5.2.6 Lack of Discipleship in Mission for the Whole Church

Although the Church had some volunteers who were serving as national missionaries in North-Eastern Nigeria since 1954, by 1968, less than a decade to the exit of the Mission, the Church had no missionary society of its own (Dearsley Letter to Bill 9/4/1968 1). The lack of an organised Missionary Society in the Church did not allow for adequate pre-field training for many of the national missionaries. As there was no Mission society of the Church to meet the pastoral care needs of these volunteers some absconded without the knowledge of the Church (Dearsley Letter to Bill 9/4/1968 1).

The lack of discipleship in mission also meant that the Mission did not leave a tradition of missionary practice know-how for the Church when it ceased to exist in Nigeria in January 1977. This accounts for why there has been the problem of the pampering of converts in some mission fields of the Church: the basics of the three-self policy were not ingrained in the Church in the way that evangelism was taught, as there

was no structure in place, a Church missionary society, where this would have been taught.

5.2.7 The Problem of Identity

The polity of C.O.C.I.N. was hybrid. It was a bit of Presbyterian, a bit of Congregational and a bit of Episcopalian. As a result, for most of their history, C.O.C.I.N. members did not know who they were in relation to the great historic church traditions of the West, and in relation to Church Government. The main factor behind the hybridization of church government was the fact that the missionaries of the Mission were from different church denominations, and therefore could not agree on making the Church adopt any particular form of church government. The indigenous church policy of the Mission partly supported this development. Therefore the Mission could not pattern the Church after any other in Europe or America. This crisis of identity came to the fore in the long debate between the Mission and the Church over clerical uniforms (Pam Interview 11/6/2009).

5.2.8 The Emergence of Taxation in the Church

In a bid to do God's work the national Christians devised taxation as a means of raising money. This was not discouraged by the Mission. This was to become a tradition in the Church for the rest of the period under consideration and beyond. For example, in the Panyam Church District during the erection of a worship building or evangelist's house those who attended church services were taxed a sum of money or a specific quantity and type of local building materials. Those who were unable to pay their Church taxes often had their shoes or cap or headties confiscated until they paid. Those who failed to pay in the end were given back their shoes or cap or headties but were put under church

suspension until they show genuine repentance (Davwam Interview 8-2-2011). Forcing defaulters of church taxes to pay or suffer church discipline was contrary to Paul's view of giving for God's work. According to Paul, 'Each man should give what he has decided in his heart to give, not reluctantly or under compulsion, for God loves a cheerful giver (2 Corinthians 9:7 NIV).

5.2.9 The Policy and Nigerian Politics

In Nigeria, the independence of the various regions that made up the country preceded national independence. Owing to the indigenous church policy the Mission was reluctant to operate a thorough educational programme from 1923 (Smith *Nigerian Harvest* 46-47). Therefore, at the time of Regional independence in the 1950s the Christian community was so educationally backward that it could not play an influential role in the political life of the Northern Region. This was very deeply regretted by Maxwell in these words:

> In Nigeria steps had been taken to revise the constitution, with the aim of giving the people of the country more share in its Government. The administration asked for suggestions from the people at all levels of culture. Everyone was encouraged to say how the country should be governed. The bearing of this urge for constitutional development upon our work is, for the most part, threefold. Firstly, there was a very great possibility that the Moslem members of the Government would greatly outnumber the non-Moslem, so that the Christian minority would be hopelessly out-voted. That would apply to the Northern part of the country only […]. The outlook was not too bright for those to whom our Society has been ministering. It would have been much better if we had

> not been so unwilling, in the past, to venture on a more thorough educational programme. As things were the Christians were far too backward educationally to be able to take an active part in political leadership (*Half A Century of Grace* 299–300).

Maxwell, therefore, called on the Mission to use the remaining chance at its disposal to rectify the problem of the educational backwardness of Christians in the area of operation of the Mission. Again, in Maxwell's own words,

> […] it brings us a very urgent call to do all that is in our power to grasp the remaining chances of making good this matter wherein we have failed. We must turn out men and women competently trained to teach the members of their own tribes up to a standard which will enable them to think for themselves and wisely to plan and work for the future of their country (*Half a Century of Grace* 300).

It was against this background that the Teachers' Training College in Gindiri continued to expand and two separate secondary schools were added to it. The above quotation and the subsequent expansion of Gindiri show that from 1923 the Mission set out to implement something similar to Roland Allen's understanding of indigenous church policy, but when the need for a thorough educational programme became glaringly obvious they shifted significantly away from it.

5.2.10 Loss of Christian Fellowship

The great chasm resulting from the policy did not leave even a consultative forum after January 1977. Therefore, the Mission could not continue to interact with the Church, and vice versa, on matters of common interest. This could have helped the Church to have more than one perspective on issues that concerned the life and work of the Church. This

could also have benefited Western Christianity, for international Christian fellowship should quicken the Body of Christ in the way that congregational fellowship does. The need for continuing fellowship between the Mission and the Church was felt and stressed by the Mission during its centenary celebration in the following words:

> The relationship between COCIN and SUM/AP is at the moment of a son who still pursues the objectives and vision of the mission through: Self-propagation, Self-support and Self-government. However, this long standing relationship needs to be amicably nurtured and sustained with zeal and more of honest dialogue, information sharing and exchange of visits (Facing the Challenge 39).

5.2.11 Lack of Qualified Assistants Among Nationals 1944-1971

The failure to make an early start on a thorough educational programme also affected the Mission. From the 1940s to the 1960s the missionaries did not have sufficient qualified assistants among the national Christians. This was to mean too much work for the missionaries. Therefore, to get some qualified assistants the Mission had to look to the Qua Iboe Mission in far away South-Eastern Nigeria for African teachers. For, in 1945 it was reported that: 'Mr. Bristow was given assent to his proposal to negotiate with the Qua Iboe Mission for African teachers for Gindiri and to engage the required number if he was personally satisfied' (Field Committee of British and South African Branches 22nd and 23rd March 1945 6).[7]

In keeping with its indigenous church policy, the national ordained pastors were not trained highly enough to be useful pastoral care-givers to some of the missionaries. Therefore when an alleged pastoral crisis arose among the missionaries, which resulted in over thirty resignations within a time frame of less than two years, the Mission thought of national pastors, and wished that they could extend their pastoral influence to

missionaries as well (British Home Council 20/7/1972 2). In this the Mission was asking too much from most of the national pastors. Thus, the national pastors could not effectively meet the spiritual needs of many of the European missionaries.

In 1970 nationals outside the Church put pressure on the Mission to 'nigerianise' one of the top positions in the administration of its two secondary schools. In the words of Geoffrey Dearsley:

> Nigerianisation. This undoubtedly should be a matter which should be included in our discussions when you come out as it is something which is very much to the fore in everyone's thinking these days. This came out very forcibly at Gindiri Board of Governors recently when there was a lot of pressure brought to bear upon us to appoint a Nigerian as Acting Vice Principal of the Boys' Secondary School (Letter to Bill Tett 16-11-1970).

This no doubt created a slight situation of tension as the Mission was not prepared to comply immediately on the grounds that the man the Board members were eying for the post was, according to Dearsley, '[…] not one that one would wish to promote to administrative responsibility even though he has been at Gindiri for three years' (Letter to Bill Tett 16-11-1970).

Right through the period under review, there was constant reference to the inadequate training of national pastors and evangelists without any significant corresponding action on the part of the Mission to remedy the situation. This constant mention of the inadequate training was an expression of perpetual guilt as was recorded by Richmond thus: 'Bible Schools in the districts are needed. Unfortunately, because of lack of staff, it is not possible to hold such Bible Schools and herein lies one of the weakest links in the spiritual development of the work [sic]' ('British Branch Report for 1952' 113). We have already argued that the failure to make an early start on District

Bible Schools was rooted in factors far beyond the lack of staff. At the risk of repetition, the indigenous church policy was the over-riding factor. Next to this was the missionaries' unwillingness to relinquish church treasurer, secretary, and financial secretary work to some of the promising national Christian leaders in order to have time for serious Bible teaching programmes for the evangelists.

5.2.12 Lack of Training for Leadership

In March 1968, less than a decade before the exit of the Mission from Nigeria, the British Home Council resolved that:

> […] we should only encourage Africans who will be taking up key positions in the Church or Mission to come to the United Kingdom for Specialized training. If the Church in Nigeria desire pastors or theological students to take courses overseas, then they will be expected to bear the responsibility of travel and support (British Home Council 21/3/1968 1).

As a result of this decision, by the time the mission finally handed over leadership to the Church the Church had only one PhD holder. This was Musa Dimka Gotom who got his first degree in 1969 and his doctorate in 1975, a year before the exit of the Mission in Nigeria (Rengshwat 'Leadership' 121). Besides Gotom Daniel Bitrus was the only one with a first degree certificate among the clergymen of the Church at the time of the euthanasia of the Mission. He graduated in 1973 with a Bachelor of Theology degree from the United Missionary Theological College (U.M.T.C.), Ilorin. Bitrus was sponsored in Ilorin by his unbelieving uncle and the Sarkin Mangu Street C.O.C.I.N. congregation (Bitrus 'Testimony of My Call […]' 2-3). Bitrus Pam Kim who was the General Secretary of the Church at the time of the handing over had only a diploma in Biblical Studies and another one in Accountancy (Kim *Integrity* see 'About the Author').

The Rev. Damina Bawado who was the chairman/president of the church from 1951 until 1981 had only a vernacular or Hausa certificate in Biblical Studies.

Similarly the majority of the clergymen of the Church at the time of the handing over had only vernacular certificates or diplomas in theology. Although these men had been in the service of the Church for many years, by their limited training they were unprepared to take over the leadership of C.O.C.I.N. in an increasingly literate society.

Some of the negative impacts of the indigenous church policy have lingered to this day. There is still the problem of identity in C.O.C.I.N. There are today new clerical uniform styles. There is also the centralization of ordination and the centralization of the payment of ordained ministers. Could this be a pointer towards an Episcopal form of church government? But in Episcopalian structures there is often a lot of decentralization of power to diocesan bishops. Presbyterian and Methodist systems are more centralized. C.O.C.I.N. seems to be moving toward the clericalism of Episcopalianism combined with the centralization of the other two denominations.

The poor training of evangelists during the period of study has been continued by the Church. There are still many untrained and poorly trained pastors who are manning village congregations. As a result, rural dwellers are not adequately discipled to be free from the age-long traditional fear of demons and witches. Consequently many believers live under a cloud of fear and suspicion. This is evident in the rampant cases of accusations and counter-accusations of witchcraft and secret societies among many church members. Pastors and ordained ministers of the Church have often been implicated in this phenomenon.

Today about half of the ordained pastors of C.O.C.I.N. are diploma holders. Many of these are placed over members who are university graduates and senior civil servants. This means the Church is still struggling to rise up to the challenge of a literate

society. Another negative impact of the indigenous church policy which has lingered to this day is in the area of mission practice. The Mission's inability to train the Church in cross-cultural mission has led to haphazard mission practice in C.O.C.I.N.

The current tie between the Mission and the Church is weak. In the absence of a structure or a clearly defined channel of communication, the representatives of the two bodies cannot interact meaningfully. The two bodies cannot enter into each other's shoes to feel what the other is feeling in order to be able to pray for each other intelligently. They cannot even give suggestions to one another.

NOTES

[1] Also see the first photo page between pages 22 and 23. Under the second picture of blind boys it is recorded that 'Boys in the School for Blind Children are taught crafts by which they can support themselves.'

[2] The writer of this book did not remember that way back in 1972 the Danish Branch of S.U.M. was the first to cease to exist in Nigeria.

[3] Emphasis is mine.

[4] In the Foron Mission District, a District Bible School was started in 1964 (Owens 'Apt to Teach?' 15). Other Mission Districts of Panyam, Langtang and Kabwir also began their District Bible Schools between 1964 and 1966 (British Branch Prayer Conference August 1966 3).

[5] J.P. here means Junior Primary.

[6] The researcher could not lay hands on Chilver's letter to the Field Superintendent.

[7] Even as late as 1954 the Mission was still engaging African staff from outside the S.U.M. (British Branch Field Committee 25th and 26th March 1954 2). Thus right up to the time of the Nigerian Civil War there was an Ibo on the staff of Gindiri.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The problems that this research examined are basically three-fold. First, over the years there has been the problem of haphazard application of mission policy by some Local Church Councils (L.C.C.s) in C.O.C.I.N. This is illustrated by the following account. In October 2006 I was in Kwara State, Nigeria, in the mission field of one of the L.C.C.s of the Provincial Church Council (P.C.C.) Jos. The church buildings on this mission field, including the house of the missionary, were built and roofed by the sending church. Yet, on the day I was leaving, a group of able bodied local men asked that when I get to Jos I should tell the Local Church Council (L.C.C.) that established mission work in their village to plaster the walls of the building and to fix the doors and the windows. When I saw the number of those who attended worship, over a dozen in all, I concluded that the missionary who began work in that village did not groom the believers in the art of self-support from the start. This story triggered the impression that mission fields in Africa tend to be dependent on the sending constituency for support. The second problem the research addressed is the question of relationships. There is currently a sharp separation between the Church and the Mission which has its roots deep in the Mission's interpretation and implementation of the policy. Besides, the research addressed the problem of lack of documents on the indigenous church policy which the Mission used to build C.O.C.I.N, the Mission's indigenous Church.

Therefore, as its objectives, the research has: examined the Mission's indigenous church policy; found out the factors that necessitated its adoption by the Mission; found out whether the missionaries of the Mission consistently shared the same understanding of the policy during the period under consideration; examined how the policy was

implemented to establish C.O.C.I.N.; uncovered the principles that guided the implementation of the policy; found out the Mission's general policies towards the Church that stemmed from its understanding of the policy; looked at the reactions of indigenous believers and Church leaders to these policies; found out how the Mission handled the reactions; uncovered how the Mission inculcated her idea of the indigenous church in indigenous church leaders and members; identified the impacts of the policy on both the Mission and the Church, particularly what the strict implementation of the policy meant for the relationship of the Mission and the Church.

To achieve these objectives, the researcher consulted the documents of the Mission in Nigeria and in Britain. In Jos, there are some of the Minutes of meetings of the Church and the Mission at the C.O.C.I.N Headquarters. At the Theological College of Northern Nigeria (T.C.N.N.), Bukuru, the official magazine of the Mission and the microfilm records of the Mission covering the period of study have yielded much relevant information. The Mission's archives at New College, University of Edinburgh; and at the Headquarters of Action Partners (now Pioneers UK), Bawtry have complemented the Nigerian sources. Oral interviews in both Britain and Nigeria have been useful to the study. Material from the private library of Dr. Sam Thompson, who lives in Berwickshire in the United Kingdom, has also been helpful. The information gathered from these sources has been presented in narrative and analytical fashion.

The researcher's findings include the following:

1. The idea of the three-self policy was in the Mission almost from the outset. But it was not officially adopted, and its component parts were not all put into practice in all the Mission Stations, until 1923 and onwards. The policy was adopted to achieve the goal of a healthy church. When the policy was officially adopted by the field members of staff, the implementation was only partial right up to the

closing years of the early phase (1904–1934) of the history of the Mission. Even at this early stage, there were negative reactions from some indigenous believers. In the Langtang mission district, for example, an evangelist and a teacher left their duty posts as they were no longer willing to continue as voluntary workers. The researcher was not able to lay hands on documents to show what the Mission did to handle these early reactions to the policy.

2. During the period under consideration, the training of the Church in evangelism was both intensive and protracted. It was carried out in both formal and informal settings. The Mission training school in Gindiri began in 1934. By 1959 there were ten separate schools there. These schools were: the school for evangelists, teachers' training school and women's school for wives of the evangelists and teachers. Others were: demonstration day primary school, middle school for boys, girls' boarding primary school, industrial school, school for blind children, boys' secondary school, and girls' high school. The pupils and students of these schools were going out on evangelistic mission in the neighbourhood and beyond for all the period studied. Similarly, nursing and midwifery students in Vom Christian Hospital were also trained to evangelise in the surrounding villages and mining camps. When Kabwir Regional Bible School was founded, the students were also taught both the theoretical and practical aspects of evangelism. In the Mission Districts, evangelism was taught to members of Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade and Women Fellowship. Conventions were also used to deepen and sustain the culture of evangelism among believers in the Mission Districts and among many old students of Gindiri Schools, particularly those who were trained as primary school teachers. The Mission's efforts at teaching evangelism met with success. However, there were also negative reactions to it. Some Gindiri students were

unwilling to go on evangelistic tours. A student of the Teachers' Training College was expelled in 1950 for making derogatory statements against the training in evangelism and the work of an evangelist. There was also a negative reaction from the press, three years before Nigerian national independence. Thus, we can infer that the Mission gave great attention to training nationals in evangelism.

3. The Church was not encouraged to specially train indigenous missionaries as Henry Venn suggested to C.M.S. missionaries. Besides, the Mission discouraged the formation of a mission society for the Church. This meant that when the Mission ceased to exist in the country, a truly well coordinated mission work also died as the Church had no missionary society of its own. This shows that the Mission had a partial understanding of what self-propagation really meant. To the Mission, only British citizens or Europeans could be real missionaries. This idea was a common notion among many Europeans from the 18th century onwards.
4. By means of the method of association and informal encouragement, the Mission taught the Church self-support right from the beginning. As a result of this training the Church was able to put up its buildings and take care of its workers. When the training of evangelists was shifted to the Church, the Church had not enough trained men to spare, as even in the training of pastors there was some kind of unwillingness on the part of the Mission. Training in self-support was even extended to individual Christians including the physically challenged. This was with a view to empowering them. In this way the Mission revealed its recognition of the social implications of the Gospel.
5. The policy of self-support notwithstanding, the Mission was sensitive to some difficult local circumstances and responded to such problems by giving scholarships for Gindiri students. However, three waves of serious financial crisis

in the Mission encouraged a stricter implementation of the policy of self–support. One Gindiri student reacted against this training in self-support. He refused to join others on the school farm where modern farming methods were taught to students. When this student was reminded about the suffering of Jesus Christ for humanity's sake, he joined the others on the farm.

6. A characteristic feature of the training in self-governance was the Mission's unwillingness to train more pastors between 1938 and 1945, and between 1946 and 1953. Besides, there was also a protracted delay in the devolution of responsibilities. About twenty-five years after the ordination of the first pastors, the Church was still controlled by the missionaries. Farrant was against this delay. This shows that not all the missionaries consistently shared the same understanding of the policy. Even before national independence, nationals reacted against the delay in the devolution of responsibility. The agitation increased at the time of independence. The Mission handled this reaction by refraining from giving suggestions to the Church, even on very important issues, for fear of meddling in the affairs of the Church. This meant that the missionaries did not consider the national church their own.
7. The background of the leaders of the Church during the period of study reveals that the Mission did not prepare properly for national leadership.
8. The implementation of the policy was characterized by the occasional expression of ambivalence towards it. There was a time when the Mission praised their adoption of the policy; in contrast there were times when aspersions were cast upon the policy. This reveals the uncertainty of the Mission with respect to the policy's eternal validity. It also reveals the theological incompetence of the Mission to form a thoroughly Biblical view of the Church.

9. The last fourteen years of the Mission in Nigeria are important for assessing the total picture of the Mission's understanding of the policy. By 1963 the Mission had reached a dead end in relation to its original objective. There was clearly no geographical expansion of the work at this time. The goal of a chain of Mission Stations across the Sudan Savannah from the Niger to the Nile had already been achieved. Going by the original vision and objective, the Mission's days in Nigeria were coming to a close. But Henry George Farrant had other ideas. Through him the vision to evangelise the whole of Africa was born in the Mission. However, this vision became an object on which there was 'apparent disagreement between the home office and the Field.' The field staff did not wish to meddle in the affairs of the Church, including giving suggestions, on the grounds that the Church was sensitive to criticism. As the missionaries were thinking about the formal registration of the Mission with the Nigerian government, and their role in the 1970s and 1980s; and as they were also considering a 'marriage' between the Mission and the Church so that the Mission would not lose its identity, national Christian leaders supported the proposal that the Mission should cease to exist in the country. This was partly a result of the dissatisfaction of nationals with the Mission's indigenous Church policy and partly the outcome of the euphoria of national independence and the moratorium question ignited by John Gatu. This reveals that the national Christian leaders lacked maturity in handling their dissatisfaction. The disagreement between the field and the home office over Farrant's vision and the sudden loss of many staff members between 1970 and 1972 were occasioned by a lack of vision, a lack of leadership and a faulty doctrine of the Church among the key field staff members of the Mission. Were it not for the immaturity of the nationals in handling their

dissatisfaction; and had the field staff missionaries accepted Farrant's vision; and had they also considered the national Church their own, the Church and Mission would have continued together in partnership.

10. The policy had both negative and positive impact on the Church and the Mission. The positive impact include: the self-reliance of the Church, the emergence of genuine church leaders, and the absence of a major schism in the Church. The Church's continual growth and its holistic understanding of the Christian ministry are other positive impact of the policy. For the Mission, the policy greatly saved in financial, personnel, time and hardship costs. It also provided global recognition for the Mission. An area in which the impact of the policy was negatively felt was the Mission–Church relationship. The relationship between the Mission/missionaries and the Church/national Christians was generally friendly, except for a few but weighty dark spots. There were personality clashes between Pastor Ishaku Ngwan and Mr. David Oram, and between Pastor Tom Owens and Pastor Akila Wantu Machunga. In Vom, animosity against the Mission was expressed some weeks before the National Independence Day celebration. Although these dark spots were few, they were serious enough for some national Christians to sustain ill–feelings against the Mission. The delay in 'Nigerianising' the senior administrative posts in the Boys' Secondary School and Girls' High School Gindiri also contributed to animosity against the Mission. Inadequate training for evangelists was a key negative impact of the policy on the Church. Other negative impacts include the emergence of a poor training tradition, the unrealistic use of ordained pastors, an inadequate number of national seminary teachers including well after the period under consideration, and the problem of identity. Others are the emergence of taxation as a means of

raising funds in the Church, the lost of the warmth of international Christian fellowship, the educational backwardness of Christians at the time of regional independence, and a lack of discipleship in mission for the whole Church. For the Mission the policy led to a lack of qualified assistants in the 1950s and 1960s and the African pastorate could not meet the pastoral care needs of Europeans. In addition, pressure came to bear on the Mission that they should embark on a speedy 'Nigerianisation' of Gindiri. Furthermore, there was something of a sense of guilt over the lack of adequate training for evangelists.

11. Right from 1923 the Mission's ideas of the policy were different from those of Roland Allen, thus dismissing the widely held tradition that the Mission was operating Allen's scheme. It was also different from any other known scheme. There were three areas in which the Mission's understanding was unique. First, the Mission understood self-propagation only as evangelism in mission districts and adjoining areas; therefore the Church was not allowed to operate a missionary society of its own. This was because missionary work was regarded by the Mission as the work of Europeans only. Secondly, self-governance was delayed until nationals showed their dissatisfaction with Mission leadership. This shows that undue paternalism was part of the Mission's understanding of the policy. Thirdly, the Mission's understanding of self-support did not allow it to see long term proper discipleship, through adequate leadership training, as the natural responsibility of a responsible mission. This understanding of the Mission deprived the Church of adequately trained evangelists and pastors at a time converts needed teaching most. This also meant that the Mission did not prepare leadership for the Church.

12. The adoption of the policy by the Mission was to achieve the goal of a healthy church. In the end this goal was only partially achieved. The church became self-supporting and self-governing. However, because the Church was not encouraged to have a missionary society of its own it became unable to reproduce itself. The many years of inadequately trained evangelists and pastors greatly affected discipleship. As a result the untrained evangelists, many of whom were nursing superstitious beliefs, could not avoid reproducing their kind, thus making the Mission unable to realise its goal of a healthy Church.
13. The missionaries of the Mission did not consistently share the same idea of the policy during the period of study. Three instances will suffice here. First, while Cooper was the chief custodian of the policy and he consistently pressed for its full implementation, Maxwell was so unhappy with it. For Maxwell, the policy prevented the Mission from making an early start in secondary education and teachers' training. Secondly, the devolution of responsibility to nationals was unduly delayed by the district missionaries. This delay could not have been completely unconnected with their view of the policy. In contrast, Farrant insisted that the late devolution of responsibility was neither healthy for the Mission nor the Church. Thirdly, George Farrant and Geoffrey Dearsley did not agree on the nature of the autonomy of an indigenous church. To Dearsley outsiders should be cautious about making suggestions to an indigenous church. On the other hand, Farrant saw the autonomy of an indigenous church as not constituting the slightest barrier to giving suggestions.
14. The policy was implemented through both the theoretical method and the method of training by association. The missionaries taught evangelism to nationals in the classroom, as with students in Gindiri. They also taught it by going out and

evangelising with them. They taught self-governance by involving nationals in decision making, first as elders and later as evangelists and pastors. The nationals learned the art of self-support by watching the missionaries give of their means in the form of offering for the support of God's work and also by watching how some of the missionaries were zealous in doing manual work for God. It was necessary for the missionaries to 'teach' the art of self-propagation, self-support and self-governance to the church that was being formed, since it was a pioneer work. The converts had no precedents to follow, like the African Instituted Churches whose founders came out of mission founded churches. Before they left the mission founded churches to establish their own, they saw how self-propagation, self-support and self-governance were to be carried out.

15. A number of principles guided the implementation of the policy. Back in 1913 Paul Krusius wrote: 'Our Principle is to consider native life and thought […]' ('Educational Proposals for the S.U.M.' 172). In the area of self-support the Mission was sensitive to some difficult local circumstances. When the Mission realised that some parents could not afford the full fees for the secondary education of their children, the Mission provided scholarships for the promising children of such parents. It was also the sensitivity of the Mission to local circumstances that made the Mission relax the policy in order to start secondary education for the children of converts. Other principles that guided the implementation of the policy were that: nationals were saved to serve Jesus, and no one should be paid for serving Jesus. The idea that 'every man is saved to serve' was a common thing among faith missions. Therefore even students and pupils who were in mission schools were involved in evangelism and in the other activities of the church as soon as they showed interest for the things of God. It

was in keeping with the principle that ‘no one gets a penny for their work’ that indigenous evangelists served voluntarily. The missionaries of the Mission were themselves volunteers so it was natural that they should think this way.

16. The Mission’s general policies towards the Church that stemmed from its understanding of the indigenous church principle included the following: first, resources were generally divided along racial lines. European money was used by Europeans and African money was used by Africans. The apostolic model of the host believers sharing in the support of the foreign missionary (Gal. 2:11-12; 6: 6; Philippians 4:10, 15-18) was not encouraged. Secondly, the Church was treated as an organisation distinct from the Mission or any of the home churches of the missionaries. This distinction or separation was clearly seen in reactions to the marriage proposal of Daniel Gula to Kathleen Lillie. As a result of this distinction, the unity of the Church and the Mission was partial.
17. The indigenous believers reacted in many ways to the implementation of the policy. To the training in self-support, one Gindiri student refused to take part in the farm work of the school. The missionary in charge handled this by pointing out how Jesus suffered for the sake of mankind. In this way the student was persuaded to join others on the school farm. In the area of evangelism, some students made derogatory statements against their training in evangelistic itineration. The Mission handled this by expelling one such student. The Mission also handled this by constantly maintaining that all Christians were saved to serve. When nationals showed their dissatisfaction at the slow pace of the training for leadership and the devolution of responsibility, the Mission began the process of ‘Nigerianisation.’

18. The Mission inculcated its vision of an indigenous church in nationals by its ongoing training. However, only self-support was emphasised much. Self-governance was not emphasised in practice until after Nigerian independence. The training of the Church in self-propagation was pushed to the background on the grounds that only overseas mission is mission work.
19. Except for the three articles by Cooper, the Mission has no other surviving documents on the policy. Cooper's ideas on the policy came from his interaction with some literature that was in circulation about it. This literature included the writings of John Livingstone Nevius and papers from the Jerusalem International Missionary Conference of the 1920s. There is no evidence that Cooper was influenced by Roland Allen's work.

6.2 CONCLUSION

The Mission's indigenous church policy was like no other in practice. The implementation of the Mission's version of the policy accounted for poor spirituality and poor missionary zeal in the Church. It also led to a sharp separation between the Mission and the Church. The establishment of Gindiri became central to the implementation of the policy, particularly in the area of evangelism. In Gindiri the missionaries had all the students to themselves, so they were able to teach them how to spread the Gospel. By the 1950s the students were able to organise themselves without being told. In this way, evangelism took off in the Church. Some of these students maintained their evangelistic zeal even after leaving Gindiri. It was in this light that Gindiri was often addressed as 'The Heart of the Church.' The Gindiri training in evangelism was done largely through the method of association. This was Jesus' method. Jesus often preached and taught in

the company of his disciples who saw, by his example, how those activities were to be carried out.

The indigenous church policy influenced the Mission so they did not focus on the proper training of evangelists during the period under consideration. But this factor was never brought to the fore or recognised as the reason for the poor training of evangelists. Rather, inadequate staffing was blamed for the poor training of the evangelists. Although there was indeed a problem of staffing in the Mission, if the Mission had been genuinely committed to the training of evangelists they would not have loaned out some of their staff members to three Sister Missions during the period covered by this study. Moreover, they should have been satisfied with what they had in order to train national Christians who could train their countrymen. They would have trained surplus pastors, some of whom would have remained as teachers in the evangelists' Bible Schools.

As a result of this lack of commitment arising from the policy, the South African Branch of S.U.M. started its District Bible Schools seven years earlier than the British Branch. The British Branch began work in 1904, while the South African Branch in question opened its first station in 1920. Ironically, the British Branch which had no District Bible Schools in 1960–63 loaned out some of its staff members, around this period, to the South African Branch, which started its District Bible Schools in 1957.

The inadequate attention that was given to the training of evangelists accounted for poor discipleship in C.O.C.I.N. during the period of study. This was evident in the very poor Bible knowledge of some of the evangelists, and in the unbiblical ideas which some of them were holding. Back in 1923, the Mission said they adopted the policy to achieve the goal of a healthy Church. Unless the Mission used the descriptive phrase 'healthy Church' to mean the ability to be self-supporting and self-governing only, they did not realise the goal of a healthy Church. The inadequate training of the evangelists,

who were literally the village pastors clearly negated Christ's unambiguous commission to make disciples and teach them to observe all his commands. Making disciples must necessarily cost something because disciples are not made overnight. It cost Jesus everything to produce twelve disciples in three years. And that was not in short courses but for the whole three years without any recorded significant break.

If the Mission had listened to the suggestion of H.G. Farrant, as contained in his article titled 'On Not Being Afraid of One's Children', the missionaries would have delegated many responsibilities to nationals in the 1950s. This would have solved the problem of the alleged shortage of staffing. It was not until 1963 that the Mission relinquished the offices of Church treasurers and Church secretaries to nationals. Even this was against the background of nationalism. The delay in the devolution of responsibility became a source of animosity in the relationship of the Church and the Mission.

From first to last, a principle of the Mission was sensitivity to both local and international circumstances. It was this that accounted for the Mission's involvement in a more thorough secular educational programme which unfortunately was to be at the expense of training evangelists, as has already been observed. It was also this that accounted for the increase in the pace of pastoral training between 1954 and 1964. Again it was this that partly accounted for the exit of the Mission from Nigeria. This shows that the Mission did not have competent men in sufficient numbers to see their way clearly from the perspective of Christ's view of Mission. Instead, the driving force in the Mission was largely local and international circumstances. The mind of Christ was not properly sought in the midst of the prevailing circumstances. Where attempts were made to seek the mind of Christ, those involved in decision-making were not all theologically

informed. Thus there was constant recourse to see how other Missions were going about their business and basing decisions on that.

The emphasis on self-support led to inadequate training of evangelists. It overshadowed the instruction of Christ. Christ called upon his followers to make disciples, not just get converts. To make something will necessarily take time and resources. Christ's commission to make disciples was omitted in favour of holding services every Sunday and keeping many congregations under the guidance of largely untrained evangelists who were in dire need of help and discipleship themselves. In Gindiri, the use of schools to teach evangelism was effective. The same can also be said of Vom Christian Hospital Nursing and Midwifery School. The method used in both Gindiri and Vom was largely the method of training by association. This was how Jesus trained his disciples in self-propagation.

What marred the Mission's policy was three-fold. First, the Mission had a partial understanding of self-propagation, and was therefore unable to encourage the Church in real missionary work and in the establishment and running of a church mission society. Secondly, there was a lack of proper training for evangelists. Thirdly, there was the delay in the delegation of responsibility and the background of Church leaders at the time of the exit of the Mission from Nigeria reveals that the Mission did not prepare leadership that could rise to the challenge of a literate society. These failures had negative effects on both the Church and the Mission.

The implementation of the policy was characterised by ambivalence. The ambivalence that was a feature of the Mission's attitude to the policy betrays the eternal validity of some of the elements of the policy. The implementation of the policy led to the establishment of a viable Church, but one which was shallow in terms of discipleship and in terms of missionary outreach, as the Mission did not leave the Church with a

mission society which could continue the work of the Mission in Africa and beyond. The Mission's emphasis on using local languages and the running of largely autonomous tribal Churches in the Mission Districts for most of the period under consideration divided the Church along ethnic lines.

The flaws in the Mission's interpretation and implementation of the indigenous church policy affected both the Mission and the Church as has already been pointed out. However, we admit that a national church came into being as a result of the hard work and great sacrifices of the missionaries. For this they deserve commendations.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

In today's world many countries form regional blocks for cooperation as they understand that they need each other. If the nations of the world can form regional blocks for mutual cooperation and trade, the people of God, particularly former mission agencies and the churches they founded, need no less structures for cooperation. It should be borne in mind that international fellowship quickens the universal Church in the way that local fellowship quickens individuals in a local congregation. The Mission and the Church need to revisit the question of relationship and explore, together, areas of cooperation in the light of Christ's understanding of Mission and in the light of a proper Biblical understanding of the nature of the Church. A bridging of the existing gap in relationship is necessary. There is much more to achieve from working together in partnership than competition.

To avoid bizarre cases of unbiblical beliefs and to ensure proper discipleship in the Church and on the mission field, Church workers such as evangelists and missionaries should be given adequate training in both Biblical and socio-cultural studies.

The three-self policy is still very relevant for today's missionary endeavour. Teaching responsibility is Biblical and a necessary part of human existence. Even before the fall, the first man and woman were to tend God's garden and keep it. Therefore, C.O.C.I.N. Community Mission should not seek to do everything for the converts on the mission field. Responsibility should be taught without relegating to the background discipleship and proper Bible teaching at all levels. This calls for training and re-training in missionary methods of C.O.C.I.N. missionaries, church groups, L.C.C.s and R.C.C.s that are involved in missionary outreach.

Today's mission endeavours should be characterized by thorough teaching and discipleship in Biblical Christianity, which should include the teaching of responsibility to converts early after their acceptance of the message of the Gospel. This thorough teaching should include a mechanism that can ensure increase in the number of competent indigenous Bible teachers in the future. Trusting converts like Jesus trusted the first twelve disciples will encourage early delegation of responsibility. This in turn saves having problems with staffing all levels of the work. Thorough social action in the areas of health and education is still needed but must not be at the expense of training shepherds of the Church. Attention should be given to all, with the training of shepherds being given greater attention.

6.4 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

As far as the Sudan United Mission British Branch is concerned, this kind of study has not been undertaken anywhere in Nigeria or elsewhere. The Mission emphasised self-support so much that the natural responsibility of the Mission to disciple believers through intensive and protracted leadership training was relegated to the background. The Mission had a partial understanding of what self-propagation really meant. To the

Mission, only British citizens or Europeans could be real missionaries. This idea was a common notion among many Europeans from the 18th century onwards. Owing to the Mission's partial understanding of self-propagation, the Church was not encouraged to specially train indigenous missionaries as Henry Venn suggested to C.M.S. missionaries. This meant that when the Mission ceased to exist in Nigeria, a truly well coordinated mission work also died as the Church had no missionary society of its own. This research shows a new understanding of how a mission society interpreted and implemented the three-self policy. To me this is a contribution not found in any of the literature I reviewed.

6.5 SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the course of this research I came across a lot of materials in the Church and Mission archives, and in the official magazine of the Mission, on financial crises in the Mission. There were periods when the Mission had no money to pay its field staff members and to meet other needs on the field. There is a need for research on how the Mission handled its financial crises and how the missionaries of the Mission coped during the different periods of the crises. The findings could be useful to C.O.C.I.N Community Mission which also faces financial crises from time to time.